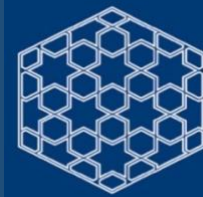




GABR FELLOWS MEETING WITH MR. HARTWIG SCHAFER, VICE PRESIDENT AT THE WORLD BANK



The SHAFIK GABR Foundation

The Gabr Fellowship Newsletter

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Think First, Act Later... Speak Last

I was sitting and watching the beautiful lake in Geneva with its amazing fountain spraying water to a height of 100 feet, when my thoughts were interrupted by a long-standing friend I had not seen for over ten years.

This CEO of a large multinational company headquartered in America stormed and asked “How can you sit like this when the world is a mess?!” I welcomed and calmed him with a few remarks and listened to his outpouring of complaints for the next forty minutes, covering a range of topics – from the climate, to the handling of the pandemic, to Afghanistan, to the economic mess in Greece (he is of Greek origin), to the failure of political leaders to work together to enhance the world, the work from home syndrome, and much more.

As he is of Greek birth, my friend poured anguish on the lack of vision of Greek leaders, how the wildfires rampaged whilst Greek government members vacationed on the islands, and the mishandling of the return of tourists. He asked how Greece can welcome high net worth individuals to invest in Greece if their planes cannot park in Athens or the islands without anguish to get daily extensions. He mentioned an American friend that was interested in investing in Greece who left in frustration as he had to move his aircraft between three airports during his week-long stay in Athens.

But my dear friend’s serious anger was focused on the debacle in Afghanistan where the US spent 20 years, two trillion dollars and failed miserably. Failure, he said, was a good word – the US has failed the Western world, its values and morals by going to deal with the Taliban which is no different, he banged his hand on the table shaking the coffee cups, than Hamas, Hezbollah, Al Qaeda and ISIS.

As I tried to absorb his anger and turn the discussion to a positive platform, it was clear that there were commonalities in his complaints. Leaders in Greece and the US surely did not “think first.” They acted with no thinking. In Greece they gave the management of airports to a German company that favoured TUI and similar commercial aircraft to land and leave paying landing fees, rather than private jets whose occupants would invest and spend entering the Greek economy.

On the US side, President Biden could not have “thought first” before deciding and announcing America’s departure from Afghanistan. His actions caused devastation, deaths, chaos and directly establishing a terrorist state with USD 85 billion of cash and military hardware. Not only that, but he furthermore spoke too early, without the “think first, act later,” undermining his administration’s credibility and America’s leadership.

Thinking first, carefully and with proper accurate analysis allows for proper action, after which speaking makes sense and not baloney. Greece and America deserve better. And my friend needs to relax before his blood pressure causes a blow-up.

M. Shafik Gabr

News and Updates...

Michael Matthiesen Interns With CDC



2017 Gabr Fellow Michael Matthiesen started an internship this semester with the Center for Disease Control and Prevention as Public Health Law Intern.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention is the national public health agency of the United States.

Michael has also officially moved to Washington, DC.

Jeff Walls Welcomes Baby Daughter



2013 Gabr Fellow Jeff Walls recently welcomed a new daughter, Violet.

The birth procedure went very well and the family is getting rest and adjusting to life as a family of four.

Jeff is a designer and artist based in Portland, Oregon, currently a Senior Product Designer at Propel, Inc.

Casey Smith Leads Strategic Planning for City of Austin



2015 Gabr Fellow Casey Smith's work has changed in the last two years from leading the international business unit for the City of Austin to now leading Strategic Planning for the Economic Development Department (still at the City).

One of the main projects she initiated is improving access to Austinites needing services, set to launch in October. This will enable the City of Austin to determine whether they are reaching Austinites who really need support.

Casey's dream is to prove this out in her department and then roll it out across all City departments.

Imane Higazy Starts MSc in Estonia



2016 Gabr Fellow Imane Higazy left for Estonia after being awarded a fully funded scholarship from Ministry of the Foreign Affairs (MFA) of Estonia to start a MSc in Bioengineering in University of Tartu. This will be her second MSc degree, as she is originally a postdoctoral researcher in the field of Pharmaceutical Technology. It is worth mentioning that University of Tartu only accept 15 students worldwide for the MSc of Bioengineering program, amongst whom, only one international student is awarded the MFA scholarship.

She was also selected as the only Egyptian reviewer for the UN report on climate change, amongst a large team of international reviewers.

Haroun Habib Starts Work at Sabin Vaccine Institute



2013 Gabr Fellow Haroun Habib has a new job with the Sabin Vaccine Institute as their Director of Global Community Engagement.

The Sabin Vaccine Institute is a leading advocate for expanding vaccine access and uptake globally, advancing vaccine research and development, and amplifying vaccine knowledge and innovation.

Sabin's mission is to make vaccines more accessible, enable innovation and expand immunization across the globe.

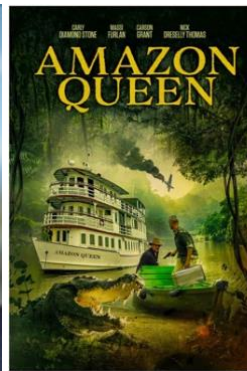
Marwa Abdalla Participates in CINEMED Film Festival



2018 Gabr Fellow Marwa Abdalla's first feature film project as a producer "Breakfast, Lunch, and Dinner" has been selected to participate in the Development Aid Grants program of the CINEMED film festival in its 43rd edition. The Festival will take place next October in Montpellier - France.

She will also participate in the coproduction meetings to meet producers, sales agents, financial sponsors, broadcasters, reps from post-production companies, during individual appointments.

Nick Thomas Returns to Egypt



2015 Gabr Fellow Nick Thomas returns to Egypt this October for the first time since the Fellowship on a scouting mission with director Marlin Darrah as they prepare for their next Hollywood feature "Chasing Nefertiti", which is slated to begin filming in February in Luxor and Aswan. Nick's recent feature "Amazon Queen", which he co-starred in as "Flynn McIntyre" and was filmed last October in Brazil, will premiere at the TCL Chinese Theatre in Hollywood on 10/2.

Please connect with Nick if you can either join for the screening or want to get involved with the coming production in Egypt. He can be reached on nickdresellythomas@gmail.com

2014 Gabr Fellow Nourhan Moussa featured in the Daily News Egypt, where she talked about the legal aspects of the GERD issue:



Ethiopia disrespects international law by violating succession of states in respect of treaties principle: Legal expert



About 95% of Egypt's water supply comes from the River Nile, therefore the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) stands as one of the country's most pressing water issues. The GERD dispute started with its construction in 2011, and although negotiations have been carried out between the concerned parties since then, no agreement has been reached yet.

International legal consultant Nourhan Moussa filed a complaint to the United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC) against Ethiopia for its unilateral measures which would affect the lives of people in Egypt and Sudan. How could HRC mediate to solve the dispute? After resorting to the Security Council, what next? Moussa talked to Daily News Egypt on the legal aspects of the GERD issue.

The HRC is one of the UN's bodies that give individuals the right to file complaints related to human rights. Therefore, Moussa filed a complaint to the HRC as a researcher in international law, regarding the Nile Dam issue. She asserted that the dam crisis has more than one dimension. It is not only a water dispute, as Russia stated, but it is an issue of survival. The GERD crisis also has economic, social, and human influence which will affect regional stability and security, that's why I resorted to the HRC, she indicated.

Regarding Ethiopia's disavowal of any previous agreements with Egypt under the pretext of being signed during the British occupation, Moussa said there is an important principle in international law, which is the succession of states in respect of treaties. According to this principle, agreements concluded by predecessor states shall remain valid and obligatory under the successor state.

"In my complaint to the HRC, I referred to the right to life, explaining that consequences of the GERD crisis affect human survival and the survival of the Egyptian culture which had lasted for more than 7,000 years. I clarified that the dam is a clear threat to the lives of more than 150,000 people in two countries (Egypt and Sudan)," she stated.

Read the full interview here: <https://dailynewsegypt.com/2021/08/04/ethiopia-disrespects-international-law-by-violating-succession-of-states-in-respect-of-treaties-principle-legal-expert/>

Sponsor a 2022 Gabr Fellow

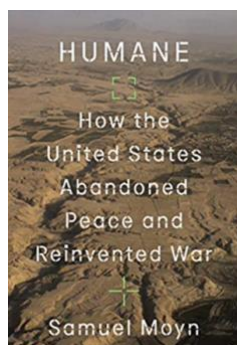


Sponsoring a Gabr Fellow for the 2022 Fellowship Program helps build bridges of cross-cultural understanding between the East and the West.

The sponsorship package costs \$35,000 which includes the sponsoring of a Fellow who can carry the name of the individual, organization or corporation making the contribution. Sponsors will be recognized in all Foundation publications, marketing materials, and events. Contributions of any amount, big or small, are encouraged and welcomed with sincere gratitude. More information can be found here:

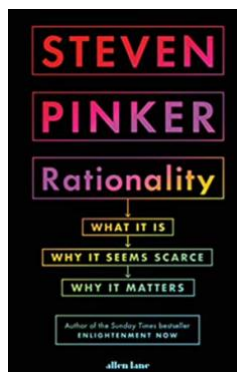
eastwestdialogue.org/fellowship/how-to-support

Gabr Foundation Reading Corner



The Foundation Reading Corner encourages Fellows to critique the books that have been recommended to them in each issue. For this issue, Mr. Gabr recommends *Humane: How the United States Abandoned Peace and Reinvented War* by Samuel Moyn and *Rationality: What It Is, Why It Seems Scarce, Why It Matters* by Steven Pinker.

Humane: How the United States Abandoned Peace and Reinvented War is the story of how America went off to fight and never came back, and how armed combat was transformed from an imperfect tool for resolving disputes into an integral component of the modern condition. As American wars have become more humane, they have also become endless. This provocative book argues that this development might not represent progress at all.



In the 21st century, humanity is reaching new heights of scientific understanding—and at the same time appears to be losing its mind. How can a species that developed vaccines for Covid-19 in less than a year produce so much fake news, medical quackery, and conspiracy theorizing? *Rationality*, Steven Pinker's follow-up to *Enlightenment Now*, drawing together the tools for overcoming obstacles to rational thinking,

Afghanistan: What Went Wrong?

By **Michael Mandelbaum**, Christian A. Herter Professor Emeritus of American Foreign Policy at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

American Purpose, August 2021

After twenty years, the sacrifice of the lives of 2,448 American soldiers and 1,720 civilian contractors, with more than 20,000 Americans wounded and the expenditure of a trillion dollars, the American project in Afghanistan has failed—suddenly, definitively, and in humiliation.

Despite two decades of effort, the United States failed to bring peace to that country and to sustain a decent, stable, pro-Western government in its capital, Kabul. It also failed to prevent the Taliban, the fundamentalist Islamic movement that sheltered the terrorists who attacked on September 11, 2001, from regaining power: American military forces had vanquished them a few weeks after the assaults on New York City and Washington, D.C. The principal reason for sending military forces to Afghanistan was to prevent further terrorist attacks on American soil and, indeed, none has since occurred. That achievement is now in jeopardy, however, with terrorist groups reportedly poised to use the now Taliban-dominated Afghanistan as a base for their global operations.

Why has all this happened? What went wrong with the American undertaking in Afghanistan? The answers may be found in the most comprehensive history of the American military effort yet published, Carter Malkasian's recently released *The American War in Afghanistan*, but also in the other similar and similarly painful American efforts at transforming societies dating back to the 19th century.

Malkasian spent extensive time in Afghanistan as a civilian American official; wrote a well-received book, *War Comes to Garmser* (2013), about one of the places where he served; and has known, worked with, and talked at length to a wide variety of both Americans and Afghans in Afghanistan. He is unusual even for an American with experience in the country in that he speaks Pashto, one of its two principal languages. He tells, in considerable detail, the story of America in Afghanistan across four presidencies.

The attacks of September 11 took place in the first year of the presidency of George W. Bush, which proceeded to remove the Taliban from power at very low cost and then helped to establish a new government, headed by Hamid Karzai. The administration then devoted relatively little attention and few resources to the country and, in 2006, the Taliban mounted a military and political comeback. By using guerrilla tactics, direct assaults, and suicide bombings they reestablished their control in part of southern Afghanistan.

The Obama Administration decided to send more troops to the country—the number eventually reached one hundred thousand—in an effort to replicate the achievements of the “surge” of American personnel in Iraq in 2007–08. Averse to an open-ended

commitment, however, President Obama insisted that the Afghan surge be limited in time and scope. As his administration reduced the size of the American Army in the country, the Taliban rallied and were able to launch powerful offensives in 2015 and 2016.

Donald Trump, the third American President to preside over the war, came to office opposed to the American presence in Afghanistan and often said that he wanted to terminate it. He was persuaded to keep several thousand troops in the country, however, by the argument—which had influenced his two immediate predecessors and proved to be prophetic—that without them the American-supported government would fall and the Taliban would return, bringing with them terrorists who would again attempt to strike the United States. Peace talks with the Taliban came close to fruition in the Trump years but ultimately failed. This paved the way for the Biden decision to withdraw completely, leaving behind not a secure, stable Afghan government but rather one that could not defend itself against the Taliban.

From Malkasian's account a number of reasons for the American failure emerge. The American government made mistakes. It rejected what in retrospect the author sees as potential opportunities to conciliate the Taliban, or at least some of them. Washington was slow to recognize the need for a competent Afghan police force and army. Nor did the United States consistently pursue a fixed goal in the country. For most of the two decades it concentrated on counterterrorism, a policy aimed at the remnants of the al-Qaeda organization that had launched the September 11 attacks. Intermittently, however, especially during the surge of 2009–10, it tried to practice anti-Taliban counterinsurgency, a far more ambitious and expensive undertaking involving trying to win support for the American-sponsored Afghan government through political reform and economic development.

Furthermore, in the American military's fight against the Taliban it used tactics—notably air strikes—that led to civilian casualties, which alienated many Afghans, the people whose loyalty the United States was trying to help win for the government to which it was allied. Finally, the invasion of Iraq in 2003 diverted American attention and resources, making it impossible to make the investments in Afghanistan that might have led to a better outcome from the American point of view.

The military and political efforts suffered from shortcomings on the Afghan side as well. The anti-Taliban forces had difficulty in cooperating, divided as they were by tribe and ethnicity. The government's ministries tended to be dysfunctional and the political leaders corrupt. Hamid Karzai proved to be, for the Americans, a problematical leader, often temperamental, indecisive, and unrealistic about the dangers his government was facing.

To read the full article, please visit: <https://www.americanpurpose.com/articles/afghanistan-what-went-wrong/>

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

Question 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. Was leaving Afghanistan a success or failure?

Success: 27%

Failure: 73%

2. Is Iran a dangerous regime?

Yes: 58%

No: 21%

I don't know: 21%

3. For Egyptian Fellows: Are you satisfied with the state of Egyptian economy?

Yes: 35%

No: 22%

I don't know: 43%

3. For American Fellows: Are you satisfied with the state of the US economy?

Yes: 23%

No: 35%

I don't know: 42%

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

HAPPY BIRTHDAY



September 3: Jack Gordon, 2017 Gabr Fellow



September 5: Nourhan Moussa, 2014 Gabr Fellow



September 12: Hala Abdelgawad, 2016 Gabr Fellow



September 12: Shady Saleh, 2018 Gabr Fellow



September 15: Ahmed Mostafa, 2018 Gabr Fellow



September 16: Haroun Habib, 2013 Gabr Fellow



September 17: Michael Goff, 2014 Gabr Fellow

The Gabr Fellowship Newsletter

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/>



Emile Deckers, *The Three Chieftains*
Watercolour on paper, The Shafik Gabr Collection

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