



Gabr Fellows Meeting, Cairo Egypt 3rd March 2024

The Twilight Zone

Munich is a special city with a lot of history. It is Bavaria's capital and home to gorgeous buildings and museums. Famous for its Oktoberfest celebrations and its beer halls, it is a city with a population of almost 1.5 million.

Another missed fact about Munich that is never in the limelight is A Mosque in Munich, a book by Ian Johnson, winner of the Pulitzer Prize, that discusses the Nazis, the CIA and the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in the West - an important read.

It was a sunny, clear sky day as we landed in Munich to attend the Munich Security Conference, the foremost meeting of leaders in the political, security, and think tank world, as well as business leaders.

Under the overt leadership of Christoph Heusgen and the covert management of the energetic Benedikt Franke,

the three-day event covered a wide range of public and private meetings.

Zelenskyy, of course, came in his war wardrobe as he would not let a public event occur without him being on the podium.

Kamala Harris arrived accompanied by three huge C-5M Super Galaxy aircraft.

The articulate Foreign Minister of China, Wang Yi, gave a tour de force speech in Chinese and fielded questions from Christoph Heusgen. Sadly, no leader from the Arab world addressed the MSC. King Abdullah of Jordan was on the program but did not speak publicly for some unclear reason.

Isaac Herzog, President of Israel, came to the MSC to proclaim that the return of hostages is a top priority but did not offer how.

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He was accompanied by released hostages and representatives of families of hostages. A commentator said that Bibi was lucky that the released hostages and the families of hostages kept flying around the world and were not harassing him.

A high-level US Congressional delegation attended the MSC. One member had a piece of tape on his lapel with the number 133 scribbled on it. When asked, explained that it represented the number of hostages held by Hamas. "Sadly, he did not have the number of 28,500 Palestinians killed," remarked a senior European politician, adding: "Our problem is that we always look at only one side of the coin."

Many other distinguished leaders participated, from Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Bahrain, Oman, Columbia, India, Ethiopia, Angola, Kenya, Singapore, Mongolia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Ecuador, and almost every European country.

"No real Russians attended – only the so-called dissidents, no real Palestinians... It is a wonder," remarked an Indian politician. "How can the World Economic Forum and the Munich Security Conference contribute to a better world if only one party to the dispute is present, while the other is nowhere to be found?"

A French politician expressed: "It is sad that the days of Arafat, Perez and Amr Moussa are over, and there is no light on the horizon."

Blinken and Cameron attended, but it was clever deflections and diplomatic talk – no real insights. It was a process with no purpose. When Cameron was questioned about the potential for a Palestinian state, which he mentioned before coming to Munich, he denied even the thought of a Cameron Declaration to announce a Palestinian state, as the Balfour Declaration that created Israel.

So, the Munich Security Conference ended with a squeak rather than a bang...

The Bayerischer Hof Hotel in Munich, which hosted the MSC, was a beehive of activity with more human beings than beds and chairs combined. It was so busy that it was a miracle the elevators survived. Most probably more security than participants, with so many in uniform and looking suspiciously.

Packing and leaving was smooth, thanks to the hotel staff, who miraculously remained calm given the endless requests.

The journey to the specially arranged MSC section of Munich's international airport (also named Munich Franz Josef Strauss Airport) was not devoid of tough traffic and problems to get there.

The area for MSC participants was well-lit, nicely arranged, and well-serviced. When I arrived, tired after a long drive, there were about a dozen people in the lounge.

I introduced myself, and everyone was polite and cordial. Steven Burton had white hair, a well-trimmed beard, a dark suit and a red tie. When he found out I was from Egypt, he calmly said to me that he was sorry and ashamed about how the West (he was from the UK) were not calling a spade a spade and were unable to stop Netanyahu from his barbaric killing of Palestinians all over Gaza.

On Steven's left was a sharp-looking professional with black hair swept back, tortoise-frame glasses, wearing a dark turtleneck and a grey suit. He introduced himself as Lucas Claes from Belgium, Chairman and CEO of Belgium's foremost security think tank. With a cup of tea in his left hand, Lucas had a firm handshake and a serious look. He commented that Belgium understood the dynamics of the war in Gaza, and he demanded a ceasefire but to no avail, as Europeans were divided.

Approaching from the left was a voice asking me without hesitation: "What do you see?" I turned, and a tall woman with long blond hair swept in a ponytail and a celestial nose looked me straight in the eye.

I took a deep breath and gave her my name. She responded: "Celine Dubois," and gestured for me to take a seat, which I happily did, as my lower back was causing me considerable discomfort - a nasty spasm.

Celine, wearing a striped Ralph Lauren grey suit and a white blouse, sat on a chair across from me, crossed her legs and leaned forward.

I took the next ten minutes outlining the status of the Gaza debacle, explaining that there was no real war, but instead, the Israeli military planes, bombs, tanks, armoured vehicles, drones, artillery; whilst Hamas was a ragtag group of barbaric terrorists with nothing except hand weapons.

I added that in 2022, Amnesty International joined other human rights organizations including Israel's B'Tselem and America's Human Rights Watch, issuing a 280-page report titled "Israel's Apartheid Against Palestinians: A Cruel System of Domination and Crime Against Humanity."

That was 20 months before October 2023....

Not one country acted in defence of the Palestinians.

The report directly pointed the finger at the US for its supplying Israel "with arms, equipment and other tools to perpetuate crimes under international law and by providing diplomatic cover, including at the UN Security Council to shield it from accountability."

Israel immediately acted to successfully whitewash the report (for details, read SpyFail by James Bamford).

Many wise men have declared over three decades that, unless a resolution is found that is

fast and sustainable, a disaster will occur. And indeed, October 7 occurred.

I added that what is happening on the ground by the IDF will bring worse debacles in the future. The scene will leave traumatized Israelis and Palestinians seeking revenge.

Lucas and another man in a bomber jacket approached, sat and listened closely.

Celine uncrossed her legs, stretched her arms and pointed, saying: "Now what?"

The man beside Lucas answered before I could respond. "We will eradicate Hamas, we will kill as many Palestinians as needed until we get all the hostages back and break Hamas forever."

Celine responded: "But doing so may cause the death of many hostages."

"Not a problem," the man responded.

Steven, plate in hand with finger sandwiches, stood beside Celine and remarked to the man in the bomber jacket: "And what then? The cycle of violence is to be the natural cycle?", he asked.

"Without a just and sustainable conflict resolution, which is a framework of security and stability, there shall be no day after," a gentleman standing behind Lucas, close enough to hear the conversation, commented.

The man in the bomber jacket turned in his seat and said: "Israel will design 'the day after.' No one will dictate what Israel does – not America, not Europe – nobody."

Steven commented: "Then Israel does not want a resolution!"

Celine rose to her feet and stated: "The period we are living in is horrible... politically, this is Voldemort Netanyahu's time. The sad news is not only Gaza, but also Ukraine, Congo, Sudan, Azerbaijan, Ethiopia, and many more."

She looked at me and asked if there was a way out for Gaza.

I stood and said that in the darkness, there can only be light if leaders can act with wisdom rather than allowing power and ego blind their minds.

I added: "Israel deserves security, their hostages, de-weaponizing Hamas and giving the settlers a resettlement..."

However, Palestinians deserve a proclaimed state – not in phases, not in steps – now."

"The only deal," I explained, "is a grand deal upheld by all. Not the sick-minded Netanyahu... not the corrupt Palestinian Authority... and not the barbaric Hamas... but an Israeli leader like Rabin and Palestinian technocrats that can lead a profitable transition for the Palestinian people."

As I was about to continue, Lucas and the bomber jacket stood, and a staff member approached me, asking me to proceed to the gate immediately.

I got up and bid everyone goodbye. As I walked towards the gate, the sun was setting behind the horizon... the light from the sky was dipping... the full night was approaching... Twilight was upon us as I reached the gate, and I wondered what tomorrow will bring... more or less humanity?

M. Shafik Gabr
March 2024

FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

LAYLA GALAL, 2022 FELLOW



2022 Gabr Fellow Layla Galal recently joined the Protocol Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Layla arranged a meeting with Dr. Farid Fadel an award-winning Egyptian artist and dedicated musician she went to his showroom in Cairo to explore his upcoming projects and to introduce him to her sister, who sought to glean knowledge from his expertise. During their conversation, Dr. Fadel graciously shared his wisdom and imparted valuable techniques for Layla and her sister to apply.

MIKE BURGESS, 2015 FELLOW

2015 Fellow Mike will be starting a new role as Director of Operations at Moonshot London. He is currently the Head of International Programmes. Moonshot is a global social enterprise working to end online harms, applying evidence, ethics and human rights.



ALAN AMINI, 2022 FELLOW



Alan recently joined the board of directors of three prominent nonprofit organizations. The Ploughshares Fund, the largest foundation focused on addressing the threat of nuclear weapons. The Freestore Foodbank which is the largest food bank serving residents of Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana and Forest Fire Recruitment Program (FFRP) which is a nonprofit that recruits and trains the next generation of wild-land firefighters.

MENNA EL TOUNY, 2022 FELLOW

Menna recently organised one of Nielsen IQ's biggest events of the year, "The EEMEA Leadership Meeting," which was held in Cairo, Egypt. Leaders from all over the world were in attendance for the event over five consecutive days held at the Cairo Marriott Hotel.

Menna also completed the "Meisner in Practice" acting workshop after four months of hard work, learning and exploring Sanford Meisner's acting techniques.



FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

MUHAMMED NAGI, 2015 FELLOW

Following the merger of The GrEEK Campus and MQR, Muhammad, who is now the company's MD, has announced the expansion of The GrEEK Campus West at Mall of Arabia. The GrEEK Campus is divided into three zones that foster innovation and collaboration. The expansion is expected to open in May 2024.

Muhammed said: "This partnership" has been a success, and we are excited to expand further with MARAKEZ. Together, we have pioneered the establishment of West Cairo's most comprehensive business hub, home to a diverse array of companies. Our workspace is designed with flexibility at its core, catering to businesses both large and small. Establishing us as the go-to destination for Egypt's rapidly growing sectors including tech, fintech, and creative industries among others."



EGYPTIAN & ARAB THEATRE



Ahmed Radwan, 19TH - 21ST FEBRUARY
GERHART THEATRE,
AUC New Cairo

21st of FEB : Masterclass
in improvisation with
Ahmed Radwan 3:00 pm - 8:00 pm

المسرحيون الأمريكيين العرب : بوت وادوان
Arab-American Playwrights: Homes and Homelands

AHMED RADWAN, 2015 FELLOW

2015 Gabr fellow Ahmed Radwan was invited by the AUC (The American University in Cairo) to give a masterclass on the 21st of February to AUC drama students on Improv (improvisational theatre arts) at The Malak Gabr's Blackbox Theatre.

DALIA IHAB, 2017 FELLOW

Dalia was assigned as the emergency focal point in the digital communication team for UNICEF's Gaza response.

She was also the only selected staff member from UNICEF MENA region to speak of her own experience as a parent of a child with disabilities in the webinar with global deputy executive directors. Dalia addressed the challenges that parents face everyday and advocated for changes in HR policies to become more parent friendly.

Dalia also performed at the ceremony launching Dr. Ali El-Samman's interfaith dialogue award with musicians from different faiths. For this performance she celebrated the rich diverse Egyptian music heritage by singing the works of Egyptian musicians from different faiths and backgrounds.



FELLOWS NEWS AND UPDATES

BRYAN GRIFFIN, 2017 GABR FELLOW

2017 Gabr fellow Bryan Griffin has accepted the position of Communications Director for the State of Florida, Executive Office of Governor Ron DeSantis.



IBRAHIM HAMMOUDA, 2018 FELLOW

2018 Gabr fellow Ibrahim Hammouda had the privilege of attending part of the World Economic Forum with Greek House Davos. He met with Prince Abbas Hilmi, partner of Concord International Investment Group to discuss business and potential opportunities in Egypt and Europe.

JACK LINCOLN, 2022 FELLOW

Jack recently travelled to the Kingdom of Bahrain on a Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act (MECEA) Staffdel trip with seven other congressional staffers on March 1-7, 2024. His trip focused on the current state of affairs in Bahrain and the importance of the US-Bahrain strategic partnership. His group met with senior-level officials and policymakers including ministers in the areas of foreign policy, defence, economics, culture, and security. His two favourite meetings were with NAVCENT and the Bahrain Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



HUNTER KING, 2017 FELLOW

Hunter recently journeyed to Dubai, embarking on a day trip to Abu Dhabi with networking at the forefront of his agenda. At the "Your Best Life" event, he found himself surrounded by a diverse and accomplished array of like-minded businesspeople and entrepreneurs from various backgrounds. Among them were individuals who regularly organize events and seminars across the globe. This gathering not only offered Hunter valuable insights but also opened doors to potential collaborative ventures, enriching his experience in the process.

INTERVIEW WITH....

WESSAM BAHER, 2022 GABR FELLOW



2022 Gabr Fellow Wessam Baher is currently working as HR Business Partner Manager, QNB Alahli Bank - Egypt. Wessam is an experienced Human Resources Business Partner Manager with a demonstrated history in the banking industry. Wessam holds a Bachelor degree in Economics from the Faculty of Economics and Political Science at Cairo University and a professional Diploma degree in Marketing from School of Business at the American University in Cairo. Wessam is passionate about discovering new cultures, arts and music, and he also plays guitar.

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

- Humans have more that connects them than more that divides them.
- Talking about differences always opens ways of mutual understanding and can always bring solutions to the most complicated disagreements. Through our differences, we can reach integration.
- Connections are priceless and they require investment and continuous efforts to flourish.

2) Would you visit the United States again?

- Definitely yes, I felt connected to the people, the fellows and the culture. The U.S. felt like home.

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

- Egypt and the United States have a strong relationship and to make this relationship stronger, we should invest more in bridging the gaps between the two countries through having open and transparent discussions, not only by having formal talks between our two governments but also between the people of the two countries. The Gabr fellowship is one of the significant examples in this regard.

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

- The fellowship helped me understand the American political system in depth by knowing how decisions are being made despite its complexity. Furthermore, it brought me knowledge about the culture and how American citizens act and react towards global issues in different domains (politics, economy, environment, security and society)

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

- Exceptional, eye-opening and most of all inspiring.

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



The Gabr Fellows Meeting Cairo 3rd of March 2024



On the 3rd of March 2024, at the invitation of the Chairman of the Shafik Gabr Foundation, Mr. Shafik Gabr, the Gabr Fellows met in Cairo at the ARTOC Headquarters.

The fellows shared their latest news and updates, followed by open discussion and addressing questions posed to Mr Gabr. The topics of the meeting raised by the Fellows included the following:

- The state of Egypt's economy, anticipated development in the near future, and the Egyptian economic situation in the light of the foreign currency management crisis.
- The potential impact of the next US President on global events.
- The possible implications of the situation in Gaza on Egypt.

Fellows Updates From the Meeting

2013 Gabr Fellow **Moataz Hussein** has recently been appointed as the Chief Legal Officer at IGI Holding “The International Group for Investments”. He has also obtained a personal data privacy certification from Maastricht University School of Law, Netherlands.

2014 Gabr Fellow **Nourhan Moussa’s** trip to the USA was a success. She met key figures to launch the Next Gen Egypt-US coalition, fostering dialogue between the two countries. She also collaborated on writing projects with think tanks and is now focusing on developing her ideas while contributing to the USAID Project for automating economic courts.

2015 Gabr Fellow **Hadir Helal** recently took over her father’s law firm. She rebranded and renamed the firm, building upon her father's legacy. She has also been appointed as a board member at the Bank.

2015 Gabr Fellow **Bassma Fahim** became the executive assistant to the country head for the Gulf, Levant, and Saudi Arabia at Sandoz, which is an international pharmaceutical company. Her responsibilities expanded to include support for the People and Organization department, with half of her time dedicated to internal communications, mainly focusing on Dubai and Saudi Arabia.

2016 Gabr Fellow **Nayra Gadalla** has been diligently serving as a prosecutor, collaborating closely with the Egyptian Government to combat corruption.

2017 Gabr Fellow **Amr Seda** participated in a panel discussion at the Egypt Career Summit organized by the British University in Egypt, focusing on "Navigating Careers in the Age of AI". The summit featured Shark Tank Egypt's hosts Ayman Abbas and Abdallah Sallam. Amr also had private meetings with them and agreed on future collaborations with the university.

2017 Gabr Fellow **Ibrahim Hammouda** attended the World Economic Forum in Davos. He also met with Prince Abbas Hilmi, partner of Concord International Investment Group, to discuss business and potential opportunities in Egypt and Europe.

2018 Gabr Fellow **Karim Ihab Elsharkawy** is currently a member of Egypt’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the policy planning and crisis management department. He is also involved in policy research and policy recommendations.

2022 Gabr Fellow **Amr Hesham** hit a career milestone by going online with a system for all Egyptian banks. He's teaming up with Fabrice, 2018 Gabr Fellow on a documentary about the American Dream in Egypt and planning to start their own production company. Plus, he's launched a new food tour in Heliopolis.

2022 Gabr Fellow **Wessam Baher** obtained coaching certification from ICF, marking a career milestone. He will soon offer coaching services. He was also chosen as a core team member at Qatar National Bank to lead organisational culture transformation, aiming to enhance productivity and improve culture at QNB Alahli.

2022 Gabr Fellow **Mohamed Hassan** is currently working as an Art director at BadBunch, handling all their artwork for companies and individuals; he also manages tours for tourists in Cairo. He is also an intermediate rower aiming to compete in a few months.

2022 Gabr Fellow **Yomna El-Awamri** is now the Capacity Building Manager for J-PAL in the MENA region, based in Cairo. She's helping create ways to measure the impact of policies to fight poverty. At the same time, she's working with the Carbon Impact Lab to bring investments to combat climate change to the Middle East and Africa.

Open discussion

The Egyptian economy is currently facing several significant challenges:

1. Egypt imports over 70% of its wheat and corn from Ukraine and Russia. The war in Ukraine has disrupted these supplies, posing a substantial threat to Egypt's food security and contributing to inflationary pressures.
2. Large debt, which was previously serviced at 1-1.5%, has increased to 6-7%, which is affecting the country's fiscal stability.
3. Egypt is losing 30% of its traffic through the Red Sea because of Houthis attacks, which has significant implications for its revenues from the Suez Canal.
4. As for the Egyptian population, enhancing their productivity and ability to perform is crucial. This will be a major demographic pressure problem, intensifying challenges, including employment, housing and public services. Egyptian people are not as disciplined as they should be regarding their productivity. Unless this fact is faced, Egypt's population has reached 109 million, and that includes 9.1 million refugees according to the UN's IOM.

Mr Gabr emphasised the significance of the young generation speaking out and the value of constructive criticism. He highlighted that if individuals do not speak now, they may face greater challenges in the future. He urged speaking up and offering positive criticism but stressed the importance of being constructive, not negative. This approach is crucial for initiating positive change and transformation at all levels.

Mr Gabr pointed out that it is the responsibility of the current generation to voice their opinions on how things can be improved for better progress and improvement in Egypt.

During the March Fellows meeting, the discussion also touched on the challenges and the importance of creating an investment-friendly environment to attract foreign direct investments to Egypt. The need for Egypt to encourage Egyptians living abroad to invest in the country is crucial; however, for these investments to materialise and be sustainable, the domestic environment in Egypt must succeed without problems. It is important to have a more efficient legal, financial and bureaucratic system to resolve disputes swiftly to ensure investors feel secure and confident in their investments.

Impact of the Next US President on what is happening worldwide

Poll question:

“Who foresees Donald Trump or Joe Biden to be the next President?”

Donald Trump – 4 fellows voted.
Joe Biden – 0 fellows voted.
Neither Trump nor Biden – 4 fellows voted.

Prediction:

There is a possibility that Donald Trump will not be the next president. It was discussed that Trump has faced and is currently facing numerous legal and political obstacles since being nominated for the next presidency. These challenges suggest that “a very powerful system” does not want Trump to compete or be involved in the political arena.

It is also possible that Joe Biden will not be the next US president due to deteriorating health concerns.

A detailed discussion followed covering two aspects:

- A. Israel’s huge influence in the US.
- B. Arab response to Israel’s war in Gaza.

On the first topic, Mr Gabr recommended that the Fellows see and read the following to better understand Israeli influence in the US.

- The Day Israel Attacked America (*documentary online*)
- The Attack on the Liberty, by *James Scott*
- They dare to speak out, by *Paul Findley*
- The Israel Lobby, by *John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt*
- Spyfail by *James Bamford*

The above leaves the next US elections in a dire framework of difficult consequences.

The possible implications of the situation in Gaza on Egypt

The discussion then focused on the complex situation in Gaza, highlighting the challenges and potential strategies for achieving peace and security. Mr Gabr reminded the fellows of the historical context, the impact of external influences, and the role of international and local actors in shaping the outcome.

Poll question:

“How many of you think there will be a ceasefire next week or during Ramadan?”

Yes – 1 vote.

No- majority of votes.

During the discussion, Mr Gabr highlighted the importance of strategic actions, international cooperation, and the need for a comprehensive approach. It was discussed the heightened pressure on Israel to stop the genocide that is taking place in Gaza.

The following steps could be considered:

1. Egypt, Jordan and the countries that have signed the Abraham Accords should freeze trade relations with Israel until a solution is reached between Gaza and Israel.
2. Egypt and other Arab countries should close their airspace to Israel flights until a peace solution is found.
3. Withdraw the Israeli ambassadors of Egypt, Jordan, UAE, Bahrain and Morocco from Israel.

These strategic steps are similar to those taken by the USA and Europe towards Russia in the Ukraine-Russian conflict.

It was further explained that Hamas was created during the time Benjamin Netanyahu was a prime minister. Why did Netanyahu support Hamas financially? To undermine the Palestinian authority. Netanyahu was the first to release Palestinian prisoners not to the Palestinian Authority but to Hamas. Why? To lend Hamas credibility? By giving Hamas credibility, the Palestinians in Gaza accepted Hamas as the rulers. This is fact; this is history.

Israel wants security, the de-weaponization of Hamas, and the release of hostages; they also want their settlers who are based in the West Bank to remain there.

Regarding the settlers, they can be settled in the northwest area of the West Bank. A land swap can take place to compensate the area taken by the settlers to link Gaza with the West Bank as part of a Palestinian state.

Palestinians want an independent state, proclaimed and guaranteed by the five security council members.

The fact is the only way to solve the current problem is by proclaiming a Palestinian state, a realistic position recognised by a majority of countries.

Afterwards, Mr Gabr suggested that a transition committee composed of technocrats, specifically Palestinians who have lived abroad, could manage the transition from the current state of affairs to a future state for a period of time. This recommendation draws on the example of Switzerland, which is run effectively by a rotation of seven leaders.

Conclusion

In his discussion, Mr Gabr emphasised the critical importance of thinking outside the box. He particularly highlighted that regardless of one's field—whether in banking, government, academia, or foreign affairs—bringing forward a unique, unconventional idea can significantly impact one's recognition and success. He pointed out that traditional approaches often fall short in today's rapidly changing global landscape.

Mr Gabr emphasized that young leaders must adapt and prepare for unforeseen challenges. Innovative thinking is important in overcoming present and future challenges. Strategic foresight and a more active role of the younger generation are the keys to contributing to resolving current problems in the world.

Fellows in attendance were:

Amr Hesham, 2022 fellow
Amr Seda, 2017 fellow
Bassma Fahim, 2015 fellow
Dalia Younis, 2017 fellow
Hadir Helal, 2015 fellow
Ibrahim Hammouda, 2017 fellow
Karim Ihab Elsharkawy, 2018 fellow
Menna El Touny, 2022 fellow
Moataz Hussein, 2013 fellow
Mohamed Hassan, 2022 fellow
Muhammad El Hawary, 2018 fellow
Nayra Gadalla, 2016 fellow
Nourhan Moussa, 2014 fellow
Wessam Baher, 2022 fellow
Yomna El-Awamri, 2022 fellow
Zeyad Kelani, 2014 fellow

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) Considering the recent human rights violations committed by Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu in Gaza, do you believe Israel should face the same level of global sanctions as Russia?

Yes - 77%

No - 15%

I don't know - 8%

2) Do you believe Taiwan should be recognised as an independent country separate from China?

Yes - 74%

No - 15%

I don't know - 11%

3) At the UN, the US Government vetoed a ceasefire in Gaza three times. Do you support their decision?

Yes - 10%

No - 83%

I don't know - 7%

4) Is the investment environment in Egypt good for investors?

Yes - 21%

No - 44%

I don't know - 35%

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

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

Putin makes another threat: What is the truth behind Russia's nuclear arsenal?

By Rich Booth, Independent
13 March 2024

The so-called nuclear briefcase, or 'Cheget' is with Putin at all times.

President Vladimir Putin has claimed Russia is ready to use nuclear weapons if there is a threat to statehood, sovereignty or independence.

In a rambling interview with Russian state television released early on Wednesday, Mr Putin also said he hoped the US would refrain from actions that could trigger a nuclear conflict.

His statement is another blunt warning to the West ahead of a presidential vote this week in which he is all but certain to win another six-year term. Mr Putin has consistently turned towards nuclear threats during Russia's invasion of Ukraine, as Western allies have rallied around Kyiv.

Adrienne Watson, spokesperson for the White House National Security Council, said in a statement that "Russia's nuclear rhetoric has been reckless and irresponsible throughout this conflict."

"It is Russia that brutally invaded Ukraine without provocation or justification, and we will continue to support Ukraine as they defend their people and their sovereign territory from Russian aggression," she added.

Mr Putin described US President Joe Biden as a veteran politician who fully understands the possible dangers of escalation. He said he does not think the world is heading to a nuclear war.

At the same time, he said Russia's nuclear forces are in full readiness and "from the military-technical viewpoint, we're prepared".

Mr Putin said Moscow is ready to use nuclear weapons in case of a threat to "the existence of the Russian state, our sovereignty and independence".

The most recent similar threat came in his state-of-the-nation address last month when he warned the West that deepening its involvement in the fighting in Ukraine would risk a nuclear war.

But what are the key facts about Russia's nuclear arsenal?

Russia, which inherited the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons, has the world's biggest store of nuclear warheads.

Putin controls about 5,580 nuclear warheads, according to the Federation of American Scientists (FAS).

Of those about 1,200 are retired but largely intact and around 4,380 are stockpiled for use by long-range strategic launchers and shorter-range tactical nuclear forces, according to the FAS.

Of the stockpiled warheads, 1,710 strategic warheads are deployed: about 870 on land-based ballistic missiles, about 640 on submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and possibly 200 at heavy bomber bases, FAS said.

Such numbers mean that Moscow could destroy the world many times over.

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union had a peak of around 40,000 nuclear warheads, while the US peak was around 30,000.

New nukes

The United States said in its 2022 Nuclear Posture Review that Russia and China were expanding and modernising their nuclear forces, and that Washington would pursue an approach based on arms control to head off costly arms races.

"While Russia's nuclear statements and threatening rhetoric are of great concern, Russia's nuclear arsenal and operations have changed little since our 2023 estimates beyond the ongoing modernisation," the FAS said in its 2024 analysis of Russian forces.

"In the future, however, the number of warheads assigned to Russian strategic forces may increase as single-warhead missiles are replaced with missiles equipped with multiple warheads," FAS said.

Testing nukes

Putin has said Russia would consider testing a nuclear weapon if the United States did.

Last year, he signed a law withdrawing Russia's ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT).

Post-Soviet Russia has not carried out a nuclear test.

Since the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, only a few countries have tested nuclear weapons, according to the Arms Control Association: the United States last tested in 1992, China and France in 1996, India and Pakistan in 1998, and North Korea in 2017.

The Soviet Union last tested in 1990.

The CTBT was signed by Russia in 1996 and ratified in 2000. The United States signed the treaty in 1996 but has not yet ratified it.

Who would press the button?

The Russian president is the ultimate decision-maker on the use of the country’s nuclear weapons.

The so-called nuclear briefcase, or “Cheget” (named after Mount Cheget in the Caucasus Mountains), is with the president at all times. The Russian defence minister, currently Sergei Shoigu, and the chief of the general staff, currently Valery Gerasimov, are also thought to have such briefcases.

Essentially, the briefcase is a communication tool that links the president to his military top brass and thence to rocket forces via the highly secret “Kazbek” electronic command-and-control network. Kazbek supports another system known as “Kavkaz”.

Footage shown by Russia’s Zvezda television channel in 2019 showed what it said was one of the briefcases with an array of buttons. In a section called “command,” there are two buttons: a white “launch” button and a red “cancel” button. The briefcase is activated by a special flashcard, according to Zvezda.



If Russia thought it faced a strategic nuclear attack, the president, via the briefcases, would send a direct launch order to general staff command and reserve command units that hold nuclear codes. Such orders cascade swiftly down different communications systems to strategic rocket force units, which then fire at the US and Europe.

If a nuclear attack were confirmed, Putin could activate the so-called “Dead Hand” or “Perimeter” system of last resort: essentially computers would decide doomsday. A control rocket would order nuclear strikes from across Russia’s vast armoury.

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

The Optimism-Fatalism Historical Cycle

By Gregory R. Copley, *Defence & Foreign Affairs*

14 March 2024

No fundamental form of human behaviour, for better or worse, disappears forever. Cycles of wealth or fear or frustration force changes, and they bear an uncanny similarity to Shakespeare's *Seven Ages of Man*. We are, above all else, predictable.

The present decline, distortion, or much-heralded "end of democracy", is over-stated, but it is difficult to disagree that the present cycle of democracy beginning in the 18th Century has run its course. It is a human concept of behaviour and, as with all things human, has its lifespan before it becomes feeble and sclerotic, corrupt and cynical, and ultimately a parody of what was intended in the flush of innocent youth.

Throughout the world, "democracies" now see themselves beset by the internal competitions for office by career politicians whose goal, before all else, is to attain and retain power. The compromises of dignity, nobility of purpose, and service to the electorate are the hallmark of the age. They have become the thing they once saw as the bane of human existence: autocracies, or, worse, rampant and totalitarian tyrannies. But autocracies which cloak themselves with the language of democracy.

Just as Africa, freed now from the coercion of major external powers, has resorted to the removal of governments by force,

so we see politicians in power using their office to suppress, deter, or remove their challengers for office. The Communist Party of China (CCP) introduced the concept of "lawfare", to outmanoeuvre its domestic and international opponents: the use of legal mechanisms to constrain an adversary.

This concept has been adopted with vigour by "democratically-elected politicians" around the world so that there are now few societies where "lawfare" is not used to eliminate legitimate opponents and to constrain and channel society at large.

The spirit of democracy is nowhere to be seen.

Waste no time on mourning. It has had its day, and will return when the time is right. But, equally, waste no time nurturing the self-delusion that moral or intellectual superiority lies in the *pretence* of democracy; that societies still embody what they once set out to represent. But we, most of us, *do* insist on our certainty of the moral superiority of our own society because we have nowhere else to go. We cannot embrace our historical or geopolitical opponents rights to their own certainties. But we do not know how best to re-organize our own society without the unthinkable collapse of it to force our action.

Collapse is always the pre-requisite to *cratometamorphosis*: the reorganization of an entire society. Theoretically, this reorganization and revitalization of society should be feasible *before* total collapse creates a situation when no other option is available. But the very safeguards we have put in place over decades and centuries to protect our present structures also safeguards the corrupted wreckage they have become.

So if, as it appears, many societies - and by no means only those which thought of themselves as democratic - are waiting painfully for that total collapse so that they may be free to recreate themselves "closer to the heart's desire", then why is there little thought given to that future society; that utopia?

It was during the years of difficulty which beset so many during the Industrial Revolutions that new concepts were conjured, speculatively, out of whole ideals. There were years of uncertainty in societies in flux, during which new belief systems *were* devised. These religions and ideologies all rippled down the ages, and continue to inspire followers, often in the face of historical evidence that they failed here and there, but were never revised to truly meet new requirements. Indeed, democracy itself, after several iterations in the Hellenic states and earlier in the Indus Valley civilizations, was just such a "revivalist creed", and its new advocates failed to understand (or even question) why, in its earlier iterations, it had ultimately collapsed.

Is it possible that at our present impasse there is some belief that technology - artificial intelligence, quantum computing, and so on - will define or create a new social framework? Have we, in so embracing "technology", outsourced responsibility for devising ways in which humans can best work together? Certainly, technology has enabled the implementation of mass guidance of vast numbers of the human population, like the murmuration of starlings: mass psychosis.

That is a prospect, of course, which we saw demonstrated during the covid-19 crisis. But it presupposes that human societies will walk willingly and fatalistically toward the scenario outlined in the book, *1984*, by George Orwell.

It may be the good fortune of man that economic dislocations, now being evidenced in the tremblors which shake the values of currencies and the viability of major economies, will gradually corrode the pace of technological progress, enabling human society to regroup on more elemental or human lines.

To "start again" with new concepts for societal organization - governance - will inevitably see us considering concepts which, whether we realize it or not, have probably been played out before. But it would be ideal to recognize that the framework begins with the sovereignty of each individual, and the requirement for each individual to respect each other individually to achieve progress and human reproduction.

At least that optimistic framework can re-emerge for a while, until we see politics again fatalistically reach the point where all respect is once again lost, and the desire for power outweighs to desire for societal wellbeing. Unless...

Benjamin Netanyahu's American crisis.

By Mehul Srivastava, Tel Aviv
16 March 2024

Other Israeli leaders have clashed with the White House. None has been so brazen.

Just days after picking a public feud with Joe Biden - a self-declared Zionist - Benjamin Netanyahu turned for support to the next most powerful force backing the Jewish state in Washington: the Israel lobby.

In a short, but pointed, address to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee last week he rejected each rebuke the US president has made: that the Israeli military has killed far too many civilians in trying to vanquish Hamas;

that Netanyahu was hurting Israel by obstructing a Palestinian state; and that the Israeli premier should allow the moderate and secular Palestinian Authority to run Gaza.

"You cannot say you support Israel's right to exist and to defend itself and then oppose Israel when it exercises that right," said Netanyahu, referring to Biden's repeated demands that he delay a planned offensive in Rafah, the southern edge of the Gaza Strip. "You cannot say you support Israel's goal of destroying Hamas and then oppose Israel when it takes the actions necessary."

Among world leaders, there is perhaps no greater student - or suitor - of American power than Netanyahu himself. He has wooed, and tussled, with four US presidents, bent the Republican party - and the evangelical Christians that form its base - into all-weather friends and reaped the benefits of a durable military and diplomatic alliance no other nation enjoys.

Since Hamas devastating October 7 attack on Israel, emergency airlifts of American weapons have sustained Israel's military campaign in Gaza, while US diplomats have shielded it from censure at the UN Security Council, and US lawyers have argued in its favour at the International Court of Justice.

On top of the \$3.4bn a year the US gives to Israel normally a quarter of the military annual budget, another \$15bn is awaiting Congressional approval. For Biden, it is the fabric of an enduring unique alliance, not just during this war, but in the five decades of his own political career, starting with what he describes as "the most consequential meeting of his life" with Israel's then prime minister Golda Meir in 1973.

But now, at a time that Israel needs American support the most - with Israel determined to push its war in Gaza into Rafah, and daily tit-for-tat escalations bringing it to the brink of a full-blown conflict with the Lebanese-based militant group Hizbollah - Netanyahu has chosen to antagonise the White House, potentially putting that aid at risk.

Biden, who has not spoken to Netanyahu since mid-February, was caught last week on a live microphone saying it was time for a "come to Jesus" moment with the Israeli premier, then telling MSNBC that Netanyahu

was "hurting Israel". The Senate majority leader Chuck Schumer, America's most prominent Jewish politician, was even more blunt: Israel needed elections to replace a leader who had weakened its "political and moral fabric".

In feuding with Biden, Netanyahu has bet that the other levels of influence he has cultivated for decades - from friendly US senators, to the powerful pro-Israel lobby and Israel's pivotal role in the regional geopolitics - would both preserve his ability to wage war and keep him in office. It is a gamble he has taken before, but never with such high stakes.

"Netanyahu is playing a risky game that may cost Israel a lot," said Ehud Olmert, Netanyahu's predecessor as prime minister. "If Biden decides to punish Netanyahu, it will end up hurting Israel too."

Other Israeli leaders have clashed with the White House before: Ronald Reagan accused Menachem Begin of a "holocaust" after Israel bombed Beirut in August 1982; George Bush Sr had to withhold \$10bn in loan guarantees to force Yitzhak Shamir to delay building settlements and engage in the 1991 peace talks with Palestinians.

But none have done it as brazenly as Netanyahu, whose own right-wing base adores him when he keeps the White House close, and adores him when he defies it, portraying himself as the only Israeli who can say no to America.

"The rift over civilian casualties is a serious problem for US-Israel relations and for Netanyahu's ability to prosecute his war until 'total victory'," said Martin Indyk, a former US ambassador to Israel and a peace envoy for Barack Obama. "If Netanyahu was worrying about the US-Israel relationship he would never have let things deteriorate to this point."

Netanyahu's primary motivation has been to keep his far-right coalition partners satisfied, said Indyk. "The best way to do that was to confront rather than accommodate Biden ... so now we sit back and watch the train crash."

It is a precipitous break in relations, especially after Biden became the first US leader to visit Israel during war-time, gripping Netanyahu in a supportive hug at Ben Gurion airport in mid-October, after a deadly Hamas attack that saw 1,200 killed in Israel and some 240 taken hostage, according to Israeli authorities ..

"Justice must be done," Biden said during his trip. "But I caution that, while you feel that rage, don't be consumed by it."

Since then, Netanyahu has overseen a war in Gaza that has claimed more than 31,000 lives, according to Palestinian officials, and resisted calls for an extended ceasefire that could aid the US and Qatar in brokering a second round of hostage swaps. Israel says it has killed at least 10,000 Hamas fighters.

Netanyahu's break with Biden came the same week as the US intelligence community released an annual assessment that challenged the pillars of his current political strategy. It found that Iran had no role or knowledge of the October 7 Hamas attack on Israel; that defeating Hamas fully could take years; and that Netanyahu's own grip on power may be tenuous.

"This is one of the greatest crises in US-Israel relations," said Michael Oren, Israel's ambassador to the US during the Obama administration, and a deputy minister in a prior government.

Even though Biden has ruled out cutting off the Iron Dome interceptors that protect Israeli cities from Hamas and Hizbollah rockets, it is not clear whether the US is equally determined to continue supplying the larger offensive weapons Israel has used extensively in Gaza, said Oren.

The use of those US-supplied 2,000lb bombs, the largest in its conventional arsenal, in densely populated Palestinian neighbourhoods has drawn international censure.

Oren suggested the US may have altered the mix of munitions it is sending.

"Already the aid has changed in substance, not quantity," said Oren. "My sense is that the precision bombs keep coming since that's in Biden's interest - there's far less collateral damage."

A person familiar with Netanyahu's decision to confront, rather than accommodate Biden's demands, denied that the Israeli premier was reacting to the US political calendar, where Republican support far outweighs that of the Democratic party for Netanyahu.

"The American people fully support Israel's right to defend itself," the person said. "The Israeli public fully supports the prime minister's policies. There is no contradiction here."

Netanyahu's support in the US political establishment runs deeper than the White House, the person said, "because under Netanyahu, Israel has made the world safer" for US interests in the region. "This is a historical fact." After stinging criticisms from Schumer on Thursday, Netanyahu's party Likud on Thursday called for "respect": "Israel is not a banana republic, but an independent and proud democracy."

Netanyahu's history with American power is certainly long, if determined by his own pursuit of power. His American accent - honed as a student, then consultant, in Boston, when he went by the name Ben Nitai - made him a mainstay on US television, especially on CNN during the first Gulf War.

His bonhomie and easy political charms turned American politicians into lifelong friends, who even now call the longest-serving Israeli premier by his childhood nickname, Bibi.

He cultivated relationships that yielded fruit decades later - in the 1990s, a teenage Jared Kushner lent Netanyahu, a family friend, his bed in New Jersey. As an adviser to Donald Trump, Kushner, the former president's son-in-law, later drew up a US peace plan that would have handed most of the occupied West Bank to Israel.

But Netanyahu has also been proud of sacrificing those relationships when his own principles - or politics - were threatened. "No one in history has insulted the Oval Office the way Netanyahu did," Olmert said, referring to when he broke with Obama over nuclear talks with Iran in 2015.

Spumed by the White House, Netanyahu simply made a direct appeal to a joint session of Congress.

At that time, Netanyahu paid little political price - Obama was on his way out, and other than withholding the US veto at a December 2016 UN Security Council resolution condemning Israeli settlements, he continued implementing the nuclear deal over Netanyahu's theatrical objections.

Donald Trump later tore up that deal, after Netanyahu leveraged the president's antipathy over any Obama-era legislation with secret documents that the Mossad spirited out of Tehran, suggesting Iran had pursued a nuclear weapon in the early 2000s.

Secretary of state John Kerry apologised to Netanyahu after an unnamed US official described the Israeli premier as a myopic, pompous "chicken shit". But the rift over the Iran nuclear deal cemented Netanyahu's decision to count on the Republicans, rather than the entire US political establishment, for unwavering support.

"[Democrats] have never forgotten it," said Indyk. "Bibi managed to destroy the bipartisan nature of support for Israel - a longstanding tradition that he purposely placed in jeopardy, believing that Evangelicals were more reliable than progressive [American] Jews."

"Now, many of the same Democrats Netanyahu offended are in the Biden administration, and Trump's generosity can't be counted on, were he to win the US elections. "Fuck him," Trump told an Israeli reporter in 2021, complaining that Netanyahu had congratulated Biden on his victory.

"The elections are a long way away, and the inauguration is a year away," said Oren. "It's not like there's a new administration tomorrow - for now, you're going to have to deal with Biden."

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

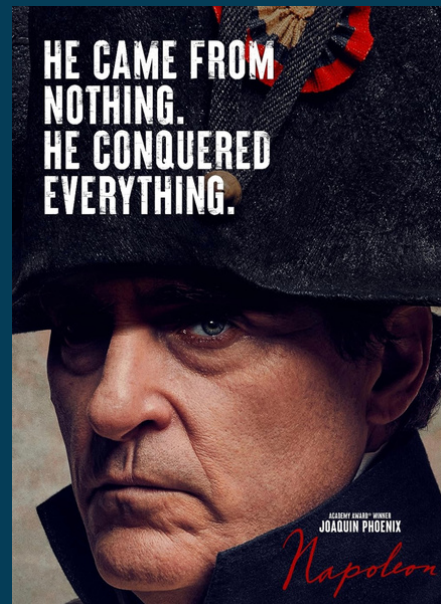
Gabr Foundation Movie Corner

This March, Mr Gabr recommends the movie:

Napoleon: (2023)

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

The movie captures the tumultuous life of the famed French leader amidst the backdrop of the French Revolution. From witnessing historic events like Marie Antoinette's execution to his rise as a military genius, the film portrays Napoleon's journey through key battles, personal relationships, and political upheavals. Despite his triumphs, including becoming Emperor and victories like Austerlitz, the film also highlights his personal struggles, from infidelity to the emotional toll of warfare. Ultimately, Napoleon's downfall at Waterloo and subsequent exile to Saint Helena are depicted, showcasing his complex legacy and the human cost of his ambitions.



Gabr Foundation Documentary Corner

Mr Gabr recommends the documentary:

The Day Israel Attcked America, Special Program (2014)

Directed by Richard Belfield

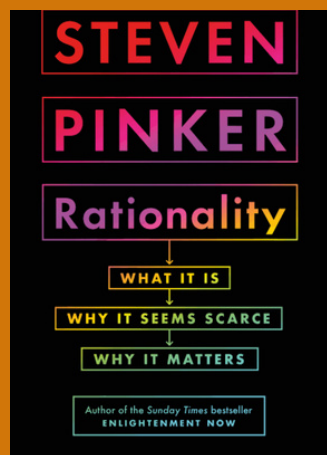
"The Day Israel Attacked America" is a documentary that explores the controversial events of June 8, 1967, when Israeli forces attacked the USS Liberty, an American intelligence ship, during the Six-Day War. The film delves into the questions surrounding the attack, including the motivations behind it and the aftermath for both countries. Through interviews and archival footage, it sheds light on a little-known chapter in history and raises important questions about international relations and accountability.



Gabr Foundation Book Corner

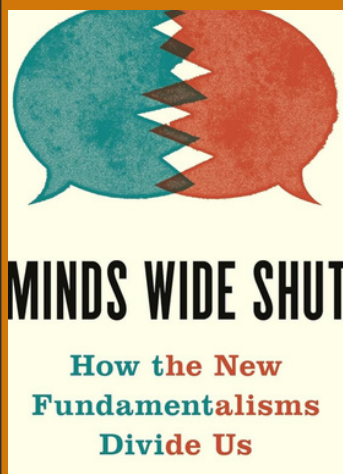
The Foundation Book Corner encourages Fellows to critique the books that have been recommended to them in each issue. For this issue, Mr. Gabr recommends:

Rationality (2021) by Steven Pinker



"*Rationality*" by Steven Pinker explores the concept of rational thought and decision-making, arguing that rationality is essential for progress and flourishing societies. Pinker delves into various aspects of rationality, including logical reasoning, critical thinking, and decision-making biases. He discusses how humans can overcome cognitive biases and improve their rationality through education, empirical evidence, and scientific inquiry. Pinker also examines the role of irrationality in human behaviour and societal challenges, emphasizing the importance of fostering rationality for addressing complex issues. Overall, "*Rationality*" offers insights into the nature of human thought and provides strategies for enhancing rational thinking in both individuals and societies.

Minds Wide Shut (2021) by Gary Saul Morson & Morton O. Schapiro



"*Minds Wide Shut*" by Gary Saul Morson and Morton O. Schapiro explores the concept of closed-mindedness and its impact on society. The authors argue that closed-mindedness, characterized by rigid thinking and unwillingness to consider alternative viewpoints, is detrimental to intellectual discourse and societal progress. They examine various manifestations of closed-mindedness, such as ideological extremism and echo chambers, and discuss how it hinders critical thinking and empathy. Morson and Schapiro also explore the historical and cultural factors that contribute to closed-mindedness, offering insights into how individuals and societies can foster open-mindedness and intellectual curiosity. Overall, "*Minds Wide Shut*" serves as a thought-provoking examination of the importance of open-mindedness in navigating the complexities of the modern world.

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

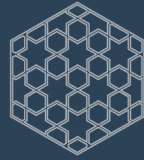


Murray Abeles
2015 Gabr Fellow
March 30

MARCH

THE GABR FELLOWSHIP

Monthly Newsletter



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For more information on the Shafik Gabr Foundation and its
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For earlier itineraries of the program, please see the previous years' reports at
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Ludwig Deutsch, *A Morning Prayer*,
Oil on panel
The Shafik Gabr Collection

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