



Hail Caesar?

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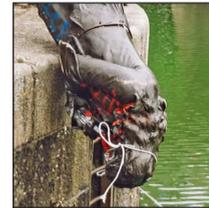
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International Support for Egypt's "red line" in Libya



Fighting continue in Libya

France has welcomed the Cairo Declaration stressing its significance in the prevalence of the political track as an ultimate solution for the Libyan crisis, in consistency with UN resolutions and relevant international efforts. France has also praised the Egyptian tireless efforts to settle the conflict and restore peace in all Libyan territories.

The German Chancellor, Angela

Merkel, saw the declaration as a continuation to the Berlin conference, adding new elements and dimensions that are effective in the Libyan political process. She has also praised the Egyptian constructive efforts to solve the Libyan crisis.

"I have raised our concerns with Al Sarraj that the military operations in Sirte that could lead to more fighting

and more civilian casualties in Libya" said Italian Foreign Minister Luigi de Mayo.

Many «NO's» were raised against mercenaries, foreign interference, terrorism and division, asserting the urgency of a political solution, unity, and stability in Libya. The resolution also called for immediate cease-fire and the protection of civilians.

Lebanese escalation for 1559 Hezbollah evades taxes

Lebanese protesters have demanded the implementation of Resolution 1559 which calls for the disbanding and disarming of all Lebanese militias. The protesters held signs particularly demanding that Hezbollah must be disarmed. Others participating in the protests expressed their despair of any change the political class could make.

Due to the impact of the ongoing economic crisis and stifling living; the most severe in the history of Lebanon since the end of the war in 1989, and in light of the shared responsibilities among political forces, lawyer, Majd Harb, son of Boutros Harb, the Lebanese politician known for his stances against the Lebanese Hezbollah, has appealed to the Financial Prosecutor General Judge Ali Ibrahim to take action against Hezbollah for «tax evasion, customs evasion and money laundering».

The summer of Caesar, which sparked Al-Assad's Palace in Damascus

In conjunction with the American announcement of sanctions on the Syrian regime through the implementation of what is known as Caesar Act, the regime has been increasing, in advance, the impact of sanctions on Syrian people by exploiting and monopolizing goods that were not included in the sanctions or drastically raising their prices. The Syrian regime keeps brainwashing people into believing that

the economic sanctions were imposed to punish them, essentially.

Meanwhile, American officials announced that the aim of the Act that came into force on 17th June, is «not to change the Syrian regime» rather to «change its behaviour.»

James Jeffrey said that the Syrian people are the decision makers in changing the system.



Trump does Russia a favor by deepening the rift with Berlin

The discord is escalating from time to time between Washington and its European allies, which was referred to by the American Politico recently. It said that intense disputes and discussions took place between the American President, Donald Trump, and German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, during a phone call between the two leaders that week. The newspaper quoted an unnamed official in the US administration, saying that both parties' views and positions were very different on topics such as NATO, the «North Stream-2» project between Russia and Germany, and relations with China.

Many differences have emerged recently. In addition to the rifts that surfaced at the beginning of Trump's tenure, and his call for NATO allies to raise their financial contributions to the alliance to the equivalent of 2% of their GDP, new political clashes emerge from time to time. On May 7, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo was dissatisfied with the German appeal to reconsider Washington's decision to cut funding to the World Health Organization. It was in retaliation to the international organization's handling of the Coronavirus outbreak.

German daily Sueddeutsche Zeitung noted that Pompeo commented on a letter from his German counterpart, Heiko Maas, in which he referred to the United States' full commitment to «work with the international community to combat the Corona pandemic» despite the funding freeze, highlighting that the United States was the most significant contributor to the World Health Organization over the years, despite what he described as a «series of mistakes» made by the Geneva-based organization, which he accused of appeasing the Chinese Communist regime.

A situation that seems to have provoked resentment among German politicians, but it is not comparable

to what Rolf Mutzenich, the German deputy and head of the Social Democratic Party bloc in Parliament, indicated on May 18, when he said that US President Donald Trump's influence is devastating to NATO, comparing it to 'bacteria',» and accusing the American president of treating the Europeans like enemies and a source of weakness for NATO, highlighting the danger of the new American nuclear doctrine that considers the possibility of preemptive use of nuclear power. Earlier in May, the German MP demanded the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Germany, which drew criticism against him from the Christian Democrats, the Christian Social Union, and German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas. However, Mutzenich stressed that his call was not motivated by a desire to weaken NATO. The Bild newspaper quoted the German politician's recent statement: «If the American nuclear weapons in Germany and other countries are the only link, then this is not very good for NATO.»

The German position on the demonstrations makes matters worse

It appears that the American anti-racist demonstrations that erupted after the killing of George Floyd on May 25 by a member of the American police were an opportunity for Berlin to retaliate to Washington's failure to respond to its request to reconsider its position on the World Health Organization. On June 2, German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas considered the protests in the United States «legitimate.»

«The peaceful protests taking place in the United States are more than legitimate and understandable,» Maas said at a press conference, adding: «I can only express my hope that peaceful protests will not turn into violence, rather that these protests will have an impact on the

society.» highlighting that he will communicate with the American authorities, regarding reports of the German channel Deutsche Welle crew being shot at by the American police, while covering a protest march in Minneapolis.

This seems to have made matters worse between Washington and Berlin, prompting US President Donald Trump on June 5 to order the Ministry of Defense to withdraw 9,500 American troops from Germany until next September. Reuters reported a senior US official, whose name was not revealed, saying: «The total number of American troops in Germany is currently 34,500, and some of the departing soldiers will be redirected to Poland and countries allied to Washington, while the rest will return to the United States.» This was one day after comments by German Chancellor Angela Merkel criticizing «Trump's controversial approach» in managing the protests in the United States following the killing of George Floyd.

While prominent representatives of the ruling bloc in

Germany, led by Chancellor Angela Merkel, on June 6, denounced the decision of US President Donald Trump to withdraw part of the American soldiers from Germany and keep 25 thousand. Johann Wadephul, the deputy chair of the parliamentary group of Angela Merkel's Christian Democratic Union (CDU), told Reuters: «The plans show that the Trump administration is neglecting an elementary task of leadership, to bind coalition partners into decision-making processes.»

He added: «Everyone profits from the alliance sticking together, only Russia and China profit from discord. Washington should pay more attention to that.» He described the withdrawal as a wake-up call for Europeans to position themselves in a better position concerning security policy. The leader of the parliamentary group of the leftwing party Die Linke told Deutsche Welle that «the decision is not technical; it is purely political.»

German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas said on June 7 that relations with the United States are «complicated,» stating that if the United States goes ahead with plans to withdraw thousands of troops stationed in Germany, Berlin will «be aware of that.» He added that Germany and the United States are «close partners in NATO, but the matter is now complicated.»

Chancellor Merkel



Iran does not see its problems and criticizes Washington

It is as if its record is white as snow, or it is not among the leading countries in the world to carry out executions of their opponents, human rights activists or minority rights advocates; Tehran manages to condemn the killing of an African American by an American police officer, although this crime is not stipulated in U.S. laws and is not approved by its legislators. Contrary to what may be in other countries, those who resort to using well-polished excuses and phrases to justify the killing of their citizens, in the name of protecting national security, as in Iran and Syria, or labeling opponents with terrorism, including deputies and journalists in other countries.

echoing a 2018 statement from U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo addressing the protests in Iran in 2018.

from Khamenei, the security forces opened fire on the unarmed protesters directly, killing at least 1,500 citizens, wounding more than 4,000 and arresting 12,000 people, most of whom are held in the regime's prisons.»

The organization also mentioned the names of about 800 of the victims. It said: "although it has been six months since the November uprising, the government did not provide a statistic and the number of martyrs, wounded, and detainees during that uprising."

Commenting on those "crimes," Maryam Rajavi, a leader of the PMOI, said: "The regime refused to hand over the bodies of the martyrs to their families. With terrible insolence, he demanded the fathers and mothers to pay for the bullets that killed the

sons of Iran. There is no doubt that this dreadful massacre is one of the most heinous crimes in the twenty-first century, and it is a high crime against humanity by all accounts. She added: "Religious fascism must be expelled from the international community.

Opponents executed after long years in prison

In addition to killing the demonstrators, the Iranian authorities do not hesitate to kill the political detainees, despite spending long years in prison, which happened on the eleventh of last April. Arif Bawah Jani, head of the Kurdistan Independence Party, confirmed that the Iranian authorities had executed a Kurdish political detainee. Bawah Jani told Levant News that the executed Kurdish detainee is Mustafa Salimi. He highlighted that he was detained in Saqqaz prison,

he was among 200 prisoners who managed to escape from the prison. On April 10, Iranian intelligence told his family to take a farewell look at their son before the execution. Indeed, he had been executed at the dawn of April 11, at four o'clock in prison Saqqaz. " He added: «Selimi was a political detainee and spent 17 years in Iranian prisons.» Amnesty International reported, on April 9, that about 36 prisoners in Iran were feared to have been killed by security forces after using force to control protests over fears of a Covid-19 outbreak.

Racial discrimination against Arabs in Al-Ahwaz

Besides the execution of opponents after years of detention, and the suppression of prisoners afraid of the Coronavirus, racial discrimination affects Arabs in Al-Ahwaz, which, according to a statement issued by the media office of the Arab Struggle Movement for the Liberation of Ahwaz on April 21, prompted them to confront the Iranian police.

The office stated at the time that "a few Ahwazi citizens work in this company doing hard work, while its general manager, its engineers, accountants and most of its employees are generally Persian settlers, and it was established with Khomeini's rule after the expropriation of thousands of hectares of Ahwazi lands by force and allocating them to the company." From the preceding, it seems clear that regimes such as the Iranian regime, which has wreaked corruption inside and outside Iran, are the last to talk about human rights, extremism, and racial discrimination. All these violations are just the tip of the iceberg, not to mention the destruction and intimidation practiced by the Iranian-backed militias in several Middle Eastern countries. Therefore Iran's condemnation of America's policeman's crime is meaningless.



Washington needle in the eyes of Tehran

the killing of the African American citizen George Floyd in Minneapolis was an opportunity from Tehran's point of view to criticize Washington. Tehran directed a sharp criticism to the United States. Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif tweeted: "Some do not think black lives matter," using the hashtag «Black Lives Matter.» The Iranian minister ignored the lives of hundreds of activists whom his authority executes on an annual basis, from ethnic minorities such as Arabs and Kurds, or human rights activists and even women human rights advocates. Zarif continued: "To those of us who do: it is long overdue for the entire world to wage war against racism. Time for a #WorldAgainstRacism.» «The U.S. government is squandering its citizens' resources,» he tweeted,

Iran the killer of children in demonstrations

But does Tehran have the right to hold the United States accountable for a policeman's crime, after Mahmoud Abbasi, an assistant to the Minister of Justice in Iran, stated that children were killed during the November 2019 demonstrations, as part of a confession that «Etemad Online» reported on April 2, in which he said: «Concerning the injured, no accurate statistics are available yet, but many of those individuals and children were affected during the riots and were victims and lost their lives.» This was part of a report of the opposition PMOI website, which stated that some of the victims were children under 18 years old and that arrangements had to be made to compensate their families somehow. According to the organization's website during the November 2019 protests, «Following order

On World Refugee Day

Various violations of Syrian refugees

June 20 annually marks World Refugee Day, an event approved by the United Nations General Assembly in 2000. The United Nations and UNHCR work to raise awareness of refugee issues, highlight their suffering and needs, and find ways to support and help with the ever-increasing crises and disasters creating asylum.

During the past nine years, the number of Syrian refugees has exceeded six million, distributed among neighboring countries of Syria and the rest of the world, seeking protection. It is considered one of the most important things that are offered to a refugee under international laws and treaties. But despite the explicit texts in international humanitarian law, international customary law, and the 1951 Asylum Convention, which define refugee rights and duties, and determine the form of dealing with refugees, many Syrian refugees are still subject to various types of violations in host countries.

Syrian refugees are killed on the border

Between July 2019 and the end of March 2020, at least 50 instances of gunfire from the Turkish border guards "gendarme" were recorded against Syrians fleeing the shelling of the Syrian regime army and Russian aircraft on the northern Hama countryside and the Idlib countryside, leading to the killing of

a number of them, including children and women.

In early March, the Turkish government announced that it would not prevent the transit of migrants and refugees on its territory from crossing into Europe via the Greek border, which led to the influx of thousands of Syrians and other nationalities of asylum seekers. The Greek authorities closed their border gate near the Turkish state of Edirne, where thousands of refugees gathered.

Not only did the Greek authorities close the border, but they used tear gas and live bullets to disperse the gathered refugees. This led to the killing of a Syrian youth on March 2 near the Greek border gate, beating refugees and stripping them of their clothes and phones and destroying them.

Turkey and Greece in such actions violate their international obligations under the 1951 Asylum Convention, which forbids any country from returning asylum seekers to a state in which they would be in likely danger of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, according to the first paragraph of Article 33 of the agreement. Also, they must receive these refugees, study their asylum applications, and grant protection to those who deserve it.

Arbitrary Detention: One of the

most prominent violations of Syrian Arbitrary detention is defined as the arrest and deprivation of liberty of a person outside of the confines of nationally recognized laws or international standards.

The patterns of this detention in the countries that the Syrians resort to are varying between detention during attempts to cross to seek asylum, and arrests inside these countries with illegal allegations and without being brought before the judiciary.

In the Greek Republic of Cyprus, the Cypriot authorities are still holding many asylum seekers, both Syrians and from other nationalities, in one of the security centers designated for foreigners since the beginning of this year, without giving them the right of asylum, or providing them with facilities to move to a third country to receive them.

These detainees have carried out a hunger strike more than once, due to their prolonged detention in unsanitary conditions, especially as the Corona epidemic has spread during the past months. A judicial decision was issued recently to deny several of them the right to asylum, without providing reasonable reasons.

Thus, Cyprus and Egypt violated the 1951 Refugee Convention, as the two countries are party to this agreement. Cyprus has violated Article 31 of the Agreement "The Contracting States shall not apply

to the movements of such refugees restrictions other than those which are necessary and such restrictions shall only be applied until their status in the country is regularized, or they obtain admission into another country. The Contracting States shall allow such refugees a reasonable period and all the necessary facilities to obtain admission into another country." It violated the Dublin Convention and its subsequent amendments to regulate asylum in European Union countries, which stresses the need to fastly and effectively process asylum claims and inform asylum-seekers of decisions as quickly as possible.

In Lebanon, arbitrary detention was a prominent feature of the Lebanese security services' dealing with Syrian refugees, in particular, the intelligence of the Lebanese army, which is detaining Syrians in violation of Lebanese law that criminalizes arbitrary detention following Article 367 of the Lebanese Penal Code.

In addition to prolonging detention periods for Syrians without being brought to the Lebanese judiciary. The arrests were made on charges such as lack of work permits, or failure to renew residence papers. The arrest often resulted in the forcible transfer of numbers of Syrians to Syria and their handover to the security forces.



One of the refugee camps by the Syrian Turkish Border

The Libyan army to Levant News: We will not hesitate to ask for Egypt's support to repel Turkey

In exclusive statements to Levent News, Brigadier Khaled Al Mahjoub, Director of the Moral Guidance Department of the Libyan National Army, said: «We are ready to repel any attack by Erdogan's militia, and we will not hesitate to ask Egypt for support.» Stressing that Sisi's message means «we are here, and Turkey will not be allowed to go further than that.» He said that «the end of Erdogan is near, we are trying to prosecute him internationally, and we have documented evidence of his crimes against humanity.» «We have legal advisers, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the House of Representatives. These entities have documented and submitted evidence of crimes against humanity.» He stressed that the number of Erdogan's mercenaries reached more than 18 thousand, including 9 thousand terrorists from known extremists.

Brigadier Khaled Al Mahjoub told Levant News: «The Libyan National Army is ready for any escalation the Turkish regime and its armed militias,» stressing that the Libyan forces are ready to repel any attack, and will not hesitate to ask for support from Egypt if needed.

Brigadier Mahjoub emphasized that what Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi said affirms the Arab identity, patriotism, strength, and capacity of Egypt, and its long lasting role a safety valve for Arab national security, stressing that what Sisi announced is clear evidence that what is happening will not be tolerated, and that the upcoming confrontation will not be merely a confrontation with the Libyan forces. Mahjoub highlighted that everyone knows that if Libya fell, Egypt's western borders would be subject to a fierce attack from the Brotherhood and terrorist organizations and would also create chaos in the eastern region.

The director of the Department of Moral Guidance in the Libyan Army told Levant News: «We will not allow Turkey to seize the resources of the Libyan people in light of the collapse of state institutions and the dominance of militias. There is an Egyptian red line, and trying to cross it means eliminating it, and this is a military and diplomatic language at the same time.»

On the red line that President Sisi set for the cities of Sirte and Al-Jafra, Brigadier Mahjoub said to Levant: «Sirte and Jafra are located in the middle of the Libyan coast, and Sirte is the western gate of the Oil Crescent, and therefore it is the front line to enter the region and dominate the ports that include oil pipelines (11 Lines) and gas (3 lines)» Stressing that this Libyan wealth is a strategic goal for Erdogan for which he entered Libya. So (Sirte - Al-Jafra) is a red line, and it is absolutely forbidden to allow Erdogan's militia to approach it.

Brigadier Khaled Al-Mahjoub emphasized that after Egypt hinted at military intervention in Libya, the intensity of Erdogan's discourse declined, and they started thinking

about Egypt's right to protect its national security, and so on. This means that Sisi's speech caused a violent jolt among them. Indicating that «The message reached them, Turkey went too far, and this cannot be tolerated, and they realized this very well, and Egypt is waiting for the appropriate time to take actions, and the discourse will take a practical turn.»

On Turkish interference in Libyan internal affairs and support for Al-Wafaq militias with weapons and extremists, Al-Mahjoub said: «Turkey claims to support Al-Wafaq government, but it has brought in large numbers of mercenaries, far more than what is needed to defend a specific place or region, its real ambitions emerged.» Highlighting that «the Brotherhood wants to control the entire region, for domination purposes mixed with Ottoman Turkish illusions.»

Al-Mahjoub also stressed that «We must understand that the Brotherhood seeks to control the region and they are an organization that excels in producing terrorist organizations, and they, along with Erdogan, brought terrorist organizations to

the region, to Syria and Libya, and they were the ones who contributed to their transfer to Egypt at the time of the Brotherhood's rule. Thus, if this organization takes control of the region, there will be an export of terrorist organizations to the world, and the world will drown in chaos until they achieve their malicious project, so the Brotherhood and Erdogan must be rein in the region.» Stressing that Erdogan's mercenary numbers reached more than 18 thousand, they were brought to Syria and then Libya, and they have several nationalities. We published confessions of a group of them during the past days.

Regarding Turkey's persistence in interfering in Libya, Brigadier-General Khaled Al-Mahjoub told Levant News: «Turkey has bared its teeth because it feels that it has not achieved a political, economic, or military victory. And it did not reach the area where it can implement the border agreement it concluded with Al-Wafaq, and it is not in western Libya.» Adding that «Erdogan did not reach the oil-rich region controlled by our armed forces.» He spoke of «changing the military strategy based on blatant Turkish interference because they counted on the elimination of our forces in Tripoli, but we intelligently did not announce it at the time. The strategy was modified, and the reality of Turkish intentions was revealed.» The Director of Moral Guidance Department of the Libyan National Army confirmed that the Libyan forces are highly prepared. We have a destructive military force, unlike before, where it was challenging to use massive force in Tripoli. He added: «Now we have included the Ranger forces. The battle is a battle of a homeland and the preservation of its capabilities and wealth, not just the elimination of militias.»



Brigadier Khaled Al Mahjoub

Brigadier Fahad Al-Shalimi: The Cairo Declaration is the closest initiative to solving the Libyan crisis

Amid serious turmoil in the Middle East in recent times, especially in light of the Turkish-Qatari complicity in promoting extremist ideologies, Levant News interviewed Kuwaiti political analyst, Brigadier Fahad Al-Shalimi, head of the Gulf Peace and Security forum, to hear his views on the latest political developments in the region.

■ What is your reading of the unprecedented intensification of Turkish military intervention in Libya?

The Turks have economic interests and consider Libya their gateway to North Africa, the presence of the Turks in Libya is a threat to Egyptian national security. Also, among the economic interests, is the eastern Mediterranean gas. The Turks want to export gas to Europe to occupy a more prominent position than Russia in the future and to be able to export to European countries such as France and Spain.

The ideological goal is to support the Al-Wafaq Brotherhood government to weaken Egypt's security and stability. Also, it is a gateway to neighboring Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. Thus, Erdogan believes that his success in Libya with the presence of elements in Morocco and Tunisia and Algeria will give him political influence in the Arab region.

■ How do you evaluate the popular and political standing of the Turkish regime today?

Erdogan suffers from a crisis in popularity and problems in the economy following the Corona crisis. He wants to prepare for the upcoming elections with his Party's victory and his own victory, in light of the fragmentation of the Justice and Development Party by two opposition figures, Ahmed

Davutoglu, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ali Babacan, the Turkish economics engineer.

Thus, to maintain popularity, balance, and economic growth, Erdogan must achieve international and financial gains. This can be achieved by two things: Turkish companies drilling for oil in Libya, and taking advantage of gas in the eastern Mediterranean. If he can succeed in both goals, he can direct these funds to the Turkish interior and talk about successes by which he avoids the economic crisis.

■ Are you in favour of a calculated escalation towards the Turkish plans, or do you see the need for military intervention, especially with Turkish intervention in Libya?

As for Libya, the Egyptians have the right to defend their security because Libya is one of the countries neighboring Egypt. Therefore, the presence of hostile elements close to the Egyptian lands is a danger to Egypt and the region.

Egyptian intervention should be more significant, but this intervention should be supported by an Arab resolution. Also, the response can take many forms. It is not necessary to have Egyptian forces on the ground, but there must be administrative and logistical support for the Libyan National Army forces by military aircraft and intelligence. Also, by preparing the Libyan National Army to cut off marine supplies through Turkish convoys in the Mediterranean.

This needs more capabilities than the Libyans have, but the Egyptians can help. Also, they can use air defense missiles to enable the Libyans to move more freely.

There must be Egyptian-Arab support and an Egyptian

diplomatic move by holding a conference for African countries. Turkey is not an African country, and Egypt's presence in the African Union is essential for Egypt to obtain political support.

■ What is your comment on the Cairo Declaration announced by the Egyptian and Libyan sides two days ago? It calls for the formation of a Libyan presidential council that guarantees the representation of the three Libyan regions and the dismantling of extremist groups

In my opinion, the Egyptian initiative is the closest to the solution, internationally, and on the Arab level. It is acceptable, and this is evident from the enthusiasm of the international community. It is a logical initiative that stems from Libya's interest and stability, and it has full support from the Arab League countries and the major countries in the world.

This initiative and this Egyptian effort are not strange because Egypt has experience in mediating and de-escalating conflicts.

Egypt has succeeded in

containing differences in the past, especially internal disputes in countries.

Another dimension is the removal of foreign parties that bring in mercenaries because they may conduct other operations in the neighboring countries of Egypt, hence the importance of including the withdrawal of foreign fighters in the solution, as stated in the initiative. An essential thing about the Cairo Declaration is its wide acceptance, and the contacts made at the highest levels to end the Libyan crisis.

As for the rejection of the Al-Wafaq government, it is not a government that can make decisions. It is subject to the Turkish side, which is maneuvering to evade this agreement to fulfill its ambitions in Libya. In fact, it is unfortunate, but let's see what the days have in store for the Justice and Development Party, which the Turkish people currently reject and are preparing to remove in the upcoming elections.



Fahad Al-Shalimi

What are the determinants of NATO's existence in Iraq?



Diyari Salih

Since 2003, NATO has been trying to consolidate its ties with the Iraqi state. While Iraq was addressing the threat of Da'ish in 2014, NATO offered its readiness to give help in case the Iraqi side formally asked for it. As a part of a mutual program between them, NATO had sent in 2011 a delegation to train and rehabilitate the Iraqi forces. In 2017, NATO asserted its strategic alliance with Iraq in the fight against Da'ish, the organization endangering the international community. NATO's existence in Iraq

NATO promises that its presence in Iraq will mean that there is a strong Iraqi army. It alleges that this will make Iraq more secure and the Middle East more stable. Therefore, it's advisors have begun their works with the Iraqi authorities to reform the Iraqi military and security institutions.

NATO's surge in Iraq

a couple of months ago, the US president, Donald Trump, demanded NATO to reinforce its troops in Iraq. He wanted to minimize the burden on the American side in this context. Here, it is worth noting that NATO's delegation in Iraq includes 500 members and has started its work since 2018.

There is still a lack of clarity in Iraq's vision towards NATO. Iraqis are divided as some of them want this organization to stay. This coincides with the reappear of Da'ish.

Some media sources have stated that moderate Shiite politicians might be less aggressive towards NATO. They affirm that it did not give orders to assassinate Qasim Sulaimani and Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis near Baghdad airport. They also state that the US is not the only party in this organization. In return, many



NATO soldiers march

other NATO members – Germany, France, and the UK- might be more welcomed in Iraq. Hence, NATO might be permitted to stay without any direct American participation. As it seems, this will be one of the Iraqi conditions to deal with NATO. For cooperation with NATO, stipulations have been established by some Iraqi parties. They have announced that it must not have any forces on the ground, nor must it use Iraq's airspace. Moreover, they have insisted on the protection of Iraqi sovereignty. By this, they would prevent regional powers – Iran, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia- from breaching this principle. These politicians are planning for restoring Iraq's role in international affairs. Thus, NATO's future in Iraq will be one of the files to be discussed in the next Iraqi-American dialogue scheduled for the coming weeks. Iran also has its word in this scene. In 2018, when NATO demonstrated its desire to establish a permanent military base in Iraq, it rejected that agenda and repeated it would not let NATO have a formal presence near its border. Iran believes that NATO is plotting to target its geopolitical influence in this region. Thus, its leaders have reiterated that they will never tolerate this event. NATO's existence in Iraq

PMFs and NATO

The relations between popular mobilization forces (PMF) and NATO are not stable. Many Shiite factions have declared their refusal for the presence of foreign troops, including NATO. They exposed that if any external power does not respect this request, it would be dealt with as an enemy violating Iraqi sovereignty. Therefore, they have many times threatened to target any foreign power if it does not leave the country.

Many signs prove that we might see an escalation in the discourse of the PMFs against NATO. They consider the presence of NATO in Iraq as an umbrella for the American troops. They also think that if NATO remains operating on the Iraqi land, this will be a reflection of the American aspirations. Consequently, they refuse the notion stating NATO's presence is welcomed in this country. Nowadays, many important leaders in the PMFs are hinting that NATO considers them a military force acting outside the authority of the Iraqi state. They suppose it is a clear message consistent with the American attempts to demonize the Shiite fighters. Hence, it is expected that they will mobilize their followers

to classify NATO as a hostile force that has no right to stay on the Iraqi soil. This will hinder their mutual relations and put Baghdad in an embarrassing situation.

The PMFs claim that NATO has started to interfere in Iraqi political affairs. Some months ago, NATO criticized the ways on which PMFs relied to deal with protest movement engulfing the country, describing those means an absolute tragedy. Thus, NATO called the government to restrain those atrocities, stressing it had no relations with those groups. In return, NATO demanded Baghdad to give more tasks to the Iraqi military institution to curb that violence. Shiite leaders said that NATO was preparing a conspiracy to topple their strategic place in the Iraqi scene.

In conclusion, all these variables will affect the relations between Iraq and NATO. Forces opposing NATO's role in Iraq will remain effective. Furthermore, geopolitics will also overshadow this subject and might make it more difficult. This means that this relation will be organized under special conditions agreeing with the ambitions of these players. Otherwise, NATO will not be able to stay safe in Iraq. NATO's existence in Iraq



(LNA) special forces gather in the city of Benghazi

Erdogan's Dilemma in Libya



Dalia Ziada

You are being deluded, if the recent developments in Libya made you think that Erdogan and his Muslim brothers at the Government of National Accord (GNA) are winning the civil war against the Libyan National Army (LNA). Look again, Erdogan is in real trouble in Libya and he does not know how to get out of the hole he dug for himself, without further hurting the economic interests and foreign affairs of Turkey. Last year, Erdogan decided to move his proxy war from Syria to Libya. He flew more than 15000 of his mercenaries from Syria to Libya via Turkish airlines, and then deployed 1600 Turkish military officers from Syria to Libya, under the claim of protecting and supporting the Islamic political agenda of his brothers at the GNA. But, that is not the real reason for Erdogan's involvement in Libya. The ongoing civil war, disagreements between tribes, and the safe

presence of terrorist organizations in Libya encouraged Erdogan, the Turkish president with the chief-thief mentality, to take advantage of the situation to satisfy Turkey's constant hunger for Mediterranean gas and energy resources. Turkey is the biggest energy consumer in the Mediterranean basin, with annual energy bill that exceeds 41 billion dollars.

The Turkish strategy "Mavi Vatan" or "Blue Homeland," launched 14 years ago, encompasses an ambitious plan for Turkey to win a geopolitical supremacy over the eastern Mediterranean, and, thus, sharing oil and gas drilling rights with east Mediterranean countries; including Egypt, Greece, and Israel. Other indirect stakeholders of interest in the oil and gas production at this region include the European Union and Russia. In December 2019, Turkey and the GNA signed a first-of-kind Maritime Boundary Treaty to establish an Exclusive economic zone in the Mediterranean that allows both Turkey and Libya to claim rights to ocean bed resources. The agreement also allows Turkey

to control vessel movement and the gas pipes in the area. The legitimacy of the agreement has been disputed by affected countries in the eastern basin, Europe, Russia, and the United Nations. The illegal game Erdogan has been trying to play in Libya is now firing back at him. The international community which tolerated Erdogan's war crimes in Syria over the past six years, cannot turn a blind eye to his harassment of east Mediterranean countries. Turkey's support of the political Islamist agenda of the GNA and implanting mercenaries in Libya poses a serious national security threat, not only to North African countries like Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia, but also to Israel, France, Italy, and Greece. The Turkish assault on Syria has been tolerated by super powers, like the United States and Russia, because it served their respective foreign policies in the Middle East. Erdogan is the US and Russia ally closest to Syrian borders, and Erdogan's party has strong economic and political relations, though illegitimate, with Islamic State terrorists (ISIS) northeastern

Syria. However, the Turkish involvement in Libya is another story. Erdogan's support to GNA is already acting as a threat to the interests of North African countries, South European countries, as well as Russia and the United States.

On June 6th, the Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El Sisi, LNA Commander General Khalifa Hifter, and Speaker of Libyan parliament Aqila Saleh, released the Cairo Declaration, as an initiative to end the civil war and finding a political solution to reconstruct the Libyan national state. The surprising international support to the Cairo Declaration proves that Libya cannot be the new Syria for Erdogan. He is now fighting alone against the whole world for a territory that he has no right to claim, with foreign mercenaries and a depleting Turkish economy.

In all this, Erdogan fails to understand that he is the real obstacle in the way of Turkey's prosperity and his removal from power is the actual solution for all Turkey's economic, political, and international troubles.

Bolton's book on Trump

The final official nail in the coffin



Zara Saleh

John Bolton the former American National Security Advisor has written the book "The Room Where It Happened" about the Donald Trump administration. The book has attracted attention around the world more than expected even before it has been released to go on sale. However, Trump has called John Bolton "incompetent" and a "boring old fool" and he attempted to stop the book's release. The importance of this book comes not only from Bolton's critics on Trump's ignorant of basic geographical and political knowledge and facts. But because the book is disclosing Trump's main decisions based on his personal desire to be re-elected. That could have a significant impact on the upcoming US election at the end of this year. Furthermore, the book seems to be the latest and final nail in the coffin of Trump's presidential election.

In his book that should go for sale today, Bolton tries to show Trump's inexperience on basic knowledge which is unexpected for such US president. For instance, in his meeting with Russian President Putin in Helsinki, Trump did not know if Finland a separate state or part of Russia. Also, in his meeting with the UK prime minister 2018, Trump said to Theresa May "oh, are you a nuclear power", despite the UK is a member of nuclear-armed states since 1952.

The most stunningly in Bolton's book about President Trump is how he tried to use his authorities and relationship with the other states in favour of his personal interests. Added to that, he even had to overwhelm the American principles,

democracy, and national interests in some occasions. For example, President Trump has agreed with the Chinese president Xi treatment of the Uighurs minority by building a camp for them despite the world's condemn in this case. That had happened in Trump's meeting with President of China according to Bolton, and asked his counterpart for support to be re-elected "stunningly, turned the conversation to the coming US presidential election, alluding to China's economic capability and pleading with Xi to ensure he'd win,".

According to the former National Security Advisor John Bolton's book, since 2017 when Trump's administration began. The US policy towards the Middle East

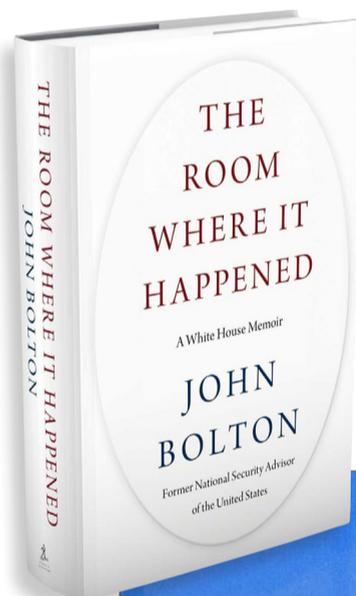
has been a change in different and even shocking way comparing to the decades of history of American involvement in the Middle East. He also had mentioned in his book several examples of how President Donald Trump had supported the dictatorship regime in China and Turkey, and "give personal favours to dictators he liked,".

The book portrays Trump's offer to support the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in 2018 when the American administration was running an investigation on Iranian economic sanctions that have been broken by Turkish companies close to the Erdogan. However, the most embarrassing incident during the Trump administration had happened after Turkish presidential security attacked American demonstrators and police in front of the White House during Recep Tayyip Erdogan's visit. In this crucial case for the US sovereignty and principles, Trump again was looking for making another deal with his Turkish counterpart.

Simultaneously, the US pastor was detained in Turkey at the time of the incident and Ankara offered a deal to release the pastor and "give US Syria policy to Turkey".

Bolton describes the US dealing with main reliable ally such a Kurds and Syrian Democratic Forces was in favour of Turkey's national interests. That was more obvious when the pro-Turkish ambassador James Jeffrey became anti-ISIS envoy and holdover Brett McGurk in 2018. At that period, Turkey's officials were ordering the American president what to do in Syria and their policy towards the Kurds. As a result, the US president agreed to Turkey's invasion in Northeast Syria. The Turkish-backed jihadist group had attacked Kurds in Syria in October 2019.

To sum up, Bolton's book could have a crucial impact on American policy not only in the Middle East but also it can affect the ongoing President Trump's election campaign as he desires to win the second time.



President Trump (Left) and John Bolton the former National Security advisor

Iran on the back-burner for the U.S.?



Olivier Guitta

In 2016, United States presidential candidate Donald Trump put Iran at the top of his foreign policy agenda. When elected not only did he go after the Islamic Republic hard but also fulfilled his promise to cancel the worst deal the U.S. made, the 2015 nuclear agreement with Iran. Washington also implemented crippling sanctions on Tehran and acted militarily by killing in January 2020 the de facto Number 2 of the regime, the terror master Qassem Soleimani. Since then, in a re-election year and the Covid-19 pandemic originated in China, Iran seems to have taken a backseat on Trump's agenda.

While pundits were talking about an imminent war between Iran and the U.S. over the killing of Soleimani, both countries were actually, for different reasons, de-escalating tensions. No other place in the world is this more obvious than Iraq. Iran and the U.S. have agreed on Iraq's latest nominee for Prime Minister, the well-respected intelligence chief Mustafa al-Kadhimi. Khadimi has accepted not to intervene in the affairs of Iran's proxies in the country in return for the support of Shia Muslim political blocs. What is very concerning is that the fate of the new PM was decided in Beirut by the head of

the terrorist Shia group Hezbollah, Hassan Nasrallah. He had the last word and finally gave his approval for the government to be formed. How did Washington go along with this charade? It seems that the deal over the nomination of al-Kadhimi was quite one-sided but the Trump administration needed it. It has been reported that the US agreed to de-escalate militarily in the Gulf and to "look the other way" if a third-party country in Europe released some of the Iranian money frozen when sanctions were applied. The logical country where Iranian assets would be unfrozen, is Luxembourg that has blocked an American request to transfer \$1.6B in Iranian assets, held by Clearstream, to victims of the 9/11 attacks in a case dating back to 2012.

In March 2020, 17 years later after its withdrawal from Saudi Arabia, American armed forces returned to the kingdom to deter Iranian attacks, in particular after the successful attack on Aramco oil facilities in September 2019. About 2,500 American soldiers along with launching F-15s and manning Patriot missile batteries arrived at a base near Riyadh. Then just two weeks ago, the U.S. decided to remove the Patriot antimissile systems from Saudi Arabia.

Washington is also beginning to leave the Middle East, from trimming the 90,000 troops present in the region to reductions to other

military capabilities. This is marking the end, for now, of a large-scale military build-up to counter Iran. Indeed the Pentagon considers that Iran isn't posing as large a threat as it was once feared. Pentagon planners believe that limited U.S. military resources, including warships and Patriot missile systems, should be devoted to other priorities, including efforts to counter expanding China's military influence in Asia. In other words, China has replaced Iran as the Number 1 enemy of America, especially since the emergence of the Coronavirus pandemic.

Some of the thinking behind the rationale of downgrading the threat of Iran is linked to the huge void left by the death of Iran's real gifted military strategist and terrorist-in chief Qassem Soleimani. Indeed, since January all the regional projects that the Iranian Revolutionary Guards (IRGC) were running, have been stopped. Additionally, Soleimani's successor, General Esmail Ghaani, is not up to the task of running the Al Quds Brigade of the IRGC. On top of this he doesn't speak Arabic and doesn't have any history in the region.

While it is true that the U.S. military pressure on Iran has gone down a notch, the sanctions strategy is still going strong. For proof, the U.S. Treasury sanctioned on May 20 Iran's Interior Minister Fazli for human rights abuses, along

with another dozen individuals. Furthermore, the U.S. publicly threatened to trigger a return of all United Nations sanctions on Iran if the UN Security Council does not extend an arms embargo on Tehran that is due to expire in October under the Iran nuclear deal.

Iranian President Hassan Rohani has said multiple times that Iran will respond yet again to the Soleimani's assassination. These threats should not be taken lightly at all: Tehran has shown in the past how the regime is skilled at planning and carrying out terror attacks around the world, via its best proxy Hezbollah.

Historically, Iran takes its time to retaliate: it needs to plan accordingly and a year timeline is not unusual. In this case, Iran will likely wait at least for the US elections in November to strike at the US, whether at home or abroad.

Washington is far from naïve about the Iranian regime's real stripes: during his recent trip to Jerusalem U.S. Secretary of State Pompeo said: "Even during this pandemic, the Iranians are using the ayatollah regime's resources to foment terror across the world,". While it is true that Iran has a lot on his plate right now, the military de-escalation is a godsend for Tehran and the U.S. would be wise not to let its guard down too much, despite President Trump's eagerness to ink a more advantageous new nuclear deal with Iran.



James Denselow

Hail Caesar?

“The North Wind and the Sun” is one of Aesop’s Fables that teaches about the superiority of persuasion over force. In it the sun and the wind argue as to who can force a traveller to remove his cloak, for all the wind blowing the traveller holds on tight, whereas the burning heat from the sun persuades him to take it off.

In Syria almost ten years of fighting has failed to remove President Assad from power, but since June 17 the most wide-ranging U.S. sanctions ever applied against Syria have gone into effect. Could sanctions succeed where force has failed?

“The Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act”, passed into law as part of the most recent National Defense Authorization Act. Fittingly it is named after a defector who took 53,275 photographs of the bodies of detainees from two military hospitals and smuggled them out of the country. In response to the torrent of images of mutilated corpses, the head of the UN Commission of Inquiry on Syria, Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, stated, “the mass scale of

deaths of detainees suggests that the Government of Syria is responsible for acts that amount to extermination as a crime against humanity.”

If the arc of justice bends long, then a critical question is what kind of impact will the Caesar Sanctions have? In expanding sanctions to include third parties, the Caesar Act explicitly tries to raise the costs of economic engagement with the Assad regime. Already the Coronavirus crisis has caused seismic economic waves to hit war ravaged Syria. The Syrian currency has effectively collapsed, with areas outside of the Regime’s control in the north starting to use the Turkish Lira. It’s worth remembering that when Bashar al-Assad inherited the presidency from his father two decades ago, Syria was a middle-income country. Now over 80% of its people are poor.

The US special envoy for Syria, James Jeffrey claimed that the crumbling Syrian currency was partly due to US actions; “the Syrian pound’s collapse proves that Russia and Iran are no longer able to float the Assad regime while the regime itself is no longer able to manage an

effective economic policy, or launder money in Lebanese banks”.

A fragile country already trying to cope with a poverty crisis now faces a clampdown to those third parties that were providing such essential support in propping up the Regime. Of course the nominal purpose of the sanctions is not to change the Regime itself but rather affect its behaviour, outlining specifically aims to erode the Regime’s capacity to wage war, and to ‘create meaningful economic incentives to induce the Assad regime to free political detainees, end violence against civilians, and demonstrate “irreversible progress” toward the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 2254’. Understandably many are nervous as to what kind of impact these new restrictions will have on the average Syrian citizen. People remember the devastating impact of the sanctions that isolated Iraq throughout the 1990s leading to estimates of hundreds of thousands of child deaths. The danger is that Caesar will be further punishment rather and a solution to Syria’s woes.

Defenders of the sanctions argue that

lessons have been learnt from the past and that this new approach is targeted and contains provisos to “enhance the protection of civilians.” One way of doing this is to explicitly avoid penalizing humanitarian assistance, including medical and food supplies intended for civilian use. However, the Regime itself has proved itself willing to politicise this supposedly neutral assistance and few can doubt the lengths they are willing to go to in order to preserve their rule.

If the sanctions can avoid harming normal Syrians whilst deterring third party allies from investing the Regime’s war machine then it seems hard to argue with them, but it is a big “if” that could rapidly spiral into further hardships for Syrians. Interestingly the Caesar sanctions highlight how far we’ve come from that narrative of the Regime being secure and now looking to reap the benefits of reconstruction. Instead their vulnerability and reliance on external support, that could now be choked, has been exposed something that may have been on the minds of the protestors that took to the streets in the city of Suweida. The coming months will reveal the true cost of the sanctions to the Syria elite, its people and its allies all against the backdrop of an impending Coronavirus outbreak.



"Ceaser" testifying about the war in Syria during a Senate Foreign Relations committee hearing on Capitol Hill

Britain's falling statues

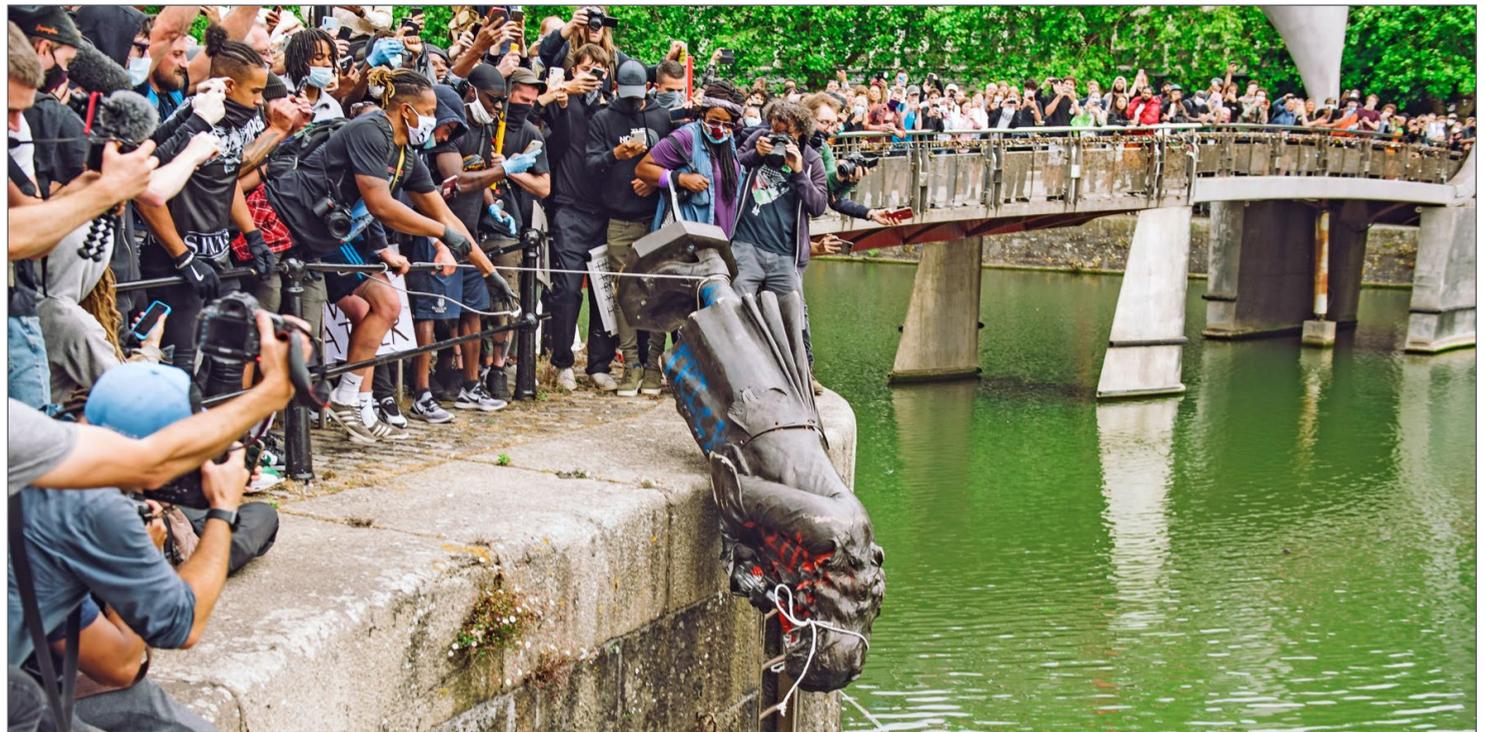


Ian Black

It is too early to say what – if any – will be the long-term consequences of the brutal killing of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis in the US. But the shock waves have been felt worldwide, including in Britain, where the event has sparked widespread protests and an unprecedented debate about slavery in the past and racism in the present

On June 7, in Bristol, angry crowds gathered – largely peacefully – to topple the statue of Edward Colston, a wealthy 17th-century slave trader who endowed many local institutions. Demonstrators dragged his bronze memorial into the river Avon, echoing the fate of black slaves who died and were thrown overboard from overcrowded ships. This attention-grabbing act provoked a heated debate – not only about the importance of statues commemorating famous people but also the teaching of history. Critics have complained for years that the UK school curriculum airbrushes out darker chapters – including the legacy of the British empire, on which, famously, “the sun never set.” The British-Nigerian historian David Olusoga compared the action to the toppling of the statue of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad in 2003. But the home secretary, Priti Patel, urged police to respond forcefully to an “utterly disgraceful” act of public disorder.

In the modern way, much of this found its way onto social media, with the hashtag #britishhistorymatters trending alongside #blacklivesmatter. Other statues were targeted by demonstrators. In Parliament Square in London, one of Winston Churchill, Britain's wartime prime minister, was daubed with slogans denouncing him as racist. On Whitehall, the Cenotaph – Britain's national war memorial – was also defaced. Other controversial statues have also been removed or threatened by



Protesters Pushing the statue of the slave trader Edward Colston into the River Avon

protestors. In Poole on England's south coast, the local council announced plans to remove a statue of Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout movement founder, over concerns anti-racism activists would target it. The plans were thwarted, however, when dozens of local people, some in Scout uniforms, surrounded the statue. Baden-Powell, who died in 1941, has been accused of homophobia and support for Hitler. He is among those added to a growing “hit list” of nearly 80 statues across the country. Prime Minister Boris Johnson responded: “To tear these statues down would be to lie about our history.”

Over 10,000 people also signed petitions demanding the removal of a statue of the 18th-century colonialist Robert Clive, known as Clive of India, in Shrewsbury. Clive has long been accused of “white supremacy” and benefiting from “blood money” due to his role in the British domination of India and much of south-east Asia.

Another old controversy has also been re-ignited. That concerns the Victorian-era imperialist Cecil Rhodes, whose statue in Oriel College Oxford has been the target of anti-racism groups. Rhodes – who Rhodesia was named after before it was changed to Zimbabwe after

independence- supported apartheid-style measures in southern Africa. Campaigners also called for the university curriculum to be changed to reflect diversity of thought beyond the western canon.

Not only Britain has been affected by outrage over the Floyd killing. In the Belgian city of Antwerp demonstrators toppled the statue of King Leopold II, whose brutal rule of Congo from 1885 to 1908 caused an estimated 10 million deaths through murder, starvation and disease. Images of Leopold are present in Belgium's squares, parks and university buildings. Joseph Conrad wrote his famous novel Heart of Darkness after visiting the colony. Apologists say Leopold never set foot in Congo – provoking sarcastic responses that Osama bin Laden was not present with the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks on America.

In Germany the horrors of the Nazi era have been dealt with impressively but it has still not managed to come to terms with its earlier colonial history- especially in what was then called southwest Africa – today's Namibia. German settlers carried out the first genocide in the early years of the 20th century and there are still street names and monuments honoring the generals who carried that out.

The main focus since Floyd's death has understandably been on black people and racist attitudes to them, but other ethnic or religious groups are also uncomfortable with statues and memorials in adoration of their own persecutors. England's King Richard the Lionheart abused Jews and slaughtered Muslims during the crusades; Edward II expelled the Jews from England in 1290 and King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella were responsible for the Spanish Inquisition.

Boris Johnson has been criticized for over-focusing on protecting Churchill's statue and generally being condescending about the “victimization” felt by black people. But far bigger issues loom. “Statues are a symptom of the problem, not the problem itself,” as David Olusoga wrote. “The real conversation has to be about racism and how we confront it.” Another answer is that statues that were erected in the past to commemorate controversial historical figures need to be removed from public spaces and contextualised in the safe and educational space of museums. It is all a vivid and painful reminder of the old saying by the American writer William Faulkner:

“The past is never dead. It's not even past.”

Assad, the Caesar Act and suffering of Syrian civilians



Ali Reza

Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act (Caesar Act) is named in honor of a brave Syrian military war photographer who defected the Assad regime and smuggled thousands of images of the regime's victims in 2013. The new Caesar Act sanctions against the government of Bashar Al Assad came into effect on Wednesday, June 17, 2020. U.S. Treasury and State Department designations are part of a whole-of-government campaign by the United States aimed at deterring the Assad regime from continuing its attacks against the Syrian people. Human Rights Watch announced, it is confident that the total 53,275 images smuggled out by Caesar, documents the death of 6,786 people while in detention in Assad's prisons. As the new sanctions came into

effect, Assad's Embassies and lobbies across the world organized rallies and campaigns against the Caesar Act, blaming the United States and the pending sanctions for the suffering of the civilians in Syria. This is while the sanctions do not include humanitarian support and medicine. Not surprisingly, Assad tried the same techniques as Iran's Foreign Minister, blaming the the collapse of the economy and corruption on U.S. sanctions, while they continue the gross violation of human rights. In response to Assad's claims and in support of the Caesar Act, Syrian activists posted images of the victims photographed by Caesar on social media and shared the stories of some of the victims or family members searching for their loved ones. The images Caesar smuggled out reflect only a portion of the crimes under the Syrian regime in the beginning of the revolution. Many more have been detained after he fled the country; their whereabouts is not known.

There is no doubt that Caesar Act is a step in the right direction. Many believe that it should have been implemented much earlier or simply more should be done. These sanctions, however, will make it much harder for Iran and Russia to send weapons and aid to Syria; and it will prevent the Lebanese war brokers and traders affiliated to Hezbollah from providing a back channel to the Syrian regime. It would also make it extremely hard for Russian businesses to risk their international reputation for a share of a corrupt and damaged Syrian economy. The current situation in Syria is the direct result of Assad putting large civilian populations under siege, bombing and forcible displacement. On top of that, the Assad regime has to co-opt humanitarian and reconstruction funding for his own interests, forcing all humanitarian support to go to government-controlled NOGs operating in cooperation with his security services. In September 2016, more



than 70 independent NGOs decided to suspend their cooperation with UN agencies and Syrian Arab Red Crescent (SARC) in Damascus due to Assad's influence and interference on their work. The recent videos published by Rami Makhloof, Bashar Al Assad's cousin and most powerful and wealthiest man in Syria, also portrays the corrupt economic system within Assad's regime. Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act comes in response to 9 years of human rights violations and crimes against humanity by the Syrian regime and its allies. Bashar Al Assad, Iran and Russia are the ones to blame for all the suffering of the Syrian people during all these years.

The Levant
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