



Gabr Fellows with Shafik Gabr, Gehan Gabr, Malak Gabr, Mohamed Ramzi and Moon Sulfab at iRicchi Restaurant in Washington DC, 21 December 2023

THE DUSK OF REASON

It was a delicious dinner at the Stanford Estate, about an hour north of London. The sumptuous dinner was hosted and organised by David Turnbull, a well-known philanthropist, global investor and writer.

The ground hall where the dinner took place had a 15-foot ceiling with a glass dome and wooden marquetry around it with multiple works of art. The long table seated about 36 guests. I could identify guests from America, Germany, China, Russia, Ukraine, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Algeria, Morocco, Iran, Bahrain and the UK. Some guests I could not identify, but they could have been from Turkey, Indonesia and Brazil. Each guest had a name card ahead of them with a country named below, but I could not read except for the cards of the persons sitting around me. David, at the end of the dinner, gave an insightful speech providing an overview of the state of the world both economically and politically. David's overview was a true tour de force: focused, practical, emotionless and both detailed and well-organised. All the guests listened intently. When David finished, clapping broke out. The person five seats away from me got up, identified himself as Wolfgang Lutz from Germany, a former Cabinet member, and said he was not certain how the Ukraine-Russia war would develop and the impact of the economic distortions it is causing.

The gentleman sitting beside me, Gabriel Santos from Brazil, whilst tapping the fingers of his right hand, muttered: "The US-Russia war, not Ukraine". A woman beside him touched his arm and suddenly got up. I peered to catch her name, but she said: "David, thank you for this excellent event as every year. For those who do not know me, I am Niamh McGwan from Ireland, and in brief, I want to predict that given what David has described as the state of the world, I see we are heading into the abyss with our leaderless, incompetent politicians."

Niamh, a tall redhead with long hair and a black dress had all the room's attention. As suddenly as she stood up, she sat again. David thanked her and suggested that we move to the Grand Salon for cigars, brandy and cognac - a British tradition. As we shuffled from the Grand Dining Room to the Grand Salon, we were welcomed with amazing portraits, chandeliers and pieces of exquisite art everywhere. Most of the art had plaques explaining the piece and introducing the artist. I noted as I walked across artists from Mongolia, South Africa, Chile, Sudan and much more. The group broke up. Some congregated around David, others were staring at the portraits, and another group was around the bar whilst a few sat in a corner, all drinking pink champagne and in a heated discussion.

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I approached a group of five people standing near a beautiful 19th-century fireplace. I introduced myself and was introduced to Yulia Petrova, a Ukrainian model living in Paris, and Alexander Orlov, a Russian banker living between Moscow and Zürich. Both Yulia and Alexander were 6 feet plus, she in a Prada dress and he in a dark double-breasted suit and a crimson tie. Beside them stood Salih Sait, a famous Turkish political writer and Jamila Saiid, an Algerian businesswoman in the energy business.

Alexander stressed that Russia would not rest until Ukraine accepted not to join NATO and to dismantle US military weapons aimed at Moscow. Yulia said Russia cannot dictate what Ukraine is to do. The argument went on as Salih attempted to find common ground between them.

Jamila spoke of the mistreatment of Russians in Ukraine and reminded Yulia that a missile from Ukraine can hit Moscow in 90 seconds. Yulia shook her head and almost walked away, but Salih said to Yulia: “Do you remember the Cuban crisis?” Salih explained in detail the history and how America refused to allow missiles from the USSR in Cuba 60 years ago when missile technology was easy to defend from, unlike now. Alexander added that Russia had no quarrel with Ukraine, but that this war killing Ukrainians and Russians is an American war to bleed Russia so America can focus on China. Yulia was not convinced and walked towards the bar with many eyes following her, and definitely not for political reasons. I crossed beyond a beautiful wooden table with multiple etchings and a large sculpture of bronze galloping horses to a group of seven people standing in a circle. I introduced myself, and there was an Indonesian businessman whose name I failed to catch, a Chinese man, Wang Fu Jin, the head of a think tank, and a Saudi, Mohammed Janahi, a wealthy government official who was talking in the billions. On my left was Tom Cotton, an American businessman who owns casinos in the US and abroad. To his right stood two ladies and a gentleman.

Susan Marie Pritchard, an American heiress with a significant portfolio of philanthropy in the medical field in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Zahra Mishriky, a Moroccan owner of a famous global brand of cosmetics, shampoos and skin treatment creams. I could not identify the last gentleman, who was quietly sipping his drink and staring away, seemingly uninterested. He looked Latin, but when I introduced myself, he shook hands but said nothing.

The conversation in this group was diversified. Jin and Cotton were bashing each other politely. Cotton complained about the Chinese stealing US technology, and Jin argued that sanctions against China, condemning the Belt and Road initiative and instigating conflict by igniting Ukraine, Taiwan and Israel are all roads to conflict.

Mishriky sided with Cotton and the Indonesian sided with Jin. Janahi remained neutral, and the silent person unexpectedly said: “We must eliminate the Palestinians, Hezbollah, Iran and North Korea so that we may be safe”. He added “We should not hesitate for a second; we need to eliminate these peoples by whatever means and start by eliminating all the Palestinians.”

His accent and wishes reflected that he must be an Israeli, which he admitted later as he explained he was a billionaire tech owner.

The air was strained and before I could respond, Susan Marie Pritchard said in a calm but focused and decisive voice: “Young man, you have a big chip on your shoulder, and your heart and mind are distorted.” She added: “If you are unable to live as a human being amongst people without being harmful, why don’t you and the likes of you move to the desert in Nevada and set up camp there away from the world you hate so much.” As the man whose name later I learnt was Efraim Havely took one step towards Susan, I stepped in between them and said: “All of us are entitled to our opinion although killing children and women is something all rational people would condemn and not condone.”

I turned and walked towards the group sitting and having the champagne. They were discussing the economy and how all the distortions, sanctions, supply chain problems, high cost of money, inflation and global debt are messing with the market and creating chaos.

One gentleman, obviously British, said that the world will slow down in 2024, a recession is coming, and that Britain exiting the EU was a big mistake.

It was another boring and depressing discussion. I spotted Philippe Rosenvallon, a well-known mining expert, an investor and a TV personality. I walked towards him.

We both exchanged pleasantries as we had not seen each other since the conference in Brussels last year, which focused on gold. I found that event a learning experience. I realized I knew little about gold and its present manifestations.

Philippe was not in a good mood. He explained that the Iranian stigma, the barbaric Hamas, Israel undertaking genocide, Ukraine fighting an unnecessary and losing war and Russia

sacrificing its military, Libya and Sudan disintegrating, China and America unable to coexist, Africa in turmoil, Morocco and Algeria in a silent war, Sierra Leone in chaos and much more, are all signs of a loss of leadership and reason. Philippe took a long sip of his drink, crossed his legs and reflected: “Is there any leadership considering poverty, climate, homelessness, lack of food, health, education... no.....spending on arms.... Yes..... encouraging war.... Yes..... destroying humanity..... yes.”

David joined us. He looked tired. It must have been exhausting entertaining 35 guests from around the world. As Philippe, David and I were discussing medical research and global medical cooperation, a subject we are all interested in, a young woman and a young gentleman approached. We stood up. The young lady was Professor Hannan Ismail, a Palestinian political scientist teaching in the UK and the occupied territories. The gentleman was a Singaporean owner of a chain of hotels, Lee Tong. We were shocked to learn that Hannan had just lost two of her cousins, 14 and 16 years old, in an Israeli indiscriminate bombing of Khan Younis units in Gaza. Hannan’s face was of stone, but her heart and mind were throbbing. She reaffirmed that the world has become barbaric from all sides, and our veins have ice as we watch America vetoing a ceasefire and urging Israel to minimise civilian casualties, a manner and policy that strips America of its morals, values and any voice in the arena of human rights.

Lee mentioned he sold his two hotels in Israel as there is no valid excuse to murder in cold blood over 6000 children.

I quietly interjected and said: “For two decades, I have been telling my Israeli and American friends that the permanent occupation, the checkpoints, the imprisonment of children for throwing rocks, the humiliation from the IDF and the settlers, the encroachment on the Palestinian religious sites and destruction of Palestinian property plus the open air Gaza prison is nothing but a disaster waiting to happen.”

Hannan responded: “And if Netanyahu believes this will wipe out Palestinian resistance, he is very mistaken. This will give birth to more rage and worse consequences regardless of how time passes.”

Philippe shuffled in his seat and said: “Now do you believe me that our global leaders have lost all reason? Not only have they lost all reason,” Philippe continued, “they are – the politicians – unable to see the need for grand design deal-making. The age of political step-by-step is dead.”

David asked: “Philippe, give us some real-life examples.” Philippe responded: “For Ukraine and Russia, the solution is a great design deal that consists of the following components:

- A ceasefire in place
- An exchange of prisoners
- Humanitarian aid to enter the areas of conflict.
- Russia to de-mine the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea and allow complete export of Ukrainian grain.
- US and EU to remove sanctions against Russia.
- EU to freeze Ukrainian entry into the EU for 10 years.
- Russia agrees to withdraw to 24th February 2022 lines provided Ukraine commits by global treaty not to join NATO and be totally neutral with no Western armament, training or intelligence and no Russian political interference.
- Russia and the US, Ukraine, EU etc. accept the results of a transparent, globally observed, legally binding referendum in the Donbas and Crimea to join Russia or Ukraine. This is to take place within 120 days of the ceasefire.
- The US and NATO freeze completely the expansion of NATO, and Russia commits to its legal boundaries and the results of the referendum.”

Hannan and Lee expressed interest. “This can be a framework,” David remarked. Hannan looked at Philippe and asked: “What about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?”

Philippe moved forward in his seat and said: “For Israel and the Palestinians, the reasonable solution is:

- Creating a demarcation line protected by UN multinational peace forces, south of Khan Younis. [He pulled out his phone with a map of Gaza (attached)].
- The area between the demarcation line and the Egyptian border will be a no-fly zone with no military activity, whilst Hamas would lay down its arms in that zone and allow for UN inspections, and Israel would stop its military operations beyond that point.

- Egypt would have access to provide humanitarian aid, medical supplies and human assistance (a significant number of large trucks from Egypt carrying humanitarian and medical aid remain at the border with Gaza, not being allowed in by Israel).

- Egypt would also receive the wounded; and women and children on a temporary basis.

- Immediate release of all hostages, provided Israel would commit to launching negotiations with the Palestinian authority, mediated by the US, Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, with the objective of reaching, in no longer than 6 months, a two-state solution, in which the Palestinian side would be:

- a. governed by Palestinians in its entirety – no outside power
- b. demilitarized
- c. economically supported for the first seven years

Philippe added: “None of what I said defies reason, none defies rationality, none defies wisdom, but with none of this, we will continue in the dark tunnel of chaos, and what will come will be worse.” He concluded: “What I presented is grand deal-making where not one party wins all, but it is in its core win-win. However, politicians don’t know how to do that.”

We stayed silent for a moment as Philippe stopped talking.

Servers came with canapés, we all declined, and other guests came to thank David and bid their goodbyes.

I got up, ready to leave, depressed that some of us could see a path to humanity whilst some leaders govern by their ego, political ideologies, power, money and dictatorial capabilities (a veto is a dictatorial tool) instead of pursuing a humane path.

M. Shafik Gabr



Sources: OpenStreetMap; United Nations - By The New York Times

FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

NEVEEN MOHAMED, 2017 FELLOW



2017 Gabr Fellow Neveen Mohamed received her PhD from the University of Ghent, Belgium, with the topic “Alternative pathways for independent workers’ success in the gig economy.”

In addition, Neveen is starting a new position as an Assistant Professor at the University.

JEREMY PESNER, 2022 FELLOW

2022 Gabr Fellow Jeremy Pesner recently received a certificate for completing the Center for AI and Digital Policy's AI policy clinic:

As part of the course, Jeremy contributed to the center's 2023 report on AI and Democratic Values. He collaborated with others to research and report on the latest actions taken by China in the AI policy space. The 2023 report will be out early next year.



STEPHANIE LORD, 2014 FELLOW

2014 Gabr Fellow Stephanie Lord is thrilled to introduce Alvin Julian Dossou Lord, born at home on Sunday, December 3rd at 1:54pm, weighing 6lbs 6oz and measuring 20 inches.

Alvin Julian is named after Stephanie's 2nd great grandfather on her father's side. The name Julian also honors her grandmother, Julia. Dossou is the Beninese name traditionally given to a boy following twins.



FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

LUKE WENZ, 2022 FELLOW



On December 2 of this year, 2022 Gabr Fellow Luke Wenz and Tori Tramp (now Tori Wenz) got married in Wahoo, Nebraska.

Luke and Tori got engaged in the month between the Egypt and US portion of the 2022 Gabr Fellowship.

SHEHAB FAROUK, 2014 FELLOW



2014 Gabr Fellow Shehab Farouk's recent article has been published with one of the most distinguished international organizations - the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators. In his article, Shehab provided a summary of the private dispute resolution landscape in the Sultanate of Oman.

To read the full article,

[CLICK HERE](#)



SUPPORT THE FOUNDATION

The Shafik Gabr Foundation invites you to invest in the future and partner with the Foundation using one or more of the following means:

Sponsor a Fellow - Individuals have the opportunity to nominate a Fellow and if selected, sponsor their participation in the Gabr Fellowship. Sponsors will be recognised in all Foundation publications, marketing materials, and at all events.

Corporate patron - Corporations can nominate Fellows for participation in the Fellowship Foundation and sponsor their participation on a company-wide level. The company will be listed in all publications, the logo will be presented on the Foundation's homepage and be given visibility at all events in the United States and Egypt.

Unrestricted support - A general operating grant can empower the Foundation to continue to invest in innovative platforms to facilitate ongoing dialogue between the East and West. From new technologies to expanding the programme to more countries and a greater number of participants, the Fellowship can create a broader multiregional impact.

To support the Foundation, visit

<https://www.eastwestdialogue.org/fellowship/how-to-support/> or

[CLICK HERE](#)



INTERVIEW WITH....

JUDSON MOORE, 2015 GABR FELLOW



2015 Gabr Fellow Judson Moore is a technical software product manager by trade and an entrepreneur by passion. His career path has taken him backstage of the music industry with artists such as Taylor Swift and ZZ Top, representing tech giants including eBay and booking.com, and to the boardroom as a partner at the Texas-based e-commerce and AI consulting boutique, ObjectIf Group. Judson is also a partner at iGive.com, helping nonprofits raise money when their supporters shop online. Judson's commitment to community stretches beyond the codebase, as demonstrated during his tenure as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Kyrgyzstan, and his lifelong activity with Rotary International. Judson currently resides in Berlin, Germany, where all Fellows are warmly welcomed to visit.

1) What are the 3 most important takeaways of your Gabr Fellowship experience?

- Authenticity is a gateway to trust-building, dialogue is a tool to be wielded in collaboration with others and not as a means to overshadow others' needs, and diversity is a super power when magnified.

2) Would you visit Egypt again?

- Absolutely! I spent most of the last year telling people that I intend not to spend another January in cold, gray, Berlin, and had thought I would spend that time instead in Egypt. Now that the time is near, I have to confess other life circumstances will hold me in Germany this winter, but I can't wait to visit the Grand Egyptian Museum next summer, and will take more precautions to assure a visit next January!

3) What can make Egypt-US bilateral relations stronger?

- Three key factors that can significantly strengthen Egypt-US bilateral relations include diplomatic engagement, economic and trade cooperation, and addressing regional and global challenges together. These elements are interwoven by the common thread of dialogue, which is crucial in building trust and understanding between nations. That's why the work of The Shafik Gabr Foundation, providing opportunities to enhance this dialogue, is a vital catalyst in improving Egypt-US bilateral relations. By promoting open and constructive communication, the foundation facilitates diplomacy, encourages economic partnerships, and aids in addressing shared global challenges. In an increasingly interconnected world, their efforts are instrumental in forging a more robust and harmonious relationship between Egypt and the United States.

4) Did the program in Egypt and the US bring new knowledge to you?

- Participating in the 2015 fellowship program was enriching to me on many levels. Of course there was a lot to learn and new information to absorb along the way. As a student of politics, I had researched a lot of modern history between the United States and Egypt but as the phrase goes: seeing is believing. Not to mention that sometimes you can't believe, or at least put all your faith, into anything that you read. Visiting Egypt, making Egyptian friends, speaking with Egyptian leaders, changemakers, and shopkeepers (especially them, since they were off-agenda), were all pathways to gain new knowledge. The same can be said for my time in my home country, the United States.

4) How would you describe the Gabr Fellowship program in three words?

- Creative, Collaborative, Diverse.

Gabr Fellows Meeting

Cairo, 20 November 2023



On 20 November 2023, at the invitation of the Chairman of the Shafik Gabr Foundation, M. Shafik Gabr, the Gabr Fellows met in Cairo at the ARTOC Headquarters.

The Fellows shared their latest achievements academically, socially and career-wise, as well as their plans for the future.

2015 Gabr Ahmad Radwan now has his own Improv group, and still teaches improv.

2015 Gabr Fellow Muhammad Nagi's company MQR recently merged with the GrEEK Campus. Muhammad also collaborated with 2017 Gabr Fellow Amr Seda at the British University in Egypt as well as with 2015 Gabr Fellow Ahmad Radwan to provide a theatre space at the GrEEK Campus for Ahmad to do his first show.

2016 Gabr Fellow Youssef El Toukhy finished his MBA at the University of Oxford and is deciding between two current job offers.

2017 Gabr Fellow Amr Seda has recently come back from the UAE, and shared that his university, the British University in Egypt, has been shortlisted as one of best Universities in the region for 3 projects he led.

2017 Gabr Fellow Ibrahim Hammouda is working on developing business opportunities with several companies.

2017 Gabr Fellow Sherif Soliman is continuing his MBA at the American University in Cairo, while also working full-time for Nestlé.

2018 Gabr Fellow Karim Sharkawy is currently working at Egypt's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, serving at the Policy Planning and Crisis Management Department.

2018 Gabr Fellow Marwa Abdalla is working on a new fiction movie, which is currently in pre-production and shooting soon.

2018 Gabr Fellow Soaad Hossam is currently preparing for her French bar exam.

2022 Gabr Fellow Assem Bolbol is currently running data analytics projects for government entities and private companies.

2022 Gabr Fellow Layla Galal recently completed her 6-month training at Egypt's Military Academy and has joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2022 Gabr Fellow Samer Kirolos's company Areeba is making success and moved from a 7-employee company to a 50-employee company in less than a year.

2022 Gabr Fellow Wessam Baher joined 2015 Gabr Fellow Ahmad Radwan in his Improv workshop; and he has also started a career coaching course.

The Fellows then had a stimulating debate on the current Gaza war and its regional and global consequences, as well as the upcoming US elections.

The meeting concluded with a general discussion on the state of investment in Egypt, the obstacles being faced and future opportunities for Egyptian economic development.

In attendance were:

Name	Year
Ahmad Radwan	2015
Muhammad Nagi	2015
Yasser El Zahar	2016
Youssef El Toukhy	2016
Amr Seda	2017
Ibrahim Hammouda	2017
Sherif Soliman	2017
Karim Sharkawy	2018
Marwa Abdalla	2018
Muhammad El Hawary	2018
Soaad Hossam	2018
Assem Bolbol	2022
Esraa Ramadan	2022
Layla Galal	2022
Samer Kirolos	2022
Wessam Baher	2022

Gabr Fellows Dinner

Washington DC, 21 December 2023

On Thursday, 21 December 2023, at the invitation of the Chairman of the Shafik Gabr Foundation, M. Shafik Gabr, the Gabr Fellows met in Washington DC, for dinner at iRicchi restaurant.



Gabr Fellows with Shafik Gabr, Gehan Gabr, Malak Gabr, Mohamed Ramzi and Moon Sulfab

M. Shafik Gabr and the Shafik Gabr Foundation have regularly held smaller and bigger events, dinners and receptions, in Washington DC and in Cairo, as a means to enable the Gabr Fellows to connect with one another, and to strengthen their network.

On 21 December 2023, The Shafik Gabr Foundation Christmas dinner took place at the iRicchi restaurant in Washington, DC, in a friendly, insightful and deeply thought-provoking environment, hosted by Chairman Shafik Gabr, his wife Mrs Gehan Gabr, and their daughter Malak Gabr.

Apart from some Fellows getting to meet each other for the first time, this was an opportunity for Fellows that already know each other, to reconnect and stay up-to-date with their personal and professional updates and achievements.

There were sixteen Fellows in attendance from all previous Fellowship years, who travelled from all over the United States. A special guest in attendance was Mr Moon Sulfab, Administrator of Information Technology at the office of Senator Mitch McConnell.

After the Chairman's welcome remarks, and a brief introduction from each of the Fellows, a discussion was opened about the Fellows' experience at the 2023 Gabr Fellowship Reunion that took place 28 April – 1 May 2023 in Cairo and Luxor, Egypt.

The Fellows that attended the Reunion expressed the rich experience of the Reunion, especially commending the fact that they had an opportunity to network with a large number of Fellows from other years (total of 61 Fellows in attendance), and were able to engage in deep and meaningful discussions during the trip. They also expressed significant admiration for the discussions that they had with, and insights gained from, the two Reunion speakers, Mr. Dale Buxton, a global investor and technology expert; and Mr. Sean Cleary, a seasoned diplomat who is Chairman of Strategic Concepts and Executive Vice-Chairman of the FutureWorld Foundation.

The word was then given to 2022 Fellow Jeremy Pesner, who presented his and 2022 Fellow Pascal Rathle's suggested action plan and ideas for the expansion of the Foundation. This was followed by a lively and insightful discussion on the future of the Fellowship, the different possible paths to follow for greater engagement of the Fellows, as well as future Reunion plans plus the 2024 US Presidential elections.

The meeting concluded with a broader geopolitical discussion on the present Israel-Palestine conflict and its political, economic and historic implications.

The Fellows also had the honour and great pleasure to meet the new-born baby of 2014 Gabr Fellow Stephanie Cate Lord and her husband Winston.

Overall, the evening was a great success for the Gabr Fellowship family, and, in the words of one of the Fellows, the energy in the room was electric, people were excited, and even challenging conversations were a testament of the Art of Dialogue in practice. Lastly, special thanks to Aleks Medic who organized the event.

Fellows in attendance were:

Name	Year
Alen Amini	2022
Alex Goldmark	2013
Allison Feikes	2018
Charles Truxal	2018
Christi Fallon	2013
Dan Sullivan	2013
Harley Adsit	2022
Hunter King	2017
Jeremy Pesner	2022
John Ryan	2016
Kathleen Hagan	2022
Leisel Bogan	2016
Michael Goff	2014
Mohamed Ismail	2015
Murray Abeles	2015
Stephanie Lord	2014



Gabr Fellows with Shafik Gabr, Gehan Gabr, Malak Gabr, Mohamed Ramzi and Moon Sulfab



2013 Gabr Fellows Dan Sullivan, Christi Fallon and Alex Goldmark



2014 Gabr Fellow Stephanie Lord with her son Alvin and Chairman Shafik Gabr

QUESTIONS OF THE MONTH: A PULSE OF THE GABR FELLOWSHIP COMMUNITY

As the Gabr Fellows enter into leadership roles—in business, diplomacy, government, finance, and more—they will continue to grapple with significant challenges, magnified by an increased pace in technological advancement, the potential for ramped up global inequalities, and changes in governance and economic structures. To better understand the pulse of the Gabr Fellowship community and to begin to articulate substantive dialogue, the Foundation polls the Fellows each month on the key issues facing their respective countries and the global community at large.

1.) Do you think there is still hope for a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine?

Yes - 45%

No - 45%

I don't know - 10%

2.) Do you think COP28 in Dubai will bring about concrete steps for solving the climate crisis?

Yes - 16%

No - 72%

I don't know - 12%

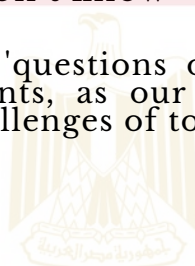
3.) Do you think 2024 in Egypt will see the continued rise of inflation?

Yes - 80%

No - 2%

I don't know - 18%

Stay tuned for next month's 'questions of the month' where the Gabr Fellows' take on current events, as our community of future leaders consider the most pressing challenges of today and tomorrow.



Please connect with the Foundation via email on newsletter@shafikgabrfoundation.org with your feedback, opinions and suggestions. We look forward to hearing from you.

Biden's resistance to cease-fire could alienate youth voters in 2024

By Dylan Wells
The Washington Post, 22 November 2023

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — University of Michigan senior Bhavani Iyer, 21, stayed in line to vote until 1 a.m. last November to help reelect Democratic Gov. Gretchen Whitmer and vote on a ballot measure to codify the right to abortion in the state.

The 21-year-old considers herself a Democrat, but sitting here on the Diag — an open area on the center of campus where students gather between classes and club meetings — she said she doesn't know if she will support President Biden's reelection bid next November. One of her top priorities is protecting access to abortion, but her disapproval of Biden's handling of the Israel-Gaza war and his decision not to call for a full cease-fire weighs just as heavily on her mind these days. "In past elections, I voted a straight ticket," said Iyer, who is now weighing third-party options but is still unsure whom she would support. "But in this one, I feel like it's probably not going to be that way."

Sitting on a concrete bench with friends Andrea Gonzalez and Humza Irfan last week as fellow students rushed through the campus hub, all three of the young, typically reliably blue voters expressed their own moral conflict about how to vote — or whether to vote at all — in next year's presidential contest. Gonzalez, a 19-year-old whose parents are immigrants, said that she feels a deep sense of responsibility to cast her vote in what will be her first time participating in a presidential election but that she is torn over what she feels is a lack of options.

While she feels disdain for former president Donald Trump and his years of controversial rhetoric toward women, immigrants and people of color, Biden's stance on the war makes it difficult to decide where she leans. And Irfan, 21, who said his enthusiasm for the incumbent president has been diminished by the war, noted the conflict has changed Biden's standing overall among Muslims, many of whom feel he has shown a lack of sympathy for Palestinian civilians. The uncertainty shared by the three friends is emblematic of the broader disapproval many young voters across the country have voiced over Biden's handling of the Israel-Gaza war. Gen Z and millennial voters — defined as those born from 1997 to 2012 and 1981 to 1996, respectively — have typically supported Democratic candidates, and young people were key to flipping swing states such as Michigan blue and securing Biden's win in 2020.

But conversations with more than a dozen students here underscore that Biden's handling of the war threatens to diminish enthusiasm for him among young voters ahead of the 2024 election, with many students and other young people divided on how they will use their vote and their organizing power. Against the backdrop of concerns about Biden's age, a number of liberal students here expressed openness to third-party candidates and frustration with a likely Trump-Biden rematch, signaling they would shift the focus of their volunteering down-ballot as a result.

The Gaza Health Ministry said Thursday that more than 13,300 people have been killed since the start of the war and 35,180 wounded. About 6,000 people are missing, according to the ministry, whose figures were dated Tuesday. Israel approved a deal with Hamas early Wednesday to temporarily pause fighting in the Gaza Strip in exchange for the release of at least 50 of about 240 hostages held inside

the enclave, bringing a four-day halt to the war. But that pause — the first major de-escalatory step since the war began — falls short of the permanent cease-fire that young voters, in interviews before the deal was confirmed, said that they want to see.

Biden has remained unapologetic in his defense of Israel, writing in an op-ed for *The Washington Post* on Saturday: "As long as Hamas clings to its ideology of destruction, a cease-fire is not peace."

Americans overall continue to side strongly with Israel, but polling shows those views have grown increasingly polarized across party and generation since even before the war. An NPR/PBS NewsHour/Marist poll earlier this month found 48 percent of Gen Z and millennial adults said Israel's military response has been "too much," compared with 38 percent of the public overall. Most young adults disapprove of Biden's handling of the situation, according to national polls this month by Fox News, Quinnipiac University and Marist College. And a recent poll from NBC News found that 70 percent of voters age 18 to 34 disapprove of Biden's handling of the war.

Many experts and activists over the years have attributed the divide to younger generations' disapproval of the right-wing politics of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli blockade of Gaza and occupation of the West Bank, and comparisons between the treatment of minorities in the United States and Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank.

To read the entire article,

[CLICK HERE](#)



Disclaimer: The views presented in this article are the author's alone and do not represent the opinion of the Foundation.

Stop Bullying US Students Calling for Justice for Palestine

By Jeffrey D. Sachs & Sybil Fares
13 December 2023

The bullying of America's universities and their students by Congress and donors threatens to destroy a crucial pillar of American democracy: political free speech. The war in Gaza has inflamed tensions in the US and around the world. Yet rather than encourage public deliberation, historical understanding, and the search for peace, politicians and donors are aiming to shut down public opposition to the policies of the Israeli government.

The latest victim of the bullying is the University of Pennsylvania, where the President of the University and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees were induced to resign after attacks by Rep. Elise Stefanik (R-N.Y.). Stefanik crudely twisted basic terms in her verbal attack on three university presidents. Her vulgar manipulation and a push from Wall Street donors led by a CEO of a private equity firm has brought a top university to its knees. While the Harvard trustees backed the Harvard President, the assault on the universities continues. The UPenn donor has now sent the university a list of highly intrusive questions regarding hiring, student admissions, course selection, and other topics core to academic freedom and governance. The executive director of the Penn Chapter of the American Association of University Professors wrote that "Today, unelected trustees with no academic expertise are evidently attempting a hostile takeover of the core academic functions of the University of Pennsylvania — functions related to curriculum, research, and the hiring and evaluation of faculty." In attacking the UPenn President, Stefanik baselessly asserted that universities are not cracking down on students

who are calling for genocide against the Jews. The charge is bogus. Student protests are not calling for genocide, but for Palestinian political rights. AP has debunked false claims made on social media that pro-Palestinian protestors are calling for Jewish genocide. On the contrary, the protestors were charging Israel with genocide in Gaza, a charge supported by the Center for Constitutional Rights. (There may be cases of individuals calling for genocide, but nobody has yet produced even a single documented case that this applies to the campus protests, much less that it constitutes a widespread pattern.)

During testimony of three university presidents before the House Education and Workforce Committee, Stefanik crudely misrepresented the meaning of terms to make her phony case. When questioning President Gay of Harvard, she asked: "Will admissions offers be rescinded, or any disciplinary action be taken against students or applicants who say, "from the river to the sea" or "intifada" advocating for the murder of Jews?" Stefanik's charge that these terms mean "advocating for the murder of Jews" is baseless. The two phrases are about politics, not murder. As even Stefanik probably knows, the phrase "from the river to the sea" is about who governs the territory from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. The expression and closely related phrases are used by those Israelis who reject the State of Palestine and by those Palestinians who reject the State of Israel. The 1977 manifesto of Israel's right-wing Likud Party, that is, Prime Minister Netanyahu's party, declared "Between the sea and the Jordan there will only be Israeli sovereignty." In 2014, Israel's agriculture minister stated "Between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea there will be only one state, which is Israel." Israel's self-professed fascist finance minister Bezalel Smotrich recently gave a speech with maps showing Greater Israel including the West

Bank, Gaza, and parts of Syria and Jordan, that is, Greater Israel from the river to the sea. Thus, both Israelis and Palestinians invoke the concept. By itself it is a political concept, not a call to murder, but a claim of political sovereignty. It could take on a murderous intent in some contexts or by some speakers, for example if an Israeli right-winger used the phrase specifically to justify the mass destruction and depopulation of Gaza. In their testimony, the three university presidents talked about the context of language, all the more important since the very premise of the questioning—that student protestors are calling for a Jewish genocide—is false. The claim that context matters is far too subtle for the likes of Stefanik, who is using language for bullying, not for facts or honest dialogue. Since context matters, here is the real context of the campus protests. Students are protesting a political status quo in which Israel has already killed more than 17,700 Gazans, of whom 70 percent were women and children, using US-supplied munitions; has destroyed homes, hospitals and schools, displacing nearly two million Gazans; and has deprived the entire population of food, safe water, health care, and other essential needs. The students are protesting a political status quo in which Israel already rules from the river to the sea, and invokes that very concept in the call for a Greater Israel. The students are rejecting Israel's repeated violations of UN Security Council resolutions, including the resolution declaring Israel's West Bank settlements to be a "flagrant violation" of international law with "no legal validity." Again, there may be individual cases of hate speech, of course, but the campus protests are about politics.

To read the entire article,

[CLICK HERE](#)



Disclaimer: The views presented in this article are the author's alone and do not represent the opinion of the Foundation.

ABOUT THE FELLOWSHIP

Launched in 2012, the Gabr Fellowship programme helps to connect and build constructive relationships between future leaders between the ages of 24 and 35. Each year, the Fellowship consists of 20-24 Fellows, half of which are men and the other half women, with an equal distribution between participants from the United States and Egypt. The Fellowship also accepts applicants from Jordan, Lebanon, France and the United Kingdom. Fellows represent a variety of sectors, including the arts, law, finance, tech, non- profits, and entrepreneurship – both business and social.

The mission of the Fellowship is to promote greater mutual understanding by building bridges between the two cultures by instigating dialogue and the exchange of ideas between emerging leaders from the United States and Egypt. Together, they explore one another's cultures, political realities, business trends and their goals for the future.



2022 Gabr Fellows at the National Defense University with the NDU's President, Lt Gen Michel Plehn

In addition to engaging in deep discussions with key stakeholders from both countries in business, government, academia, religion, science, tech and finance, all Fellows are invited to form multinational teams to complete an action project. These projects empower the Fellows as inter-cultural ambassadors, amplifying the Fellowship's reach and impact.

Ultimately, through hands-on activities, rigorous discussions, cultural site visits, and the collaborative action projects, the Fellows have a greater understanding of both countries and become part of an international cohort dedicated to building a more equitable and peaceful world.

The Gabr Fellows have acquired a greater understanding of both Egypt and the United States and the challenges faced by both communities. Having served as cultural as well as linguistic ambassadors to one another, they then return home to play the role of diplomat, introducing Egyptians and Americans to a people, a culture and a future never before explored in this way.

Together, they are creating the legacy of 'The Gabr Fellowship': an international cohort dedicated to pursuing cooperative, collective solutions to their regions' most pressing issues.



Gabr Fellows with Major General Mohamed El Keshky, Egypt's Former Assistant Minister of Defense



Gabr Fellows take on the Pyramids

Gabr Foundation Movie and Documentary Corner

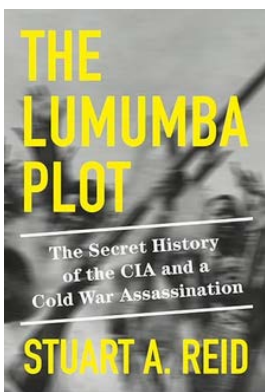
This November, Mr Gabr recommends two movies: *Napoleon* and *Our Kind of Traitor*.

Napoleon is a 2023 epic historical drama film directed and produced by Ridley Scott and written by David Scarpa. Based on the story of Napoleon Bonaparte, primarily depicting the French leader's rise to power as well as his relationship with his wife, Joséphine, the film stars Joaquin Phoenix as Napoleon and Vanessa Kirby as Joséphine.

Our Kind of Traitor is a 2016 British spy thriller film, adapted from John le Carré's 2010 novel of the same name. Starring Ewan McGregor, Naomie Harris, Stellan Skarsgård, Damian Lewis and Alicia von Rittberg, the film is about a couple who find themselves lured into a Russian oligarch's plans to defect, and are soon positioned between the Russian Mafia and the British Secret Service, neither of whom they can trust.

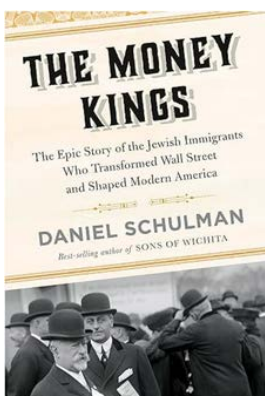
Gabr Foundation Book Corner

The Foundation Book Corner encourages Fellows to critique the books that have been recommended to them in each issue. For this issue, Mr. Gabr recommends:



The Lumumba Plot: The Secret History of the CIA and a Cold War Assassination by Stuart A. Reid

In 1960, The Congo was at last being set free from Belgium. At the helm as prime minister was charismatic nationalist Patrice Lumumba. Just days after the handover, however, the Congo's new army mutinied, Belgian forces intervened, and Lumumba turned to the United Nations for help in saving his newborn nation from what the press was already calling "the Congo crisis." Dag Hammarskjöld, the tidy Swede serving as UN secretary-general, quickly arranged the organization's biggest peacekeeping mission in history. But chaos was still spreading. Frustrated with the fecklessness of the UN and spurned by the United States, Lumumba then approached the Soviets for help—an appeal that set off alarm bells at the CIA. To forestall the spread of Communism in Africa, the CIA sent word to its station chief in the Congo, Larry Devlin: Lumumba had to go. *The Lumumba Plot* is a spellbinding work of history that reads like a Cold War spy thriller—about the U.S.-sanctioned plot to assassinate the democratically elected leader of the newly independent Congo.



The Money Kings: The Epic Story of the Jewish Immigrants Who Transformed Wall Street and Shaped Modern America by Daniel Schulman

The incredible saga of the German-Jewish immigrants—with now familiar names like Goldman and Sachs, Kuhn and Loeb, Warburg and Schiff, Lehman and Seligman—who would shape the destiny not just of American finance but of the millions of Eastern European Jews who spilled off steamships in New York Harbor in the early 1900s, including Daniel Schulman's paternal grandparents. In *The Money Kings*, Schulman unspools a sweeping narrative that traces the interconnected origin stories of these financial dynasties. He chronicles their paths to Wall Street dominance, as they navigated the deeply antisemitic upper class of the Gilded Age, and the complexities of the Civil War, World War I, and the Zionist movement that tested both their burgeoning empires and their identities as Americans, Germans, and Jews.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO OUR DECEMBER FELLOWS!



Nancy Habib
2014 Fellow
December 1st



Alex Goldmark
2013 Fellow
December 9th



Leisel Bogan
2016 Fellow
December 11th



Menna Farouk
2017 Fellow
December 14th



Ahmed El Assal
2014 Fellow
December 15th



Beth Cartier
2013 Fellow
December 16th



Zeyad El Kelani
2014 Fellow
December 17th



Nick Thomas
2015 Fellow
December 22nd



Becca Doten
2013 Fellow
December 23rd



Omar Raafat
2022 Fellow
December 25th

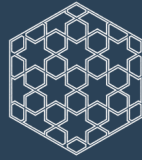


Soad Hossam
2018 Fellow
December 26th

December

THE GABR FELLOWSHIP

Monthly Newsletter



The
SHAFIK GABR
Foundation

For more information on the Shafik Gabr Foundation and its
East-West: The Art of Dialogue Initiative,
please visit the website <https://eastwestdialogue.org/>

For earlier itineraries of the program, please see the previous years' reports at
<https://eastwestdialogue.org/fellowship/brochures/>



Edward Lear, *Sheikh Abadeh on the Nile*

Oil on canvas

The Shafik Gabr Collection

Connect with us



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