

Audio file

[Ahmet Davutoglu 16.10.25.mp3](#)

Transcript

Speaker 1

So ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the first week of Nicola's term of the 2025-26 academic year, and to the first of the Middle East Center seminars for the academic year. It's an exciting event. As I can see from the turnout tonight, it's lovely to fill the hall with so many new faces and so many welcome guests. And of course, we are all brought out of interest and curiosity for a speaker who brings a depth of experience and knowledge of his subject that has us all keen to hear from him, and to pose questions to him, and to learn from him. Ahmed Dawud Odu, former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkiye, is a renowned professor of international relations who lectures around the world and is author of many books, such as Systemic Earthquake and alternative paradigms. Professor Daoutoglu completed his MA in the Department of Public Administration and received his doctorate from the Department of Political Science and International Relations from the celebrated Bosphorus University in Turkey. In 1990, he became assistant professor at the International Islamic University of Malaysia, where he established and shared the political science department until 1993. Between 1995 and 1999, he taught at the University at the Institute for Middle Eastern Studies, an institution not so different from our own Middle Eastern Center. Between 1998 and 2002, he was a visiting lecturer at the Military Academy and the War Academy. He worked at Baykent University in Istanbul as professor from 1995 to 2004, where he headed the Department of International Relations. He also served as a member of the University Senate, and was a member of the Board of Management while teaching as a visiting scholar at Marmara University. But of course, that is the academic career of Ahmed. I imagine most of you have been drawn more by the political career of the man. Following the November 2002 elections, he was appointed as chief advisor to the Prime Minister and ambassador at large by the 58th government of the Republic of Turkey. He continued to serve in the 59th and the 60th government. On the 1st of May, 2009, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of the 60th government of the Republic of Turkiye. And as I look back on the years of the Arab Spring, I remember how Arab headlines begged Turkey to lead Ahmed Tawutogu, Abdul Agud, and, of course, President Erdogan to come, and in three months it could all be solved, the new governments of the Arab world. Those were, perhaps, days when things looked easier than they do today. Professor Dautunu served as foreign minister

from 2009 until 2014, when in 2014 he became the 26th Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, a post that he held until 2016. In 2019, he left the AKP to launch the new Future Party, which he leads still, and as a recognition of his lifetime in scholarship, as well as in politics. We are all here today to hear from Professor Dal Dodu. His subject is the Gaza Genocide as a Symptom: Fragile World Order and Regional Impacts. Will you please join me in extending a warm?

Speaker 2

Thank you very much, Professor Rogan. Really, it is a great pleasure for me and honor to be back at St. Anthony's College. This is my third time. The first time was, I think it was year 2000 when I was only academician, not politician. Then I met with my great friend Avi Shleim and many other friends. Then in 2010, I came as Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was the 1st anniversary of my being appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs. 1st May 2010. Margaret McMillan was introducing me at that time, and I spoke on the new Turkish approach to the new strategic environment. Of course, as foreign minister, I spoke more on Turkish approach and Turkish foreign policy. And now I this is my third time. Now I am here. Yes. as a politician, but more as an academician, but even much more than this as a human being. Because you may be an academician, you may be a politician, you may be a businessman, whoever you are, first you must be a human being. You must be human. Without embracing human values, whatever you do is meaningless. In these days, all of us from all over the world, We have to reassess all the experiences of humanity, because I am usually an optimistic person. A few years ago, before I wrote my book, Systemic Earthquake, in an international forum, Astana forum, there were two groups. One were very nihilistic pessimism, I can say, those who say that the world is going to a hell. The other one, Like Francis Fukuyama, whom I saw a few months ago, I harshly criticized him when he wrote his first article, End of History. I told this policy, an illusion of hegemonic power in 1989. End of history and very optimistic future, but optimism is not from human values, but from the perspective of the hegemonic power. Usually I always prefer in the middle, realistic optimism. We have to be realistic. So our method, my method of thinking is, when I analyze, I am pure realistic. But when I design a projection for a future or some sort of a new approach, I am always optimist. Because we, academicians, scholars, and also politicians, we have the mission to design new visions rather than to create a pessimistic approach. But at the same time, we have to be realistic. I want to say first, I am really very, very concerned about the future, especially after this Sharma-Sheikh summit, so-called summit, and Trump's speech, Trump's speech in UN General Assembly, Trump's speech in Knesset. His speech was much, much more important than his presence in Sharam Sheikh. And his attitude, his way of diplomacy, he's distracting everything. And therefore, I say fragile worldwide. In fact, my book published by Cambridge University Press in 2020, Systemic Earthquake, I decided to write this in 2017, in the first year of Trump first era, my dear friend Richard Folk, our common friend, he asked me, how do

you assess, how do you see the future of American strategy? Because I had close relation with all American policy makers in the last 20 years, also European leaders. I will make some references to my experience, and I was mediator between Israel and Syria in 2008, and also mediator in war 2009, 2012, and 2014 between Israel and Hamas. So I had certain experiences, and I also had certain theoretical perspective. But when he came to power, I wrote an article to Richard Polk, published in an e-journal, and said, this is the beginning of a systemic earthquake. What did I mean? You know, my friends, in modern era, After all wars, there was some sort of readjustment, some sort of peace, Congress. Like Thirty Years War, we had Westfalian order. Like Napoleonic wars, we had Congress of Vienna. Like First World War, we had League of Nations. Second World War, we have United Nations. After wars, wars means chaos. You don't know what will happen afterwards. Order means certain structure guarantees predictability for the participants. When I mentioned order, 3 parameters are important. One, values upon which your order is being established values. Second, rules and conventions. And 3rd, structures, constitutional structure. In UN, we have this without Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the basic of basis of UN system, there is no UN. And because humanity first time, I agree that all human beings are equal. No slavery, no colonial power, et cetera. Why did I oppose to Francis Fukuyama? Because after post-Cold War, after the Cold War, post-Cold War era, I was a young cognition. When he wrote this, I said, this is not the end of history. This is the fallacy of hegemonic powers, like Roman Empires. At the highest of their time, they declare that all roads goes to Rome. During Ottoman time, you know very well, you are... They will let you admit that means the state which will survive forever, which means there will be no other political developments afterwards. Usually, at the last stage of civilization hegemony, there is a blindness, as if they finished, they concluded the history. And I said, in my book, Civilization Transformation, published in 1994, criticizing both end of history and clash of civilizations, I said, history is beginning now. Because technology is growing, at time, technology is developing, there is a human mobility, and there are many geopolitical flashpoints. You cannot say this end of history. The history begins now, I said. From that time until now, and I will come to Gaza to begin this systemic framework, I observed 4 earthquakes, let me say. And I wrote this in 2017, in the first year of Trump, because Trump, yes, 2006, 2007, after Obama came to power, usually many corneo-conservatives, they declared apology, including Francis Fuquaya himself. But for me, Trump's is the worst version of neoconservatism, vulgarization of neoconservatism and very dangerous of unpredictability. I wrote that time in 2007 that 4th earthquakes after a Cold War was a global war like others, like Napoleonic wars, et cetera, but there was no single international convention, Congress, restructuring, re-administering UN reform, nothing. was achieved. The first earthquake in Turkish culture, earthquake very well, and earthquakes has destroying the existing structures. Geopolitical earthquake in Euro-Asia, collapse of Soviet Union. But it is interestingly, transformation occurred in other places, but the implications was all were always on

the Middle East. Your book, *The Fall of Ottomans*, great. I suggest all of you read his book. This is advertisement. Your one specific argument was very impressive. I was impressed that until your Ottoman state joins First World War, it was not World War. Really? until Ottoman state joined First World War. It was a European war. It was just in Europe. When Ottomans joined, it became World War because North Africa, Yemen, Iraq, it spread. So war started in Europe, but the price is being paid by the people of Middle East. This is the usual trend of the modern centuries. And when the clash of civilizations, Samuel Huntington wrote, and declared that it's a clash of civilizations, I said, it's nonsense. Because I gave all the list of wars from 1492 until today. All of the wars, great wars, are European wars, not between religions, not between ethnicities or sectarians. The wars I mentioned before, all of them are inside Europe, between Europe, between Christians, not Jewish, not Muslim. I am not blaming Europeans for this, but this is the fact. So, and Cold War has ended. There were so many high-level speeches of UN reform, nothing was achieved. And the price is being paid again. Cold War was basically in Eastern Europe, Iron Ball. But when it ended, all the Eastern European nations, except Bosnia, again, Muslims, except Bosnia, all the European, Eastern European nations progressed, became wealthier, like Poland today. But Iraq was invaded. And of course, it was Saddam's mistake, I understand. And all the promises given to Palestinians, by Oslo and Madrid process, are being forgotten. When I talk, I usually don't think anything else except talking. Again, First World War has occurred. The price is being paid by Middle East through Cycos Rico Agreement. The tribes, the families, all the territories being divided. This is the, I mean, big crime of geopolitics. Two men, Cycos Pico, Cycos and Pico, and decided the destiny of nations, the destiny of people, the destiny of all the historic geocultural, geoeconomic, geopolitical connections have been lost. Cities being isolated from each other. Like Aleppo and Gaziantep were please. And British men, they came to Palestine. Second World War, again, the war was in Europe. There was no single Muslim leader being involved in the war. But what happened to Nakba? Palestinians lost their limits. They didn't start the war. They didn't do anything. And thanks for your excellent book about this. War for Palestine. Thank you for translating it.

Speaker 1

Into Turkish.

Speaker 2

Yeah, it has been published by the same publisher of my books. Great work. And again, Cold War, but purely in Eastern Europe, but the price is being taken by the, paid by Middle Eastern societies. And one text, I want to make this connection. of neoconservatism and let me say Trumpism. Please, when I harshly criticized the leaders who attended Sharm Sheikh in my tweet account, I made a speech yesterday in Turkish Parliament, harsh criticism of them, because for, especially for my dear

students, please read the text in a very critical manner just to find out who is talking and what are they talking. I listened to his speech, Knesset speech, Trump, and Netanyahu's speech, and then his attitude in Sharmu Sheikh. Without listening to him in Knesset, you cannot understand what is the purpose of Sharmu Sheikh. Why I am giving this, I will come back to this. There is a report, I am sure Avi knows very well, clean break. published in 1996 when Netanyahu came to power first time as Prime Minister. And this report was written by Richard Pearl. If you read that report again and compare Trump's speech in Knesset, you can see the continuation after almost 30 years. For example, one of the concepts, I like concept visualization, and I like analysis of concepts. What was one of the main concepts of Trump's speech was peace of strength. Peace of strength. Not strength means you achieve a peace by implying force. And this concept was the essence of the Clean Break Report in 1997, neoconservative. And this Clean Break Report was written by the Committee of several other Wurmster and many neoconservatives. At that time, Clinton was in power, they were in opposition, but they critically gave this report to Netanyahu as the new strategy of Israel. The same concepts were in Trump's speech. And in this green report, they advised, they suggested Netanyahu that he should not implement Oslo process, there should not be two-state solution, clearly. From that time on, what is the continuity? So a globi in United States is creating a new vision And the first, I mean, priority has been always the security of Israel. Then 9-11 came, what I call security earthquake. The first one is geopolitical earthquake. This is security. And the conceptuation has changed. Instead of democracy, security was being used. Father Bush used democracy, freedom, et cetera. with all these neo-conservative circles, Paul Wolfowitz and many others, they had tried to implement their strategy. And I have, I became a point, I was appointed as chief advisor in 2002, just before the Iraqi American intervention to Iraq. And everybody knows very well I reacted. I was against this intervention, and as the new government, there was a huge pressure on us. I was against American troops to come in Turkey. I said, we don't this is there is no international legitimacy of the intervention, and Turkey should not be used, Turkish lands, against another neighboring nation, because at the same time I declared zero problems with neighbors. Why are you giving this? I will give you the reason about the existing situation. And almost all pro-Israeli people, intellectuals in Turkey, they attacked me. And you know, now it is interesting to come. When we were opposing American intervention to Iraq, because I was saying there is no international legitimacy, there is no UN Security Council resolution, unlike the Kuwait invasion of Kuwait in 1991, there is no international legitimacy. Tony Blair was supporting George W. Bush. Now Tony Blair, after 23 years, is on the way to go to Gaza to check to govern Gaza. What is this? What is this? What is I, when he was appointed coordinator, he came to Ankara. We had a very nice breakfast. He wanted to see me because at that time I was very much involved in peace efforts in Lebanon, in Gaza. I had contacts with Hamas, et cetera. We had a breakfast and I asked her, how can we assume something? I respect him, okay, personally, this is something else. He For me,

in British politics, he achieved a lot in 1990s before Iraqi war. But not after Iraqi war. Someone who is responsible for this humanitarian catastrophe, responsible for a war, cannot build a peace in Gaza. This is point. So this is neo-colonialism. But I quote in my article recently, this is neo-colonialism. 2025, Herbert Samuel was the first governor of Palestinian mandate from 2020 to 2025, you know everyone.

Speaker 1

1920.

Speaker 2

Sorry, yes, of course, 1920 to 1925, 100. Exactly in your book. It was after follow, he was appointed, as you know, he was the first Jewish, but he was very sincere Zionist. And now 2025, after 100 years, another British warmer diplomat is coming back to Palestine. What is this imagination? What is this? Is it people of the Middle East, Turks, Arabs, Iranians, Kurds, Turks, they don't know how to govern. Sorry. We established a state which survived 600 years. So nobody can teach us how should the Middle East be governed. We don't need another colonial mandate. But now, in 2017, when he came to power, I thought this, I said, third earthquake was economic earthquake, global crisis in 2008, then structural earthquake, Arab Spring, and I was in almost all processes of this Arab Spring. I have seen the hypocrisy of the Western governments. They supported democracies in Eastern Europe after the Cold War, but they preferred to act with autocracies, oligarchic regions, autocratic regions, during Arab Spring. We were alone when there was a coup d'etat in Egypt. You may like or dislike this, my friends, whoever won the election, you have to respect. Now, what happened in between coming to the Gaza crisis as well? These neocons, they were supposed to be champions of democracy. They say, we will spread American democracy, values, et cetera. In 2005, I was, again, chief advisor, and there were three elections. One was election in Iraq, Second was election in Lebanon after the assassination of Hariri. Third was in Palestine. In the Iraqi election, I was personally involved because Sunnis were isolated, and I brought all the Sunni leaders to Istanbul. I asked them, they were resistant groups, they were against American invasion, and they thought that those who are attending joining election is betraying the country. So I brought these tribal leaders, religious leaders, and we formed a group, Tawafuk. And Zalmah Ali Zad, another neocon, he was ambassador to Baghdad, and we invited him to Istanbul. I brought them together in order to convince Sunnis to go to election, to attend the election, because we were worried if there is absence of Sunni participation, Iraq couldn't be, as the Baadadi he knows, Sunnis and Shiites, they should be sharing the power. Otherwise, there will be another new autocracy. So we were all involved and they appreciated this. With our participation, with our mediation, Iraqi election was successful. Okay, the first time they praised me, They thought that immediately came and me. But in Lebanon, the elections again, we were in picture during Lebanese war and afterwards, we were

mediating. They praised election in Iraq as the victory, democratic victory of American invasion. All praise. They praised Lebanese election because Hezbollah became under control. But when it came to Palestine, They rejected the result of the election. 2006, January. Again, these neocons and pro-nocon circles in Turkey, they were very much against me. When we brought Khalid Mesha to Turkey after the election, one of the leading newspapers published my picture and said he is the behind of terror. I was chief advisor, so I didn't involve in this. Interestingly, Israeli ambassador came to see me after Khalid Meshal's visit. Why? I want to give these details if we have time because to understand the psychology of Hamas. Khalid Meshal came, Minister Gul met him, and after he left, I sat with him. I said, first time I have seen him before I did this. I said, yes. You want direction. Therefore, we invited you here. But please, adapt to the new situation and use a soft language and give a chance. He said, whatever you say, I will do. And he wrote an article at that time, very positive article, a message, a speech and article. But he said, We have full trust to you, but do you guarantee us that we will not be having the same destiny like Mohammed Qas and Yasir Arafat? They promised many things to them, just they said, you recognize Israel, we will do everything for you. will have your own state, you will have your own power, but just recognize the existence of Israel. But what did they achieve in the last 20 years? I wasn't able to answer. I cannot guarantee this. Interestingly, after he left, American ambassador came to see him, and he said, How come? Why did he come and what did you say? I said, Look, you know we help you in Iraqi election because we support democracy. You know that we help you in Lebanese election, we support the election, democracy. But in Palestine, You are doing a big mistake because you do not respect your own values. Why don't you give a chance to them? You gave a chance to Sunnis in Iraq, a chance to Hezbollah in Lebanon. Why don't you give a chance to Hamas? And Hamas did not commit any violent action outside Palestine. It is not like PLO. PLO made attack, et cetera. Then Israeli ambassador came protesting. Again, I responded to him. Can you imagine? After six months before this clashes started in 2006, June, suddenly midnight, Israeli ambassador came to see me midnight. I was working in the prime minister's office until midnight. I was single. in Ankara, my wife is in Istanbul. So he came, he said, Professor, they were, since I didn't have another title, my nickname was Prof, Professor. He said, We have an urgent issue. Gilad Shalit has been taken hostage as Israeli soldier, and we received a report that from Mossad that he will be killed, executed tonight. I said, I know Islamic culture. They will not execute the prisoners. Don't worry. He said, no, We have very reliable intelligence report. Can you interview me? I said, well, can you interview me? Of course. But you attack me. You blame me. Now, how can I trust you? Not you. Your minister should call me. I am not minister, but I asked him to call me. Zip name name was minister. After 2-3 hours, she called me. She said, yes, this is our first. Then I spoke to Erdogan. I spoke to Gil. Then I called Beshar-Assad's office. At that time, we had explorations. And through his office, I found Khalid Meshali. I said, Khalid, you must respect our values. Don't touch him. He said, Don't worry. We will not teach him. You

can convey the message to Israelis that Elash Shalits life is under Turkish assurance. I invited you. I said, Don't worry. Your soldier is safe. And for three years, we negotiated between two sides. The ultimate release of Gilash Shalit in exchange of 1,000 prisoners was through our mediation as well. Why I am doing this disease? The source here is the asymmetry of two powers. One side is full-scale, I mean, full-fledged state with army, with all the infrastructure supported by United States, full member to UN. They have everything to access. The other side is not state, not community. If they say we want to have one Israeli and Palestine should be one country, democratic country, one in one mode, This is a solution. I think this is a feasible solution, like South Africa process. But they say then the character of Jewish state will change, so we don't accept unity of Palestine and Israel. OK, let's our state, but you can have a state, but no army, now military, demilitarization of Gaza means enslavement of Gaza. Why one side will have repair power, the other side will not be having anything except police? And this asymmetry is the problem still. Once we were strong, to be prime, supporting Palestinians, that asymmetry was controlled because of this diplomatic support. But unfortunately, today there is not such a strong support. And the demonization of Hamas. The best description of 7th of October was by Antonio Guterres. I saw him last month in Istanbul. He said 7th of October did not occur in Vartyut. People, everybody starts his own history, beginning of the history. They start, they decide the beginning of history, they decide the end of history. In between, We don't have any other chance. We will, we have to live under these conditions. 2007 and 2008, we, I mediated between Ebud Olmert and Bashar Assad. I want to especially give this to my friend Avi because there is a coincidence there with my two friends. We had a very secret diplomacy for two years. Then in 2008, May, we declared indirect talks between Syria and Israel, and the delegations came to Istanbul in two hotels in Tarsi. I was with my delegation from one hotel to the other hotel, shuttle Dikamasi, and we declared starting of the peace negotiations. in exchange of Golan Heights and peace. Now, Golan Heights, in Knesset speech, Netanyahu said, Thank you very much. Thanks, Mr. President, because of recognition of Golan Heights, annexation of Golan Heights to Israel. And Trump said, Yes, Miriam Sheldon family, they told me about Golan Heights. So he is learning Golan Heights from a businesswoman, not from the diplomats. Therefore, he says, 3,000 years of conflict in Middle East. 500 years in the Middle East, there was no hope from 15, 17 until Napoleon came to. And he talked to Erdogan in his meeting. He said in White House, 2,000 years you tried to control Syria. Nonsense, 400. Thank you very much again, your book. Damascus events is excellent. I am advertising. You know who sent me your book?

Speaker 1

I'm getting embarrassed now. This feels like a word from our sponsor.

Speaker 2

Do you know who? How did I receive your book? I do not know. Lebanese. he sent me your book as a compliment to me. Anyway, so we had four rounds of talks in 2008 from May to December. Now I will give you some important detail. Now I suspect the same way in these last events. When we negotiated two sides, I talked to Syrian delegation. They respected me very much. To be frank, both Olmert and Bashar al-Assad, they said, If professor is mediator, we accept. Because of our honesty, they know how I work for humanitarian issues like . And we were we made a huge progress. But I talked to Syrian side, there will be peace and silence in Lebanon. Because I know if Syrians, once they can make some games in Lebanon, and I talked to Israeli side, there will be peace and silence in Gaza. From May to December, no single clash, neither in Lebanon nor in Gaza. Because I checked the previous Syrian-Palestinian, Syrian-Israeli talks, there were provocations. I don't need to go into the case. So December, was the last round Ekhut Olmert came to Ankara in Prime Minister's office. Myself, Prime Minister Erdogan, Ekhut Olmert, his team, Romani and the team of negotiation, and on the other side, by phone, Bashar-Issat was waiting. I was carrying the message from Ekhut Olmert to Bashar-Issat by phone through Erdogan. And from five, six hours, we carried these messages, and we planned everything was settled almost. There were only three, four words, maps, how it will be transferred, where should be the line, several details on Gulton Heights and Shaba farms in Lebanon. It was we were so close. It was Monday. And Ehud Olmer said in the midnight, We are very late. Three, four words just in the text were supposed to be negotiated. He said, Prof can continue between us. And next Monday, we can have a summit in Istanbul. and myself we can meet. And us all foreign ministers. And he left. Three days until Friday evening, I negotiated between two sides, and I solved all the issues. And Syrian side told me, you can accept this solution, but don't say this is our proposal, but you can use it. And everything was settled. I spoke to mediator of Ekdolmert. Next day, 11 o'clock, we were, two prime ministers were supposed to have telephone conversation to arrange the meeting. 10 o'clock or 9 o'clock, Israeli. IDF attacked Gaza. This is 2008. And everybody was knowing that February will be election, and Netanyahu was preparing to come to the government. So from clean break to that. One of my students asked this to Olmert in a conference later in the United States whether he was aware of this attack. He was not -- he didn't say much, but I am still suspecting whether this Gaza attack was done in order to prevent peace. So in Israel, we see a state of Israel, but there are many Israelis, Israeli inside Israel, you see, like Matushka. And eight of now I am coming to I am part of this, 8th of January 2009, you wrote an open letter in Guardian, am I right? Yes. And you openly criticized the Israeli attack against Gaza. Same day, I was in Damascus for a ceasefire talk between two sides, and I was meeting with Hamas delegation. At that time, we didn't have relation with Israeli proper relation, but Israelis were respecting. We sent another diplomat to Tel Aviv, and we were negotiating on this. And Richard Paul was a special envoy. The three of us, we are friends, and we have articles in the same box. Now, Netanyev came to power. All the peace process stopped. Afterwards, I became

minister, and we had many problems with the Israeli side connecting to this process. 2012, Arab Spring. I went to Gaza, 2012 war. I went to Gaza during the war when Israel was bombarding Gaza together with my wife. And we had 10 ministers, nine Arab ministers, they left when bombardment started. My security, these security guys, they are You are like prisoners of them. They said, Mr. Minister, we have to leave Gaza now. I said, no. Tonight I will stay in Gaza. People of Gaza should see that Minister of Turkey is with them. And I went to Shifa Hospital, who was destroyed now, which was destroyed now. And we, as doctor, my wife, also became part of this, I mean, help, assistance. and we stayed throughout night in Gaza. And I know people from outside can easily talk on Gaza. I know how they live. I know which type of sufferings they have. It is easy in luxury rooms of Sharma Sheikh to decide the future of Gaza without having any one, even there was even no one person from Gaza in that home. It's a shame. And because why we were able to go to Gaza, because there was a democratically elected president in Egypt, and there was a reaction. If he didn't allow us to go, there would be a reaction. To be frank, the best friends of American regimes are always autocrats and dictators, because democracies means public opinion. Today, if there is a ceasefire, it is not because of the mercy of Trump or because of his ethics, but because of the rise of global conscious. They had to make a ceasefire. Otherwise, they would dehumanize, depopulate Gaza. And 2012-4 continued only eight days, seven days, we achieved ceasefire. 2009 war, only 22 days. 2014 war, after the coup in Egypt, it was 49 days. Again, together with John Kerry and Qatari Minister Khalid, we worked together in Paris. We declared . Now, coming to today, my dear friends, if you want to have an order. First, you have to have values, common values. You have to agree something. Today, there is no common value of humanity. Look, we wrote a book. We have two books, again, advertisement. Same name, Genocide in Gaza, Genocide in Gaza by Avi Shalim. The other one, let me explain the story of this book. This is co-edited between me and Richard Paul, a great scholar and really a great human man. After 7th of October, look, this is the honesty. This is the humanity. Together with Richard, I didn't have any power. I was not in politics anymore. I was in politics, but not official position. What can we do? We formed a group. we invited several intellectuals, Nobel Prize winners, former prime ministers, presidents, to form a group, what we call Global Conscious Initiative. And in our first Zoom meeting, the main discussion was whether we can call this genocide or not. It was December 2023, two months after the genocide started. 7th of October 20th. I was a little bit cautious, not to say genocide, because I didn't want to impose anything. We, Richard Folk, and myself, we were sharing. Richard Folk, as I saw from Jewish backgrounds, but as I said, it is we had a long relationship in all the affairs. I was very impressed. I cannot forget. So it is not a matter. I said later, this is not a war between Hamas and Israel. This is not a war between Gaza and Israel. This is not a war between Palestine and Israel. This is not a war between Arabs and Israel. This is not a war between Muslims and Israel. This is a war between humanity and Israel. You know, Phyllis Bennis, maybe you remember, in Zoom meeting, a very prominent lady, she said,

I am a daughter of a of a Jewish family from Holocaust. If you do not say genocide to this, I will not sign the declaration you prepared. It is a genocide. This was said, this wasn't said by a Muslim or by an Arab, by an American Jewish honest woman. So nobody should see these developments as a problem between Hamas and Israel. They want the project is known. No, this is not anymore at that level. Then we organized a conference in London and we prepared this book. Now coming to the last stage. Biden administration is as responsible as Trump. Therefore, when Trump says Biden was bad, He was, I agree with him, but I disagree that he's good. He himself is good. You know, when I looked at the speeches, six about these various rules, six important points I want to raise here in last Sharma Sheikh and Trump plan. One is ideological reference. Trump says in his speech, openly. And that is why even after 3,000 years, he likes thousands. He doesn't say hundreds of years. 3,000 years of pain and conflict. The people of Israel have never given up from the Zionism, from all sorts of threats you want. You want the promise of Zion. You want the promise of success and hope and law. If a Muslim says, for example, in a meeting about instead of Zion, some Islamic term, he would have been declared as a fundamentalist. This background, Zionism, until Oslo and Madrid process was recognized as racism by UN General Assembly decision. and this type of science. Secondly, what is the purpose of Shahram Sheikh? I said, the purpose was to de-legitimize Netanyahu, de-legitimization of Netanyahu. Netanyahu is a criminal. He is being under tribe of ICC and ICJ as committing genocide. And can you imagine, he was invited to Sharm Sheikh. At last minute, because of coming certain reactions, he didn't go. But Netanyahu, in his speech in Knesset, why did he go to Knesset before? He wanted to satisfy Israelis and he wanted to say to other leaders, Muslim and European leaders, This is, these are my terms. You have to come to Sharmu Sheikh listening my speech, so accept this. And he said, that is what makes him great, addressing to Netanyahu. Thank you very much, Bibi. Great job. And let me also convey my tremendous appreciation for all the nations. He continues. And be praised, praised, praised Netanyahu. for his legitimacy, for Netanyahu's legitimacy. More important, I will come to this point, this is the essence of his speech, complicity. In fact, this is an evidence for ICC and ICJ to call to invite Trump to the court with the accusation of complicity with this sentence. Why? He says, Bibi, and I think you know, as you mentioned, Bibi, before, peace through strength. This is the clean break terminology, and that is what it is all about. The United States has the greatest and most powerful military in the right now history of the world. I live with military, and then, sorry, Then he says, we have to do what we have to do. We make the best weapons in the world, and we have got a lot of them, and we have given a lot of to Israel. He confesses that he gave weapons to Israel to commit genocide. And frankly, and I mean Bibi would call me so many times, can you get me this weapon? That weapon, that weapon. So some of them, I never heard them of. Yeah, so he is more knowledgeable, Netanyahu, than him. Bibi and I met them. And people are laughing. But we would get them there, wouldn't we? So this is complicity. If there is a case in ICC, this is an evidence of complicity. He is

confessing. Then, this is even the most striking one, and he looked to the chief of staff of his idea. He was sitting there, and he said, a new coalition of proud and responsible nations is emerging, and because of us, the enemies of all civilization are infinitely, thanks to the bravery at an incredible scale of the Israeli Defense Forces. And all these generals are in ICC. Is this only a humanitarian problem? No, because this means the end of international law. There will be no rules. There will be no ICC regulations, ICG regulations. I said values. rules and institutions. He's destroying institutions. And even more interestingly, four, let me see, there is no single reference to UN. There is no single reference to United Nations. I wrote an article with VP Polish soon after his speech in UN General Assembly. This is exactly when I listened to his speech in UN General Assembly, his rhetoric Exactly the same rhetoric of Hitler's and Mussolini used against League of Nations in 1930s, 1936. Exactly the same. Hitler was insulting Chamberlain. Hitler was insulting Churchill. Mussolini was insulting Haile Selassie in Abyssinia issue. Similarly, he's insulting all the leaders. The picture itself has a meaning. So, no single reference to United Nations. The opposite. Netanyahu said, Thanks for annexation of Golan Heights. He said, Of course, this is against two for two against many other things. Of course, Golan Heights is after 1967. He said, Thanks for recognizing our rights in Judea-Samaria, which means Vespan, against again Against 242? No, United Nations, he doesn't care. Where are we going? It is not, therefore, I say symptom. Gaza is the beginning of a new colonial era. We have to be aware of this fact. And another important, just as a symptom, I will show, compensation. How he looks to Arabs, you know, he says, They are very rich. They have many oil, many money, a lot of money. This is how he approaches to other nations. For him, Middle Eastern people are people of oil and money, so you have to get them. Land is real estate, Middle Eastern land, Gaza, real estate, a nice place to be. And peace means Israeli hegemony in the Middle East. Everything is for that. This is unbelievable. Therefore, I have seen many leaders, I mean, direct contacts in the United States. I called in my book systemic earthquake, United States strategy as strategy of discontinuity. I mean, policy of Father Bush, policy of Clinton, George W. Bush, Obama, Trump, all are different, I mean, changing. But every time they are damaging, they are not establishing anything. Now, after this, in the speech, another element for the future is Abrahamic Accord, to reference to Abrahamic Accord, which means this is his future aim. Okay, he says to others, Thus, something happened, but we have released hostages. This is a success. 70,000 children being killed. It's not important. Now there is a new era. You will recognize this right. You will recognize, you will forget all the past. You will sit around the table based on our impositions. This is Trump plan, 20-point plan, where there is no right of Palestinian state, et cetera. and the compensation money will come from you. When the very, he's a good businessman, I have to admit. When it comes to Ukraine and Russia, he say Russia has to pay compensation. But when it comes to Gaza and Israel, Israel will destroy, Arabs will pay, he will build resort area. Oh, nice business. And he is proud of being chair of the board. And he says, nice board. This is colonial mandate. This is

provocating Arab masses, masses of the region, for another intifada, for another wave of mass movement.

Speaker 1

I'm going to ask you to bring it to a conclusion soon, only to leave them time for questions.

Speaker 2

OK, I will stop in three minutes. Without hearing about the picture in Sharmushei, I really I was very critical in the third area to everybody here. This is theatre. As soon as there are three UN Security Council members there, Britain, France, and U.S., according to UN, they are equal. But there, boss is Trump, he says British Prime Minister Poy, are you here? Come, then turn and continue to talk. No, respect to other UN Security Council members, Muslim nations or others. This picture, I remember Persopolis, Persopolis. If you go there, you can see all the other nations are coming to Persian king for respect, as if he is the one everybody must obey. There is no institution, there is no rule. UN Secretary General is just a person there. Arabic Secretary General is doesn't mean anything. So this is what I call systemic earthquake. What is the solution? This is another subject tomorrow. Oxford Union, I will talk on this. What is the future of old order? in no colonial hegemony or an inclusive governance where all nations are being respected. All nations are being respected. Gaza is the beginning of a new era of this fight, of this confrontation. Will we be achieving a new inclusive governance? It is our test of history. Thank you very much.