



Dimensions
for Strategic Studies

Study



Pragmatism to the Extreme: The First Year of the Biden Administration's Middle East Policy

Prepared by:
Abdurrahman Alsarraj

Research fellow focuses on American politics

JAN 2021

www.dimensionscenter.net



Dimensions for Strategic Studies

Dimensions Centre for Strategic Studies (DCSS) is think tank, dedicated to the study of the Middle East and North Africa affairs, provides the Arab readers with a substantive insight on the region's political, economic and social issues and dynamics.

The DCSS was founded in the United Kingdom on January 2020 ,1, and is headquartered in London.

Dimensions Center for Strategic Studies is interested in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) affairs in particular, addressing influences the region has and the effects of this region's interactions with the rest of the world.

We strive to provide an open and accessible space in order to inform relevant persons of experts and academic readers alike, in a simplified style far from the complexities brought by experts, technicians and academics.

We are keen to provide topics in an intensive manner that goes in line with the challenges of modern times and in brief way which can meet the needs of researchers and readers as well.



Contents

Introduction	04
First: US Goals in Region	06
Second: Returning to Iran's nuclear deal becomes more complicated	08
1. Incomplete return to Obama Policy	09
2. Prospects for negotiations	10
3. Continuation of Maritime Tensions	12
Third: Withdrawal from Afghanistan and Iraq	13
1. Poor implementation of US Withdrawal	15
Fourth: Palestinian narratives impose themselves on the American scene	18
1. Causes and consequences of the primacy of the Palestinian cause	20
Fifth: Sponsoring normalization with "Israel" and banning "Israeli" piracy companies	22
1. Continuity of sponsoring normalization	22
2. Banning of "Israeli" hacking companies	23
Sixth: Implicit termination of US support for Saudi Arabia in Yemen	24
1. Iran's Relationship to the Beginning of U.S. Support for the Saudi Campaign in Yemen	26
Seventh: Syria	27
1. Refusal to Normalize with the Assad Regime	27
2. Contradictory policy	28
Eighth: Human rights in American politics in the region	30
1. Saudi Arabia	30
2. Egypt	31



Introduction

Looking broadly at the performance evaluation of US President Joe Biden's administration in its first year, we find that its overall performance was negative, given that the popularity of the US president fell to the lowest level of a US president in his first year in the modern era, with the exception of former US President Donald Trump; and the popularity of Vice President Kamala Harris also fell to the lowest level of a US vice president in the modern era, but this is mainly due to local reasons.¹

The Corona pandemic continues to pose new challenges to the administration, which has not been able to persuade a large part of the population to take vaccines despite securing them early and on a large scale. The Americans are still one of the least vaccinated people in the developed countries today,² and the virus has been spreading at a faster pace in the form of other mutants.³

While the administration has also been able to achieve the best economic performance in decades and set new records, inflation-induced price hikes have cast a shadow over the administration's optimism, spreading a general sense of pessimism among citizens about the economy's future.

In terms of foreign policy, during its first year, the administration went through what was described as the worst event in American foreign policy in its⁴ recent history towards the Middle East; in particular, the withdrawal from Afghanistan, and the way it was done.

(1) The Highs and Lows of Biden's First Year, The Atlantic, 2021-12-29:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/newsletters/archive/12/2021/joe-biden-first-year/621141/>

(2) Tracking Coronavirus Vaccinations Around the World, The New York Times, Updated on 17 January 2022:

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/world/covid-vaccinations-tracker.html>

(3) Fauci warns that Omicron may NOT be the 'end' of the pandemic, Dailymail, 17 January 2022:

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article10410337-/Anti-vaxxer-52-nearly-died-hospital-Covid-celebrates-return-home-getting-jabbed.html>

(4) McConnell blasts Biden's Afghanistan withdrawal as 'one of the worst foreign policy decisions in American history', Business Insider, 30 August 2021:

<https://www.businessinsider.com/mcconnell-biden-afghanistan-withdrawal-worst-foreign-policy-decisions8-2021->



This event was supposed to be celebrated by American public opinion, but it turned into a resounding disaster that was followed by everyone on various media and social media when the Taliban (the adversary of the United States in its longest war) took control of the country with a blinking speed, and American soldiers and others whose stay in the country is linked to the survival of American forces at Kabul International Airport, were trapped in a scene that sends a clear message to the world that the Americans are an unreliable international partner.

First: US Goals in the Region

In a quick review of the goals of US policy in the Middle East, we find that the traditional American goals in the region during the second half of the twentieth century ⁵ were to maintain the flow of energy from the region to the world by building strong relations with the Gulf countries, and to combat communism, in which the "Ingerlik" base in southern Turkey played a key role; through the training of the US Air Force and reconnaissance missions against the Soviet Union, and one of the traditional goals is also to protect "Israel" by providing it with weapons, financial aid, and political cover. ^{6 7 8}

Added to these goals after 1979 was the confrontation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran ⁹ by supporting Iraq with arms during the war between them, and then the policy of dual containment of the ¹⁰ two neighboring countries in the 1990s after the war.

With the onset of the threat from Iran and Iraq in the 1980s and 1990s towards the Gulf states, the US military presence in the Arabian Gulf began ¹¹ to take a clearer form, through the establishment of the Central Command of the US Army "Centcom", then the reactivation of the Fifth Fleet in the Arabian Gulf, in addition to building other bases in the region.

(5) A year in, Biden's Middle East policy brings little change, Aljazeera, 31 December 2021:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/31/12/2021/a-year-in-biden-middle-east-policy-brings-little-change>

(6) The Persian Gulf: Understanding the American Oil Strategy, Brookings, 1 March 2002:

<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-persian-gulf-understanding-the-american-oil-strategy/>

(7) Why are US military bases in Turkey so crucial for Washington?, TRT World, 16 December 2019:

<https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/why-are-us-military-bases-in-turkey-so-crucial-for-washington32243->

(8) Israel: Background and U.S. Relations, Congressional Research Service, 31 July 2018, p2:

<https://sgp.fas.org/crs/mideast/RL33476.pdf>

(9) 1979: Iran and America, Brookings, 24 January 2019:

<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/-1979iran-and-america/>

(10) The Illogic of Dual Containment, Foreign Affairs, 1 March 1994:

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/01-03-1994/illogic-dual-containment>

(11) 30 years after our 'endless wars' in the Middle East began, still no end in sight, Brookings,

27 July 2020: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/-30/27/07/2020years-after-our-endless-wars-in-the-middle-east-began-still-no-end-in-sight/>



At the turn of the millennium, the United States invaded both Iraq and Afghanistan as part of its global war on terror, increasing the American military presence in the region once again, culminating in the first years of the invasion, and then fading again. In the period of former US President Barack Obama, the US administration contributed in a binary way to the consolidation of the pro-Iranian and anti-Iranian camps by choosing to overlook Iran's expansion in the region in exchange for signing the nuclear agreement with it. In return, the administration overlooked some of the disastrous results of the military campaign against Yemen led by Saudi Arabia, which followed the signing of the nuclear agreement. Trump, again in a binary way, re-established, with his arrival to the White House in 2017, the establishment of the pro-Iranian and anti-Iranian camps in the region; but this time by strengthening their relationship with the opposing camp, namely the Arab Gulf states and Israel, imposing maximum economic sanctions on Tehran, and assassinating Iran's most important military leaders.

The Biden administration has undertaken seven broad foreign policy objectives globally:¹²

- Reengaging with the international community.
- Reaffirmation of American hegemony or leadership.
- Ending "Forever wars" wars.
- Respond better to China's rising prestige.
- Seeking to build a more stable relationship with Russia.
- Reviving the nuclear deal with Iran.
- More humanization of Washington's policies both in terms of immigration policies and climate change.

The practical translation of these goals in the Middle East is withdrawal from Afghanistan and Iraq, a return to the nuclear agreement with Iran, and the placing of human rights at the top of the program of relations with countries with a problematic human rights record in the region, including intolerance towards some of the allies or partners of the United States.

(12) US foreign policy in 2021: Key moments in Biden's first term, Aljazeera, 24 December 2021: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/24/12/2021/us-foreign-policy-in-2021-key-moments-in-bidens-first-term>



Second: Returning to Iran's nuclear deal becomes more complicated

Biden has been an advocate and a supporter of the nuclear deal with Iran since its preparation and signing in 2015. He has announced his support for the return of the deal since the Trump administration withdrew from it, and one week after his election, he announced his intention to work on it.¹³

But when he arrived at the White House, his administration seemed less eager to return to the agreement and more aware of Washington's strong position vis-à-vis Tehran. Through Trump's adoption of a policy of maximum pressure, and until the end of the first year of the Biden administration, no agreement was reached in which the nuclear deal would return to its former form.

The agreement known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action¹⁴ is an agreement between the five permanent members of the Security Council (America, China, Russia, Britain, and France) in addition to Germany in exchange for Iran restricting the Iranian nuclear program, dismantling most of it, and opening the doors of nuclear facilities to international observers, in return for easing the economic sanctions imposed on Tehran in billions of dollars. The agreement primarily aims to prevent Tehran from building a nuclear weapon, thereby reducing the likelihood of conflict between Iran and its rivals in the region, namely Saudi Arabia and "Israel." While supporters of the agreement believed that it had done so, critics inside and outside the United States believed otherwise.

(13) Biden has vowed to quickly restore the Iran nuclear deal, but that may be easier said than done, The Washington Post, 9 December 2020:
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/09/12/2020/biden-foreign-policy-iran/>

(14) Historic deal reached with Iran to limit nuclear program, The Washington Post, 14 July 2015:
https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/historic-nuclear-deal-with-iran-expected-to-be-announced/5/14/07/2015f8dddb29-2ea11-e-5a5ea-cf74396e59ec_story.html?itid=lk_inline_manual_2



After Trump withdrew from the agreement¹⁵ in May 2018, Iran took several steps to activate its nuclear program,¹⁶ as it brought its uranium enrichment to the highest level in its history, which is more than %60, in response to an attack on its main nuclear facilities in "Natanz".

Israel was accused of being behind that. This came almost a year after a similar attack and assassination of the Iranian nuclear scientist Mohsen Fakhrizadeh. Again, Israel was accused.

The nuclear deal had limited uranium enrichment to %3.67, and determined that Iran's stockpile of low-enriched uranium would be low. The Iranian parliament also decided after the assassination to restrict the access of IAEA inspectors. Although Iran's nuclear facilities still have IAEA cameras, Tehran threatens to destroy the tapes if sanctions are not lifted.

1. Incomplete return to Obama politics

The criticism that the Obama administration has received of the agreement since it was concluded by several governments in the region and a large sector of public opinion has not taken into account the regional role of Iran,¹⁷ as Washington ignored the Iranian expansion that led to turning every country it reached in the region into a failed state and unable to provide basic services to its citizens, as well as the loss of lives and infrastructure. This includes Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Lebanon. Obama has merely stated that he hopes that these issues can be discussed after the conclusion of the agreement; but the Iranian expansion has not stopped since.

(15) Trump pulls United States out of Iran nuclear deal, calling the pact 'an embarrassment', The Washington Post, 8 May 2018: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-will-announce-plans-to-pull-out-of-iran-nuclear-deal-despite-pleas-from-european-leaders/4/08/05/2018c52-148252ca11-e9-8c7-91dab596e8252_story.html

(16) Analysis: Iran ups nuclear ante as Vienna deal talks resume, AP, 2 December 2021:

<https://apnews.com/article/europe-middle-east-iran-dubai-iran-nuclear-dd40e4a610c2f35aff25353bbcf3a91c>

(17) Iran: Navigating Regional Influence and a Potential U.S. Policy Reset, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 17 December 2020: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/iran-navigating-regional-influence-and-potential-us-policy-reset>

Although Trump's policies towards a number of issues in the region were outrageous, especially the unconditional support of "Israel", his policies towards Iran were welcomed by a segment of the peoples and governments in the region, starting from withdrawing from the nuclear agreement, to imposing the most severe economic sanctions, to assassinating the most prominent Iranian military leaders, Qassem Soleimani. This group was afraid of the arrival of Biden or any other democratic president who might re-launch Iran as Obama did. Attempts continued to deliver appeals and strong demands to any new administration in Washington not to sell the region to Iran again.¹⁸

Numerous analyses during the US presidential election 2020 and the interim period after that, have suggested that the return of the nuclear deal will be one of the top priorities of the new administration, especially when it turns out that Biden will be president, and with names believed to be very supportive of Iran in the new administration, such as Robert Malley, the US chief negotiator in the nuclear agreement, whose appointment was described as an "ominous omen" indicating that the new administration is supportive of Iran. What happened during the first year of the administration; however, proved that it is not eager to return to the agreement; and it is aware of the strong position that the previous administration left for it concerning the Iranian file; i.e. or the returning to the agreement is a difficult and complex task.¹⁹

2. Prospects for negotiations

Since the inauguration of the Biden administration until January 2022, eight rounds of negotiations were held between the signatories, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, China, and Iran. The exception was the United States, whose participation was indirect. Meanwhile, negotiations came to a halt in June 2021 when the Iranians elected a new government, which is believed to be more conservative and militant. Negotiations, however, were resumed in November.

(18) Trump administration's US policies toward Iran and its impact on the two countries' relations under Biden, Al-Jazeera Center for Studies, 8 September 2021: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/article/5129>

(19) The one that gets away: Joe Biden's jaded romance with Iran, Politico, 5 September 2021: <https://www.politico.com/news/09/05/2021/joe-biden-relationship-iran485786->

Until early 2022, negotiations between the two sides remained on and off.²⁰

On the other hand, Iran's continuation of the nuclear program at a faster pace than before threatens to make returning to the agreement impossible, according to statements by American and Iranian sides in mid-January 2022, when the US Secretary of State announced²¹ that not reaching an agreement within a few weeks may make returning to the agreement difficult.

This is due to the fact that Iran is close to making enough components needed to produce a nuclear weapon. Moreover, the Iranian side is demanding the lifting of all economic sanctions stipulated in the original agreement; and here it should be noted that the size of these sanctions has increased significantly during Trump's presidency.

Although the US administration has not yet returned to the nuclear deal, it has taken measures that may be placed in the field of confidence-building measures that usually accompany negotiations, and represent a break with the previous administration's policy.

The Biden administration has returned the US defense system to normal levels by withdrawing missile defense systems²² that include Patriot missile batteries from four countries in the region, namely Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan. That is in addition to the withdrawal of the Thad missile air defense system from Saudi Arabia, which had been sent to it by the Trump administration.

These steps by the Biden administration represent a retreat from the previous administration's move to send missile defense systems and soldiers to Saudi Arabia²³ after Saudi oil facilities were subjected to raids by Iranian drones. The United States also sent Patriot batteries to Iraq²⁴ in 2020 after a missile attack on US forces at Ain al-Assad Air Base by Iran and its backed militias, after the assassination of the most important Iranian military commander Qassem Soleimani.

(20) Iran Nuclear Negotiations to Continue in Vienna, Voice of America, 3 January 2022:

<https://www.voanews.com/a/iran-nuclear-negotiations-to-continue-in-vienna/6379577.html>

(21) Antony Blinken says 'a few weeks left' to save Iran nuclear deal, Aljazeera, 14 January 2022:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/14/1/2022/us-blinken-says-only-few-weeks-left-to-save-iran-nuclear-deal>

(22) US pulls antimissile batteries from Middle East: Report, Aljazeera, 2021-6-18:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/18/6/2021/us-pulls-antimissile-batteries-from-middle-east-report>

(23) US to deploy troops to Saudi Arabia as Gulf tensions soar, Aljazeera, 2019-7-20:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/20/7/2019/us-to-deploy-troops-to-saudi-arabia-as-gulf-tensions-soar>

(24) Iran warns US after Patriot missile deployment to Iraq, Aljazeera, 2020-4-1:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/1/4/2020/iran-warns-us-after-patriot-missile-deployment-to-iraq>



3. Continuity of maritime tensions

The year 2021 also witnessed sporadic incidents in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, between the United States and Iran and even "Israel". In March, a cargo ship owned by an "Israeli" company was attacked by a missile in the Arabian Sea.

It was believed to be of Iranian origin. In April, an Iranian cargo ship,²⁵ believed to belong to the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, suffered an explosion in the Red Sea, which was later described in United States media reports as an "Israeli" retaliation to previous incidents.

The United States and Saudi Arabia accused Iran of using the Gulf water path to smuggle weapons to the Houthis to fight against the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen. The United States Navy also stated that it launched warning strikes during the year in two confrontations with Iranian ships in the Arabian Gulf. Tehran also accused the United States of trying to steal its oil from a Vietnamese oil tanker at the end of October 2021 near the coast of Oman.^{26 27}

(25) Iranian ship attacked in the Red Sea, Aljazeera, 2021-4-6:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/6/4/2021/iranian-vessel-attacked-in-the-red-sea-reports>

(26) Iran giving Houthis 'significant' and 'lethal' support: US envoy, Aljazeera, 2021-4-21:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/21/4/2021/iran-giving-houthis-significant-and-lethal-support-us-envoy>

(27) Iran frees Vietnamese tanker seized after US navy confrontation, Aljazeera, 2021-11-10:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/10/11/2021/iran-frees-vietnamese-tanker-seized-after-us-confrontation>

Third: Withdrawal from Afghanistan and Iraq

The moment of US withdrawal from Afghanistan was described as the worst point reached by US foreign policy in modern history, and as a severe insult to Washington.

Even the US military commander described it as a strategic failure. Instead of being a positive point in the Biden administration's record,²⁸ it turned into a stigma that may accompany him throughout the years of his administration and after. With the departure of US forces, the US-backed Afghan government, led by former Afghan President Ashraf Ghani, fled the country; and the US-trained and equipped Afghan government forces vanished.

The US withdrawal from Afghanistan coincided with a brief advance of Taliban forces to control most of the country's territory, spreading panic among Afghans living in urban areas whose stay in the country was at least believed to be linked to the presence of US forces. That led to a chaotic influx of people into Kabul airport with catastrophic images and videos spreading around the world of Afghans waiting to leave the country on the first plane. Afghans were stranded until they got stuck on US planes and died after flying them. On 26 August 2021, an ISIS-sponsored terrorist explosion killed 180 Afghans and 13 US military personnel, and the attack was identified as one of a series of U.S. strategic failures in Afghanistan.²⁹

The deeper reasons for the negative result of the withdrawal decision lie in the US invasion from its beginning to its³⁰ end; and the closest cause of failure is the poor implementation which was the straw that broke the camel's back.

(28) Top US General Milley calls Afghanistan a 'strategic failure', Aljazeera, 2021-9-28:
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/28/9/2021/us-military-officials-to-testify-on-afghanistan-withdrawal>

(29) U.S. Military Focusing on ISIS Cell Behind Attack at Kabul Airport, The New York Times, 1 January 2022:
<https://www.nytimes.com/01/01/2022/us/politics/afghan-war-isis-attack.html>

(30) What did the US get wrong about Afghanistan?, Aljazeera, 31 August 2021:
<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/31/8/2021/what-did-the-us-get-wrong-in-afghanistan>



The US forces in Afghanistan had responded to the attacks of Al Qaeda against them by committing documented violations of human rights like the incidents of the manslaughter of civilians and the torture of some prisoners and the transfer of some to Guantánamo Prison, which is not subject to any law. The United States also spent hundreds of billions of dollars on various types of weapons and military technology used in Afghanistan, while it spent little on the reconstruction of Afghanistan, unlike what it did after the Second World War with Germany, which was its opponent in the largest war in human history. The US then helped Germany rebuild through the Marshall Plan, which now has a total value of 100 billion dollars. These are just two of the set of factors inherited for the American failure in Afghanistan, which means that despite the popularity of the decision to withdraw among the Americans before its implementation, the presidency that makes this decision will suffer losses in its political and popular capital.

Despite democratic politicians trying to throw the blame on Trump for the withdrawal, as his withdrawal agreement with the Taliban did not include the Afghan government remaining in power or reaching a political agreement between the parties, it is clear that what was done highlighted the American failure to build an Afghan army capable of protecting the institutions of the government supported by the United States.³¹

Some analyses have suggested that the Pentagon may not have been aware of the reality of the situation on the ground; therefore, it failed to appreciate the scene prior to the withdrawal; or it deliberately covered up the fact that the Taliban's control of the country was approaching with a view to accelerating the withdrawal before the collapse of the government in Kabul.

Press reports after the withdrawal revealed that in its last days in Afghanistan, US forces launched an unmanned aerial vehicle attack targeting ISIS, but instead it hit an Afghan family and killed 10 individuals, including seven children, and injured others.

(31) Democrats shift blame for Afghanistan withdrawal chaos to Trump, Aljazeera, 13 September 2021: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/13/9/2021/democrats-shift-blame-for-afghanistan-withdrawal-chaos-to-trump>



The US Defense Department initially denied that the attack resulted in the killing of civilians, and described it as a "right attack" targeting ISIS members who were planning to carry out an attack on Kabul airport while US forces were leaving the country. Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin; however, apologized for the attack later in an implicit admission that it had occurred, and that it had resulted in the killing of civilians.³²

The US Department of Defense; however, evaded moral or criminal responsibility for this attack; and announced that it had conducted an evaluation that concluded that the attack did not violate the laws of war or include any negligence in preparation, which provoked human rights bodies in the United States and abroad. Upon scrutiny of the matter, The New York Times found that Secretary of Defense Austin received a recommendation from two military leaders in the US army not to punish anyone involved in the attack. In September 2021, the White House acknowledged that the attack had resulted in the killing of civilians, but its spokesperson avoided answering and did not confirm the news directly. In November, the US Air Force Inspector General stated that the attack was not a criminal act but an "unintentional error" resulting from a series of implementation errors that included communication malfunctions.

1. Poor implementation of US withdrawal

As for the poor implementation of the withdrawal, if we start the analysis from the end, we find that the American and international public opinion was shocked by the failure of the assessments announced by officials in the administration and the US military. It was confirmed that the Afghan government was ready to take power, and that the government armed forces are ready to protect it, despite some warnings about the possible progress of the Taliban movement. The most pessimistic of all was expecting such a scenario to take place after months. Therefore, the Taliban's brief progress caused panic among the Americans and their loyalists whose presence is linked to that of the American presence.

(32) Kabul drone attack: US advocates decry 'impunity, secrecy', Aljazeera, 2021-12-14:
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/14/12/2021/kabul-drone-attack-us-advocates-decry-impunity-secrecy>



This explains the state of panic witnessed in the Kabul International Airport. That situation said: The Americans are not trustworthy partners.³³

Trump had signed an agreement in February 2020 to withdraw U.S. forces from Afghanistan by May 2021, but the agreement³⁴ was vulnerable to criticism because it did not include the U.S.-backed Afghan government. Upon the arrival of the new administration, Biden conducted a review in coordination with the military and the relevant organs of the United States administration, and announced in April 2021 that the deadline for the withdrawal of troops would be postponed to September, but later reversed the decision to postpone it and returned the deadline for withdrawal to 31 August. The evictions began the day before the Taliban took control of the capital on August 14, and the last US flight left³⁵ Kabul at the end of the month.

The evacuation operation targeted 120,000 people, including 6,000 US citizens, Afghan citizens, and citizens from other countries.

The US army had initially confirmed that the ground in Afghanistan was ready for the US withdrawal and the takeover of the government of Ashraf Ghani in the country under the protection of the Afghan army. At the press conference to announce the end of the withdrawal process, General Kenneth McKenzie, the commander of the Central Command of the US army, claimed that the US forces began to withdraw on the assumption that the Afghan security forces were able and willing to play their role, an assumption that proved to be completely incorrect within one day of the beginning of the US withdrawal. With the Taliban taking control of the vast majority of Afghan territory without resistance from the Afghan government forces, the United States was forced to build a partnership with its former opponent, the Taliban at least, to coordinate in order to complete the withdrawal process.

(33) Afghanistan: Biden was advised to keep 2,500 troops, say generals, BBC, 28 September 2021: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada58719834->

(34) U.S. Signs Peace Deal With Taliban After Nearly 2 Decades Of War In Afghanistan, npr, 29 February 2020: <https://www.npr.org/810537586/29/02/2020/u-s-signs-peace-deal-with-taliban-after-nearly-2-decades-of-war-in-afghanistan>

(35) US completes Afghanistan withdrawal as final flight leaves Kabul, Aljazeera, 2021-8-30: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/30/8/2021/us-completes-afghanistan-withdrawal-as-final-flight-leaves-kabul>



The US president later praised the Taliban's cooperation and assistance to US forces in the final days of the withdrawal, especially in securing Kabul airport.^{36 37}

However, what happened prompted the US Army Command to acknowledge the failure to prepare for the withdrawal, and the US Army Joint Chief of Staff General Mark Millie and Secretary of Defense Austin later acknowledged in a hearing before Congress at the end of September a series of mistakes that led to the chaotic withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan, the most important of which is that the Afghan army, which is supposed to have received American training and equipment, disappeared without any resistance. General Millie and General McKenzie, the commander of the US Army Central Command, said that they were warned of the collapse of the western-backed Afghan government in the event of the withdrawal of US forces, and the US Congress has mandated a special committee to investigate what happened in recent months of US forces in Afghanistan, and it is expected to issue a final assessment of how to manage the withdrawal.

(36) Afghanistan war ends: Full statement by General Kenneth McKenzie, Independent, 31 August 2021: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/afghanistan-war-us-kenneth-mckenzie-b1911524.html>

(37) Remarks by President Biden on the End of the War in Afghanistan, The White House, 31 August 2021: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/31/08/2021/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-end-of-the-war-in-afghanistan/>

Fourth: The Palestinian narrative imposes itself on the American scene

In the first half of its first year, and before the tremor it suffered in Afghanistan, the Biden administration was on a date with events that will change the balance of the American scene towards the Palestinian cause and American support for Israel.³⁸

Such a situation prevailed after the events of the evacuation of the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in Jerusalem from its original Palestinian residents. That was followed by protests throughout the occupied and non-occupied Palestinian territories, and in many cities throughout the Arab countries and the world. As a result, a political and human rights movement began on the ground and in cyberspace in American cities and around the world with unprecedented intensity. With the beginning of the "Israeli" aggression against Gaza, and the exchange of rockets between "Israeli" forces and Hamas in Gaza, which resulted in the killing of 256 Palestinians and 13 Israelis, the intense movement of the Palestinian cause began to bear fruit on the American political scene.

At the American political level, the leading movement on the Palestinian cause was the progressive left wing of the Democratic Party, represented by Senator Bernie Sanders³⁹ in the US Senate, and a number of members of the House of Representatives, especially young people such as the famous Squad group, which includes Alexandria Okasio Cortez, Ayana Brisley, Rashida Taleb,^{40 41} a Muslim of Palestinian origin, and Ilhan Omar, a Muslim of Somali origin.

The activity of this wing had a great impact on moving the American approach to the Palestinian cause by explaining the Palestinian point of view and the violations to which the Palestinians are subjected to Congress and the American masses, especially the young people.

(38) For the first time in the history of America.. Congress is closer to the White House of Palestine, Al-Jazeera, 19-5-2021: <https://bit.ly/3Inicgv>

(39) Tweet by Bernie Sanders, 20-5-2021: <https://twitter.com/SenSanders/status/1395363543227187201>

(40) Tweet by Alexandria Okasio Cortez, 14-5-2021: <https://twitter.com/RepAOC/status/1393005737668972546>

(41) Rashida Tlaib tweet 12-5-2021: <https://twitter.com/RashidaTlaib/status/1392538829752606720>



As such, the Palestinian point of view can reach the forefront of American political discussions at all levels. President Biden appeared in the form of a member of Congress of Taleb Palestinian origins during her visit to the state of Michigan, where she was wearing a Kufia, and he praised her decisiveness and determination to support her cause. Biden was also greeted by a group of Arabs, who were protesting against the "Israeli aggression." ⁴²

However, this shift was not limited to the left of the American political scene, but reached the democratic center that is usually supportive of "Israel", such as Senators Chuck Schumer and Robert Menendez, ⁴³ and Member of Parliament Jerry Nadler, who, despite their stance in support of "Israel" against Hamas, pointed out in statements their deep criticism of Israel's treatment of the Palestinians, in an unprecedented expression by American legislators of this status.

Here, it should be noted that the greatest achievement for the Palestinian cause was that it became an essential part of the political issues subject to polarization in the country, between the pro-Palestinian left and the pro-occupation right and the "Israeli" settlement. The rise of support for "Israel" in the ranks of the American right, especially among the evangelicals during the Trump presidency, led to increased support for the idea of establishing a "Greater Israel" among them, and opposition to the establishment of any independent Palestinian state.

(42) Tweet to Ilhan Omar, 13-5-2021: <https://twitter.com/IlhanMN/status/1392624135319146500>

(43) Chairman Menendez station ON violence across ISRAEL and Gaza, US Senate Committee on Foreign Relation's website, 15-5-2021: <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/chair/release/chairman-menendez-statement-on-violence-across-israel-and-gaza->



Causes and consequences of the primacy of the Palestinian cause

It is believed that the shift of American support for Israel, from the position of the agreement between the parties to the political process to a contentious issue, is due to the alignment of former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu ⁴⁴ for more than ten years alongside the Republicans, even in the face of former US President Obama, when, for example, the Republican-majority Congress invited him to give a speech; and the President himself did not invite him to meet him.

At the same time, the ranks of the democratic left were getting stronger and stronger, along with the grievance narratives of the Palestinians regarding Israeli racist and colonialist behavior to which American public opinion has always turned a blind eye. What happens to the Palestinians is similar to what the African Americans were subjected to under the apartheid laws in South America about a century ago, and what the South Africans were subjected to under racial discrimination in the past, and the slogan "Palestinian Lives Matter" appeared along the lines of "Black Lives Matter", and after the myth of likening the arrival of Israelis to the wasteland of Palestine for its reconstruction was appealing to American public opinion. This turned into a special curse among democratic young people, who have come to realize that Israel has departed from the Oslo Accord and two-state solution; and that everything that Netanyahu presented to the Palestinians does not amount to a so-called state, which the Republicans welcome.

If we traced Biden's response to the events since their inception, it traditionally matched the reactions of former US presidents by affirming the right of "Israel" to defend itself without affirming the same right of the Palestinians; and at the same time pressing behind the scenes towards a ceasefire. When US government spokesmen are asked about the right of the Palestinians to defend themselves, they avoided answering, and turned the conversation in another direction.

(44) America's attitude to Palestine and Israel has subtly shifted, The National News, 18 May 2021: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/opinion/comment/america-s-attitude-to-palestine-and-israel-has-subtly-shifted1,1228113->

The traditional position of the US administrations, the present one welcomed the ceasefire agreement reached, and confirmed that Washington will continue to provide military support to Israel, and it will compensate for the munitions the Israeli Iron Dome system lost. The fundamental changes; however, were outside the US administration. ^{45 46}

Therefore, the practical translation of this shift may not mean the reopening of the PLO mission in Washington, or the reduction of the US military support for Israel, or the return of the US embassy from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv, as Washington still favors Israel so far, but this shift resulting from decades of activity by Palestinians and supporters of the rights of Palestinians in Washington resulted in a slight shift in the discourse of the US administration itself. When the US president, the foreign minister, and the spokeswoman of the White House state that Palestinians and Israelis deserve freedom and other rights; this in itself is a shift in the US official narrative.

In this context, it should be noted that the US administration took another step departing from the Trump administration's policy in the relationship with the Palestinians, through the announcement of Secretary of State Blinken that the administration pledges to reopen the US Consulate in East Jerusalem, which is a US embassy for the Palestinians.

Such a step was welcomed by the Palestinian ⁴⁷ Authority, which considers East Jerusalem, occupied East Jerusalem in 1967 and later annexed it, the capital of any future Palestinian state. This is important in light of Israel describing Jerusalem as its "indivisible capital"; a measure not recognized by the international community. Trump had closed the consulate and put its work within the powers of the US ambassador to Israel when he moved the US embassy to Jerusalem in 2018, prompting the Palestinians to sever their ties with the US administration.

(45) Israel's war on Gaza What does a ceasefire mean and what is the difference between it and a truce? Al-Jazeera, 21-5-2021: <https://bit.ly/3FO7aPV>

(46) America's attitude to Palestine and Israel has subtly shifted, The National News, 18 May 2021: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/opinion/comment/america-s-attitude-to-palestine-and-israel-has-subtly-shifted1,1228113->

(47) US Holding off on reopening Jerusalem consulate amid strong pushback from Israel, The Times of Israel, 15 December 2021: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/usfreezes-bid-to-reopen-jeramic-consulate-amid-strong-pushback-from-israel/>

Fifth: Sponsoring normalization with "Israel" and banning "Israeli" piracy companies

1. Continue to care for normalization

Biden did not reject all the policies of the previous administration towards the occupied Palestinian territories. He supported American sponsorship of normalization agreements with Arab countries, despite his public rejection of Israeli settlement in general, but he did not declare his outright rejection of the American recognition of the Israeli annexation of the occupied Golan or the transfer of the American embassy to Jerusalem. The Biden administration explicitly declared its intention not to retract the position of the previous administration on the Golan.⁴⁸

Upon its arrival at the White House, the Biden administration pledged to continue building on the "Brahimi Agreement" and other normalization agreements signed between Arab countries and Israel during the presidency of Trump. In October 2021, the United States participated in the largest air maneuvers hosted by Israel in its history,⁴⁹ with the participation of France, and Germany, with the UAE as an observer.

On 11 November, the United States also participated in naval exercises in the Red Sea along with "Israel", the UAE, and Bahrain, a year after the signing of the normalization agreement between them.

The aim was to increase the consensus among the forces of each of the participating parties.^{50 51}

(48) Amid uproar, US denies change in policy foster Golan Heights as Israeli, The Times of Israel, 25 June 2021: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/amid-uproar-us-denies-change-in-policy-recognizing-golan-heights-as-israeli/>

(49) Israel holds largest-ever military drill with UAE participation, Aljazeera, 25-10-2021: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/25/10/2021/israel-holds-largest-ever-military-drill-with-uae-participation>

(50) Arab normalization with Israel in 500 words, Aljazeera, 23-11-2020: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/23/11/2020/the-normalisation-of-ties-between-israel-and-arab-countries>

(51) US, Israel, UAE, Bahrain launch joint naval drills in Red Sea, Aljazeera, 11-11-2021: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/11/2021/us-israel-uae-bahrain-launch-joint-naval-drills-in-red-sea>



2. Banning of "Israeli" hacking companies 20

The Biden administration parted with the Trump administration in its policy towards "Israel" when it took the decision to ban four "Israeli" companies, including the "NSO Group" and "Sindaro", after accusing them of developing espionage technologies and selling them to foreign governments who use them to target opponents, activists, and media outside their borders in a way that threatens the rules-based world order. The US listed them as companies engaged in activities that oppose US foreign policy and national security.⁵²

The NSO had outraged human rights groups earlier this year after a global media investigation revealed that its Pegasus software had been used by security forces in several dictatorial countries.

The company also provoked tension between Israel and France after a French newspaper revealed that it was spying on the French president to the advantage of Morocco.⁵³

It also spied on 13 other leaders such as President Cyril Mafuza of South Africa and Prime Minister Imran Khan of Pakistan.

Amnesty International welcomed such a decision,⁵⁴ stating that it sends a strong message that "NSO" will no longer benefit from human rights violations with impunity. Despite "NSO" being a private company, human rights groups have criticized the "Israeli" government for licensing it, and called on the US administration to impose sanctions on Israel in this regard, which the US State Department denied its intention to do.

(52) US sanctions Israeli firm NSO Group over spyware, Aljazeera, 3-11-2021:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/3/11/2021/us-sanctions-israeli-firm-nso-group-over-spyware>

(53) France's Macron among potential Pegasus spyware targets: Report, Aljazeera, 20-7-2021: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/20/7/2021/frances-macron-among-potential-pegasus-spyware-targets-le-monde>

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/20/7/2021/frances-macron-among-potential-pegasus-spyware-targets-le-monde>

(54) Amnesty International Tweet, 3-11-2021:

<https://twitter.com/AmnestyTech/status/1455950224212459521?s=20>

Sixth: Implicit termination of US support for Saudi Arabia in Yemen 21

The decision to end US support for the Saudi-led campaign in Yemen has been at the top of the Biden administration's agenda since the first weeks of assuming it.⁵⁵

That included the cancellation of deals to sell arms to Riyadh linked to these operations, which reflected the new administration's different view of the conflict in Yemen and confirmed its adoption of diplomatic efforts to find a solution to it; especially after it resulted in the worst humanitarian disaster in the world, as described by the United Nations.⁵⁶

If we trace the US support for this campaign, we find that it began in March 2015,⁵⁷ when Saudi Arabia and the UAE launched a military operation to support the government of the Yemeni President Abd Rabbo Hadi in confronting the Houthis supported by Iran. The US support included the establishment of a US-Saudi cell to coordinate military and intelligence assistance and technical support for US aircrafts sold to Saudi Arabia and even refueling them in the air.

However, the ongoing conflict that led to a siege imposed by Riyadh and raids by the Saudi Air Force resulted, according to human rights organizations, in heavy human losses represented by the killing of thousands of civilians and a humanitarian disaster that left about 13 and a half million Yemenis in famine. During this war, the Saudi-led coalition and the Houthis were accused of committing war crimes. Saudi Arabia; however, remained the largest importer of American weapons in the world during this period, with an increase in imports of about %130 between 2015 and 2019, compared to the previous five years. The United States' share of Saudi arms imports was %73.

(55) US ending aid to Saudi-Led forces in Yemen, but questions persist, Aljazeera, 7-2-2021:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/7/2/2021/us-ending-support-to-saudi-led-war-in-yemen-questions-persist>

(56) Yemen most at risk of humanitarian catastrophe in 2021: IRC, Aljazeera, 16-12-2020:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/16/12/2020/irc-warns-yemen-at-risk-of-massive-deterioration-in2021->

(57) Who are the Houthis in Yemen? Aljazeera Saudi -led air strikes hit Yemen for the third straight day, Aljazeera, 28-3-2015: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/28/3/2015/saudi-led-air-attacks-hit-yemen-for-third-straight-day>



Despite the announcement by the Biden administration that it would end support for the Saudi-led campaign in Yemen, it left many questions unanswered; and the US Department of Defense announced that it would conduct an assessment to determine what support is classified as "offensive" and stop providing it to Saudi Arabia. The US administration, nevertheless, did not answer the question of whether it will pressure Saudi Arabia to end the land, air, and sea blockade imposed on Yemen; and whether will it stop providing intelligence support to Saudi Arabia. Concerning the Iranian shipments coming to the Houthis.



Iran's Relationship to the Beginning of U.S. Support for the Saudi Campaign in Yemen

Biden's move represents a shift from Obama's approach to supporting a Saudi-led coalition in Yemen, in which he believes Obama made a mistake by trying to balance the nuclear deal with Iran reached in July 2015 by pleasing Riyadh. Obama's administration was silent on attempts to open an international investigation into the Saudi campaign in Yemen, and did nothing when the Saudis threatened to withdraw their funding to the United Nations, if it did not withdraw its name from the list of countries that violated children's rights in 2016 for its actions in Yemen.⁵⁸

At the end of his presidency, Obama stopped some arms deals to Saudi Arabia, after a Saudi airstrike on a condolence ceremony in Sana'a that killed 140 people in October 2016.

However, American support for the Saudi campaign in Yemen increased during the presidency of Trump, who was a strong ally of Saudi Arabia and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in particular, as he allowed sales of 27.4\$ billion worth of weapons to Saudi Arabia during his first three years in office, but with increasing international pressure on the US administration in 2018, the Secretary of Defense announced that Washington will stop supplying Saudi aircraft with fuel in the air,⁵⁹ and despite this, Trump continued to support Saudi Arabia by using the presidential veto⁶⁰ in 2019 against a decision of the House of Representatives and Senate calling for an end to US support for the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen.

(58) As the Saudis Covered Up Abuses in Yemen, America Stood By, Politico, 30-7-2016:
<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/07/2016/saudi-arabia-yemen-russia-syria-foreign-policy-united-nations-blackmail214124-/>

(59) The US ends Saudi-UAE midair refueling support in Yemen war, Aljazeera, 10-11-2018:
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/10/11/2018/us-ends-saudi-uae-midair-refuelling-support-in-yemen-war>

(60) Trump vetoes bill to end US involvement in Yemen war, Aljazeera, 17-4-2019:
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/17/4/2019/trump-vetoes-bill-to-end-us-involvement-in-yemen-war>



Seventh: Syria

1. Refusing to normalize with the Assad regime

Jordan's King Abdullah II discussed with Biden in July 2021 a proposal for a solution in Syria through a roadmap that included a "step-by-step" approach with the Syrian regime, starting with ensuring the delivery of humanitarian aid across borders, including the regime's⁶¹ creation of an environment conducive to the return of displaced persons and refugees under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the financing of "stabilization" projects, the implementation of Security Council resolution 2254, leading to reform of the constitution, the release of detainees, more inclusive governance in Syria, and the holding of elections under the auspices of the United Nations leading to an inclusive government.

The Jordanian proposal included calling on Arab and Western countries to lift sanctions on the Syrian regime and institutions, reopen diplomatic missions in Damascus and the concerned capitals, facilitate the return of Syria to international forums, build military and security cooperation to confront ISIS, and then announce a ceasefire throughout the country and the withdrawal of all non-Syrian elements and foreign forces, including US forces, from the base of al-Tanf.

The Biden administration did not respond with an official statement to the Jordanian proposal, and the US State Department stated⁶² at the end of September that Washington does not have any plans to upgrade diplomatic relations with the regime; and that it does not encourage anyone to do so.

It also called on the Sultanate of Oman⁶³ to reverse the decision of raising the level of diplomatic relations.

(61) Secret Attach» to the "Document of Arab Normalization" with Syria, including the exit of foreign forces, Middle East, 12 November 2021: <https://bit.ly/3qMZ9qf>

(62) U.S. says it won't normalize or upgrade diplomatic ties with Syria's Assad, Reuters, 30 September 2021: <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/us-says-it-wont-normalise-or-upgrade-syria-ties29-09-2021/>

(63) Washington comments on Oman's "normalization" with the Assad regime, Syria TV, 6 October 2020: <https://bit.ly/3lipTEE>



Furthermore, the US announced that it was reviewing Jordan's decision to resume ⁶⁴ commercial flights with Syria.

The former US envoy to Syria, Joel Rayburn, ⁶⁵ denounced the idea that the regime will enable Jordan to benefit from restoring its commercial relations with the Syrian market, noting that the regime has transferred drugs to the Jordanian market, which indicates that the US administration is aware of the regime's practices that harm neighboring countries.

2. Contradictory policies

The Biden administration's policy was no better than the previous two administrations' policy towards Syria, and it was described ⁶⁶ as contradictory, as the administration officials in one valley state and their actions are in another valley, and Biden had promised to ⁶⁷ adopt a more positive policy towards Syria, but his administration did not use its political influence or even international channels to interfere with the Syrian file with at least a weight that moves stagnant water, and activists and legislators believe that what the administration declares in opposition to normalization is completely contrary to what it does.

US Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Robert Menendez explicitly said: He does not understand the administration's policy towards Syria, and this is a criticism of the administration, and he is surprised that the administration has not taken more steps to confront and reverse the wave of normalization with the regime, which has infected US partners in the region such as Jordan and the UAE. On the other side of the US political scene, Republican Senator James Rich stated that the administration turns a blind eye to the normalization of relations with the regime by the US Arab partners.

(64) U.S. Department of State explains its position on flights from Jordan to Syria, Free, 28 September 2021: <https://arbne.ws/3nlgKxi>

(65) Tweet by Joel Rayburn, 28 September 2021: https://twitter.com/joel_rayburn/status/1442716402629201921

(66) One year on, what is Biden's real Syria strategy? No one knows., The Washington Post, 23 December 2021: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/23/12/2021/biden-syria-policy-assad-middle-east/>

(67) Biden must fix Obama's biggest foreign policy failure, The Washington Post, 3 September 2020: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/biden-must-fix-obamas-biggest-foreign-policy-failure/03/09/2020/ed308ee-0ee1a11-ea99-a71343-1d03bc29_story.html



Although former US Secretary of State Anthony Blinken pledged during the election campaign that he would work to activate Caesar's Law for the Protection of Syrian Civilians, which imposes sanctions on companies or countries that assist the regime. The administration has not yet done so, despite international visits by officials and businessmen close to the regime.

Josh Rogan, a Washington Post writer, reported in his articles more than once in dialogues with officials from the National Security Council who did not reveal their names, that there is an unspoken change⁶⁸ in US policy towards Syria that the administration will not object to normalization efforts with the regime, and that US partners from Arab countries understood this message and acted accordingly. The former US envoy to Syria, James Jeffrey said that senior Arab officials told him that they had received the green light and American encouragement to communicate with the regime.

Jeffrey, however, pointed out that there is a division within the US administration on this issue, which is denied by both the US State Department and the National Security Council, but it is likely that the national security team led by the coordinator of the Middle East and North Africa, Brett McGurk, supports the idea of interacting with the regime, while the State Department team, led by Secretary of State Blinken, opposes that; and the balance seems to favor the McGurk team, as evidenced by the fact that the administration turns a blind eye to the movement of Arab normalization.

More seriously, the Biden administration, instead of opposing a plan to lay a gas line from Egypt through "Israel" and Syria to Lebanon that would fill the regime's coffers and threaten to impose sanctions on it, supported the plan, and its officials defended it in private dialogues. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy indicated that if the project was implemented, it would eliminate the already weak diplomatic efforts to push the regime to the negotiating table to reach a political settlement.

(68) Biden is tacitly king Assad's normalization, The Washington Post, 7 October 2021:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/07/10/2021/biden-is-tacitly-endorsing-assads-normalization/>



Eighth: Human rights in American politics in the region

1. Saudi Arabia

In its first weeks, the Biden administration allowed the disclosure of parts of a US intelligence report that concluded that Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman "approved the arrest or killing of" Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi,⁶⁹ which took place in the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul, as the Crown Prince has absolute control over the security and intelligence services in the Kingdom since 2017, which makes it unlikely that Saudi officials will conduct such an operation without his permission.

Trump had postponed the issuance of this report despite the approval by Congress of a resolution calling for its release to public opinion in 2019, and the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied everything in the report,⁷⁰ but the US Secretary of State said: The administration is trying to make its dealings with the issue more transparent and properly inform the American people.

However, the disclosure of the report did not have a tangible impact on US-Saudi relations, and despite US legislators such as the Chairman of the Intelligence Committee of the US House of Representatives, Adam Schiff, called for sanctions against the Saudi Crown Prince following the issuance of the report, the administration did not impose any such sanctions.⁷¹

(69) MBS approved operation to capture or kill Khashoggi: US report, Aljazeera, 26-2-2021:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/26/2/2021/mbs-oversaw-saudi-killers-of-khashoggi-us-intel-report>

(70) Saudi Arabia rejects US intel report on Khashoggi death, Aljazeera, 26-2-2021:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/26/2/2021/saudi-arabia-rejects-us-intel-report-on-khashoggi-death>

(71) Schiff says Biden should 'go further' in punishing Saudi prince for Khashoggi killing, Yahoo news, 27 February 2021: <https://news.yahoo.com/schiff-says-biden-should-go-f-in-punishing-saudi-prince-for-khashoggi-killing012642074-.html>



2. Egypt

In its first year, the Biden administration decided to withhold 130\$ million in security aid to the Egyptian government,⁷² requiring the Egyptian government to end what it described as a repression of human rights and civil organizations. It also demanded the release of 16 American prisoners in exchange for the release of aid. This decision came in response to the demands of democratic legislators and human rights observers to the administration to fulfill its pledge to put human rights at the top of its foreign policy agenda, and to reduce an annual 1.3\$ billion US security support for Egypt.⁷³

The US Congress has imposed restrictions for national security purposes on 300 million of annual aid that requires the approval of the State Department to disburse.

Democratic Senator Chris Murphy stated⁷⁴ that Egypt has 60,000 political prisoners and that it tortures political opponents, calling on the administration to stop disbursing this 300\$ million of aid, but the administration decided to withhold 130\$ million of aid, and limited the use of another 170 million to counterterrorism, border security, and counter-proliferation efforts.

(72) US to place conditions on fraction of aid to Egypt: US media, Aljazeera, 14-9-2021:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/14/9/2021/us-to-place-conditions-on-fraction-of-aid-to-egypt-us-media>

(73) Why US aid to Egypt is never under threat, Aljazeera, 3-10-2017:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/3/10/2017/why-us-aid-to-egypt-is-never-under-threat>

(74) Tweet to Senator Chris Murphy, 2021-9-14:

<https://twitter.com/ChrisMurphyCT/status/1437616083578589184?s=20>



Dimensions

for Strategic Studies

 \DimensionsCTR

 \DimensionsCTR

 \dimensionscenter

 \dimensionscenter

info@dimensionscenter.net