Hail Zelenskyy

Attending the World Economic Forum in Davos is a rare event experienced by few, although prior to Covid 19 the number of people attending had ballooned.

Prior to climbing the mountain to Davos, it was a ritual to meet with friends at Baur au Lac in Zurich. The view across Lake Geneva is glorious and with a dry cool breeze it was an excellent afternoon to see and meet friends. Walking to the balcony I saw a table full of friends.

Professor Simon Brent, a British political analyst; Joseph Fisher, a renowned German investment guru; Samantha (Sam) Wagner, an American senior executive in the defense industry; Nicola (Nick) Kovalenko, a Ukrainian oligarch living between London and Kyiv; Renée Beaumont, French owner of a major industrial conglomerate with factories across Europe and in China.

I joined them and was warmly welcomed. I asked about Zhao Chen and Alexander Petrov who were usually part of the group. Joseph, in a dark navy suit got up and kindly pulled a chair for me while saying with a shrug that they did not show.

Sam, dressed in a pin-striped suit said that possibly they were not invited given the war in Ukraine. Renée, who inherited her global company, in tight jeans, boots and a leather jacket said that maybe Petrov was not invited but why would Chen not be invited? The question hung in the air as I settled in and Nick, smoking a big cigar flashed a knowing smile and said, “The world is better without them.”

Simon grimaced but looked at me and asked what I would like to order. I looked at the table and saw there was an array of drinks from sodas to Negronis and Camparis. On the food side there was salted mixed nuts, olive sticks, cheese platter with crackers and an array of canapes. I ordered a filtered coffee and a mixture of cookies plus a bottle of still mineral water. As I settled in asking Renée where she flew from, I noticed Nick’s Financial Times on the table with Zelensky’s face plastered on the front page. As I approached the paper, Sam asked Nick “will Zelensky come to Davos?” Nick said no but he will address the participants virtually. Simon interjected that Zelensky would not miss an opportunity to speak out. Joseph added, “last January not too many people knew the name of the President of Ukraine but after March his name recognition is highest worldwide.”

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Nick said, “He is a hero.” Joseph added, “Zelenskyy is always in olive military garb and beard signifying no time for a shave. He even got the Prime Minister of Finland to emulate him when she visited him in Kyiv.”

Suddenly, Andre Gruber came to our table. Andre, six foot four, an Austrian involved in global industries for years and on the board of many think tanks and known to the group greeted us warmly. We all shuffled as Joseph added a chair. Andre ordered a spritzer and joined our conversation. Nick turned to Samantha (Sam) and said: “Tell your President, Ukraine wants F16s, lethal weapons and a trillion dollars. Sam put on a skeptical smile and said, “Even if America gave Ukraine F16s, Ukraine doesn’t have pilots to fly them. Secondly,” Sam added as she adjusted herself in her chair, “we have given you lethal weapons, training and intelligence plus have advisors in your central command and on the ground. How do you think Ukraine has been fighting this war?” Finally, Sam moving forward in her chair and pointing a finger of her right hand towards Nick, quietly said, “Of course you would like to broker the trillion dollars.” Andre interjected “Nick, you do realize Ukraine is very high on the corruption scale?”

Before Nick could respond Simon said, “It’s important to be practical” but his words fell on deaf ears as Joseph in a loud voice said, “We must beat Russia in this third world war – no other alternative is acceptable.” I was astonished this came from a German, then Simon rejoined the conversation and said that Britain’s top Army General Sir Patrick Sanders warned in June that the West needs to prepare for a protracted war. Renée, sipping her Campari, said that this is a war between America and Russia. “Moreover,” she continued, “this is a very cheap war for America, a war to bleed Russia till the last Ukrainian soldier.” Renée concluded, munching on an olive stick, that Europe is paying a huge price to appease America and businesses are suffering in a big way unless you are an American firm selling weapons.

Sam was eating a cracker with cheese. She put half of it back on the plate and remarked: “America saved Europe twice and we are doing it again.” The air became tense and Nick dropping cigar ashes on the floor said, “Yes, America and Europe need to put Russia in its place, then focus on China.”

I found the conversation very disturbing. Andre in a deep throated voice commanding the table with his broad shoulders said that Zelenskyy has been on every platform from the UN to the Cannes film festival. He added, “Zelenskyy exchanged angry words with Giovanni Infantino the boss of FIFA who denied Zelenskyy his request to make an address before the World Cup final.” Joseph interjected “And what is your point, Andre?”

Andre shifted to the left facing Joseph and, using his two fists, pointed to his fingers and counted saying: “First America and NATO refused to honor the agreement with Russia that NATO would not move eastward after the unification of Germany. Second, America in 2014 executed a regime change bringing Poroshenko, replacing Yanukovych who was democratically elected. Third, for the past three years America and NATO have armed, trained, and upgraded Ukraine’s army.” Nick and Joseph tried to interrupt but Andre waved them to silence. “Fourth, a missile based in Ukraine would hit Moscow in 180 seconds – that is an empirical fact. Fifth, Zelenskyy announced before the start of the war Ukraine’s interest in joining NATO opening the door to placing American weapons and missiles in Ukraine.” Sam was smiling with a twinkle in her eye as Andre said, “Finally, you can call Putin a murderer, a devil but honestly, did you expect him to continue simply watching and twiddling his thumbs?” Andre went back in his chair as both Joseph and Nick jumped forward to argue and that is when Simon raised his hand and said, “While you can all argue, two facts cannot be denied.” He continued, “On the other hand Zelenskyy is acting the hero on every platform, and secondly whilst he is in the US addressing Congress and chatting with Biden in the warmth of the Oval Office, there are tens of thousands of Ukrainians dying, fleeing or freezing.”

Renée turned to me and said “Shafik, you have been silent.” I rubbed my beard and looked Renée in a face-to-face manner and said, “It takes leadership to action sustainable peace.” I added “I see no leadership; I only see manipulation and escalation.” Andre turned to the group. “Austria remained neutral; Ukraine should have learnt their lesson rather than allow Zelenskyy to be a hero from zero.” Renée added, “If you think about it, the world is really in total shortage of global leadership. A dozen men are running globalization to its demise, enhancing conflict and war plus spending billions on weaponry and putting aside problems of poverty, health, food, water, and climate...so sad.”

Simon stood up and asked for the bill in perfect Swiss German bringing the conversation to a close and trying to us get our cars to climb the mountain to Davos to attend the World Economic Forum (WEF).

As I entered my chauffeured vehicle, I remembered the WEF’s motto: “Improve the state of the world” and thought to myself that it will take much more than WEF to even commence towards such a goal.
FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

MICHAEL MATTHIESEN, 2017 FELLOW

2017 Gabr Fellow Michael Matthiesen graduated from the George Washington University School of Law specialising in Health Law, and received his Juris Doctorate with Honors.

During his time in law school, Michael interned with the U.S Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), U.S Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), and Federal Public Defenders in Miami. He also interned for two federal judges: Judge Cecilia Altonaga (chief judge of the Southern District of Florida), and Judge Royce Lamberth (U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia).

AHMED RADWAN, 2015 FELLOW

2015 Gabr Fellow Ahmed Radwan started shooting for his newest role in a TV series called "Taghyeer Gaw" ("Change of Weather") and it will be broadcast on TV and other platforms during Ramadan.

He also started a new show for kids on Tiktok, Instagram, and Facebook called "Matsa3’rnash" ("Don’t Treat Us Like Kids"). The first episode hit 4.2 million views on Tiktok during the first two days.

In addition, Ahmed finished shooting his first musical short movie "When the Light Turns Off", which tackles a young couple’s divorce. The movie is currently in the post-production stage and will be out soon.

SARAH BADR, 2017 FELLOW

2017 Gabr Fellow Sarah Badr was invited, as part of the Egyptian delegation, by the National Training Academy to the World Leadership Models summit, which is held under the slogan "Exploring the Future of Governments" in February at the United Arab Emirates.

In participation were a large number of government leaders, ministers, senior officials and decision makers, as well as international specialists in finance, economics and social affairs.

PASCAL RATHLE, 2022 FELLOW

2022 Gabr Fellow Pascal Rathle has been selected as a part of the 2023 United States delegation to the Youth G20 Summit in Varanasi, India in August.

Pascal is one of five Americans selected to participate in a series of diplomatic talks on behalf of the youth voice with other young delegates from the G20 countries. He will be participating on the Future of Work panel.

DAVID GUHL, 2014 FELLOW

2022 Gabr Fellow David Guhl has been selected as a U.S. Presidential Management Fellow (PMF) Finalist for the Class of 2023.

The PMF Program is the Federal Government’s premier leadership development program for advanced degree holders.
2014 Gabr Fellow Zeyad El-Kelani started instructing a new course on Artificial Intelligence and Data Science in Empirical Political Science at Cairo University in February 2023. This is the first time that such a course has been offered at Cairo University and is the only one available of its kind across the Political Science and Economics departments in Egypt. In addition, Zeyad published his research on blockchain technology in data monetization in two academic articles in the esteemed Journal of Artificial Intelligence Advances.

2022 Gabr Fellow Mohamed Hassan started an internship at Robust Studio, a branding and design company, working on User Experience and User Interaction. This internship will support his upcoming Master's degree at the University of Brighton.

2017 Gabr Fellow Dalia Younis was chosen by UNICEF for a staff exchange opportunity. Dalia will be working for the UNICEF Malaysia Country Office to share her expertise in digital communication, based on her work on covering UNICEF participation at COP27 and the climate change advocacy events.

2018 Gabr Fellow Shady ElSherif was promoted to Executive Manager for the Research and Development at the Information and Decision Support Center. Shady was also invited to attend the Supporting Local Governance and Administrative Reform in Egypt Conference, which was hosted by The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

2018 Gabr Fellow Lauren Ziegler has accepted a new position as the Head of Legislative Affairs with NASA at the John F. Kennedy Space Center. Lauren previously served as the Legislative Director for Congressman Brian Babin. Since 1968, the Kennedy Space Center has been the main launch center of human spaceflight. Famous launch operations like the one for Apollo and Skylab were carried out from Kennedy Space Center Launch Complex. It also manages the launch of robotic and commercial crew missions and researches food production and in-situ resource utilization for off-Earth exploration.
MARWA ABDALLA, 2018 FELLOW
2018 Gabr Fellow Marwa Abdalla has recently completed the Durban FilmMart Institute Business Lab (“DFMI Business Lab”) in South Africa. DFMI Business Lab is a 12-week business skills development programme, aimed at nurturing and empowering film producers from African countries with the necessary skills to effectively engage in a global market.

REHAM GAMAL, 2017 FELLOW
2017 Gabr Fellow Reham Gamal has recently completed her Ph.D. Thesis in Political Communications from the University of Jaume I in Valenica, Spain - with honors.

INTERVIEW WITH....

ERIKA WITT, 2014 GABR FELLOW
Erika Witt is a museologist in New Orleans, engaged primarily with collections management and curatorship. Her primary focus is on the arts of Africa and the African diaspora, with a specialization in Kemetic visual expressions. Erika has developed numerous art and history exhibitions and cared for various collections in Tennessee, Louisiana, and Virginia.

1) What are the 3 most important takeaways of your 2014 Gabr Fellowship experience?
   • It doesn't matter where you are in life, there are people in the world from various backgrounds that want to positively impact their global communities like you do.
   • America and Egypt have a lot more cultural and political similarities than differences. We are better together diplomatically than apart.
   • Regardless of your background, you deserve to be here.

2) Would you visit Egypt again?
   • In a heartbeat. Egypt is the land of my dreams and if I could live there and give back positively to the people and the country, I would in an instant. Insha’allah, I will spend more time in Egypt.

3) What 3 things can make Egypt-US bilateral relations stronger?
   • Promoting more cross-cultural dialog initiatives in all sectors, especially in education.
   • Allowing Egypt to lead and promote intermediary relations between the US and other Middle Eastern countries for the promotion of peace and stability.
   • Furthering the promotion of educational and cultural initiative through museums.

4) Did the program in Egypt and the US bring new knowledge to you?
   • The program in Egypt and the US opened up brand new worlds for me and put me in rooms with people I could only dream of meeting and learning from. I was only versed in all things museums and Egyptology but the Fellowship exposed me to learning about the various sectors that keep our nation’s running effectively.

5) How would you describe the Gabr Fellowship program in three words?
   • Galvanizing, awe-inspiring, stupendous.
M. Shafik Gabr and the Shafik Gabr Foundation have for several years held their *Expected the Unexpected* opening dinner during the World Economic Forum in Davos. Under strict Chatham House rules, international experts in fields of politics, business, security, economy, media and the arts gather to forecast and provide their insights for the future, in a friendly, insightful and deeply thought-provoking environment.

For the first time, the *Expected the Unexpected: 2023 and Beyond* dinner took place at the opening night of the Munich Security Conference on 16th February 2023, at the Wintergarten of the Bayerischer Hof hotel in Munich. Present were forty guests including a former President of a European country, Ministers, Ambassadors, US Congress members, international organization chairs, heads of think tanks, business leaders and distinguished scholars from Europe, the Middle East, United States and Asia. Also present was Judson Moore, 2015 Gabr Fellow and Senior Product Manager at SoSafe, who spoke about his transformative experience with the Gabr Fellowship.

The evening saw an important, compelling and intense debate, moderated by Chairman Shafik Gabr, on crucial current topics including the Russia-Ukraine conflict and its repercussions, US-China relations, current developments in technology and AI, the future of education, global economy challenges and broader geopolitical issues.
The main predictions for the year ahead were as follows:

- Saudi Arabia will play a larger role in global geopolitics.
- Due to radical and extreme right Israeli politics and the lack of global intervention to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, heightened Palestinian-Israeli tensions are expected.
- The Russia-Ukraine war has been expected since 2014, and predictions are divided between a ceasefire by summer, and an extended war for another year.
- There is a serious viewpoint that Ukraine must and will win the war with Russia.
- Defence expenditures are to rise and military factories are to ramp up productions.
- It is expected that the status quo of 40 nations supporting the Ukraine and 140 nations on the fence will change in favour of support for Ukraine due to US pressure.
- On the other hand, multiple western voices for escalation and arming of Ukraine may cause a counter reaction of more support for Russia.
- Whilst a ceasefire is wished by some, the expectation is that this can only happen when both parties are exhausted.
- Daily deaths from the Ukraine war are about 1500 souls of which a third are Ukrainian. Expectation is that toll will have a long-term impact.
- Certain EU countries and NATO will arm, train and bring Moldova in a security belt that can cause serious provocations to Russia.
- A strong view was put forward that if Russia is cornered, the expectation is that Russia would use a tactical nuclear weapon with multiple repercussions.
- Sanctions of various types and towards different parties shall continue at a higher pace causing more disruption and deglobalisation.
- It was predicted that if Donald Trump was nominated in 2024, then Joe Biden would run and win. Alternatively, if a Republican candidate other than Donald Trump is nominated (such as Governor Ron DeSantis), he would face Governor Gavin Newsom or Senator Cory Booker.
- China is expecting to open again, experience better economic growth and potentially put forward a proposal for a ceasefire in the Ukraine war.
- China is not expected to go to war over Taiwan this year, but US and Taiwanese provocation efforts will continue to challenge the ‘One China’ policy.
- Whilst the Ukraine war was the elephant in the room, there were strong opinions about accelerating change in the world due to GPT (Generative Pre-trained Transformer) and quantum computing.
- The future of education will be completely transformed in a manner unknown.
- There will be no more developing and developed countries, but rather technologically superior leading countries on the one side, and follower countries on the other.
- The production of superchips will experience huge competition causing serious disruptions.
- There will be tech-superior human beings that have embedded special chips which monitor health, enhance memory, et cetera; and normal human beings.
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.) Have you personally used ChatGPT or any other form of Open AI?
   - Yes - 54%
   - No - 46%

2.) In a free market economy, do you agree with the recent US ban of China's TikTok on the devices of US federal employees?
   - Yes - 58%
   - No - 23%
   - I don’t know - 19%

3.) Do you think the current trend of deglobalization will continue in 2024?
   - Yes - 50%
   - No - 31%
   - I don’t know - 19%

4.) Do you believe sanctions work?
   - Yes - 44%
   - No - 44%
   - I don’t know - 12%

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.
The Conversation
About Ukraine Is Cracking Apart

By Stephen Walt
February 2023

I attended the Munich Security Conference for the first time this year, so I may be a member of Washington’s so-called Blob after all. I was grateful for the opportunity and enjoyed the experience, but I can’t say that I came away from it feeling better about the current state of the world. The war in Ukraine dominated the proceedings, of course, and there were two important dividing lines in the collective conversation.

The first gap was the vastly different perceptions, narratives, and preferred responses between the trans-Atlantic community on the one hand and key members of the global south on the other. Several important media outlets have described this gap already, and a new report from the European Council on Foreign Relations contains compelling survey data documenting it. I attended several sessions and private dinners focused on this issue, and the discussions were revealing.

Diehard Atlanticists tend to portray the war in Ukraine as the single most important geopolitical issue in the world today. U.S. Vice President Kamala Harris said the war had “far-reaching global ramifications,” and the head of one U.S.-based think tank called it “the fulcrum of the 21st century.” Similarly, when asked how the war might end, German Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock replied that anything less than a complete Russian defeat and withdrawal would mean “the end of the international order and the end of international law.”

In this narrative, in short, what is at stake in Ukraine is the future of the entire rules-based order—and even the future of freedom itself. Some American and European speakers seemed to be competing to see who could give the most Churchillian speech, insisting that there was no substitute for victory, dismissing any risk of escalation, and calling for Ukraine’s supporters to give Kyiv whatever it needs to win a quick and decisive victory.

The rest of the world sees it differently. Nobody was defending Russia or President Vladimir Putin in Munich, and the United Nations General Assembly resolution calling for Russia to withdraw from Ukraine “immediately, completely and unconditionally” passed with more than 140 votes a few days later. But states outside the trans-Atlantic coalition (including important powers such as India, Brazil, or Saudi Arabia) have not joined Western-led efforts to sanction Russia and do not see the conflict in the same apocalyptic terms that most officials in the West do. Atlanticists in Munich seemed baffled by their stance, and a few people were sharply critical. I heard another Western think tank head chide nonaligned states by saying, “This conference is not about moral ambiguity.”

In fact, this gap is not that hard to understand. For starters, people outside the West view the rules-based order and Western insistence that states not violate international law as rank hypocrisy, and they were particularly resentful of Western attempts to claim the moral high ground on this issue. In their view, not only do Western powers make most of the rules, but they are also perfectly willing to violate these rules whenever it suits them. Not surprisingly, representatives from the global south were quick to bring up the United States’ illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003—where was the rules-based order then? Similarly, several speakers pointed out that the same Western governments warning that Russia is violating the post-World War II norm against acquiring territory by conquest did nothing to stop Israel from conquering the Golan Heights and West Bank, annexing the former and filling the latter with settlers. Russia is now heavily sanctioned—understandably—whereas the United States gives Israel generous economic and military aid as well as uses its veto to shield Israel from criticism in the U.N. Security Council. Such blatant double standards make Western moral posturing hard to swallow.

To read the full article,
ABOUT THE FELLOWSHIP

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

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

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.
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

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**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 *This Is How They Tell Me the World Ends: The Cyber Weapons Arms Race* by Nicole Perlroth and *Papyrus: The Invention of Books in the Ancient World* by Irene Vallejo.

From *The New York Times* cybersecurity reporter Nicole Perlroth, *This Is How They Tell Me the World Ends* is the untold story of the cyberweapons market - the most secretive, invisible, government-backed market on earth, and a terrifying first look at a new kind of global warfare. Perlroth lifts the curtain on a market in shadow, revealing the urgent threat faced by us all if we cannot bring the global cyber arms race to heel.

In *Papyrus*, journeying along the battlefields of Alexander the Great, beneath the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, at Cleopatra’s palaces and the scene of Hypatia’s murder, award-winning author Irene Vallejo chronicles the excitement of literary culture in the ancient world, and the heroic efforts that ensured this impressive tradition would continue.
HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO OUR March FELLOWS!

Erika Witt
2014 Gabr Fellow
March 3

Dan Sullivan
2013 Gabr Fellow
March 22

Karim El Sharkawy
2018 Gabr Fellow
March 23

Murray Abeles
2015 Gabr Fellow
March 30
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/

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**Paja Jovanovic, The Snake Charmer**  
Oil on canvas  
The Shafik Gabr Collection

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