

CHANGE IS COMING

Democracy for the Arab World Now
Annual Report 2022



A Note From
DAWN's Executive Director

Magnifying The Basic Principles

Dear Friends and Supporters,

DAWN completed its second year of operation in 2022, marked by its progress as the leading advocate for reforming U.S. policies that support the worst governments in the Middle East and North Africa and holding accountable not just serial human rights abusers but also the U.S. lobbyists who aid and abet them. In seeking both enforcement and reform of U.S. laws that permit foreign influence in our government, we are working to preserve America's democracy as well.

DAWN's clear diagnosis of the failed U.S. approach to the region and unequivocal demands about what needs to change resonated in the media and among policymakers, broadening the parameters of debate and discussion among the foreign policy community. We are heartened by the expansion of support for our organization from donors and the public, both in the U.S. and from the region. We know we speak for the many when we—along with DAWN's renowned fellows and board members—assert and magnify the basic principles that the

people of the MENA region deserve democracy and respect for their human rights—the essential ingredients for peace, freedom, equality, and justice.

DAWN focuses on the MENA governments that receive the most U.S. support, and we were proud to launch our Israel/Palestine Program to include it in our priority programs. Our work included numerous exposés of some of the region's worst abuses, generating regular breaking news stories. We submitted detailed case files targeting abusive judges, lawyers, prosecutors, and spies for sanctions under the Magnitsky Law and the Khashoggi Ban and presented the first case of an individual Israeli culprit for prosecution by the International Criminal Court. We exposed the treacherous role of lobbyists for Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Israel in whitewashing these countries' deplorable rights records to persuade our government to sell them more weapons. We were happiest of all to see the release of a number of imprisoned journalists and lawyers in Egypt, whose cases we extensively documented and on whose behalf we strenuously advocated.



DAWN also expanded its policy work this year, producing a series of analysis and recommendations to the U.S. government, some of which we were pleased to see adopted, including an FBI investigation into the murder of Shireen Abu Akleh by Israeli forces, and a Congressional inquiry into payments by Saudi Arabia to former Trump administration officials Jared Kushner and Steven Mnuchin. DAWN also focused a great deal of its advocacy on the U.S. foreign policy and human rights communities, seeking to reform our methodologies and update our collective approaches to the MENA region. In 2022, DAWN organized a second major symposium critically examining and urging an end to calls for “humanitarian military intervention” by rights groups.

Moreover, DAWN continued its efforts to demand justice for our slain founder, Jamal Khashoggi. While the Biden administration intervened in our lawsuit to provide immunity for Khashoggi’s murderer, Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salman, we secured a permanent memorial for Khashoggi, successfully renaming the street in front of the Saudi Embassy in Washington “Jamal Khashoggi Way.” We succeeded in securing the introduction of legislation that will codify the Khashoggi Ban and support advocacy groups seeking to prevent and punish extraterritorial repression in our country.

Finally, DAWN’s premier publication, *Democracy in Exile*, expanded its reach this year, not only centering the voices of MENA activists but spearheading discussions on the most pressing issues from the region, including the impacts of the Ukraine war and the Iran protests, and interviewing some of the sharpest analysts and activists of the region.

We are proud of all that we have accomplished this year, which I hope you will take some time to learn more about in this report. Let me take this moment to thank our board and our supporters

for your help in building and strengthening our organization, but most of all, my colleagues, each of whom served as a tireless and dedicated champion for rights and freedom in their own right.

Sarah Leah Whitson



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“Democracy remains the most effective way to tackle terror, stop bloodshed and political violence in Arab countries.”

Jamal Khashoggi
DAWN's Founder



Mission

Democracy for the Arab World Now (DAWN) is a nonprofit organization that supports democracy and human rights in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Our vision is for a world where the human rights, liberty, and dignity of every person in the Middle East and North Africa are upheld by democratically elected governments, safeguarded by independent institutions and civil society organizations working under the rule of law, and supported by international governments and institutions around the world.

As a U.S.-based organization, DAWN focuses its research, analysis, and foreign policy advocacy on MENA governments with close ties to the United States and on the military, diplomatic, and economic support the U.S government provides them, since that is where we believe we have the greatest responsibility and the greatest opportunity for influence.

Our goal is to ensure that U.S. foreign policy supports the people in the MENA region by ending support for their abusive, undemocratic governments. We believe that U.S. national interests are ill-served by support for these governments and better protected by policies that foster peace, freedom, equality, and justice.



Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi founded DAWN in June 2018—just a few months before he was murdered in Istanbul by a hit squad dispatched by Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman.

DAWN's diverse, multinational staff have an average of 15 years of relevant experience and include lawyers, journalists, scholars, activists, and advocates with roots in the MENA region and the United States. Our nine-member Board includes leading Arab- and Muslim-American activists, human rights and legal experts, and a Nobel laureate from Yemen.



DAWN does not accept funding from any MENA governments. We are currently supported solely by private foundations and individuals.



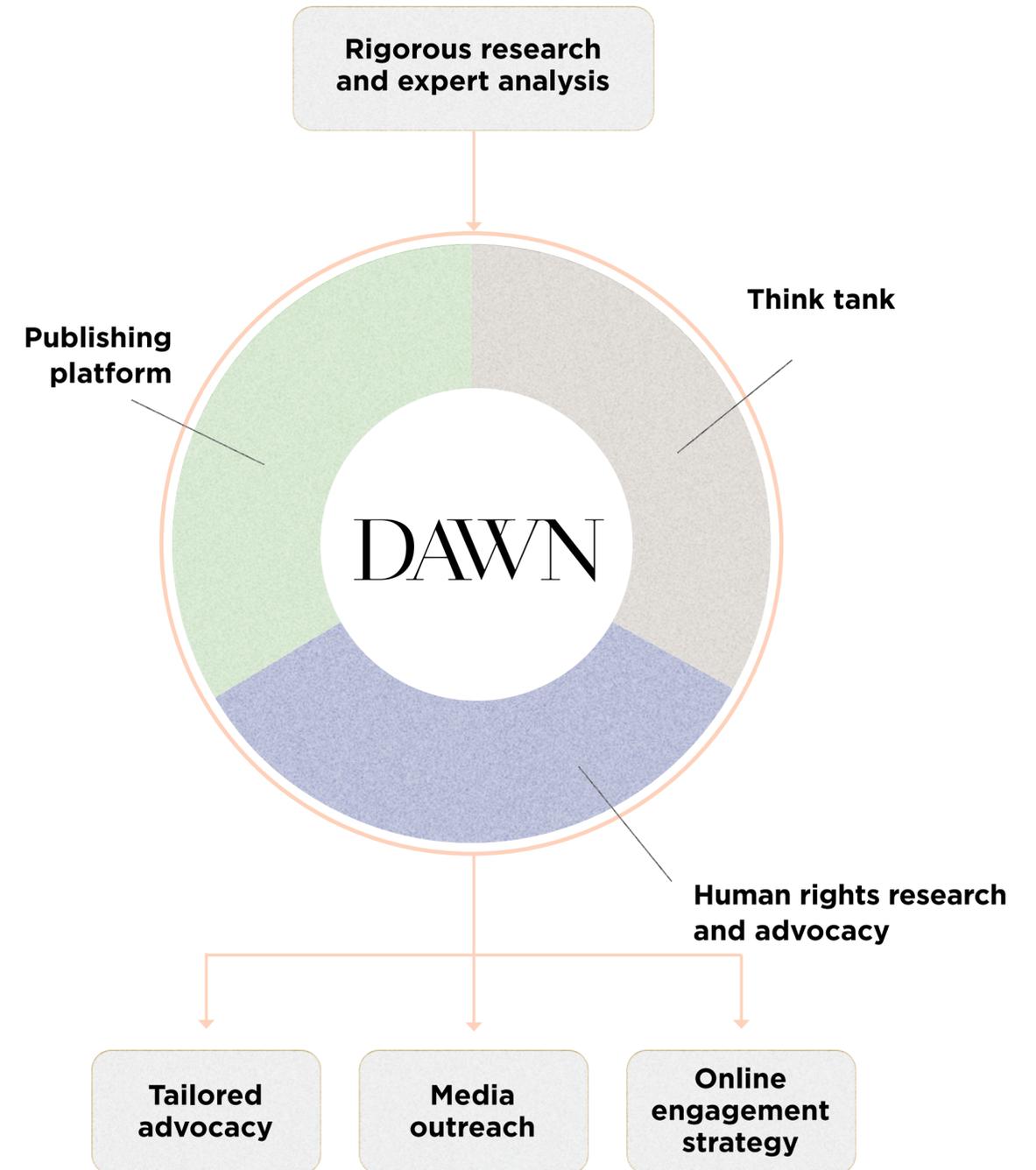
Methodology

Through rigorous research and analysis, relentless media outreach, targeted advocacy with policymakers, and convenings of leading human rights and foreign policy experts, DAWN challenges conventional wisdom about the MENA region and the U.S. role in it, rallies support for policies that uphold human rights, and leads the brainstorming of new solutions to long-standing regional problems.

INCLUSIVE: DAWN works to position the voices of activists and political exiles from the MENA region alongside those of regional and U.S. foreign policy experts, and to amplify those voices with policymakers and the broader foreign policy community. We believe the people most affected by abusive governance in the MENA region should have a say in the American policies that affect them.

INNOVATIVE: Activists and policymakers need new approaches to address long-standing problems affecting the Middle East and North Africa. Instead of limiting itself to a singular method or process, DAWN remains nimble and open to experimentation.

COLLABORATIVE: DAWN often partners with allies in the movement, taking the lead on new initiatives, co-sponsoring projects and advocacy campaigns, and providing strategic support to strengthen existing efforts.





TIMELINE

2022



JAN 28
Biden administration withholds \$130 million in conditioned military aid to Egypt following pressure by DAWN-led coalition

JAN 31
DAWN launches Israel and Palestine Program, hires new staff



FEB 23
Israel-Palestine Experts Diana Buttu, Leena Dallasheh and Syria Expert Yassin al-Haj Saleh join DAWN as Non-Resident Fellows



MAR 14
Jordan travel ban on staff member Taghreed Rishq lifted, court dismisses "Cybercrime Suit"

MAR 30
DAWN delegation visits Israel, Palestine, meets with six civil society org representatives



MAR 31
Turkey transfers Khashoggi case to Saudi Arabia

APR 13
DAWN breaks news on Nine Prominent Saudi Judges Arrested, Accused of High Treason



APR 15
Senator Elizabeth Warren calls for DOJ to investigate Jared Kushner, following DAWN's meeting with her office and using DAWN's language

MAY 11
DAWN leads calls for FBI investigation of Shireen Abu Akleh's murder

MAY 13
DAWN facilitates Human Rights Goes to War workshop

JUN 15
DAWN unveils "Jamal Khashoggi Way" street sign in front of Saudi Embassy, D.C.



JUL 21
DAWN publishes the profiles of four NSO Group lobbyist and files complaints with the DoJ

JUL 28
DAWN and other rights groups file complaint in a French court to investigate MBS

AUG 3
DAWN publishes Human Rights Goes to War workshop papers

AUG 25
DAWN leads event with representatives of #StandWiththe6 NGOs

AUG 29
Michele Alexander joins DAWN board

AUG 30
DAWN breaks news about 45-year sentence by Saudi court for woman's tweets

SEP 30
DAWN holds an anniversary event to remember Khashoggi, Reps. McCollum and Schiff announce Jamal Khashoggi Act

OCT 3
Mongi Dhaouadi joins DAWN board

NOV 14
Israel acknowledges FBI investigation into Shireen Abu Akleh's murder following DAWN advocacy

NOV 17
Biden Administration grants MBS immunity from DAWN lawsuit

DEC 6
US District Court dismisses DAWN's lawsuit

DEC 18
DAWN cohosted a virtual event with Mondoweiss on Israeli Attacks on Palestinians, Reporting and Accountability. (546 listeners)



BOARD AND STAFF

UPDATED DECEMBER 2022

BOARD



MICHELLE ALEXANDER



NIHAD AWAD



SAHAR AZIZ



LOUIS BICKFORD



REED BRODY



MONGI DHAOUADI



TAWAKKOL KARMAN



ESAM OMEISH



SARAH LEAH WHITSON

STAFF



ABDULLAH ALAOU DH
Research Director,
Saudi Arabia and UAE



MUNA ALASADI
Operations Assistant



FREDERICK DEKNATEL
Executive Editor,
Democracy In Exile



MICHAEL EISNER
General Counsel & Chief
Operating Officer



WAF A HALLAM
Development Manager



JON HOFFMAN
Research Director



SOPHIE HOLIN
Communications
Associate



RAED JARRAR
Advocacy Director



MOHAMMED KAMAL
Egypt Research
Assistant



OMID MEMARIAN
Communications Director



MICHELE OMER-MAN
Israel/Palestine Research
Director



TAGHREED RISHEQ
Arabic Media Manager



ADAM SHAPIRO
Israel/Palestine Advocacy
Director



JAMAL HASSAN AL-TAHAT
Research Consultant



SARAH LEAH WHITSON
Executive Director



INSTITUTIONAL PARTNERS

Democracy in the Arab World Now (DAWN) focuses on democracy and human rights in the greater Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Our vision is for a world where the human rights, liberty, and dignity of every person in the region are upheld by democratically elected governments, safeguarded by independent institutions and civil society organizations working under the rule of law.

Our goal is to ensure that U.S. foreign policy supports the people in MENA by ending support for their abusive, undemocratic governments. We are proud to recognize the following institutional supporters who help further our work.



FORD FOUNDATION



TAWAKKOL KARMAN FOUNDATION



Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Philanthropy for an Interdependent World



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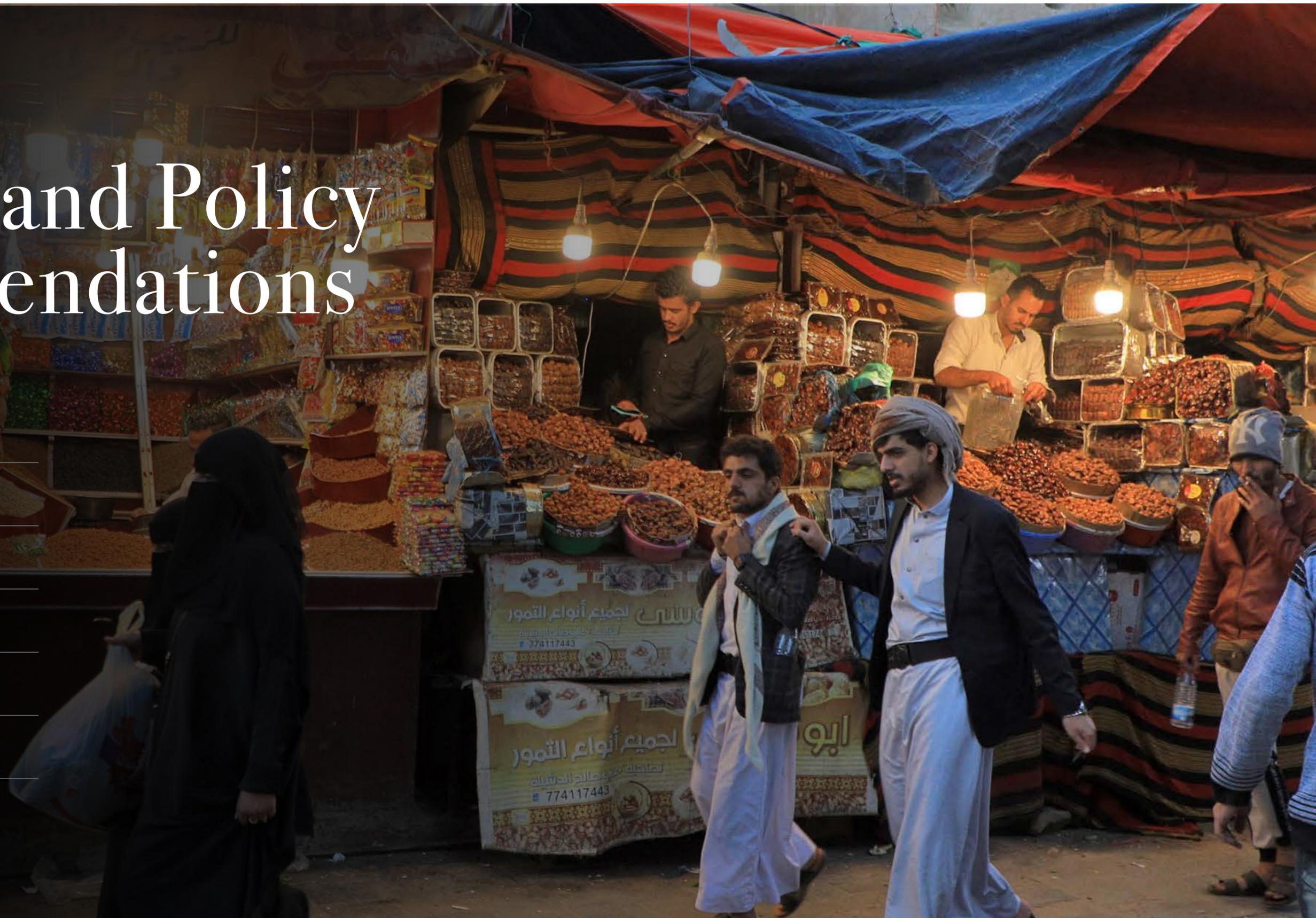
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Unjust Prosecutions

Culprits Gallery

Lobbyist Hall of Shame

Political Analysis





Introduction

DAWN's advocacy-driven research aims to uncover the anti-democratic practices and human rights violations of MENA governments supported by the United States, exposing the officials who serve as the agents of repression and the U.S.-based lobbyists promoting the interests of these abusive governments, and seek to hold them accountable.

DAWN's foreign policy analysis examines political developments in the region and the impact of US policies on democracy, human rights, and national interests. DAWN critically examines the approaches and methodologies to the region by the U.S. foreign policy community, including its role in maintaining support for militarized, abusive U.S. policies in the region, and offers recommendations for change.

RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS HIGHLIGHTS



DAWN's **signature research projects** include the **Lobbyist Hall of Shame**, where we reveal the roles of individual U.S.-based lobbyists in legitimizing and securing U.S. support for abusive MENA governments; the **Culprits Gallery**, where we expose the mid-level MENA government officials responsible for ongoing repression and abuse and the **Unjust Prosecutions Gallery**, where we exhaustively document emblematic cases of political prisoners in the MENA region.

DAWN continuously monitors developments in the United States and MENA countries, producing a steady stream of commentary and analysis on critical developments related to human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. Through a variety of mediums including briefing papers or long-form analysis, workshops, and roundtables, DAWN has magnified these analyses, incorporated the perspectives of influential thinkers in the community, and engaged wider audiences.



LOBBYIST HALL OF SHAME



ED ROYCE

Former Chair of House Foreign Affairs Committee, Now Agent for Egyptian Dictatorship



NADEAM ELSHAMI

Lobbyist Pushing Weapons Flow to Egyptian Government, former Chief of Staff for Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)

2

EGYPT

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ISRAEL



BRIAN E. FINCH

Lobbyist for NSO Group, Israeli Company Blacklisted by Commerce Department for Pegasus Spyware



DAVID TAMASI

Lobbyist for NSO Group, Israeli Company Blacklisted by Commerce Department for Pegasus Spyware



TIMOTHY DICKINSON

Lobbyist for NSO Group, Israeli Company Blacklisted by Commerce Department for Pegasus Spyware



STEVE RABINOWITZ

Lobbyist for NSO Group, Israeli Company Blacklisted by Commerce Department for Pegasus Spyware



DAWN's Lobbyist Hall of Shame exposes the U.S.-based lobbyists paid to keep U.S. support flowing to some of the MENA region's worst human rights violators. We use each profile to call the lobbyist out by name, challenge their ethics, and publicize the harmful role they play in aiding and abetting human rights violators. We also offer detailed recommendations to Congress, lobbyists, and U.S. State Bar Associations to help them uphold their domestic and international legal obligations.



CULPRITS GALLERY

SELECT SAMPLE

UAE



Judge Muhammad Abd al-Qadir

Ignored Allegations of Torture



Captain Ali Saif

Responsible for the Arrest of Prominent UAE Democracy Activists

EGYPT



Judge Shabeeb al-Damarany

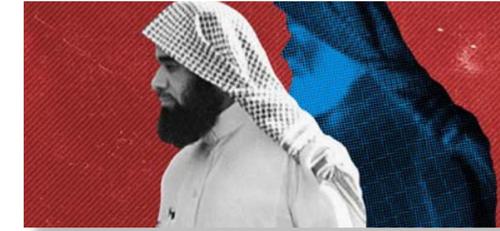
Enforces Arbitrary Detentions, Indiscriminate Sentences



Assistant Minister Tarek Marzouk

Responsible for Systematic and Widespread Torture

SAUDI ARABIA



Judge Awadh al-Ahmari

Implicated in the Detention, Torture, and Extraction of Forced Confessions of Peaceful Human Rights Activists

ISRAEL



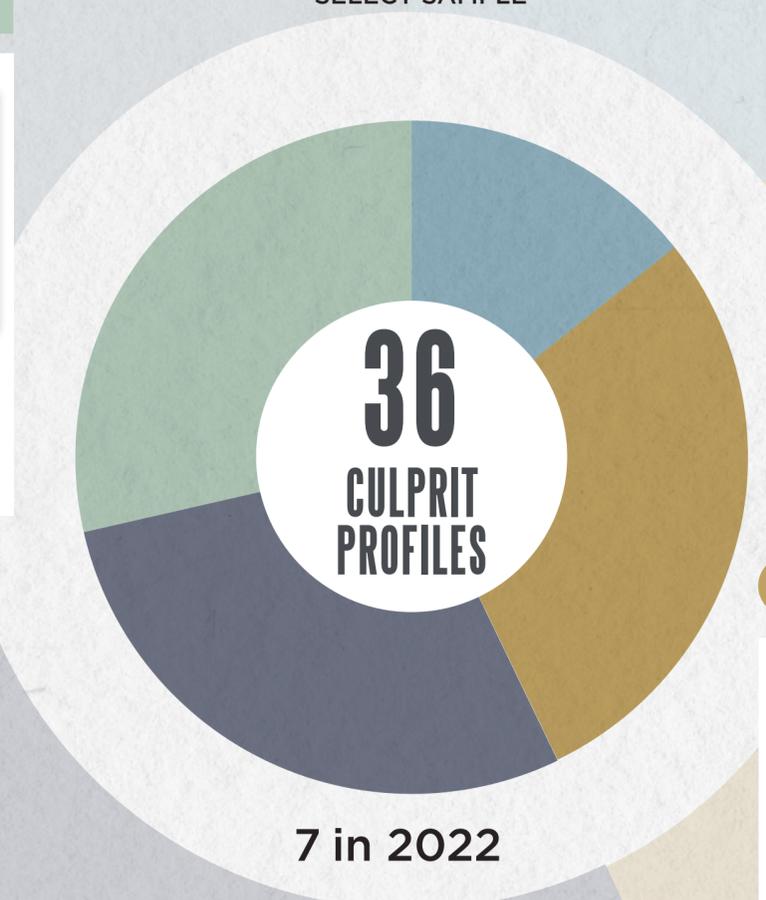
Col. Eyal Toledano

Former IDF West Bank Legal Advisor, Authorized Collective Punishment



Netzah Yehuda Battalion

Carries Out War Crimes In the West Bank



DAWN seeks to disclose the identity of the state agents who enable repression, to make them recognizable at home and abroad. These includes interior ministry agents who identify citizens demanding reform as a threat to be crushed; police and national security forces who arrest and beat citizens; interrogators who torture and terrorize; prosecutors who bring patently abusive charges for conduct that is protected by human rights law, sometimes without evidence; state officials, acting as witnesses, who perjure themselves for petty gains; judges who enforce unjust laws; jailers who harm captive detainees at their mercy; and propagandists who slander and vilify detainees.



UNJUST PROSECUTIONS

SELECT SAMPLE



SAUDI ARABIA

Salem Almuzaini

Detained, Extorted, Tortured, and Disappeared — Saudi Businessman Implicates MBS's Tiger Squad in Further Abuses



EGYPT

Anas El-Beltagy

19-Year-Old Student Denied Fair Trial, Remains Unjustly Imprisoned after Four Separate Acquittals Eight Years After His Arrest



DAWN's Unjust Prosecutions Gallery documents individual cases of political detainees being held unjustly. Drawing upon primary and secondary sources, these comprehensive case files document the conditions of arrest and charges brought against each detainee, their detention conditions, trials or sentencing, and instances of government retaliation against their family members. Those profiled reflect a cross-section of society and include not only human rights activists and journalists, but also businesspeople, former government officials, and other elites.



POLITICAL ANALYSIS

SELECT SAMPLE

FOREIGN AID

U.S.: Biden Administration Withholds \$130 Million in Military Aid to Egypt **1/28**

ACCOUNTABILITY

“Jamal Khashoggi” Way Street Sign Memorializing Murder of Saudi Journalist Unveiled in Front of the Saudi Embassy in Washington, D.C. **6/15**

Four Years Since Murder of Jamal Khashoggi, Accountability Advances in Legislation, Lawsuit, and Memorial **9/13**

U.S.: Investigate Israeli Killing of Palestinian-American Journalist Shireen Abu Akleh **5/11**

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

U.S.: Six Measures President Biden Should Take During Trip to Israel and Saudi Arabia **7/12**

U.S.: Reject Israeli “Terrorist” Designation of Palestinian Rights Groups **4/26**

US: End Economic Support for Tunisian Coup Government **12/23**

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PRESS RELEASES

RULE OF LAW & GOOD GOVERNANCE

U.S.: Investigate Kushner Business Dealings with Mohamed bin Salman **4/22**

Saudi Arabia: Government Appoints Agent Involved in Khashoggi Murder Cover-Up As President of Counter-Terrorism Court **10/12**

Jordan: Mass “Preemptive” Arrests to Block Protests Against Government **4/6**

Nine Prominent Saudi Judges Arrested, Accused of High Treason **4/13**

United States: Biden Administration Recognition of Saudi Crown Prince Immunity is Bad Policy and Bad Law **11/17**

HUMAN RIGHTS

The Jeddah Demolitions: Forced Evictions and Neighborhood Destruction Put More than a Million Residents at Risk **10/17**

Saudi Arabia: Government Sentences Woman to 45 Years for Her Tweets **8/30**

SECURITY AND DEFENSE

U.S.: Human Rights Organizations Should Reassess Approaches to International Law During Armed Conflict **8/3**



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Focus Areas

Ending Support for Abusive Governments

Accountability for Abusers and Enablers

Reforming US Laws

Revitalizing Human Rights Advocacy



Introduction

We believe that as a U.S.-based organization our responsibility and potential for most impact is to address the abuses to which our own government contributes.

We pursue this mission by exposing and seeking accountability for the abuses by governments in the region that receive U.S. support.

We recognize, however, that changes in U.S. policies require far more than exposing and sanctioning wrongdoers. That's why we also seek to reform the U.S. laws that allow these regimes to have influence over U.S. policies and legislators, including lax lobbying rules and conflict of interest laws.

We strive to persuade our allies and friends in the foreign policy community to critically evaluate the methodology, analysis and recommendations the community has used to shape U.S. MENA policy, to ensure that it is aligned with the best interests of the American people and does not harm the people of the region.

ADVOCACY PRIORITIES

GOVERNMENT ADVOCACY

DAWN facilitated **dozens of meetings** with Congress, State Department, White House staff and other elected officials to:

- Brief government officials about the unlawful Jeddah home demolitions.
- Introduce the Khashoggi Act and codify the **Khashoggi Ban** into law with Reps. Betty McCollum and Adam Schiff.
- DAWN issued public statements and led coalition statements on issues regarding arms sales to Saudi Arabia and the UAE; a cut in military assistance to Egypt; and the opening of an FBI investigation into the murder of Shireen Abu Akleh by Israeli forces.
- Press the State Department on matters related to the Khashoggi Ban as chair of the **Khashoggi Ban Working Group**.

CONVENINGS

DAWN assembled **35 participants** from leading think tanks, human rights groups, universities, and advocacy organizations for a workshop addressing issues of armed conflict and published **6 papers** presented by the panelists.

PARTNERSHIPS

DAWN published **49 sign-on letters** with over **25 major human rights organizations**.



FOCUS AREAS

DAWN's second year of advocacy work coalesced around four focus areas, all of which were heavily informed by our research and analysis. Direct advocacy with U.S. policymakers focused on issues where we have specific and unique expertise or experience, including by bringing in the voices of political exiles.

Revitalizing Human Rights Advocacy
Coalition Work, Joint letters, Workshops

4

Ending Support for Abusive Governments
Policy Recommendations

1

Accountability for Abusers and Enablers
Khashoggi Way Street Naming, Khashoggi Ban and Working Group, Leahy Law, ICC Submissions, Magnitsky Act, Lobbyist Contract Drop

2

3

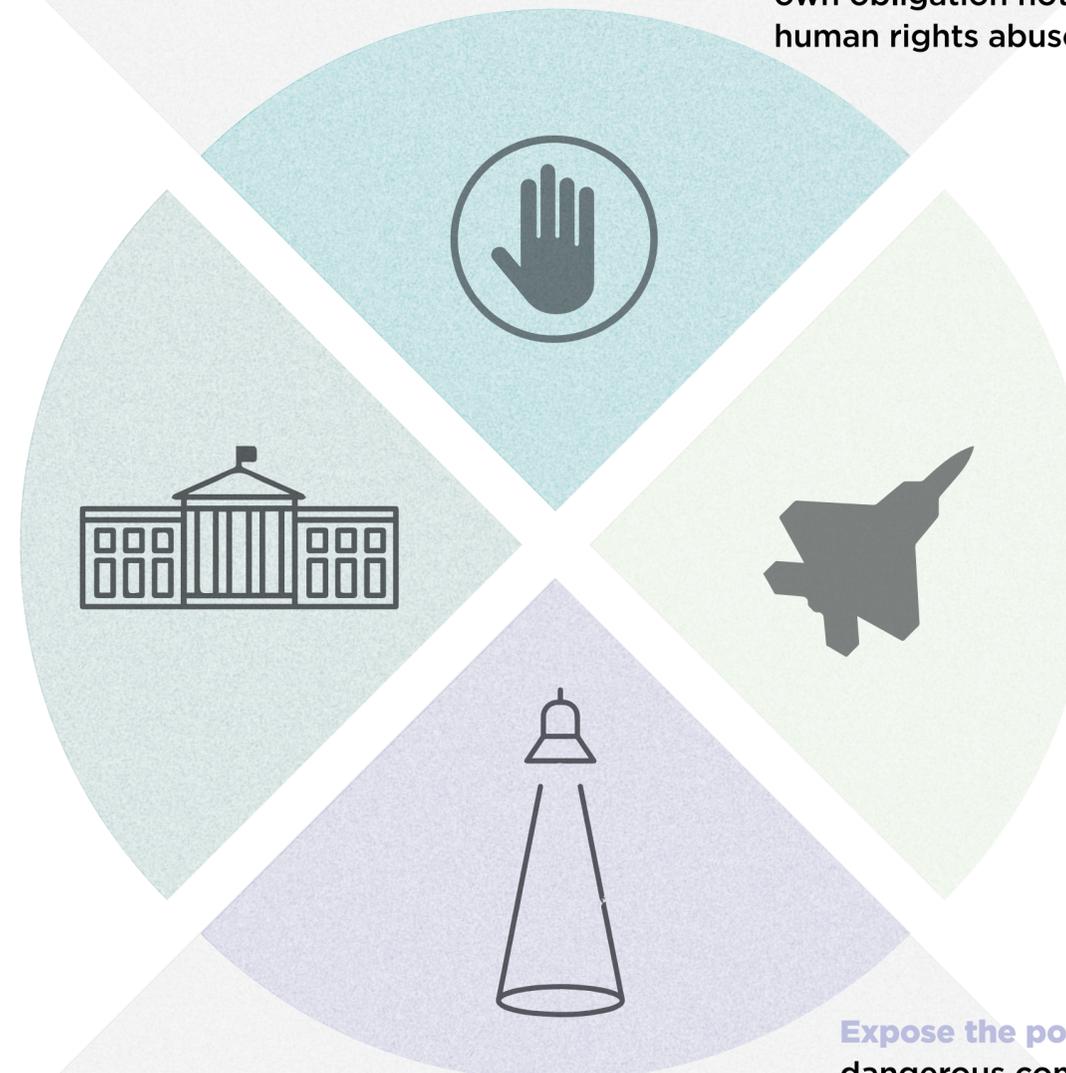
Reforming US Laws
Meetings and Briefings with Congress, State Department and other government officials



ENDING SUPPORT FOR ABUSIVE GOVERNMENTS

The U.S. is the largest weapons supplier to abusive, authoritarian, and apartheid governments in MENA, with transfers equalling approximately \$23 billion in 2022. The U.S. also has more military bases in the region than all of the other countries in the world combined. America's military support and protection for these abusive governments are coupled with economic and political support and help shield them from accountability.

Develop new policies for the U.S. government that align with the national interests of the American people and do not harm the people of the Middle East.



Enforce largely ignored U.S. laws that ban the transfer of arms to systematically abusive governments, identifying how such transfers violate our government's own obligation not to contribute to, or benefit from, human rights abuses.

Challenge and disrupt each individual U.S. arms deal with these governments and require the State and Defense Departments to disclose and justify each proposed sale.

Expose the political protection and dangerous compromises our government provides these abusive regimes and document how they harm U.S. national interests.



ACCOUNTABILITY FOR ABUSERS AND ENABLERS



Seeking the imposition of sanctions under the Magnitsky Act, Leahy Law, and Khashoggi Ban against mid-level government abusers who have committed human rights abuses including torture, abuse, and murder. In 2022, DAWN filed 6 sanctions requests against abusers in Egypt, Israel, and Saudi Arabia.



Supporting **legal prosecutions** underway in international courts to hold abusers accountable, **submitting detailed case files** for investigation. In 2022, DAWN filed the first two **complaints to the International Criminal Court** against individual Israeli government officials for crimes against Palestinians.

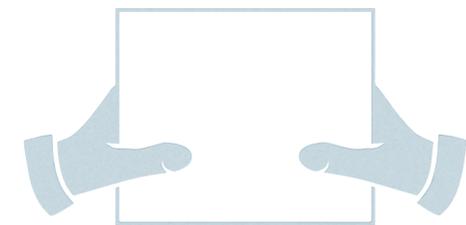


Pushing lobbyists to end their contracts with abusive regimes, legislators to refuse to meet with such lobbyists until they do, and regulators to ensure that lobbyists are complying with existing laws. In 2022, DAWN exposed the role of 6 lobbyists contributing to human rights abuses in the MENA region.



REFORMING US LAWS

Without reform in U.S. laws that permit our government to find end-runs around legislation designed to prohibit arms transfers to abusive governments, and that permit foreign governments to access and influence our legislators, we know that there can be no serious reform of U.S. policies in the Middle East. Such reforms are vital not only to protect the people harmed by MENA governments enabled by the U.S., but to protect the integrity of our own democracy which is increasingly corrupted by foreign governments. Our work includes:



Passing new laws that will ban senior government and military officials from working for or doing business with foreign governments for at least three years after leaving office.



Eliminating loopholes in existing legislation that allow the executive branch to waive laws prohibiting arms transfers to systematically abusive governments.

Requiring lobbyists to disclose the complete substance of their interactions with lawmakers, banning their work for abusive governments, and prohibiting their campaign contributions.



REVITALIZING HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCACY

DAWN believes that the success of our goals depends on the support and participation of the broader foreign policy community and its approach to advocacy for reform of U.S. policies in the MENA region.

Unify and activate
the Foreign Policy
Community

We seek to **unify and activate the foreign policy community** through a shared understanding of how our government contributes to rights abuses in the MENA region, the role our analysis and advocacy play in such abuses, and what needs to change here at home to further democracy and human rights in the MENA region.

We seek to ensure that this community **includes the voices and experiences** of people from the region who are most directly affected by US policies in their deliberations about and recommendations for the region.

Include voices and experiences of those most affected

Organize conferences, workshops, and discussions

In 2022, DAWN **organized a number of conferences, workshops, and discussions** to evaluate advocacy approaches to US policies in the region, and to encourage new methodologies and policies. For example, DAWN organized a workshop examining advocacy for US military humanitarian intervention and approaches to international humanitarian law that fail to address the broader problems of U.S. militarism and primacy.



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"Democracy in Exile's mission is to be a home for regional experts and exiles from the region, together. The journal is committed to magnifying voices from the Middle East and North Africa and giving them an equal platform to those in the West."

Frederick Deknatel
Executive Editor



Introduction

DAWN's online journal, *Democracy in Exile*, is a space for political exiles and activists from the Middle East and North Africa to elevate their voices in key policy debates alongside those of leading MENA experts, journalists, and other commentators.

For too long, the views of those most affected by violence and repression in the MENA region have been silenced by their governments and overlooked by U.S. policymakers. *Democracy in Exile* is committed to magnifying these voices, which are essential to understanding the state of human rights and democracy in the region.

In everything the journal publishes, including first-hand reporting, analysis, opinion, and interviews, *Democracy in Exile* works to promote a new vision for the future of the MENA region, where democratic governments respect citizens' fundamental rights.

DAWN'S JOURNAL HIGHLIGHTS



Since DAWN's launch, *Democracy in Exile* has published over 225 articles from more than 175 different authors from dissidents and activists to academics, journalists and policymakers.

Journal articles include critical assessments of U.S. foreign policy, exposés about the anti-democratic practices and human rights violations of America's closest regional allies, and first-person reflections on what it's like to live under abusive regional governments.

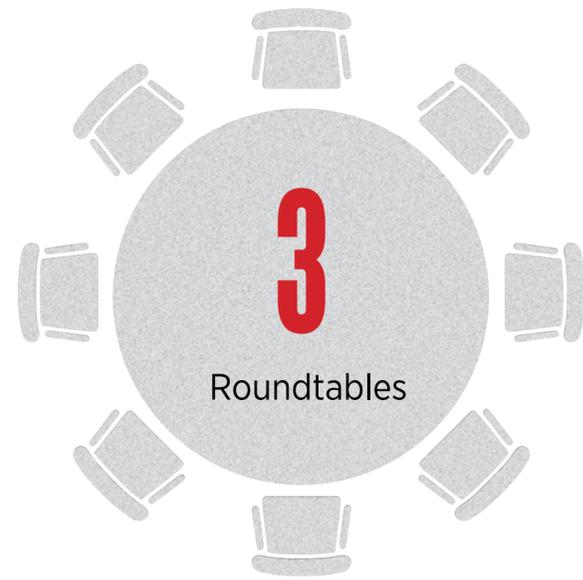


The most widely read articles over the past year include an essay by Syrian exile and writer Yassin al-Haj Saleh, one of DAWN's non-resident fellows, on how Russia's war in Ukraine, in both means and aims, is a continuation of its war in Syria; an extensive interview with the renowned intellectual Noam Chomsky; and an in-depth report by academic Monica Marks on Tunisia's fragmented political opposition under President Kais Saied.



COUNTRIES AND ISSUES

1
Year



Democracy in Exile's three roundtables have brought together nearly 70 experts to debate the biggest policy issues in the MENA region.



Is Biden's Trip to Saudi Arabia in America's Interests?
A Democracy in Exile Roundtable
7/13



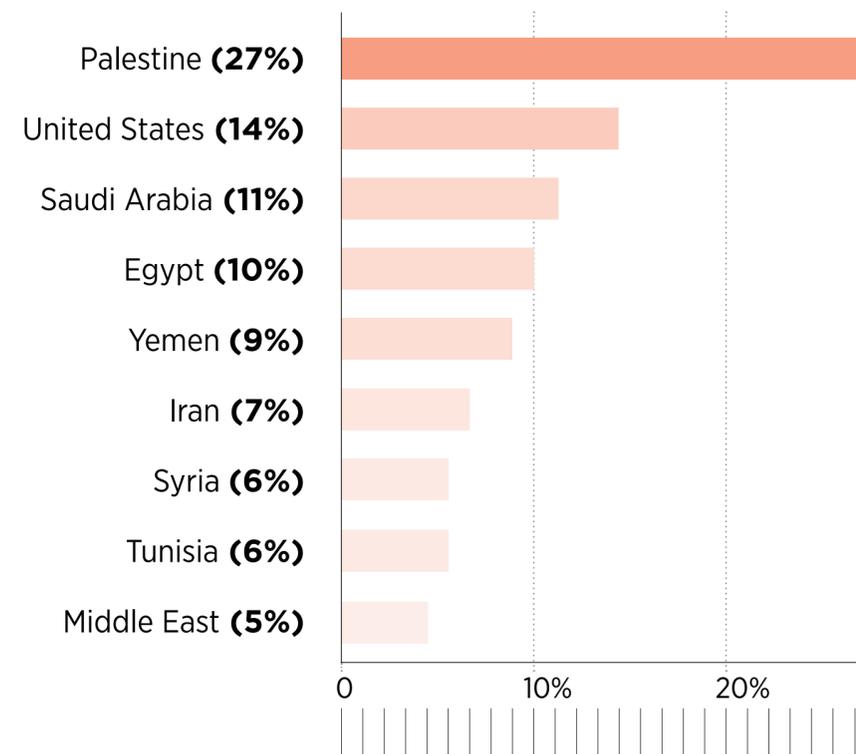
The Ukraine War's Impacts in the Middle East:
A Democracy in Exile Roundtable
4/6



What Do Iran's Protests Mean for the Arab World?
A Democracy in Exile Roundtable
10/31

COUNTRY TOPIC BREAKDOWN

percent of total coverage



Remaining coverage includes the United Arab Emirates, Lebanon, Turkey, Bahrain, and Algeria.

113+
Total articles published

1,123
Average views per article

75
Different authors



The variety of topics and regions addressed in *Democracy in Exile* are varying and intersectional, seeking to include a plurality of political exiles' experiences and visions for democracy in the region.



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How China Is Exporting High Tech Authoritarianism; to the Middle East

Joshua Kurlantzick

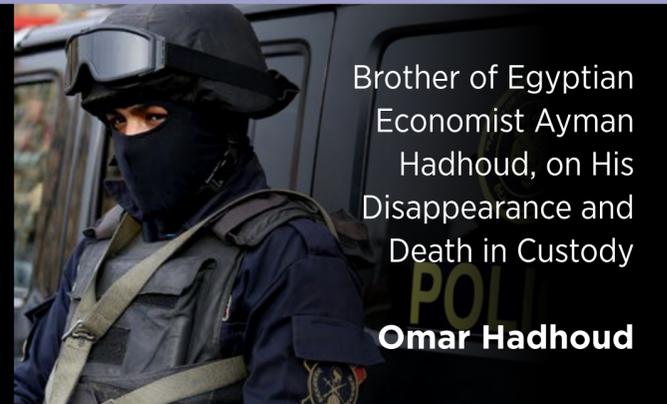


'They Want to Create New Facts on the Ground.' Why Settler Violence Is Rising in the West Bank

Anonymous Palestinian Activist

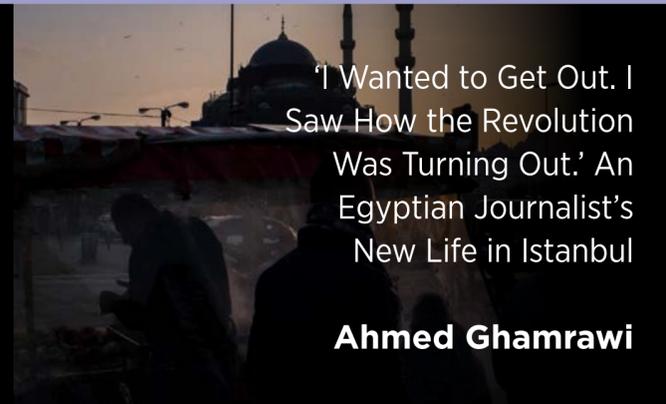


Activist **Ghadir Shafie** and Artist **Bashar Murad** on the Intersectional Struggle for Liberation in Palestine



Brother of Egyptian Economist Ayman Hadhoud, on His Disappearance and Death in Custody

Omar Hadhoud



'I Wanted to Get Out. I Saw How the Revolution Was Turning Out.' An Egyptian Journalist's New Life in Istanbul

Ahmed Ghamrawi



'This New Cold War': **Michael McFaul** on Russia, the Middle East and American Interests

17 INTERVIEWS

Democracy in Exile conducts thought-provoking interviews with leading experts, as well as exiles abroad and activists in the region, giving voice to their political struggles.



Activist **Maryam al-Khawaja** on Gulf Solidarity and Remembering Bahrain's Revolution



Israel's Restrictions on Foreigners Traveling to the West Bank Just Got 92 Pages Worse

Leora Bechor



'One of the Severest Forms of Torture.' A Former Inmate on Medical Negligence in Egypt's Prisons

Anonymous Egyptian Prisoner



Egyptian Activist **Ghada Naguib**, Stripped of Citizenship, on Her 'Fate in Forced Exile'



Gaza Aid Worker **Mohammad al-Halabi's** Father on a 'Farical and Retaliatory Trial' in Israel



'Too Big to Fail.' **Ali Vaez** on Reviving the Iran Nuclear Deal



'The Truth Stands With Mohammad': Israel's Outrageous Trial of Mohammad al-Halabi



'A New International of Authoritarianism': An Interview With Iran Scholar **Abbas Milani**



'Why They Needed to Silence Us.' **Sahar Francis** of Palestinian NGO Addameer on Israel's 'Terrorist' Designations



'Our South Africa Moment.' **Omar Barghout** on the Future of the BDS Movement



'Those Are Alleged Threats': **Noam Chomsky** on China, Iran and a Nuclear Middle East



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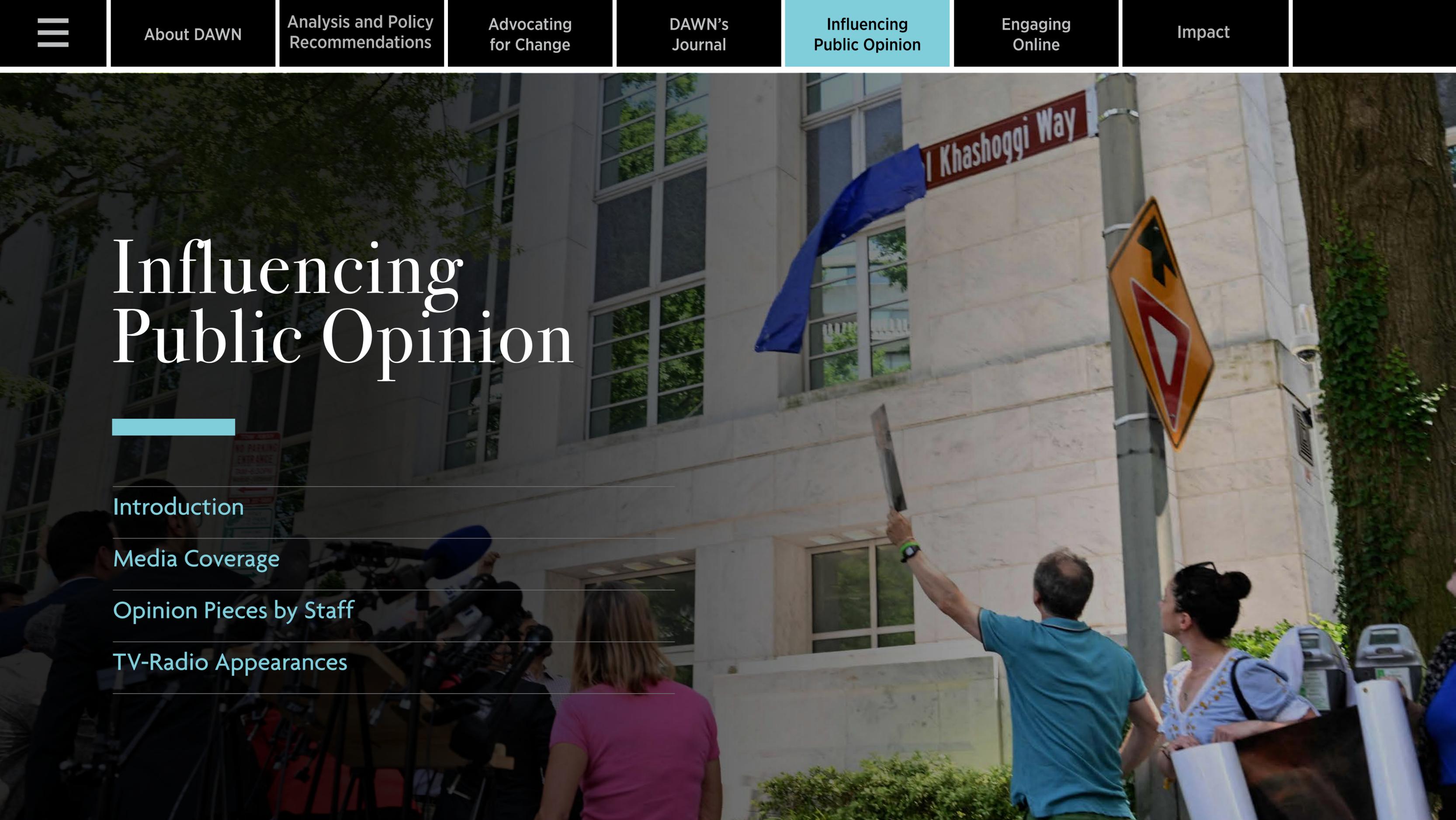
Influencing Public Opinion

Introduction

Media Coverage

Opinion Pieces by Staff

TV-Radio Appearances





Introduction

Influencing public opinion through the media is one way DAWN works to shift the broader narrative around the Middle East and North Africa and change U.S. foreign policy toward it. The scope of DAWN's media coverage is, quite simply, remarkable for an organization of our size and tenure.

During our second year, we have built the organizational infrastructure for successful media outreach, including investing in advanced, cutting-edge tools to expand our media footprint and track our reach. We have embedded communications principles into our content development processes, refined our press release format, and honed our organizational voice all with the goal of maximizing press pick-up. We have pitched our content widely, nurtured relationships with key journalists, and responded swiftly to breaking events. In our second year we:

HIGHLIGHTS

275+

Media Contacts

Reached out to **over 275** of the top media personalities covering the MENA region and U.S. foreign policy. Many of these journalists now regularly contact us for commentary and analysis.

20

Op-eds

Published **20 op-eds** in major publications—an outstanding number for an organization of our size—establishing ourselves as a go-to source of commentary and analysis on developments affecting the region.

8,915

Global Citations

Earned an average of **25 citations a day** in global media coverage, with 40% appearing in U.S. outlets.



MEDIA COVERAGE

TIME

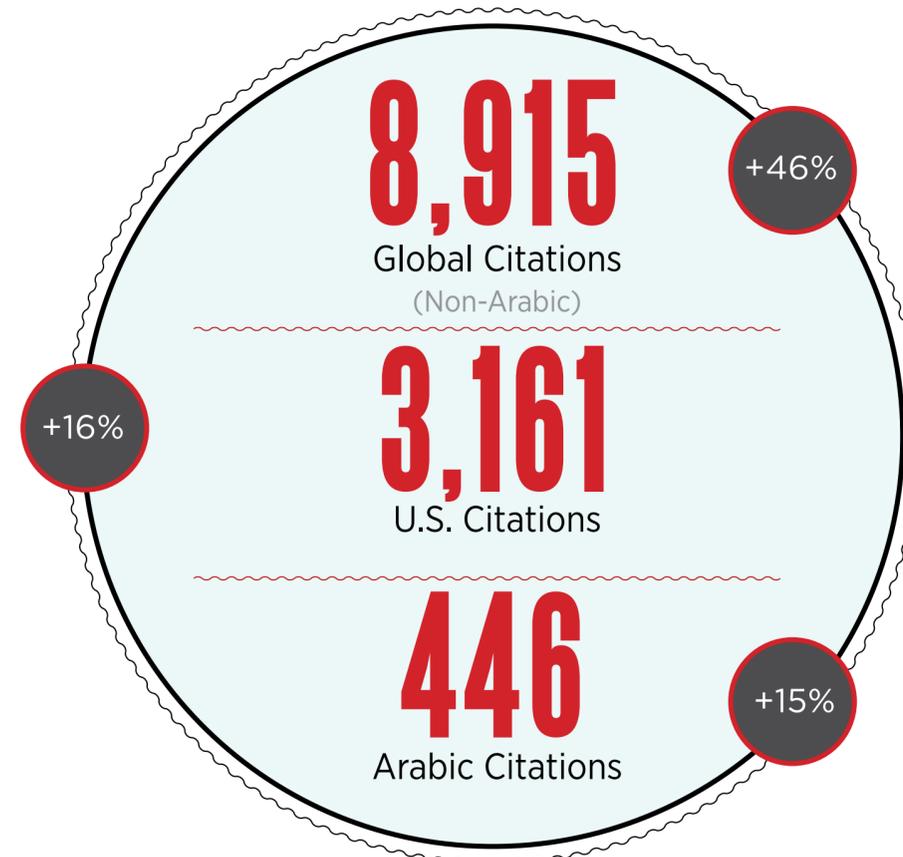
“We intend to remind the people who are hiding behind these doors ... that we hold them responsible and we will hold them accountable for the murder of our friend.”

—SARAH LEAH WHITSON JUNE 16

The Guardian

“People can see for themselves what’s happening in a way they didn’t before. It’s made it harder, particularly in the United States, for the emotional defenders of Israel, who’ve had this mythology about Israel and the kibbutz and sowing the land and this sort of fantasy of what Israel’s like, confronted with the reality of what they see in front of their faces.”

—SARAH LEAH WHITSON, FEBRUARY 3



A variety of different outlets with a diversity of audiences have consistently quoted staff or covered the organization’s research and advocacy. DAWN regularly maximizes the coverage of these citations by publishing them as individual tweets or graphic quote cards.

MEE MIDDLE EAST EYE

“MBS has blood on his hands. If Biden gives him the US meeting MBS so desperately wants, the bloody handshake will send a clear message to tyrants everywhere: you can always count on America to betray its values and reward bad behavior.”

—ABDULLAH ALAOU DH, JUNE 4

The New York Times

“Caving into M.B.S.’ immunity ploy when silence was an option for the administration not only rewards M.B.S. for his intransigence, including continued attacks on activists in the U.S., but signals GO to tyrants around the world. If you have oil and money, you’re safe, whatever your crimes.”

—SARAH LEAH WHITSON, NOVEMBER 18



MEDIA COVERAGE



“Saudi society doesn’t have any elected parliament, they go to Twitter to express themselves. When MBS rose to power, he wanted to completely shut down every aspect of this public sphere that once existed.

— **ABDULLAH ALAODH**, AUGUST 18



“It is rare that you find one person like Toledano tied to so many types of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and with so much documentary evidence freely available.

Usually the ICC would look at whether the state, Israel, conducted its own investigation into the crimes to determine if it has jurisdiction.

— **MICHAEL SCHAEFFER OMER-MAN**, OCTOBER 31



“It is impossible not to connect the dots between Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman’s meeting with President Biden last month in Jeddah and the uptick in the repressive attacks against anyone who dares criticize the crown prince or the Saudi government for well-documented abuses.”

— **ABDULLAH ALAODH**, SEPTEMBER 6



“What’s distracting from climate commitments is that this conference is being hosted in a country that is responsible for some of the worst abuses.”

—**SARAH LEAH WHITSON ON COP27**, NOVEMBER 11



OP-EDS IN LEADING PUBLICATIONS

Q1 2022: 9

Foreign Policy (logo), The Human Rights vs. National Security Dilemma Is a Fallacy, Sarah Leah Whitson, January 10



Opinion: Here's a Vice headline for you: 'We took millions to improve the image of a murderous dictator' Abdullah Alaoudh and John Hursh, February 4



Q2 2022: 4

Saudi Arabia executes 81 people in show of force by an emboldened Mohammed bin Salman, Abdullah Alaoudh and John Hursh, March 18



America's Middle East 'Withdrawal' Breathes Its Last Breath, Sarah Leah Whitson, June 24



Q3 2022: 4

Biden's trip to make up with Mohammed bin Salman won't help anyone in Saudi Arabia or America, Abdullah Alaoudh, July 12



Biden is mending ties with our oppressors. He should listen to us instead, Abdullah Alaoudh, September 28

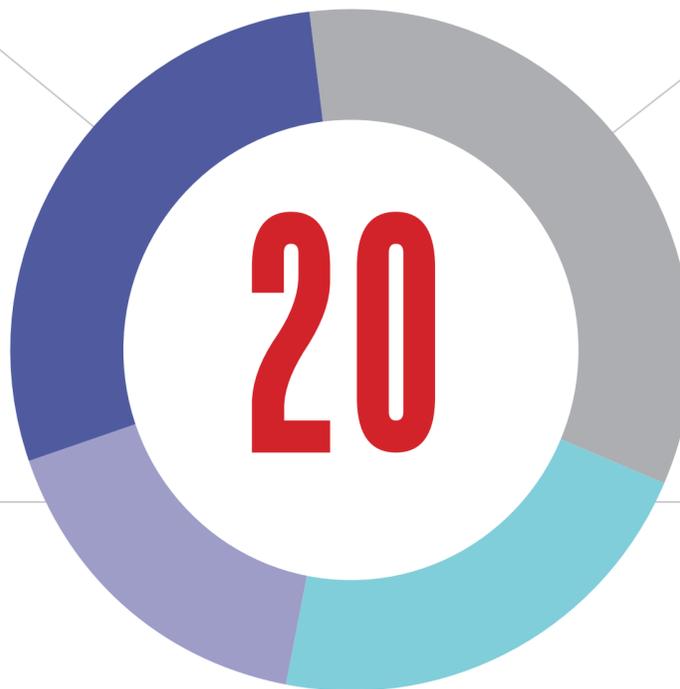


Q4 2022: 2

MBS can't escape Khashoggi lawsuit with sudden 'prime minister' appointment, Sarah Leah Whitson, October 7



America's Autocratic Persian Gulf 'Partners' Are Actually Liabilities, Abdullah Alaoudh and Jon Hoffman, November 15



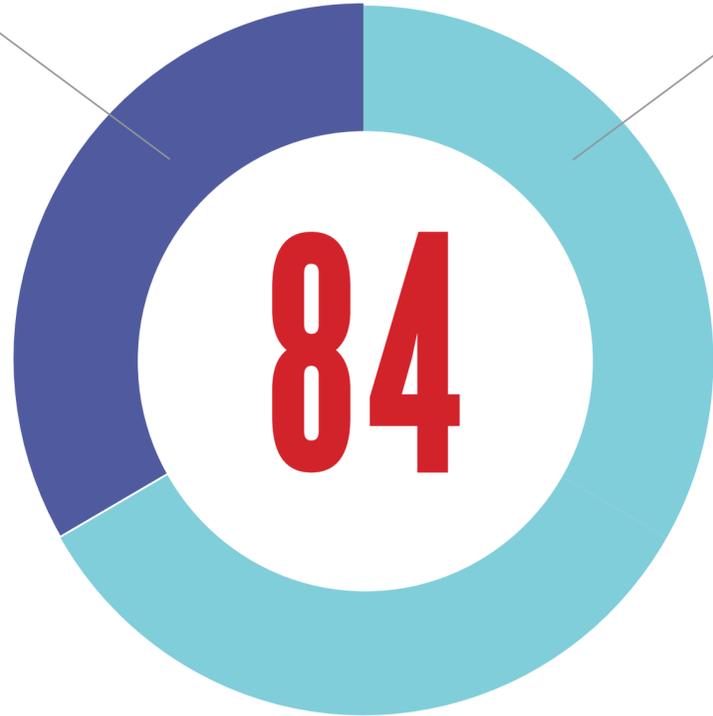
DAWN publishes Op-Ed's strategically in select outlets that we know our target audiences will read. Subject matter addressed in these articles has played to the strengths of our individual staff members' writing, analysis, and unique expertise in the field.



TV & RADIO APPEARANCES

23 ARABIC

61 ENGLISH



Palestine TV



BBC Arabic



France 24



Mekameleen



Al Hurra



Alaraby TV



DAWN has become a reliable source for commentary on breaking news, current events, and U.S. foreign policy analysis and recommendations.



CGTN



Democracy Now!



TRT World



The Intercept



MSNBC



Al Jazeera



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Introduction

Online engagement is an integral part of DAWN's work to shift narratives, amplify pro-democracy voices from the Middle East and North Africa, and influence U.S. policy in the region.

DAWN's online engagement tools include our [English](#) and [Arabic](#) websites and 10 social media accounts, including that of [DAWN's journal](#). To maximize our reach with target audiences, we publish and promote our content in both English and Arabic, and curate separate English and Arabic social media accounts. We also host stand-alone Twitter accounts for [Egypt](#) and [Saudi Arabia](#), each of which carries country-specific content users inside Egypt and Saudi Arabia cannot access elsewhere due to government censorship.

ENGAGING ONLINE HIGHLIGHTS



DAWN's English social media accounts have attracted followers from leading influencers including U.S. journalists, policymakers, and human rights and foreign policy experts. Our Arabic accounts attract Arabic media personalities, scholars, and everyday people from the MENA region.

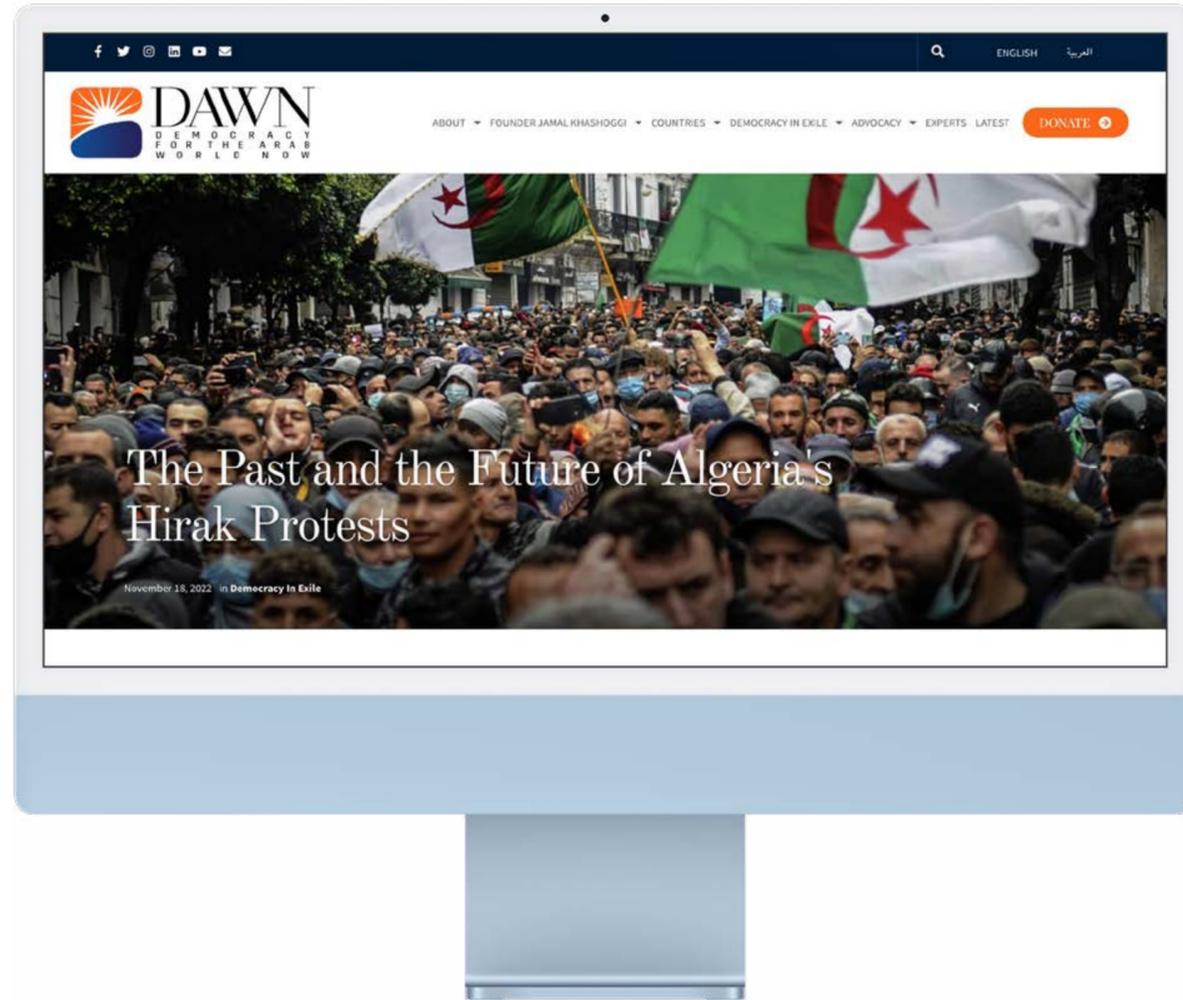
[Twitter](#) is the main [carrier](#) of DAWN's content. We receive an average of almost 1.5 million impressions a month and have been retweeted by prominent figures such as Agnes Callamard, Mehdi Hassan, Jake Tapper, Christiane Amanpour, and U.S. government officials like Senator Rand Paul and Congress member Ilhan Omar.



Our compelling content and live events on Twitter Spaces, Zoom events, and Facebook Live have helped fuel continuous organic growth across platforms and connected us to new allies in the policy, activist, and academic communities.



WEBSITE

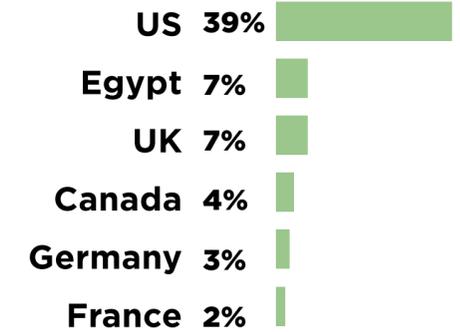


297K

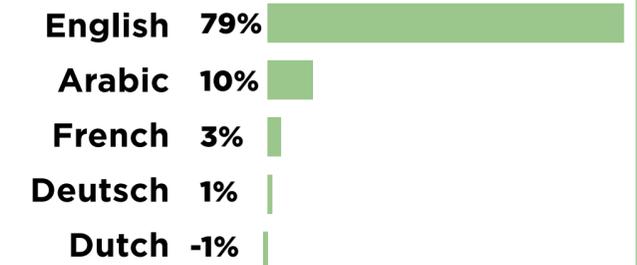
Average monthly page views

AUDIENCE PROFILE

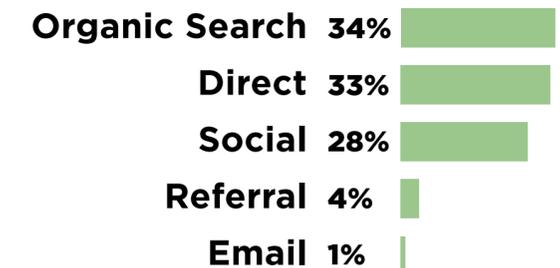
COUNTRIES*



LANGUAGES



TRAFFIC SOURCES



**DAWN's Website is blocked in Saudi Arabia and the UAE, therefore their statistics do not appear. Alternatively, users can access DAWN's content through a VPN.*



www.DAWNmena.org is the final destination for all social media traffic. Dynamic, engaging, and increasingly user friendly, we make continuous advancements and updates to the website based on feedback from staff and close monitoring of user behavior, engagement, and traffic.



SOCIAL MEDIA

Arabic (@DAWN_Arabic)

415

Average monthly mentions

697K

Average monthly impressions

@DAWN_Arabic
20K followers

@DAWNmenaorg
11.2K Followers

@DAWN_Egypt
7.6K Followers

@DAWNsaudi
5.6 Followers

@DAWN_Journal
1.2 Followers
Launched Dec 2021

English (@DAWNmenaorg)

375

Average monthly mentions

738K

Average monthly impressions

English (@DAWNmenaorg)



5.2M
Annual reach

15,197
Followers

1,285
Page likes

Arabic (@DAWN_Arabic)



5.1M
Impressions

48K
Followers

451K
Page likes



DAWN also hosts public profiles in both Arabic and English on these platforms:



Twitter continues to be the main carrier of DAWN's content. We maintain **10** social media profiles across **4** different platforms, to effectively reach audiences in regions where different platforms are more popular.



11K

Instagram reach

1,341

Followers



VIRTUAL EVENTS

SELECT SAMPLE

DAWN HOSTED EVENTS

5 FACEBOOK LIVE AND ZOOM
2,634 Viewers*



Zoom: Political Repression in Egypt: Courts Under Military Dictatorship (2/22/22)

Forum on the Arms Trade Annual Conference (4/12/22)

Jamal Khashoggi Way Ceremony (6/15/22)

Israeli Raids on Palestinian Civil Society (8/25/22)

A Conversation with Ramy Shaath and Celine Lebrun-Shaath (9/23/22)

5 TWITTER SPACES
5,351 Listeners



Escalation of War in Yemen and Biden's Policy (2/21/22)

Pelosi in Israel: What to Expect (2/16/22)

Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: Consequences in the Middle East (3/14/22)

The Human Costs of Social Reforms in Saudi Arabia (6/8/22)

Israeli Attacks on Palestinians, Reporting and Accountability (12/18/22)

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STAFF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

Freedom is in Retreat in the Middle East: 11 Years After the Arab Spring, National Interest Foundation January 26

Human Rights and Humanitarian Action in an Increasingly Authoritarian Middle East, Brown University February 24

'Flipping the Script' on US Arms Sales, Demand Progress March 28

US Foreign Policy and Human Rights Advocacy in the Middle East and North Africa, Harvard University April 15

5 Years of MBS, human rights, security reforms, MENA Rights Group July 21

Egypt's Uncertain Future: Political, Economic, and Human Rights Challenges, Arab Center July 23

Protecting The Right to Boycott: Preventing Impunity, International Centre of Justice for Palestinians in London October 17

The Crisis in Ukraine and the Middle East, Middle East Studies Association Conference December 2

Digital Authoritarianism, Bread and Net Conference, Lebanon November 17



These increasingly popular virtual event hosting platforms are an important way for DAWN to engage a broader audience in our work, offering a space for discussions that invite participatory debate.



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Jamal Khashoggi Way

Jamal Khashoggi Way

AFP



Introduction

DAWN believes that only democratic governance rooted in human rights and the rule of law will create the conditions necessary for a peaceful and stable Middle East and North Africa where people live with dignity and in freedom. Our theory of change is premised on work that seeks to (1) end the United States' central role in supporting abusive MENA governments that quash democracy and rights; (2) promotes the political exile community as an important asset to develop, protect, and nurture prospects for rights-respecting, democratic change in the region; and (3) holds accountable abusive foreign government officials and their American enablers.

The forces working against us are formidable: from dictators with bottomless bank accounts and sophisticated digital surveillance tools, to weapons manufacturers who profit through military support to these dictators, to multi-million-dollar lobbying firms with behemoth public relations teams. Yet despite the challenges, our nascent organization is already having an impact. In our second year we made notable strides toward:

DAWN'S IMPACT HIGHLIGHTS

Influencing U.S. foreign policy toward the region, including by mobilizing a growing number of members of Congress to oppose arms transfers to MENA countries. Throughout the year, we worked closely with members of Congress to put forward historic resolutions of disapproval on proposed arms sales to Israel—the first time such a resolution was ever tabled—as well as to Saudi Arabia, and issued press releases and op-eds challenging harmful arms transfers to Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.

Shifting the narrative around the region and the U.S. role in it, including by influencing media coverage and launching a publishing platform featuring a steady stream of articles from political exiles and activists.



Holding regional human rights abusers and their enablers accountable, including by successfully pressuring a U.S.-based lobbying firm to drop their contract with a Saudi government agency, creating a civil society working group to support the implementation of the Khashoggi Ban, renaming the street in front of the Saudi Embassy “Khashoggi Way”, and advancing justice for our founder’s murder.



In 2022, DAWN saw its credibility and reputation grow significantly in the media and foreign policy community as we pursued our mission to hold accountable abusive Middle Eastern governments and the lobbyists at home that promote them even as they weaken our democracy and core values in the process. Some noteworthy examples of our impact include:

IMPACT HIGHLIGHTS



Complaint to ICC About Eyal Toledano

DAWN [filed a submission](#) to the International Criminal Court identifying for the first time an individual abuser, senior Israeli military lawyer Eyal Toledano, for prosecution by the court in its ongoing investigation into Israel/Palestine, and we also submitted the first Leahy Law sanctions request for an [Israeli military unit](#), the Netzah Yehuda Battalion, engaging in human rights violations.



FBI Investigates Shireen Abu Akleh's Murder

Following [advocacy](#) by DAWN, partner organizations, and the Shireen Abu Akleh family demanding the Administration open an FBI investigation into the May 11, 2022 murder in Jenin by Israeli forces of Palestinian American journalist, Shireen Abu Akleh, the FBI opened an investigation in November 2022.



DOJ Investigates Kushner

In the wake of the April 2022 [news](#) that a **Saudi Arabia's** sovereign wealth fund led by Mohammad bin Salman (MBS) had invested \$2.1 billion in Jared Kushner's private equity firm, Affinity Partners, DAWN [wrote](#) to the US Department of Justice and Congress asking them to open investigations into possible corruption and craft new legislation to prohibit senior officials from doing business with foreign governments. The House Oversight Committee [opened an investigation](#) into the matter in June 2022, and there are now two pieces of draft legislation including such prohibitions.



IMPACT HIGHLIGHTS



Four Prisoners Released

Following our extensive documentation and unrelenting advocacy, in 2022, the Egyptian government released four political prisoners whose cases we had highlighted, including Walid Ahmed Shawky and Ibrahim Ezz el-Din in April; Kholoud Said Amer in June; and Haitham Mohamedain in September.

Biden Cuts Egypt Aid

In the wake of DAWN's advocacy demanding a cut in military aid to the Sisi government, the Biden administration announced in January 2022 that it would cancel \$130 million of its \$1.3 billion aid package, in light of the country's deplorable human rights record. While the aid withheld accounts for only 10% of Egypt's annual \$1.3 billion, it marked a victory in our ongoing fight against U.S. military support for Egypt's dictatorship.

Jordan Stops Airport Arrests

In March 2022, DAWN exposed and publicly challenged the arrest of our staff member, Taghreed Rishq, in Jordan based on a private complaint against her under the Cybercrimes Law for her political commentary. We secured her immediate release and a commitment from the government that it would end airport arrests based on this law.



ACCOUNTABILITY FOR KHASHOGGI MURDER



Introducing the Khashoggi Act

In September 2022, DAWN helped draft and lobbied for the introduction of The Khashoggi Act, a legislation to amend the U.S. Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act to allow lawsuits against foreign governments engaged in transnational aggression. The Act would also codify the Khashoggi Ban into law. DAWN has continued chairing the Khashoggi Ban Working Group, which is recognized by the State Department, and nominated a number of individuals to be sanctioned under the Khashoggi Ban, including Saudi agent Ibrahim Alhussayen.

Khashoggi Way

We achieved an important milestone in accountability efforts for Jamal Khashoggi's murder, securing the official renaming of the street in front of the Saudi Embassy in Washington D.C. "Jamal Khashoggi Way," a fitting memorial that received wide press exposure. Although MBS obtained a grant of sovereign immunity from the Biden administration in our civil lawsuit against him for the murder of Khashoggi, the case generated tremendous global media coverage, kept the issue of the murder in the spotlight, and forced MBS to seek protection from U.S. courts by adding the official title of Prime Minister to his name.

Join Us!

While the change DAWN seeks will take time, we believe our impact to date is a harbinger of what is to come—but only if we maintain our momentum and expand our network of allies and supporters. There are many ways to support DAWN's mission, including by donating to our cause, sharing our messages on social media, and joining our online events. Please sign up for our email updates, visit us at **dawnmena.org** , or send a message to **info@dawnmena.org** to learn more.

If you are already an ally, partner, or supporter, **thank you** for being part of the movement to build a more peaceful, prosperous, and democratic Middle East and North Africa, where the human rights of all people are respected and upheld.

