



Gabr Fellows Dinner in Washington DC, December 21, 2023

## ISRAEL LOST

Tina was literally banging on the coffee table. The teacups rattled and a few biscuits slipped off the silver plate on the table.

“How could they do that?!” Tina exclaimed for the third time.

We were sitting in Edan Levy’s home in McLean, Virginia this Sunday, watching Clarissa Ward reporting from Gaza on CNN. Tears started coming down Tina’s cheeks. Hadassa, Edan’s wife, moved to console Tina. I must admit the scenes on the large television screen were horrifying. My own eyes were watering - an unusual event for a person who lived through two wars in 1967 and 1973.

Watching children with amputated legs, half their faces burnt, eyes lost, heads damaged and more, was gut-wrenching.

Edan turned the TV off. There was a long moment of silence.

David Morrison, a well-known art collector living in NY, was wiping his glasses with his handkerchief. His wife Diana, sitting beside him on the couch, was fiddling with her bag.

Tina was shaking and Hadassa was hugging her. Sam Hunter, Edan’s partner and the reason I was here for this Sunday brunch, got up from his seat and walked out of the room, leaving Edan, Hadassa, Tina and her son Rob, David and Diana plus myself sitting in Edan’s beautifully designed winter garden structure with floor-to-ceiling windows overlooking a massive well-designed garden.

“Edan broke the silence and, in his deep sombre voice, said: “Israel has lost.”

## IN THIS ISSUE:

- Article: Israel Lost (p.1)
- Gabr Fellows news and updates (p.4)
- Article by Nourhan Moussa (p.7)
- Interview with Magdalena Kura (p.8)
- Shafik Gabr Foundation Dinner in Munich: *Expecting the Unexpected* (p.9)
- Questions of the Month (p.12)
- Article: Brazil’s Lula accuses Israel of “genocide” in Gaza (p.13)
- Article: How One Error May Haunt Biden’s Foreign Policy Legacy, by David Rothkoft (p. 14)
- About the Fellowship (p.15)
- Chairman Gabr’s book and movie recommendations (p.16)
- February birthdays (p.17)

David reacted by explaining that what we saw was collateral damage and the fault was all due to what Hamas did on October 7.

Tina reacted angrily, almost shouting that what we saw was unacceptable under any circumstance.

Murdering children and innocent civilians is not excusable... plus never forget destruction begets destruction," Tina said, wiping her eyes.

Tina, a famous designer, composed herself and explained that she had been to Israel and the Palestinian Territories at least six times and found both Israelis and Palestinians very similar.

She explained that she benefited from their culture in her designs, but after what she had seen, she was never going back.

Hadassa said: "What Hamas did was barbaric and unleashed the Israelis."

Tina responded that Israel, a nation-state with a powerful army, dropping thousands of dumb bombs, was not only more barbaric but undertaking clear and present genocide. She added, "I cannot believe as a human being how the world is blind".

Sam walked back into the room and took his seat. David responded to Tina, saying that she was too harsh and unable to understand the Israeli state of mind.

"State of mind," Tina retorted, "how can you say that?" She started in her seat, staring at David, explaining that facts speak for themselves.

First," she said, "yes, Israel lost 1300 Israelis in horrific circumstances plus hostages, but killing and murdering more than 30,000 Palestinians of which 9000 are children is ethnic cleansing...

Second," she added, gesturing with her fingers, "the false narrative of minimizing Palestinian civilian lives and pinpointing Hamas terrorists are blatant lies...

Third, promising to continue this genocide will not end Hamas but will give birth to horrors for generations to come... Fourth, I am ashamed watching America sinking all ceasefire attempts and encouraging Israel under a false guise of the right of self-defence."

Sam responded by saying that, sadly, Tina not only had a valid viewpoint but that what was underway was nothing less than a catastrophe that undermined Israel's moral standing and human logic.

He added that Netanyahu historically will be recognized as the worst Israeli leader because he gave birth to Hamas, financed Hamas, undermined the Palestinian Authority, refused to negotiate with the Palestinians, not even to recognize them, and led the path to make Israel an apartheid state with gun loose settlers.

David shuffled in his seat, and as he was helping himself to more coffee from a side table, I joined him and asked him: "Don't you see that this ongoing carpet bombing and war cannot end well but will definitely create severe hardship for generations?"

David shook his head in denial and said no. He added that it is a necessary phase of history.

Walking back, taking our seats, I said to David: "Don't you see that a just and sustainable peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is in the favour of both Israelis and Palestinians?"

Hadassa said: "It seems too late for that."

Rob, who must have been in his thirties, tall and athletic, reached towards the plate of cookies and quietly explained that we must understand Israeli society. Israeli culture is built on every citizen being a warrior and cannot accept anything but victory, whether that's good or bad. Whether it's right or wrong. It does not matter to them.

Rob continued: "I lived amongst Israelis and served in the IDF. We were never wrong, even when we were," he emphasized in explaining the Israeli mindset. "Moreover," Rob added, "with the U.S. supporting Israel 110 percent and our pressure points of the Holocaust and anti-semitism, there is little we could not get away with. All that is needed is to raise the flag of the Holocaust or anti-semitism, or now even anti-Zionism, and all must fear uttering another word of criticism of Israel's actions."

I asked Rob: "But is not peace in the interest of all Israelis, and would end this warlike non-stop stance?"

Rob shook his head. Tina, Rob's mother, looked at her son and said: "How can it be that it is a good thing for young Israelis to be always drafted, always on call, trigger happy and stressed?"

"It's a state of mind," Rob explained. "It will take different wise leaders, not Netanyahu, plus generations of peace to change."

Diana joined the discussion, reminding everyone of some facts: "I am a dual Israeli-American national, but I do remember Israeli military murdering over 100 Americans on board of the navy ship Liberty in 1967. I also remember in March 2003 an Israeli bulldozer murdering Rachel Corrie, a young American activist protesting the demolition of Palestinian homes... I also cannot forget Sherin Abu Akela being murdered by the IDF. Sherin was a journalist covering an IDF raid into a Jenin refugee camp."

Sam added that young Israeli soldiers have become trigger-happy and violence-ready. All you have to do is watch videos of how the IDF treats children, women and the elderly, not to mention stripping every able Palestinian man completely naked, tying their legs and arms, and keeping them on the ground blindfolded for hours, breaking their spirit and degrading them even if they have no relation to Hamas. "What they don't seem to realize," Sam added, "is that it is nothing less than a recruiting machine for future terrorism."

Rob said the IDF is so trigger-focused it shoots before asking questions. It just shot three Israeli hostages carrying a white flag. Edan finally stood and said: "We were all invited here to enjoy a Sunday brunch before the holidays. I had hoped we would be in a merry mood and look forward to a forthcoming year of happiness, but sadly, what is happening in the world is daunting.

Ukraine, what we have been discussing in Gaza, the conflicts in so many parts of the world... It's sadly a dark tunnel ahead of us, and unless we wake up and take visionary, courageous action to bring peace and justice, the future for the next generations will be worse."

Tina asked if there were no bright insights. I jumped in, suggesting that from the ugly state of affairs in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there is a ray of hope that can bring light. It can give Israel security, bring the hostages home, bring an end to Hamas and give the Palestinians their own home.

David smirked and asked: "How?" Edan waved him quiet.

"It has to be a grand-design, one-step deal, not a political process. It must all happen together and not in endless steps that get derailed.

To achieve Israeli security and have all the hostages released, Israel must commit to giving the Palestinians a demilitarized nation-state comprising Gaza, Naqab, and most of the West Bank. The settlers' issue is not to remove them but to resettle them all together in the northwest part of the West Bank attached to Israel, clearing the rest of the West Bank for Palestine.

East Jerusalem would be the capital of Palestine ...all religious sites would be governed by their religious institutions like the Vatican, Azhar etc... no activism allowed, and policed by UN and Israeli police.

As for Hamas in Gaza, Israel would cease fire and Hamas would lay down its arms.

Israeli, US and MFO would clear Gaza of all armament."

I presented a two-page plan. It included no Palestinian Authority or Hamas but a firm Palestinian technocrats governing a two year transitional period towards a functioning state.

Everyone peered at the plan I placed on the table where Tina had banged it earlier. Only David stayed in his seat.

The plan detailed steps ensuring Israel's safety, the release of hostages, the end of Hamas and the birth of a truncated but viable Palestinian state with a port and airport.

Rob asked questions which I responded to. Sam commented that such a plan needed visionary leaders like Sadat and Rabin, not what we have now. Rob added that Bibi wants to eradicate the Palestinians and not give them anything – and definitely not a state.

Hadassa and Diane commented that anything is better than what is ongoing now.

Edan returned to his seat and said quietly: "Israel has lost the moral high ground. Not only that, we have witnessed Netanyahu do to the Palestinian people what the Nazis did to our parents and grandparents, and that brings us deep sorrow. Let us pray, Jews, Muslims and Christians, here and now, for wisdom and peace."

We all bowed our heads, and silence ensued.

M. Shafik Gabr

February 2024

# FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

## AMR SEDA, 2017 FELLOW



2017 Gabr Fellow, Amr Seda, has been appointed as a University Court Member at the British University in Egypt. The Court is the highest advisory body of the university consisting of renowned British and Egyptian public figures.

On the day on his appointment, Amr had multiple side meetings with the Vice Chancellor of London South Bank University, David Phoenix and Egyptian Minister of Youth and Sports, Dr Ashraf Sobhi. He also held discussions with Professor Hossam Badrawi, whom he first met during the 2017 Fellowship.

## SHEHAB FAROUK, 2014 FELLOW

2014 Gabr Fellow, Shehab Farouk, will be participating as a speaker at an international event organized by the London Court of International Arbitration, which will be held in Muscat. He will discuss best practices in international arbitration.



## WESSAM BAHER, 2022 FELLOW



Wessam Baher, 2022 Gabr Fellow, has been invited by Farid Fadel, whom he met through the Gabr Fellowship, to attend the opening ceremony of the “The Spirit Goes On” exhibition. At this event, Farid displayed 50 new paintings.

Farid Fadel is an award-winning artist, a practising eye doctor and an esteemed, dedicated musician.

## SAMER KIROLOS, 2022 FELLOW

Samer Kirolos, 2022 Gabr Fellow, is currently contributing his expertise to Areeba Egypt, focusing on payment solutions. Additionally, he is training for the Cairo Marathon scheduled for March.



## HAROUN HABIB, 2013 FELLOW



We share the joyous news of the arrival of Yahya Haroun Habib on January 17th! Weighing 8 pounds and 4 ounces and measuring 20.5 inches, both mother and baby are in great health and spirit. We extend our heartfelt congratulations to Haround Habib, 2013 Gabr Fellow, and his family.

# FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

## AHMED RADWAN, 2015 FELLOW

2015 Gabr Fellow Ahmed Radwan is currently leading an improvisation workshop, where his students are showing progress and talent. He is involved in rehearsals for two theatre performances set to take place this month.

On the professional front, Ahmed has achieved a significant milestone in his career. As of mid-January, he was promoted to the Head of Talent Management at QNB Bank Egypt. In this role, Ahmed is overlooking the bank's succession planning for senior leaders, covering assessment, selection, and leadership development processes. Moreover, he is actively involved in a transformative culture change program within the bank.



## YOUSSEF EL TOUKHY, 2016 FELLOW

2016 Gabr Fellow Youssef El Toukhy has recently accepted a new job and is on a new professional journey with Canonical, the publisher of Ubuntu, the premier Linux operating system.

In his role as Silicon Alliance Manager, Youssef will be contributing his talents from London, United Kingdom.

## DALIA IHAB, 2017 FELLOW



2017 Gabr Fellow Dalia Ihab was invited by the Centre for Christian Muslim Understanding & Partnership (CCMUP) to participate in a cultural event.

Dalia performed at the inaugural ceremony of an annual award named after Dr. Ali El-Samman, who was a pioneer of Christian-Islamic dialogue. He was instrumental in fostering the first dialogue between leaders of the Abrahamic faiths in 1994 and played a key role in historic dialogue agreements, paving the way for the 2019 Document on Human Fraternity signed in Abu Dhabi.

The award celebrated literary, social and cultural endeavours fostering cooperation between Christian and Islamic communities. Dalia curated pieces from Egyptian Muslim, Christian, and Jewish artists, showcasing Egypt's rich and diverse cultural heritage.

# FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

## FABRICE GUERRIER, 2018 GABR FELLOW

Fabrice Guerrier was recently interviewed on the Caribbean Science Fiction Network's podcast, "Into the Haitiverse."

Both Part 1 and Part 2 of the interview are now available for listening at



## AHMED MOSTAFA, 2018 FELLOW

2018 Gabr Fellow Ahmed Mostafa has recently relocated to Abu Dhabi, UAE, where he has assumed the role of Head of the European Affairs program at the Future Center for Advanced Research & Studies.

Prior to this, he served as a senior researcher at the National Center for Middle East Studies in Cairo.

## ZEYAD KELANI, 2014 FELLOW

2014 Gabr Fellow, Zeyad Kelani, shared his insights at a panel discussion hosted by the Egyptian Council on Foreign Affairs (ECFA).

The focus of the discussion was on the diverse applications of artificial intelligence and its role in mitigating uncertainty within the realm of international relations. The discourse delved into various AI strategies are employed to address challenges and enhance decision-making processes on a global scale.



## MAGDALENA KURA, 2015 FELLOW

2015 Gabr Fellow, Magda Kura was promoted to Lead Product Manager and moved to the Global Expansion and Growth team within Audible, leading the expansion of the product to new markets.

Magda Kura works as a Senior Product Manager at Audible, New York.

## NOURHAN MOUSSA, 2014 FELLOW

In this edition, we are featuring an insightful commentary on the movie "Leave the World Behind" by 2014 Gabr Fellow, Nourhan Moussa.



### Leave the World Behind: A Herald of Political Exposure?

"Leave the World Behind" is more than just entertainment.

"Leave the World Behind" is more than just a thrilling cinematic experience; it captivates viewers with its suspense and ambiguity and carries considerable political and social implications that warrant serious analysis. It explores psychological and technological anxieties and highlights political polarization and media manipulation, which demand particular attention due to their potential effect. This film also concentrates on ideological differences that significantly threaten social cohesion and national security. It shows the media as a Trojan horse, weaponizing information and emphasizing the dangers of misinformation.

The film also renders America's growing number of adversaries - a stark reminder of the country's current political and geopolitical position. It emphasizes the need for a critical re-assessment of the US's strong emphasis on foreign policy and domestic politics. As the world enters a new international order, regardless of American preferences and priorities, it is imperative that the US government and its institutions reform and adapt to promote cohesion and understanding. Their inability to distinguish exemplifies the root causes of political division and media manipulation. The trust in institutions has eroded, and lately, that undoubtedly reflects the alarming reality of our world generally but particularly within the American society, and their inability to distinguish truth from fiction exemplifies the corrosive effects of political polarization and media manipulation. Particularly concerning is the film's exploration of "feeding the idea of death to America." This narrative, which fuels isolationism and hate towards Americans, is not merely fictional. It reflects a dangerous trend in the real world, one that ultimately empowers extremists and leads to violence against civilians.

"Leave the World Behind" is more than just entertainment; it indicates potential political instability. The film makes us confront the dangers of polarization, media manipulation, and the "us vs. them" mentality that plagues different societies, especially the American culture and within the current international quick incidents within the framework of the US government towards specific countries and communities. It is a call to action, urging us to demand change and strive for a more unbiased and balanced world.

This is just an opinion reflecting the perspective of a concerned observer who sees "Leave the World Behind" as a wake-up call, highlighting the threats and chances of the current political landscape and the vital need for immediate reform.

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

# INTERVIEW WITH....

## MAGDALENA KURA, 2015 GABR FELLOW



2015 Gabr Fellow Magdalena Kura is currently working at Audible Amazon as a Senior Product Manager.

Magdalena has worked in New York State Governor Andrew Cuomo's Office and streamlined government services for small business owners.

She holds a Master's Degree in Public Administration from the Rockefeller College of Public Policy. Her passions include community gardening, sailing, women's rights and international relations.

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

- The opportunity for personal and professional growth.
- The chance to build a network of diverse and like-minded individuals.
- The unique insights gained into the US-Egypt relationship and broader Middle Eastern dynamics.

**2) Would you visit Egypt again?**

- Absolutely! I can't wait to plan another visit. I want to show my friends and family Egypt, which I fell in love with.

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

- I strongly believe that strengthening Egypt-US bilateral relations can be achieved through continued cultural exchange, dialogue, and collaborative initiatives like the Gabr Fellowship that foster mutual understanding and respect.

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

- Yes, I learned quite a lot about Egypt, its people and culture, and the region more broadly.

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

- Impactful, inspiring, and educational

## 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



# *Expecting the Unexpected:* *2024 and Beyond*

## Shafik Gabr Foundation Annual Munich Opening Dinner

15 February 2024



Ambassador Fu Ying



Mr Shafik Gabr

This February, Chairman Shafik Gabr and the Shafik Gabr Foundation have held their *Expecting the Unexpected* opening dinner of the Munich Security Conference for the second year, in addition to the *Expected the Unexpected* dinners that the Foundation has for several years held during the World Economic Forum in Davos and other locations.

Under strict Chatham House rules, international experts in fields of politics, business, security, technology, economy, media, and the arts gathered to forecast and provide their insights for the future, in a friendly, insightful, and deeply thought-provoking environment.

This year, the dinner was held on Thursday, 15th February, at the Bayerischer Hof Hotel in Munich as the opening dinner of the Munich Security Conference.

Among more than 70 distinguished dinner guests were a former President, Members of the US Congress, Members of the UK Parliament, Ministers, Ambassadors, government officials, international organization leaders, business leaders and scholars from Europe, the Middle East, the United States and Asia. Judson Moore, a 2015 Gabr Fellow and senior cyber security manager, was also present. The dinner discussion was moderated by Chairman Shafik Gabr and the renowned international broadcaster Nik Gowing.

The main predictions for the year ahead were as follows:

### **Russia/Ukraine Conflict:**

- The conflict between Russia and Ukraine is anticipated to persist throughout 2024, with no resolution in sight. A Korean type of ceasefire was forecasted.
- One prediction was that by February 2025 there should be a peace agreement in place.

### **US Presidential Election:**

- The audience leaned towards a second Trump Presidency although it was anticipated that more developments can interfere between now and November.
- Two minority views were forecasted.
  - A) Trump would be derailed before the elections.
  - B) The final candidates would not be Biden-Trump but other contenders.
- The audience was reminded that Nikki Haley had not conceded yet, allowing her the chance to replace Trump if he falters.

### **Leaders and Diplomacy:**

- There were concerns that the world lacked leadership and that diplomacy has been failing and no change expected in 2024.
- Moreover, it was emphasised that global institutions such as the UN have failed in their mission and all institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, WTO, etc. are undermined by their funders and political bias.



Rt. Hon. Tobias Ellwood



Professor Niall Ferguson

### **Israel-Gaza:**

- The Israel-Gaza conflict is foreseen to persist in 2024, leading to increased instability and casualties. Calls for Western collaboration to address Gaza instability are expected to intensify, with frustration expressed over the handling of the situation.
- Israel will lose its moral platform and while Hamas may be defeated militarily, extremism and fanatical ideology will re-emerge due to the horrific casualties.
- There is a potential possibility for a ceasefire and release of hostages, but it will be temporary.
- A peace proposal submitted focused on 5 pillars: security for Israel, hostage release, de-weaponization of Hamas, resettlement of the West Bank settlers in the Northwest of the West Bank against a land swap to connect Gaza with the West bank, a technocratic team of five Palestinians à la Switzerland to be the transitional leadership for two years not the PA or Hamas. All to be conducted in a grand bargain deal and all parties, Israel plus the security council members proclaim a Palestinian State. At the same time, this proposal will not see the light in 2024 due to the state of political bias of the West towards Israel refusing a cease fire repeatedly and total disorganization of the east.

- A minority view was presented predicting Netanyahu will be out before end of 2024 unless he entangles the US in a war with Iran.

### **Recognition of a Palestinian State:**

- Criticism towards the UK and the US for insufficient action in supporting a Palestinian state is anticipated to continue. The call for new leadership in the US to facilitate a more peaceful future is likely to gain momentum.

### **Outlook for the Year:**

- Pessimism about positive developments in the coming year is expected to dominate. Potential future conflicts, including Iran-USA and China-USA (Taiwan), along with the overlooked threat posed by North Korea, are likely to be significant concerns.

### **Impact of AI:**

- AI is predicted to exert a massive influence in the medical field. Regulatory challenges surrounding AI are expected to escalate, with a significant focus on discerning fact from fiction and fabrication. Differentiating fact from fiction will become more complicated. Education is expected to undergo a major transformation in 2025.
- The dilemma of AGI and advanced tech in terms of ethical and moral standards with a global regulatory framework will remain in 2024 and beyond.

### **Global Economy:**

- It is expected to see rate cuts, debt problems, dollar supremacy and inflation stability in major economies, while other economies shall suffer dramatically and face refinancing pressures and defaults.

### **Present Rating:**

- Minority view based on history emphasised that all is well and will continue to be so regardless of present chaotic state. It was stated that history reflected much worse conditions and based on today's conflicts was worse than reality.

### **Dialogue:**

- It was emphasized that lack of dialogue (no Russians or Palestinians invited to major discussion events) will continue to be a stumbling block in 2024. No serious negotiation is foreseen and without negotiation, the state of conflict and wars will remain in 2024.

### **World Rules – Based Order:**

- The audience agreed that the world rules-based order has failed and will continue to fail. Power will dominate.

### **Globalization:**

- The world is expected to suffer from globalization disruptions (wars, Red Sea, pandemics, widening gap between haves and have nots) and supply chain worries that will bring more decoupling and cause wasted resources on defence and political posturing.

# 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) Given Trump's almost assured nomination as the Republican candidate, how do you see the outcome of the November Election between Trump and Biden?**

Biden - 17%  
Trump - 60%  
I don't know - 21%

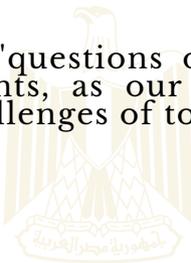
**2) In the upcoming 60 days, do you anticipate there will be a permanent ceasefire between Israel and Gaza?**

Yes - 16%  
No - 72%  
I don't know - 12%

**3) In light of the ongoing global conflicts, supply chain disruptions, and persistent inflationary trends etc., what do you foresee in the next 6 months?**

Recession - 12%  
Economic slow down - 56%  
Economic growth - 16%  
Increased economic bailout - 16%

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](mailto:newsletter@shafikgabrfoundation.org) with your feedback, opinions and suggestions. We look forward to hearing from you.*

# Brazil's Lula accuses Israel of 'genocide' in Gaza

Source: France24

18 February 2024

*Addis Ababa (AFP)* - Brazilian President Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva accused Israel Sunday of committing "genocide" against Palestinian civilians in the Gaza Strip and compared its actions to Adolf Hitler's campaign to exterminate Jews.

In response, Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called the 78-year-old's comments "shameful and grave" and said his government had called in Brazil's ambassador in protest.

But his comments drew praise from the Palestinian militant group Hamas, which described the remarks as "an accurate description" of what people were facing in the Gaza Strip that it controls.

Lula told reporters in Addis Ababa, where he was attending an African Union summit, that what was happening in the Gaza Strip "isn't a war, it's a genocide".

"It's not a war of soldiers against soldiers. It's a war between a highly prepared army and women and children," added the veteran leftist.

"What's happening in the Gaza Strip with the Palestinian people hasn't happened at any other moment in history. Actually, it has happened: when Hitler decided to kill the Jews." Lula, a prominent voice for the global south whose country currently holds the rotating presidency of the G20, previously condemned Hamas's unprecedented October 7 attack on Israel as a "terrorist" act.

But he has since grown vocally critical of Israel's retaliatory military campaign.

Netanyahu called Lula's remarks "Holocaust trivialisation and an attempt to harm the Jewish people and the right of Israel to defend itself".

"The comparison between Israel to the Holocaust of the Nazis and Hitler is crossing a red line," he said in a statement.

"Israel is fighting to defend itself and ensure its future until total victory and it is doing that while upholding international law."

"I have decided with Foreign Minister (Israel) Katz to summon the Brazilian ambassador in Israel for an immediate reproach."

Katz wrote on the X social media platform that the meeting would take place on Monday.

## UNRWA contribution

Israeli President Isaac Herzog hit out at "leaders who atrociously accuse the nation state of the Jewish people of the evil of Hitler's deeds", without naming his Brazilian counterpart.

To do so was an "immoral distortion of history", he added.

Israel's Defence Minister Yoav Gallant meanwhile called Lula's comments "outrageous and abhorrent". "Brazil has stood with Israel for years," he wrote on X.

"President Lula supports a genocidal terrorist organisation -- Hamas, and in doing so brings great shame to his people, and violates the values of the free world."

The October 7 attack resulted in the deaths of about 1,160 people in Israel, mostly civilians, according to an AFP tally of Israeli official figures.

Militants also took about 250 people hostage, 130 of whom are still in Gaza, including 30 who are presumed dead, according to Israeli figures.

Israel's assault on Gaza has killed at least 28,858 people, mostly women and children, according to the Hamas-run territory's health ministry.

Lula criticised Western countries' recent decisions to halt aid to the UN agency for Palestinian refugees, UNRWA, after Israel accused some of its employees of involvement in the October 7 attack.

Lula, who met with Palestinian prime minister Mohammad Shtayyeh Saturday on the sidelines of the summit, has said Brazil will increase its own contribution to the agency, and urged other countries to do the same.

"When I see the rich world announce that it's halting its contributions to humanitarian aid for the Palestinians, I just imagine how big these people's political awareness is and how big the spirit of solidarity in their hearts is," Lula said.

"We need to stop being small when we need to be big."

He reiterated his call for a two-state solution to the conflict, with Palestine "definitively recognised as a full and sovereign state."

[CLICK HERE](#)



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

# How One Error May Haunt Biden's Foreign Policy Legacy

By David Rothkopf,  
Alon Pinkas

20 February 2024

The Biden administration is compounding its biggest foreign policy mistake by falling into a trap that has bedeviled U.S. policymakers often in the past.

The initial mistake was embracing a dangerous, profoundly unreliable foreign leader, Benjamin Netanyahu, who heads a reckless and extremist government, as a full partner. It was a decision that any student of Netanyahu knew would end in disaster—no matter how well intentioned the impulse behind it in the wake of the October 7 terror attacks may have been.

Netanyahu is untrustworthy. He has a proven record of manipulation, deceit, and mendacity. He is a sworn enemy of peace in the region. He has treated Palestinians with disdain and disrespect ever since he entered politics. And the extremists in his coalition are even worse—rabid theocratic nationalists who believe that Israeli lives are infinitely more valuable than those of their closest neighbors.

The secondary error that the Biden team is now making is that, after the catastrophic consequences of its policy have become painfully clear, it is seeking to fix the mistake not by undoing it but by augmenting its policy with incremental measures. You can't fine-tune a massive error into being a success. That is a lesson the United States learned in Vietnam, in Iraq, and in Afghanistan.

We say this as genuine admirers of the Biden administration's foreign policy to date and with the greatest respect for the foreign policy judgment of Biden and his team.

When Biden chose to pull out of Afghanistan, even though the exit was badly botched, we praised the decision to leave and to finally bring America's longest war to an end. We consider the effort to engineer, finally, a real pivot in the focus and priorities of the U.S. to the Indo-Pacific region and to bolster that move with the creation of new alliances, deepened friendships, active diplomacy, and sound measures to counter Chinese competition to be one of the most important, best-executed strategic shifts in recent U.S. foreign policy history, and to be one with important benefits for the world as a whole.

Biden's courage and leadership in the wake of Russia's brutal, unprovoked invasion and massive escalation of its war in Ukraine is in the best tradition of American presidents. Revitalizing and expanding NATO will—unless undone by Donald Trump and the MAGA GOP—bear national security benefits for all in the Western alliance for decades to come. Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris, Secretary of State Antony Blinken, Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, national security adviser Jake Sullivan, Director of National Intelligence Avril Haines, CIA Director Bill Burns, and their associates are quite simply the very best, most experienced, wisest group of foreign policy and national security professionals the U.S. has seen in over three decades. They're among the best ever.

But their Israel-Gaza policy now threatens to overshadow all of that and to become a mistake that haunts them into the pages of history.

Like many such errors, it began with a sound impulse. Israel, a close ally, had been brutally attacked. It was only natural that the U.S. would respond in their moment of need with an offer of assistance.

But almost from the outset, the degree to which that assistance was offered without clear conditions opened the door for Netanyahu to take advantage of the U.S. and to do so in ways that would result in a devastating loss of innocent human life, an ever-worsening humanitarian crisis, and deep damage to America's standing in the world and the Biden administration's standing with millions of U.S. citizens.

While the U.S., from the outset, sought to influence Israel to take steps to reduce the loss of human life in Gaza and later actively worked to find acceptable deals for the release of hostages that might also come with some form of extended pause in the fighting, time after time its efforts were rebuffed by Netanyahu. Nevertheless, whenever he was asked, Biden asserted the U.S. would not set preconditions for aid to the Israelis. Biden administration officials regularly defended Israel's actions even when they were clearly indefensible. And the crisis for the people of Gaza and, secondarily but nonetheless importantly, for the Biden administration grew worse with every passing day.

Within weeks, it was clear that Netanyahu would say one thing in meetings with Americans and do something else altogether. Eventually he and his supporters would make statements that flew directly and outrageously against U.S. wishes and in opposition to American interests. They spoke about ethnically cleansing Gaza of Palestinians. They said the war would continue indefinitely. They rejected the idea of a two-state solution.

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 connect and build constructive relationships between future leaders aged 24 and 35. Each year, the Fellowship consists of 20-24 Fellows, half of whom 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.



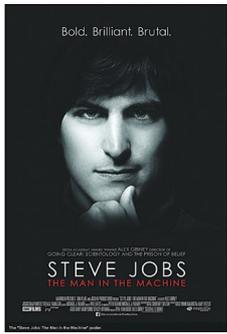
Gabr Fellows take on the Pyramids



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

# Gabr Foundation Movie and Documentary Corner

This February, Mr Gabr recommends a movie:  
*Steve Jobs: The Man in the Machine (2015)*



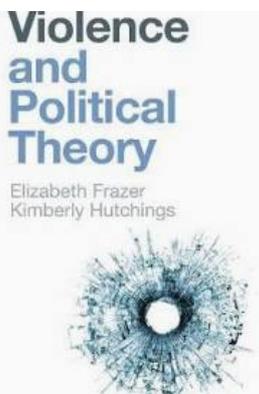
*Steve Jobs: The Man in the Machine* is a documentary film directed by Alex Gibney and provides an in-depth look at the personal and professional life of Steve Jobs, co-founder of Apple Inc., delving into his legacy and the impact of his contributions to technology and culture.

The documentary combines interviews, archival footage, and commentary from those who were close to Jobs and those who observed his career from afar, aiming to paint a comprehensive picture of a complex figure. Unlike other films about Jobs, Gibney's documentary takes a critical look at both the brilliance and the darker aspects of Jobs's personality and his way of conducting business.

## 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:

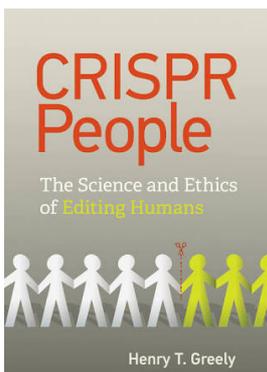
*Violence and Political Theory*  
by Elizabeth Frazer and Kimberly Hutchings



Authors Elizabeth Frazer and Kimberly Hutchings delve into the complex relationship between politics and violence. Through a critical examination of political theories from Niccolo Machiavelli to Elaine Scarry, the book investigates whether violence is an inevitable aspect of politics and how its justification may depend on its purposes or methods. Both authors challenge the conventional views by discussing the nuances of direct, structural, symbolic, and epistemic violence.

The insightful exploration in this book offers perspectives for those studying the ethics of violence, terror, war, and revolutionary political ideologies.

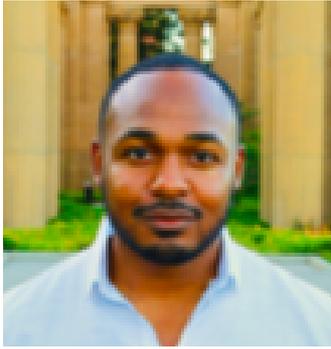
*CRISPR People, The Science and Ethics of Editing Humans*  
by Henry T. Greely



In the book *CRISPR People* by Henry T. Greely, a renowned expert in the intersection of law and genetics, he delves into the groundbreaking and controversial birth of the world's first genetically edited babies in November 2018.

The book critically examines the experiment while also exploring the broader implications of germline editing, a technique that alters DNA in a way that can be inherited by future generations. Greely assesses the potential and limits of gene editing, arguing that while the technology holds promise, its application in human germline editing presents profound ethical dilemmas and risks that society must consider carefully. This book is an insightful read for anyone interested in the future of genetics and bioethics.

# HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO OUR FEBRUARY FELLOWS!



**Kevin De War**  
2016 Fellow  
February 1st



**Jessica Mulligan**  
2017 Fellow  
February 6th



**Julie Yang**  
2018 Fellow  
February 8th



**Muhammad Nagi**  
2015 Fellow  
February 12th



**Thomas Stein**  
2017 Fellow  
February 18th



**Mohamed Ismail**  
2015 Fellow  
February 26th



**Bryan Griffin**  
2017 Fellow  
February 27th

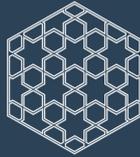


**Reham Salem**  
2017 Fellow  
February 28th

*February*

# 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/>



Ferdinand Max Bredt, *In A Courtyard, Tunis*

Oil on canvas

The Shafik Gabr Collection

## Connect with us



[info@shafikgabrfoundation.org](mailto:info@shafikgabrfoundation.org)  
<https://www.eastwestdialogue.org/>

The Shafik Gabr Foundation  
444 North Capitol Street NW, Suite 840, Washington, DC 20001  
7 Hassan Al-Akbar Street Cairo, Egypt, 11571