

**Maciej Huczko\***

ORCID: 0009-0003-2744-7136

*Warsaw School of Economics*

## Israel–Hamás Conflict and the 2024 US Presidential Election

### Konflikt Izrael–Hamás i wybory prezydenckie w USA w 2024 roku

**Keywords:** Arab Americans, Joe Biden, Gaza crises, Kamala Harris, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, presidential election, Donald Trump

**Słowa kluczowe:** Amerykanie arabskiego pochodzenia, Joe Biden, Kamala Harris, konflikt izraelsko-palestyński, kryzys w Gazie, Donald Trump, wybory prezydenckie

#### Abstract

The 2024 Presidential Election in the United States have a global dimension since America was choosing between Joe Biden/Kamala Harris and Donald Trump who each have a different vision of the world order. The polls were showing that the race to the White House would be very close and neither of them held a comfortable advantage. Both Biden and Trump have a firm and loyal support of certain voters, constituencies and states. But one minority was declaring turnabout of their political choices from the 2020 elections. In the light of the turbulence in the Middle East, the 2023 Hamas attack on Israel, Israel's retaliation, and the humanitarian crises in Gaza, this minority is Arab Americans living in the United States. This minority, being disappointed with Biden and critical of his policy towards Israel, and the inadequate efforts to protect civilians in Gaza are making a political stance. These Arab Americans have started different grassroots initiatives in the Democratic primaries to withdraw

---

\* Maciej Huczko, dr; adiunkt w Centrum Nauki Języków Obcych, Szkoła Główna Handlowa w Warszawie; e-mail: mhuczko@sgh.waw.pl.

their support for Biden/Harris, resulting in losing in the swing states and as a result the race to the White House in the November 2024 elections. Biden and Harris, while being verbally supportive of the Palestinians and critical of Israel's methods of conducting the war, are bound by formal ties to Israel, also the pro-Israeli lobby, is not altering aid to Israel nor putting effective pressure on Israel concerning the intervention in Gaza. The analysis to the date shows that the voting power of Arab Americans might be of decisive importance (now and in the future) in the swing states, especially when the pro-Palestinian movements are gaining momentum. President Biden did not put sufficient leverage on Israel's PM Netanyahu to ease Israel's military activity in Gaza and neither did Kamala Harris and such actions are dissipating for discussed minority, what was reflected in their voting behaviors.

Therefore, with rising voting awareness of Arab Americans, the continuous lack of US evenhandedness towards the actors of the Middle East conflict may result in this minority having an influence on the final election results.

### Streszczenie

Wybory prezydenckie w Stanach Zjednoczonych z jesieni 2024 r. mają wymiar globalny, gdyż dwóch głównych kandydatów – Joe Biden/Kamala Harris oraz Donald Trump, w szeregu obszarów, ma odmienne wizje ładu międzynarodowego. Według sondaży wyścig do Białego Domu miał być zacięty i żaden z kandydatów nie mógł cieszyć się komfortową przewagą nad kontrkandydatem. Zarówno Biden/Harris, jak i Trump nadal mogą liczyć na poparcie swojego żelaznego elektoratu, okręgów wyborczych czy stanów. Natomiast jedna mniejszość, na chwilę obecną, deklaruje chęć dokonania zmiany swoich preferencji politycznych, a bardziej kandydatów na prezydenta. W obliczu kolejnych turbulencji w regionie Bliskiego Wschodu, ataku Hamasu na Izrael w 2023 r., tą mniejszością jest diaspora Amerykanów pochodzenia arabskiego. Ta mniejszość, będąc rozczarowana dotychczasową bliskowschodnią polityką Bidena, jest krytyczna wobec obecnej polityki USA wobec Izraela i niewystarczających wysiłków na rzecz chronienia ludności cywilnej w Gazie, zajmuje znaczące polityczne stanowisko. Amerykanie arabskiego pochodzenia w odpowiedzi na powyższe zarzuty wobec władzy i prezydenta rozpoczęli szereg oddolnych inicjatyw w prawyborach partii demokratycznej, mających na celu wycofania dotychczasowego poparcia dla Bidena/Harris i osłabienie jego kandydatury szczególnie w niezdecydowanych stanach (*swing states*), co jest składową przegranej demokratów w wyścigu do Białego Domu. Jak wynika z analizy dokumentów, Biden deklaruje poparcie dla sprawy palestyńskiej oraz jest krytyczny wobec metod prowadzenia wojny przez Izrael w Gazie, jednakże jest ograniczony formalnymi powiązaniem Stanów Zjednoczonych z Izraelem oraz nieformalną siłą lobby proizraelską. Te czynniki powodują, że ma ograniczoną możliwość wywarcia znaczącej presji na Izrael. Analiza danych wykazuje, że siła głosów wyborczych Amerykanów pochodzenia arabskiego w niezdecydowanych

stanach miała istotną wagę w wyborach prezydenckich 2024 i będą miały w przyszłości, w szczególności, że te oddolne ruchy nabierają ogólnokrajowego zasięgu. Wobec formalnych i nieformalnych ograniczeń Biden oraz Harris nie zdecydują się na wywarcie znacznej presji na rząd Netanjahu, aby ten zweryfikował swoje działania w Gazie i zaryzykuje utratę poparcia omawianej mniejszości.

Stąd, wraz ze wzrastającą wyborczą świadomością Amerykanów pochodzenia arabskiego oraz brakiem bezstronności Waszyngtonu wobec głównych aktorów konfliktu bliskowschodniego, waga głosów tej diaspory może mieć wpływ na końcowy wynik wyborów.

Every four years, the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, is a day of great importance globally. On this day, Election Day, Americans go to the ballots and choose the head of state and the head of government of the United States of America—that is the president. Despite the fact that this is an American election, the results have an international dimension, are followed all over the globe and are commented upon in every serious media outlet on every continent. What is happening in Washington D.C. and the White House, the decisions taken, has a direct or indirect effect on majority of nations globally. The US presidential elections, despite being national, have international relevance. Similarly, one would expect that international events and foreign affairs would be equally important in determining the election results. Yet historically, domestic issues have tended to prevail over international ones.

“It’s the economy, stupid”, a phrase coined by James Cavill (a strategist working for Bill Clinton) became a key message in Bill Clinton’s victorious 1992 presidential race. The phrase has also become a stereotypical staple value when describing factors influencing American voting decisions. These words were especially pertinent when taking into consideration that by the early 1990’s the Cold War came to an end. The USA emerged as a superpower with not only dominating hard power but also soft power. 1992 was also the year when the distinguished American political scientist, political economist, international relations scholar, and writer Francis Fukuyama, in his book *The End of History and the Last Man*, argued that humankind had reached a final form of government – American free-market capitalism and the superiority of liberal democracies – representing a global triumph of the West. And while this concept could have been more thoroughly discussed and even potentially proven right in the late 1990’s, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 undermined it. Consequently, Americans when casting their ballots took a broader and more international spectrum into account since

once again the US was intertwined in a conflict far away from its borders. The decade of peace lasting from the end of the Cold War was over and America's international role was once again apparent.

While at the turn of the century, Americans saw the state of the economy (especially in the light of the dot-com bubble crises) as crucial when electing the next president, by 2004 those priorities changed. By 2004, the US was engaged in two wars and global terrorism was on the rise with attacks on civilians successfully carried out. For the first time since the Vietnam war era, national security and foreign affairs became central for Americans overshadowing its domestic economic concerns<sup>1</sup>. Not only the fact that the US was engaged into a military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq was a salient issue for Americans, but also the fact that neither of the interventions was going in accordance with the Pentagon's plan and Bush's *war on terrorism* was not making the world a safer place. Therefore, Americans did not only feel safer because of the interventions, they also believed that, while the interventions were supported, they were carried out too quickly and without a clear *day-after* plan. The United States were not only not winning the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq but they were also losing international respect. Both of which were enjoyed immediately in the decade after the Cold War.

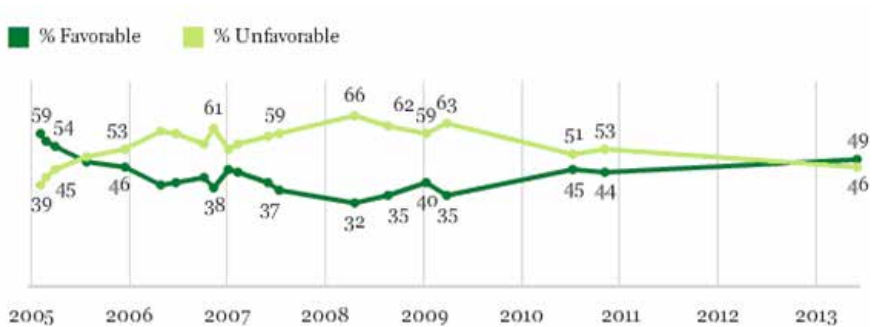
Another significant event influencing voters' decisions came in 2008, the year of elections. By that time neither the war in Afghanistan nor Iraq were concluding. Both interventions spiraled far beyond any projections with the number of military and civilian casualties adding up and the cost reaching US \$190 Billion<sup>2</sup>. Not only the human and material costs were high but there was no exit strategy in both cases causing both issues to be a political liability for Bush and the Republicans. Yet, the year 2008 marked a significant event in the American (and global) economy, which turned to be decisive in the outcome of the presidential race. The Wall Street meltdown that had its highest point in late-mid 2008 and demanded a government bailout plan (The Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008) valued at \$700 Billion caused a political fallout. Georg W. Bush's rating and popularity sank to as low as 32%<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Foreign Affairs More Important than Domestic Issues in U.S. Presidential Election, Shows New Pew-CFR Poll*, <https://www.cfr.org/news-releases/foreign-affairs-more-important-domestic-issues-us-presidential-election-shows-new-pew> [access: 25.03.2024].

<sup>2</sup> S. Cornwell, *Iraq, Afghanistan wars to cost US \$190 bln in 2008*, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN26327044/> [access: 25.03.2024].

<sup>3</sup> J.M. Jones, *Former President George W. Bush's Image Ratings Improve*, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/163022/former-president-george-bush-image-ratings-improve.aspx> [access: 25.03.2024].

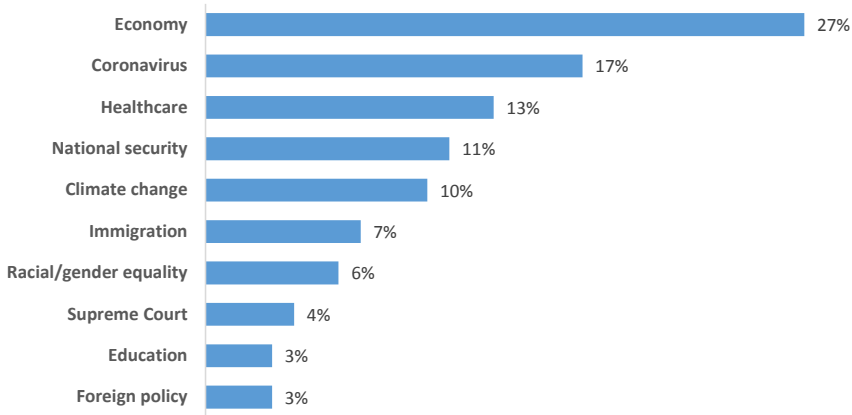
**Figure 1: George W. Bush Favorable Ratings**

Source: <https://news.gallup.com/poll/163022/former-president-george-bush-image-ratings-improve.aspx>.

The dramatic economic situation created an unfavorable environment for the Republic party and the Republican candidate John McCain who finally lost the presidential race to Barack Obama. American voters were drained by crises and wanted a change. Barack Obama was the beneficiary of that sentiment, offering a change in the White House which was acknowledged by Americans.

In the post-subprime crises, the American economy has been steadily growing. Both the US and global economy experienced a recession caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Economies were not prepared for such an unprecedented crisis, which hit markets all over the world in a very short time. Yet the recovery from the pandemic was as rapid as the dramatic fall. Therefore, until early 2022 the international situation did not demand serious and large American engagement. It could have been projected that the 2022 mid-term elections and possibly the 2024 American presidential election will be dominated by domestic matters—the economy, COVID, health care, immigration, abortion, or education as it was surveyed in 2021 by Long Island University<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *What Issues Matter Most to Voters in 2022 U.S. Mid-Term Elections: Long Island University Hornstein Center National Poll*, <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/what-issues-matter-most-to-voters-in-2022-us-mid-term-elections-long-island-university-hornstein-center-national-poll-301378814.html> [access: 25.02.2024].

**Figure 2: What Issues Matter Most to Voters in 2022 U.S. Mid-Term Elections**

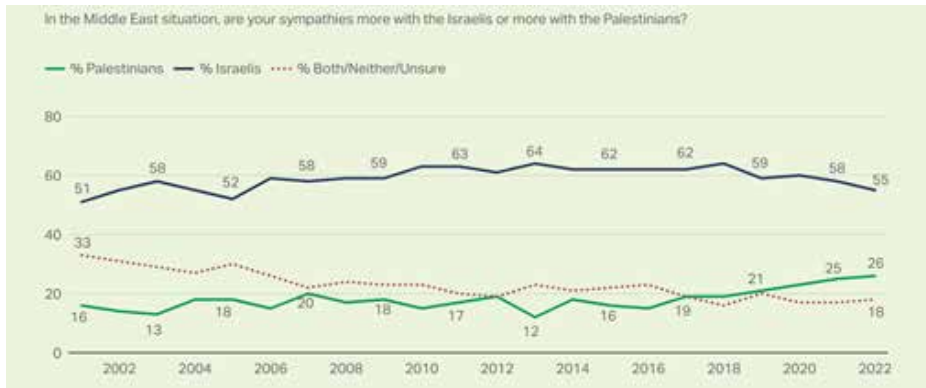
Source: Long Island University Hornstein Center National Poll, 2021.

The events of early 2022, the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the rapid escalation of the Russo-Ukrainian War that started in 2014 with the Russian annexation of Crimea, came as a shock to the international community and Americans as well. While Russian aggression was not a direct threat to the US nor its NATO allies in Europe, Western countries rapidly got involved by aiding Ukraine (militarily, economically and diplomatically) and at the same time imposing measures against Russia—economic sanctions and diplomatic pressure. The other important international event which might be of interest to American voters was the 2023 brutal and shocking attack of Israel by Hamas. The attack was recognized as a terrorist attack on civilians and the right of Israel to defend itself and retaliate was widely supported. Only later, the scale of the Israeli retaliation against Hamas and Gaza came under criticism.

With the US unemployment rate at its historical low and a growing economy one would expect that the incumbent president, Joe Biden, will have secured himself reelection for the second term. Yet, despite many legal challenges, Donald Trump posed a serious threat to Biden's reelection. Could the international events, that is the War in Ukraine and especially the Israeli offensive against Hamas be a focal point for Americans when voting in 2024? Could such a distant and ostensibly minor event from the Middle East be of any interest to American society and can it have an influence on the candidates' policies? While attempting to answer these questions a broader overview of Americans' attitude towards Israel

and the Middle East conflict should be analyzed. As the graph below shows the American approach towards the actors of the conflict is disproportional<sup>5</sup>:

**Figure 3: Americans' Sympathies in Middle East Conflict**



Source: Gallup, 2022.

This approach is reflected in the United States as well. Americans have sympathies with Jews and American Jews for a number of reasons: The Holocaust experience, shared democratic values, and fighting terrorism. Even though Israel is targeted by local terrorism, Israel as a state, just like the USA, is a target of attacks. Consequently, Arab minorities in the United States are perceived as different, alien, and even a threat. The 9/11 attacks were carried out by terrorists from the Middle East. Also, Americans perceive aspects connected to Arabs, Muslim and the Middle East as the source of the biggest threat to the United States—international terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism and actions engaging US forces. Such sympathies and antipathies are also a result of extensive efforts by interest groups, in this case the pro-Israeli lobby in Washington and all over the USA. The role of the pro-Israeli lobby among other parties, including the pro-Arab lobby, working on influencing Washington's foreign policy is unique, just like the social status of American Jews. As claimed above, the pro-Israeli minority has an upper hand in American society over the pro-Arab/Palestinian one. Lobbying is a process, an activity, that requires funding. Such operations without sufficient

<sup>5</sup> L. Saad, *Americans Still Pro-Israel, Though Palestinians Gain Support*, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/390737/americans-pro-israel-though-palestinians-gain-support.aspx> [access: 4.04.2024].

monetary instruments are less effective. Therefore, effective lobbying and ethnic representation demands capital. Capital is correlated with prominence in the society and follows a logical pattern: excellent (expensive) education leads to well-paid professions, successful careers and as a consequence, affluence and prominence. Prominent, successful, well-off individuals who are dedicated towards a cause, become sponsors and donors. Analyzing the two ethnic groups through these criteria, it must be noted that Arab Americans are neither as wealthy, well organized, numerous, or politically active as Jewish Americans.

**Figure 4: Comparison of selected pro-Israeli lobby and pro-Palestinian lobby characteristics**

Pro-Israeli lobby	Pro-Arab lobby
Single goal	Multi-goal
Treated as Americans	Treated as aliens
Sympathy (WWII)	No sympathy (9/11)
Fighting terrorism	Are terrorists
Well financed	Poorly financed
Prominent in society	Underrepresented

Source: own work.

As a group, Arab Americans have not been as successful in reaching prominent positions in academia, business, and the media, and they are also less visible in politics<sup>6</sup>. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact, that Jewish immigration has a longer tradition, while the Arab one is relatively recent. And it is not the first generation of immigrants who are present in important positions. There is the trace of the second, third, and next generations who become more affluent and successful. According to The Jewish Virtual Library, the list of prominent companies founded by American Jews is exceptionally long, which proves how effective this minority is, among these companies are: Dunkin Donuts, Facebook, Google, Goldman Sachs, Oracle, Starbucks, Warner Bros. Pictures, and Dell. Naturally not all successful Jewish businessman are lobbyists, but globally, Jews show a high level of identity awareness. In fact, about a third of American Jews do not identify Israel as a particularly salient issue<sup>7</sup>. Yet, Arab Americans,

<sup>6</sup> J.J. Mearsheimer, M.S. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, London 2007.

<sup>7</sup> S.M. Cohen, *A Tale of Two Jewries: he "Inconvenient Truth" For American Jews*, New York 2006.



on the average, are less successful and prominent in American society. And as a lobby group, they are not unified around one central goal.

A similar pattern can be spotted in American politics, where the decision-making process is taking place. Because of the facts discussed above as being less numerous, less prominent and possibly, averagely, not as well-educated, American Muslims (a much broader) are underrepresented in politics. There were 30 Jews in the 115th Congress and 9 senators while only 2 members of Congress are followers of Islam (Cooney, 2016)<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, also in Washington, where the decision processes are taking place, the presence of Jewish Americans dominates that of Arab Americans. These politicians not only guide the legislative processes but also represent a certain ethnic minority. Consequently, these statistics add to a picture of a more influential Jewish ethnic group in the USA. Yet, in the upcoming elections these seemingly clear arguments and data presented above might be questioned. The competition between Trump (a strong pro-Israeli candidate as proved in his first term) and Biden (viewed as indecisive in the Hamas-Israel war) might, apart from the economic situation and the war in Ukraine, prove to be of vital importance in securing the White House for the next four years.

Initially, when taking office, Biden did not recognize the Middle East conflict as his priority. He strongly believed that it is the actors of the conflict themselves that should show interest in negotiations not a third party such as the USA. One of the reasons could be that reversing Trump's pro-Israeli decision could result in strong disapproval from Israeli supporters in the USA and globally. This approach had to be modified by the White House in early May 2021, when the Israel-Palestinian crises escalated. This event once again forced the conflict into the forefront of international and American attention. The crises which lasted 11 days had its flashpoint in Gaza but also at holy sites in Jerusalem. During this short yet violent crisis, Biden talked on numerous occasions with Prime Minister Netanyahu. In one of them, he condemned Hamas attacks and reaffirmed Netanyahu of American support for Israel to defend itself and underlined the importance of a two-state solution<sup>9</sup>. Yet over the following days Biden's rhetoric became stiffer

---

<sup>8</sup> D. Cooney, *By the numbers: Muslims in America, Jews in America: By the numbers*, Public Broadcasting Service, 2016, <https://www.pbs.org/weta/washingtonweek/blog-post/jews-america-numbers>, <https://www.pbs.org/weta/washingtonweek/blog-post/numbers-muslims-america> [access: 4.04.2024].

<sup>9</sup> *Remarks by President Biden and President Abbas of the Palestinian National Authority in Joint Press Statement*, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/07/15/re->

towards Israel. In the next talk with Netanyahu, Biden signaled that he expects a significant de-escalation allowing for a ceasefire. This signaled a reversal from the Trump administration's approach towards Israel and indicated that American patience was running out. These actions of Biden signaled that he was interested in getting the conflicted parties back to the negotiation table, but this will not happen as long as fighting in Gaza continues. As mentioned earlier, the Hamas attacks of 7 October 2023 once again changed the equilibrium in the region. The attacks were precise and mercilessly targeted civilians. Initially the world and Washington supported Israel in its retaliation and plans to eliminate Hamas decisively. The rhetoric towards Israel changed when the invasion of Gaza continued.

As for today, especially after aid workers from the World Central Kitchen were killed in an Israeli air strike on 1 April 2024. Biden in his presidential statement expressed his outrage, reaffirmed further humanitarian assistance to Palestinian civilians in Gaza, and urged Israel to facilitate that aid, also criticizing Israel for not protecting civilians<sup>10</sup>. The attack on the aid workers became *the straw that broke the camel's back* in the growing disapproval of the scale and methods of the Israeli retaliation operation. Yet, despite of the attack, the White House is not planning to change its policy towards Israel and continues to supply it with military aid, which is another factor which influences voters' approach towards Biden's reelection. While the pro-Israeli lobby members might also show certain level of disapproval of Netanyahu's methods of conveying actions against Hamas, they will most likely not support a candidate who is ready to question aiding Israel. The lobby is driven by two main objectives, that is promoting US-Israel cooperation (American support) and choking off any criticism of Israel in Washington, the universities, and generally in society. To demonstrate a stronger pro-Israeli position in the House, AIPAC is taking measures to promote opponents of members of the so-called *Squad* (18 members of the House, all Democrats, calling for a cease-fire in Gaza, as the scale of retaliation became clear)<sup>11</sup>. The challengers

---

marks-by-president-biden-and-president-abbas-of-the-palestinian-national-authority-in-joint-press-statement-bethlehem-west-bank/ [access: 4.04.2024].

<sup>10</sup> *Statement from President Joe Biden on the Death of World Central Kitchen Workers in Gaza*, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/04/02/statement-from-president-joe-biden-on-the-death-of-world-central-kitchen-workers-in-gaza/> [access: 10.04.2024].

<sup>11</sup> P. Bacon Jr., *These progressives were right about Gaza. Now it could cost them their seats*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/03/26/squad-gaza-ceasefire-aipac-primary-races/> [access: 10.04.2024].

are more moderate Democrats, who guarantee a more pro-Israel stance and therefore the American Israel Public Affairs Committee is ready to support their campaigns financially. For the pro-Israeli lobby, securing a pro-Israeli House of Representatives in the upcoming elections means greater influence on Washington's Middle East policy and potentially the president. Such activities of AIPAC and other pro-Israeli action groups have taken place in Washington and throughout the country, trying to influence both local and national election since the beginnings of such movements in the 1960's.

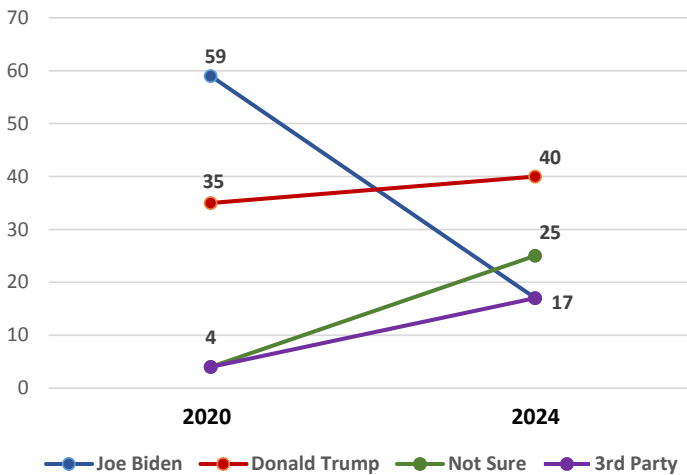
Yet, certain types of actions that are beyond PAC's scope of activity are the grassroots efforts of individuals and groups that voice their opinion. Unlike *the Squad*, they do not run for seats in any state or governmental bodies. Such actions face numerous challenges where financing seems to be the most substantial. To a certain extent that has been mitigated with the growth of the internet and social media especially that allow for some upwards actions. And while the power of pro-Arab minorities to influence elections nationally is minor it might send strong signals and in the case of the 2024 elections might have a snowball effect among Americans voters. Especially in times when Americans are split in their support for military aid to Israel which may influence their voting choices, but at the same time they trust neither Joe Biden nor Donald Trump to broker peace between Israel and Palestine<sup>12</sup>. A clear signal voicing voters' preferences could be heard in one of the swing states. At present, Biden is desperate to secure such states since his re-election is far from sure and it seems that he must broaden his message. Traditionally, swing states have been decided by action or the lack of action by minorities. This year this crucial minority could be Muslims and Arab Americans. Two key issues for this minority are an immediate cease-fire in Gaza and an end to unconditional support of Israel allowing Israel to continue its operations. The Muslim and Arab minority in the United States in recent elections have voted for the Democratic candidate—Clinton in 2016 and Biden in 2020, but today, in the upcoming election this support can be lost. As can be seen from the graph below in the case of Biden from the 2020 election to 2024, the poll results are alarming:<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> C. Jackson, *Americans split on continuing military aid to Israel*, <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/americans-split-continuing-military-aid-israel> [access: 12.04.2024].

<sup>13</sup> *Arab Americans Special Poll: Domestic Implications of the Most Recent Outbreak of Violence in Palestine/Israel*, <https://www.aaiusa.org/library/arab-americans-special-poll-domestic-implications-of-the-most-recent-outbreak-of-violence-in-palestineisrael> [access: 12.04.2024].

**Figure 5: Support for President Biden Drops Among Arab Americans to 17%**



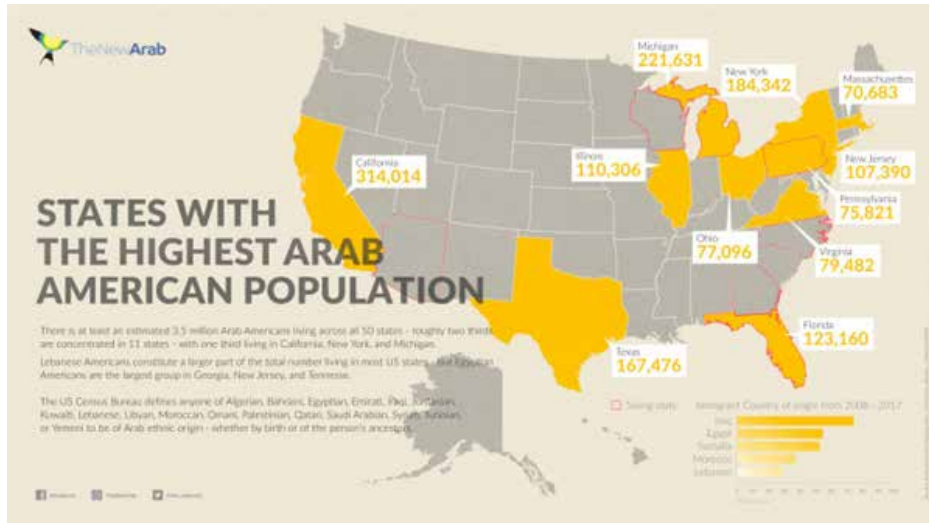
Source: <https://www.aaiusa.org/library/arab-americans-special-poll-domestic-implications-of-the-most-recent-outbreak-of-violence-in-palestineisrael>.

In 2020 Joe Biden enjoyed great support from the Arab-Muslim minority, since his opponent Donald Trump in his 4-year residency in the White House had proven to be strongly supportive of Israel. He allowed the Israeli capital to be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, a ruling that was debated in Washington earlier but frozen by previous presidents not to aggravate the conflict. He also moved the US Embassy to Jerusalem as well as restrained from objecting to further Israeli settlement building in the occupied territories. By showing support in 2020, the minority could have hoped for a return to Obama’s policy of openness, fairness and support towards Palestinians’ cause in the Middle East. Yet, Biden’s immediate approach was much different. He decided not to reverse Trump’s key decisions. He also declined from direct engagement into the negotiation process claiming that the initiative should come from the conflicted actors not a third party. Hamas’s attack on Israel in late 2023 forced Biden and the international community to take interest in the conflict.

The elections of 2020 were won by Biden by 4.5% of the popular vote and 306 to 232 of the electoral votes. To a great extent, Biden secured his victory by taking the majority of the swing states (Biden: Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin while Trump: Florida,

Iowa, North Carolina, Ohio, and Texas). The vitality of the battleground states becomes even more crucial with Biden losing the support of the Arab-Muslim minority who are concentrated in five of the key states:<sup>14</sup>

**Figure 6: States with the highest Arab American Population**



Source: <https://www.newarab.com/analysis/everything-you-wanted-know-about-arab-american-voting-intentions>.

As for the 2024 election, according to the polls, it seemed that once again the race to the White House would be very close. This is especially visible in the case of Michigan, one of the battleground states. In 2020 Biden secured this state by 2.78% (only about 80,000 advantage in the popular vote), a far closer margin than expected which gave him as much as 16 electoral votes. And in 2016 Donald Trump was declared victorious and collected the electoral vote with merely 11,000 margin in the popular vote. Why the state of Michigan and the discussed minority could have occupied a central stage in the 2024 election was signaled in the Democratic Presidential Primaries (and not only) with a strong campaign. In December 2023 Muslim leaders from several swing states descended on Dearborn,

<sup>14</sup> E. Linskens, *Everything you wanted to know about Arab-American voting intentions*, <https://www.newarab.com/analysis/everything-you-wanted-know-about-arab-american-voting-intentions> [access: 14.04.2024].

Michigan to launch a national campaign against the reelection of President Joe Biden. This was a response to his mishandling of the Israel-Hamas conflict. Organizers from Michigan, Minnesota, Arizona, Wisconsin, Florida, Georgia, Nevada and Pennsylvania called the campaign #AbandonBiden aiming at decreasing Biden's chances to be reelected<sup>15</sup>. Members of the movement feel betrayed by Biden and believe that he should be a one-time president because of his response to Israel's military campaign in Gaza, insufficient aid to the Palestinians in the conflict zone resulting in an escalating civilian death toll. They expect halting military aid to Israel and call for a permanent ceasefire.

The tool and means of pressure that #AbandonBiden campaign adapts is to mobilize all voters who disapprove of Biden's policy towards the Israel-Hamas war (not only minority members) to vote 'uncommitted'. In some states in the primary elections the voters, above the names of the candidates, have an option of declaring 'uncommitted', which is understood as: 'none of the above'. Depending on the state voting uncommitted, it may allow them to send uncommitted delegates to the party's nominating convention, as is the case in the 2024 Michigan primary elections. The mobilization of the anti-war voters resulted in over 100,000 'uncommitted' votes (Biden still won the state with nearly 620,000 votes), secured 2 delegates to the nominating convention and in the cities of Dearborn and Hamtramck, where Arab Americans make up close to half the population, Biden lost<sup>16</sup>. This grassroots initiative is strongly supported by US Rep. Rashida Tlaib, the first Palestinian American woman to serve in Congress. The #AbandonBiden campaign is an example of a political action which is underfinanced but capable of having a great impact on the election due to the weight of the swing states and deeply committed and active voters. The action to put pressure on President Biden has a snowball effect and is fueled by gaining national recognition, further Israeli atrocities in Gaza, and getting support of not only the Arab-Muslim minority.

Yet, such a skillfully crafted political initiative seems to have a fundamental underlying flaw. The 2024 race to the White House was held between Biden (later Harris) and Trump. If not Biden/Harris, then Trump would be elected. And, as

---

<sup>15</sup> R. Picciotto, *Muslim leaders expand campaign to abandon Biden in 2024 over Israel-Hamas war*, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/12/30/muslim-leaders-expand-campaign-to-abandon-biden-over-israel-hamas-war.html> [access: 18.04.2024].

<sup>16</sup> J. Cappelletti, *'Uncommitted' wins 2 Democratic delegates in Michigan, a victory for Biden's anti-war opponents*, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/uncommitted-wins-2-democratic-delegates-in-michigan-a-victory-for-bidens-anti-war-opponents> [access: 18.04.2024].

argued earlier, Trump, during his presidency has been strongly pro-Israeli and pro-Netanyahu, promoting Israeli interests. Donald Trump had a strategic plan and vision for peace in the Middle East—Peace for Prosperity, also called by Trump, “The Deal of the Century”<sup>17</sup>. The plan was released in Washington at a joint press conference held by Trump and Netanyahu. Absent at the event was the Palestinian side. They also did not participate in shaping the proposal and any talks since 2017, when Jerusalem was declared Israel’s capital by Trump. Further unfavorable circumstances for any peace talks were, consequently to the Palestinian withdrawal position, Trump’s freeze of Palestinian aid, funding UNRWA (the UN agencies aiding Palestine), and closing the Palestinian diplomatic office in Washington. Trump, together with his son-in-law, Jared Kushner (American-Jewish businessman, investor and Special Envoy to the Middle East under Trump) were responsive to the needs of PM Netanyahu, the Israeli lobby in the USA, and strongly argued that the Jewish State has never had a better friend in the White House<sup>18</sup>. Thus, the lack of support for Biden in the 2024 election meant opening the door to the White House for Trump and in consequence, indirectly, allowing Netanyahu to continue his operations in Gaza. Therefore, with available analysis, Arab-Americans would not support Biden, Trump would be victorious, and after a 4-year break would move into the White House again (this might also happen if Biden will get their support). In this case Arab Americans and the Palestinian cause would be dispirited and left with no hope. So, for the minority it is a choice between Biden who (in their opinion) does little to stop the number of Palestinian casualties rising and Trump who will do nothing about it. Refraining from supporting the current president is demonstrating a stance, sending a message but accepting an even worst outcome. The minority feel stuck between a rock and a hard place or *Biden and a hard place*. Voting for Trump for this minority is not very likely, therefore, it seems, Arab Americans face two options: stay at home ignoring the elections or support a third-party candidate. The consequences for Trump might be bad or tragic: if a person goes from a Biden voter in 2020 to not voting or voting for a third party in 2024, that’s a lost vote for Biden, but not a gained vote for Trump or, by contrast, a voter who switches from

---

<sup>17</sup> B. Sasley, *The White House peace plan puts Israel’s concerns first – and shortchanges Palestinians*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/01/30/white-house-peace-plan-puts-israels-concerns-first-shortchanges-palestinians/> [access: 18.04.2024].

<sup>18</sup> D.A. Miller, *Trump Was Great for Netanyahu. Biden Will Be Better for Israel*, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/11/12/trump-was-great-for-netanyahu.-biden-will-be-better-for-israel-pub-83221> [access: 18.04.2024].

Biden to Trump effectively narrows the margin between Biden and Trump by two votes<sup>19</sup>. While the voting math is straightforward, the Arab and Muslim minorities felt betrayed by Biden/Harris and one of few common goals for these minorities—Palestine, was not getting, in their view, proper attention and action. As the speakers of the discussed minorities claim, this trust cannot be won back. Since the war in the region is raging over half a year and Biden, as they say, had opportunities and time to alter his actions, withhold aid to Israel and protect Palestinians in Gaza. While winning the hearts and mind of Arab and Muslim minorities by altering his policies towards the Middle East, would magnify his chance of winning the swing states, the geopolitical reality is unfavorable for such a solution.

For Biden/Harris winning the discussed minorities back would mean confronting Netanyahu and curb his decisive action in Gaza by withdrawing military, economic and diplomatic aid to Israel. Yet, once again as it has been historically, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and American backing of Israel is put in context of broader regional and geopolitical events. The Middle East is historically central to many American interests because of its geostrategic location, its natural resources, a strategic partnership with Israel, the proliferation of WMDs (weapons of mass destruction), and also due to the rise of anti-Americanism and terrorism<sup>20</sup>. And in the heart of this region lies Israel, the only democracy, a state that shares and guards American values. The White House has been supportive and protective of Israel since minutes after it declared independence (President Truman recognized Israel as a new state just 8 minutes after it was founded). Naturally, as mentioned earlier, the pro-Israeli lobby is especially effective in winning over this support for Israel, but this is a subject for a separate analysis. Since 2014 Israel is a major strategic partner for the US as well as it is designated as a major non-NATO ally by Washington. The U.S has also committed itself to ensuring Israel's Qualitative Military Edge (QME) over its neighbors in the region—that is, Israel as a small country that is an American ally that shares values and principals should maintain a competitive military edge to deter any hostile action. This means better equipment and training to compensate for being much smaller in land area and population than its potential adversaries. And this can be achieved by military and intelligence aid to transform and maintain Israel's

---

<sup>19</sup> N. Rakich, *Could Arab American and Muslim voters cost Biden the 2024 election?*, <https://abcnews.go.com/538/arab-american-muslim-voters-cost-biden-2024-election/story?id=107634583> [access: 21.04.2024].

<sup>20</sup> P. Sasnał, *Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec aktorów w konflikcie arabsko-izraelskim. Między Bushem a Obamą*, Warszawa 2009.



armed forces into one of the most technologically sophisticated militaries in the world. This cooperation has again been put to a test on 13 April 2024 when Iran and its proxies launched a massive air strike on Israel from multiple directions. A coalition of several countries led by the US operated in defense of Israel which, together with different Israeli defense systems, managed to successfully protect Israel. This American pro-Israeli action has been backed soon afterwards with the Senate passing a bill granting \$17 Billion in military aid to Israel<sup>21</sup>. The bill has been, as promised, signed by Biden. It does not specify how this aid must be utilized, therefore it might be assumed (and is by Arab and Muslim minorities) that it will be also used to strengthen Israeli actions in Gaza against Hamas and Palestinian civilians as well. The military aid coincided with another action that further outrages the discussed minorities and concerns the diplomatic backing of Israel. As several times earlier, the US backed Israel in the UN with its veto power. The United States blocked the UN Security Council on 18.04.2024 from efforts on a Palestinian bid to be recognized it as a full member state at the United Nations<sup>22</sup>. This magnitude and intensity of American aid, while historically not being truly stupefying since both military and diplomatic aid has been delivered to Israel for a very long time, for Arab Americans is, today in the moments of shaping voting decision, unacceptable, possibly even provocative of Biden. Yet, Biden/Harris, while at the declarative level being critical of the scale of Israel actions in Gaza, under bilateral agreements between the US and Israel is expected to assist Israel in defense and provide necessary military aid.

Bearing in mind the current instability of the Middle East, the hostility of Iran and its proxies towards Israel, and American commitments to Jerusalem, it is doubtful that President Biden or Harris will proceed with any decisions undermining Israel's security in this election year or any time soon. The war Israel is raging against Hamas in Gaza seems also to be unsolvable in the nearest future. Trump, while trying now to avoid the subject of the Middle East, earlier this year remarked on the future of Hamas: that *the problem must be finished*<sup>23</sup>. This stance

---

<sup>21</sup> R. Picciotto, *Senate passes long-awaited aid for Israel, Ukraine, Taiwan, and TikTok bill*, <https://www.cnbc.com/2024/04/23/senate-advances-aid-for-israel-ukraine-taiwan-tiktok-bill.html> [access: 24.04.2024].

<sup>22</sup> J. Yonette, *U.S. Vetoes Palestinian Bid for Recognition as Full U.N. Member State*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/18/world/middleeast/palestinian-statehood-un-veto.html> [access: 24.04.2024].

<sup>23</sup> V. Hillyard, A. Smith, *Trump breaks silence on Israel's military campaign in Gaza: 'Finish the problem'*, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-israel-gaza-finish-problem-rcna141905> [access: 24.04.2024].

is shared by Israel's PM Netanyahu, therefore prolonging the conflict in Gaza until the American election hoping that Trump turn out to be victorious, is his most likely strategy. Biden, for now, it seems that will only restrain his actions to verbal dissatisfaction with Israel's intensity of operations in Gaza, possibly criticism or warnings. But further, more decisive decisions are not likely. If a firmer approach towards Israel was absent before the Israel-Iran air attacks (Israel responded with a drone attack on Isfahan in Iran), it is most probably excluded now, when the two states confronted each other. Thus, convincing Arab Americans to vote for Biden/Narris will be next to impossible. With firm criticism of Biden before additional military and diplomatic aid to Israel was granted, today, there is little reason why this minority should alter its critical view of Biden. Yet, it cannot be excluded that civic actions such as #AbandonBiden campaign, in the November 2004 election would support Biden/Harris in order not to promote Trump. Possibly such campaigns were merely a signal, a warning. A new American initiative, the construction of a maritime pier off the coast of Gaza that aims to speed the flow of humanitarian aid into the enclave by the Pentagon, announced by Biden, is a signal that the president sees and understands the needs of civilians in the zone of conflict<sup>24</sup>. This signal might prove to be effective when it comes to the Arab American minority when the time of voting come in autumn.

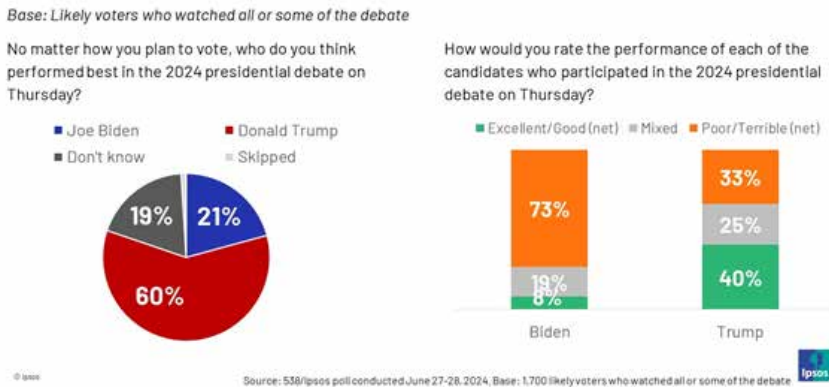
In the direct debate between the two presidential candidates—Trump and Biden, foreign policy and the Middle East were referred to on numerous occasions but the Palestinian suffering in Gaza, and aid to Israel and Israel's campaign in Gaza received little mention. Yet not the merits of the debate appeared to be most memorable but the mental and physical fitness of Joe Biden. During the debate Biden appeared to be tired, distant, disengaged, unresponsive and slow. He had a clear problem with articulation and maintaining a logical flow of his speech. As the Ipsos results show, the overall assessment of Biden's performance was disappointing:<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> A. Idrees, P. Stewart, M. Nichols, *US military starts pier construction off Gaza*, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/us-military-starts-pier-construction-off-gaza-2024-04-25/> [access: 26.04.2024].

<sup>25</sup> C. Jackson et al., *Biden lost the debate, but Trump didn't win*, <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/538-ipsos-june-2024-presidential-debate-poll> [access: 7.01.2025].

**Figure 7: Majority of likely voters who watched the debate say Trump performed better than Biden**

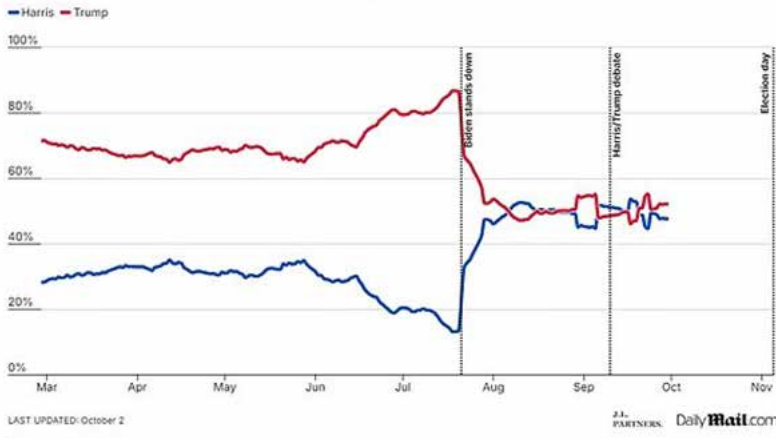


Source: <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/538-ipsos-june-2024-presidential-debate-poll>.

Biden’s debate performance and the popular opinion concerning his mental and physical condition, which has been debated even before the debate, spurred panic among the Democrats. After the debate within Biden’s party, Democrats started raising question not only if he is capable of victory in the presidential race but if he is fit to lead the party. This growing sentiment, together with voices of party authorities and even Biden’s wife, resulted in Joe Biden finishing his five-decade long political career and a withdrawal from the race to the White House.

Kamala Harris, the 49th Vice President of the United States under President Joe Biden and a Senator from California (she was earlier the Attorney General of California) has stepped up and filled in the gap in the presidential race on the Democratic side. Harris, as a candidate, was warmly welcomed domestically and internationally, despite the fact that her campaign was only to be 107 days long. As a woman and a woman of color, a professional, young (nearly 20 years younger than Trump) but at the same time highly experienced in politics. Biden’s withdrawal and Harris’s entrance into the race resulted with an immediate inflow of campaign funds, generated greater interest and optimism among Democrats and caused Trump and his spin-doctors a sigh of disbelieve and (a race against Biden would be easier) uncertainty. Such tendencies as presented on the graph below have been visible throughout the whole country and in the swing states alike<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> K. Laco, R. Crilly, *Trump holds narrow lead in our election model: Latest numbers show race tightening in some crucial battlegrounds*, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-13916049/poli->

**Figure 8: The race to the White House: Probability of winning**

Source: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-13916049/politics-live-blog-democrats-vp-debate-2024-tim-walz-voters-jd-vance-Donald-Trump-Kamala-Harris.html>.

Harris's campaign and message was aligned with Biden's offer for the Americans on all issues. This was caused by two main reasons—her campaign was too short to present and promote new focal points, but what is more vital, she was the vice president for the whole time of Biden's presidency. Therefore, she was the face of the administration and could not build her position on criticism of the state of the country because she was partly responsible for it. In reference to foreign relations Harris again followed Biden's vision—support for Ukraine, criticism of the Russian invasion, compassion for the Palestinians, yet lack of pressure on Israel with only minor criticism of the extent of the retaliation in Gaza. In the short campaign there was little or no space to alter the official path that Biden had pursued. While Biden's withdrawal from the presidential race was expected also by the Arab-American diaspora, there was little expectation towards a significant change of the Middle East rhetoric of the new candidate, that is Harris.

Kamala Harris decided not to alter Biden's policies towards the Middle East, Israel and the conflict. She decided to ignore the Arab American community's call for revising the unconditional support of Israel. Warning this diaspora of the consequences once Trump is victorious was not enough. At this stage, Arab

Americans wanted full recognition and actions on the matter that is crucial to them, that is ending the Israeli offensive in Gaza and stopping the invasion of south Lebanon. And while both presidential candidates (Trump and Harris) voiced their support for Israel, mainly arguing for its rights to self-defense, it is Biden's and Harris's White House that is blamed for not stopping Israel's disproportionate intervention in Gaza. Voting for Harris equaled acceptance of the US policy towards the conflict. Trump on this chessboard appeared less decisive despite of the heavy Middle East burden he carried from his first term in office—moving the US Embassy to Jerusalem, withholding aid to the Palestinians and allowing further settlement building in the West Bank, just to name a few. For the Arab American minority it became apparent, that their concerns about Gaza and more broadly, the American, Israeli and Palestinian equation will not be addressed. Supporting Trump means, most probably, a continuation of his first term's pro-Israeli policies, but voting for Harris will not result in a more even-handed approach to the Israeli Palestinian conflict. Therefore, it might be assessed that the Arab American and Muslim voters, ultimately decided to punish Harris and more broadly the Democrats. The fact that Trump campaigned in Michigan extensively promising to end war in Gaza and (due to a short campaign) Harris not being present much in this state, was a lesser factor.

The scale of defeat of Harris was unexpected. The popular polls were continuously reporting a very close race. Trump won the swing states of Michigan, Pennsylvania, Georgia, North Carolina, Wisconsin and Nevada, while in 2020, Joe Biden defeated Trump by winning six of the seven swing states<sup>27</sup>. Results from Michigan (virtually a must-win swing state), one of the lost swing states, with a significant Arab American diaspora served as proof of a significant change in this diaspora. This result could be studied as a sign of voters' hopelessness—not even a choice between lesser evils. As a result, Kamala Harris received at least 22,000 fewer votes than Joe Biden did four years ago in Michigan's most heavily Arab American and Muslim cities, and Trump made small gains—about 9,000 votes.<sup>28</sup> The problem loudly voiced by the discussed diaspora had not been addressed by the Democrats, therefore the lack of support for Harris and earlier Biden could have been foreseen. The scale of defeat of the Democrats left them

---

<sup>27</sup> K. Hubbard, K. Watson, M. Quinn, *Trump sweeps all 7 battleground states*, CBS News projects, <https://www.cbsnews.com/live-updates/election-2024-trump-celebrates-win/> [access: 3.01.2025].

<sup>28</sup> T. Perkins, *'They blew it': Democrats lost 22,000 votes in Michigan's heavily Arab American cities*, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2024/nov/09/democrats-lose-michigan-arab-american-voters> [access: 9.03.2025].

in disbelief, blaming Biden for withdrawing at a very late stage of the race, betting on Harris, a short campaign, or all of the above. The support withdrawal of Arab American and Muslim in states like Michigan was part of a bigger problem. Possibly the gender and race of Harris or the fact that she was part of Biden's administration that was criticized, and she found it challenging to build a new, convincing rhetoric.

Despite the understandable frustration of the discussed voters and constituencies, Arab minorities should take into consideration a broader perspective of the Middle East which poses certain limitations on Harris (and more broadly the Democrats) in dealing with Israel. Certainly, grassroots actions such as the #AbandonBiden campaign and also efforts of the Squad in Washington brings attention to the needs and expectations of the Arab American minority in the United States especially when it comes to civilians in Gaza. As discussed earlier, the pro-Palestinian initiative could have a snowball effect, which is visible among young Americans. Possibly not now, but in a longer perspective. Students at universities (the protests started at Columbia University are gaining followers on other campuses) are voicing their disapproval of the handling of the humanitarian crises in Gaza, similar to demonstrations against the Vietnam War in 1968<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, the pressure on the elected is growing. While possibly, because of the intense situation in the Middle East, the minority and movements that joined the initiative might not achieve its goal but is most certainly and decisively placing itself on the map of aware, active and politically organized voters whose voice must be recognized in Washington. The realpolitik that Trump, Biden/Harris is facing might incline them to intensify humanitarian aid to Gaza and put verbal pressure on Jerusalem but, as of today, no other moves are expected. For the serving president, a close election can't be brought down to just one cause, despite risking the swing states. While it would certainly be good for the Democrats to hold onto Arab American and Muslim voters, it is unlikely that the White House will undo a long existing relationship with Israel.

---

<sup>29</sup> M. Michel, *Do Columbia's pro-Palestinian protests resemble the ones against the Vietnam war?*, <https://www.npr.org/2024/04/26/1247405879/do-columbias-pro-palestinian-protests-resemble-the-ones-against-the-vietnam-war> [access: 26.04.2024].

## Bibliography

- Arab Americans Special Poll: Domestic Implications of the Most Recent Outbreak of Violence in Palestine/Israel*, <https://www.aaiusa.org/library/arab-americans-special-poll-domestic-implications-of-the-most-recent-outbreak-of-violence-in-palestineisrael>.
- Bacon P. Jr., *These progressives were right about Gaza. Now it could cost them their seats*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/03/26/squad-gaza-ceasefire-aipac-primary-races/>.
- Cappelletti J., *'Uncommitted' wins 2 Democratic delegates in Michigan, a victory for Biden's anti-war opponents*, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/uncommitted-wins-2-democratic-delegates-in-michigan-a-victory-for-bidens-anti-war-opponents>.
- Cohen S. M., *A Tale of Two Jewries: he "Inconvenient Truth" For American Jews*, New York 2006.
- Cooney D., *By the numbers: Muslims in America, Jews in America: By the numbers*, Public Broadcasting Service, 2016, <https://www.pbs.org/weta/washingtonweek/blog-post/jews-america-numbers>, <https://www.pbs.org/weta/washingtonweek/blog-post/numbers-muslims-america>.
- Cornwell S., *Iraq, Afghanistan wars to cost US \$190 bln in 2008*, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN26327044/>.
- Foreign Affairs More Important than Domestic Issues in U.S. Presidential Election, Shows New Pew-CFR Poll*, <https://www.cfr.org/news-releases/foreign-affairs-more-important-domestic-issues-us-presidential-election-shows-new-pew>.
- Hillyard V., Smith A., *Trump breaks silence on Israel's military campaign in Gaza: 'Finish the problem'*, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-israel-gaza-finish-problem-rcna141905>.
- Hubbard K., Watson K., Quinn M., *Trump sweeps all 7 battleground states, CBS News projects*, <https://www.cbsnews.com/live-updates/election-2024-trump-celebrates-win/>.
- Idrees A., Stewart P., Nichols M., *US military starts pier construction off Gaza*, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/us-military-starts-pier-construction-off-gaza-2024-04-25/>.
- Jackson C. et al., *Biden lost the debate, but Trump didn't win*, <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/538-ipsos-june-2024-presidential-debate-poll>.
- Jackson C., *Americans split on continuing military aid to Israel*, <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/americans-split-continuing-military-aid-israel>.
- Jones J.M., *Former President George W. Bush's Image Ratings Improve*, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/163022/former-president-george-bush-image-ratings-improve.aspx>.

- Laco K., Crilly R., *Trump holds narrow lead in our election model: Latest numbers show race tightening in some crucial battlegrounds*, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-13916049/politics-live-blog-democrats-vp-debate-2024-tim-walz-voters-jd-vance-donald-trump-kamala-harris.html>.
- Linskens E., *Everything you wanted to know about Arab-American voting intentions*, <https://www.newarab.com/analysis/everything-you-wanted-know-about-arab-american-voting-intentions>.
- Mearsheimer J.J., Walt M.S., *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, London 2007.
- Michel M., *Do Columbia's pro-Palestinian protests resemble the ones against the Vietnam war?*, <https://www.npr.org/2024/04/26/1247405879/do-columbias-pro-palestinian-protests-resemble-the-ones-against-the-vietnam-war>.
- Miller D.A., *Trump Was Great for Netanyahu. Biden Will Be Better for Israel*, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/11/12/trump-was-great-for-netanyahu.-biden-will-be-better-for-israel-pub-83221>.
- Perkins T., *'They blew it': Democrats lost 22,000 votes in Michigan's heavily Arab American cities*, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2024/nov/09/democrats-lose-michigan-arab-american-voters>.
- Picciotto R., *Muslim leaders expand campaign to abandon Biden in 2024 over Israel-Hamas war*, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/12/30/muslim-leaders-expand-campaign-to-abandon-biden-over-israel-hamas-war.html>.
- Picciotto R., *Senate passes long-awaited aid for Israel, Ukraine, Taiwan, and TikTok bill*, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/04/23/senate-advances-aid-for-israel-ukraine-taiwan-tiktok-bill.html>.
- Rakich N., *Could Arab American and Muslim voters cost Biden the 2024 election?*, <https://abcnews.go.com/538/arab-american-muslim-voters-cost-biden-2024-election/story?id=107634583>.
- Remarks by President Biden and President Abbas of the Palestinian National Authority in Joint Press Statement*, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/07/15/remarks-by-president-biden-and-president-abbas-of-the-palestinian-national-authority-in-joint-press-statement-bethlehem-west-bank/>.
- Saad L., *Americans Still Pro-Israel, Though Palestinians Gain Support*, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/390737/americans-pro-israel-though-palestinians-gain-support.aspx>.
- Sasley B., *The White House peace plan puts Israel's concerns first – and shortchanges Palestinians*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/01/30/white-house-peace-plan-puts-israels-concerns-first-shortchanges-palestinians/>.
- Sasnal P., *Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec aktorów w konflikcie arabsko-izraelskim. Między Bushem a Obamą*, Warszawa 2009.
- Statement from President Joe Biden on the Death of World Central Kitchen Workers in Gaza*, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/04/>



02/statement-from-president-joe-biden-on-the-death-of-world-central-kitchen-workers-in-gaza/.

*What Issues Matter Most to Voters in 2022 U.S. Mid-Term Elections: Long Island University Hornstein Center National Poll*, <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/what-issues-matter-most-to-voters-in-2022-us-mid-term-elections-long-island-university-hornstein-center-national-poll-301378814.html>.

Yonette J., *U.S. Vetoes Palestinian Bid for Recognition as Full U.N. Member State*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/18/world/middleeast/palestinian-statehood-un-veto.html>.