

Photo: Israeli ballots in 2019. Photo by Tawbat Zaram via Wikimedia Commons

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Looking Ahead to Israel's 2026 Elections

[Paul Scham](#)

By law, Israeli elections must be held by November 2026, a year out as I write this message. These elections will be deeply consequential for both Israelis and Palestinians.

Note: I will be commenting on Israeli politics regularly, so if you're interested, you can become a free subscriber to my Substack, "[Israel and its Neighbors](#)." Questions and comments are welcome, in the free-wheeling spirit of Israeli politics.

Israel has a typical European-style parliamentary system based on proportional representation, with the entire country as one electoral district. Normally, between 20 and 30 parties compete and around 10 usually exceed the minimum threshold of 3.25% of the total vote and enter the Knesset. Less than 3.25% results in a party's votes being thrown out and wasted. No party has ever won a majority of seats; thus, every government has been a coalition.

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A Brief History

From the 1960s till the 2000's, Israel's two larger parties, Likud (center-right) and Labor (center-left), each usually received 30-40 seats (mandates) in elections held every 3-4 years. The other third of the Knesset's 120 seats were held by 6-10 smaller parties, with several of whom one of the larger two parties formed a coalition, except when the two large parties created "National Unity" governments during the 1980s (often derided as "national disunity"). After the failure of the Oslo peace process in the 1990's, Labor gradually declined into insignificance, and the Likud was generally the single largest party. For those seeking a general guide to current parties, I recommend [Wikipedia's chart](#). Keep in mind that parties, candidates, and even rules will change, perhaps abruptly, over the coming year.¹

Traditionally, Israeli parties were fairly clearly left, right, or (Jewish) religious. Starting in the 1980s, independent Arab parties began to appear - understood to be beyond the Jewish-Zionist consensus - and which were not invited into coalitions. Traditionally the leftwing parties always included a few Israeli Palestinians in their slates.

Bibi's coalitions after 2009 generally included some combination of center-right, right, and religious parties, both national religious (pro-settler) and Haredim ("ultra-Orthodox"). However, by the 2015 election, and certainly by 2019, Israelis parties had morphed into clearly pro- and anti- Bibi Netanyahu blocs, almost regardless of ideology. Many of the anti-Bibi parties were led by former Bibi coalition partners (e.g., Lieberman, Bennett, Shaked, Gantz, and Lapid), who swore they would no longer work with him. Each grouping, pro- and anti-, had almost exactly 50% of the electorate, and four inconclusive elections were held between 2019 and

2021, with no one gaining a clear majority, except for a brief anti-Bibi "Government of Change" in 2021-22. Then, in November 2022, Meretz fell a few thousand votes below the threshold and its 4 seats disappeared. Bibi formed a government, still in power, with 64 seats, now increased to 67.

There are some unusual features of the current government which must be understood for the last three years to be comprehensible. Normally, one of the inherent characteristics of a coalition government is that moderately different viewpoints and priorities are represented by the different parties, so extremism is usually curbed and moderation is prioritized. However, due to the unprecedentedly long tenure of one person as prime minister - and especially of the five pro- and anti-Bibi elections during 2019-22 - Likud had become as subservient to Bibi as Republicans are to Trump. Moreover, the Haredi parties became politically wedded to Bibi, and knew that the anti-Bibi parties would never let them into a different government, largely because of their insistence on military exemptions for virtually all Haredi draft-age men.

Meanwhile, Bibi had been indicted for fraud, bribery, and breach of trust. Due to a quirk in Israeli law, the PM, unlike other ministers, is not obliged to resign if indicted for a crime and his trial has been going on for one or two days most weeks during the last five tumultuous years. If his government falls, however, Bibi may soon go to jail. Cabinet ministers Ben-Gvir and Smotrich, now household names, have not hesitated to use implicit and explicit threats of leaving the government in order to implement their own unprecedentedly far right agenda, including, among many other items, prosecuting the savage war in Gaza for two years and encouraging extreme settler violence in the West Bank, often ensuring police inaction or even participation. Bibi himself, who had previously taken a mainstream right wing approach to Palestinian issues (e.g., strong opposition

¹ N.B.: Wikipedia has a large number of articles on "[Politics of Israel](#)." I have generally found Wikipedia both comprehensive and fair on this rather hot subject, but have by no means read even most of the articles. I'll be glad to respond to any questions on my Substack.

to a Palestinian state but also to Israeli annexation of the occupied territories), at first appeared reluctant to accede to their policies but, in the last year, has appeared far more aboard with them, even enthusiastic.

The Current Situation *(I get my up-to-date polling information from <https://knessetjeremy.com>, (unconnected to PPI or me), who provides a regular (usually weekly) summary of Israeli polls, in English.)*

Keep in mind that the size of a post-election coalition determines who “wins” an election, not the vote for an individual party. Making the Israeli pollster’s job excruciating is having to game out which politicians may decide to run in which party, how many votes each party might garner, and who is likely to join a potential governmental coalition. At this point, most assume that Naftali Bennett, prime minister for most of the 2021-22 “Government of Change,” will lead a new party and create the largest anti-Bibi coalition. Bennett’s politics are nominally of the settler far-right, but his apparent flexibility and willingness to work with centrists and even the “liberal Zionist” Demokratim party, make him appealing to the broadest array of voters and parties. Polls show his registered but as yet unnamed party just a few seats behind Likud. Meanwhile, [Likud is trying to derail it](#), as one would expect.

Though Bibi’s [negative ratings have exceeded his positives](#) since 2017, his base support is only slightly lower than it was in the 2022 election (32 seats then; upper twenties now in most polls). If you are looking at KnessetJeremy’s chart, you will note that Channel 14’s numbers are out of line with the others, skewed in Bibi’s favor. Channel 14 is known as Israel’s Newsmax, rightwing and pro-Bibi in everything.

Bibi’s coalition, should he be able to form one, would consist of Likud, the Haredi parties United Torah Judaism (Ashkenazi) and Shas (Sephardi/Mizrahi), and the two far right religious parties Otzma Yehudi (Jewish

Power), led by Ben-Gvir, and Religious Zionism (now a party as well as a category), led by Smotrich. The two men apparently dislike each other so strongly that they refuse to run together in one party, although their views are similar, though not identical. Smotrich’s party hovers below the threshold; only Channel 14 shows him barely entering the Knesset. In 2022 Bibi essentially forced them to run together and they won an unprecedented 14 seats, providing the power they now have. That seems less likely to happen next year, which would make it difficult for the pro-Bibi forces to reach the magic number of 61 out of 120 seats.

As Knesset Jeremy shows, the “Bennett bloc” is likely to end up in the upper 50s, and the Bibi bloc in the lower 50’s or upper 40s.

What gives? There are 120 seats in the Knesset!

The “missing” mandates are held by those who do not accept the Zionist consensus that still loosely connects the Israeli right and left. Most of those not accepting the consensus are Israeli Arabs/Palestinians; those with Israeli citizenship, who comprise 20% of the Israeli population. There is also a group that is willing to accept the consensus, but is not accepted by it.

In my next post in this series on the Israeli elections and political system I’ll discuss the anti-Bibi portion of the Knesset and the likely potent role of Israeli Arabs.

Paul

Paul

Paul Scham is President of is president of [Partners for Progressive Israel](#). He recently retired as a Professor of Israel Studies at the University of Maryland.



Hatikvah: Reflections on the World Zionist Congress

INSIGHTS 1

By Jeremy Ben-Ami



This was a personal reflection from Jeremy Ben-Ami, President and founder of J Street, sent to the members of the Hatikvah Slate after the end of the World Zionist Congress. These thoughts are personal and not an official J Street statement.

The Basics: What Is the World Zionist Congress?

Founded by Theodor Herzl in 1897 in Basel, the World Zionist Congress was envisioned as the parliament of the Jewish people, guiding the Zionist movement's path to establishing a Jewish homeland. After the State of Israel was founded in 1948, the Congress and the “national institutions” it

created – the World Zionist Organization (WZO), Jewish Agency for Israel, and Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth L'Israel) – continued to operate.

Though the structures, names, acronyms, etc. can make eyes glaze over, these institutions remain powerful today, overseeing billions of dollars raised and spent worldwide, including in Israel and, in some cases, the occupied territories.

The Congress meets every five years, with 775 delegates. About 500 are elected – roughly one-third from Israel (based on Knesset results) and two-thirds from Jewish communities around the world, including in the U.S. through the American Zionist Movement elections.

The Hatikvah Slate

I ran on Hatikvah (“The Hope”), a slate representing progressive Jewish organizations in the U.S. committed to liberal, democratic values, Jewish pluralism, and aligning those values with the idea that the Jewish people have the right to a national homeland.

Hatikvah is a joint project of J Street and partners in the Progressive Israel Network – including New Jewish Narrative, Partners for Progressive Israel, T’ruah, the Reconstructionist Movement, New York Jewish Agenda and the youth movements Habonim Dror and Hashomer Hatzair.

This year, we earned over 11,000 votes, our best result ever, winning 8 seats in the U.S. delegation. But the overall composition of the US delegation shifted rightward, as far-right and ultra-Orthodox organizations mobilized large voter blocs, often through yeshivas and affiliated institutions. It remains far harder to engage progressive, less institutionally connected American Jews in an election for Zionist institutions that may feel distant or outdated.

There was also confirmed voter fraud in this election – acknowledged by election authorities, though in the end inadequately punished.

Our Hatikvah delegates were split between two global political “unions”: one affiliated with Israel’s historic Labor Party and the other with Meretz. In Israel, those parties have merged into a new political framework called The Democrats, but their international wings remain separate. Personally, I hope these two will eventually merge globally as well - uniting liberal Jews globally under one clear “Democratic” banner at a time when democracy is under assault from the far right worldwide.

What Happened at the Congress

The Congress met over three days. Its work has two main parts:

Electing the leadership of the national institutions for the next five years. Debating and passing resolutions

that guide their policy and priorities. Much of the work happens in ten committees that prepare resolutions for the plenary. I served on the Sovereignty and Borders Committee, which dealt with three major resolutions:

Two right-wing proposals supporting Israeli sovereignty over the Temple Mount and the West Bank. Our own proposal opposing development of the E-1 settlement, with an amendment prohibiting any direct or indirect institutional and financial support for E-1. In our committee of about 50 delegates, we defeated both right-wing resolutions with a coalition of center and center-left votes. We strengthened our E-1 resolution but lost it by a single vote. I moved successfully to bring it nonetheless to the plenary floor.

Across other committees, our coalition – made up of Labor, Meretz, Reform and Conservative movements, and centrist Israeli parties like Yesh Atid, Blue and White, and occasionally even Yisrael Beiteinu – passed numerous progressive resolutions. We also worked well with centrist groups such as Hadassah and WIZO on a number of these, including:

- A prohibition on support for resettling Gaza
- Open and egalitarian access to the Western Wall
- Condemnation of hate speech and embrace of diverse views in Zionist communities
- Support for a state commission of inquiry into October 7
- Protection of Israeli civil society institutions
- Promotion of women’s leadership roles in the Jewish world
- (And, yes, plenty of less controversial resolutions on mental health, Hebrew education, and more.)

In the Plenary Session

Our coalition largely held together in the plenary. Nearly every resolution we supported passed, and nearly every one we opposed failed.

There were exceptions – specifically on resolutions

addressing antisemitism. Many in the center are willing to back overly broad definitions of antisemitism, similar to the IHRA definition, because of their overriding concerns with rising global antisemitism. Our concerns about free speech and conflating criticism of Israel with antisemitism did not carry the day. This remains an area where our movement needs stronger messaging and education.

When our E-1 resolution came to the floor, the right wing walked out in an effort to prevent a quorum. The vote still went ahead, and we won 219–39, with 67 abstentions (325 votes cast out of 775). There was some dispute over whether this constituted a quorum, but we believe that, since the delegates were there and had been voting, that the quorum had already been established.

In any event, the motion passed by such a margin that it's unclear if the right could have flipped the result if they'd stayed. Clearly that's why they left! While the question will be brought to the legal counsel for the Congress, the takeaway is still that a broad coalition is willing to oppose using our money for settlement expansion. It was a real victory for our side.

Other Developments

The other major task was electing officers of the national institutions. A compromise deal had been reached giving the political “center” more representation, including leadership rotation for Yesh Atid representatives and slightly expanded roles for progressives on the board.

That agreement unraveled when Yair Netanyahu, the Prime Minister's son, was suddenly announced as having been appointed to a key Jewish Agency position focused on diaspora relations. Given his record of racist and extremist rhetoric, our factions are refusing to proceed until that appointment is withdrawn. As a result, the Congress has gone into recess without finalizing appointments. Delegates are now on standby to vote electronically in two weeks if /when the issue is resolved.

Reflections

If you've read this far, you deserve a medal. But I hope it gives a sense of why – despite all the arcane procedure and political maneuvering – this gathering still matters.

There's something powerful about sitting in this forum after 130 years, debating the core principles and values of the Jewish people with thousands of Jews from across the world and political spectrum.


Yes, it's messy. Yes, it can feel distant or bureaucratic. But being there reminded me how important it is that liberal, democratic voices stay at the table, challenging the far right, pushing for justice, and defending the core values of both Zionism and democracy.

Personally, I leave the Congress re-energized. I see the value of continuing to build a strong liberal democratic camp across the global Jewish community – one capable of steering Israel, and the Jewish people as a whole, toward a more just and hopeful future.

To everyone who worked alongside me on this campaign and at the Congress: thank you. The pendulum is slow to swing, but it is swinging. Let's keep at it – in all the upcoming elections in the U.S., in Israel, and beyond.

Jeremy Ben Ami is the President of J Street, bringing to the role both deep experience in American politics and government and a passionate commitment to the state of Israel. Ben-Ami's family connection to Israel goes back 140 years to the first aliyah when his great-grandparents were among the first settlers in Petah Tikva. His grandparents were one of the founding families of Tel Aviv, and his father was an activist and leader in the Irgun, working for Israel's independence and on the rescue of European Jews before and during World War II.

His political resume includes serving in the mid-1990s as the Deputy Domestic Policy Advisor in the White House to President Bill Clinton and working on seven Presidential and numerous state and local campaigns including helping to manage a Mayoral campaign in New York City in 2001. For nearly three years in the late 90s, Jeremy lived in Israel, where he started a consulting firm working with Israeli non-profit organizations and politicians. Ben-Ami received a law degree from New York University and is a graduate of the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.



Remembering Awdah Hathaleen

INSIGHTS 2

By Maya Garfinkel, PPI 2025 Theodore Bikel Peace and Justice Intern



Tributes to the late Awdah Hathaleen, z"l, at a mourning tent in Brooklyn. Photo courtesy of Rabbi Margo Hughes-Robinson

This piece was begun in late July of 2025, immediately following the murder of Palestinian activist and educator Awdah Hathaleen. Awdah was shot at close range near his home in Umm al Kheir in Masafer Yatta, in the West Bank, by the settler Yonon Levi. As of publishing, Levi walks free.

I last saw him two months ago, to the day. It was the last Monday of May and I was saying goodbye to the whole family, even if the babies didn't understand yet. I was squeeze-hugging his wife and murmuring "see you later" and "inshallahs" when he came up and asked if I was leaving. I hated to tell him

yes, I was leaving. I knew I would get some shit for it, served with a trademarked smile. But I would be back soon, *inshallah*. He replied, *inshallah* and thank you. It was crazy to thank me. My contribution to his life had largely been sitting with his wife and wife's friends, drinking his tea, and playing with his three sons while they wreaked havoc in his small home. But that was Awdah. Thanking and blessing and loving the people around him, making his home a home to all even (and especially) when the powers around him never stopped telling him his home was not his own.

My friends and I have a game we play, in which we try to label each other and others with an adjective and an occupation: tender, feral, lonesome, or realistic;

scientist, cowboy, wizard, or merchant. We would joke in Jerusalem and on the way back from days with the Storytellers Project in Masafer Yatta that Awdah was the “archetypical merchant.” He was the perfect example because anyone who knew Awdah would understand that the “merchant” wasn’t just a powerful social engineer or clever powerbroker – the merchant could be a good, kindhearted person because of the way that man was in the world.

He would fight tooth and nail for you to show up to his Iftar, or in forging new connections with unexpected allies using biting, ruthless humor and tireless communication. It was manifest watching Awdah parenting his children with understanding and a youthful giggle, or in seeing him blushing at his 31st birthday party before giving a heartfelt speech.

We saw his nature as he worked at strained relationships because of an unshakable faith in human connection – even when faith in the future was shaken; and in the goodbye send-off for solidarity activists that included a (very serious, yet silly) Arabic pop-quiz.

Awdah invited people in, in such a way that made it seem like the most natural thing in the world. He did this despite the reality that, a friend put it, “this isn’t supposed to happen.” Foreigners and Israelis aren’t “supposed” to be meeting and living with Palestinians in their homes, breaking bread, feeding each other’s children, defending the land, harvesting olives, and feeling feelings together. But it was natural in Awdah’s world. He seemed invincible to me. May his memory be for a blessing.

On Monday, July 28th, he was shot by a settler on the upper right side of his chest while standing in the courtyard of the village’s community center. The people around him tried to save his life, and he was transported to the hospital to critical care. He died of his wounds a few hours later. In the same attack that left Awdah dead, many of his community members in Masafer Yatta were arrested, and one was seriously injured by construction machinery.

Awdah is survived by his wife and three young, sweet

sons - all under age 6. As of today, his body is still being held by Israel. For more than a week after Awdah’s passing, more than 70 women, ranging in age from 13 to over 70, from the village of Umm al-Kheir, decided to begin a hunger strike immediately, demanding the return of his body. The women declared that they would continue the hunger strike until his body is returned, so that he may be buried in the village and his family can accompany him on his final journey. The hunger strike also served as a protest against the ongoing detention of the six residents of the village who were held in jail following the settler violence against Um al-Khair. After ten difficult days, Awdah’s body was returned to his family, and laid to rest.

Just after his death, I gathered with other friends of Awdah’s in a basement in Crown Heights in New York City. I just happened to be passing through the city, and was grateful to share space and grief with those who knew him. In that basement, I was surrounded by individuals who had kept up the fight for non-violent resistance and liberation in some part due to him. In a way, his legacy is invincible even as his life has been cut so short so brutally.

One of these friends was Elly, an Achvat Amim staff member and friend. Sitting in that basement, I was listening to folks recount stories of Awdah from the last decade of his short life and was reminded of the last workshop that Elly facilitated for the Achvat cohort. It was about political imagination and storytelling - two of Awdah’s gift’s. A few days after I said goodbye to Awdah, his family and other friends who live in Umm Al Kheir and Masafer Yatta at large, Elly instructed me and my friends to take twenty or thirty minutes and write some sort of piece imagining a future on the land. I’ve been wanting to share it here for a while and couldn’t find the right time. Now, with a heavy, heavy heart, it feels right:

When I arrive at Safta’s house, the smell hits me first, as it always does. It’s chicken soup, and homemade wine, and cheap fabric softener, and old drugstore lipstick. I knock on her door with my bag slung over one shoulder and

fresh burekas in a paper box in my free hand. She opens the door and her face breaks into the sweet, youthful smile she always has when we reunite. “Ahh, Maya” - perpetually surprised that I actually arrived. I kiss her on the cheek and we settle in together. My trip to visit isn’t long, but there are a few special people I want to see. Safta, of course, is first on the list. As we sit down for coffee, tea, and cake, she asks me what my plans are. I tell her and we scheme over the background sound of the 5pm news.

We wake up promptly at 6:30 the next morning. Well, I wake up at 6:30 with my phone alarm and Safta wakes up an hour earlier with no alarm, shuffling about and reading. We put on our sensible one piece bathing suits and summer dresses and get into her little beat up car. I put on Waze, but Safta directs me the whole way anyways. In classic Safta fashion she has adjusted to the new street names and neighborhoods in her area over the last few years. We’ve always gravitated towards talking about languages, and she shows off her Arabic reading skills after I probe her – a 5th language now in her repertoire. We pull into the handicap spot at the women’s section of the beach and I help her out. She takes my arm in the way she does.

It took her a bit to get used to seeing more hijabi women at her regular spots, but the shock was softened by the implementation of optional women’s only sections of swimming. She loves calm water without splashing, and it felt calmer and sweet to be in that section now. We find a spot in the shade and set ourselves up plus a few extra spots. Soon enough, the rest of our gang arrives.

H waves from the parking lot, baby girl by her side and helps her own mother out of the car. She always wanted to be a mother to a girl, and six months ago her wish was granted. She approaches us and I run over to help her mom make it safely to the chair with her bad knee. H runs back to the car to collect the absurd amount of hot tea in plastic thermoses and sweet knafeh she

brought from Yatta for us to try “even if it’s not perfectly fresh” she insists. It only added a few extra minutes to her drive to the northern beach we were on – not the impossible journey it would’ve been when we first met. She gives Safta three kisses on the cheek and they both beam. Soon enough, Safta and H’s mom are yapping away about doctors and stretches for H’s knee. My Safta recommends she visit my doctor cousin at the hospital in Yaffa, of course. She reminds H of the fact that she’d be happy to call him and help her get an appointment whenever she had the chance to take the train in from Yatta. I stop to breathe between bites of my sticky knafeh breakfast, and shout with delight when I notice more smiling faces in the parking lot. S and the girls! I could hear them before I saw them and was relieved they beat the morning traffic from Al-Quds where they were staying with family. S’s oldest, Maryum, is so big now. After a hug, she plops down at Safta’s feet and immediately starts pestering with questions from her honors European history class in a combination of English and Hebrew. S and H just laugh and embrace, taking off their hijab and feeling the sea breeze whip their hair. Nour, S’s second, is still young enough to want to jump into the sea but has to use her younger sister as an excuse. “Yara really wants to go in.” I sigh and tell her “yalla, but with Safta. I need your big girl strength to help her walk to the water.”

We each take one of Safta’s hands while the others help H’s mom. A motley crew of giggles hobbles over to the lapping sea, al bahar, ha yam. Our toes hit the water. We squeal. I laugh. We’re here.

Maya Garfinkel served this spring as Partners’ Theo Bikel Peace and Justice Intern. This year she completed a semester at Achvat Amim: Solidarity of Nations, where she served with Rabbis for Human Rights and the Storytelling Project in the South Hebron Hills.



By Aliza Schoffman Land



Twelve years ago, 18 Palestinian women from the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Issawiya approached two Jewish students at Hebrew University and asked them to teach them Hebrew. Every day, these women found that without Hebrew they struggled with some of the most basic tasks of daily life: going to the doctor, picking up a prescription, speaking with a service provider.

For Palestinians living in East Jerusalem, such challenges aren't unusual. 75% of Palestinian women report weak to no Hebrew proficiency. Over 70% are unemployed, and language is one of the primary barriers. Without Hebrew, navigating life in the city - where most public, health, and legal services operate in Hebrew - can be daunting, if not impossible.

Soon, the two Jewish students were walking down to the Issawiya community center every week to give lessons. It started small - one class, one day a week. But after the first year, the 18 women wanted to keep going, and they brought their friends and family. The volunteers brought more volunteers. Very quickly, the community center became too small, and classes moved to Hebrew

University's Mount Scopus campus.

That's how Lissan began.

Fast forward to today: Lissan teaches everyday Hebrew to more than 450 Palestinian women a year through our flagship project, *Medabrot Ivrit – Women Speaking Hebrew*, and approx. 600 students across all of our projects. Classes are taught by over 50 Israeli and Palestinian volunteer teachers and supported by 10 student coordinators. Our growing staff of Palestinian and Israeli women is developing new projects for our alumni network, which now includes more than 3,500 women.



Our model is community-based by design - relying on volunteer teachers who work in pairs - one Palestinian, one Israeli - to model partnership and solidarity in the classroom. Courses focus on practical, real-life skills: navigating healthcare, dealing with bureaucracy, using public transportation, and handling workplace conversations. And our approach works. Our impact survey from August 2024 showed that:

- **95% of students** said their confidence in using Hebrew grew.
- **92%** reported being able to use Hebrew in situations that had previously been difficult or impossible.
- **40%** reported that their Hebrew skills helped them find or improve employment.

- **One in five graduates** started a new job or business after their studies.

But our vision doesn't stop there. At Lissan, we believe that true equality in Jerusalem requires more than teaching Palestinians Hebrew. It also means addressing the imbalance: in a city where almost everyone speaks Hebrew but very few Jewish Israelis speak Arabic, the burden of bilingualism has always fallen on Palestinians.

That's why, alongside *Medabrot Ivrit – Women Speaking Hebrew*, we also create spaces for Jewish Israelis to learn Arabic. Through our Arabic for the Community courses, our new tandem language exchange, and joint events like our annual Community Iftar, we invite Israelis and Palestinians to sit together, learn each other's languages, and begin to imagine what a truly bilingual Jerusalem could look like.

For us, language is not just about communication—it's about justice. When both Hebrew and Arabic are spoken, power is shared more equally. Fear is reduced. Trust grows.

These numbers and projects tell part of the story. The other part lives in the classroom—in the moments where women begin to speak up, to joke, to share their own stories in a language they once feared.



I've worked at Lissan for three years, mostly behind the scenes as Director of Partnerships and Strategic Development. I spend my days writing grants, building partnerships, telling Lissan's story to donors. But this year, I stepped out from behind my desk and into the classroom.

It was a hard year - one of the hardest our region has faced - against the backdrop of war, tension, and fear. My husband was in and out of IDF reserve duty. And still, every week, I found myself in the mixed neighborhood of Abu Tor, teaching a group of 10 traditional Muslim Palestinian women.

Our goal in these courses is to give women the Hebrew they need to access rights, resources, and opportunities. But in that classroom, we also built a safe space to connect, to listen, to share pieces of ourselves.

Our lessons were very practical - navigating public transportation, shops, and health clinics. But it didn't take long to see that what my students most wanted was simply to talk.

That's how I met Enas.

She came up to me after one of the first lessons. This was her very first time learning Hebrew in a classroom. My class was for more advanced students. She had somehow taught herself enough vocabulary to get placed into my class, but she had never learned grammar, and her confidence was low. I told her: the fact that you made it here means you can do this.

She took that to heart. All year, she worked hard and made enormous progress. At our graduation ceremony, she stood in front of the 800 people who had gathered to celebrate together and shared her story - all in Hebrew. Here it is, in her own words:

"Hello everyone, my name is Enas Sub Labban. I'm a mother of four - three daughters and one son. My story began during COVID. One day, I went to buy

cosmetics. I entered a store, but the shopkeeper was Jewish. I didn't know how to explain in Hebrew what I needed. I stood there, trying...becoming confused...and finally went home without being able to buy anything. Sometimes my children would ask me to take them on trips, but I was afraid to go to certain places because I couldn't speak or understand the instructions at the park. That's when I realized how dependent I was on the language. I thought: That's enough. I must learn Hebrew. I heard about Lissan, which supports Palestinian women, and I signed up. My first lesson was hard - I didn't understand the teacher. At the end, I told my teacher, Aliza, that I had never learned Hebrew before. She told me, 'You can. I see you have a love for learning. Keep going.' That made me happy. I learned slowly, remembering her words. Now, at the end of this course, I can understand and speak Hebrew. I can take my children anywhere. I can shop and tell the shopkeeper exactly what I need. I'm no longer afraid to leave the house. Now, I feel I have great self-confidence."



Photo credit: Hanna Taeib

Hearing Enas speak in front of this packed auditorium was one of the proudest moments I've had at Lissan. It reminded me that what we do is about more than teaching a language.

When a woman learns Hebrew, she gains so much more than vocabulary and grammar. She can speak directly to a doctor instead of relying on a family member to

translate. She can read a contract before she signs it. She can apply for a job, run her own business, or simply feel safe navigating the city where she lives.



And when she does, her whole family benefits. Children see their mother navigate spaces she once avoided. Husbands and parents rely on her for things they couldn't before. Her confidence and courage spiral out to friends, neighbors, her entire community.

This is the ripple effect we see every day at Lissan - one woman's new confidence sparking change for dozens of people around her.

Our dream is that one day, whether at a doctor's office, a bus stop, or a playground, every Jerusalemite will be able to understand and be understood - in Hebrew and in Arabic. Word by word, story by story, we are building that future together.

To learn more about Lissan, we invite you to visit our English-language website, and to follow us on [Facebook](#), [Instagram](#), and [YouTube](#), as well as on [LinkedIn](#).

Aliza Schoffman Land is the Director of Partnerships and Strategic Development at Lissan.



By Joseph Hillyard



A memorial to Yitzhak Rabin in Tel Aviv. Photo by Avishai Teicher via Wikimedia Commons

*As a student of history I have often looked to the past to make sense of our frightening present. Recently I've been reading historian Doris Kearns Goodwin's phenomenal memoir *An Unfinished Love Story: A Personal History of the Sixties*. In it, she recounts her and her future husband Richard "Dick" Goodwin's time working for President Lyndon B. Johnson, and President John F. and Robert Kennedy, respectively, against the backdrop of the Civil Rights Movement, the euphoria of the Great Society, followed by the chaos of Vietnam.*

In light of recent developments in Israel-Palestine, I have been thinking especially of LBJ's address to Congress after the shock and trauma of JFK's assassination. The speech, titled "[Let Us Continue](#)," both pays tribute to the slain President and demands that we honor his legacy by following through with his priorities; quality education for all, healthcare for the elderly and most importantly comprehensive civil rights legislation. This is my attempt to channel that speech to fit our current moment:

Iwish I didn't have to write this speech. Those on the ground and in the diaspora have been forced to live with the emotional, physical and deeply personal

scars of the largest killing of Jews since the Holocaust and the most horrific period for Palestinians since the Nakba. Two years of death and destruction wrought upon the people of Israel and Palestine, preceded by 50 years of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the mainstreaming of Kahanism in Israel and leaders on both sides of the green line viewing their own people as collateral damage for their own political machinations. The memory of the deceased; men, women, children, doctors, lawyers, students, peace activists, friends, parents, grandparents and so on, live on in the hearts of all those who knew them. No words are sad enough to express our sense of loss. And no words are strong enough to express our determination that such horrors never be allowed to happen again.

The dream of a Palestine that is free, democratic and unoccupied that has been conjured by generations of Palestinians even through immense tragedy. The dream of an Israel that no longer occupies another people's land and commits to its founding Jewish and democratic values. A future where children in Gaza don't starve or lose their limbs due to indiscriminate bombing, where

families in the West Bank aren't murdered by settlers and families in Israel don't have to beg their own government to prioritize the safety of their loved ones over political machinations to escape accountability. A future where diaspora supporters of both “sides” and leaders on the ground invest in the well-being of their own citizens, not endless warfare. A future where we realize that war crimes committed in the name of Jewish safety or Palestinian liberation will achieve neither. These dreams and many others have been kept alive by the drive and dedication of generations of struggle. And now these ideals must and will be translated into effective action.

As a writer, I am haunted by the words of Palestinians and Israelis that I have encountered over the last two years. Descriptions of families constantly fleeing from place to place because of airstrikes or settler terrorism. Relatives of the deceased demanding that their loved ones' memory not be used as justification for even more brutality. Obituaries for filmmakers, writers and journalists killed by bombs, terrorists and settlers.

A year before her murder, Vivian Silver said in an [interview](#): “I call myself a conditional Zionist,” she explained. “I believe in the right of the Jewish people to have a state, as long as we give the same right to the Palestinian people. This could be such a haven to both of our people here.” In honor of her I have embraced this label as my own and carried these values with me. In reading the works of Palestinian writers, I am reminded that these horrific realities have in time, become depressingly normal. As activist Hamze Awawde [wrote](#) in an essay about Palestinian life in the West Bank: “The neighborhoods we live in are heavily monitored and controlled by Israeli armed forces as well as by the Palestinian Authority – whose primary concerns are its own interests and wellbeing. We are stuck in a kind of suspended animation. Life does not move forward.” Allowing this unequal reality to continue is a moral and political stain on us all.

Since the announcement of the ceasefire I've seen some frame this development as a ‘new beginning’ and ‘new era,’ in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A more useful

framing, at this moment of renewed resolve, I would say, *let us continue*. Let us continue to support [civil society organizations](#) who have long been fighting for the shared liberation of Jews and Palestinians. Let us build upon the New York Declaration to demand that all governments recognize Palestine and finally treat Palestinian national aspirations with seriousness. Let us continue to demand accountability for decades of occupation and for the war crimes committed by Hamas on October 7th and Israel's response in Gaza, which [human rights organizations](#) have stated amount to genocide.

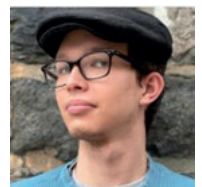
As President Johnson wrote,

We meet in grief, but let us also meet in renewed dedication and renewed vigor. Let us meet in action, in tolerance, and in mutual understanding.

We must allow our communities space to mourn and process the trauma of the last two years, which have only been compounded by the waves of antisemitism and Islamophobia that become normalized across the world. We must challenge and empower the democratic camp in Israel to realize its potential as a movement for freedom, democracy and human rights for both Israelis and Palestinians. We must not mute our opposition to the occupation. We must demand better from our progressive allies to not reduce the complex peoples of this land to slogans and symbolism. As hostages return from captivity, Palestinian prisoners are released and Gazans navigate their new lives amidst the rubble, let us reaffirm the value of all human life on both sides of the green line.

I profoundly hope that the tragedy and torment of these terrible two years will help bring us closer together in new fellowship, and make us realize that our fates are truly intertwined.

Joseph Hillyard is a Dramatic Writing Major and History Minor studying at NYU (2026). He is currently serving as VP for the Mid-Atlantic on the national board of J Street U, and was proud to be a member of the Hatikvah Slate for the 2025 World Zionist Congress Elections.



By Peter Eisenstadt

I like to call it Eisenstadt's Law, viz., "possible solutions for political problems tend to increase in inverse proportion to the likelihood that any of them have any likelihood of being realized." There are situations in which possible remedies for current political difficulties proliferate precisely because none of the alternatives have a realistic chance of being achieved or implemented. If there is no obvious way forward there are only detours. For every option, it is easier to make the case for its likely failure than its probable success. For those who wish to see a just and equitable resolution, the Israel-Palestine conflict, for decades, has been a classic example of Eisenstadt's Law.

In the aftermath, or the apparent aftermath, of the horrible Gaza War, there are, as after every war, many proposals for what to do next. Sara Roy, writing in the *New York Review of Books* in late October, counted 29 such plans, and no doubt their numbers have only increased since.¹ It has always struck me as bit perverse, though certainly understandable, that in the immediate aftermath of a war, the bloodier the better, all talk turns to peace, as if the combatants have finally learned their lessons, and this war, unlike the last war or the war before that one, will at last be the war that ends all wars. Our Nebuchadnezzar, our Ozymandias said after the cease fire agreement between Israel and Hamas that the "Middle East will finally have peace after 3000 years, a very strong peace, an everlasting peace." This will not happen. I have absolutely no brief for Hamas, but a cease-fire agreement in which one side has been creditably accused of committing genocide, though it's the other side that is required to do the disarming, is probably not an agreement that

is destined to be very long lasting. That said, we all know that in the aftermath of the Gaza War, there is no possible return to the *status quo ante bellum*.

History rarely provides unambiguous lessons for the future, telling us what is to be done. Sometimes though, it can provide useful instruction on what should not to be done. In this regard, Hussein Agha and Robert Malley's terrific new book, *Tomorrow is Yesterday: Life, Death, and the Pursuit of Peace in Israel/Palestine*, a history of Oslo and post-Oslo Israel-Palestine, outlines thirty years of abject and catastrophic failure. They have sterling credentials. Hussein Agha, of Lebanese background, was an informal advisor to Yasser Arafat and the PLO and taught for many years at St. Anthony's College, Oxford. Robert Malley was an advisor on Middle East and Iranian affairs to the Clinton, Obama, and Biden administrations. This is not really one of those "in-the-room-where-it-happens" books, providing a blow-by-blow history of negotiations, though it does have delicious portraits of some of the major players. Of Arafat they say he "managed to obtain his people's trust even though they saw through his deceit and got them to swear by him even though as they knew full well he was a liar and a cheat." But it was his genius, if you want to call it that, that he "was able to transform the two-state solution from an act of betrayal and high treason to what most of his people for a time came to see as the pinnacle of their national struggle." And they also interacted with Ehud Barak at Taba, with his "generous view of himself and resolve to quiet any hint of blame" for any of his actions.

But as I said, the book is not really about personalities. The main problem with post-Oslo talks was not the negotiators, but what the negotiations were attempting to achieve. After the recent ceasefire was

¹ Sara Roy, "What 'Day After' for Gaza?" *New York Review of Books*, 25 October, 2025.

announced, Agha and Malley were asked about the future of Israel and Palestine by Ezra Klein in the *New York Times*. Malley replied:

The best advice, I guess, is what you're referring to, which is what not to do and not to replicate the ways of the past—which I think they're unlikely to do in any event — but not to simply decide, as we see some people doing, jumping to the next shiny object, which is: Let's try to revive the two-state solution. Let's try to revive negotiations between the two sides.

It hasn't worked, and it hasn't worked for 30 years under much, much more auspicious circumstances than we see today. So we have to discard all of the formulas, all of the plans that people may come up with, however tempting they may be. And, in the case of the two-state solution and the pursuit of peace, it's not a couple of mishaps. It's decade after decade after decade—not just of mishap but of failures that have led to the catastrophe, the horrors of Oct. 7, and of what followed.

Tomorrow is Yesterday is an extended argument against the two-state solution, which has been the goal of every US administration since Carter, though the words weren't officially used till 2002, which was one of the problems. The argument goes something like this: "There are two peoples on the land of historic Palestine. They obviously despise one another. The only sensible thing to do is to divide the land, and send the squabbling parties to their respective corners." Its advocates think it the only plausible way forward, and anyone who challenges it is illogical, either a quixotic utopian or an overemotional partisan of one side or another. If administered fairly, with a strong hand, everyone will come to see the wisdom in doing this.

Agha and Malley are not that interested in some of the obvious arguments against two states. There is no clear place to put a Palestinian state, with Gaza a rubble-strewn charnel house and newly partitioned, and the West Bank a settler-infested battle ground. Partitions, when the enmity is great, almost never

work, with Ireland, India, and the UN's partition plan for Palestine as examples. Almost all versions of the two-state solution have a built-in pro-Israel bias, in which Palestinians have to foreswear most of historic Palestine, and Israel would only have to discard part of their gains from 1967—easier said than done, I know—and could remain a Jewish state. No, their objections to the two-state solution are more fundamental. Neither Israelis nor Palestinians like it, want it, nor are willing to sacrifice to see it realized. It is a cartographic solution, viewing the Israel-Palestine conflict simply "as a territorial spat, the challenge as one of drawing lines on a map. This did not reflect the reality, feelings, and yearnings of all those upon whom this construct was imposed." It ignores history and its resonances. "Israelis want genuine acceptance and normalcy," and permanent security. Palestinians want "justice, redemption and dignity" and freedom from Israeli domination, and the two-state solution grants neither side what they really want.

Agha told Klein why, though they support the idea of Palestinian sovereignty, the two state solution, as it is usually conceived, is unworkable

The first thing you have to do is you have to completely forget about reason and rationality when you deal with this region. The Western ways of doing things do not hold, and they have no resonance among the inhabitants of this part of the world.

It's messy, and you have to be ready for this messiness by not trying to straitjacket it into neat resolutions because the resolutions are neat in your mind. In the nature of the reality of this region, you have to look for clarity in the confusion and not deny the confusion and not believe that there are simple quick fixes to the problem you are facing.²

Agha writes that he often found that those on the Israeli left, two-state solution backers, "tended to celebrate

² Ezra Klein, "Two Middle East Negotiators Assess Trump's Israel-Hamas Deal," *New York Times*, 17 October, 2025.

fictitious Palestinians whom they imagined content at the thought of recovering 22 percent [of Mandatory Palestine], giving up the rights of refugees, ready to bury the 1948 conflict for the sake of addressing the consequences of the 1967 war.” For him, “along with many Palestinians, what the Left considered praise was indistinguishable from contempt, a belittling of their national cause. They appeared arrogant, condescending, a touch racist.” That is, “they know what is good for them. They know what is good for you...there is nothing left for you to do but to agree and accept their prescriptions.” Instead he had a “predilection for dealing with right-wing Israelis, whom he found more genuine in their attachment to the land, and, therefore, in what is not a paradox, more understanding of the Palestinians’ similar feeling.” They knew a line on a map was incapable of changing the connection of either people to their land. They understood the deep emotional connection of both peoples to the land.

Palestinian and Israeli emotions are at the heart of Agha and Malley’s book. It is not that they are irrational, but that they create their own structures of rationality. *Tomorrow is Yesterday* does not consider this, but the study of the history of emotions has been subject of considerable interest to historians in recent decades. Barbara Rosenwein has popularized the idea of “emotional communities,” the idea that all communities are in part held together by the emotions they encourage and the emotions they discourage, and that this changes over time.³ One related work much influenced by Rosenwein and the history of emotions scholarship is Derek Penslar’s recent excellent history of Zionism, *Zionism: An Emotional State*, which analyzes it from the perspective of its emotional resonances and transformations.⁴ Surely, in its earliest

phases Zionism was little more than an emotion in search of a homeland. Penslar traces the emotional evolution of Zionism from Herzl to Netanyahu.

Israel and Palestine have distinct emotional communities comprised of many contending emotional sub-communities. The question of how October 7 and the Gaza War have changed the emotional realities of Israel and Palestine is a topic that should interest us all. For some Israelis the Gaza War has intensified emotions of guilt, shame, and anger at Israeli conduct; for others it has magnified an underlying hatred of Palestinians. Among Palestinians there is a similar emotional bifurcation with complex attitudes to Hamas, and hatred of Israel is mingled with a desperate search for a normal life.

For Agha and Malley, the two-state solution ignores, violates, and exacerbates the emotional realities and hostilities of both peoples. “Deep down most Palestinians, though ready to accept Israel’s existence, have not accepted its historical legitimacy, and though supportive of cease-fires and peace agreements, they have not relinquished the right to fight for their land or to return to it.” The right of return remains central to Palestinian aspirations for the future.

For Palestinians any state that does not include the right to return to the land they lost in 1948 would always be just a stopgap, an intermediate and impermanent solution. But Israel would view any creation of a Palestinian state with its powers and boundaries as final, an ultimate, maximum concession, though Palestinians would treat everything about the new state as merely provisional, and would continue to push for a better deal in the future. No one would be satisfied. And a weak, demilitarized Palestinian state, rather than bringing stability, is a recipe for perpetual war of one sort or another. (Perhaps the best way for a Palestinian state to have something approaching a stable, if frozen, peace with Israel would be if Israel gave the new Palestinian state half of its nuclear arsenal.) Short of this impossible-to-happen circumstance, the strength of Israel and the weakness of any Palestinian state will

³For an overview of the idea of emotional communities, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1–31.

⁴Derek Penslar, *Zionism: An Emotional State* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2023)

always undermine the stability of any arrangement between them.

The arguments against a two-state solution in *Tomorrow is Yesterday* are extremely persuasive, however, the book does not avoid a corollary to Eisenstadt's Law, namely, that the last chapter of any book on the Israel-Palestine conflict is almost always the weakest, because in the final chapter, after analyzing current problems and criticizing other ideas on how to deal with the situation, the authors finally have to get around to presenting their solutions. And like everybody else's ideas, they come up short. Agha and Malley's suggestions, offered with appropriate caution and reservation, include decentralization with greater opportunities for Palestinian self-government within Israel's overall control, a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, Palestinian-Israeli confederation, and bi-nationalism; all ideas that have been suggested in the past, and all of which have their plusses and minuses. Compared to them, the two-state solution is no more implausible than these suggestions. There has never been a time since 1948 when Jewish/Palestinian cooperation seemed more unlikely and more likely to fail, when both peoples want, more than anything else, some sort of separation. Two states is the worst possible future for Israel and Palestine, except perhaps for all the others.

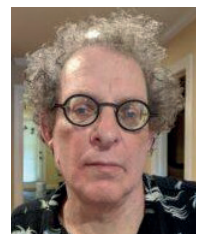
And perhaps the real target of Agha and Malley is not the two-state solution as such, but what might be called solutionism; the idea that somehow, somewhere, there is a neatly wrapped solution waiting to be discovered, if only persons of wisdom really put on their thinking caps. Perhaps egged on by a glory-whoring American president seeking improbable reinvention as a peacemaker, there can be a resolution of the conflict that can be found in a conference, a boundary, or an agreement. But from messy emotions come messy solutions. In the words of Immanuel Kant, out of the crooked timber of humanity, no straight thing was ever made. Or in the words of the late Dusty Springfield, all those who wish to see a better world for Israel and Palestine must partake in the politics

of "wishin' and hopin' and thinkin' and prayin' and plannin' and dreamin'."

Agha and Malley suggest that the messy way forward is to pay close attention to the overlapping emotional communities of Israelis and Palestinians. Let them jointly agree to try to tackle the most stubborn and powerful emotion of them all, fear, and its close relative, hate. In an adversarial relationship, the best way to reduce your own fear is to address the fears of your adversary. Perhaps there can be, somewhere on the far distant horizon, a Grand Bargain in which Israelis recognize that what Palestinians want most is not to be excluded from their homeland, along with fear of Israeli domination and arbitrary treatment, and what Israelis want is real security, leading to some sort of confederation; that is, to work with, and not against the basic emotional needs of both peoples. People and peoples can grow only if their essential emotional structures are respected.

Tomorrow is Yesterday has a number of apt and unhackneyed epigraphs for its chapters. Let me close with two of them. Perhaps someday both peoples will recognize that in the words of the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa, "the feelings that hurt the most, the emotions that sting most, are those that are absurd, the longing for impossible things." And if they acknowledge impossible emotions, perhaps they will allow themselves to find a future unconstrained by artificial boundaries or restraints, and finally refute Eisenstadt's Law. This will have to be a new kind of story or narrative, perhaps like the story suggested by the great director, Jean-Luc Godard. "A story should have a beginning, a middle, and an end, but not necessarily in that order."

Peter Eisenstadt is a member of the board of Partners for Progressive Israel and the author of Against the Hounds of Hell: A Biography of Howard Thurman (University of Virginia, 2021).



Renew, Include, Build: The Challenges of Progressive Zionism

FROM OUR MOVEMENT

By Mariana Temido Cohen

Secretary General of the Union of Progressive Zionists

The 2025 Zionist Congress took place in Jerusalem in October. It was an enormous event, and the investment required to make it happen was proportional to its scale.

The question that remains for me is: what happens, and how proportional is the investment that world unions make in each of their diaspora communities during the four years in which the Congress does not take place?

The rules of the Zionist Congress have changed. What was once a body in which, many times, the representation of world unions was resolved through agreements within each country is now defined by intense elections held in nearly 30 countries during 2025.

The entry of the far right into these elections shifted the entire structure, and 2025 was marked by disputes and by efforts to explain and make the elections relevant and meaningful to voters.

The vast majority of Jews around the world do not fully understand the role of the World Zionist Organization nor how much it can influence their lives.

Now, with the goal of involving more people and allocating resources effectively in places where we can truly transform structures, it is our responsibility—as the UPZ (Union of Progressive Zionists, formerly the World Union of Meretz)—to make a difference: to connect the results of the Congress, held every five years, with people's everyday lives.

There is a reason why so many people do not understand the details of the Congress, the formation of the World Zionist Organization, and the electoral rules in their countries.

The entire structure is complex and written in legal language, not by accident, but with the intention of limiting access to information and preventing more people from participating in the political system to which we belong.

Our duty is to understand the rules of the game we are playing and to democratize that information, occupying the space of the WZO.

In 2025, we learned how to run elections based on its constitution and, likewise, how to conduct ourselves within the Congress. Becoming familiar with this language is extremely important.

Helping our voters understand where their vote goes is part of this process: being able to explain where our resources are directed, what it means to have representation within the Zionist Federation in each country, and how a vote for the UPZ truly influences the life of any Jew anywhere in the world.

In 2020, the UPZ held 24 mandates (18 in the diaspora and 6 in Israel), and in 2025, I can say that after much work alongside each community and attending to their needs, we achieved—together with thousands of voters—29 mandates (23 in the diaspora and 3 in Israel).

Our electoral result represents a historic milestone within world Zionist politics—and also within Israeli politics.

The results in the Congress were exceptional: we managed to approve all the resolutions that were relevant to us and to prevent the far right from approving theirs, which only cause harm to Israel.

The election results were spectacular for us, and they can be even better.

Over the last year, we saw that there is enormous potential for growth.

The main question now is: who will the UPZ be from now until the next Congress, five years from now?

As the UPZ, we have the responsibility to build and strengthen a narrative within our communities, so that people like us have a place—a space of belonging and activism—in tune with their beliefs about Zionism, Judaism, and politics in general.

We need to be the space that publishes news and opinions about Israel, while at the same time understanding the complexity the country faces today, beyond hasbara work.

We must be the institution to which people turn to read information that usually does not reach them because it is not translated from Hebrew—and that enables them to connect with Israel, to criticize, and to know that there are spaces to transform what is happening in practice.

Beyond that, we must incorporate diversity into the voices within the WZO: people beyond the conventional ones, beyond those who have represented our Jewish communities over the last decade and who do not want others to transform communal politics.

At this Congress, we had a delegation composed of 46% women and also a significant number of young people, with the intention of bringing new voices into the WZO.

We must continue working to empower youth and ensure that debate within the Zionist world is no longer exclusively male, white, and privileged. That time has long passed.

Over the next five years, our work will be to create and strengthen adult communities based on the ideas of progressive Zionism and humanistic Judaism, with a left-wing political perspective.

To create communities in which people with this identity feel they have a home, their own space.

We want to offer our communities spaces where they can celebrate their complex Jewish identity, where we can celebrate our Judaism with a perspective centered on human beings, on community, and on the changes they want to see in the world.

We take on the responsibility of creating spaces for connection with Israel and with progressive Zionism within the community: spaces for political debate, Hebrew learning, celebration, and knowledge of Israeli culture—its authors, cuisine, and cinema.

Today we are in the process of continuing to strengthen our structures, which proved essential for each Jewish community during the elections, and we want to increasingly understand what is missing in each city and how we can create the home of progressive Zionism.

We invite you to stay in touch with us to make this possible.

לא עייפי דרך כי אם מפלסי נתיב

Not those who tire along the way, but those who pave new paths.

Mariana Temido Cohen was born in Rio de Janeiro and holds a law degree from Rio de Janeiro. She completed a master's degree in Public Policy and Economics at Tel Aviv University. A member of Hashomer Hatzair since the age of eight, she made Aliyah five years ago and now lives in Israel. She is active in global Hashomer Hatzair and UPZ leadership spaces and was recently elected Secretary General.



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