Origins of the Jewish Lobby in America and its Effect on U.S. Foreign Policy

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Master in Anglo-American Studies

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ABSTRACT

This mémoir tries to explore the Jewish lobby in America and its role in directing its foreign policy. This is done through studying first the origins of this minority group through exhaustive explanation about the Jewish existence in America. The focus of this research is to explain the reasons behind the strength of Jewish lobbying and therefore the unique relationship between these interest groups and the American government. The first step in this mémoir is to show the importance of lobbying in any country and the need for its existence to complete the democratic process. Explaining the uniqueness of Jewish lobbying and its effectiveness in reaching and accessing American governmental officials is done inevitably though studying the roots of Jews in America. The core issue that is to be discussed in this research is the immense privileges that Jewish lobbies enjoy unlike other ethnic-based interest groups in the American political scene. The study of lobbying in general and in America specifically will enable us to explore its origins and changing aims. In addition to the historical background, the study of Jewish lobbying techniques and types will allow us to better perceive the Jewish methods in controlling American offices of decision making domestically and internationally speaking. It is also important to know to what extent does the American social and political scene, in addition to special historical event helps in the evolution of Jewish lobbying and political integration. The study of lobbying techniques and Jewish uniqueness according to unique circumstances leads us to be more curious about the real relationship between America and the Israelis. Studying Jewish lobbying foundation, evolution and uniqueness are key steps towards the understanding of the overall mutual beneficial relationship between American government and the forcibly established state of Israel.
Résumé

Cette thèse tente d'explorer le lobby juif en Amérique et de son rôle dans la direction de la politique étrangère américaine. Cela se fait à travers d'abord les origines du groupe minoritaire par explication exhaustive de l'existence juif en Amérique. Mon objectif est d'expliquer les raisons de la force du lobbying juif; et donc la relation unique entre ces groupes d'intérêt et le gouvernement américain. Dans ce mémoire je tente de montrer l'importance du lobbying dans toute démocratie et la nécessité de son existence pour compléter le processus démocratique. Expliquer l'unicité de lobbying juif et l'efficacité dans la réalisation et l'accès à des représentants du gouvernement américain se fait inévitablement par l'étude des racines de Juifs en Amérique. Je soutiens dans cet article les immenses privilèges que les lobbies juifs jouissent contrairement à d'autres groupes d'intérêts fondés sur l'ethnicité dans la scène politique américaine. L'étude de lobbying en général et en Amérique spécifiquement nous permettra d'explorer ses origines et l'évolution des objectifs. Je vise à clarifier dans quelle mesure la scène sociale et politique américain, en plus des événements historiques particulières, avait contribué à l'évolution du lobbying juif et l'intégration politique. L'étude des techniques de lobbying et l'unicité juive selon les circonstances uniques m'a amené à explorer un autre dilemme qui est en quelque sorte plus pratique. Cette question concerne la relation spéciale, mutuelle et bénéfique entre l'Amérique et l'État d'Israël. Cette question est en fait ce que toute la question de ce papier est d'environ; c'est la raison visible derrière laquelle tout le monde pouvait se poser la question, pourquoi ?
ملخص

هذه المذكرة تحاول اكتشاف اللوبي اليهودي في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ومدى تأثيره على سير السياسة الخارجية لهذا البلد. و هدا عبر دراسة أصول هذه الأقلية العراقية أولًا عن طريق شرح مفصل لتاريخ تواجد اليهود في أمريكا. اهتمامي سيكون توضيح السبب خلف قوة اللوبي اليهودي و من ثم العلاقة المميزة بين منظمات الضغط و الحكومة الأمريكية. أحاول من خلال هذه المذكرة أن أظهر أهمية تواجد اللوبي في أي حكومة ديمقراطية و كذاك الحاجة لمثل هذه المنظمات لتكملة العملية الديمقراطية. توضيح خصوصية اللوبي اليهودي و فعاليته في الوصول و التأثير على حكوميين من مستوى عالي و هدا عن طريق دراسة جذور اليهود في أمريكا. أناشس في هذه الورقة الامتيازات التي يتمتع بها اللوبي اليهودي على عكس أقليات أخرى في أمريكا. دراسة اللوبي عموما و في أمريكا خصوصا سيمكننا من اكتشاف هذا النشاط السياسي عبر بداياته و تطوره وصولا إلى الوقت الحاضر. هذه التقنيات و كذاك مختلف أنواع هذا النشاط السياسي سيمكننا من فهم استراتيجيات ومنهجية اليهود في التحكم في القرارات السياسية الأمريكية سواء داخليا أو خارجيا. أسعى إلى توضيح إلى أي مدى الوضع السياسي والاجتماعي الأمريكي ساعد على تطور الأقلية اليهودية في المجال السياسي. دراسة تقنيات اللوبي و خصوصية تواجد اليهود بالنظر أيضا إلى خصوصية الأوضاع السياسية والاجتماعية والتاريخية نستندنا إلى اكتشاف علاقة نفعية متبادلة بين أمريكا و البلد إلام اليهود "إسرائيل". هده القضية هي في الحقيقة جوهر هذه المذكرة و السبب الحقيقي وراء كل سؤال قد يطرح عن قضية اللوبي اليهودي في أمريكا.
Dedication

To my supporting husband and dear son

Also to my big family, especially my parents
Acknowledgements

Praise be to Allah, the Glorious, without his mercy none could have been possible. I am particularly grateful to my academic supervisor Dr. F. Maameri, she has been a source of academic inspiration and motivation as well as a great methodological guide throughout the whole mémoir. Personally, she is my inspiration in reaching respectful level of teaching methods especially concerning history and western civilization. My warmest gratitude is also extended to my father, my sisters: Amina, Meha, Ikram, Tasnim and brothers: Mohammed, and little Taha. Very special thank for my loving husband Ilyes whom have been very supportive in my educational path since I first knew him, and extremely caring and helpful in this specific mémoir. I am also grateful for his patience and support in hard times that I have gone through.

Finally I want to acknowledge everyone who contributed in the realization of this memoire including the English department of teachers and administration. Head of the list is Dr. Maameri who has in fact made this master project happens. We all thank her for the hard work, valuable experience and guidance.
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<tr>
<td>AIPAC</td>
<td>American Israeli Public Affair Committee</td>
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<td>AZPAC</td>
<td>The American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Chief Executive Office</td>
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<td>DPs</td>
<td>Displaced Person’s</td>
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<td>FPRI</td>
<td>The Foreign Policy Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAO</td>
<td>The General Accounting Office.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>JINSA</td>
<td>The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>LDA</td>
<td>Lobbying Disclosure Act</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations.</td>
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General Introduction

For many decades the forcibly established state of Israel in 1948, had and still is violating Palestinian lands as well as international laws during crises between Israel and Palestine and sometimes with the whole region of the Middle East. This violation incarnated in political assassinations, conquering lands, and military aggression, has always been a matter of discussion at an international level. This situation automatically raises crises and conflicts especially during UN sessions because of the amount of pressure executed in whatever way to mislead international opinion, or at a lesser degree to diminish any punishments or decisions in favour to the Palestinians. Israel wouldn’t have done all this without a powerful partner which is the USA. The American politicians and media had a fervent support to Israel and had always provided crucial military, diplomatic and financial backing. Some assume that America has always seen the Middle East as the most strategically important area in the world. This importance actually lies in the oil resources and wealth in the region. If we look into the contemporary history of the Middle East we find different and sometimes unconvincing reasons for American intervention in Mid-Eastern crises in favour to Israel. For example The Soviet Union expansion, threats of American interests, spreading democracy, eliminating dictatorship and lately banning the spread of nuclear weapons; all these reasons or better said, pretexts were behind the American intervention in the region. In midst of all these violations that had unfortunately gained international legitimacy, Israel had been always the winning part.

In April 1996, the Israelis attacked an U.N. refugee camp in Qana, this attack has resulted in killing 103 innocent men, women and shamefully children also. This intentional slaughtering of civilians was not sufficient for the United
States to condemn Israel. In addition to this illegitimate support, any showing of military resistance in the occupied lands in Palestine which would result in killing two or three Israeli soldiers is severely condemned by America. Israel during these crises was always away from American politicians’ criticism. Not only that, these criminal acts could never reach the hearings of American general public by the controlled media and if they do the image would be so sympathetic in favor of Israel. These acts and others uncountable do indeed make any layman wonder about the reasons of such an immense support. Many depict the relationship between America and Israel as a passionate attachment this is better explained by George Washington as follows:

passionate attachment to another nation produces a variety of evils...the illusion of common interests where no real common interests exist; adopting the enmities of the other; and participation in the quarrels and wars of the other without any justification. Still another evil is that such a passionate attachment gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens the facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country. (qtd in David par 9)

The Founding Fathers of the American nation and Constitution were always hinting to the dangers and evils that might be brought by the American social multi-culturalism and therefore multi-political opinions and leanings.

The reason why I am proceeding with this research, is to show the amount of pressure executed by the Jewish interest groups upon American politicians and officials, and have they really managed to dictate US foreign policy in favor of their reclaimed land to settle a Jewish state despite all the objection by Arab nationalism. The effect of the Jewish lobby upon US foreign
policy is not only a topic of research, in other words, it may not bring about extraordinary discovery. However, I seek to know to what extent these lobby groups effect the foreign policy of a nation and grow to be so strong to manipulate policy making, and most dangerously international decisions. Also I would provide my research with full explanation about the growing and strength of the Jewish lobby in America and not in any other country; explaining the atmosphere that provided the perfect space for those interest groups to reach big political authorities and manipulate international laws and decisions.

My research questions that I asked are the reasons behind the existence of such lobby groups—most strongly the Jewish one in the United States and not in any other country. The American support also, to the newly created state of Israel in absolutely every occasion? And why has the US been willing to set aside its own security and that of many of its allies in order to advance the interests of another state? How come the United States allows an immense interference in its foreign policy making? Especially that those groups are meant to gather, protest and lobby for their social or economic conditions in the host country, not outside of it. The pretext of strategic shared interests as well as common democratic conventions don’t seem so convincing.

Many political scientists interested mainly in studying the Jewish activism around American foreign policy, had wrote exhaustive history and sometime technical and empirical works upon this Jewish lobbying phenomenon. However, if we deeply look at the issue of lobbying in general; we find it very difficult and unclear to be studied similar to any topic that contains social aspects to be investigated. Writer in this field are compelled to collect data that is mostly not publically available, so they rely most of the time on analyzing historical
events that may lead them to deduction and results about a given issue. The common aim of writers that I have read for when writing this memoir was to prove most of the time to what extent do these interest groups head of them Jews are influencing the American government. Amongst the writers in this specific field is Richard A. Smith who have written a Historical book trying to gather as many proves and literature as possible to prove the direct influence of lobby groups on U.S. policy making. When doing so, the writer discusses each branch at a time and its tendency to be influenced by those lobby groups and via which strategy. Other writers, head of them Tony Smith who wrote ‘Foreign attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy’ try to discuss the American atmosphere that contained these interest groups and made their existence and activities even possible. The literature that tackles this kind of analysis is vital in understanding the bigger picture of lobbying in America and under which circumstances it has evolved and prospered. Other writers concerning lobbying tend to be much more technical when studying this political phenomenon. Anthony J. Nownes is one of the writers who had put his emphasis upon discussing lobbying technically. His book ‘Total Lobbying: what Lobbyists Want, (and How they Try to Get it)’ this book teach us how to lobby, and how to start organizing an interest group. It is special in its broad focus on lobbying the different branches of government as well as the types of lobbying that may be adopted according to each groups’ interests and conditions. This book and others similar to it offer a technical empirical insight around the theme lobbying for readers engaging in understanding it.

An analytical methodology is going to be used when writing the three chapters of my mémoire. Discussing a set of the general facts that is
going to be explained and analyzed with reference to the chronological evolution and development. When studying lobbying in general and precisely in America, it is obvious that we need to go back to the history of this nation concerning this political issue and how American government had dealt with such a phenomenon historically speaking. This would provide us with generalizations and deductions through which we would better understand the past, and why not, today’s issues. The analytical approach as well as the descriptive are therefore important to conduct and conclude results about certain hypothesis and questions put in the beginning of the research process.

I have divided my mémoir into three chapters according to three main concepts which I see vital to the understanding of Jewish lobbying in America. The first chapter of this mémoir will contain mostly generalizations about the concept of lobbying. With reference to the United States, this chapter includes an insight about Jewish community in America as well as Jewish political activism. I included some writing of political scientists who put an effort to the phenomenon of lobbying and had studied it from objective perspectives in order for us to learn what is lobbying theoretically speaking. Discussing lobbying general would help us to better understand and apply its theoretical aspect upon real lobbying situation that we see or hear of. The types of lobbying are also an aspect that should be referred to closely in order to have a clear idea about political lobbying and its types and how lobbyists engage in their activities at different levels of government. In addition to the historical reference which would give us a clue about the history of lobbying in the United States; the theme of lobbying would possibly be enough clear to pursuit the rest of the research. Through these first steps, understanding Jewish lobbying in the U.S. would be more accessible.
In the second chapter, I chose to talk about the major reasons and surrounding circumstances in which ethnic interest groups head of them the Jewish one grow to be so politically strong to reach American decision makers. The elements of this chapter would answer the question ‘why?’; why Jews had found the perfect place to live, work and be among the most minority groups to reach such a social, educational, economic and political status. Late in the chapter I would explain how these historic, economic as well as racial and cultural circumstances have been vital in the prospering of Jewish minority in America.

The third and final chapter would be an empirical insight of the Jewish lobbying in America. The Jewish existence in the American White House and Congress is not an easy task and reaching such an access to American decision makers had inevitably been the result of various strategies adopted by Jewish lobby groups. The study of some of these strategies is the right path to understand the very significance of lobbying in America, because it is via these methods we are to conduct the extent to which Jews are really directing American political opinion. The second part of the chapter would show us the results of such activism. These lobbying efforts then will be protested in some American political decisions and interference that serve those lobbyists wishes. These political interactions between America and Jewish lobbies, who in fact are considered as Israeli unregistered foreign agents, would create a kind of a mutual beneficial relationship between the two countries. By the end of the third chapter we come to construct a clearer picture about Jewish lobbying in the United States and its far reaching influence upon its foreign policy especially towards Israelis and the surrounding Arab countries.
Chapter One: 
Theme of Lobbying

Introduction

Mass expressions of public concerns directly addressing federal government are rarely spontaneous. Behind marches, petitions and pressure upon congress legislators there are coordinating leaders of lobby organization that mobilize a group of citizens or sometimes a whole public opinion to act or react towards a given issue that is usually that leader’s interest. In the United States, competition over power in an ethnocentric country is a long lasting battle. Driven by ethno-cultural differences, ethnic lobbies manage to mobilize their constituent communities and thus profoundly influence the U.S. legislative and executive decision-making processes. In prosperous democracies such as USA the ‘rule of people’ is not a slogan for buying votes during election campaigns, and elected representatives do not have an option but submission to their constituent’s demands. These demands are susceptible for magnification by those lobby groups if serving their interests. If it happens that public demands are identical to lobbyists’ interests, it becomes hard if not impossible for congress representatives to oppose or ignore those requests. With the help of lobby groups, and their access to media and government and public support, it becomes an easy task to convince policy makers to engage in initiating or changing legislatives that are in favor to a given lobby group.

The importance of lobby groups in a country is their ability to complete the democratic process, after voting which is at the heart of democracy, citizens are in need to directly-if possible- contact their representatives; this next step is accomplished through lobby groups indispensably. Because of the multicultural
society of America and its foundation that is based upon different races coming from all over the world, lobbying, especially the political one has taken other different forms, and also other goals. I am emphasizing here on goals of lobbying which should be about the overall good of the nation and the interests of the American people. The origins of immigrants in USA can never fade away, no matter to what extent the assimilation process in the American life style had reached; the roots of immigrants and their history will always stick with them.

The feeling of belonging to another country which is the country of origins had made groups of American citizens gather under the umbrella of their origin, religion, race or common history. This gathering of ethnic groups awakened a feeling of an urgent need to be in touch with their homeland and make sure the American foreign policy is directed in favor to those countries through securing American support in diplomatic or financial issues. Since the mid-90s, political scientists had a growing interest upon the influence of ethnic lobbies and the formulation of United States foreign policy.

**General Background**

There is no doubt that the US from its offices in Washington shapes events in most countries in the world. No one also can question its powerful administration and decision makers that care about the American interests around the world. Presidents of the United States, let’s say contemporary Bush and Obama, had shown exhaustive political and sometimes military involvement in every corner of the world; broadly speaking, to enforce and strengthen the world order and protect national interests. These national interests should logically be the main reason for any intervention; however, one layman can notice while watching TV news the massive interference of US administration in middle-
eastern issues. Presidents and ministers speaking about such issues to the public and during international conferences about the need for making peace in the area and establishing democracy. These puzzled speeches do not seem to match what is really going on, they do not match the UN acts, neither international laws, nor human rights. Through this dilemma and what seem to us paradoxical actions done by the US, we must think about the nature of the American political construction i.e., the secret behind the existence and the development of such ethnic interest groups that grow too largely to intervene at different levels in US domestic or foreign policy. These lobby groups are domestic organizations seeking to directly or indirectly influence the government’s policies.

Jewish lobby groups, similar to other groups, try constantly to direct the American public or political opinion for the benefit of their ethnic kin or homeland. Jewish lobbies are classified among the strongest lobby groups in America and had been overwhelmingly defined as:’ a loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape US policy in a pro-Israel direction.’ (Mearsheimer, Walt 40). Jewish lobbies and others had found the suitable environment to prosper and become a true component in making US policy. The question to be asked is, why USA?

Convincing evidences prove that ethno-racial affiliations are generally the most evoking motivation to influence US foreign policy rather than class and religion; unless religion is a critical part of that group’s ethnicity –the case of the Israel lobbies- from the founding of the nation to the present time these groups had applied pressure upon US politicians in matters relating to their kinfolk with twisted means and mixed results. Contemporary investigators of policy making
argue that the interaction of ethno-racial considerations with domestic policy, and therefore foreign policy is critical because of the diversity of the American society.

This ethno-racial influence is not a recent discovery; however, it has a history that goes back to the nineteenth century with the coming of the ‘new immigrants’, ‘the people of color’, and others. Career diplomatist and historian George F. Kennan summarized his perspective in making policy. ‘Our actions in the field of foreign affairs are the convulsive reactions of politicians to an internal political life dominated by vocal minorities.’ (qtd in Deconde 3)

Of course there are many countries with multiethnic minorities such as France, and Great Britain; however, the influence of ethnic policy on foreign policy is uniquely an American phenomenon. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the American people is divided into many groups, so minorities should legitimacy compete for authority and power even in foreign affairs (Deconde 8). This unique phenomenon or better called ‘the dilemma of democratic pluralism’ is at the heart of the founding of America and its policy making process. Here we are left with the problem of multiculturalism with respect to the making of American foreign policy. The interaction between the two will ultimately lead to three consequences; first, dislodging Anglo-Americans ever dominating US policy, second including ethnic groups with different and fresh understanding than those in office, or permit for those ethnic groups to define foreign policy with their kinfolk. So in America the ethno-religious politics are an inseparable consequence of the American pluralism in an attempt to promote their view about their host country with respect to their homeland, mostly. If we go back to the officeholders in America, their job to organize those ethnocentric views about whatever concerns the US domestic or foreign policy
into winning majorities in elections, is what really makes the American democratic process. Prosperous democracies such as the United States proved to be better controlling their internal affairs rather than authoritarian and tyrannical regimes; they nonetheless confront very serious problems controlling their foreign affairs with what is called multiethnic/multicultural citizenship. So degrees of intensity in ethnic groups feeling must be very appreciates, especially if that group is gathered by its racial or religious distinctiveness (smith T. 22). As clearly summed up by Deconde, there was interaction between ethnic identity groups and W.W.I and how this war has trigged those groups to defend their overseas kin and to get emotionally involved in the war creating organizations to push Washington’s policies in favour to their old European homelands. These ethnic diasporas did not fade in the aftermath of the war; indeed, they kept mobilizing and lobbing for their traditional homeland. A very good example is the American Jews who were interested in the Belfour declaration in the late 1917 which promised them a homeland in Palestine.

The Jewish Diasporas in particular are affected by their homeland socially and psychologically in the first degree, because of the constant conflict of their claimed land with Arab neighbours. This intimate connection helps them better perceive the stakes of conflict of their kinfolk country than politicians of their host country. The actions of these groups come accordingly to this feeling of belonging and its identification marks. Their support acts as a propaganda platform that helps to influence host governments and other international organizations (Amborsio 173)

The making of the foreign policy of the United States requires the gathering of the ethnic groups under a single political framework, in order to
better identify the nation interests globally speaking. This gathering occurs only when these interest groups are formatted similarly under the umbrella of a greater system of government; this latter must be aware of their initiatives and activism. However, the US political body (federal system) most notably, has plenty of avenues that enable lobby groups to act, influence and sometimes dictate domestic and foreign policy.

As first defined by President Truman, interest groups come into existence only ‘spontaneously in response to feelings of common interests...[due]to experiencing some form of deprivation or frustration.’ This gathering would promote their awareness of shared interests, whatever the political, social or economic problem they are facing in the host country. These ethnic interest groups have a long lasting history in America, a history that goes back to the early days of immigration in the nineteenth century. They were fed up by wars and conflicts that shacked the new comers’ feelings about their country of origins and led them to participate in those conflicts to defend their ideologies, economies and whatever else reason.

An article written by Tabib Huseynov in the department of international relations and European studies explains that; the history and activism of lobby groups in America, would not exist if the nature of the American political – domestic or foreign- structure was anyhow different. The prosperity of these groups is due to three main criteria of US social and political system. First, the multicultural society, second is the American democracy structure, then the decentralized policy-making system (1-2).
America is uniquely a multicultural nation from its beginnings; these cultures and ethnic groups were actually what had made America. This diversity had been at the very roots of the common sense of the Americans, or what has made them Americans and different from the colonizer. The decision of founding an autonomous state politically, socially and even culturally different proved that the US did have enough unity and cohesion to built a new state. The building of the new state had inevitably been a result of the American public and political patriotism that gave push to the revolution and then independence. The question that is to be asked is whether the ethnic groups had really melt together and formed a coherent political system that serves only American interests inside and outside its borders. In prosperous democracies such as the USA the main problem that confronts the political agenda is the constant attempt to satisfy these minorities that are in fact the American people. The American dream and pot, did not fit for all Americans, not even for the white Anglo population that has dominated American political and social life. America that had provided freedom and opportunity for immigrants with great uncertainty of the coming days of the country. The fear of losing tribal/national continuity has prevailed among different ethnic groups, that is why they have always been willing to support each kin member in order to survive in the best circumstances possible. The pluralistic citizenship of the American people and the democratic process that orders this multicultural society is what provides the background for legitimizing such ethnic activism.

Another factor that greatly enforces the role of social forces in American foreign policymaking is the specific system of political party organization. As Smith indicates, ‘because the Congress and the President can be of the same mind
or the same party, it is conceivable that the institutional struggle built into politics
by the Constitution might not occur and thus, the government would enjoy
relative autonomy in the face of social pressures’ (88). Therefore, the party system
has been built, in which the public officials are not named by the party but
nominated through primaries, whose results are decided by local electorates. ‘The
consequence of such party discipline, Smith writes, is that in practice public
officials may well be as responsive to their constituents as to their party
leadership’ (88). The founding fathers of the United States had founded the
country’s political system and the supreme democratic structure on the basis of
‘checks and balances’ which would provoke some kind of isolation and emptiness
which is going to be filled with intruders to the political system. This explanation
would lead us to deduce that the American policy making, is a process in which
public opinion and societal groups play an important role in shaping political
events and decisions regarding the degree of the public consensus. As Muller and
Risse-Kappen explain: "...public opinion becomes a resource which competing
elite factions try to mobilize for their purposes. Public opinion defines broader or
more limited boundaries on the range of options available to the political system,
depending on the degree and the specificity of the public consensus.”(83)

The founding of USA as a state based country imposes the federal system
upon this nation. The states of America enjoy a unique independence as well as
decision making concerning internal affairs(civil laws, education, ...). This largely
decentralized government gave enough space for the actions of various interest
groups to act and gather support to whatever cases and via whatever means. The
exceptional American character of individualism and capitalist markets prevailed
along with freedom of speech and human rights. Owing to all these circumstances
and others, it was the first time in history that minorities and religious Diasporas such as the Jewish one, had had enough freedom to share and partake within the mainstream people’s societal and political activism. The Jews in particular had much benefited from the American openness and egalitarianism and social pluralism. Edward Tiryakian has depicted the conditions of Jewish population in America saying:

I would propose that Jews in America have not been marginalized as “Wholly others” by virtue of their religion; there has been no historical ‘ghetto’ experience, no programs. In fact because of a deep structure affinity of Calvinist Puritanism for Judaism, it is in America that Jews have increasingly found full societal and cultural participation and acceptance symbolized in widespread acceptance in recent years of the term ‘Judaico-Christian. (85)

The perceived source of the Jewish oppression back in Europe was their religious identity; which caused them too much hatred and discrimination, and therefore failure to integrate. One of the primary reasons that led the Jews to assimilate better in America is their ability to compete and succeed in the marketplace and had sometimes performed even better than previous immigrants and locals. The process of assimilation of Jewish Diasporas similar to other ethnic groups did went perfectly; the majority of Jews had abandoned their religious obligations in favour of secular achievements pilot of which ‘education’. By 2000, 60 per cent of the Jewish population had held their bachelors’ degrees and 20 per cent master degrees and by the end of the twentieth century American Jews have reached unrecorded secular success throughout all their history. We conclude then, that the bounding of the Jewish immigrants and the United States was due to
the quality of exceptionalism for both. The exceptionalism of the founding of America and the very nature of its political and social structures being qualitatively different from other nations, and the exceptionalism of the Jewish community, tribal bounding, interweaving history and the uncommon success intellectually and economically.

The Jewish efforts to reach civic and political equality with the rest of the American community was very clearly seen since the beginning of Jewish migration to the new world. This sense of solidarity and persistence on the continuity of Jewish new life and new opportunity in America had been a full time job for Jewish activists, they tried to better the social, then political conditions for the Jewish community at first and for homeland issues later. So the common sense of Jewish immigrants in America led them to rethink their civic status through organizing themselves onto interest groups to put some pressure upon the host country so as not to repeat the same experience similar to that back in Europe.

**Definition of Lobbying**

Lobbing, lobbyists and lobby groups, these terms might seem as well-known and well-traveled and therefore would be well defined. This, however, is not the case. In their thorough overview of the literature on interest groups and lobbying in the United States, political scientists Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech note that “the word *lobbying* has seldom been used the same way twice by those studying the topic” (qtd in Nownes 5). After considering many definitions of lobbying that has been offered over the years, Baumgartner and Leech ultimately settle on this basic definition: Lobbying, they say, is “an effort to influence the policy process.” This is a good definition but it is not ideal, including “policy process” in the definition of lobbying introduces a bit of
confusion. Here then is Anthony Nownes’ slightly modified version of Baumgartner and Leech’s definition: “Lobbying is an effort designed to affect what the government dose.” (5) Nownes definition for the term leads us to conduct that lobbing is a process rather than a single activity, this implies also that whatever lobby group seek to influence what a government dose by a series of activities over a given period of time. Understanding lobbying requires understanding the varying behaviors of a group of individual lobbyists; working at different levels of government, for several different types of organizations, on a seemingly endless variety of issues; using a wide array of techniques; and achieving various levels of success.

The effort made by individuals or organizations to influence the thinking of a legislator or whoever official in authority for or against a specific cause is the core principal of lobbying. Zetter is another writer who defined lobbying as “the process of seeking to influence government and its institutions by informing the public policy agenda. It is also, the art of political persuasion.” (2) By public policy agenda the writer suggests that interest groups may also need to seek to influence “executive agencies, Quangos [non-governmental organizations], regulators, local government and the media.” (3) Good lobbying usually means getting involved at the very earliest stages of policy formulation. This can mean getting think tanks to champion the lobby group’s ideas, or it can mean feeding in to the policy reviews which all of the major political parties undertake between elections. Alternatively, it can mean using the media to alter the public perception towards an issue, thereby indirectly influencing the party officials and politicians who want to get elected or stay elected.
When we talk about lobbying in the United States and more specifically Jewish lobbying, we can never escape a book entitled *the Israel lobby and U.S. foreign policy*, written by Mearsheimer and Walt. The writers of this book defined the term *lobby* as: “[a] loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction.” (40) The book focuses mainly on the Jewish lobby and U.S foreign policy. The writers insist that Jewish lobbyists go beyond voting for candidates or legislators who are pro-Israel; however, they manage other extra activities of writing petitions, contributing money and supporting Israeli organizations made the American Jews fully committed to helping their kinfolk back home. Broom defined lobbying, on his side, as a function of public affairs that builds and maintains relations with government primarily for the propose of influencing legislation and regulation. (qtd in Breg 1) Lobbying, one of the oldest professions, has always been part of the political and legislative system (Zorack). By definition, lobbying usually involves attempting to influence legislation. Zorack explains:

Lobbying has been defined in many ways but, in essence, it is the right of any citizen or interest group to petition government or Congress and provide information designed to influence the passage or defeat of any legislation of the United States. (p. 24)

Nownes in a comprehensive book “total lobbying”, has defined lobbying as “an effort designed to affect what the government does. An organized interest is defined as an organization that engages in political activity. A lobbyist is defined as a person who lobbies on behalf of an organized interest” (7) we notice here the use of the term ‘organized interest’ rather than ‘lobby group’. Nownes explains the use of this term as being the correct one because lobby groups are gathered
due to their common shared characteristics which gave them motifs to defend a given issue under a united voice. The term organized interest on the other hand, is vague enough to encompass the entire range of organizations that lobby in the United States(6)

To conduct, lobbying is a constant deliberate attempt to influence political decisions as the best result, through convincing policymakers to line against or for a given issue that is the lobbying group’s interest at the first place. The core activity of lobbyists lays in their ability to provide approximate interpretations of a given piece of legislation, either to the public or to the legislators themselves. In most times those studies of final interpretation are what pushes legislators to vote for or against a given bill, on the other side; those interpretations and arguments given by lobbyists are also decisive in influencing public opinion.

**Historical Background**

Lobbying has been going on since time immemorial, and certainly there is reason for saying that lobbying is one of the world’s oldest professions. Whenever an individual, or group of individuals hold power over their society, there will be other individuals or groups of individuals who constantly tried to persuade them to exercise that power in a particular way. Lobbying is both natural and inevitable, the right to petition the government or any ruling regime is a constitutionally and naturally protected right. The courts of kings and princes were crowded with courtiers, and those courtiers were the lobbyists of their day. Beginning with England, as described the first democracy in modern politics; the first enhancements of lobbying were dated back to the signing of magna Carta (1200). With the resurgence of a modern style of group politics which were born out of
new social and economic status, the interests that demanded a larger place in the process of decision-making also greatly increased. A unique criterion of British politics at the time was of course the Parliament which opened doors for various interest groups to lobby for different issues (Zetter 2). The thirteen British colonies in North America were by far the first to adopt the British political system including their right to petition the government. by the mid 1700s, different interest groups and labor unions demanded their rights from colonial assembles and British governors. The right to petition American government was first clearly enforced in the first amendment of the Bill of Rights (Herebenar; Morgan 1-7):

amendment I

freedom of religion, of speech and of the press. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of people to peaceably assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances. (qtd in Herebenar; Morgan 6)

This bill was in fact introduced as a response to an article written by the father of the American constitution James Madison, when forming the Federalist Papers. Madison had been emphasizing what he called “the dangers of faction” the word faction came to mean what is today ‘organized interests’. Madison had warned from these dangers on the overall good of the nation.

Another recent version puts the origins of the term in Washington in the 1860s. Those seeking to influence President Ulysses S Grant would gather in the lobby of the Willard Hotel and try to attract the great man’s attention in order to
discuss their concerns with him. Legend says that after a while President Grant
tired of their attentions and referred to them scornfully as lobbyists (Zetter 6).
Historically the US was on the forefront in regulating lobbying by adopting the
Regulation of Lobbying Act in 1946. Congress had passed the first law regulating
lobbying activity under the title of ‘the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. The
primary purpose of the act was to provide public disclosure of lobbying activities.
It required lobbyists who were defined as any person or organization that was paid
to influence Congress, to register with the clerk of the House of Representatives
or the secretary of the Senate, lobbyists were also required to state their purpose
for lobbying, and provide quarterly updates on their clients and fees (Ragon par 1). Since money is crucial and a key variable in any lobbying activity, the act had
clearly aimed at regulating money donation to congressmen to reduce the
influence of lobbyists on government. The act also prevented lobbyists with the
most financial resources to influence government more than those who possess
less money. These reforms enabled the American government to reveal the real
size and scope of lobbying activities as a result of their official registration

From these early roots lobbying in the US has developed enormously in
scale and sophistication, the development of the lobbying industry has been aided
by the fact that getting elected and re-elected in the United States is an
enormously expensive business. By the start of the twentieth century the lobbying
in Washington had evolved still further, New media such as radio were embraced,
as were new technologies such as the telegraph. This enabled the US lobbying
industry to start engaging in the kind of grassroots campaigning which is still at
the heart of the US lobbying industry today. Grassroots lobbying is a kind of
lobbying that is aimed at ordinary citizens rather than government decision makers. Although public policymakers do not always respond to citizen demands, studies show that government officials (especially elected officials) generally consider ordinary citizens’ opinions when they are about to make decisions or signing bills. (Nownes 74-75)

**Types of Lobbying**

Before we get to specify our study of Jewish lobby in America, we shall first get acquainted with the different types of lobbying at different kinds of levels to better understand the interweaving events that link society with lobbyists with government. 1-First lobbying program type is **policy shaping**. Policy if defined is not an exact science in which arguments must be about policy itself; however, it is about policy, personalities and events. Lobbyists therefore must act on the basis of these three levels. On the light of this, if a lobby group wants to help shaping policy it ought to reach and convince the three parts of policy making, which are: political parties, Congress and third party endorsement. (zetter 42) First, since the construction of any democracy starts with political parties it is obvious that one of those parties will exist to gain and then holds power and take decisions. If a lobby group can persuade them that a certain policy is going to cause that party to lose votes; members of the party would consider altering or modifying it. This happens mostly with parties in opposition, because these parties are in a constant battle to win electoral votes in a coming election, these parties are also in need for financial support as well as intellectual endorsement. These situations always make parties in opposition approachable to new political ideas. The advantage of flexibility of parties in opposition facilitate the work of lobby groups to alter the thinking of the leaders, redrafting manifestos…act offering mutual services for the
possible success of that party in elections and in another hand advancing the lobbyists’ ideas. (zetter 43)

The second level of influence is Congress; this kind of lobbying is also called “direct lobbying” in which members of lobby groups directly contact legislators in support or in favor of a given legislation. This lobbying technique is at the heart of decision making in the United States and a key pillar of a lobby’s effectiveness. The success of a lobby group in congress can happen only with a direct contact in the house itself; this is happening with the Jewish lobby with the previous existence of member Dick Armey who declared in 2002 that "My number-one priority in foreign policy is to protect Israel." (Mearsheimer; Walt 42). Jewish Congress man and senators are the source of the lobby’s power; they look to certain issues in terms of their Jewishness. These politicians and lobbyists-at the same time- inside the congress derive their power from another Jewish institution which is the AIPAC [American Israel Public Affairs, Committee] this organization is at the heart of the success of lobbying inside the congress. This power is due its capacity to reward congressional candidates who support and work for fulfillment of its public agenda, and to punish those who are against it or working to critic it. The punishment and reword is a financial one; since money is crucial in US elections, AIPAC makes sure that its friends are well financed in election companies against its enemies that were not so supportive in previous occasions or those seen as hostile to the state of Israel. (Mearsheimer; Walt 43)

Lobbying for a third party is another strategy of policy shaping; sometimes a lobby group needs to have his argument and position reinforced even though its reputation or argument is strong enough to persuade decision makers.
Different strategies are used to attract that crucial third party endorsement. First the gathering and search for any other bodies or organizations that hold similar or identical views, then forming a temporary alliance to join forces and try to influence the government in specific areas through pressure. Second technique is to write and publish a supportive pamphlet – better if written by a think tank - this kind of objective, scientific writings will certainly carry more weight and would be more convincing. Logically, ministers, political officials and civil servants are more likely to change their minds if ten organizations lined up against them, instead of just one. (zetter 45-50)

2- Grassroots lobbying, it occurs when lobbyists attempt to influence legislation through an attempt to affect the opinions of the general public or any segment of the public. A communication with the general public will be treated as a grassroots lobbying communication. (Nownes 74) This kind of lobbying occurs through different techniques such as, urging citizens to contact their legislators or other government employees who may participate in the formulation of legislation. In this case lobbyists provide citizens with enough information through identifying the recipient’s representative and means to contact him to facilitate the contact. Unlike organizations such as the AIPAC, grassroots activism gives voice to those groups which cannot afford to write big checks to politicians. This task inevitably require the use of a crucial means, which is media, both to influence citizens’ opinion or to lead them to contact their elected officials in government. When we talk about media in America, Jewish power and weight can never be unseen. Jews depend hugely on media to manipulate public opinion and their perspective on Israel is deeply rooted in the mainstream of American media journalist Eric Alterman writes, the American media is “dominated by people who
cannot imagine criticizing Israel."(30-31)) Editorial bias is clearly seen in journals like The Chicago Sun-Times and The Washington Times they are strongly pro-Israel and rarely publish any articles that criticize it. (Mearsheimer; Walt 43) The journalists and reporters of the audio-visual media always seek objectivity and truth in their work; however, this is not an easy task in occupied territories. The state of Israel makes sure it discourages reports that are not favorable to its reputation through holding back those journalists whatever their nationalities. American audio visual and written media, head of them The ABC, NBC, CNN, The Washington Post, New York Times, People Magazine, Hollywood companies all have either a Zionist CEO [chief executive officer], Zionist news president, or are owned by a media mass company that has a Zionist CEO (Zionist structure in US n.p.).

Grassroots lobbying, then, unlike other forms of lobbying, involves a two-part flow of information. First, the lobbyist conveys information to citizens. Second (if the grassroots lobbying is successful), the citizens convey information to policymakers.

3- legislation changing: perhaps the purest and most effective lobbying is the one that directly influences the legislation formulation during presentation, discussion and voting. The law making is the ultimate goal for any interest group; getting a piece of legislation to your advantage greatly facilitates the task in coming battles. Pressure groups exert influence at different stages of legislative process starting with presentation, sponsorship, behind scenes negotiations, drafting and proposing amendments… these early stages are in fact more important than roll call votes. Non-financial influence is unlikely to change final legislative decisions because of the commitment of representatives or
congressmen to appeal for their constituents’ interests. On the other hand, most empirical studies show that campaign contributions may have a direct and significant impact on legislative activities by committee members. Monetary contributions can buy governmental access i.e., the ability to see and to speak with government decision makers. In other words, money can “open doors” and can buy effort and foster the lobbyist’s relationship with legislators. Studies show that while a monetary contribution to legislators may not change their minds about a specific piece of legislation, it may cause them to push harder for a specific proposal or to “put in a good word” for a donor (Nownes 80).

During the Oslo peace process between Israel and Palestine about the creation of a Palestinian state, not surprisingly, Palestinian negotiators complained that they were "negotiating with two Israeli teams one displaying an Israeli flag, and one an American flag." (Blumenfeld 11). These officials consistently push for policies favored by Israel and backed by organizations in the Jewish lobby. This latter favors lobbying at the level of legislators because of the unusual accessibility of formal and informal forums for direct interaction; since the legislator’s work is directly attached to their constituent’s service and lobby groups help them doing their job especially at time of campaign activities.

To conduct, proves about the concrete influence of lobby groups upon final legislative voting are not very clearly seen, because of the shortcoming data that links pressure made by lobbyists upon legislation changing or final voting on laws in favor for those interest groups. Lobbying for legislation changing especially through campaign donations, on the other hand, will certainly buy access to legislators in the House of Representatives and government officials. So, lobbyists in this case are reaching big heads of policy making who will be for sure
very helpful in advancing particular interpretations of the consequences of certain legislative proposal. These interpretations of consequences whether concerning the public good or the politician’s future is what may influence the legislator’s thinking towards a given law proposal. The construction and the deepening of such relationships build the lobby’s power and authority to manipulate governmental decisions. Those lobbies act more significantly and effectively if backed by supporters inside both houses like we have seen with the Jewish lobby above. (Smith 90-94)

**Conclusion**

In the United States, the roots of ethnicity-based foundation of social structure as well as minority straggle for political influence Driven by ethno-cultural differences, there was and there will be constant foreign attachments to countries of origins. This attachment is an inevitable result of the growing sense of belonging; therefore, immigrants felt the need to stand by their kinfolk outside the borders of the U.S.A. this feeling had soon transformed into real job and commitment towards issues concerning international politics in an attempt to secure the political and diplomatic well being of those countries of origins. Efforts made by ethnic interest groups in America to direct its policies concerning several issues are backed by the fact that they are acting from a strong base which is America itself. The diplomatic heavy weight of America in the U.N. and other international conferences gives extra push to those lobby groups to better introduce their concerns especially at an international level. Historically, the U.S. has been rich in variety of ethnic groups, cultures, religions and backgrounds. The challenge to the U.S. is not caused by the hybrid abounding structure of its nation,
but by the individual interest groups that serve political causes other than those of in the interests of America.

Foreign conflicts and Antagonistic interests of the rival parties, ethnic lobbies manage to mobilize strength of their constituent communities and to profoundly impact the U.S. legislative and executive decision-making processes. Lobbying for international cases is an inevitable outcome of a strong lobbying in domestic policy. In the United States lobby groups approach people in power via the three branches of government, and using public pressure as well to impose or oppose legislatives that do not seem in favor for their interests or those of their kin constituency. The preservation of Jewish life can be understood to be a matter of familial solidarity, but it must also be seen as the product of their will of many Jews to function as a community. The Jewish solidarity in America is in most part religiously identified especially after World War II; the Jews felt free in America and they were given full citizenship the same as other ethnic minorities.

The American capitalism, secularism and federal government are key principles and core founding pillars of the United States. These factors were also crucial to the Jewish community to better assimilate and incorporate in the American society and political arena. The democratic political system of the United States requires the contribution of all segments of society and therefore all minority groups into the making of political decision.

The Jewish minority is one of the most effective minorities politically speaking. This effectiveness is due to several reasons and circumstances which were the result of different historical events as well as other political initiatives taken by head Jewish leaders that were constantly dedicated to the serving of Jewish interests inside and outside the United States.
Chapter Two:

A Strong Jewish Lobby, Why Uniquely in U.S.A?

Introduction

This chapter will tackle the Jewish Diaspora in the United States regarding first the early immigration to the new world, then the next phases of immigration during the second world war comparing to other minorities seeking refugee or residence in America. Discussing the Jewish race or color is crucial in understanding the Jewish assimilation in the American society and then in the political arena. The American culture is basically a European one and ultimately Jews would naturally survive in such an environment that is not quite strange regarding every aspect of culture. Jews were enough acquainted with Christianity, European social and political life and the American scene was no different. None can deny the good economic status of Jews in America, this is an aspect that help us better see the successful integration of Jews and how they managed to participate significantly in the world of business.

The economic well being of Jews is the core principle of founding organizations and lobby groups that work hard to alter the political opinion of American officials. The final point in this chapter is the American sympathy towards Jews; that is to say, how the Americans –people and government- see the Jewish status as people who were crucially discriminated especially in Eastern Europe. The Jewish lobbying is one of the strongest lobbying in America, understanding the reasons of such a strength requires going back a little to Jewish-American history and present time to link events and circumstances for full
understanding of Jewish uniqueness in America especially at the level of lobbying.

1-Jewish Immigration to America

1.1- Early Coming

The journey of Jewish migration to the new world had begun with the first exploration of America by Columbus in 1492. At that time the Iberian Peninsula was at time of war between Christians and Muslims and it had witnessed what is called the ‘Reconquista’. In this period in Spain mainly not only Muslims who were kicked out of the peninsula, however all minorities that were not Christian; were either tortured or expelled and Jews were no different. This action set off a period of intense Jewish migration. Seeking to escape the aggressiveness of the Holy Inquisition, some Jews in the sixteenth century sought refuge in The Netherlands. A century later, hundreds of their descendants sailed into the ocean to settle in the new Dutch colony of Recife in Brazil, where Jewish communal life became possible for the first time in the New World. When Portugal recaptured this colony in 1654, its Jews scattered. Refugees spread through the Dutch Caribbean where they had the opportunity to start fresh Jewish communities.

Twenty three Jews crossed the remote Dutch port of New Amsterdam nowadays ‘New York’ and requested permission to remain there. This marked the beginning of Jewish communal life in North America (Jonathan D.; Jonathan G. par 01). Jews were very careful with their religion and identity being explicitly and openly practiced. Only after experiencing safety and security for several generations were the American Jewish communities secure enough to construct synagogues and establish communal relations with their host Christians overseas. (Krohn145)
those first pioneering Jews settled for the first time in north America faced the need to construct a Jewish community. Jews in this sense are about to be permanent settlers and they had to have their own worshiping places, schools, cemeteries and other institutions uniquely for Jews. Jews had formed synagogues in North America exactly in New York as early as 1654 at the time of their arrival. This desire to keep and preserve Jewish tradition is the repeating history of Jewish suffering of discrimination mostly everywhere. If we consider that at that time the European thinking and extremism especially concerning religion is still standing and of Course would be transformed to the British colonial America logically.

Jews had faced opposition and criticism almost like all minorities newly migrated to America; however, the thing that was a bit different is the absence of Jewish ghettos that were segregated in and pushed into back in Europe (Pencack 4). So we can say that Jews hadfound a bit better place to survive than in the European continent; in addition to religious tolerance, Jews found themselves as pioneering in international commerce as merchant-shippers which was the heart of world economy at that era (Reiss 1). By 1729 Jews were living in North America with a majority of Ashkenazi Jews i.e. those coming from Germany practicing their religion freely and assimilating into the new world life via doing what Jews are the best in doing which is business (Feingold 12). Jews were very famous for their ability of putting together the different components of business and entrepreneurship considering tow major factors that shaped American economy at this early time which are the territorial expansion and the foreign trade. The economic capitalist system was one of the new world criteria and was brought mainly by Jews who were familiar with the European feudal system and its
shortcomings. Jews had the opportunity to trade and become a linking thread between Europe and America via getting involved in the entire range of commercial activities which preceded the development of capitalism (Feingold 14). From this starting point, Jews had found what it seems the promised land in which they are about to live, worship, work and prosper freely likewise any other human race deleting their history of expulsion on each occasion. Jews in America found a suitable place to live in and most importantly be a part of, Marcus explain exhaustively in the following lines:

Despite their European origins [Jews] speedily became “Americans”, developing also a Jewish culture that was distinctively their own. Social controls were weak; Judaism as a religion and as a way of life prospered through a policy of salutary neglect, yet these Jews were loyal to their people and their faith. (25-26)

Jewish preservation of their religion and therefore culture is a matter of ethnic commitment to the very principles of culture head of them religion. Judaism was not a so respected religion in British colonial America, this has resulted in the emergence of Jews called the ‘maroons’ or Jewish Christians who converted to Christianity in order to avoid religious discrimination. Of course Jews would not risk this new opportunity in this new land, they thought of getting involved in the economic arena as a way to full social assimilation rather than being extremely religious people similar to the European pattern. Jews suited perfectly the economic mode of colonial America which was basically and overwhelmingly agrarian one. We do not assume that Jews were to practice agriculture, but they have worked on complementary artisans for they were
known among the most professional European craftsmen. This artisanship was very helpful and inevitable in the development of agriculture and commerce and therefore economy. This had set off the first beginnings of Jewish encounter with the new world and its challenges to keep up a better place to settle in. Feingold in his book ‘Zion in America’ maintains that “Jews became backers, tailors, peruke makers, braziers and generally participated in the myriad crafts by which pre-industrial America produced goods and services.” (37)

This economic integration within the American society was the first link between Jews and their host people. Starting from artisanship and international trade mostly with Europe, the first Jewish generation begun to assimilate or more accurately acculturate with the American society. Acculturation according to Richarz is a lesser radical adjustment that better suites the American adoption of lifestyle rather than assimilation which she sees it as a strong term to depict the Jewish adjustment to the European way of life head of it Christianity (79). To sum up we assume that acculturation according to the previous factors cited above occurred more readily comparing to the Jewish attempt of assimilation in different European countries.

1.2- Special Immigration Processing for Jews During, Before and After WWII

Emigration policy is a crucial element in defining any ethnic group’s future in the host country. This policy is a changing one because of certain demands or needs of the host government and it alters from one ethnic group to another. Jews more strongly than any other Diasporas seeking immigration to the United States had proven an immense desire to influence U.S. immigration policy into their favor. This Jewish insistence to seek refuge is due to the so called anti-Semitic persecutions in Europe, because their survival dictated the changing of home land
each time. So concerning immigration in general upon its different phases, Jews were always motivated by the fear of anti-Semitic recurrence (Macdonald 242). In this sense, since their arrival to the United States, Jews were to guarantee that similar anti-Semitic movement where not to re-occur in America. This task was facilitated by the fact that America was different from other European countries that previously hosted Jews.

The uniqueness of American social and political arenas lye on the pluralistic nature of the country; ‘historically, major anti-Semitic movements have tended to erupt in societies that have been, apart from Jews, religiously or ethnically homogeneous.’ (qtd in Macdonald 242). This pluralistic quality of American society has been beneficial to the Jewish minority in a sense that they would construct an ethnic group similar to many other minorities.

**A-Jewish Immigration to America After WWII**

After the war, President Truman had taken initiatives to make immigration procedures more accessible and relaxed. US immigration restrictions for Jewish displaced persons were taken into consideration after the war because of the fear of developing an anti-Semitic sentiment again in the United States. In December 1945 executive order allowed for 16,000 Jewish refugees to enter the United States between 1946 and 1948. Another step into facilitating immigration processing for Jews was the passage of the Displaced Persons Act in 1948. This act allowed US authorities to grant approximately 400,000 visas to immigrants above the quota system. (Unites States’ Policy par 6)

These Congressional actions were of a major importance for the immigration of Jews to America. These procedures were taken as result of a world war that at some Point depicted the Jewish social and humanistic status in Europe
and drew a sympathetic picture of them especially in America. In 1948, following intense lobbying by the American Jewish community, Congress passed legislation to admit 400,000 refugees to the United States. Nearly 80,000 of these, or about 20 percent, were Jewish DPs. By 1952, 137,450 Jewish refugees including close to 100,000 DPs had become permanent settlers in the United States. The 1948 law was a turning point in American immigration policy towards Jews.

These decisions concerning Jewish immigration were not purely the intention and work of the American government, however; there were strong Jewish interest groups that pushed and defended those decisions to come true. These groups defending the relaxation of immigration procedures were came to be known as the anti-Restrictionist. These Jewish movements were a kind of political lobbying seeking to alter the American government’s policy; its primary goal was war refugees at the time of the war and later the immigration for several other reasons. Advocating a liberal immigration policy was a need for the American Jews, because their survival was at stake due to the recurrent anti-Semitic persecution in Europe and elsewhere (Macdonald 296). In this case Jews were known for their uniqueness as an ethnic immigrant group in America to defend a liberal and open immigration policy. Jews had fought for this internationalist foreign policy to ensure a multicultural pluralistic America rather than a unitary one. This would serve Jewish interests inside the country, as Cohen explains, “an internationally-minded America was likely to be more sensitive to the problems of foreign Jewries.” (342)

2- Race and Culture

The United States is a country known for its uniqueness in the social structure, this country has absorbed millions of immigrants and their descendents
despite the prevailing white Anglo-Saxon race. This race had exterminated the aborigines of the land to create an America based on a common sense of uniqueness. Jews are best known for their readily assimilation into the American society although they had suffered discrimination around the world. A lot of political scientists talk about the uniqueness of American Jews as an ethnic group and how it is different from other minorities. I see that the most evoking reason for Jews to assimilate more perfectly in the United States is the religious relief they found in found there. Freedom of religion is to play a crucial role in cultural assimilation for Jews because religion was always a decisive criterion they were judged with back in Europe. Since assimilation generally means that minorities would look like white Anglo-Saxon protestant race, some ethnic minorities found themselves more likely to integrate better others.

The Jewish European culture and tradition, despite religious affiliation, was a bit more helpful for them than other races that fled or immigrated to the united states; Jews in this sense had been risen and grown in a similar society to that of America. It is right that the United States of America was built out of a common sense of uniqueness and differentiation from the British colonizer; however, it was inevitable for people living in America to follow the mainstream of the white Anglo-Saxon origin that had socially and politically prevailed. Not until the beginning of the new era of immigration and the second generations that ethnic groups in America started to rethink the type of assimilation and the importance of their original culture and belonging. Jews had understood from the very beginning of their arrival to the new world that their concrete role and omnipresence impact in the American society was to determine their social, political, economic status in the future. Ethnic groups would better assimilate as
Alba and Nee put it concisely “taking full advantage of the opportunities offered by American society, […] requires individualistic mobility, not ethnic loyalty.” (5)

2.1- Whiteness

The advantage of Jewish influence upon Americans unlike other immigrant races in USA is due to unique reasons of their own. One reason which I see very significant is the advantage of whiteness, this implies that If one is perceived as possessing it or embodying it, whiteness has the ability to open doors that might otherwise be closed. If one is perceived as being outside the realm of whiteness, or called what is known as people of color, they would be automatically shut out and considered inferior by nature since it is the norm and the ideal. Yet whiteness is not reduced in particular physical characteristics, if this was the case many Arabs would be lined up as whites. Therefore we come to conduct that whiteness requires the condition to approximate the norms, conventions, habits, and aspiration of whiteness by ‘being like’. (Petu 45)

The western and precisely the American pattern of life which implies Christianity, whiteness and capitalism, requires the imitation of these norms to fulfill the full image of a white citizen. Immigrants with physical appearance that is not of white race suffer discrimination; on the other hand, even other races with physical appearances like those of whites do complain from the same mistreatment. So theoretically speaking, if one wants to integrate and assimilate fully in the American society he ought to change his own identity to fit the western culture and ideals which are considered to be the norm and nature. So, in this case we understand that whiteness is a term and a concept disguised behind westernization.
When the majority of Jews had reached the middle-class, and with the arrival of non-European immigrants began to arrive in North America in greater numbers in the 1960s, Jewish communities in America found themselves inhabiting a much friendlier, less discriminative environment. During the 1870s, for instance, the Jewish community was largely perceived as part of the white folk of races and had been welcomed as American citizens (Goldstein 12). This was the outstanding difference that had characterized Jews and was a crucial criterion that shaped their history of assimilation in the United States. The white Jewish appearance and their control and success economically speaking let this immigrant community to take the lead in American modernization; which in its turn allowed them to be more accepted or better said imposed upon this society.

Brodkin's book, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America*, is probably the most well known examination of Jewish whiteness in America. Brodkin in his book argues that the American society was racist and anti-Semitic not only towards Jews, but to all immigrants. The writer has pointed to a very important special case which is the Jewish assimilation after the second world war in which middle class workers and citizens began to emerge (28). Jews were among the first minority groups to reach high education status and to hold place in giant American manufacturing corporations. This book is perhaps the most exhaustive one that had explained the effect of race and color upon the process of assimilation in America. The writer insists on studying the relationship between race and class, mainly here the investigation of the relationship between Jewish inclusion within whiteness and their assimilation into the American middle class.

The GI Bill of Rights was a decisive step towards Jewish economic and
social integration. This law formally known as the Servicemen’s Readjustment act [SRA] of 1944 which was set to provide greater opportunities to returning war veterans of World War II. The bill, signed by President Roosevelt on June 22, 1944, provided federal aid to help veterans so as to cope with the American civilian life concerning hospitalization, purchase of homes and businesses, and especially, education. This bill has disproportionately gave these opportunities excluding women and African American, Jews had much benefited from these programs regarding their privilege of whiteness.

2.2- Cultural Assimilation

Jews as generally know had migrated to America from a variety of countries, however; once they arrived to the united states they felt the need to reunite and assimilate in the new society without sacrificing their religion and Jewish customs. Jews at their first arrival were among the head minorities to attend English classes and later gained high educational status in famous universities in an attempt to fit in and become American citizens.

In addition to the great Jewish ambition to reach middle class American citizens, we must also refer to one fact that made Jewish cultural assimilation possible in America. The relationship that had linked Jews to their religion and specifically to their mystical side of it was a bit weak mainly in a country that did not judge people upon their religion as it did upon their race and color. Jews rather had rapidly understood the type of environment they migrated to, so they turned to the concrete side of life which by far was business and commerce. Markus once depicted American Jews as ‘a nation of shopkeepers’ (qtd in Sarna 185). The Jewish business spirit has made them merchants with far reaching lies overseas. These qualities had been in fact the first and most significant reasons
for later Jewish assimilation in the American society.

Sarna in an article discussing the Jewish the American Jewish culture, had shown us another understanding of the nature of the tow cultures which is based upon the belief that Judaism and Americanism are to reinforce each other. This reflects an ongoing effort on the part of American Jews to interweave their "Judaism" with their "Americanism" in an attempt to cope with a society that is not quite strange with their culture (2). Liebman, another scholar who is fairly interested in the Jewish cultural attachment to the American one explains in this passage the extent to which Jews found the perfect cultural and social scope to line in: “There is nothing incompatible between being a good Jew and a good American, or between Jewish and American standards of behavior. In fact for a Jew, the better an American one is, the better Jew one is.” (qtd in Saran 3).

We come to conduct that Jews in fact found a receptive environment in America considering the aspect of culture. The identification of Judaism with America had made the abandonment of Judaism unnecessary and therefore suitable for living and earning a good social status. Since "by being a better Jew, one became a better American as well”, and to be a better American was what immigrant Jews most wanted. When we talk about race and culture, Jews are to be considered as the perfect minority group migrating and living in the United States. The Jewish whiteness in terms of its norms that approximate the Christian protestant ones is quite an open door for this ethnic group to seek and find refugee in this country. Contrary to other European countries that had been once Jewish home lands, America had offered Jews first of all the religious tolerance. It is obvious that religion is at the core of any cultural grouping of a certain people and allowing it to be practiced freely is what makes an ethnic group in a foreign society prosper and cope in the same time.
The Jewish cultural assimilation in the United States is a process that had been characterized with more looseness and rapidity comparing to other minorities that had migrated to America the same time as Jews or even earlier. The Jewish cultural integration in American society, economy and then politics are continuous and complementary phases that built one another. We cannot talk about a strong Jewish political lobbying in U.S. without going back to reasons and circumstances which historically had been at the heart of the Jewish building of a political identity.

3- Economic Well Being

Jews have always been part of the American society throughout its history, if not one of the most prominent players. Besides the political and social circumstances, the economic side served as a crucial factor to help the Jews better assimilate in the American society, far unlike Europe. One of the most significant differences between the Jewish experience in America and the Jewish experience in Europe is that in American Jews could be judged on their individual merit America was ‘the new opportunity land’ unlike Europe where the attitude towards the community laid to restrictions and made difficult the ability to grow a prospering business. In America more opportunities for economic advance were available. (Jewish immigrants from Europe and because of the anti-Jewish laws, were greatly deprived from occupying almost all professions. Thus many started as traveling merchants with a very limited amount of goods to be exchanged but with the opportunity America gave them, they managed to develop their business from back carriages and foot traveling to owning permanent stores providing cities and towns, opening banks and running investments, a social mobility , often referred to as the realization of the American dream. It is than a fact that Jews had a significant role in the American economy.)
Jews, none differently than other Americans pursued all kind of work opportunities. They became farmers, merchants, craftsmen, cowboys, miners and they had even been among the first pioneers of the California Gold Rush. In the late nineteenth century and beginnings of the twentieth century huge waves of immigrants landed on the New World’s shores. Persecuted Jews from Eastern Europe fled to America where they found, relatively, more acceptance and most of them settled in major cities; they held jobs in factories and took part in the industrialization of the country. This crucial side of life that without it the Jews could never reach and sometimes surpass the natives in almost all domains of life.

This American Jewish enterprise needs to be understood as contributing not only to the larger society but to the sustaining of Judaism and the Jewish people within and outside the United States. The American Jewish economy contains a number of core elements that contribute to its vitality and reflects its embedded connections with core American principles. The values of competition and choice are essential components of this system. A commitment to the role of voluntarism represents another significant feature in expanding its impact and presence. The federalist system of governance and power-distribution operating inside the Jewish communal system is similar to the American political system with its separation of powers. The focus on innovation and entrepreneurship emulates the general economic culture.

Finally, the commitment to marketing and consumerism drives significant elements of the Jewish economic story. Yet, beyond its affinity with these economic principles, there are distinctive Jewish values and the overlay of its communal historical experience that give special purpose and definition to this system, aligning it with the global Jewish enterprise. There are a number of
elements that define the American Jewish economic system. First, the infrastructure, the Jewish community since the nineteenth century had been investing in hospitals, universities, banks, museums, schools,… within this economy, thousands of individuals are employed performing different roles and services. Second and most important, is the financial viability that has been surveyed in the American Jewish year book which provides some comprehensive data on Jewish communal finances. Mark Pearlman suggested that the Gross Domestic Product of the Jewish community consists of $9.7 billion; studying the different categories of activities and funding throughout the course of a given fiscal year. The third prominent element of the Jewish economy in America is investment; every economy must focus on ensuring continuity, which is one of the core features of the American Jewish economy that is very committed to invest in their future. For example the Jewish Funders Network noted: “as the number of Jewish foundations and individual funders grow- more than doubling in total assets over the past seven years to nearly $30 billion in the United States alone.”

The economic status of American Jews can be well traced since their early arrival, when Jews had cleverly invested their previous artisanship and commercial qualities into the American economic arena which was in need of such working hand. The later Jewish economic success came as a result of this early integration in the field.

4- Sympathy towards Jews

World War, holocaust, racial segregation are all well known phenomena that had featured the European social and political scene in a giving period. The amount of history written about this period is so comprehensive and exhaustive depicting every military, diplomatic move also analyzing and discussing each
political or military interference. The holocaust had occupied the largest space in
the writing and making of European history and the Jewish one; Jews had been
the main theme of discussion talking about genocides and crimes taking more than
6 million Jewish lives. The world wars had taken millions of lives, however not
only Jews who were killed and tortured; people from all over the continent had
suffered the same.

This table shows us an approximate number of World War II victims from
most European countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Estimated N° of victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>5.5 – 7 millions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews (of all countries)</td>
<td>6 millions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian POWs</td>
<td>3.3 millions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian civilians</td>
<td>2 millions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavians</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsies</td>
<td>200,000 – 500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>3 millions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estimates of Non-Combatant Lives Lost During the Holocaust (browning 64).

The millions of people whom have died during the war had not been a
subject of victimhood or looked upon under whatsoever mercy or sympathy like
what happened and happening with Jews. The American and worldwide
consciousness and understanding of the holocaust became uniquely associated
with the history Jews. The Jewish propaganda worked to make the Jewish
suffering the only focus and had lined up academic historiography to emphasize
the Jewish holocaust as an event that had been uniquely Jewish. The answer to
this misunderstanding of Nazi persecutions during the Second World War is the
well structured Jewish propaganda of using such an event to create a history that
is full with tragedy and sympathy. This strategy had well worked for Jews all over
the world especially in the United States.
Another misunderstanding of history, or at least what had been available to us to know, is the constant accusations directed towards official and non-official Germany. Jews as we always have know were oppressed, persecuted and segregated in Germany and by German government only, however, this was not quite the truth. Poland was a military dictatorship, which was implementing at that time a policy of ethnic pressure, that is to say, all non-Polish minorities were subjected to discriminations and various degrees of persecution with the intention to convince or rather to push them to emigrate. Jews have been also one of those minorities who were treated this way, in fact this polish anti-Judaism was so massive that many Jews have preferred to live in Germany rather than stay in Poland. All these allegations and other have helped constructing a stereotyped image of Jewish suffering in Europe as if they were the only people which had witnessed the war (Heddesheimer 42). In his book “the first holocaust” Don Heddesheimer had noted very clearly that Jews had well used the first and second world wars to gain sympathy as well as money. The writer had argued that after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the defeat of Germany. These two were unable to defend themselves against those Zionist claims because of the unfavorable political and diplomatic international circumstances in the aftermath of the war. The writer has also pointed out to a fact that severely contradict the Jewish Zionist claims which is the Jewish population growing prior and during the second world war. This growing in population contrary to other minorities and ethnic groups living in the same country and under the same conditions would obviously be a sufficient answer to people investigating the Jewish holocaust (14).

We return back to the American general public opinion about the holocaust and what had happened in Europe generally speaking, the image that is
to be drawn in the American’s minds would be absolutely that made by the American written and audio-visual press. In the aftermath of the Second World War, and with all the problems that had faced the Jews and the American government especially concerning immigration and refugee crisis there was a sense of political feeling of guilt. The exaggeration of depicting the Jewish suffering in Germany and Europe during the war has resulted in creating the term ‘holocaust’ as a unique experience for Jews only. The management of such a propaganda had been a very crucial element in directing the history of Jews in Europe, America and in the middle-east. What had happened for Jews, or what we were told, had “created a guilt complex among non Jews” (Novick 75). The western world then had to make up the shortcomings of previous policies which were inevitable during the war. Countries such as the United States had acted according to what it saw as humanitarian duty and a charity that came simply as a reflexive response to homeless and wretched survivors of the war. However, the question that is to be asked is, why the American government had no such a reaction towards crisis and tragedies that had happened especially in that period of time were people all over the world were very acquainted with wars. America head of the western world in general was the first to support the creation of a free Jewish state in Palestine as a re-compensation for what had Jews ‘suffered’ in Europe. Here we come to conclude that the American public and official opinion was somehow directed even unintentionally or unconditionally to give a helping hand to the Jewish displaced persons or even those residents in America. Unlike the American public opinion who was not quite neglecting of the Jewish conditions in Europe; the government was somehow obliged to act in favor of Jews to make for previous inaction during the war time. Governmental or official
sympathy was in fact what Jews living in America really needed in order to better their social as well as political status. Jews after the Second World War were much more able to defend and lobby for their interest in America or for their brethren back in their newly created home in occupied Palestine.

Conclusion

Talking about lobbying in the United States and especially Jewish lobbying requires the need to go back a bit to talk about the history of this ethnic group. The history of the Jewish minority is attached tightly to their history in Europe mainly; the strength of such a Diaspora in America is not a coincidence however going back to the historical background can give us an idea about such a Jewish status in America.

Since their early arrival to the new world Jews have been a very active ethnic group especially with a kind of more tolerant society they found compared to Europe. The history of Jewish immigration to America as we have seen early in the chapter had played an important role in determining the Jewish existence and future in America. These phases of immigration regardless the difficulties and obstacles were in fact what had built the Jewish identity and strength in America.

Later in the chapter I had also tackled the notion of the Jewish race and culture which in my opinion had been at the heart of Jewish assimilation in America. The Jewish whiteness and culture that perfectly accommodated the American one, especially if we compare it to other ethnic minorities migrating the same time as Jews, these two factors were crucial in determining the kind of acceptance Americans felt for Jews.

If we are to consider one more reason for the Jewish strong existence in America, we must not escape the economic status of this minority group and how
it was built since early immigration. The commercial and capitalist spirit of the Jewish thinking was inevitably to lead them to immense success in this domain which is money domain. Owning money then would ultimately bring about power and influence and another reason or Jewish supremacy in the United States.

After going through these reasons to explain the link behind the strength of Jews in America and not any other ethnic minority, I saw it is quite a shortcoming not to mention the sympathy America has towards Jews, this factor is indeed an important one if we look deeply into the history of Jews mainly in Europe. Jews had used that historical propaganda to serve their interests in creating the state of Israel back then, and to create a sense of guilt for western countries head of them America. The study of these factors helps us see more clearly the deep side of the Jewish minority in America and how it has came into existence in the first place. Through this we would understand the roots of the Jewish social, economic and political status and how it had affected their lobbying activities.

Jews in governmental offices or close to them are in constant working attempts to use the authority and power to serve interests that are not purely American’s. This is one good reason why there is a lot of literature written about the Jewish lobbying and contribution in American domestic and foreign policy. The above elements of this chapter provide us with a general understanding of Jewish control and power.

Understanding the uniqueness of Jews as a minority in America and as a political interest group is a step towards the grasping of the reality behind controlling U.S. foreign policy. These groups which in fact work as a united body in service of a common goal, work in coherence in order to direct the foreign policy in favor of Israeli interest inside America and outside of it.
Chapter Three:

Jews Directing American Political Opinion

(Strategies).

Introduction

Going deeper and concrete is what this chapter would normally provide. In this third chapter I am going to speak about the relationship between the United States and Israeli government in the occupied territories of Palestine. Through this study we shall know the mutual beneficial relationship between these two states and what are the reasons behind the Jewish influence upon American foreign policy. In addition to that, the reasons of the American political, military and financial support for Israel in almost every occasion.

The main focus of this third first chapter is discussing the Jewish lobbying efforts to direct the American policy especially the foreign one and most precisely that concerning the Israel. These lobby groups had came out of a strong ethnic Jewish minority that is socially, economically, intellectually and therefore politically superior like we have seen in the second chapter. The mutual beneficial American-Israeli relationship had to be the support from both sides, after seeing the Jewish support for American politicians; we shall also see the American support for Israel. America has showed through history the unconditional, immense support for Israel. America has always been an active ally for Israel supporting it diplomatically, military and financial whenever needed; and on the other hand, overlooking its non-obedience to international law as well as its terroristic activities in the occupied territories of Palestine.

1- Jewish Lobbying Strategies to Influence U.S. Government.
American Jews and their Christian allies whom are interested in the American political agenda concerning mostly the foreign policy towards Israel, or this latter’s enemies in the area, try by all means to reach decision makers in American congress or government. The ambitious Jewish minority in America had been and being very conscious and active concerning supporting newly created their home land, Israel.

The over-representation of certain issues discussed in the House of Representatives are often interests of certain lobby groups whom have been active in contributing to a certain electoral campaign. These interests often are cared about at the expense of the general American public who are in fact unorganized citizens comparing to lobby groups. Jewish lobbyists attempt various methods in order to influence the American government to direct, alter or shape its policy towards Israel and the surrounding countries, of course in favor to Israel. Among these attempts, Jews rely mostly on money as a significant tool to reach American officials or at least to get access to them. If we talk about politics, we are certainly talking about persons, i.e. politicians who make politics. These politicians are in fact the American elite in most part, and influencing them sometimes requires more than just supplying their campaigns financially. In this case the Jewish lobbying strategy tackles also the intellectual part of the political process. Influencing think tanks is a crucial strategy to reach the political arena and to get to the point even more cheaply.

**a- Influencing Think Tanks:**

When it comes to the study of Jewish influence on the American government and therefore decisions, one must consider the fact that American Jews have managed to maintain unquestioned support for Israel. Over the last
thirty-seven years, despite Israel’s seizing land and engaging in a brutal suppression of the Palestinians in the occupied territories; there was a tremendous misguidance and indifference clearly seen by the U.S. government. This American unconditional support to the Israeli oppression and non-obedience for international law, has make the world wonder about secrets behind such a behavior. This secrecy behind the unexplained support had urged public as well as intellectual scholarship to search and study American political behind scenes in order to interpret such a relationship.

If we look at the definition of the word ‘think tank’ we would see its direct relation with the government and how close it is from the offices of decision making. Think tanks can be individuals, corporations, institutions or organizations that serve the public policy of a given government. Contributing in shaping the public debate as well as the actual policy, pro-Israel think tanks, the Jewish lobby now have a very strong intellectual tool to influence American policies. In 1985 the Israel lobby in America had constituted what is called the ‘WINEP’ which refer to ‘the Washington institute for near east policy’. Explicitly meant for –as the title suggests- providing ‘balanced and realistic’ insights about the middle east issues; however, this institution is funded and run by people who are deeply connected and committed to advance Israel’s interests. These twisted methods used by Jewish lobbies similar to such organizations presenting an image that explicitly serve the American national public good, whereas the truth is working another nation’s interests in and outside America.

The Jewish lobby influence upon these think tanks organizations surely extends beyond the ‘WINEP’ several other institutions are run and controlled by Jews who dictate exactly their leanings, opinions and activities. Over the past
twenty five years Jewish lobbyists had established many think tanks institutions in order to complete the lobbying process via the intellectual method. These organizations among them we note: ‘The Brookings Institution’ (1), ‘The Center for Security Policy’, ‘The Foreign Policy Research Institute’, ‘The Heritage Foundation’, ‘The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis’ and ‘The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs’. If we notice the nature of these think tanks institutions, we clearly see the political leaning of each; these organization gather to advice and work for political issues in the U.S.A. and are very close to governmental officials. These pro-Israel think tanks include very few, if any, critics of the American support to the state of Israel. (IBP. U.S.A 81)

Think tanks are the intellectual epic center of the policy planning process. These non-profit organizations provide the research and early policy proposals that eventually find a home on Capitol Hill. These institutions provide the ground for experts in various academic disciplines to devote their time to the study of policy solutions and alternatives. The members of these institutions, being from the class of the ruling intellectual or business elite, do shape public opinion through publishing books, magazines, websites and holding columns in writing journal articles. The most outstanding job that think tank institutions do is providing the political world with future government and public officials. The formation and recruitment of these future politicians, of course according to these institutions’ conventions, is at the heart of policy shaping and directing.

The immense attention and concern about national security as well as foreign affairs and policy is clearly seen in these institutions’ agendas. Since these organizations are to link their intellectual “objective” knowledge with governmental actions and decision; it is obvious that the image of what is going
on in the world is drawn is the one conveyed to American general public and why not the government. An example of what is called ‘international terrorism’; none has ever discussed the root causes of terrorism or defined terrorism, or state terrorism objectively. All what Americans know about El Qaidaa, Taliban and other terroristic groups is their cruelty and unreasonable engaging in wars and killings for absolutely nothing. On another hand, these think tanks organizations work hard in convincing the public and government of the heroic role played by the US and its army in areas of the middle east attempting always to spread democracy and peace. (Raja par 4)

Pro-Israel think tanks disguised as patriotic and nationally committed to the American political and social well being, are in fact the center motif for the American public and political perception of Middle Eastern issues. The overall perception of terrorism, crisis and wars in tension areas like the middle east are mostly, if not, wholly transferred and interpreted by those Jewish think thanks. This strategy immensely helps in controlling the American public opinion about such foreign policy issues; and later win their support and sympathy when needed. Given these circumstances, the American and western world would overwhelmingly and for good ignore the real reasons behind the existence of such so called ‘terroristic organizations’. These Jewish American think tanks actually shape the American perception and knowledge about international issues, the thing that explains somehow the absence of social and civic movements in shaping and deciding American foreign policy towards the Middle East. Think tanks provide the government with new political solutions for assumed issues; these institutions are then funded mostly by private corporations and businessmen so eventually they would promote what this elite class would ultimately suggest.
Everything in politics world seem and it is in fact linked to different social, financial and authoritarian circumstances we do have to pay attention to all these aspects to study a certain phenomenon. Domhoff, the writer of the book: “Who Rules America” had explained exhaustively the different steps of policy making; saying that “Think tanks are the intellectual epic center of the policy planning process.”(71) Think tanks in America are a very central part in the making of US domestic and foreign policy; despite of all this significance, these institutions do have some political biases towards certain issues. These leanings can be seen in the institution policy and program as well as their recommendations o government and officials. The main reasons for think tanks being biased towards certain political avenues and not another is mostly because of the political orientation of the leadership in the organization, as well as what their base of financial support. There are often other hidden interests behind the political opinion of think tanks. To lobby using think tank institution is by far the most significant and easy way to reach government offices. Jewish lobbying has been known for its great financial capacities, the thing that enforces its chances of getting closer access to decision making corridors. When we consider that most think tanks are financially supplied via private foundations, this would raise the question about the nature of those suppliers and why would they invest money in such a way. The circle of Jewish lobbying in America has many links and aspects to be studied in order to fully master this political issue.

b- Financial Supplying of American Presidential Campaigns.

When it comes to the financial contribution of any lobby group in America, this case of influence is somehow difficult to study and prove. The main
obstacle that faces scholars in this aspect of Jewish lobbying is undeclared real amount of money given and to whom exactly and on what conditions. Of course lobbyists do have the right to appear and lobby for their causes via different strategies; however, when there is a strong lobby in America such as the Jewish one it becomes hard to control the amount of interference and therefore influence.

Between the period of 1990-2008, the Center for Responsive Politics held statistics of Jewish contributions to campaign elections and has concluded that: “pro-Israel interests have contributed $56.8 million in individual, group and soft money donations to federal candidates and party committees since 1990.” Another source which is the Washington post which estimate that democratic presidential candidates depend on Jewish sources for 60 per cent of money from private sources. (qtd ibp.USA 15) This overwhelming presence and contribution by Jewish in the most important and significant electoral campaign is a clear prove of their qualitative political interaction and therefore influence.

American presidential candidates obviously need huge amounts of money to run their electoral campaigns to reach and convince the American public. Contributing money therefore is crucial in starting and managing a successful campaign. As we have seen above, the majority of this amount of money is given by Jewish lobbying organizations as well as Jewish private foundations. Understanding the flow of political power in America or in any democracy requires the deep study of campaign finance as a more measurable way of tracing the political influence and the circle of political vs. financial interaction. Jews in fact had melted in the American society, this full integration in this multiethnic society had allowed Jews to be an integral part of the community and not only an ethnic-centered group. Jews had built a strong minority of their own until they
surpassed the high expected norms of the white Anglo-Saxon prevailing group. MacDonald in his article “understanding Jewish influence” explains the Jewish superiority in the American society:

Jews constitute 45% of the top forty of the Forbes 400 richest Americans. Fully one-third of all American multimillionaires are Jewish. The percentage of Jewish households with income greater than $50,000 is double that of non-Jews; on the other hand, the percentage of Jewish households with income less than $20,000 is half that of non-Jews. Twenty percent of professors at leading universities are Jewish, and 40% of partners in leading New York and Washington D.C. law firms are Jewish (MacDonald 14).

The Democrats tend to have more Jewish support whether in financial matter or during presidential election voting. Being interested in financial causes, a good number of American and even Jewish scholars have been interested in studying the amount of these contributions and to which party is it directed to. As Wallace explains in his article concerning the Jewish contributions to the presidential campaigns arguing that the percentage ‘sixty percent 60%’ of Jewish donations to the democrats did came and was mentioned by “respectable mainstream sources” citing many, even Jews. To show the significance of Jewish influence upon American policy making, it is enough to assume the results of financial reduction in Jewish donations to predict the destiny of any ruling party.

The single biggest donor to American politicians is Israeli billionaire Haim Saban. In January 2007 it was revealed that he had donated approximately $13 million to various US political candidates (Weber). Investing such big amounts of money by these businessmen reveals the real character of Jewish political
community and their attachment to the making of American policy. These investments, most of the time in money, and the direct attachment to American politicians at the highest levels of decision making gives an extra push to the Jewish lobby to make friends with American decision makers in order to serve their interests. Macdonald in his first volume ‘understanding Jewish influence’ had cited more than three hundreds national Jewish organizations in the United States, with a budget estimated in the range of $ 6 billion. These huge amounts of money owned by Jewish interests are systematically invested in supporting Jewish causes inside and more importantly outside the borders of the U.S. Funding pro-Israel organizations and think tank institutions is a first step towards reaching the direct responsible for decision making.

**c-AIPAC as a major contributor**

Since the creation of the Jewish state on May 14, 1948, the United States and Israel has maintained very strong ties. A tremendous amount of aid, especially military and economic aid, has been given to the country. This willingness to risk and set aside American interests in favor to a newly created state proves to what extent the American foreign policy is controlled, especially when it comes to issues concerning Israel and its continuous wars with Arab neighbors. Best example is seen in the Unites States interference with the Soviet Union twice: in 1967 and again in 1973. Understanding this dilemma of American foreign policy behavior require the introduction of a key player element which in one way or another, shapes American foreign decisions most importantly in the middle east; being a hotbed of tension since decades. Israel lobby in America had reached such sophistication due to the existence of mass organizations such as the AIPAC; having developed an organized presence in Washington and across the country.
that is backed by generous campaign contributions and intensive lobbying.

AIPAC is the strongest lobbying group that advocates pro-Israel policies to the congress and executive branch and is referred to as the most important organization shaping and leading America’s relationship with Israel. AIPAC was founded in 1953 by Isaiah L. Kenen who was originally president of the American Zionist committee for public Affairs (AZPAC); in the coming twenty years since its foundation, AIPAC has started developing enough financial and political power to sway congress’ opinion until it became as Stephen Lendmen depicted it “an unregistered foreign agent”. This quote explains the violation of this lobby group to the very definition of special interest groups in a given democracy; the foundation of lobby groups necessitate the cooperation with citizens and government to advance the shared interests and public good.

These organizations are vital to the democratic process; however, if their efforts are directed to promote another country’s interests especially when their actions are negative, pervasive, or will cause any undesirable outcomes to the state’s welfare, they must be seen then as dangerous and threatening. Grant Smith in his book Foreign Agents had provided his readers with exhaustive information and history about AIPAC so as to understand the threat and the present danger of this organization upon the American political process. The use of money and political power to benefit a foreign government made the AIPAC a foreign agent to Israel at the expense of American democracy and military. Such power cannot be confronted even by congressmen, doing so is a career-ender (lendmen p..), it manufactures and amplifies lies to promote fear, for example the Iranian nuclear program; AIPAC warns the world on its website “while the world talks, Iran enriches; more pressure needed”, or “the international community must
dramatically increase pressure”.

AIPAC's original internal code name in the American Zionist Committee was "the Kenen Committee." Its results have been unparalleled in the history of foreign lobbying. An AIPAC member declared that the State Department seriously opposed Kenen's earliest lobbying efforts. Kenen on the other hand, worked members of Congress and obtained initial approval of $15 million in aid to Israel, despite State Department opposition. This early success set AIPAC's strategy of seeking aid to Israel not on the basis of merit, but through fake grassroots efforts financed by foreign funds from Israel to "prime the American pump." The Israel lobbying campaign for favorable public relations and media coverage included strategically directed gifts and grants to U.S. colleges and universities for new Israel-centric "Middle East Studies" departments and unfettered lobbying with tax-free funds recycled from overseas into the U.S. political system. The United States aid to Israel was increased to $1 billion by the year 1973, and about $3 billion in 1988 which was the highest amount of US aid given to any country. The earliest founders of this organization understood that money was vital to the continuity and survival of the Jewish lobby, Jews in America and back in their state. Besides financial strength, a key pillar of the lobby’s effectiveness is its ability to control the political debate through preventing critical comments or commentators to get a fair hearing in the political and median arena.

AIPAC, being from the first and most prominent lobby groups in America had long attempted to sway the United States policies towards the middle east. A clear and evident example in contemporary history is the October war in 1973 between Israel and Arabs.
Goldberg in his book *foreign policy and ethnic interest groups*, depicts the efforts made by the AIPAC and its president Kenen to persuade the American congress to provide immediate financial and military help to Israel. The morning following the Egyptian-Syrian attack, leader of AIPAC gathered thirty Jewish community presidents as well as sympathetic politicians and legislative assistants to his office. Kenen urged his fellow guests to write statements and petitions urging Congress to support Israel immediately. Those strongly written statements drew similarities between the Egyptian-Syrian attacks and the Japanese aggression on Pearl Harbor (45). On October the 13th, the Nixon administration allowed a military airlift of arms and materials in support to Israel. The United States’ help to Israel during this war was estimated nearly about $2.2 billion arms and aid (Kenen 305). Kenen and his stuff had behaved in a formal manner, regarding their concentration on the legislative branch of government because all aid appropriations must be approved by Congress.

AIPAC also had been focusing on media; through leading telegraph and letter writing campaigns in favor to the Israeli military situation, and had purchased advertising space in major newspaper throughout the United States. AIPACs’ immense effort during this war was a virtual example of how interest groups lobby the American foreign policy-making process through being constantly active and informed. This Jewish lobby has the enough strength and statesmanship to cope with the uprising problems threatening its constituent’s core values which are survival and security of Israel. Having this highly adaptive quality to changing circumstances, “[AIPAC] is an essential feature of an institutionalized ethnic interest group” (Goldberg 46).

Ethnic lobbying is considered to be an effective way of influencing U.S.
foreign aid and defense policy decisions. When it comes to discussing ethics of ethnic lobbying which become a major subject of public criticism and scholarly debates, the majority of studies focused on the Jewish-American lobbying groups that pioneered ethnic lobbying. The debate among scholars is generally about the triumph of Jewish-American lobbying in formulating U.S. policy towards Israel; and how they managed to put Israel safety in front of Americans, keeping their commitment to protect the survival of their country of origins (Thomas 230). The attachment of Jewish Americans to their history in the Middle East or Eastern Europe plus the special political culture of the United States during its foundation and development; made the Jews cope with the tolerant nature of American politics. They have adopted the political and social common sense of US and found it very suitable comparing with their situation back in Europe.

The omnipresent past of Jews in Eastern Europe being discriminated by Germans, and before it their persecution during the re-conquest in the Iberian peninsula is deeply graven in the Jewish memory. Finding new land with new opportunities away from being oppressed was the very beginning of Jewish “revenge” and the only way to secure a homeland that is for Jews only. These circumstances were in fact motives for the Jewish people to finally settle, on the expense of indigenous Palestinians who now suffer Israeli oppression and an American full support to that oppression.

David Verbeeten has written an article in the Middle East quarterly emphasizing The American financial support to Israel and the role of AIPAC in increasing the American aid especially in times of war. Verbeeten has taken the data of this graph from a book entitled The $36 Billion Dollar Bargain written by Abramo F.K. Organski (16)
The immense amounts of money given to Israel as a foreign country in need of help; these financial contributions seem to be an American duty towards Israel, and a congressional habit passing financial and military aid bills in favor of Israel and not to any other country.

If we deeply look at this graph, we shall see the big difference between the amount of financial aid given to the state of Israel and other Arab countries. The huge difference of aid given by American government clearly depicts the American intentions towards the causes and crises in the area of the middle east. Especially if we consider that all the cases that require financial or military aid has
a direct or an indirect relation with the Arab-Israeli conflict, which seems constant and infinite.

AIPAC plays a very important role in convincing congressmen to initiate and pass bills of annual aid to Israel as if this state is being considered as a strategic base to be protected and supplied financially and military if necessary. Like we have seen earlier, AIPAC is the core organization of the Jewish lobbying system in America. This strength had came from the ability of AIPAC to support other Jewish interests and most importantly for being close to the legislative body which is responsible for initiating bills in favor to Israel and the Jewish community in America.

2- American-Israeli mutual beneficial relationship.

Earlier in this chapter we have seen the Jewish political activism and the various strategies used by Jewish interests to reach offices of decision making in America. Jews have been and are very committed to the controlling of American political process and they are fully acknowledged by all branches and governmental offices concerning almost each and every political step. Of course this generous supplying of election campaigns as well as funding organizations and institutions favoring Israel’s interests is nor for free. In return to all these generous financial help, American politicians whether the ruling party or any executive or legislative body would automatically be in service for those organizations and the latter’s interests and engagements as well as principles and beliefs.

The General Accounting Office (GAO) has informed Congress that the Actual level of U.S. aid may be as much as 60% higher than the publicly Available figures. This is the preliminary result
of a detailed study of U.S. aid to Israel by the GAO. “A major issue could develop next year [1983] over how much of the GAO study may be made public.” (qtd in Chomsky 49)

The American government has always been informed of the amount of pressure Jewish interests have on politicians that were once their allies in election campaigns. This pressure on politicians and therefore on American decision making and policy process is to be stopped or even reduced through a series of restriction laws that theoretically would govern this lobbying activism. One concrete attempt came from the House of Representatives in 1946 which had passed the ‘Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act’. This law came to restrict the financial contribution of lobby groups that by any way try to influence the legislation in congress. The law demanded the registration of these interest groups as well as a report of full financial donations.

In matter of the fact, all restrictions whether domestic laws or international decisions were not taken seriously by the American government when it comes to Jewish and Israeli interests. A very clear example is the U.S. military aid to Israel (e.g. the cluster bombs can be used only in self-defense), funding settlements that were considered as barriers to the peace process even by the U.S.A. Ian Lustick depicts the reality about the American aid programs to Israel saying: “in contrast to most other aid relationships, the projects we fund in Israel are not specified, and no official of the State Department or the aid program has ever been assigned to supervise the use of our funds by the Israeli government.” (Chomsky 50)

The relationship between America and Israel has often been described as ‘special’. This specialty or uniqueness can be seen explicitly in various occasions especially when it comes to the Arab- Israeli conflict and the war in the occupied
territories in Palestine. Besides the diplomatic and political support, the American government commit itself to a very generous military and financial backing in times of peace and even more in wars. This special relationship have been seen in American financial, military, and diplomatic support for Israel which has grown significantly and steadily throughout the past sixty years. Some scholars argue that the American leaning to favor Israeli interests in every occasion has in fact been the number one reason for foreign hostility towards America and Americans (national summit par 1). When it comes to foreign hostility, the American government had experienced such a thing, the 9/11 events are the most standing example. The unconditional support for the state of Israel has been discussed on the basis that Israel has been and still is central to U.S. diplomatic and military interventions in the Middle East. We conduct then that since America is interested in the area of the Middle East whether strategically or economically, we would further see the special relationship evolving even more.

a- American political/diplomatic support to Israel.

The argument that the American support to Israel is driven by special American interests in the Middle East is not quite convincing, regarding the various American interventions to protect the forcibly established Jewish state. American political and diplomatic backing is clearly seen during crisis and wars with indigenous Palestinians. For example, on June 26, 1982 the United States was the only country to veto a UN Security Council resolution that decided the simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli and Palestinian military forces from Beirut. A few hours later, the U.S. and Israel voted against a General Assembly resolution calling for an end to military interactions in Lebanon. (Chomsky 48)
Over the years and especially after the 1967 war, the relationship between America and Israel had a special character. The diplomatic support that Israel gains from the U.S. has few, if any, parallels; especially if we consider the weight of U.S.A. in world politics. Some Members of Congress and some political scientists criticize U.S. support for Israel without sufficient scrutiny of its actions or their impact on U.S. interests. The political and diplomatic backing of Israeli actions towards the Palestinians and the surrounding countries is crucial to Israel existence, strength and controlling of the political scene in the whole middle east. American diplomatic standing besides the state of Israel is a first step towards other domains of aid and it would open doors for financial and military backing. This immense and continuous support is backed by the belief that arming and supporting Israel, the United States’ vital interests will be enhanced predicting any future potential threats. Israel in its course for violating Palestinian lands had found a very strong friend which has been diplomatically standing by Israel’s misguidance and distortion of international law and human rights.

Signing treatments and acts show clearly the volume of American-Israeli political partnership. We take an example of “The United States-Israel Strategic Partnership Act (H.R. 938, S. 462). The American Congress has passed an act of mutual partnership with Israel on March, 2014. Under the name of ‘the United States-Israel Strategic Partnership Act’. The third Section of the bill states that Israel is a “major strategic partner of the United States.” (Sharp 1)

b- Military backing.

More concretely, the special relationship between Israel and America is expressed in the level of U.S. military backing. Despite the fact that the exact scale of arms given to Israel is not exactly known, the state of Israel until recent
years depend mostly on American arms to enforce its military asset. Even prior to
the 1967 war, “Israel received the highest per capita aid from the U.S. of any
country.” (Chomsky 48) Israel being known for its constant daring violation of
international law as well as human rights in the occupied territories in Palestine.
America has assigned over $3 billion in military and economic aid sent annually
to Israel by Washington. This sum of aid is rarely questioned in Congress, even by
liberals who normally challenge U.S. aid to countries that over run international
law. (Zunes par 1)

In fact all Western countries share the United States’ strong support for
Israel’s legitimate right to exist in peace and security with the Arab Palestinians,
however these same nations have refused to provide arms and aid while the
occupation of lands and the violation of law since the 1967 war continues. The
United States and Israel had frequently stood alone vetoing or approving decisions
that serve Israel’s plans in the Middle East (Zunes par 3). This close friendship
and mutual support between the two states, in my opinion and many others, goes
beyond the interpretation of strategic interests in the middle east or commitment
to the spread of democracy and world peace. The American desire to reinforce the
military system of Israel came out of its desire to keep it in control of the occupied
territories and therefore the region of the Middle East. America by this act is not
keeping Israel in balance with its Arab neighbors, but to enforce its superiority in
each occasion. Secretary of State Colin Powell, have warned from the
unconditional backing of Sharon’s government during a period of crisis in the
occupied territories arguing that it would make it more difficult to get the full
cooperation of Arab governments when programming international military
campaign against terrorist cells affiliated with the al Qaeda or other terroristic networks. (Zunes par 8)

c- Financial Aid

Jewish lobby groups in America, unlike other interests, had maintained a long tradition of financial donations to American politicians and potential decision makers. This generous giving of money in every political event has never been seen for free. Jews especially those who are deeply attached to their “homeland” invest their money via pressuring decision makers so that these would work in favor to the lobby’s interests and therefore Israel’s. After the war of 1967, which is seen as crucial to the U.S.-Israeli relationship, American foreign aid directed to the state of Israel had increased by 450%. After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the American aid had increased after the signing of a treatment between the two states which had emphasized the military and strategic cooperation and an additional $1.5 billion in economic aid. Chomsky in his book ‘the Faithful Triangle’ assume that “recent aid amounts to something like $1000 per year for each citizen of Israel”.(48)

Although Israel’s Gross National Product is higher than the combined GNP of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the West Bank and Gaza, the Total U.S. aid to Israel is approximately one-third of the American foreign-aid budget. In addition to the governmental aid that Israel receive, a great amount of money comes from private sources as well (Zunes par 3). The amount of money received from the United States has been given the interpretation of the shared strategic interests. So strategic reasoning behind the generous aid is the preservation of the status of Israel as a leading power in the Middle East. Since this region was and is being a very important area for American interests, Israel is as well a major ally and a
permanent strategic base for America. Because of the warlike nature of the Middle East America must ensure the military as well as financial superiority of Israel; this superiority will hold the Palestinian resistance and Arab alliance from engaging or even challenging Israeli forces in the whole area.

No one can deny the strength of AIPAC and other Israeli lobbying groups, Zunes says, these associations are then major contributors to this immense financial aid and are responsible for the maintenance of these habit and increasingly argue the need for this aid as an inevitable duty of U.S. government towards the state of Israel.
General Conclusion

Understanding the degree of Jewish influence upon the American foreign policy requires a socio-political study of the main events, circumstances and statistics that cover this phenomenon. Lobbying is not a unique activity for Jews; however, it has been and still taken a different and more evolving turn with Jews unlike other political interest groups. When going through the three chapters of this mémoir, we see not only the extent of Jewish influence on U.S. policy, however we would also reconsider the term lobbying ‘especially in America’. Lobbying in America is an inevitable circle of the democratic process, and has immensely deviated from being just an interest group demanding rights or suggesting changes for minorities living inside the U.S.A. Unlike other lobby groups in America, the Jewish one has constantly evolved and coped with domestic as well as international events.

Jews had changed the core values of lobbying from being an effort directed toward political or humanistic causes to being a business duty for lobbyists and a crucial political as well as financial contributor to American politicians. Jews being top of the list in political, cultural, intellectual America gave them an easy access to governmental, congressional offices and therefore a straight path towards influencing American policies. Another aspect for Jewish uniqueness of lobbying is their attachment, and up to date knowledge of what is going on in their so called ‘home land Israel’ and the surrounding Arab countries.

Jews had successfully managed to link their private interest, which is their conflict with the Palestinians over the occupied territories; with American policy making that made the Israeli cause a main issue of U.S. interest. Although there have been attempts to reduce Jewish influence on U.S. foreign policy, this
lobbying minority is as much involved in the deep American political scene as any political study could show. The strength of such a Diaspora in America is not a coincidence; however, going back to the historical background can give us an idea about such a Jewish status in America.

The United States of America, being a country of immigrants, would be in one way or in another controlled by these minorities whether explicitly or implicitly. American foreign policy being implicitly controlled is the direct result of lobbying pressure. Jews like we have seen through the three chapters of this mémoir are the best pressure group that reached a certain level of political persuasion and has a visible imprint over U.S. policy agenda. In addition to all the reasons and circumstances mentioned in this research, it is also due to the deep personal attachment of Jewish activists to governmental officials that Jewish lobbying is as effective. In congress, senate or any governmental office, Jews are among the most active members when it comes to serving a Jewish and therefore an Israeli interest. The strong presence of Jews in the median scene is more important than any political pressure executed on U.S. government; in this case political persuasion is easier when directed to the public because this latter would do the work for Jewish lobbyists effortless and cheaper. Compared to other minorities, Jews held enormous power at all levels of the American life, a power that was boosted by and projected on their rooted feeling of belonging to their assumed home land after being scattered for long all over the world. It is also crucial to note that Jews in America are more homogeneous as an ethnicity than in any other country and therefore, are more solidified, giving the Jewish voice a considerable extent of distinction and assertiveness in the making political calls.
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