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ELITE



FEPS, WHERE ELITES ARE MADE

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المؤتمر العلمي السنوي

لمركز المعلومات ودعم اتخاذ القرار
في "دورته الثانية"
بالتعاون مع كلية الاقتصاد والعلوم السياسية
جامعة القاهرة

تحت عنوان:

"الإصلاحات الهيكلية والمؤسسية في مصر:
الطريق إلى نمو مستدام"

14-13 الثلاثاء
2025 مايو والأربعاء



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Interview With Ambassador Amr Helmy

The editors of Elite magazine conducted an interview with Ambassador Amr Helmy at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science to discuss the most important milestones in his academic and professional career, as well as his opinion on a number of regional and international issues, by asking him the following questions:

Q1: How did your relationship with the Faculty of Economics and Political Science begin? What motivated you to choose this particular major?

I joined college in 1973, in the aftermath of the October War. Generally speaking, that period was characterized by high morale as a result of the war's victory. A sense of patriotism prevailed, and there was pride in belonging and loyalty to this country because of the victories achieved by its army. Studies were supposed to begin in September, as it is commonly known, but due to the war, they began in November. Personally, I was very happy

to join the Faculty of Economics, a top college and the only one that combined both majors in Egypt and the Middle East at the time, which earned it a good reputation.

Choosing economics as a major stemmed from my love of numbers and my belief that studying economics helps us understand international relations in a way no less important than political science, as, today, the world is witnessing increasing discussion of international economic relations, such as the impact of rising energy prices and freedom of passage through maritime routes. Thus, studying economics provides an important additional illustrative aspect to the study of political science.



With regards to practical life, I worked as Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for International Economic Affairs before serving as Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for European Affairs. I was fortunate to have studied economics and international economic relations, which served me well in my first position with the Egyptian delegation to the United Nations in Geneva, where I followed three key files: the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the World Trade Organization (formerly known as GATT), and the file of the United Nations Economic and Social Council in its two sessions in New York and Geneva.

I would like to add that everything I learned from my professors during that period has stuck with me to this day. The education we received was very good, and this became apparent when I joined the Swiss Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. At first, I feared that I would find a big difference between my studies and my professional life, but that didn't happen. Therefore, I say that the Faculty of Economics, at that time, was at its most prosperous and powerful thanks to its great professors.



It was a destination for many people coming from Arab countries, and a group of political leaders graduated from it in the Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and I am still in contact with them to this day.

Q2: What was your daily life like as a student at FEPS? What activities did you participate in, and what was your relationship with your professors?

I was lucky enough to be taught by many great professors whom I consider to be among the great figures of Egypt, as they had tremendous academic and political influence, such as Dr. Rifaat El-Mahgoub, Dr. Boutros Ghali, Dr. Amr Mohieddin, Dr. Hamed Rabie, Dr. Al-Ghandour, Dr. Zaki Shafei, Dr. Saeed Al-Naggar, Dr. Saleeb Raphael, and Dr. Nadia Makari.

Although I wasn't involved in student activities, I had a pleasant life with friends, sharing walks, reading, and other activities. I also traveled a lot, as I used to go to France during the summer. I did a three-year internship at the Union of Arab and French Banks, which helped me realize that I didn't prefer working in the banking sector.

My primary goal was to join the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As I mentioned, society in 1973 was completely different, and then, in 1975, the economic openness policy began, with more banks opening with higher wages. However, I preferred to work in the government sector, convinced of the importance of the field of work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, despite the difficulties and challenges it faces. This job allows one to keep up with various global developments and interact with diverse cultures and societies, making it a window into the world.

Q3: As a distinguished diplomatic figure, whether through your missions as an ambassador or your positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, what are the objective and personal requirements that a diplomatic attaché must meet?

I served as Egypt's ambassador to South Korea, Ireland, and Italy, as well as Assistant Foreign Minister for International Economic Relations and European Affairs. I enjoyed every moment I spent at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs over the past 38 years. I learned from the leaders of Egyptian diplomacy at that time, such as Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Esmat Abdel Meguid, Osama El-Baz, Amr Moussa, Abdel Raouf El-Reedy, Nabil El-Araby, Ahmed Maher, Ali Maher, and Ahmed Sedky. Each one of them represented an independent diplomatic school. I also worked in Dr. Boutros-Ghali's office twice, and in Dr. Amr Moussa's office.

I joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979, coinciding with the beginning of the peace process with Israel, the dramatic changes in Egypt's foreign relations, and the challenges it faced in building peace in the region after Egypt fully reclaimed its territory militarily, followed by negotiations and the application of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war.

In my opinion, this is a model to be emulated if any country considers negotiation the best way to reclaim its occupied territory. This is why I believe Egypt has always been a pioneer.

Despite the problems we face, we must not mistake Egypt's prominent role in the region. Despite that other countries possess greater economic resources and ambitions, Egypt has maintained its position thanks to its wisdom in dealing with evolving situations in the Middle East.

As for the qualities required of those wishing to join the diplomatic corps, they must be well-rounded in academic education and basic foreign reading, and be proficient in languages. I believe that a graduate of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science is most suitable for joining the Foreign Service, but they lack language proficiency. Therefore, this must be worked on, as it provides an opportunity to benefit from the resources available on social media, think tanks, and international publishing houses.

Q4: Based on your experience in European affairs, such as your position as Egypt's Ambassador to Italy and Assistant Foreign Minister for European Affairs, how do you view the impact of the trade war on the European continent?

We all know that free trade is the foundation of the global order. It was the foundation upon which international institutions were established after World War II. But today, we are witnessing the emergence of a new international and trade order as a result of the changes being made by the United States in Trump's second term. Generally speaking, there are two objectives behind imposing tariffs: protecting nascent industries and attempting to address the trade deficit.

There is a very large trade deficit with Europe, specifically Ireland (\$60 billion), Germany (\$70 billion), and Italy (\$40 billion).

Therefore, Trump imposed tariffs to address what he sees as unfair situations. However, this is certainly not the best approach because it will backfire, resulting in trade wars that result in losses for all parties and tension in economic and political relations, such as the situation between Europe and the United States over the Ukraine issue and the peaceful rise of China. As for how to address these issues, we do not know how, but certainly not through the imposition of trade restrictions. Therefore, other solutions must be sought and concessions must be made by all parties.

Q5: We would like to learn more about your position as Egypt's Permanent Representative to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Food Programme (WFP), and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). What are the impacts of US President Trump's policies on African countries that rely on USAID for food and agriculture?

First, it's important to get to know these institutions. The FAO provides the latest technologies to develop agricultural and food production and addresses food security. With the world's growing population, expected to reach 10 billion by 2060, pressures on countries' strategic resources such as food, water, and energy are increasing. This is where science, or the scientific breakthrough, comes in to improve consumption efficiency, develop resources such as water treatment and desalination, and increase food production.

Wealth-creating technologies include information and communications technology, biotechnology, materials technology, nanotechnology, and artificial intelligence, most of which are possessed by developed countries. We hope that developments in these fields will address many of the challenges facing the world, whether related to climate, energy, food, healthcare, education, or everything related to human life.

For the World Food Programme, it plays an important political role due to its response to humanitarian crises resulting from armed conflicts or climate change. It provides information on the humanitarian situation in Yemen, Sudan, Gaza, and elsewhere. Egypt cooperates with the World Food Programme on school feeding by providing technical and financial support.

As for the International Fund for Agricultural Development, it is concerned with agricultural projects and smart agriculture. The problem lies in the possibility of reducing US contributions to the United Nations as a whole, as we have witnessed its withdrawal from the World Health Organization, the International Population Fund, and the ban on funding for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA).



Furthermore, part of the trade war and tariffs imposed on goods between the United States, Europe, and China relates to agricultural exports. Therefore, we hope that the parties will reach acceptable negotiated solutions to avoid an escalation that will lead to further harm to the lives of millions in Africa.

Q6: Your active participation in Al-Masry Al-Youm and the Egyptian Center for Thought and Studies demonstrates your love of writing and reading. In your opinion, what topics or issues have not received sufficient attention?

We must understand that international relations are not just about the Middle East. There are other issues such as migration, international economic relations, the environment, and climate change. We should not view all issues negatively, as there are positives as well as negatives. For example, despite the damage Europe has suffered due to the coronavirus, it has alerted them to the importance of economic security—that is, ensuring sufficient domestic production in the event of an emergency. This is what they learned from the scarcity of protective masks and the need to import them from China during the pandemic.

Q7: Based on your experience in Egyptian political life as a member of the Senate, what are the challenges of parliamentary life in Egypt?

Political life in Egypt needs more activity to reflect the aspirations of the people.

Q8: In light of current international pressures, what approach should Arab countries take?

It must be characterised by cooperation, understanding and consultation on all common political and economic issues.

Q9: Regarding the Palestinian issue, what strategies can Egypt adopt to support its plan to reject displacement?

Egypt's official position is clear: it rejects displacement and the liquidation of the Palestinian cause at its expense. Demanding that an entire people leave their land to build projects such as those being promoted is something that falls outside the framework of international law and logic. This position is supported by Arab and European powers. Therefore, this idea is unworkable.





Farida Ibrahim-3rd year Political Sciences-french section

Discussion of the Arab Strategic Report

The year 2024 was a pivotal one in the trajectory of global transformation, witnessing major developments in the international system. Considering these developments, the Faculty of Economics and Political Science held a seminar to discuss the Arab Strategic Report, issued by the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in collaboration with the faculty, on Tuesday, April 29, 2025.

The seminar began with an opening session at 9:30 a.m., with welcoming remarks by Dr. Amany Masoud, Head of the Political Science Department at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science; Dr. Ayman Abdel Wahab, Director of the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies; the Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science; and finally, the Vice Dean for Community Service and Environmental Development.

The first session of the seminar began at 10:00 a.m. and was titled:

“The International System... Between American Centrality and the Shift of the Center of Gravity Toward East Asia.” It was chaired by Prof. Hassan Nafaa and featured Dr. Gamal Abdel Gawad, Dr. Raghda El Bahey, and Dr. Heidi Kars as speakers. The session concluded with some discussions between the speakers and attendees.

Prof. Hassan Nafaa began by thanking Dr. Amany Masoud for inviting him to the seminar, stressing the importance of discussing this report as a wake-up call due to its value to the faculty, the center, and what it offers researchers and students. He then outlined the topics presented in the report for discussion: firstly, the crisis of the decline of the liberal order established



after World War II, which passed through several phases; secondly, the U.S. elections as a turning point and the implications of Trump's re-election on American politics; thirdly, conflictual issues such as the Russia-Ukraine war; and fourthly, continental issues discussing matters such as the rise of the far-right in Europe. Prof. Nafaa then handed the floor to Dr. Gamal Abdel Gawad, noting his expertise in international relations. Dr. Abdel Gawad spoke about the crisis of the international order, explaining that what he had learned from theories does not clearly explain current events, describing it as a "mismatch" or likening it to the theory of "black swans." He emphasized that the key skill today is the ability to deduce and seek innovative solutions, with the main burden falling on the new generation. He argued that we should not impose rigid rules in political science but rather derive them and observe and explain what happens in our world. International relations as a discipline are rooted in the liberal order—a mix of liberal values and systems including individual freedom, free trade, abolition of slavery, etc.—which flourished after World War II and the Cold War and was revived with the U.S. and Britain's inheritance of the Middle East and its division into states. Now, this order is under immense pressure in its ideological core in recent years, and its future is uncertain. This is evident in three dimensions: first, a shift in the power structure from Europe to China—the third-largest economy and largest industrial power with rapid technological advancement, which is no longer exclusive to the West. There is a transfer of power centers, a process of decline and rise. What's new is that this transfer from Western power to another power raises the question: are we moving toward a globalization of multiple blocs or a multipolar world? There has also been a development in the fluidity of money, goods, people, and ideas—something the world witnessed with clear cooperation after the Cold War. There has been a shift from cooperative to conflictual relations (more trade-related now—customs tariffs). Human rights, democracy, and liberal principles no longer dominate the scene, especially with the rise of the far-right across the West, leading to a change in ideological character. But where will this situation take us? Most likely, to complete instability. Next, Dr. Raghda El Bahey spoke, explaining that the Arab Strategic Report is a distinguished and precise document that offers accurate monitoring and analysis of global events at the international, regional, and even national (Egyptian) levels throughout 2024, with clear trends on which the future can be anticipated. She began by discussing the shift of civilizational precedence toward East Asia, noting that its roots go back to the late 20th century with the emergence of the concept of the Asian Century. This concept was built on several facts, including economic rise and engines of labor, production, and innovation in China, followed by India. The strength of the Asian continent lies in its economy. It's not just about a shift in civilizational primacy to the East, but about economic factors.

Politically, the Asian continent has a in addition to its cultural component complex and non-homogeneous political manifested in globalization and American environment, ranging from democracies in cultural dominance—something Asian Japan and South Korea to authoritarian powers have yet to offer a complete regimes in neighboring countries facing alternative to. She concluded her remarks real challenges in poverty and social by stating that the international system is inequality. Thus, she argued, there is more in a state of intellectual and analytical than one Asian Century. Asia is fluidity. It is possible to infer the undergoing demographic and economic continuation of American hegemony just transformations that could hinder its role, as it is possible to infer its decline. On one such as a declining labor force due to aging hand, the U.S. still possesses the world's populations, leading to increasing pressure most powerful military and greatest on social security systems. In contrast, cultural influence. On the other, signs of its Asia also faces security and geopolitical retreat are evident—foreign conflicts, challenges, notably tensions in the South growing isolationist tendencies China Sea and the potential conflict domestically, and discussions about the between China and Taiwan, which could end of the American century. The world reshape strategic balances on the stands at a crossroads between East and continent. Despite the rise of major powers West, where the features of a new like India and Brazil, and partial international system are taking shape. emergence of Africa, complete Asian Wars such as the Russia-Ukraine conflict dominance remains questionable. The or a potential China-Taiwan confrontation international system is not heading toward may accelerate this transformation. Asian unipolarity but rather toward However, the shape of this system, its multipolarity, where powers like Western number of poles, and the time of its full Europe and the U.S. continue to maintain emergence remain unclear.

leadership roles politically, economically, Dr. Heidi Kars then took the floor, and militarily. affirming the significant value of the

There is ongoing debate about whether the strategic report, which represents a liberal international order is in its death qualitative addition to the Arab library as throes or merely facing a temporary crisis it comprehensively monitors international, from which it can recover. It still enjoys regional, and local interactions. She strong institutional roots, such as the focused her intervention on three main International Monetary Fund and the axes within the chapter on international World Bank,

interactions. First, systemic transformations in the international order: she discussed ongoing structural shifts in the global system, noting that the world is going through a transitional phase marked by instability and uncertainty. The system is no longer clearly bipolar nor definitively multipolar, and there is an erosion of the





foundations upon which Western hegemony was built. Although rising powers, especially China, were previously seen as the main challenge, the paradox now lies in the fact that the biggest threat to the liberal order may come from within itself—specifically from within the United States due to internal economic and political changes. Second, the impact of transformation on the Global South: Dr. Kars questioned whether the Global South is merely a recipient of these changes or if it plays an active role. She used Africa as an example, noting the intense international competition over the continent from major powers such as China and Russia, as well as regional powers like Turkey and the Gulf states. Despite this, some African countries have begun to play flexible and negotiated roles, such as diversifying international partnerships and avoiding dependence on a single actor.

Third, epistemological structuring in the field of international relations: she pointed out the centrality of Western thought in the discipline of international relations, where Western—particularly American and European—theorizing dominates the field. However, there have been attempts by researchers from the Global South to present theoretical alternatives that move away from Western centrism and address real issues that traditional Western literature cannot adequately tackle. This is sometimes referred to as the movement of decolonizing global knowledge in international relations. Dr. Kars concluded her remarks by referring to a report from The Economist magazine stating that the Israeli army is using artificial intelligence systems to identify its



targets in Gaza by analyzing vast datasets, including communications, satellite imagery, suspicious activities, and technologies based on facial and voice recognition. Despite their apparent precision, these technologies rely on inputs that may be inaccurate, explaining the large number of civilian casualties. There is growing concern that this method may become a new “trend” in future wars. This point is essential to understanding how modern technology has transformed the nature of warfare in Gaza and should have been included under the section on “technological and military developments.”

At the end of this fruitful session, Prof. Hassan Nafaa concluded by speaking about the most prominent issues discussed in the annual strategic report, notably the rapid collapse of international institutions established after World War II, which had formed the foundation of the system of international justice and legitimacy—such as the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court. The moral and legal role that Western powers had claimed, particularly in protecting human rights, has regressed, as these values have either been targeted or neglected in practical reality. This erosion in the performance of institutions raises fundamental questions

about the future of the international system: Is it still possible to reform the United Nations system, especially the Security Council, despite its rigidity and inability to adapt to the new balance of power? Or does reality dictate the need to consider the establishment of an alternative global order—something that usually only happens after major shocks like world wars?

Following this, the second session began under the title “The Regional System... Shrinking Axis of Resistance and Disruption in Normalization Calculations,” chaired by Prof. Ahmed Youssef and with speakers Dr. Moataz Salama, Prof. Nevine Mosaad, Dr. Mohamed El-Sayed Idris, and Dr. Ali Galal Maouad. Dr. Moataz Salama began by thanking and welcoming his colleagues and Prof. Dr. Ahmed Youssef. He then discussed the Arab and Middle Eastern systems and the interactions between them, focusing on developments in 2024. He pointed out that the “Arab” section of the report covered numerous issues, but the topic of the “Axis of Resistance and the Disruption of Normalization Calculations” was chosen as the focus, without limiting or diminishing the importance of other topics.

The Arab system was divided into three parts. The first part addressed issues of the Arab system, most notably: from the “Al-Aqsa Flood” to the “Northern Flood,” indicating the symbolic beginning and end of a pivotal year in the region. It also analyzed the reality of chronic Arab crises that have become a stable deadlock without full settlements—such as in Yemen, Libya, Sudan, and Lebanon—

posing a threat to national unity. The second part focused on the transformation of rules of engagement, highlighting the increasing Israeli violence in Gaza, excessive deterrent force, and the long war, along with the confusion in decision-making processes within Israel and the absence of a cohesive collective mindset. The report also discussed the decline of non-state groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah, raising questions about whether this decline is tactical or a strategic fading. It reviewed the Lebanese scene from limited engagement to open war. The third part of the report tackled the internal Israeli conflicts, noting that all parties are competing from a right-wing platform, reflecting the narrowness of the political spectrum there. It also discussed Hamas’ position in power despite the war and its public conflict with the Palestinian Authority, raising questions about the reality of joint Palestinian action.

The Arab section concluded by analyzing the Gulf Cooperation Council countries’ positions on normalization, highlighting the divergence among Gulf stances and the national calculation differences between them, and the upcoming Arab Summit’s internal divisions. It raised the question of how topics and solutions to Arab regional conflicts can be presented amid ambiguous Arab roles and a dysfunctional Arab state.





Prof. Nevine Mosaad then spoke, focusing on several observations. First, despite the report's importance and courage in addressing thorny issues, its language and terminology are difficult—especially for those outside the academic field. Second, she objected to excluding the Hamas/Israel model from examples of asymmetric wars and rejected the idea that Israeli strikes and spatial control undermine decentralization. She considered that what happened does not contradict the evolution of asymmetric warfare but rather reflects a shift in Israeli strategy from spatial confrontation to targeting the idea and spirit.

Third, she discussed the term “parallel non-state actors,” calling for clarification of the difference between this and “armed actors.” She gave the example of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt as an unarmed actor yet a central political player, as well as governments that run the state during times of political weakness.

Fourth, she rejected the idea that Iran is retreating from its regional project, considering that the imperial nature of Iran's project does not allow for inward withdrawal; rather, it is a long-term, trans-political-systems project.

Fifth, she addressed the issue of proxy wars, noting that the report's analysis of the Houthis' evolution from a tool to a central actor requires understanding the actor's own motivation development, especially as they moved from a tool to a representative of a popular sector.

Lastly, she emphasized the importance of analyzing the performance of the official Arab system, especially in central issues such as Palestine and Syria, pointing to weak outcomes despite official statements.

Then Dr. Mohamed El-Sayed Idris spoke about the Arab and Middle Eastern systems and their interactions, and the developments of 2024. He referred to the G20 Summit in Mumbai, where a new Middle East project was proposed, followed by the “Al-Aqsa Flood,” which proved the Palestinian people's ability to resist, toppling Zionist ideology and the West as a whole.

Despite this, the Arab system did not stand with the Palestinian cause; some countries fund the Zionist entity, others are helpless, while the Palestinian people endured for several months.

These developments revealed the Axis of Resistance extending from Iran to Hezbollah and Yemen, creating an imbalance in power. This coincided with severe strikes against Hezbollah and the emergence of ISIS in Syria under American-agenda motives (noting that Syria in the past refused to betray Hezbollah or normalize with Israel). He mentioned the previously ambiguous Turkish role, which has found strength in Syria amid increasing Israeli power. We are now during dangerous developments, accompanied by many questions about the Arab system's stance if a war breaks out between Iran and Israel over the nuclear issue. Considering these ambiguous Arab roles, settlements appear to be halfway measures.

The session concluded with Dr. Ali Galal Maouad, who explained the challenges researchers face in this context, citing a previous experience related to Turkey to emphasize the difficulty of keeping pace with these changes.

The report addresses Turkey's notable presence across different axes, pointing to its political, economic, and military roles in several regional issues such as Syria, Lebanon, Sudan, and Palestine, with notes on the potential to focus more on files like Somalia.

The report highlights the dual image of Turkey's roles—positive as a cooperative actor and negative as a source of threat—while pointing to possible contradictions due to the multiple contributors to the report. Dr. Galal reflected on the nature of this divergence, attributing it to the weakness of the Arab system, the fluidity of regional interactions, and the differing national interests among Arab countries, alongside the increasing and continuing debate over Turkey's role.





Translated by: Lydia Amir - 4th
year political Science



Inauguration of Mr Amr Moussa Research Chair

In a wonderful celebration that brought together the nostalgia of a near past with the hope of a faraway future, the elders' wisdom and maturity met the youth's hopes and dreams at the inauguration of a new research chair under the name of Mr Amr Moussa, ex-Egyptien Minister of Foreign Affairs and ex-Secretary-General of the League of Arab Nations. This took place within the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, this grand academic edifice, by the thoughtful initiative of Mr Mamdouh Abbas, chairman of the board of directors of the Kemet Boutros Ghali Foundation for Peace and Knowledge, and proud alumni of FEPS, and in the presence of many public figures, ambassadors and faculty members.

The ceremony began with a short documentary film showcasing the main steps of Mr Amr Moussa's personal and professional life, as well as his long and rich career in the world of diplomacy and politics.

In a speech by Dr Hanan Mohamed Ali, Acting Dean of the faculty, she highlighted several aspects of the Faculty's excellence, like how its alumni have risen to the most prestigious positions locally and internationally, its many partnerships with international universities and its international





institutional accreditation. She thanked Mr Mamdouh Abbas for his inauguration of this research chair, as well as two other research chairs he had previously established within the Faculty. Finally, she expressed her joy at the establishment of a research chair under the name of the most famous diplomat in Egypt and the Arab world in the field of foreign politics and international relations.

The next person to take the floor was Dr Ali Eldin Hilal, dearly beloved ex-Dean and godfather of the Faculty as well as ex-minister of Youth, who told of the most important political events that reunited him with Mr Amr Moussa. He spoke of how science encountered realist politics so that each may feed into the other in a wonderful political-diplomatic symphony. Finally, His Excellency spoke of his camaraderie with Mr Mamdouh Abbas at the Faculty, and a cordial relationship that continues until today.



The next speech was that of the good son of the Faculty, Mr Mamdouh Abbas, well-renowned businessman, who spoke of the importance of the establishment of this research chair. He pointed out Mr Amr Moussa's preference for FEPS to house this research chair despite not having graduated from it. Mr Mamdouh Abbas also noted the intention of the Kemet Boutros-Ghali Foundation to establish more research chairs bearing the greatest names in the world of Economics and Politics: Dr Ali Eldin Hilal, Dr Zaki Shafei and Dr Mostafa El Fikky.

In the speech given by Mr Amr Moussa, he expressed his joy to be recognized by the Kemet Foundation within the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, which he honors for its longstanding position, and acknowledges the ability of the Faculty's students and professors to deal with the issues of foreign policy and international relations that he dedicated his life to.

The celebration ended with an atmosphere of affinity and cordiality in the horizon, between successive generations all united by their pride in belonging to a Faculty that its truly a lighthouse of science and knowledge, and hoping to once again meet to inaugurate another research chair under the auspices of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science.



**Hana S.Elbadry - Economics
-Third Year**



Ambassador Raouf Saad Visits Our Faculty: Seminar on Egypt and the European Union - A Journey of Extended Economic and Political Relations

On Tuesday, April 8, 2025, a seminar was held at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science at Cairo University titled "Egypt and the European Union: A Journey of Extended Economic and Political Relations." The discussion was moderated by Professor Dr. Mamdouh Ismail, Professor in the Public Administration Department and Vice Dean for Community Service and Environmental Development Affairs at the Faculty. The event hosted Ambassador Raouf Saad, former Senior Assistant Foreign Minister and former Ambassador of Egypt to Brussels and Moscow. The seminar was attended by a distinguished group of professors and students interested in the topic, including Professor Dr. Samiha Fawzy, Emeritus Professor of Economics and former Minister of Trade and Industry, , Professor Dr. Atiyah Hussein Afandi, Emeritus Professor of Public Administration and former Head of the Public Administration Department

and His Excellency Ambassador Dr. Khair El-Din Abdel Latif, former Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt.

Professor Mamdouh Ismail opened the seminar by welcoming the attendees and highlighting the leading role of the faculty in fostering community development, supporting informed decision-making, and contributing to nation-building.



He emphasized the vision of the Faculty to become one of the best fourth-generation universities in education, scientific research, and community service, following the model of prestigious international universities. He introduced Ambassador Raouf Saad as the ideal speaker on Egypt-EU relations, given his current role as Head of the National Office for the Implementation of the Egypt-EU Association Agreement.

Ambassador Raouf Saad began his talk by noting that the current period is one of the most critical in history, with global upheavals resembling a third world war. He suggested that the United Nations is nearing a state of paralysis similar to that of the League of Nations before World War II. He also commented that the European Union is at a crossroads that could either strengthen or fragment it.

He then discussed Egypt-EU relations, referring to the European Neighborhood Policy and emphasizing the importance of stability and security in neighboring regions. He pointed out shared challenges such as illegal migration and terrorism, stressing the need to balance European principles with political realities and internal pressures highlighting Egypt's strategic role as a partner. Moving on, he recalled the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference, where the EU proposed the Suez Canal Area Development Project as part of its vision for regional economic peace.



Ambassador Saad, who headed Egypt's delegation to the Regional Cooperation Working Group, and served as Regional Negotiator for establishing the Middle East Bank, advocated strongly for linking economic development to national sovereignty due to its geopolitical and economic significance. He explained that the geographical link between the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Indian Ocean is unique globally, and proper development of this area could boost Egypt's economy by 20%. He emphasized the need for greater understanding of investment opportunities and challenges, suggesting a transformation in the region's trade and navigation landscape. He described the Suez Canal Economic Zone as the EU's "economic and trade lung," where European industries and services could relocate to serve the Gulf, East Africa, and South Asia. The Ambassador noted that although official discussions about the Suez development project were postponed, European vision influenced Egypt's independent development plans.

He also spoke about the 1995 Barcelona Initiative, aimed at enhancing cooperation across the Mediterranean, highlighting Europe's growing interest in infrastructure projects, particularly the Suez Canal Development Project due to its strategic location.

He explained how the initiative evolved into Association Agreements involving vertical agreements between the EU and Mediterranean countries, and horizontal agreements among southern and eastern nations, with the goal of forming the world's largest free trade area. Although this goal was not fully achieved, trade agreements continued to flourish. Egypt-EU trade volume reached 37 billion euros, with notable growth in Egyptian exports.

He also touched upon the customs exemption period that lasted until 2019, noting that it failed to achieve its goal of helping Egypt build a car manufacturing industry between 2004 and 2019, rather than just assembling cars.



Regarding Egypt-EU relations post-January 25 Revolution, Ambassador Saad mentioned that the EU initially supported the revolution as a democratic reaction without fully understanding the surrounding circumstances. Despite initial tensions, the EU soon recognized Egypt's vital historical and geographical role. The Ambassador himself played a significant role in easing tensions by engaging in strategic dialogues with the European Commission and European Council.

He then discussed major crises faced by the EU, starting with COVID-19, Brexit, and the ongoing Ukraine crisis, which heavily drained European treasuries. He criticized the U.S. military dominance over Europe via NATO, noting the tension between the current U.S. administration and EU countries, particularly regarding demands to increase NATO defense spending to 5%. He mentioned U.S. President Donald Trump inviting UK Prime Minister Keir Starmer to encourage non-member European countries to bear more of the defense burden. He predicted that the UK, often seen as the U.S.'s second face in the EU, might eventually rejoin the Union. Ambassador Saad highlighted Germany's current economic crisis and the establishment of a 500 billion euro fund for defense and security infrastructure, predicting an uncertain future for Europe. Despite challenges, he stressed that the EU remains globally influential.

In concluding his talk, Ambassador Saad spoke about the era of climate change, warning that Egypt is among the countries most vulnerable to its impacts. This could affect sectors like the circular economy and thus influence international economic relations. The EU is a leading global actor in addressing climate change, making the "green transition" a cornerstone of its internal and external policies. He highlighted the "European Green Deal," launched in 2019, aiming for Europe to become the first carbon-neutral continent by 2050 by decarbonizing and promoting alternative energy sources. Ambassador Saad emphasized the importance of tracking developments in green hydrogen, as Egypt aspires to become a regional hub for clean energy, opening new avenues for cooperation with the EU.



Finally, the discussion ended with an interactive Q&A session between the audience and Ambassador Saad, allowing students and professors to engage directly with the discussion points, making the event rich and dynamic. The seminar "Egypt and the European Union: A Journey of Extended Economic and Political Relations" highlighted the intricate ties between the two sides amidst complex regional and international challenges. Through Ambassador Raouf Saad's contributions, it became clear that the relationship is not just economic but a historical and strategic partnership that demands careful balancing of national interests and global developments.



**Zeyad Mohamed- Economics-
Fourth level**

**The Syrian Scene in a Complex Regional Context
Academic Symposium at the Department of Political Science**



As part of the ongoing intellectual and academic activities organized by the Department of Political Science at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science – Cairo University, a symposium was held on Sunday, April 13, 2025, entitled “The Syrian Scene in a Complex Regional Context.” The keynote speaker was His Excellency Ambassador Ramzy Az El-Din, former Deputy Special Envoy of the United Nations to Syria and prominent Egyptian diplomat. The session was moderated by Professor Dr. Ahmed Youssef, Professor of Arab Relations, with a commentary by Professor Dr. Nevine Massad, Professor of Arab Political Systems, and attended by a group of faculty members and researchers.

Dr. Ahmed Youssef opened the session with a welcoming speech, expressing the department’s pride in hosting a diplomatic figure of Ambassador Ramzy Az El-Din’s caliber and experience

He noted that the discussion would provide students and researchers with a rare opportunity to hear an analytical and field-based testimony from someone who has dealt closely with the Syrian file through his roles as Egypt’s Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Head of the Arab League Mission, and later as Deputy UN Special Envoy to Syria. In his address, Ambassador Ramzy Az El-Din offered a comprehensive analysis of the Syrian scene, describing the crisis as a complex one shaped by three dimensions: internal, regional, and international.



On the internal level, he clarified that Syria could no longer be considered a unified state in practice. Instead, it is effectively divided among three main powers: the Syrian government, which controls Damascus, Homs, Hama, Latakia, Tartus, and parts of the south; Turkey-backed factions spread across Idlib, Afrin, Jarablus, Tal Abyad, and Ras al-Ain; And the U.S.-backed Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), which hold sway over al-Hasakah, Raqqa, and parts of Deir ez-Zor.

On the economic front, he pointed out that conditions have reached a catastrophic state, with a collapse in public services, skyrocketing prices, and plummeting purchasing power. He highlighted the unregulated expansion of imports—particularly from Turkey, which flooded the market with goods beyond the financial reach of ordinary Syrians. This came alongside mass layoffs, salary delays, and a sharp drop in remittances from Syrians abroad, all of which exacerbated the economic recession and deepened the public's distrust in the state.

Institutionally, the Ambassador discussed the deterioration of the Syrian army, noting that it has lost its cohesion and effectiveness as a unified force. Many of its units have become localized militias with regional or external loyalties, while the central command's role has diminished, rendering the army unable to secure the state or preserve its unity.

On the political level, Ambassador Az El-Din addressed the recent constitutional declaration, which he said merely reproduced authoritarian rule more extensively. The declaration granted the president sweeping powers and resulted in the formation of a government that lacked genuine representation of Kurds, Druze, or other key societal groups. He asserted that the declaration was not the product of a national dialogue or political consensus.

In this context, he discussed the figure of Ahmed Al-Shara, who had been proposed in some circles as a potential reformist alternative. The Ambassador raised a series of rhetorical questions, saying: "Is he truly capable of evolving into a unifying president for all Syrians? What is his relationship with the factions? Can he control them? Is he accepted by them? Are they willing to embrace him? Would they favour the idea of establishing a forward-looking Islamic state? Will they remain pragmatic or turn against him?" These questions, he explained, highlight the fragility of betting on individual alternatives in the absence of a comprehensive political and institutional project.



The Ambassador then moved on to the regional and international context, offering a breakdown of each major actor's position in the Syrian file: Russia seeks to consolidate its strategic influence through its military bases in Tartus and Hmeimim and balances its relations with Turkey and Israel to protect its interests, far from any commitment to Syrian unity. The United States has retreated from a leadership role, content with protecting the SDF and oil fields, and coordinating with Israel in the south, without presenting a comprehensive vision for a resolution.

Turkey acts as a de facto occupying force in northern Syria, imposing direct administrative and economic control and working to alter the demographic makeup under a security pretext. Israel, he said, is the greatest beneficiary of Syria's fragmentation, ensuring the neutralization of the southern front in coordination with Russia to secure its borders.

Europe has become a marginal player, limited to funding civil society organizations amid a lack of political influence. As for the Arab states, the Ambassador expressed disappointment at the absence of a unified Arab position. He noted that the Arab League's delegation of authority to the United Nations was merely symbolic and lacked a genuine political will for active engagement.

Dr. Nevine Massad then offered a response to the Ambassador's remarks, likening the Syrian reality to "a cart loaded with explosives that cannot move forward unless it sheds some of its load." She pointed out that what is occurring on the ground is a de facto division—even if it hasn't been officially declared—given the multiplicity of governance systems, varied military controls, and the absence of a unifying national project. She also gave a vivid example, stating: "One scene that struck me deeply—when you're walking through the streets of Damascus, you see Syrian flags raised, then suddenly you enter a certain street and find Turkish flags instead. Then again, you see Syrian flags, and after that, flags of different factions. It's a surreal scene, one that symbolizes the current decentralized structure and perhaps the one to come. It's undeclared, but it's real."

Dr. Massad further addressed the Turkish–Israeli understandings, noting that their publicly declared contradictions mask a functional agreement aimed at weakening the Syrian state. She also criticized the Western stance, observing that it does not oppose authoritarian regimes per se, but only when they are religiously oriented. She cited the absence of any Western objection to the latest constitutional declaration, despite its overtly authoritarian nature.



During the concluding discussion, several questions were raised by faculty members. Professor Aladdin Hilal inquired about the feasibility of federalism as a solution to preserve national unity while granting local governance to various components. Ambassador Az El-Din replied that while federalism may be theoretically sound, it is not realistically applicable in Syria's current context. It faces broad public rejection, lacks support from key factions, and there is no serious political will to adopt it.

A question was also raised regarding Turkey's role. The Ambassador asserted that Ankara has moved beyond mere influence to actual occupation. It administers areas under its control as if they were part of its territory and is working to engineer demographic changes through displacement and resettlement, making its withdrawal unlikely without comprehensive international agreements.

When asked about the status of civil society organizations, the Ambassador responded that they were active at the onset of the crisis but now operate under highly restrictive conditions. They are treated with constant suspicion, face challenges in funding, registration, and fieldwork, and have lost much of their effectiveness—especially as European support dwindled and local trust eroded due to their perceived foreign affiliations.

Regarding the Christian population, he noted that a significant portion has emigrated. Those who remain lack real political representation and have been largely marginalized from decision-making centers.

As for the potential resettlement of Palestinian refugees in Syria, Ambassador Az El-Din acknowledged that the idea has been discussed behind closed doors but is widely rejected due to its demographic and sectarian sensitivity in an already strained society.

Finally, one faculty member asked about Egypt's potential role in this complex landscape. The Ambassador replied that Egypt could indeed play a pivotal role—if it adopts a comprehensive strategic vision and employs its diplomatic, historical, and cultural tools effectively, moving beyond a posture of cautious detachment.

The session concluded with Dr. Ahmed Youssef expressing his deep gratitude to Ambassador Ramzy Az El-Din for his rich and field-informed analysis, and to Dr. Nevine Massad for her thoughtful and critical commentary. He praised the participating faculty members for their valuable interventions and emphasized that this event reflects the department's commitment to thoughtful engagement with the region's most pressing issues, offering academically grounded insights in a time when politics and tragedy intertwine.



Salma Nasr - Political science - 3rd year



Not Just a Land: The Conscience War We All Inherit

A few days ago, and even until now, everybody was talking about two women, Dalia Ziada and Ibtehal Abou El Saad. They were both confronted with different opportunities, but when it was time to pick between their own comfort and the dignity of their people, they made very different choices.

One surrendered the spirit of her homeland for applause from those who bomb its neighbors; the other gave up a prestigious career to honor the silent cries of the dispossessed Palestinians. However, it is not a simple story of betrayal versus heroism. It's about the tough decisions people make and the weight of conscience in a time when clear morals are hard to find.

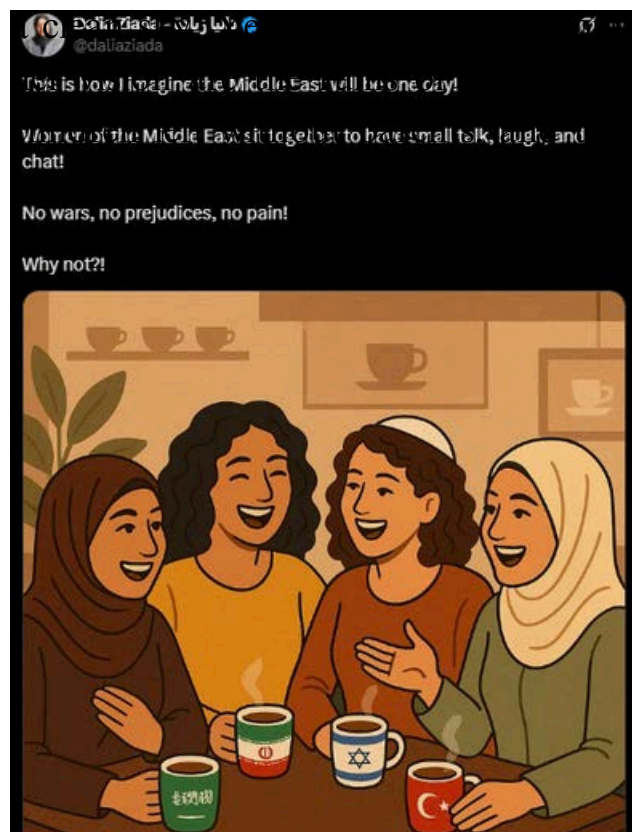


Dalia Ziada built her reputation in Egypt as a human rights advocate, looking for a permanent peace in the Middle East.



However, in recent years, Ziada's voice has become unmistakably aligned with Israeli narratives, calling October 7 a “massacre” and describing Israel’s relentless assault on Gaza as “self-defense.” But such framing erases history. No Arab, even those critical of Hamas, can speak of that day without recalling decades of siege, occupation, and dispossession. To justify Israel’s actions while over 50,000 Palestinians lie dead, many of them women and children, is a blatant betrayal. Ziada dismisses Arab media as “biased” and reduces the killing of civilians to unfortunate but necessary “collateral damage,” all while portraying Israel as a democracy under threat. But what kind of democracy imposes an apartheid system, blockades an entire population for nearly two decades, and has been condemned by major international bodies for war crimes?

Ziada's public statements have triggered outrage in Egypt, culminating in legal complaints accusing her of endangering national security and calling for the revocation of her citizenship. To her supporters, she is a visionary seeking coexistence. To her critics, she is a symptom of a new colonial order: one where the price of Western approval is the abandonment of your own people’s dignity. Now living in exile, Ziada continues to share her vision of a world where Saudis, Turks, Iranians, and Israelis enjoy cafes together under



Thousands of miles away, another Arab woman was making a different kind of choice.

Ibtehal Abou El Saad grew up in the Maghreb. She has accomplished a lot, including graduating from Harvard with a focus on artificial intelligence,

leading efforts in tech education for girls, and working at Microsoft on machine learning. She may have been able to join the ranks of top tech leaders worldwide.

She could have stayed there, built a life of comfort. But when Ibtehal discovered that Microsoft had struck a \$133 million deal to provide cloud services to the Israeli Ministry of Defense, which would aid in the surveillance and targeting of Palestinian civilians, she couldn't just stay silent.

"I can no longer remain silent," she wrote in a letter later leaked to the press, explaining how Microsoft's AI technologies were being weaponized to track journalists, doctors, and humanitarian workers.



While most people try to play it safe in their careers, Ibtehal didn't mind sacrificing her future in one of the world's most influential companies to condemn the ongoing

massacre, because she knew some things are simply not for sale.

It would be easy to frame the act of both ladies as a battle between villain and hero, traitor and savior. But reality is always more complicated.

Dalia Ziada is not unique. Across the Arab world, there is a growing class willing to reframe colonial violence as modernization. They believe, or hope, that survival comes through alignment with power, even if it means advocating for a lie we all know its use.



Their existence is not a sign of personal evil as much as it is the success of a global system designed to reward amnesia. Hamas attacks on 7th October became just an autonomous act of terrorism, totally forgetting what's really been happening since 1948.

Ibtehal Abou El Saad, on the other hand, is rare, not simply because she opposed Israel, but because she broke her silence despite knowing the personal cost. She exposed what many prefer to deny: that "neutrality" in the face of injustice is not neutral at all. It is complicity.

At the heart of it all lies the real question: Palestine.

"Palestine as a question posed to the world: Will you accept that some lives matter less, so long as yours remains untouched?"

For Dalia Ziada, the answer was yes, wrapped in the language of "peace" and "democracy." For Ibtehal Abou El Saad, the answer was a clear and uncompromising no. Their choices, helped in the shaping of a war that is not only about land, but about conscience.

There is a proverb that deeply resonate with Palestine:

We do not inherit the land from our ancestors; we borrow it from our children."

Dalia speaks for those who believe the land is lost, that it must be bartered away for peace,

for safety, for a seat at the table of the powerful. Ibtehal speaks for those who believe the land, and its memory, is worth the weight of exile and of sacrifice.

Neither woman will change the fate of Palestine alone.

History is not actually moved by individuals as much as it is moved by collective suffering and hope. But in the long nights of occupation, when the bombs are coming from everywhere above them, it is the Ibtehals of the world who light small, stubborn fires against this evil existence.

Those Ibtehals may be few, but they will not be forgotten, because memory is the first act of resistance. In the end, history will know the difference.





Abdelrahman Sakr- Economics- 3rd Year

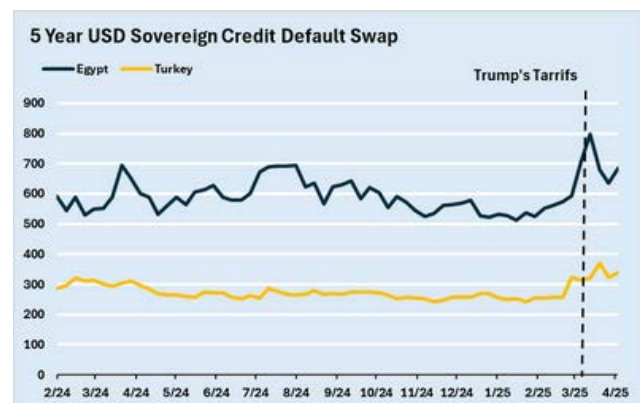
Trump's Effect

The last 30 days were a complete mess for the global economy, all thanks to Mr. Trump. America's financial market almost crashed after his tariffs announcement on the 2nd of April then stock prices rebounded after he announced a 90 days delay, and saying he is open to negotiations. The damage is not gone however, and is here to stay.

Mr. Trump's effect is not panic among investors, it is uncertainty and loss of trust in US institutions and the global financial order the US is supposed to guard. The sovereign credit default swap (SCDS) of five year USA bonds, an insurance tool against The federal government default risk, is up to a level second only to those of May 2023, when investors were worried negotiations around the government debt-ceiling would not succeed Check. And This is the SCDS of USD denominated dollars of the USA federal government, previously considered the

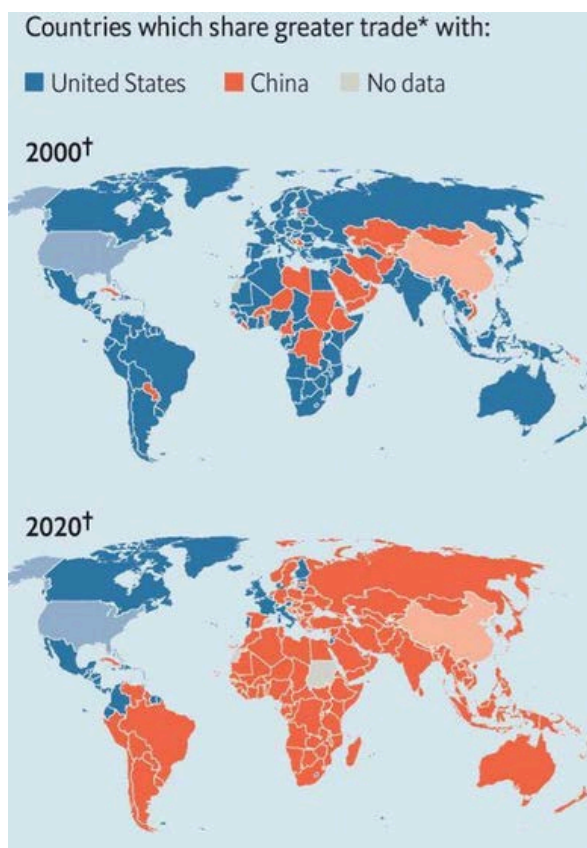
safest asset in the world. SCDS of emerging countries is spiking as well, especially those dependent on foreign portfolio investment. Egypt's and Turkey's SCDS are up to a 12 months high record (check graph below). And IMF projections to growth in emerging markets has dropped.

Emerging countries will be hit the most by these decisions. Even if tariffs bring the hope that these countries might gain by companies reshoring factories to them, there is lots of losses that most likely will outweigh these potential gains anyway. Not to mention that these countries have



been struggling to attract factories for decades for due to their unskilled labor, instability, and bureaucracy.

These countries will face higher borrowing costs, thanks to higher risk premium, and higher default probability. The world overall is becoming more riskier and investors will ask for higher returns. Additionally, these countries will face lower American demand and global economy growth, driving exports down. They might also face a flood of goods from China that would have went to USA, thus a surge in import. These countries are very vulnerable to China as it is their largest trading partner and one of the main sources of finance and investing, especially with Trump cutting aid off. The ultimate effect is larger trade deficits lower economic growth, thus higher default probability.



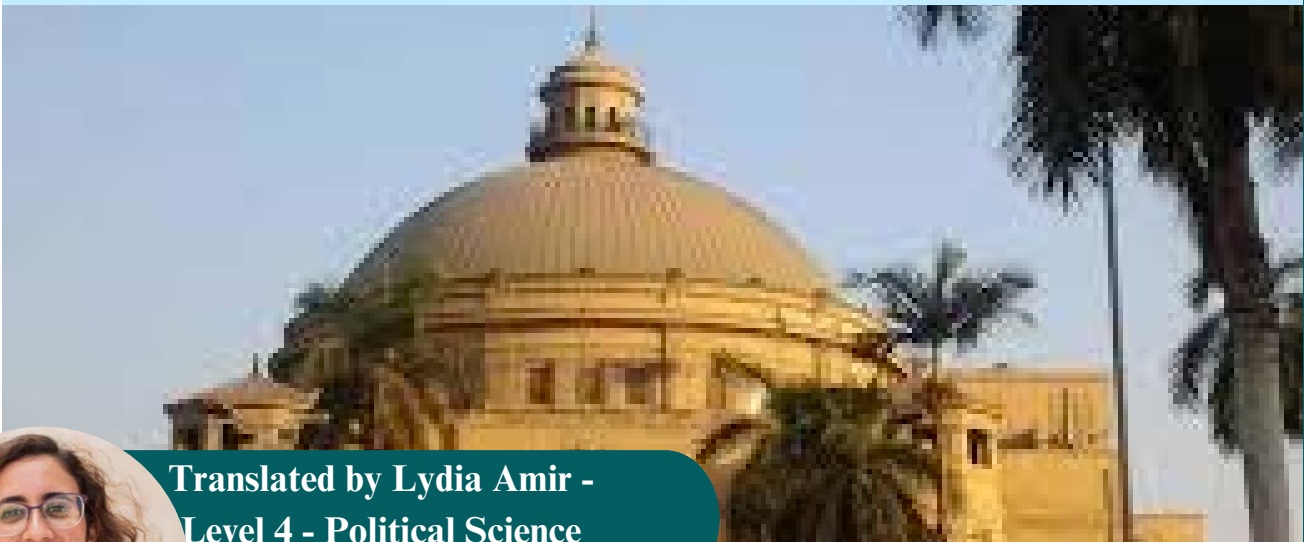
Source: The Economist

They will also hurt from a the free fall of the, presumably, rule-based order and multilateral institutions in a critical time for climate change and geopolitical conflicts. Both of which will be more intense, thanks to Mr. Trump's policies.

These countries are already in large risk of natural crisis, floods, and droughts. And Mr. Trump has showed little interest and more of disdain to climate change issues. Soon after taking office, he issued an executive order to pull the United States out—once again—from the Paris Agreement, the 2015 global accord aimed at combating climate change and supported by nearly every nation.

He also likes to deal with conflicts with a 19th century imperial fashion. He talks publicly of forcefully migrating the people of Gaza and turning the strip into a resort and publicly insult Ukraine's president for rejecting a deal that leaves admits the status quo in east-Ukraine. Most surprisingly was his claim that Suez and Panama canal would not have existed if not for the USA and that military ships of the US should not pay fees. Many of his talk is just lip service, but the man is only shackled by US institutions, which are under threat, and his team of advisors, which might be forced to please him to keep their positions.

With tariffs or not, the world as we have known for the last three decades is gone. The winner is yet to be determined, but the 1st loser is for sure emerging countries, except for those with plans and strong inclusive institutions that foster growth and social stability



Translated by Lydia Amir -
Level 4 - Political Science

FEPS congratulates its professors, laureates of Cairo University Awards

Under the auspices of Professor Dr Mohamed Sami Abdel-Sadek, President of Cairo University, the University has announced the names of the laureates of its awards for the year 2024-2025. In this regard, Professor Dr Hanan Mohamed Ali, Acting Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science of Cairo University congratulates the laureates among the Faculty members:

1. Professor Dr Heba Nassar, Laureate of the Excellence Award in Human and education sciences;

2. Professor Dr Hala Helmy Al-Said, Laureate of the Excellence Award in Social Sciences

3. Professor Dr Nesma Saleh, Laureate of the University Award of Academic Distinction in Social Sciences

The Faculty takes this opportunity to congratulate its laureate professors, wishing continuing success for all members and students of the Faculty.

