



A Land for All
Two States One Homeland

**A Land
for All**

**2023 A Year
of Pain and
Opportunity**



Left: Dr. Rula Hardal; right: May Pundak

A Message from our Executive Directors

When reviewing the year past, it is customary to proceed chronologically, moving from beginning to end. The year 2023, however, was no ordinary year, and we cannot discuss its start before addressing its conclusion.

The last three months of 2023 were difficult and painful. It is almost as if, starting October 7, the history of the entire Israeli-Palestinian conflict is being rewritten. Indeed, since 1948, Jews and Palestinians have not descended into the current depths of murderousness, violence, and a desire to destroy the other side. But this nadir can also open a window of opportunity. The status quo collapsed on October 7, and it is our responsibility to emerge from its ruins and set out on a new path forward.

We are writing to you, our friends and allies, to tell you unequivocally that we are working to promote such a political solution every day of the year—in wartime as well as when the guns are silent. On October 7, the concept of “managing the conflict” fell apart, but the idea that there is a military solution to the conflict cannot be sustained either. Only a political solution can bring the conflict to a close.

We at A Land for All (ALFA) have a relevant political vision, which Palestinians and Israelis have been building together for more than a decade: Our political solution is pragmatic, but it is also inspirational, and can transform our reality and create a better future for all those who live in this land.

It's easy to forget that we began 2023 with mass protests against the Netanyahu government's effort to subvert the judiciary and other democratic structures. Many members of our movement took part in these protests, including under the umbrella of the Anti-Occupation Bloc. Together, we reminded everyone that true democracy cannot be limited to the Jewish community living within the Green Line, and that true democracy cannot exist as long as occupation and a regime based on Jewish supremacy do, too. We know that what starts in Huwara in the West Bank will eventually make its way to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv as well.

Throughout 2023, we worked on various fronts: We increased our presence on both traditional and social media; we met with Palestinian, Israeli, and international leaders and key figures; we presented our ideas via lectures, webinars, books, and articles. Our extensive activities are detailed below.

Alongside our expanding activity, the movement grew internally, too. We embarked on a journey in which we obliged ourselves to “walk the talk” by giving our movement a joint and egalitarian structure. We began to operate as co-executive directors—one Palestinian and one Israeli. During the early days of the war, we established an egalitarian Palestinian–Israeli Joint Board of Directors, an incredibly promising development about which you can read more further below. The Joint Board held its first meeting on October 10, a mere three days after the war began - a testament to the ability of an equal Israeli–Palestinian partnership, one based on both common and unique interests, to survive and even grow stronger at a time of crisis.

ALFA is continuing to deepen the foundations of our Palestinian–Israeli partnership. For us, partnership is more than just a vision: It’s a course of action and a compass for reading and navigating the political reality.

We are entering 2024 stronger, because our partnership is becoming more equitable, more profound.

Equipped with this solid infrastructure, we plan to expand our movement’s impact in the coming year by increasing our activity in different spheres: Top-down via policy development and continuing to translate ALFA’s vision into practical proposals, and bottom-up by investing in the upbuilding of the ALFA community and creating opportunities for more individuals and groups to be involved in developing the conceptual and practical aspects of our vision - all in order to ensure that this truly will be a land for us all.

With warmest wishes for a new year that is better than the one gone by,

Dr. Rula Hardal

May Pundak



A few words from the Heads of our Joint Board of Directors



Left: Dr. Limor Yehuda; Right: Professor Omar Dajani

In September 2023, A Land For All (ALFA) constituted its first formal Joint Board. The Joint Board is ALFA's primary forum for discussing strategic and policy questions, providing support and oversight to the executive team. The decision to establish the Board, more than a decade after ALFA members first started meeting, was animated not only by the organization's growth, but also by our conviction that our structure must be consistent with our vision. Comprised of Israelis and Palestinians from across the shared homeland - inside the green line and beyond it- the 14-member Board is a reflection of ALFA's commitment to equal partnership—and a vindication of it. When news of the October 7 massacre reached us, we took the decision to convene and advance our first Joint Board meeting, on October 10. In the prevailing climate of shock, we were uncertain how the meeting would go, our apprehension deepening when Israel commenced its air assault on Gaza.

But when we met, what Board members expressed to one another was sympathy, solidarity, and the conviction that advancing the vision of ALFA was more imperative than ever.

What continues to bind us together is the values we share and the painstaking effort we have invested in reaching an agreement on a set of principles that can guide our future work together. In 2024, the work of the Joint Board will focus on three primary areas: (1) strengthening the movement's internal organization and governance processes; (2) identifying means of broadening participation in the movement among persons of influence; and (3) developing medium-term and long-term capacity for policy research and development.

*Dr. Limor Yehuda and Professor Omar Dajani,
Heads of the Joint Board of Directors*

Our 2023 Achievements

Policy

We have engaged with Palestinian, Israeli, and foreign policymakers; conducted extensive lobbying activities through collaborating with senior political figures in the United States and Europe - including EU representatives, and local politicians in key positions; became central players by participating in strategic discussions with leading civil and political actors worldwide.

Structural Strength

We established a 14-member Joint Board of Directors consisting of 7 Palestinians and 7 Israelis, including Palestinian citizens of Israel.

Public Lectures

We held hundreds of lectures addressing Israeli, Palestinian, and international audiences. Additionally, we engaged with groups within educational institutions and organized a tour of the South Mount Hebron Hills for A Land for All (ALFA) members. Furthermore, we were invited and participated in several international conferences, including J Street's annual conference. Notably, we also took part in the Van Leer Institute's first and historic conference, "Partnership-Based Peace," which created a framework for Israeli and Palestinian researchers and experts worldwide to connect utilizing the partnership paradigm as an alternative to the separation paradigm.

Special Events

Once again, we led the traditional ALFA Debate Week, which grows each year. This year's program, with over 1000 participants, hosted top researchers, politicians, and activists in the field, featured public panels on Israel-Palestine relations. The main event was held in collaboration with Haaretz newspaper. At the onset of the war, we organized several Zoom events attended by over 1,000 people to bolster hope and foster discourse supporting a political solution.

Traditional media

We increased our media presence through dozens of publications, ranging from op-eds to interviews, across media platforms in Israel, Palestine, and throughout the world.

Social Media

In addition to our consistent work on Facebook and Twitter, we launched an Arabic-Hebrew Instagram account and an English account to reach younger audiences. Furthermore, we expanded our work on WhatsApp and created several update groups that grow by the hundreds each month.

Influential Groups

We initiated meetings with hundreds of key figures worldwide, including academics, clerics, activists, and heads of organizations.

Photo: David Bachar





Dr. Assaf David, Photo: Bosmat Ibi

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The events of October 7 marked a significant setback in the already fragile relations between Jews and Arabs, Palestinians and Israelis living between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. The most plausible scenarios include ongoing conflicts, suffering, and terror, with diminishing prospects for equality and peace. Israel, driven by security concerns, is unlikely to permit any Palestinian self-rule that enjoys contiguous territory with Arab states, and will advance, at best, autonomous enclaves closely tied to Israeli territory. Therefore, October 7 appears to intensify Palestinian dependence on Israel.

The opponents of a just solution on both sides propose seizing the entire land and expelling or subjugating the other side. **Proponents of a just solution should offer, therefore, an alternative, in the spirit of A Land for All's vision: a confederal two-states solution in a shared homeland, in which both peoples live together, alongside each other and with each other, while actively rejecting destructive alternatives.** The destinies of Israel, Palestine, and their people are forever interwoven.

Dr. Assaf David, member of the Board of Directors of A Land for All

In recent months, we have been experiencing a calamity, the likes of which we had never before known. All segments of the Israeli and Palestinian communities have been valiantly endeavoring to cope with the severe trauma of October 7 and the subsequent days, with the unbearable grief and pain, and with the stress and anxiety over the lives of our abducted loved-ones. The grief, pain, stress, and anxiety are shared by us all - Jews and Arabs alike. **We have realized during this period the deeper meaning of common destiny - we live together and get killed together, save lives together and are wounded together, work shoulder to shoulder and never give up on each other. This place is a home to all of us.**

I was at work that bloody Saturday, a doctor in the ER of Soroka Hospital in Beersheba. Alongside the screams of the wounded and the weeping for those no longer with us, I found there a great deal of compassion and love as well. Everyone was there - young people from all over the land, tourists from other countries, Bedouins from the surrounding villages, foreign workers. The hospital staff was diverse, too, and what united us was a sense of mission, of our obligation to do our share. At that moment, it dawned on me - the conflict isn't between Arabs and Jews, nor between Israelis and Palestinians; it's between those who believe violence is the answer and those who believe in humanity and a shared existence. It's time to start telling a new story, and that's what we're trying to do here at A Land for All.

*Dr. Yasmeeen Abu Fraiha, member of
A Land for All's General Assembly*



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Avi Dabush

On October 7, the sky came crashing down upon us. Thirty-six hours in a safe room under terrorist attack. **But we will lift that sky back up again.** We can do so. We will insist on human dignity and human rights anywhere and everywhere. We'll insist on marking out a hopeful vision for the future, because without that what chance is there? Giving up on the values of peace and fraternity means giving up on life itself in the Middle East, and none of us wants to give up on living here.

My family came here from Libya and Syria, and they dreamt of Shechem (now Nablus), of Hebron, of Jerusalem. The Palestinians continue to dream of Jaffa, Haifa, and Majdal (now Ashkelon). **A common fate has put us all here together.** So instead of thinking in terms of "Jews vs. Arabs", we need to work as a coalition of peace-seekers and believers in human dignity who love our shared homeland and who recognize that we all belong to and in this homeland. For me, that coalition is A Land for All.

*Avi Dabush, member of
A Land for All's General Assembly*

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It's an arduous journey, emotionally and politically, personally and collectively, but it is one less painful than that of continued warfare and conflict. Of this I am certain, and it is why I'm here.

Our work this past year was extensive and wide-ranging, and no summary, good and comprehensive though it might be, can truly reflect everything that we accomplished. Although I assumed the position of Palestinian co-executive director of ALFA only toward year's end, I have been active in the movement for more than two years, first as a member of the General Assembly and then joining the Joint Board. In a way, I neither wish to, nor can, sum up 2023's activity because in many respects we are still living it.

The events of October 7 and the war in Gaza are historic developments in terms of the relations between Israelis and Palestinians. They will continue to accompany us in the new year and in the years to come, continuing to shape our present and future, as well as the emotions each of us feels, Palestinians and Israelis alike, on both the personal and collective-national levels, and from both a moral and political perspective. **What happened in 2023 will continue to be with us and will mold our activity at ALFA, in terms of both our strategy and the determination and urgency we feel to broaden and deepen our work.**

I pen these words on Day 90 of the war, with the horrifying knowledge that at this very moment there are Palestinian children, women, and men in Gaza whose lives have been and are being lost, and others who have lost everything they have. Above all I'm struck with shock and sadness that right now in Gaza, in 2024, children are going hungry. At the same time, I don't forget that there are thousands of Israelis in the country's south who have lost their lives, their loved ones, and their homes and are endeavoring to carry on amid loss and bereavement.

Our reality over recent months has been harsh and painful, and the same can be said of our emotions. Difficult feelings of pain, fear, frustration, hatred, insecurity, and mutual mistrust are what have been shaping the state of being that all of us, Palestinians and Israelis alike, are experiencing here. Unfortunately, the majority of both peoples are getting themselves mentally prepared for dark years of ongoing violence that are liable to be at our doorstep. Notwithstanding this grim reality, we have the capacity, even the obligation, to imagine a different future. Are we capable of contemplating a different future and imagining another reality? I know the answer is complex, but I believe that, for just a moment, despite our troubled feelings, we can all imagine a better, more equitable future, one without killing, suffering, and violence. **If we, Palestinians and Israelis, at ALFA are able to imagine such a scenario, then surely many others can, too.** It's an arduous journey, emotionally and politically, personally and collectively, but it is one less painful than that of continued warfare and conflict. Of this I am certain, and it is why I'm here.

*Dr. Rula Hardal,
Palestinian executive director of A Land for All*

It's hard to find the right words to sum up our 2023. Marking the year's end feels almost irrelevant amid the mire of space and time in which we find ourselves. But this moment can be viewed as an opportunity to take a deep breath and examine what we might learn and what we can wish for.

The situation today is extremely difficult and frightening. The trauma and existential fear that arose on October 7 are with us everywhere we go. I'm scared and in pain. I'm afraid for my children, afraid for the children of Gaza, afraid for the hostages. I'm scared to ride the bus, and scared about the decline of democracy within Israel—the violence, the silencing of dissent, the persecution, the growing number of guns on the streets, questions of freedom of expression and movement. But I keep fighting, because I have no other home. I know that more death in Gaza, more killing and trauma, will never bring me true security. The only thing that will give me a safe and secure life, a better future, is a political solution. This is what we, Israelis and Egyptians, did in 1973. This is what we must now do in 2023.

**Everything is interconnected.
No wall or fence will stop that.
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We mustn't look away from what's happening in Gaza, first of all because we are members of the human race: human suffering, which leads only to more violence and not to any "victory photo", needs to end. But what we learned on October 7, a lesson that our society is continually trying to get us to forget, is that we are directly impacted by what happens in Gaza, and indeed wherever Palestinians live.

All our futures are intertwined. The disempowering of the High Court of Justice and anti-Palestinian legislation; Gaza's sewage that spills into the Mediterranean Sea and is likely to fast reach the beaches of Ashkelon and Tel Aviv; diseases that spread in the absence of water and basic humanitarian conditions—everything is interconnected. No wall or fence will stop that.

We need to wake up, snap out of the mirage that Israel can put the Palestinians behind a wall or under occupation and think that it's dealing with the problem. Because the problem isn't the Palestinians, the problem is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The conflict must and can be ended. And we at ALFA have a solution, a vision, and practical ideas on how to get there. **We invite you to be part of the future, part of the solution.**

*May Pundak,
Israeli executive director of A Land for All*

Support Our Vision and Make it a Reality

A Land for All (ALFA) exists and thrives thanks to the individuals who support and participate in its work.

To ensure our continued growth and to expand our impact, we invite you to become an ALFA member by joining the movement's various forums and making a monthly or one-time donation, regardless of its size.

Your donations enable us to:

Establish a Public Engagement Department, which will strengthen the ALFA community through our support of a grass-roots Israeli-Palestinian movement for peace.

Amplify the impact on policymakers in Israel, Palestine, and worldwide through research and the creation of policy documents.

Strengthening organizational mechanisms to ensure that the committed, though still delicate, Israeli-Palestinian partnership in the movement is both resilient and sustainable.



Explore Ways to Support ALFA Through Donations

All donations are tax-deductible in the US and the UK, and you will receive a receipt for your donation.

Online donations

You can donate any amount, in any currency, either as a one-time donation or on a monthly basis through ALFA's [website](#).

Bank transfer

If you would like to arrange for a bank transfer or to make a gift through NIF in another country, or for any other inquiries or requests, please contact us at info@alandforall.org

Check (U.S. and U.K. tax deductible)

Checks in U.S. dollars should be made out to "America Gives" and mail to: America Gives, 228 Park Ave S #71410, New York, New York 10003-1502 (with our charity's ID number - 580598720 - in the "memo" section of the check or an attached letter)

Through the New Israel Fund - Checks (of \$100 or more) should be made payable to "New Israel Fund" and mailed to: New Israel Fund, PO Box 70358, Philadelphia, PA 19176-0358. Please write "donor-advised to A Land for All" in the check memo/cover note/ both.

Stay updated on the movement's activities by joining our [WhatsApp](#) group and subscribing to our [newsletter](#).

Deepen your connection with the movement and participate in spreading ALFA vision by following us on [social media](#).

Gratitude

Recapping the past year as a movement would be incomplete without extending heartfelt gratitude to the individuals who lead our movement forward.

Thank you to our generous donors - your support is the cornerstone of A Land for All's continued existence and growth. Your commitment and partnership are invaluable.

Thank you to our dedicated team of valued employees working tirelessly around the clock to advance our cause. Thank you for your dedication and pursuit of excellence; special thanks to Maya Firon for her exceptional work promoting this report and to Romi Hefetz for her beautiful design.

Thank you to the Joint Board of Directors and the General Assembly members. Your contribution is instrumental in realizing ALFA's vision—you are the movement.

And a big thank you to Awni Al-Mashni and Meron Rapoport our co-founders

Thank you to all our supporters and ALFA members. Your support and commitment are deeply appreciated. You inspire us to persevere for a better future, even in challenging times.

Thank you to our Joint Board of Directors

Prof. Omar Dajani
Prof. Omar Youssef
Mr. A.A.
Mrs. E.J.
Mr. Sayel Jabareen
Mr. Noor Awwad
Dr. Limor Yehuda
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