

DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA



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# The Impact of the Jewish Lobby on American Politics from 1820 to 2001

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## **Dedications.**

To my parents.

To my son.

To my Professor Yacine Rachida for her precious help.

To my committee PHD: Pr. Ghenim Naima, Dr .Djaafri Yasmina, and Dr. Kissi Khalida Sebbah.

To all my previous teachers through my graduation and postgraduate years.

To all my brothers, sisters, and friends.

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## **Abstract**

The Jews who entered America in the nineteenth century poor and homeless, became nowadays the most significant and powerful Jewish community in the world. After being subject to degradation and expulsion from other nations, they evolved in America to full citizens guaranteed the protection of the laws.

Once in America, the Jews could improve their economic status rapidly and many of them became wealthy people which allowed them to enter the American politics and sat in the American congress. They ended by creating the Jewish lobby that is an informal coalition of individuals and organizations working actively to move U.S. foreign policy in pro-Israel direction.

The lobby played a central role in defending the interests of the Jews all over the world. It helped the oppressed Jews of Europe by influencing America to liberate immigration. It also lobbied for the creation of the Israeli state and succeeded to obtain an unqualified military and financially support from the United States. As a result, in 1967 Israel could win the war in just six days against its Arab enemies and was recognized as a powerful state in the world.

After 9/11 attacks, The lobby played another role in American foreign policy in the Middle East notably in the Attacks of Gaza, the American invasion in Iraq, the inculpation of Iran to detain nuclear weapon, the Syrian affair, and the second Lebanon war.

This present work, therefore will try to analyze the Jewish lobby in terms of lobbying activities from the date of its creation until the aftermath of 9/11 attacks.

**Key words: The Jewish lobby – Israel – The United States- American foreign policy- The relationship of America with Israel- The Jewish lobby's interests – The Middle East.**

## Résumé

Les Juifs Européens qui sont entrés au Etas Unis au dix-neuvième siècle pauvres et sans abri sont devenus actuellement la plus importante communauté juive dans le monde. Après avoir subi dégradation et expulsion par d'autre nations, ils ont réussi à devenir des citoyens a part entière qui ont la garanti de la protection des lois.

Une fois en Amérique, les Juifs ont amélioré leur statut économiques et beaucoup d'entre eux ont atteint des richesses colossales ce qui leur a permit d'entrer à la politique Américaine et siéger dans le congrès Américain. Ils finissent par créer le lobby Juif qui est une coalition informelle d'individus et d'organisations qui travaillent activement pour faire avancer la politique étrangère Américaine en faveur d'Israël.

Le lobby a joué un role central dans la défense des intérêts des Juifs dans le monde. Il a aidé les Juifs opprimés d'Europe en influençant les Etas Unis pour libérer l'émigration. Il a aussi soutenu la création de l'état d'Israël et a réussi à obtenir une aide économique et militaire inqualifiable d'Amérique. Par conséquent, En 1967, Israël a pu défier ses Arabes ennemis en seulement six jours et a été reconnue mondialement comme un état puissant.

Après les attaques du 11 Septembre, le lobby a joué un autre role dans la politique étrangère Américaine au Moyen-Orient notamment dans les attaques de Gaza, l'invasion de l'Amérique en Iraq, l'inculpation de l'Iran pour la détention d'armement nucléaire, l'affaire syrienne, et la deuxième guerre au Liban.

Ce travail de recherche va donc tenter d'analyser le lobby Juif en terme d'activités de pression depuis la date de sa création jusqu' a l'après attaques du 11 Septembre.

**Les mots clefs : le lobby Juif- Israel – les Etats Unis- la politique étrangère Américaine- La relation d'Amérique avec Israël- Les intérêts du lobby Juif- le Moyen-Orient**

## ملخص

إن اليهود الاروبيين اللذين دخلوا أمريكا فقراء و مشردون في القرن التاسع عشر أصبحوا أهم جماعة يهودية في العالم. وبعد أن عانوا التدهور والإذلال في دول أخرى تحولوا في أمريكا مواطنين كاملي الحماية بالقوانين.

حالما وصل اليهود إلى أمريكا قاموا بتحسين وضعهم الاقتصادي وأصبحوا أثرياء مما سمح لهم بالدخول إلى السياسة الأمريكية و من ثم الحصول على مقاعد في الكونغرس الأمريكي وانتهى بهم الامر إلى خلق اللوبي الأمريكي اللذي يتمثل في ائتلاف فضايف من الأفراد و المنظمات اللذين يعملون بنشاط من اجل تعزيز السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية لصالح دولة إسرائيل.

لقد لعب اللوبي دورا فعالا في حماية مصالح اليهود حول العالم حيث ساعد اليهود المضطهدون في ارويا بتحرير الهجرة إلى أمريكا كما تحصل على دعم عسكري و مالي كبير حيث تمكنت إسرائيل في سنة 1967 من الفوز على اعدائها العرب في مدة ستة أيام و أصبح يعترف بها كدولة قوية عالميا.

بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر لعب اللوبي دورا آخر في الشرق الأوسط في الهجوم على غزة وغزو الولايات المتحدة للعراق و اتهام الاران بانضمامها إلى النووي والحرب الثانية في لبنا

إن هذا البحث سيحاول تحليل مسار اللوبي من حيث أنشطة الضغط منذ تاريخ تأسيسه إلى ما بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر

الكلمات المفتاحية : اللوبي اليهودي – إسرائيل - الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية - السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية - علاقة إسرائيل بأمريكا

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## Acronyms of the American Jewish Lobbies

<b>AIPAC</b>	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
<b>ADL</b>	Anti-Defamation League
<b>AJC</b>	“The two AJC’s” refer to American Jewish Congress and American Jewish Committee. AJ Committee and AJ Congress, but when no other context appears, AJC alone refers to the American Jewish Committee.
<b>ARZA</b>	Association of Reform Zionists of America
<b>CAMERA</b>	Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America
<b>CJF</b>	Council of Jewish Federations
<b>CRC</b>	Community Relations Committee or Community Relations Council. The community-relation(or” defense”) arm of a local Jewish welfare Federation.
<b>HIAS</b>	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
<b>JCRC</b>	Jewish community relations council or Committee. Synonymous with CRS( see above)
<b>JDC</b>	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
<b>NCRAC</b>	Originally, National Community Relations Advisory. In 1971, its name was changed to National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, or NJCRAC. It was renamed the Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA) in 1997.
<b>ORT</b>	Obshtchesvo Rasprostranenia Truda( society for rehabilitative labor), a Russian-Jewish trade-school network founded in 1880. Adopted the name organization for rehabilitation through training after headquarters were relocated to U.S. in 1924;now operate trade schools worldwide, mainly in Israel

# General Introduction

The Jews who entered America poor and homeless in the nineteenth century after being subject to persecution and exclusion in other nations succeeded to become the most successful ethnic group in the United States. They started as peddlers and ended up as potential traders. Their comfortable economic status allowed them to enter politics and hold important political offices. As a result, to defend the Jewish cause all over the world, they created the American Jewish lobby which is regarded nowadays as the most powerful interest group in the American continent.

The American Jewish lobby, also called the Israel lobby is a bloc of lobbyists of Jews and Gentiles, made up of individuals and organizations which work actively to move U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction. It is important to note that the American presidential candidates can disagree on many issues as immigration, education, or taxes, but when it comes to the Israeli cause they voice it similarly. Thus, any candidate aspiring for the American presidency has to pay attention to the lobby's wishes.

The Jewish lobby dates back to the nineteenth century. The first lobbying organization was created in 1843, in the German immigration's period to America. It was called the B'nai B'rith, "the sons of the covenant". It started as a social and mutual organization and finished as a political organization.

The Russian Jews, who arrived in the United States by 1880, founded many other Jewish lobbies as the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. These organizations defended many Jewish concerns as the persecuted Jews of Europe especially those of Romania.

Among the most influential interest group that emerged in the twentieth century, AIPAC, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. This lobby realized important successes as reaching the highest financial help to Israel by the United States that is 3 billion per year and that no other country could obtain before from America.

To reach its objectives, the lobby has used strategic methods of influence. Among these methods, influencing the decision-makers. It has operated on the executive or the legislative power depending on which branch of the government is concerned. In addition to that, supporting presidential election is another tactic used by the lobby to lobby for the interests of the Jews. It has relied on supporting presidential candidates who advocate the Jewish cause.

The lobby also works hard to influence the media. There are numerous American Jewish columnists who write about the American foreign policy supporting the Jewish cause and never mention the Palestinian issue. Adding to that, the Jewish lobby consecrates astronomical financial contribution to presidential campaign. The donation collected by the candidates who are pro-Israel is so important that they never criticize it and any opposition to the lobby is the inevitable failure.

The period between 1924 and 9/11 Attacks was a pivotal century of lobbying activities. It began with liberating immigration by terminating the Quota Act of 1924 in order to allow the refugees Jews of the Holocaust to join their fellows in America. Then, the lobby asked for the creation of a Jewish state and influenced America to help it to survive.



Helping the Jews of Europe was another focus of the Jewish lobby particularly those who were persecuted in Germany, Romania, and Russia. Moreover, when Israel was newly created, it was poor and needed a foreign economic and military aid to overcome the situation of distress. As a result, the lobby played a central role to convince the American government to provide the infant state with the necessary help.

After the Jews could obtain a land of safety where they could live peacefully, they started to improve their economic living. However, some conflicts occurred between the U.S. government and Israel when Eisenhower was presiding America. He expressed his anger against the Jews' construction of the waterfall project which basically America planned for the benefit of the neighboring countries of the Middle East. However, when President Lyndon Johnson came to power, he generated sympathy to Israel which allowed the lobby to reach its objectives as lobbying the United States for many military actions as the arms' sale.

When Jimmy Carter won the American presidency, he tried to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict by proposing a peace process settlement which was not welcomed by the Jews and aroused the anger of the Jewish government. Then, Carter was followed by President Ronald Regan who was different in being more solicited by the Jews. The support of this latter to the Jews empowered the lobby in terms of influential activities. However, this period of time was characterized by the sale of the AWACS, Airborne Warning and Control System, an American aircraft to Saudi Arabia. This action was radically opposed by AIPAC, but as this Arab country was a strong ally of the United States it made the lobby fail to stop the sale.

In 1991, the Iraqi war against the Kuwait broke out which made the Jewish state ask for the U.S. intervention for fear for its safety because of the missiles scuds flying over it. Moreover, when President Clinton came to power, he introduced a new resolution in 1993 to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Oslo Agreements which focused on the withdrawal of Israel from Gaza. This convention was preceded by the Camp David in 1978 which gave birth to fundamentalism in Egypt.

By 2001, a horrific event happened in the United States, the 9/11 Attacks which represents a turning point in its foreign policy, in the Middle East. Consequently, America thought about combating terrorism to avoid any other disaster. However, to put this idea in execution, George W. Bush decided to ally with the Islamic and Arab world. But this initiative required the application of the two-state solution which was deeply rejected by the Jewish state. As a result, the American Jews decided to influence the U.S. decision-makers to give up this decision.

Although the Jewish lobby's great efforts to resolve the conflict between Bush and Sharon over the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, it couldn't change the American president's agenda about the peace process settlement. As a result, Bush planned about tracing a road map to force Israel to retreat from the settled area and restore to Palestine its sovereignty in the region. However, Despite Bush obstinacy for tracing the road map, Israel continued to execute the settlement project and the first step it undertook is starting to launch attacks against Gaza on June 25, 2006 in order to invade it.

One more time, the lobby proved to be remarkably influential in making Bush changing his mind about the two-state resolution. What made the lobby succeed to pressure the American president to give up the peace process are the congress and the media's support to the Israeli hostage.

In the case of the Iraqi war, all the elements collected to invade Iraq were not convincing as the nonexistence of terrorism or the WMD, the Weapon of Mass Distraction in this Arab country, but the Jewish lobby's efforts to push the war happened to be the centerpiece of the game.

After America's invasion to Iraq, the lobby turned its attention to Syria. By Clinton presidency, the lobby advocated peace in this country, but this situation changed with the coming of Sharon and President Bush to power.

In other words, AIPAC passed an Act called the accountability Act asking for the Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, but it was not endorsed because Bush was preparing the war in Iraq. Adding to that, the Jewish lobby failed to convince the American president that Syria detained the WMD.

The other Arab country that represented a real threat to Israel, Iran being a powerful state in matter of oil in the Persian Gulf. Iran was suspected by Israel and other Arab countries to have the intention of dominating the Middle East. Moreover, it was accused of possessing the WMD in order to invade its neighboring countries as did Saddam with Kuwait. For this reason, the lobby worked hard to pressure the U.S. government to attack Iran, but here again it failed to convince America to do so.

The last country of the Middle East that Israel targeted, Lebanon. The Jewish state finished by declaring war to Lebanon because Hezbollah murdered and detained Israeli soldiers. The lobby backed the war which caused disastrous damages to the civilians and the country's infrastructures.

This case study will try to show the reader the unqualified diplomatic and material aid America provided for Israel since its creation until nowadays and how the Jewish lobby played a central role in realizing this aim. However, to grasp the Jewish lobby's mechanism would be systematically to think about the basic questions I will try to ask and answer in my current research work.

1-How did the American relationship with Israel developed through time?

2-What is the secret of the American devotion to Israel?

3-How did the Jewish lobby remain the most powerful interest group in the United State?

4-How did the lobby proceed to make America support Israel?

5-How is this critical relationship fostered by the U.S government even if it does not serve the American national interests?

6- Israel might never have been existed?

7- the American and Israeli Interests might ever have been identical ?

This research work starts in 1820 when the first Jewish wave of immigration set foot in America. The German Jews who entered America poor and illiterate ended by becoming wealthy people and became the most powerful ethnic group in the United States. The remarkable economic success achieved by the Jews helped them to exercise politics in America and create the Jewish Lobby which defends the cause of the Jews all over the world. This organization developed through time and remains nowadays as the most significant one in America.

This study is divided into four chapters, the first one entitled “ Historical Background of the American Jews, Emigration of the Jews to America from 1820 to 1924”. By 1924, America issued the Quota Act closing its doors to immigrants from different parts of the world. This chapter will analyze the period that preceded the two great waves of immigration, the period of immigration, and the promotion of the Jews economically that allowed them to enter the American politics and create the Jewish lobby which speaks on behalf the Jews all over the world.

The second chapter, “What is the Jewish Lobby” will try to define the Jewish lobby and mention the major lobbying organizations and the role they played for the interests of the Jews and the state of Israel. It also includes the methods of influence the lobby uses to reach its objective.

In Chapter three, “ A pivotal Century of Lobbying Activities from 1924 to the aftermath of 9/11 Attacks.”, I will show the lobby’s activities during a whole century. This analysis will start from 1924 which is an important date in the Jewish history because America closed its doors to the European Jews especially those exterminated by the Holocaust. It also deprived them from the opportunity to escape Hitler’s tyranny and join the golden land to leave peacefully. Then, this study will ends with the aftermath of 9/11 Attacks that represents a turning point in American foreign policy. This latter took another inclination with the emergence of terrorism and the lobby’s perseverance in maintaining the U.S. government’s attention in pro-Israel direction.

The fourth chapter draws up a general assessment of the Jewish lobby’s success and examines the world views about Israel’s behavior in the Middle East. It also focuses on the different suggestions proposed by John J. Mearsheimer, Professor of Political Sciences, and Stephen M. Walt professor of International Affairs in “The Israel Lobby and American Foreign Policy” to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. The two political figures estimated that it is time to America to treat Israel as a normal country and to stop supporting its settlement. Adding to that, Both of them suggested how the power of the lobby might be modified to make its influence for the profit of America and Israel without harming the national and international interests.

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# Historical Background of the American Jews from 1820 to 1924.

## Introduction

History revealed that the very first Jews, who set foot in America in the seventeenth century, were a minority of twenty three Sephardim immigrants. They were Jews of Dutch and Portuguese ancestry. They landed in America by 1654 and were from Recife, a Dutch colony in Brazil, who came to New Amsterdam, and left the colony to the Portuguese. However, in the second decade of the nineteenth century America worked as a magnet for the Jewish lives. From 1820 to 1924 the Jews devoted a century of their life to emigration. Larger waves of immigrants hailed from different parts of Europe to America. Newcomers melted with old ones who a decade before were themselves newcomers.<sup>1</sup>

During the nineteenth century, the Jews came from Western and Central Europe especially in the period between 1820 and 1880. They belonged to the second wave of emigration after the first one of 1654. The second wave was followed by a third one that concerned the East European Jews who landed in America by 1880 and continued to come until 1924 when America restricted immigration. There

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<sup>1</sup> Raymond P. Scheindlin, *A History of the Jewish people from Legendary Time to Modern Statehood*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1998, p. 187.



was a forth one that occurred when America opened its doors to emigration.<sup>2</sup> However, the crucial moment of the world Jewry turned around the year of 1924 and World War I when the American Jewish population became a native born in America. Moreover, by 1960 the Jews had no longer a link with Europe. World War II was a horrific turning point since it reminded the Jews of the fierce persecution in Europe. Among the repressions' events, the Holocaust which was a series of violence that exterminated their fellows in Europe. It haunted them and made them worry about their own fate in a non Jewish land.<sup>3</sup>

### **1.1 The Period of Immigration.**

America witnessed a flow of Jewish immigrants hailing from Europe. This immigration included two great waves in two different period., the first one concerned the German Jews and the second one the East European Jews.

#### **1.1.1 Immigration of the Jews of Western and Central Europe to America. 1820-1880.**

The persecution of the Jews in late fifteen century led to their scattering all over Western Europe. Sephardim<sup>4</sup> and Ashkenazim<sup>5</sup> were united under a single identity in being Jews. These Jews moved to Eastern Europe when persecuted in the West, they were welcomed by the ruling class. Poland and Lithuania were two states

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 189-190.

<sup>3</sup>Hasia R. Diner, *The Jews of the United States. 1654 to 2000*, University of California Press Berkley, Los Angeles, California, 2004, p106.

<sup>4</sup>Sephardim is originally a term that means Spanish and derives from Sepharad, a biblical location. It was defined by later Jews as the Iberian Peninsula and keeps its meaning Spain in Modern Hebrew. The Sephardim Jews are the descendants of those who lived in the Iberian Peninsula. They moved from Spain in 1492 and Portugal under restrictive laws that expelled them definitely from these territories, in 1497. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica. Inc, The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, London, New Delhi, Paris, Seoul, Sydney, Tokyo, 1974-2003. V. 29, p.1055.*

<sup>5</sup>Ashkenazim are the Jews of Western Europe who immigrated to the East part of the continent. They settled in Russia, Poland, and Lithuania after the crusades (11<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> century), but they returned to the West having been subject to oppression in those territories. The Ashkenazim outnumbered the Sephardim, therefore nowadays they represent 80 percent of all the Jewish population in the world. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica. Inc, V.1, op.cit., p. 216.*

with huge tract of land, but with inexperienced activity in Agriculture, so they encouraged the Jewish emigration.

In 1600, the Jews were established in these territories, working in craft, trade, and agriculture. They spoke Yiddish, a language that they brought with them from Germany in Western Europe.<sup>6</sup>The Jews of the East flourished intellectually and economically. However, by 1648, a revolt broke out due to the peasants who rebelled against the aristocrats whose leader was Bobdan Chnielnich ( 1595- 1657). These revolted people attacked the ruling class, including the Jews which they persecuted until 1655 when the Russians and the Swedes invaded Lithuania. The Jews of Poland returned to Western Europe fleeing persecution in the East part of the continent. In central Europe, by 1517, reformation occurred inside the church accelerating the restrictive laws towards the Jews. This movement was led by Martin Luther, a German protestant reformer who tempted to reform the Roman Catholic church. In 1655, in Italy, the Jews were put in ghettos, but by the late of the sixteen century, freedom of religion spread in Western Europe, which permitted the Jews to recover and improve their social and economic status.<sup>7</sup>

In the nineteenth century, the Jewish lives started to change in central and Western Europe. In other words, the European states started to complicate the Jewish living by minimizing liberties and maximizing restrictive laws against them. .The Jews were forced to change their names, the language they already spoke and worship differently. The social and economic decline of the Jews in West and Central Europe inspired them to leave Europe for America. The Jews who immigrated to America were young. They depopulated their ancient homeland. In 1839, the *Allgemein Zeitung des Jutemduns*, a German newspaper stated that: <<many more single people than families... who are motivated not by greed but by conviction that... they will not be able to settle and find a family.>><sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Raymond P. Scheindlin, *op.cit.*, p. 151-153.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>Hasia R. Diner,*op.cit.*,p.83.

The Jewish emigration in Central Europe to America was motivated by some reasons among them, the Hep, Hep, Riots. In 1818, a series of mob violence broke out against the Jews, destroying their properties and beating them. The riot was due to a request of Wurzburg Jews for residential and trading rights which provoke the Christians' anger who protested violently against them. <sup>9</sup>

### **1.1.2 Immigration of the Jews of Eastern Europe. 1880-1924.**

The same process of emigration happened in Eastern Europe when persecution against the Jews started to spread in its territories. After the partition of Poland, in the eightieth century, exactly in 1770, between Russia, Austria, and Poland and under the reign of Czar Alexander I, the Jews had a prosperous life because they were free to educate and worship. However, with Czar Nicolas' control to Russia things started to change in the sense that this ruler initiated a process of repression against the Jews. He forced them to assimilate by conversion to Orthodoxy that humiliated them and provoked a great anger within the Jewish community.<sup>10</sup>

There were other significant reasons that urged the Jews to immigrate to America. The Jews in Russia were subject to mob attacks called the Pogroms. In 1881, in the city of Elizabetgrad in the Kerson province of Russia, the outbreak of violence against the Jews killed a great number of them and destroyed their properties. The Jews denounced the horror of the pogrom which lasted until 1921. The other reason that led the Jews to America was poverty. The Jews lived in extremely poor economic conditions. They were prohibited from practicing agriculture, and excluded from industrial cities. As a result, a large number of Jews were subjected to misery that let them no choice than that of searching for a hopeful land where they could live peacefully and worship freely<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.,p.P.86

<sup>10</sup>Raymond P. Scheindlin, op.cit.,p. 173-175.

<sup>11</sup>Hasia R. Diner, op.cit.,p.88-93.

### 1.1.3 The First Jewish Community in America.

The first Jew who landed in America was Joachim Ganses, a Bohemian Jew and a mining expert, but this man alone couldn't constitute a Jewish community. However, the first Jews who started a communal life in America were present there as early as the seventeenth century. In 1654, twenty three Sephardim Jews came from New Amsterdam, a Dutch colony in Brazil that had been invaded by the Portuguese. But the Jews were strongly rejected by Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of the colony. He claimed that by their literacy and poverty, those people will worsen the image of the colony and the Christians will never want to live among them. On September 22, 1654, Peter Stuyvesant addressed a letter to the West Indian Company, asking for the expulsion of the Jews from the colony. However, the Jews in their turn requested the company to allow their settlement in New Amsterdam stating that they could be for great help to the colony since it needed mercantilism and the Jews mastered trade. Besides, the company was a commercial enterprise and not primarily a colonizer which made it interested by the settlement of the Jews in the colony. As a result, the Jews were allowed to stay as permanent settlers in the colony<sup>12</sup> following the response of the company to Peter Stuyvesant as follows<sup>13</sup>:

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<sup>12</sup>Jacob Rader Marcus, *The Jews in the American World*, Wayne State University Press, Michigan, Detroit, 1996, p. 27-28.

<sup>13</sup>Peter Stuyvesant (1646-1664), was the Director General of the Netherlands and the governor of the Dutch Caribbean Island of Curacao. He was severely injured and lost his leg in the war from where he was nicknamed "Peg leg Pete". In 1654, he opposed the settlement of the Dutch Jews from Brazil in the colony, but his opposition was rejected by the West India Company and the Jews could establish themselves officially, in 1655. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica .Inc*, V.11, op.cit., p. 338.

***The West Indian Company  
to Peter Stuyvesant, April 26, 1655***

*Honorable, Prudent, Pious, Dear, Faithful ( Stuyvesant)...*

*We would have liked to effectuate and fulfill your wishes and request that the new territories should no more be allowed to be infected by people of the Jewish nation, for we foresee therefrom the same difficulties which you fear. But after having further weighed and considered the matter, we observe that this would be somewhat unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by this nation (the Jewish community), with others, in the (Portuguese re-) taking of Brazil, as also because of the largest amount of capital which they still have invested in the shares of this company. Therefore after many deliberations we have finally and resolved to apostle (to note in the margin) upon a certain petition presented by said Portuguese Jews ( January 1655) that these people may travel and trade to and in New Netherland and live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or to the community (in the future poor Jews would not be supported by the Manhattan churches), but be Supported by their own nation. You will now govern yourself accordingly.<sup>14</sup>*

*(The Director of the W(es)t I(ndian) .Co. Department of Amsterdam.)*

The letter above is a response to Peter Stuyvesant's request to the company to forbid the Jewish settlement in the colony. This latter apologized to the American Governor by allowing the Jews to reside in New Amsterdam for the reason that the Jews could be helpful for this territory because they are gifted in trade and agriculture.

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<sup>14</sup> Jacob Rader Marcus, op .cit., p. 32-33.

#### 1.1.4 The Demographic Growth of the Jewish community in America.

Since their arrival to America in the seventeenth century, the number of the Jews increased progressively. In 1654, a minuscule group of 23 Sephardim Jews inhabited New Amsterdam. This number developed to fifty Jews in 1660, and it augmented to 2500 in 1790 when the thirteen colonies struggled for their independence. In the period between 1820 to 1880 that witnessed the great Jewish movement to America, the number of the Jewish immigrants was from 230.000.000 to 300.000.000. However, in 1924, when America enacted the Quota act, it didn't stop the demographic growth, the Jews were estimated to be from 3.515.000 to 5.981.000 and in 2007 a survey by Steinhart University revealed that the number of the Jews rose to 7.400.000.<sup>15</sup>

#### 1.1.5 The Jews in America. (Location and Adaptation.)

The nineteenth century witnessed the great movement of the world Jewry to America. Two waves of emigration reached the new world in different time with different groups of the Jewish community. The first one started from 1820 to 1880 bringing with it the Jews of Western and Central Europe called the German Jews and the second one from 1880 to 1924 when America closed its doors to emigration. The second wave concerned the East European Jews who made the American Jewish community the first Diaspora<sup>16</sup> in the world.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2004, p. 375.

<sup>16</sup>Diaspora is a Greek word that means dispersion or scattering. It originated from the Jewish Diaspora after the Babylonian exile and means the movement or emigration of people from their original ancestral homeland to more than one location due to whatever cause. A. P. Cowie, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1989, p. 331.

<sup>17</sup>Hasia R. Diner, *op.cit.*, p. 82-86.

These two groups moved to America for different reasons and settled in different places. They adopted different attitudes to assimilate to their new homeland and developed in what will be identified as the American world Jewry that grew out of both Jewish and American context. Both groups of immigrants reacted differently to the process of assimilation. The first group that is the German Jews reached America in 1820. They were not so Jewish, so they did not find difficulties to assimilate. Moreover, to avoid anti-Semitism and gain a position of power, they preferred to acculturate quickly and interact with America. However, the second group that is the East European Jews who reached America in 1880 was poor and homeless. It spoke Yiddish<sup>18</sup> and was strongly attached to its cultural and religious heritage, so it rejected assimilation from the beginning date of its arrival to America. The East European Jews preferred to assimilate the way they aspired it. This attitude annoyed their brethren the German Jews who tempted to oblige them Americanize because they feared for their position which they worked hard to gain to be destroyed by their illiterate and poor newly arrived fellows<sup>19</sup>.

The East European Jews qualifies the German attempt to Americanize them as forced assimilation and decided to do it themselves by creating their own religious and educational network. For instance, they created the Hebrew Immigrants Aid Society (HIAS)<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup>Yiddish is the language of the East European Jews that they brought with them to America. It is a German dialect spoken by the Ashkenazim Jews who moved from the West part of Europe to the East one in the period of the middle ages. The Yiddish of the Ashkenazim Jews has some Romance words due to the Italian and French origin of these Jews. It could be easily differentiated when these people were in touch with the Slaves in Bohemia and Poland in the period between 1500 and 1700. Yiddish took some Hebrew and Aramaic elements when the Jews were isolated from the German speaking territories. Raymond P. Scheindlin, op. cit., p. 178-180.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.,p.191-192.

<sup>20</sup> HIAS is the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society founded in 1892 as a Jewish organization created to help the newly arrived immigrants in the United States. It has many offices in New York and others spread all over the world. This agency helped the needy immigrants to find job and a social stability. Nowadays , it is called the United States HIAS Services doing many activities among them to help the Jews finding their relatives. If for example, Jews are looking for their fellows in the Soviet Union, it is the HIAS offices in Geneva which send the information to the Red Cross to search them in Russia. It is located in 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y,10003. Dan Rottenberg, Finding our Fathers: A Guidebook to the Jewish Genealogy, Genealogical Publishing CO., Inc,1986, p.82.

They also established the association of the Hometown Mutual Aid Society which provided them with monetary help, sick care, and other charitable support. In addition to that, they gave birth to Lina Hazedek of Hudson County, New Jersey that they inaugurated in 1982 as another philanthropic association devoted to help the new immigrants.<sup>21</sup>

When in America, the Jews settled where they could practice peddling as it was the activity that shaped their history. They settled in the elder East coast cities. After 1849, they could be found in the big cities as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and San Francisco. They were also in the interior cities as Cincinnati, St Louis, Chicago, Pittsburg, and Kansas City. In the twentieth century, the Jews could be found in all the states of the Union. However, the chief center of the population was in New York City which was viewed as the second place that contained the largest Jewish population after Israel. The Jews were estimated about 1,750,000 and the other two significant Jewish populations were located in Miami, Los Angeles, and Chicago<sup>22</sup>

## **1.2 Jewish Economic Life in America.**

The Jewish economic life in America developed gradually through time. They crossed the line from being peddlers to potential traders.

### **1.2.1 The Jews' Occupational Evolution: From Peddlers to Potential Traders.**

Originally peddling emerged in America before the civil war. The first Jewish immigrants experienced America through peddling as it was the activity that shaped their past work experience in their ancient homeland.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Jacob Rader Marcus, *op.cit.*, p.363-364.

<sup>22</sup>Hasia R. Diner, *op.cit.*, p.99.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*



The young Jews who arrived in America poor and homeless could find through peddling the activity that offered them independence and self-employment, hoping to own their future stores. Peddlers sold to farmers cheap merchandise without crossing long road or railroad. Moreover, peddling coincided with the era of the difficulty of transportation which arranged the retailers and the producers.<sup>24</sup>

The peddlers settled where they expected to find jobs. They used to take on their backs a load of goods from place to place serving as a chain, linking shopkeepers to Jewish wholesalers in the large cities. They supplied farms, mining, logging camps and railroad crews with needed merchandise. Peddling was spread all over America. The householders supplied the peddlers with old clothing and domestic recyclable as rags, brass, rubber, glass that they could exchange with the customers for a new stock. Even the retailers and the wholesalers bought the rags from the peddlers to sell them to paper manufacturing.<sup>25</sup>

In 1849, a great number of Jews practices this activity. For instance, in Iowa by 1850, of 125 Jews 100 Jews peddled. Two third of the Jewish population in New York peddled too. The wholesalers and peddlers shared familiarities when working together in being Jews because they spoke the same language, had the same religion and traditions. Gradually, the peddlers evolved in this activity; they could collect enough money to open their own stores and became potential traders.<sup>26</sup>

Peddling was also a means to relate all the Jews dispersed throughout the continent and permitted them to develop their economic status. Moreover, this activity which allowed them to open stores and marry represented two opportunities that were inaccessible in Europe.

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<sup>24</sup> Brian P. Luskey and Wendy A. Woloson, *Capitalism by Gaslight: Illuminating the economy of the nineteenth-century America*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2015, p.88.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>26</sup> Hasia R. Diner, *op.cit.*, p.99-101.

Adding to that, once the Jews created their own stores, the business relied on the family members' labor. The Jews developed peddling to the point that in the last half of the nineteenth century they could be found in Helena, Arkansas, Montana, Portland, Oregon, and Madison. Those places were crowded with the Jewish families who organized a Jewish congregation sharing their lives and worshipping together.<sup>27</sup>

### **1.2.2 The Jews Promoting in the Garment Industry.**

The other activity that revolutionized the world Jewry since its arrival to America was the garment industry. New York was regarded as the most important city that welcomed the East European Jews in terms of occupational activity. Besides, the German Jews who were already established in the clothing industry as manufacturers employed the newly arrived Eastern Jews, offering them the opportunity to find job easily.<sup>28</sup>

A few decades before the civil war until World War I, the Jews were engaged in this activity which they practiced in their ancient homeland. The sewing machine was invented in 1850 which facilitated the way to women who used to sew their own clothes by hands. It also increased the speed with which the garment could be sewn. The garment industry developed particularly after the civil war due to the need for military uniforms of the American troops. Consequently, small stores were transformed into workshops in order to produce the amount of uniforms needed. The other demand came from the American working women who needed clean and stylish clothing to represent their activities.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Christopher M. Sterba, *Italian and Jewish Immigrants During the first World War*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003, p.20.

At that time, New York was viewed as the center of the garment industry. In 1990, New York produced 70% of the nation's clothing women and 40% for men.<sup>29</sup> Adding to that, the International Lady Garment workers, and other unions included 200 000 employees most of them were East European Jews.<sup>30</sup>

It is important to note that most East European Jews who came in the nineteenth century were engaged in the garment industry. Besides, for the Jews who practiced this activity it was easy to cross the line from being employee to employer because it did not cost a great amount of capital to create its own business. The Jews mastered this activity from top to bottom. They dominated the garment industry; they were manufacturers, contractors or laborers. In addition to that, the Factory of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company employed a huge number of Jewish workers especially women coming from Eastern Europe. This company ensured the continuity of the Jewish immigration by helping the newcomers to find job easily. It provided workers of the new immigrants with job that enabled them to start a comfortable life in America.<sup>31</sup>

### **1.2.3 The Economic Success of the Jews in the United States.**

The Jews who entered America in the nineteenth century fleeing persecution and misery in Europe found in their new homeland a place of safety where they could live peacefully and worship freely. At first, when they set foot in America, they chose to peddle since it was the activity that suit their illiteracy and poverty, so they settled where they could practice it. Then, progressively peddling could be found all over America as it related the shopkeepers to the wholesalers. The Jews who practiced this activity could raise an important amount of money that helped them to open stores and marry.

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<sup>29</sup>Hasia R. Diner,op.cit.,p.107-110.

<sup>30</sup> Christopher M. Sterba,op.cit.,p.21.

<sup>31</sup>Hasia R. Diner,op.cit.,p.108-109.

Moreover, with the arrival of the German Jews, the Jewish economic evolution did not stop at this level. In the period of the civil war, they doubled their fortune, becoming millionaires. They developed banking, and industry. Among these Jews, the manufacturer, Philip Heidelbach, bankers as Joseph Seligman, Lewis Season, and Solomon Loeb; railroad magnates Emanuel and Mayer Lehman, and Jacob Schiff as well as the Warburgs, the Lewisohns, and the Guggenheims.<sup>32</sup>

These Jewish economic elites played a central role in helping America to maintain its international market stability. In other words, the civil war compromised America's economic position in the world due to the heavy debt accumulated at the end of the war. The powerful Jewish financier, Joseph Seligman strongly contributed to repay the American debt by being connected with the Jewish banking house in Europe. In 1871, Seligman and other Jewish bankers as the House of Cohen, Bischoffsheim, and Goldschmit, Bleichroeder, Wertheim, Erlanger, and Oppenheim potentially contributed to market the American bounds in Europe. The operation of marketing the American bounds in Europe was accomplished by the alliance of Joseph Seligman and the Rothschilds<sup>33</sup>. This action was repeated both in 1874 with \$25 million and in 1875 with \$ 55 million. In return to the remarkable financial role played by the American Jewish financier in assuring the American economic stability, Joseph Seligman was offered an important political position by the American government.

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<sup>32</sup>Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace. Jews and the State*, the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993,p.62.

<sup>33</sup>Rothchilds is a wealthy family that refers to the European banking dynasties which marked the economy and political history of Europe for 200 years. Its name derives from (Rot) shield on Mayer's ancestor. A family of five sons who became with their father potential bankers. They created branches in London, Paris, Vienna, and Naples by the 1820s. The Rothschilds were related to various governments in the world because of their economic status which gave them a position of power. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica .Inc, Micropedia V.III op.cit., p. 338.*

The President Ulysses Grant<sup>34</sup> proposed him the office of the treasury. He even was the financial advisor of Rutherford Hayes administration in 1877 and was considered with Rothschilds, and J.P. Morgan the best sellers of the U.S. government securities in Europe.<sup>35</sup>

#### **1.2.4. The Jewish Participation in the American Economic Stability.**

As in the other parts of the Continent, the civil war devastated the economy of the American South. Similarly, the American Jewish financiers participated in repaying the Southern debt exactly as they did with the federal one. Joseph Seligman<sup>36</sup> repaid the Alabama state debt and the German Jewish banker, Jacob Schiff, the head of Kuhn, Loeb and Company was volunteer to help Georgia. It is important to note that these millionaires succeeded in hard situation because the Southern states securities couldn't be marketed in America or England due to their low credits, and the corruption of the Southern states officials. Consequently, the Jewish bankers preferred to operate in Europe where they had close relations with their fellows, the European Jewish financiers<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup>Ulysses Grant is born in April 27, 1822, Point Pleasant, Ohio, United States, and died in July 23, 1885, Mount McGregor, New York, United States. He commanded the Union army in the Civil War and was the 18th president of America (1869-1877). The New Encyclopedia Britannica. Inc, Macropedia V.5. op.cit., p. 425.

<sup>35</sup>Benjamin Ginsberg,op.cit.,p.64-65.

<sup>36</sup>Joseph Seligman is born in 1819 and died in 1880, growing in a family of eight brothers and three sisters. He had five sons and four daughters. He started in the United States as a Jewish immigrant peddler from Bavaria who set foot in America, in 1837. Joseph and his brothers worked hard during the civil war and promoted economically; they became important bankers and created the J. and W. Seligman, in 1864. The firm grew rapidly and succeeded to be linked with the Republican party. The Seligman acceptance in the American government was due to their economic success and their membership in the Union League Club. Susie J. Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England,2013,p.86-87.

<sup>37</sup>When the civil war devastated the U.S. economy, the American security and bounds couldn't be marketed in the country, but the Jewish bankers who were prominent economists in that period of time succeeded to do it in Europe as did Jacob Schiff who directed the Kuhn Loeb and Company created in New York in 1867. This firm was specialized in the merchant banking business. It helped America to market its bounds notably in Germany and other European countries. Charles R. Geisst, *Wall Street: A History from its beginning to the Fall of Enron*, Oxford University Press, Inc., New York, 2004,p.86-87.

The Southern American bonds could be marketed in the Jewish firms of Erlanger and Company and J.H Schroeder and Company in Paris.<sup>38</sup>

The Jewish participation in repaying the Southern debt promoted some Jews to a higher political administrative position. In 1872, Moses Franklin became governor of South Carolina because of his remarkable contribution in the reconstruction era. Moses supported the Republican states. Being an important Jewish financier and political man. He draw a program through which he assured the victory of the Republicans. Adding to that, he collected 14,000 men; a state militia with black troops led by white officials intended to support the presidential election. Moses Franklin was not the only Jewish politician of the reconstruction era who succeeded to promote politically, two other famous politicians of South Carolina, Francis L.Cardozo and Robert Delarge. They were elevated to the South Carolina secretary of state.<sup>39</sup>

### **1.2.5 Anti-Semitism in the Nineteenth Century.**

Following the civil war, a significant wave of anti-Semitism emerged especially in the American South when the Supreme Court issued a decree in Brown V. Board of Education concerning the segregation phenomenon and punishing anyone acting against this law.<sup>40</sup> Adding to that the Jewish economic prominence in this period of time provoked a profound rejection from two American powers, the populists and the patricians. The populists were Western and Southern agrarians opposing new American economists. The other group supporting anti-Semitism, the old stock New England whose economic status declined after the civil war.

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<sup>38</sup>Benjamin Ginsberg,op.citp.66.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.,p.67-68.

<sup>40</sup>Leonard Dinnerstein, Anti- Semitism in America, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994 ,p. 175.

Concerning the populists, many figures manifested their anti-Semitism towards the Jews through some literary productions as did Donnelly who portrayed the Jews as greedy and incredibly wealthy financiers. He cited one of these financiers, Jacob Isaacs that he nicknamed “the prince Cabano”. He added that the other ethnic groups in the United States were impoverished and enslaved by the Jews. Adding to that, Mary Lease, another populist denounced the economic success of the Jews, treating them as usurers who deprived the farmers from their economic rights.<sup>41</sup>

The patrician was the second anti-Semitic entity who rejected the Jewish economic prominence. They were old aristocrats New England group who thought that the Jews had weakened their economic and political position because of the tectonic change in the new economic regime. They accused the Jews of corrupting the American administration to their own profit. This idea was expressed in the writing of many anti-Semitic patricians. Among the old aristocrats who thought rejected by the new regime, Henry Adams, the grandson of President John Quincy Adams. He declared in his autobiography as follows<sup>42</sup>:<<His world was dead. Not a Polish Jew fresh from Warsaw or Cracow – a furtive Jacobs still reeking of the ghetto, snarling a weird Yiddish to the officers of the customs-but a keener instinct, an intenser energy and a freer hand than he – American of American.>><sup>43</sup> Adams, in his writing attacked directly the Jews due to their financial and political dominance.<sup>44</sup>

### **1.3 The First Political Life of Jews in America from 1820 to 1924.**

The political life of the Jews started in their new homeland as early as the seventies century. In 1654, when the first minority of Jews established themselves in America, they experienced political disabilities.

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<sup>41</sup>Benjamin Ginsberg,op.cit.,p.77.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.,p.79.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

Additionally, with the English invasion to New Amsterdam in 1664, they still deprived from their rights until 1700 when the British permitted them to vote and hold religious services. Later on, with the American independence they could win some of their rights, and the other part was obtained during the emigration period.<sup>45</sup>

The first period of emigration that concerned the German Jews, revealed a quiet era of political protest due to the Jews' small number and their vehement desire to Americanize. They did not make a great effort to lobby for their interests, but their brethren, the Russia Jews devoted themselves to defend their political rights. They were deeply affected by the Jews oppressed in Europe, so they immediately joined the political protest movement in America to support this cause.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to note that there were some factors that helped the German Jews to Integrate in American Politics. It facilitated them to beneficiate from the same American rights as voting, holding offices, and acquiring citizenship.

### **1.3.1 The Fact of Being White**

The fact that the Jews were white; they could have the protection of the states and ran their business affairs freely. Nevertheless, by 1880, some Americans compromised Jewish rights due to the discriminatory laws. The Jews were not allowed to practice prestigious activities until the abolition of those laws, in 1940.

Another point is that the political influence of the Jews in America grew progressively, so they became candidates, officer holders, and party leaders. Unlike the Jews, African Americans started the century as slaves deprived from political participation.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 34-35.

<sup>46</sup> Rafael Medoff, *Jewish Americans and Political Participation*, ABC-CLIO, Inc. Santa Barbara, California, 2002, p. 76-77.



The Jews continued to practice their constitutional rights at any time guaranteed the protection of the laws. But, some non-white ethnic groups were excluded from the American soil as the Chinese who were not accepted in America in 1882.<sup>47</sup>

### **1.3.2 The German Jewish Press.**

The Jewish press was another factor that played an important role in integrating the Jews in politics. In the period between 1823 and 1924, hundreds of publications informed the American Jews about their fellows all over the world. The oppressed Jews in Europe as in Romania, the series of Pogroms in Russia, the Holocaust in Germany, the victims of World War I, and the Jews in Palestine. The Jewish press wrote about all these Jews in distress describing the barbarism of different territories where the Jews were persecuted.

The Jewish press denounced also restrictive emigration that closed the doors of the golden land and killed the hope of the oppressed Jews abroad. During this period of time, the Jewish publications were in many languages, as Yiddish, Ladino, and German. They addressed their writing to the American Jewish immigrants, speaking differently due to their countries of origin where they still have oppressed relatives.

The Jewish press made politics the center of its mission. For instance, the Hebrew press encouraged Zionism that appeared clearly in the newspaper of ha-Leumi (New York and Newark, 1888-1889) and Hapigah (New York, 1888-1990). The Yiddish press also devoted its writing to politics; it was founded by the publisher Kasriel Sarasohn who created the daily Yiddishes Tageblatt (1885-1928) that strongly worked for New York City's Republicans.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Hasia R. Diner, *op.cit.*, p. 164-165.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 187-188.

### 1.3.3 The Jewish Assimilation to the American Society.

From the starting date of the Jewish emigration to America, the Jews faced the issue of Americanization<sup>49</sup>. The Jewish community was divided into two parts, the first one welcomed assimilation and the second one preferred to preserve its cultural and religious heritage. The Jewish group who had chosen assimilation is the German Jews in order to avoid anti-Semitism, and gain a position of power. They had no other choice than to interact with America and its culture. Being pulled between two great forces, the one of their loyalty to the Jewish tradition and the other of the integration with the larger society made it difficult to preserve the traditional religious Jewish community because of the social and economic tension. Among the factors that accelerated the Jewish assimilation, the six days work, the lack of the Jewish religious institutions, and the Jews' economic success.<sup>50</sup>

The Russia Jews who arrived in the last decade of the twentieth century penniless with no facility of language annoyed their brethren, the German Jews. These latter feared for their successful position to be destroyed by the newly poor and illiterate fellows. The Russia Jews who were called the Shelters, arrived in the second wave of emigration in 1880, they outnumbered the German Jews. From 1880 to 1881 they were 250.000, and in 1900 they developed to 1 million in America. The German Jews who were already established in America created charitable and educational institutions to help the newly arrived immigrants. They created HIAS which provided the shelters with employment, education, and financial supports<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup>Americanization or assimilation to the American society means that all the customs, traditions, and attachment to the old country are replaced by the American life style that is to interact with America and its culture. This is what happened with the Jews who landed in America in the nineteenth century notably the German Jews who arrived in the first wave of immigration. They were estimated about two hundred thousand immigrants. Those Jews assimilated rapidly in order to be accepted by the American society, helping the other category of Jews who arrived later in America to Americanize. Ewa Morawska, *The Jewish Assimilation to the American Society*, retrieved at :<https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/assimilation-in-united-states-nineteenth-century>, March 1, 2009.

<sup>50</sup>Rafael Medoff, *op.cit.*, p.6-7.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p.16-18.

The East European Jews refused the help of their brethren because they thought that the German Jews wanted to force them to Americanize which they qualified as forced assimilation. Nevertheless, the Russia Jews were traditionalists who rejected to give up their religious and cultural heritage, so they spoke their own language, preserved their own culture and observed their traditional Judaism. They decided to promote in America the way they aspired it without losing their identity.<sup>52</sup>

### 1.3.4 The Jewish Vote

The Jewish vote played a crucial role in promoting the Jews politically. However, they continually denied that their vote was motivated by their interests; they wanted to ward off the idea that the non-Jews will think that the Jews were selfish. Adding to that, although, the number of the Jews is less than 3% of the American population; it is considered as an important proportion that can help the presidential election. During the Civil War and by 1868 exactly, General Ulysses Grant issued an order to oblige the Jews to leave the department of the Tennessee, accusing them of trading with the confederate enemy. In the mean time, he had already presented his candidacy to the U.S. presidency, so in mid-September of the same year he expressed his sorrow where he declared that he had signed without reflection.<sup>53</sup>

In this period of time, the Jews were subject to anti-Semitism by individual politicians, as William Stowee who stated as follows : << Who only came here to make money and leave as soon as they effected their object. >><sup>54</sup>. But those accusations did not constitute a real threat for their promotion in politics. Both parties, the Democrats, and the Republicans tried to attract the Jewish vote by dealing with the Jewish cause as the Russian persecution to the Jews. They condemned the Russian brutality towards the Jews.

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<sup>52</sup>Raymond P. Scheindlin, op.cit., p.192-193.

<sup>53</sup>Rafael Medoff, op.cit., p.181-182.

<sup>54</sup>Hasia R. Diner ,op.cit .,p.157.

They also favored the Jews for prestigious political offices as did President Theodore Roosevelt when he elevated Oscar Straus to the American Representative to the Arbitration Court at The Hague. In addition to that, Democrat Woodrow Wilson behaved the same way in appointing Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court.<sup>55</sup>

It is important to note that the Jews were divided between two political parties the Democrats and the Republicans. By 1916, the Jews started to take a political inclination over the Democratic Party. The presidential election revealed that 55 % voted for Democrat Woodrow Wilson and 45% for the Republicans and in 1924 the Jewish vote was estimated about 55% for the Democrats and 27% for the republicans. Moreover, By 1928, the Jews were totally allied with the Democratic party, they gave 72% of their vote to Governor Alfred E. Smith. The support of the Jews to the Democratic party revealed the Democrats' attention on issues of ethnic concern. As a result, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1932 with more than 80 % of the American Jewish vote and reelected in 1936, 1940, 1944 with more than 90 % of this people<sup>56</sup>.Roosevelt became one of the favorite American Presidents to the Jews because he granted them important political positions and opposed the Nazi policy toward the Jews. Besides, to preserve his reelection in 1944, he created WRB War Refugee Board, a governmental agency to help the Jews escaping from Hitler.<sup>57</sup>

### **1.3 .5 Roosevelt' Support to the Jews.**

Originally, the creation of the WRB War Refugee Board, the governmental agency to rescue the Jews from the tyranny of Hitler was due to an important political event that was the reelection of Frederick Roosevelt, in 1943.

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>56</sup> Rafael Medoff.,op.cit.p.184-185.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.,p.187.

At that time, the American President failed to help the world Jewry and did not make effort to support the creation of a new Jewish homeland "Palestine". This was declared by a Jewish activist in 1943 who supported Jewish statehood :<< It is typical today to hear public orators at Jewish public gathering saying that Jesus was not the Messiah nor apparently is Mr. Roosevelt.>><sup>58</sup> Consequently, these words encouraged the Republicans to back the Jewish cause as did Thomas Dewey and Wendell Willkie. Adding to that, for fear to lose the Jewish vote and prevent the Republicans from gaining it, Roosevelt rapidly declared the creation of WRB that was warmly perceived by the Jewish community.<sup>59</sup> However, this organization which was created by January 1944 was basically supported financially by the American Jews who contributed with \$16 million, whereas the government gave only 1 million.<sup>60</sup>

Another American Jew, Samuel Dickstein, a congressman in the spring of 1943 expressed his anger against the American government that showed no interest about the exterminated Jews in the Holocaust declared as follows<sup>61</sup>:

*"The silence shown by the American people.....Heavenly father! Christian world? Where are all the fine Christian people? Where is America, Which is supposed to be the champion of liberty? Why has not our voice been raised in protest against inhuman treatment of millions of innocent victims of Nazism?.....The Jews were the first target of the Nazi Propaganda, but you Catholics, you protestant are the next."<sup>62</sup>*

Roosevelt when trying to gain the vote of the Arab countries, Winston Churchill stayed: << There were more Jews than Arab votes in the Anglo-Saxon Countries and we could not afford to ignore such practical consideration.>><sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.,p.187.

<sup>60</sup> Robert Michael, A Concise History of American Anti-Semitism, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Lanhan, New York, Toronto, Oxford, United States of America, 2005,p.188.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Michael,op.cit.,p.189.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.,p.186.

Churchill's' words and the creation of WRB came at the right time since the four million Jews could not be neglected in presidential election. As a result, Roosevelt gesture was greeted by the Jewish community and confirmed it that the Jews were supported by the highest authority of the White House. In addition to that, Roosevelt declared to the Jews that 982 European refugees were welcomed in the United States and they will receive all the necessary help they need.<sup>64</sup>

In matter of political promotion, the presidency of Roosevelt was an era where the Jews could collect the biggest number of political offices. However, their accession to an important political position dates back to the nomination of Benjamin F. Peixotto, a Sephardic Jew, from San Francisco. He was appointed as the American first council in Bucharest by Ulysses S. Grant, the American Republican President, in the last decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>65</sup>

The appointment of the Jewish council was due to the persecution of the Jews in Russia and following the Jewish appeal to the American government support. The other important nomination was the one of Oscar Solomon Straus, a German Jew as the American minister to the Ottoman empire in 1887 by President Grover Cleveland. Oscar started his political career as a Democrat, but he returned to the wing of the Republicans with President William McKinley who in 1900 renamed him as an American representative in Turkey then. Finally, he was elevated to the position of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor which he preserved until 1909 under Theodor Roosevelt presidency.<sup>66</sup>

Oscar Straus was famous for his commercial career. He is the son of Lazarus Straus who created with his sons the firm of L. Straus and Sons that sold crockery and Glassware.

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p.186-188.

<sup>65</sup>Stephen Schwartz, op.ci.,p.33.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.,p.34.

But, Oscar declared that he wanted to devote his work to the American politics stating that he would <<resign from every business connection, and devote my entire energies to my work as secretary of commerce and labor. It is the work for which I have waited fifty-six years, and it is nearest to my heart. >><sup>67</sup>Roosevelt was also greeted by his declaration that reflected his anti-bigotry.<sup>68</sup>

### 1.3.6 The Creation of the ( AJC) The American Jewish Committee.

The appointment of Oscar Straws to a higher political office is a direct reaction of President Roosevelt to denounce the Tsarist Russian who maltreated the Jews and a real proof for equality and liberty for men that the Jews enjoyed in America. Following this act, another political support was granted to the Jews, the creation of AJC, the American Jewish Committee. This political organization was created in 1906 by Louis Marshall. The committee was established directly after the outbreak of the horrific riots in Russia against the Jews, killing them and destroying their properties.<sup>69</sup>

The goal of the committee was to help the Jews and defend their social and political rights. It was also another mean to abrogate the commercial treaty of 1832<sup>70</sup> between the United States and Russia. The problem consisted of the Russia abstinence to forbid the native born or naturalized Americans Jews having United States passport to travel freely within its territories. The AJC worked hard for the abrogation of the trade treaty and continued denouncing communist Russia even six years later.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., P. 35-36

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.,p.40.

<sup>70</sup>The Russia-American Commercial Treaty was signed in 1832 by ambassador James Buchanan. It consisted of a convention of navigation and commerce between the two countries and was terminated in 1913 due to the outbreak of a protest movement in America concerning the Anti- Russia feeling towards the American Jews travelling in Russia. After the abrogation of the treaty President Woodrow Wilson refused to recognize the Soviet government and in 1920, he stopped to deal with communist Russia. Steven Ericson and Allen Hockley, The Treaty of Portsmouth and its Legacies, University of New England, Hanover and London, 2008, p.73.

<sup>71</sup>Stephen Schwartz ,op.cit.,p.41.

### 1.3.7 The Jews within two Political Parties.

The socialist movement that took birth in the beginning of the twentieth century was developed by the Jewish immigrant's masses that arrived in America particularly in New York. The Jews who came to America seeking for work and an economic stability were devoted to the socialist party. The Jewish inclination to the socialists appeared with the Jewish labor organizations as the International Garment worker Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cop and Hat Workers, as well as the umbrella United Hebrew Trades. These organizations were estimated about two hundred and fifty thousand of membership in 1917 which urged both political parties, the Republicans and the Democrats to woo the Jews in their directions in order to gain their vote in the future election.<sup>72</sup>

These two political parties generated to the Jews sympathy by granting them important political posts as did democrat Woodrow Wilson when he appointed Louis Brandies<sup>73</sup> to the Supreme Court. The President's attitude towards the Jews made him gain the majority of the Jewish vote. The same thing happened with President Roosevelt when he elevated Oscar Straws to the secretary of commerce and declared following that:<sup>74</sup>: <<To show Russia what we think about the Jews in this community.>><sup>75</sup>

It is important to note that by 1920, the Jews preferred to side the democrats, so a great part of the Jewish community gave its voice to the democratic party which took position on issues on ethnic concern.

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<sup>72</sup>Hasia R. Diner, op.cit.,p. 161.

<sup>73</sup>Louis Brandies is born in 1865 and died in 1941, a European Jew with Bohemian Jewish parents who escaped from Europe during the crisis of the Democratic movement of 1848. He educated at the German English Academy in Louisville. Brandeis began practicing law in Boston; he became an expert lawyer, then an attorney. He defended many cases in the American state as the women's work advocacy, a law limiting the women's hours for work and also spoke on behalf the Oregon statute. He was elevated to the Supreme Court by Democrat, Woodrow Wilson. Thomas K. Mc Craw, Prophets of Regulation, the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England,1984, p.82-86.

<sup>74</sup>Hasia R.Diner, op.cit., p.158.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.



Moreover, the Jews were aware of the importance of their vote being considered by the two parties. The candidates of different parties expressed solidarities with the Jewish cause not taking into consideration religion, origin, region, or class, what was important for them is to collect the support of their voters.<sup>76</sup>

### **1.3.8 Jews Holding Political offices.**

During the early phase of the Jewish history in America, few Jews won public offices, but in the period of the American Revolution, the political status of the Jews started to develop, some of them acquired political offices due to their participation in the war and their devotion to the American cause. From 1773 to 1776, an American Jewish immigrant in South Carolina was elected in the provincial congress. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Jews acceded to an important political position, but those who were involved in politics hesitated to present themselves to elections fearing Anti-Semitism. It was a case that happened in Chicago in 1879 when a Jew was appointed for the Superior Court by the democrats. This nomination was badly perceived by the American society. The phenomenon of Anti-Semitism slowed the process of promoting the Jews politically.<sup>77</sup>

The first decade of the ninetieth century revealed a period of threat for the Jewish participation in politics. It was until 1845 that the first Jew could be appointed in the Senate. David Levy Yulee, a Floridian, was the first one who occupied the post from 1845 to 1851 and 1885 to 1861. Besides, the nomination of the Jews to the Senate costed them to hide their Jewishness in order to be accepted in the congress. Yulee was a Jew who hid his identity, declaring that his ancestor was from Morocco.

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p.159.

<sup>77</sup> Rafael Meddof, *op.cit.*, p267-268 .

In addition to that, other Jews entered the American political scene as Judah Benjamin who was nominated in 1852 to the US Senate. He was followed by Benjamin Franklin Jonas who served as Senator of Louisiana in 1878, and another Jews who took the Louisianan delegation to the House of Representative.<sup>78</sup>

The first potential nomination of a Jew to an important political position occurred with Oscar Straws appointed by President Roosevelt as a secretary of commerce after being the advisor and the former minister of Turkey. The nomination of Oscar to such political offices was regarded as a real successful step in politics that would open the door of opportunities to the Jewish community<sup>79</sup>

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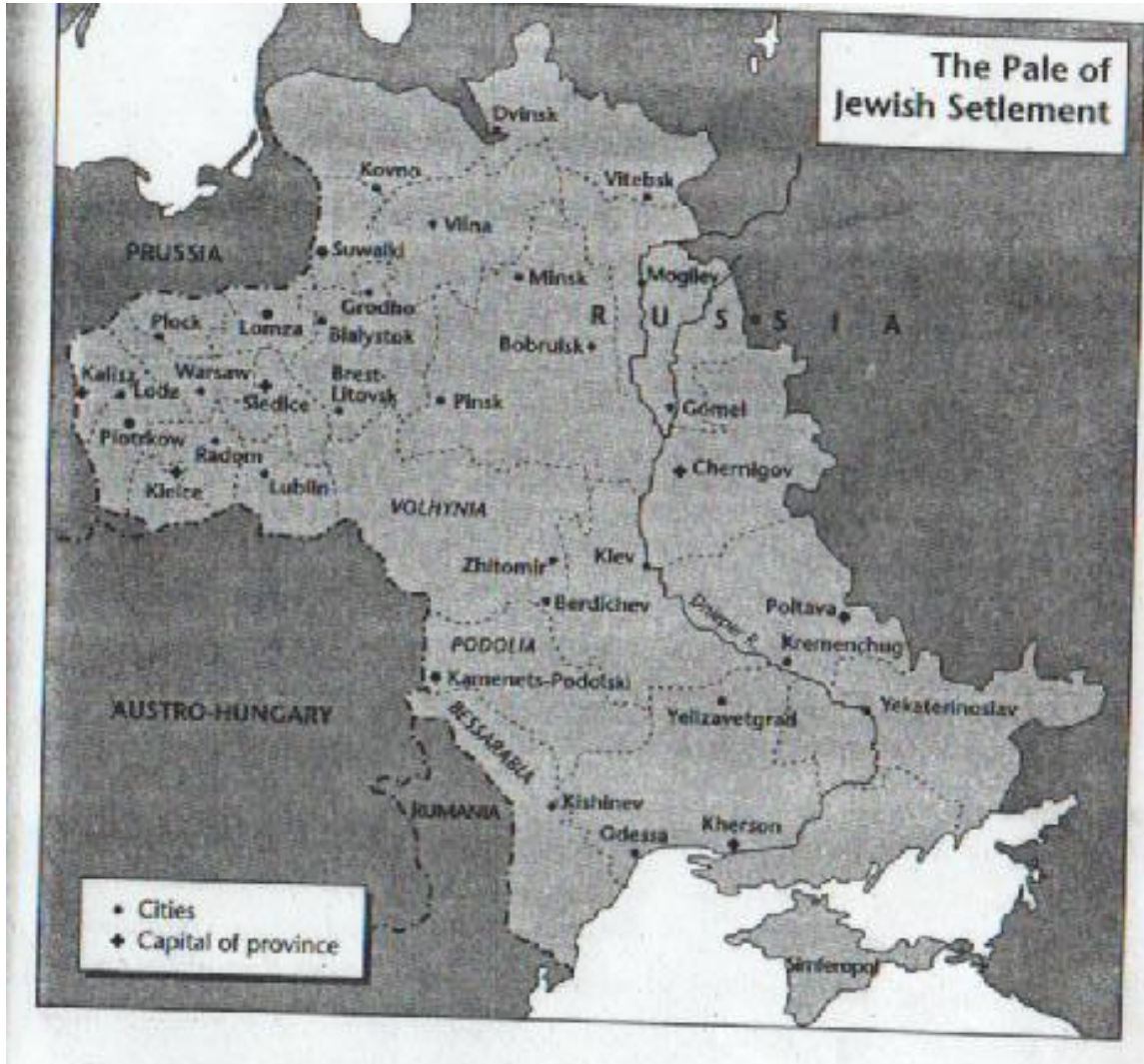
<sup>78</sup> Ibid.,p.269.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.,p.270.

**Conclusion:**

The Jews who entered America in the first decade of the nineteenth century poor and homeless, interacted with America and its culture and realised a comfortable social and economic status. The rapid financial promotion of the Jews in America allowed them to gain a position of power in the American political arena. It led some Jewish figures to rise politically as Oscar Stauw who was elevated to the U.S. secretary of commerce and Benjamin Peixoto as the ambassador of America in Bucharest. The important political offices reached by the Jews helped them to create the Jewish Lobby, a strong political body to influence U.S. government in pro-Israel direction and strengthened the relationship with Israel. The next chapter will study the major lobbying organizations created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the different method of influence they exercised to lobby for the interests of the Jews. The major organizations founded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that is AIPAC, ZOA, AJC, and ADL strongly worked to achieve the objectives of the lobby. It defended the oppressed European Jews, influenced the world's view on creating a Jewish state for the Nazi survivals, and liberated immigration in America. These organizations constituted the starting agencies in the political history of the American Jews. The development of the Jewish Lobby in the twentieth century in the United States will be the focus of the next chapter.

The Jews in the Pale of Settlement in Eastern Europe, about 1770.

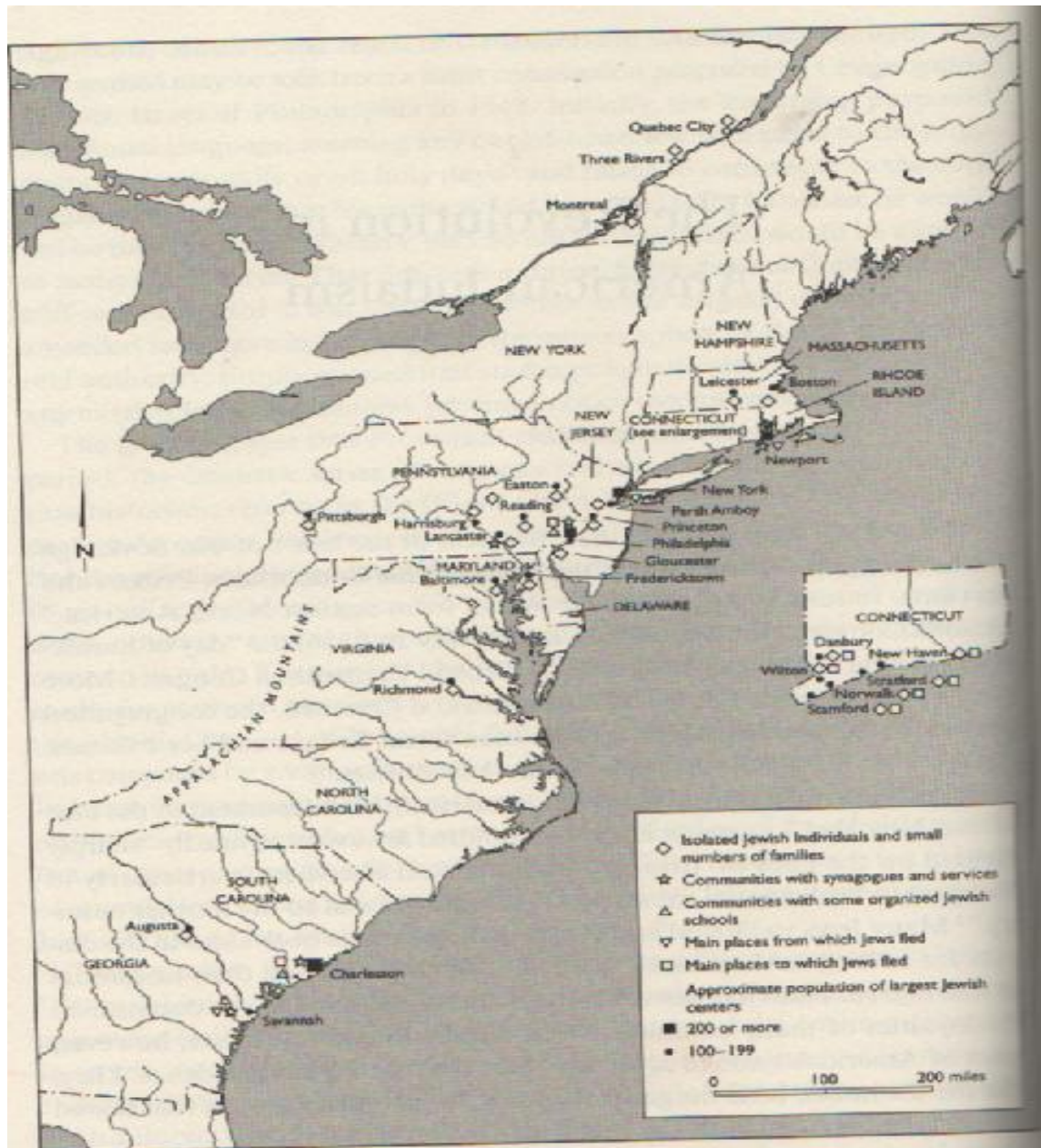


The Jews in Eastern Europe were located in the Pale of settlement after the partition of Russia in 1770, a century before the first wave of immigration started.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Raymond P. Scheindlin, op.cit., p.177.

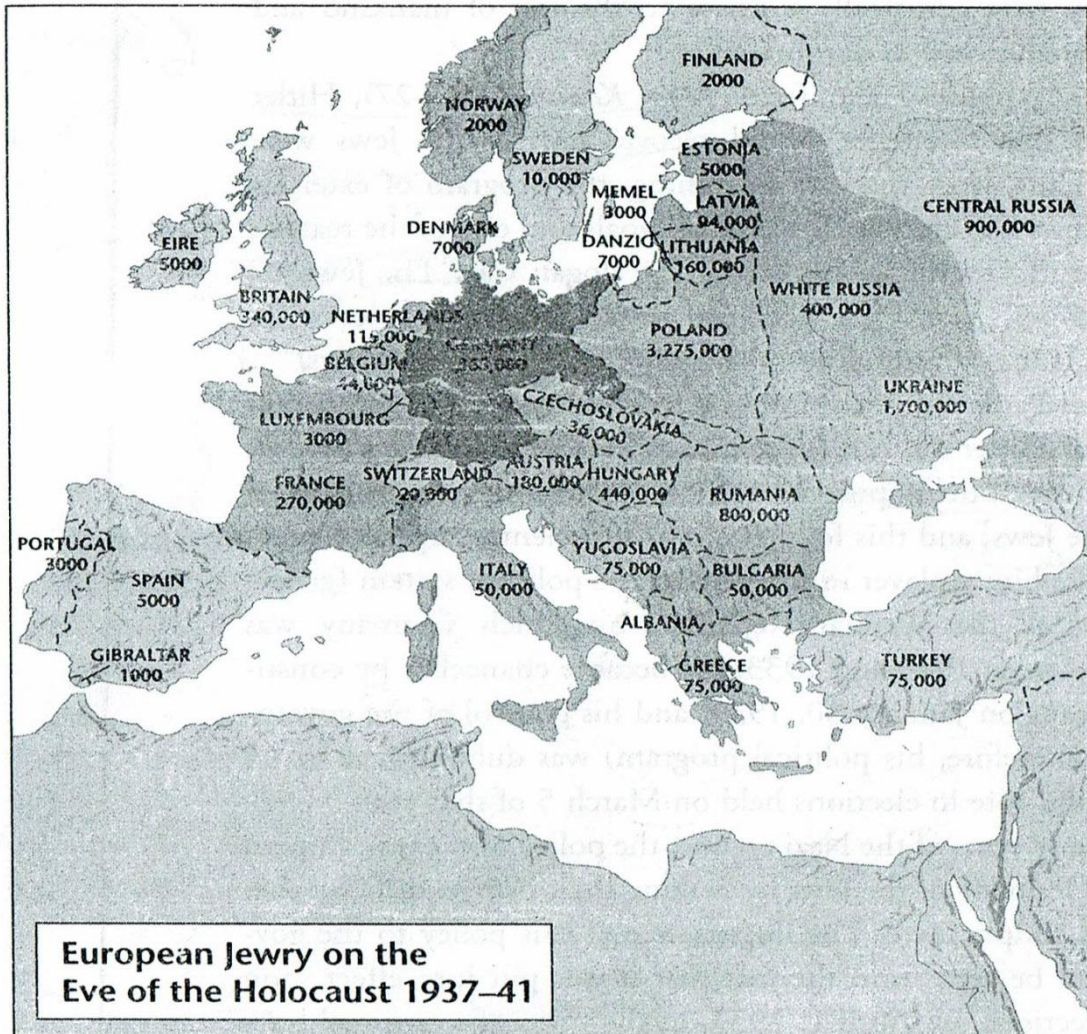
The Jewish Communities in the Period of the American Revolution.



The Jewish communities were dispersed in the American colonies in the period of the American revolution. They fought hand in hand with the Americans to defend the American cause<sup>81</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Jonathan D. Sarna, American Judaism, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, p.32.

**The Jewish communities in the period of the Holocaust.**



In this period of time, the Jews were located in emigration centers in different European countries enduring an anti-Jewish feeling<sup>82</sup>.

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<sup>82</sup> Raymond P. Scheindlin, *op.cit.*, p. 205.

# Chapter Two

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# Chapter Two: What is the Jewish Lobby?

## Introduction

To defend the Jewish cause throughout the world, the American Jews created a block of lobbyists called the American Jewish lobby, political organizations and individual people devoting themselves to lobby for the interests of the Jews. The Jewish lobby dates back to the 19th century, founded to speak on behalf of the persecuted Jews in Europe. The Jews of Germany, Switzerland, and Romania represented the field of Interests of the lobbyists. Moreover, this period of time included the abdication of Edgar Mortara by the papal police in 1858.

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In its beginning activities the Jewish lobby couldn't realize its objectives effectively due to the lack of the Jewish voting power. The absence of this latter was due to the little number of the Jewish community existing in the United States and even when the number of the Jews prospered, the voices of the new population could help the Jewish lobby only after it obtained its voting right. However, once the American Jews could collect a sufficient number of voters, their political goal started to be achieved. Strongly supported by U.S. government, Israel's survival depended on its special relationship with America. The 3 billion foreign aid destined to Israel each year is the result of the efforts made by the Jewish Lobby to influence the American government to support the Jewish state.<sup>83</sup> In addition to that ,in 2004, when four presidential candidates debated the issue of security, "John Edward<sup>84</sup>" from the Democratic Party told the Israelis "your future is our future" and added the bounds between the United States and Israel " will never been broken"<sup>85</sup>

### 2.1 Defining the Jewish Lobby.

Sometimes called the Israel lobby, the American Jewish lobby is identified as a number of political organizations in the United States performing great efforts to lobby for their interests and the interests of their homeland Israel. They operated in politics, public policy, international affairs, and the Medias.

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<sup>83</sup>Rafael Meddof, op.cit.,p.211.

<sup>84</sup> John Edward is a figure in American politics , former North Carolina Senator whose career was compromised by a scandal that made echo in the democratic party. He is 68, a democratic party's candidate for vice president in 2004, running with Massachusetts Senator John Kerry against president George W. Bush and vice president Dick Cheney. However, Edwards lost the election and returned in 2008 ,but failed because of his extra marital relation with a woman called Rielle Hunter when his wife, Elizabeth was enduring a terminal breast cancer. She immediately asked to divorce before she died. This affair destroyed his political career preventing him from winning the election. Chris Tognotti, Whatever Happened to John Edwards, retrieved at: <https://www.bustle.com/articles/121572-whatever-happened-to-john-edwards-the-north-carolina-senators-fall-from-grace-was-quick-absolute>, 05/11/2015.

<sup>85</sup>John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy ,Farrar Straus Giroux, 2007,p.4.

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When talking about the Jewish lobby, the commentators referred to the three major institutions in mind, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the Conference of Major American Organization (CMAO), and a net of Zionist group.<sup>86</sup>

The most significant organization is (AIPAC). It was founded in 1954 and considered as the most successful registered lobbying organization. It is based in Washington and works as a Clearinghouse relating committees for Jewish organizations and groups aiming to have their views considered by various executive branches and federal government. The second institution which is the Conference of Major American Organization was founded in 1955, and situated in New York as a strong representative of the Jewish opinion. The third one is the Zionist Group which participates to consolidate the public support to Israel.<sup>87</sup>The other important lobbying organizations are the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, Israel Policy Forum, New Israel Fund, and the Zionist Organization of America.<sup>88</sup>

It is important to note that the Jewish Lobby is not a hierarchical organization with defined membership. There are no membership cards or initiation rites. It is identified as a political body consisted of numerous organizations devoting their efforts to influence U.S. government and the American public to support Israel politically and economically. There are other organizations and individuals who support the activities of the lobby, but they are not potentially active as the other groups and individuals who are part of the lobby as (AIPAC), (ADL) the Anti-Defamation League, and (CUFI) the Christians United for Israel.

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<sup>86</sup>Ian J. Bickerton, Carla L. Klausner A History of the Arab- Israel Conflict, Pearson Education, Inc, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, 2007, p214.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Ibp USA, Israel Lobby in the United States. Strategic Information, Organization and Operations, International Business Publications, USA Washington, DC USA, 2009, p. 24.

As a result, not any supporter of the Israel Lobby is part of the lobby. These people are regarded as the broader network of supporters. The lobbying organizations work hard to run the U.S. foreign policy in favor of Israel. In this sense, each one of these organizations consecrates a considerable amount of resources and time to this cause. They must spend enough money to influence U.S. Middle East policy. <sup>89</sup>

It is important to add to the idea mentioned above that within different organizations, there are people who do not agree on every issue that concerned Israel. For example, the case of the two-states resolution between Israel and Palestine. There are individuals as Norton Klein of ZOA, John Hagee of CUFI and Real Jean Isaac of Americans for a Safe Israel opposed this solution, claiming that the majority or most of the occupied territories must belong to Israel. Other members as Dennis Ross of WINEP and Martin Indy of the Brookings Institution rejected the attitude of the other lobbying organizations towards the Palestinian cause. However, although the difference of views that these people have in different situation, they are united under the struggle for the welfare of Israel. All of them work actively to push the American diplomatic, military and economic support in direction of Israel. <sup>90</sup>

### 2.1.1 Informal Lobbying

The Israel lobby is composed of two lobbying activities, the formal lobby and the informal lobby. The informal lobby consists of American Christians of all denominations and other Jewish groups. In 2006, in London Review of Books, professors Mearsheimer and Stephan Walt wrote:<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>John Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *op.cit.*,p.113-114.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*,p.114.

<sup>91</sup>International Business Publication, *The Jewish Lobby in the United States : a Hand Book*, Washington DC USA,2009,p.12.

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*In its basic operations, the Israel lobby is not different from the farm lobby steel or textile workers' unions or other ethnic lobbies, there is nothing improper about American Jews and their Christians allies attempting to sway US policy. The lobbies activities are not a conspiracy of the sort depicted in tracts like the Protocols of elders Zions. For the most part, the individuals and groups that comprise it are only doing what other special interest groups do, but doing very much better, by contrast, pro-Israel interest groups in so far as they exist at all, are weak which makes the Israel lobby's task even easier<sup>92</sup>.*

It also refers to the direct method by which voting and the American public opinion impact on U.S. Middle East policy. The informal lobby is concerned with the Christians support for Israel who operates in different news coverage and the broadcasting network as TV and the internet.<sup>93</sup>

### 2.1.2 The Formal lobby.

The formal lobby includes Jewish groups that lobby directly for the American Jews and their homeland Israel. Among the formal lobbying groups, the Christians United for Israel, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee ( AIPAC) which lobbies directly the U.S. congress. Adding to that the Conference of President Major American Jewish Organization that represents the main contact between the Jewish community and the executive branch of the U.S. government.<sup>94</sup>

The impact of the Evangelical Christians on Middle East policy is as potential as AIPAC is in this domain. According to Michael Goldberg the author of "Kingdom Coming: The Rise of Christian Nationalism", the powerful body of lobbying works hard to influence the executive branch by transmitting the views of the American Jewish community and the other smaller pro-Israel lobbies.

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<sup>92</sup>ibid.,p.12.

<sup>93</sup>ibid.

<sup>94</sup>ibid., p.13

Adding to that, writers and scholars, John Mearshiemer and Stephen Walt refer to all the formal Jewish lobby as those organizations working together for the wellbeing of Israel and for preserving the American- Israel relationship. <sup>95</sup>

### 2.1.3 The Origin of the Lobby's Power.

Basically, the success of the lobby depends essentially on some factors that made it so effective. The fact that America is known for its traditional liberty of expression in one hand and its costly elections in another hand made some interests groups influence policy differently. Many of them are eager to lead electoral campaign supporting candidates and defeating others. They can also influence members of the legislative branch and elected representatives. Moreover, they wield public opinion by generating sympathy from journalists, books, and articles. The other point which empowered the lobby is that even if the interest group is small, defending an important cause and the public opinion does not oppose, the members of the congress will certainly support it. <sup>96</sup>

According to some American commentators as Henry Fairlie, in a London Time article in 1981, the Jewish lobby in America is called the American lobby. The power of the Jewish lobby resides in the geographical location of the Jewish community and the voter turnout in the presidential election. Adding to that, the financial donation granted by the Jews to the presidential candidates. <sup>97</sup>

The effectiveness of the Jewish lobby in the competition for influence in the United States is also due to higher education and income. Most political activists have the skills and material resources to participate effectively and tend to take greater interests in politics.

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M.Walt.,op.cit.p.140 .

<sup>97</sup> Norman H. Finkelstein, American Jewish History :AJPS Guide, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, United States,2010,p.182.

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Political influence in the United States is related to economic status. Besides, what strengthened the lobby's political influence is its potential membership, well trained professional staff, specialized groups for particular problems ,welfare, political programs, elaborate internal communications networks and the number of organizations operating at local and national level. All these characteristics shape the good image of the lobby, in the United States.<sup>98</sup>

In addition to all factors mentioned above, the lack of a serious opposition to the lobby is another source of power. The Arab lobby that opposes the Israel lobby lacks wealth and organization as Mitchell Bard, the former editor of AIPAC's Near East Report stated: <sup>99</sup><<From the beginning, the Arab lobby has faced not only a disadvantage in electoral politics but also in organization. There are several politically oriented groups, but many of these are one-man operation with little financial or popular support.>><sup>100</sup>

### 2.1.4 The Impact of Oil

Obviously, oil has a great influence on American policy, but this does not mean that it challenged the Israel lobby's position in the American political arena. Basically, America is extremely interested in the energy sources of the Middle East which attracted its attention to this region, and made sure that no other state disrupted in this area. Besides, the U.S. attitude in the region justified its close relation with different countries of the Gulf as it is the case with the Saudi Arabia that represents one of the closest allies of America.<sup>101</sup>

To maintain the balance of power and preserve oil flowing, America carried out two important political actions.

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<sup>98</sup>John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt,op.cit.,p.140 -141.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.,p.141.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.,p.142-143.

The first was the fact of supporting the Shah of Iran for long time and the war of Iraq (1980-1988), eliminating Iraq from Kuwait. It is important to note that the “oil lobby” has no important impact on America because if so the U.S. relationship with Israel would worsen and America would be under the Arab petrodollars or Energy Company. It would also dissolve his relation with Israel and preserve its interests with the wealthy people. Moreover, it would insist on the creation of the Palestinian state as Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries wish. However, America’s attitude towards the big oil producers as Saddam Hussein’s Iraq, Muammar Gaddafi’s Libya or the Islamic state of Iran was extremely hostile. Besides that, America inflicted on them sanctions that slowed the development of their energy resources.<sup>102</sup>

### 2.1.5 The Role of Diversity in the Jewish Lobby’s Success.

The diversity within the Jewish lobbying organization played an important role in the lobby’s power. In other words, because the lobby is a block of multiple organizations dealing with different causes made it gain an important position in American politics. In addition to that, there were many opposing situations that divided elements within the same group or different organizations. For instance, in 2006, two agencies disagreed about U.S. aid both to Palestine and Israel. The Jewish Voice for Peace, and Brit Tzedek v’ Shalom refused to accept the fact that the United States imposed severe restrictions on aid to Palestine than to Israel because AIPAC lobbied the congress for doing so. Moreover, similar situation appears in the Oslo Peace Process<sup>103</sup>. AIPAC and Conference of President did not support the treaty and were resentful to it.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> The Oslo Agreements are international conventions signed in Oslo, Norway, secretly by Israel and (PLO), the Palestinian Liberation Organization in the White House Lawn, in September, 1993. This meeting gave birth to (DOP), the Declaration of Principles that summarized the Madrid Talk in 1991 under the auspice of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the European Community. They discussed many issues among them the Israel abstention to withdraw from the occupied territories. The (DOP) ended by a series of the Oslo Agreements. The 1994 Gaza- Jericho Agreement, the 1995 Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip or Taba Agreement, the January 1997 Hebron Protocol, the October 1998 Wye River Memorandum, and the September 1999 Sharam el Sheik Memorandum. Roan Carey, *The New Intifada: Resisting Israel’s Apartheid*, Verso, London, New York, 2001, p.181

<sup>104</sup>John Mearsheimer and Stephan Walt, op. cit., p. 120.



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Other organizations less important than AIPAC, Meretz-USA and the Tikkun Community supported the two-state solution, and considered that Israel development would be achieved only if it agreed with Palestine to resolve the political differences that opposed them. However, although the lobbying organizations differed on their views on the peace process, they united their activities on the desire to safeguard the U.S. Israel relationship.<sup>105</sup>

It is of some interests to note that the American Jewish leaders are used by Israel officials to intensify U.S. support and no matter what to affect the Jewish community. Many Jewish leaders submitted to the Jewish government, but in reality they opposed Israel's policy as Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the former Chair of the Conference of Presidents who stated in 1976 as follows<sup>106</sup>:<< The presidents' Conference and its members have been instruments of official governmental Israel policy. It is was seen as our task to receive directions from circles and to do our best no matter what to affect the Jewish community.>><sup>107</sup> Schindler did not accept the fact that the Jewish community was used by anyone. Despite the differences that existed between the Israel government and the Jewish leaders, it were not taken into consideration because Israel's security was above anything.<sup>108</sup>

### **2.2 The American Jewish Political Organizations from the German Period to the Twenty-first Century.**

The American Jewish lobby dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the creation of the first agencies in the German Period. Those organizations developed through time and became a potential political body defending the Jewish cause all over the world

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.,p.121.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

### 2.2.1 The American Jewish Political Organization in the German Period from 1820- 1880.

The first Jewish political organization that took birth in the German period was the B'nai B'rith. Originally, it was called Bundes Bruder, "band of brothers". It was created in 1843, and then took the Hebrew name of B'nai B'rith, the sons of the covenant. It was founded by twelve Central European Jews living in New York. These people were excluded from the Masonic lodge, so they met secretly and organized their own social institution which preserved its existence till nowadays.<sup>109</sup>

The B'nai B'rith is the oldest Jewish organization created to lobby for the Jewish rights. It started as a social and mutual association and became a political institution strongly influential in lobbying for the Jewish interests. By the year of 1850, the B'nai B'rith organized itself to operate outside New York as the first national Jewish agency. In its early years, its activities turned around religious services providing children with educational courses and creating library of Biblical books, but later on, it took a political color. It started to concentrate on defending the Jewish cause in domestic and foreign affairs.<sup>110</sup>

In the opening decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, precisely in 1808, the Jews and the Catholics asked New York State to grant them equal rights for their schools as the Protestants. Then, in 1826, there was the fight for the Maryland "Jews Bill" that allowed the Jewish community to practice law and benefit from political offices. In this period of time, the Jews promoted politically. They became city councils, state legislatures, and even congressmen, but they did not unite themselves to speak on behalf their rights for fear of the old Christian myth of Jewish conspiracy.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Hasia R. Diner, *op.cit.*, p.140.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, p.141.

<sup>111</sup>J.J Goldberg, *Jewish Power Inside the American Jewish Establishment*, Library of Congress, United States, 1996, p.93.

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The first Jews who promoted in Politics, Mordecai Manuel Noah, a religious Jew who was chosen for a diplomatic post in the State Department. Accordingly, in 1810, he wrote to the Secretary of State, Robert Smith as follows: << I wish to prove to foreign powers that our government is not regulated in the appointment of their officers by religious distinction.>><sup>112</sup> . Noah evolved to the office of U.S. consul in Tunisia, in 1813. He strongly defended the Jewish cause, opposing bigotry and asking for the creation of a Jewish state.<sup>113</sup>

In 1859, the Jews created a body of defense called the Board of Delegates of American Israelites inspired by the Board of Delegates of Deputies of British Jews which succeeded to liberate the Jews arrested in the event of “Blood Libel”, in 1840. Besides, in 1858, this lobby defended The Edgar Mortara case, the Italian child of seven years old who was kidnapped by the papal police, and baptized secretly by his nurse. This act was denounced by the Christians who punished the Jews who were at its origin .<sup>114</sup>

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites was supported by important political figures as Attorney Simon Wolf, an active American Jewish lobbyist who defended the Jewish rights on the American soil. For instance, when Ulysses Grant ordered the Jews to leave the department of the Tennessee, accusing them to trade with the confederate enemy in 1862, he later on changed his view towards them because of Simon Wolf’s close relationship with him. In Addition to Wolf, other important figures developed the organizations as Joseph Seligman who was appointed as the treasury secretary by President Ulysses Grant too. The efforts of this lobby did not stop at this level, but it went beyond that when it collected \$20,000 from American financial support for the Jewish refugees in Morocco, and \$15,000 for Cholera victims in Palestine.

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<sup>112</sup>Ibid.,p.94.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p.95-97.

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The Board was also at the origin of the appointment of Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, the former B'nai B'rith's president as a diplomat in Bucharest when the Jews of Romania were subject to discriminatory riots. He was of a great help to these people in situation of distress.<sup>115</sup> In 1878, the Board of Delegate of American Israelites was transformed in UAHC, the Union of American Hebrew Congregation<sup>116</sup> led by Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise<sup>117</sup>.

### 2.2.2 The Jewish Political Organization in the Period of Russian Period from 1880-1924

The year of 1881 was a starting date of the Russia immigration to the United States. The Jews of Russia were subject to the Pogroms which killed a great number of them and destroyed their properties. These Jews decided to leave their homeland to a new one that is America where they can live peacefully and worship freely. However, the arrival of these Jews to America troubled their fellows the German Jews who were already established there. In other words, the German Jews worked hard to gain a position of power in America, so they feared that their image would be destroyed by the newly arrived poor and illiterate Russia Jews. Consequently, the German Jews started to help their brethren by creating charitable organization as the Council of Jewish Women, in 1893.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p.97-98.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid.,p.93-99.

<sup>117</sup>Isaac May Wise is born in March 29, 1819, Stein grub, Bohemia, Austrian empire, and died in March 26, 1900. He founded important American Jewish religious institutions as the Union of American Hebrew Congregation. He also established the Hebrew Union College, the first permanent America Jewish Rabbinical College that he presided until his death. Isaac May Wise was a famous Jewish Reform rabbi who aimed to unite the American world Jewry. He competed with David Eihorn for the leadership of the Reform movement, but it was Isaac May Wise who won the competition and that period of Reform Judaism was called the "age of Wise". The New Encyclopedia Britannica. Enc, V.12, op. cit., p. 712.

<sup>118</sup>J.J Goldberg, op.cit.,p.101.

Once the Russian Jews improved their lives, they have started to be interested in politics. They gave birth to the first three important political organizations, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The American Jewish Committee came to birth in 1906. Among the successful efforts that the organization achieved, the conviction of the U.S. Senate to abrogate the eighty years old U.S. treaty, in 1832. It also defended the Jewish cause in Europe as lobbying for the oppressed Jews in Romania.<sup>119</sup>

The second organization that emerged after the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress which foundation was due to a group of Zionists<sup>120</sup> joined by Socialists. At first, the American Jewish committee rejected the creation of the congress, fearing radicalism from the Zionists, but it finally accepted to participate in it with the condition that the congress chooses a Jewish delegation to Paris, then stopped its activities for good. The congress met in three days, the first one in 1917 for a balloting in America, the second in Paris then the third in 1922 led by Rabbi Stephan S. Wise.<sup>121</sup>

The third organization consisted of the Anti-Defamation League. It was founded by a German born lawyer, Sigmund Livingston of Bloomington, Illinois. This agency developed in 1908 from a "publicity Committee" writing letters and articles or newspapers. The three American Jewish organizations promoted rapidly after receiving financial assistance from donors. In 1938, those agencies were called (CJF) The Council of Jewish Federation, but the members who composed the body were continually in conflict.

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.,p.102.

<sup>120</sup> Zionism is by definition a Jewish movement that originally took birth ,in Eastern and Western Europe, in the closing decades of the 19th century. The term Zionism derives from one of the hills of ancient Jerusalem called Zion. The objective of the movement was to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine and encourage the Jews dispersed in the world to return to Jerusalem. The New Encyclopedia Britannica.Inc,V.12, op. cit., p. 922.

<sup>121</sup> J.J.Goldberg,op.cit.,p.103.

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Consequently, it was replaced by the General Jewish Council which was too weak that gave the same result, so in 1944, it was cancelled and replaced by NCRAC pronounced “nac-rac”. However, even though the political organizations have made great efforts to succeed, but they have failed to establish a strong political body to represent them.<sup>122</sup>

In the period of WWI, the Jews of Europe were persecuted in their countries of origin. Many of them were killed and those who remained alive were attacked by aggressive band that rejected their presence in Europe. In 1914, a new organization took birth; it was called the Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering. The creation of this committee was the idea of a group of Orthodox people. A new group formed another political body called the American Jewish Committee presided by Louis Marshall. However, these two groups disagreed on how to distribute the money collected for the European Jews, so a new organization under the name of the Joint Distribution Committee headed by Jacob Schiff’s son in law, banker Felix Warburg, came to birth to take in charge the distribution of the money<sup>123</sup>

### **2.2.3 The American Jewish Lobbying Organization from 1924 to 2000**

The lobbying organizations started to exist as early as the 19th century, but their number developed rapidly and excessively in the 20th century. According to the sociologist, Chaim I. Waxman, in 1992, the Jewish organizations were estimated about eighty ones, all of them supporting Zionism and pro-Israel activities. Adding to that, fifty one of the most important organizations devoted their activities to create groups sharing their efforts for Israel wellbeing and working hard to reinforce the special relationship between Israel and America.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.,p.106.

<sup>123</sup> Moses Rischin, The Jews of North America, Wayne States University Press, Detroit, 1987,p.214.

<sup>124</sup> John J.Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, op.cit., p.116.

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Initially, the emergence of certain substantial lobbying groups as AIPAC occurred after the creation of the state of Israel and the early years of Zionism. To survive, these organizations depended essentially on important personal contacts or high political officials. It was the case with the Balfour declaration<sup>125</sup> in 1917 that was strongly supported by Woodrow Wilson and Harry S. Truman's decision to support the foundation of Israel.<sup>126</sup>

During World War II, the phenomenon of Anti-Semitism reached its pick notably in Germany with the Holocaust event. Consequently, the American Jews showed their anger by boycotting the German goods, in America. The American Jewish attitude did not please to the AJC and the B'nai B'rith that conflicted with the American Jewish Congress about this situation. The AJC claimed that such behavior would intensify the German Jews' persecution.<sup>127</sup>

Basically, the evolution of these important organizations occurred until the mid 1960 especially after the six days war of 1967 which represents a turning point in Israel history because it strengthened its position in the Middle East. According to Gilbert Achcar in "Perilous Power" that the power of the oil lobby cannot be measured with the Israel lobby's one because of the result achieved by the 1967 war.<sup>128</sup> The wealth of the lobby and stuff flourished in this period of time as Stuart Eizenstat stated that the war << galvanized the American Jewish public like no event since the independence war of Israel. The sense of pride in 'new Jew', proud, strong

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<sup>125</sup>The Balfour Declaration is a document that was issued during World War I in 1917. The declaration's name refers to Arthur Balfour, the U.K. Secretary of State who promised to help the Jews for the creation of a national home in Palestine as long as that did not compromise the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities. This document was at the origin of the establishment of the future Israel state in May 1948. In issuing the Balfour Declaration, few commentators stated that the United Kingdom had some interests there. Palestine is located near Egypt through which runs the Suez Canal, the U.K. vital economic source at the time. Moreover, another argument for U.K. backing the Israel foundation had been given is that Lloyd George and Arthur Balfour were Christian Zionist who wanted the Jews to return in Palestine because they believed in the second coming. Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration*, retrieved at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-kingdom/2017-11-02/balfour-declaration>, Nov 2, 2017.

<sup>126</sup>John J. Mearsheimer, .op.cit.,p.117.

<sup>127</sup> Jeffrey Gurock, *America, American Jews, and the Holocaust: American Jewish History*, Routledge Tailor, Francis Group, London and New York, 2013, p.218.

<sup>128</sup> Noam Chomsky, Gilbert Achcar, Stephen R. Shalom, *Perilous Power: The Middle East and U.S. Foreign Policy Dialogue on Terror*, Rutledge, New York, 2015, p.63.

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capable of defending themselves, had an incalculable effect on American Jewry.>><sup>129</sup> However, this evolution was due to two important reasons that led to the relaxation of the lobbying organizations from continuous discrimination spread in America in that political era. Protest against anti-Semitism and the international view against the horror of the Holocaust. Moreover, the other event that gave dynamism to these organizations was the war of attrition (1969-1970) and the October war of 1973 which demonstrated the strength of the Israel's military power.<sup>130</sup>

It is important to note that the development of the lobbying organization was essentially due to the American financial support in that period of time. But this support had to be justified in the political sphere. AIPAC that was poor of budget and staff evolved to 150 employees and an amount of capitals about \$300,000 in 1973 to \$40-60 millions today. Adding to that, the agenda of AIPAC developed from Israel's defense and the achievement of its interests. According to Warren Bass, AIPAC from 1960 to 1980 promoted to the "Washington powerhouse".<sup>131</sup> Moreover, it is important to note that despite the successes realized by AIPAC there were some differences within the lobbies in terms of specific policy issues. This was clearly seen in the rejection of AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents to the Oslo peace process when other Jewish groups sustained the two-states solutions.<sup>132</sup>

### 2.2.4 The Role of the American World Jewry.

Basically, the attachment of the American Jews to their country of origin, Israel, made them support the U.S. financial and economic aid to it. Mostly, the Jews who constitute the Jewish lobby worked hard to achieve Israel's interests. This was confirmed by Steven T. Rosenthal who declared<sup>133</sup>:<<Since 1967..... There has been no other country whose citizens have been as committed to the success of another country as American Jews have been to Israel.>><sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup>John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt,.op.cit,p.118.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., p.120.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup>John J.Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt,.op.cit,p.115.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.



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After the creation of Israel in 1948, the American Jews rejected Zionism considering it as a dangerous movement that can challenge the Jewish assimilation to the American society. The help of the American Jews to Israel accelerated after 1967 and then it became spontaneous. They even supported the Israel government policies whatever was its action and were considered as the first suppliers in financial and political support.<sup>135</sup>

The American Jews were strongly attached to their ancient homeland. Some of them chose to return home and rebuilt the Jewish community in Israel. The Jews who stood in the United States retained their commitment to their ancient homeland by supporting it substantially. Moreover, in this period of time the American Jews were assimilating to America and embracing secularism as it was stated by Rosenthal:<sup>136</sup>

*To equate Israel with Judaism was a comforting way to avoid the embraces of religion by focusing one's Jewishness on a secular state 8,000 miles from home...synagogues, the new mainstay of American Jewish life in the post war era, became Israel-centered. A new class of Jewish professionals..... arose in the suburbs. They soon discovered that Israel was the most effective means to counter the growing religious indifference of their constituencies. Primarily in response to Israel's overwhelming need for financial and political support, new institutions... arose, and fundraising and lobbying increasingly defined American Jews' relationship' to Israel.<sup>137</sup>*

### 2.2.5 The Interests of the American Jewish Lobby.

The American Jewish lobby started its lobbying efforts on Jewish concerns in the 19th century. Its earliest attempts obtained limited success due to the small number of the Jewish voters who didn't constitute a force to be considered by either the congress or the White House.

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<sup>135</sup>Dov Waxman, American Jews and Israel : The End of Israel Right or Wrong, retrieved at: <https://www.george-townjournalofinternationalaffairs.org/online-edition/2017/10/8/American-Jews-and-Israel-the-end-of-Israel-right-or-wrong,10/10/2017>.

<sup>136</sup>John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, op.cit.,p.116.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

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The American Jews in the 19th century lobbied for many Jewish causes abroad as it was the case of Edgar Mortara in 1858,<sup>138</sup> the oppressed Jews of Romania in the 1860s and the 1870s, but they failed to achieve their political objectives.<sup>139</sup> However, in the early years of the twentieth century, the Jewish lobby started to gain a position of power. The German-descended American Jews founded the AJC Committee in 1906 that struggled for the Jewish rights. There was also the emergence of other important American Jewish organizations that strongly lobbied for the Jewish interest.<sup>140</sup>

### **2.3 The Major American Jewish Lobbying Organizations.**

Among the important American Jewish political organizations that operated from the 20th century until nowadays, AIPAC the American Israel Public Affair Committee, AJC the American Jewish Committee, AJC the American Jewish Congress, and ADL the Anti Defamation League.

#### **2.3.1 The American Israel Public Affair Committee. AIPAC**

Originally, AIPAC is considered as one of the most important American Jewish lobby, founded by Isiah L. S Kenen, in 1951. At first, it was called the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs and took its formal final name in 1959 in order to collect funds from both the Zionists and the Non Zionists.

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<sup>138</sup>Edgar Mortara affair is the story of a Jewish child which made echo in Europe and North America. The child was six year old when he was kidnapped from his family by the papal guard in Bologna, Italy. The seizure of the child was justified by a former testimony that when an infant was seriously ill he must be given an emergency baptism. It is what happened him with his Catholic nurse who took him from his family to baptise him. When the child recovered, he was brought up in a Christian family because at that time the law forbade a Christian to live in a Jewish family. Rossella Tercatin, Ahead of film nephew recalls uncle- priest at heart of 1858 scandal retrieved at: [https://www.timesofisrael.com/ahead-of-film-nephew-recalls-uncle-priest-at-heart-of-1858-sandal,](https://www.timesofisrael.com/ahead-of-film-nephew-recalls-uncle-priest-at-heart-of-1858-sandal/) 16/12/2014.

<sup>139</sup> Rafael Medoff, op. cit., p.211.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p.212.

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AIPAC was created following the American Zionist Council and its first lobbying activities were strongly opposed by the Eisenhower's administration. The latter's attitude did not discourage the lobby's motivation in his lobbying activities. it could collect 15£ million to Israel as first success of the organization effort. Then by 1973, he succeeded to raise 1billion per year to help Israel. In 1988, U.S. aid to the Jewish state surpassed 3 billion per year, an amount of money considered as the highest financial assistance that had been never given to any other organization before.

In 1974, Kenen retired, but AIPAC still continuing on the way of its former leader.<sup>141</sup>The creation of AIPAC came directly after the American Zionist Council Movement, but it couldn't realize all the Jewish community's aspirations. It was only in the aftermath of the WWII that American Zionism started to defend the Jewish cause. However, conflicts emerged within the members of the movement, the Zionists and the non Zionists. To resolve the disputes between them, the America Emergency Committee for Zionists Affairs (AECZA) was created, in 1939. It was also established to extend the Zionist ideology to the non Zionist majority of American Jews and the non Jewish populace, but the organization failed in its structure. It was recognized in 1943, bringing new Jewish leaders to its core in order to achieve the political goal aspired by the Jewish community. The new agency was called the American Zionist Council (AZC).<sup>142</sup>

The (AZCPA), the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs was created in March 22, 1954, and then, it took the name of (AIPAC) in 1959 to lobby for the Zionists and the non Zionists people of the Jewish community. (AZPAC) and (AIPAC) are the only two organizations that are considered as the lobbying organizations registered with the congress to maintain the relationship between America and Israel. AIPAC represents a bridge between Israel and the United States.

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<sup>141</sup> Grant F Smith, Where did AIPAC come from, retrieved at:<https://original.Antiwar.com/smith-grant/2007/10/09/where-did-aipac-come-from>, 9 October2007.

<sup>142</sup>Davis Howard Goldberg, Foreign Policy and Ethnic International Groups, Green Wood Press, Inc. Connecticut, United States of America, 1990, p15-18.

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It assures the financial assistance to the Jewish state from the American government and makes sure that the American foreign policy is in pro-Israel direction.<sup>143</sup>

It is important to note that, in 1960 which is the beginning date of the creation of AIPAC, the financial assistance to Israel started to decrease. As a matter of fact, the lobby showed great interests to preserve U.S. monetary help to Israel. But doing so was not so easy, because AIPAC in its early days was more symbolic than substantive. Moreover, several Arab countries protested Israel affairs by boycotting all the countries and firms dealing with it. It was the case with Egypt which blocked Israel shipping, but the United States denounced such behavior arousing the anger of President Gamel Abdel Nasser. Consequently, the Egyptian President protested the American congress resolution.

the Arab countries continued to stop dealing with any country related to Israel and imposed a questionnaire to check if any Jew was working in its companies. This attitude pushed AIPAC to convince the U.S. congress to ignore the questionnaire, in 1965. Additionally, in order to reinforce the anti-boycott Act, other Jewish organizations devoted itself to this cause. The leader of the Anti-Defamation League, Arnold Foster<sup>144</sup> tried hard to convince the foreign minister, Golda Meir,<sup>145</sup> to react rapidly, otherwise they would fail the fight, and the Arab countries will gain the battle.

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p.15-18.

<sup>144</sup> Arnold Forster was one of the executive members of ADL. He was born in New York on June 25, 1912 and died at the age of 97. He received his undergraduate education from Johnson university, and then he became a lawyer and a writer. He started working with ADL in 1930. In 1940, he got the office of associate national director. From 1946 to 2003 he was nominated as the general counsel of the organization. Foster played a central role in fighting anti-Semitism and defending Zionism. He wrote many books as "The New Anti-Semitism", "The Trouble-makers", and "Some of My Best Friends". Margalit Fox, Arnold Forster, Who Fought Anti-Semitism with B'nai B'rith, is Dead at 97, retrieved at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/27/foster.html>, March 26, 2010.

<sup>145</sup> Golda Meir is the fourth Prime Minister of Israel, a Russia Jew who immigrated to Palestine, in 1921. She was given the name of the "Iron Lady of the Middle East". She evolved from Israel Labor Minister, Foreign Minister, and finally Prime Minister. She was one of the founding fathers of the Israel state. She rejected the Arabs who remembered her of the Holocaust, Avi Shlaim, The Face that Launched a Thousand Migs, retrieved at: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/aug/16/biography.politics>, August 16, 2008.

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The struggle against the boycott continued during the years of 1973 and 1974 which was the period of the Arab oil embargo. Consequently, the American Jewish lobbyists tried to influence Democrat Jonathan Bringham to legislate for removing the boycott. They argued that 200 American companies and 25 benches were boycotting Israel's business. By 1977, the Bringham Bill succeeded to terminate the boycott and punished any country boosting the boycott.<sup>146</sup>

AIPAC represents the eyes, ears, and mind of the American pro-Israel groups and a political intelligence center for American Jews. However, the leaders of AIPAC insist on the fact that AIPAC is not a foreign agent, but it is a means that enhances the relation between the people, government of US, and Israel. This lobby is controlled by 18 lay officers, who are appointed by an executive committee of 150 representatives of national and local organizations and federation, each two years. AIPAC is composed of 67 employees representing its stuff. AIPAC works within a center power controlled in Washington District with the offices of Near East Report and AIPAC's research information. It has got three other offices in New York, San Francisco, and Austin Texas. The current President of AIPAC is Lee Rosenberg from Chicago, Illinois.<sup>147</sup>

Among the successes that AIPAC realized during its period of lobbying activities, the creation of an advanced armed force that it obtained with the help of the United States. AIPAC contributed to the fight of terrorism and represented the advisor of the United States about the Middle East, in 1995. Moreover, AIPAC could reach the highest amount of financial help from US that is 3 billion per year, an aid that had never been granted to the other countries.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup>Rafael Medoff, op.cit., p.239-240

<sup>147</sup>David Howard Goldberg, op, cit., p.18.

<sup>148</sup> Global Center Investment Center, USA, Jewish Lobby in the United States, International Business Publication, Washington, DC USA, 2011, p 28.

### 2.3.2 The American Jewish Committee. AJC

In 1906, the American Jewish Community (AJC) was created as another famous American Jewish lobby that devoted its efforts to lobby for the interests of the Jewish community. It consisted of a number of important Jewish figures as Louis Marshall, Simon Woolf, Jacob F Schiff, and Cyrus Alder. They were political industrialists. This lobby is one of the first Jewish agencies that spoke on behalf the oppressed Jews in Germany and the civil rights of the American Jews in America. It asked for the abrogation of the 1832 Russo-American treaty of commerce in 1911, it also stopped the Jewish persecution in Russia and liberated immigration in order to provide the Jewish refugees with an asylum where they could flee the tyranny of Hitler and live peacefully. Moreover, AJC was one of the most important militant for Human Rights. It focused on the Human Rights of all the Americans without any distinction of race, or religion.<sup>149</sup>

Between 1933 and 1940, the committee directed an educational campaign against the Nazi and other anti-Semitic phenomenon. In 1957, the committee was awarded a prize for supporting the individual's liberty. It achieved its 50th anniversary. AJC emphasized the liberty of religion and ethnic minorities existing in America. It also organized conference supporting the community in the Diaspora.

In the first decade of its creation, the American Jewish Committee did not support Zionism. However, it helped the Jews in distress in Europe to join America as did Jacob Shiff, an American Jewish banker who financed the trip of all the East European Jews who set foot on Texas. It also encouraged the newcomers of Jews to assimilate rapidly American society.<sup>150</sup>

Among the other central goals of this lobby, anti-Semitism practiced by individuals who wanted to worsen the image of the American Jews.

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<sup>149</sup>Paul A. Djupe, Laura R. Olson, Encyclopedia of American Religion and politics, Fact on File, Inc, New York, 2003, p.26.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., p.26

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Accordingly Henry ford who published the Anti-Semitic Protocol of the Elders of Zion in his Dearborn, Michigan Newspaper, was forced by the head of the organization to apologize publicly to the Jewish community for his Anti-Semitic act. In addition to that, AJC avoided supporting the creation of the Jewish state in WWII, but in the aftermath of the war, it devoted itself to this cause. Besides, It played a pivotal role in achieving some goals as enforcing Human Rights, working with non Jewish religious groups. It also encouraged American diversity, and American democratic pluralism.<sup>151</sup>

The American Jewish Committee with the Anti-Defamation League, and the American Jewish congress represented the former organizations that fought against Anti-Semitism in America and Europe. The founder of AJC is Louis Marshall, born in Syracuse, New York, in 1856, he lived in New York city and also created (NAACP) the National Association of Colored People. AJC was created following the Kishinev Massacre in 1903 (the capital of Bessarabia). The Jews of this town were subject to three days of pogroms. In 1906, this agency was created, but in its early time it didn't advocate Zionism for fear of Anti-Semitism acts. However, the organization reformed Judaism.<sup>152</sup>

The other plight that this lobby defended in the period between 1945 and 1967, the six days war in Israel, then the last lobbying period is from 1967 to modern times. This latter includes a long struggle for the Civil Rights Movement that was embodied in the blacks and the Jews, in 1966. Adding to that, AJC encouraged the Jewish assimilation to the American society. As a result, in 1973, it published the first family survey that revealed the intense increasing intermarriage between Jews and non Jews.<sup>153</sup>

Another former leader of AJC, Jacob Schiff, a banker and head of Kuhn and Loeb Company.

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<sup>151</sup>Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Norman H. Finkelstein, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>153</sup> Spencer Blakeslee, *The death of American Anti-Semitism*, British Library of Congress, United States of America, 2000, p. 63.

He was an important industrialist who financed the organization. The other members of the committee, Oscar Straws, the secretary of commerce in Theodore Roosevelt's administration, judge Mayer Sulzberger, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, and the attorney Louis Marshall. In its early days, the agency comprises sixty people most of them wealthy and top political officers.<sup>154</sup> Consequently, the structure of the organization took an oligarchic form since the executive of the organization is a group of aristocrats or wealthy family. They may be the elected president, vice president, or the chain of the board.

Currently, AJC has one hundred and nine years of existence. Its membership has evolved to 45 000 members with 350 employments. Its annual budget today is about \$19, 8 million. Its central goals, anti-Semitism, the state of Israel, and the Jewish identity. This lobby is a famous publisher pamphlet books, since 1930. By 1945, it published monthly commentary magazine which had developed in 1970 to a decidedly conservative voice in the Jewish community. Nowadays, it publishes the AJC journal, a newsletter focusing on current events within the committee and distributed each month to all AJC's members.<sup>155</sup>

### 2.3.4 The American Jewish Congress AJC.

The other lobby that devoted its lobbying activities to the interests of the Jews, the American Jewish Congress AJC. Created in December 1918 by a number of religious Zionists, after the Nazi persecution. Led by Rabbi Stephan S. Wise, an American Jewish religious reformer who still at the head of the organization until his death, in 1949. The lobby was recognized in 1928 after its cancellation in 1918 following the Paris Peace conference<sup>156</sup>.

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<sup>154</sup> Spencer Blakeslee, op.cit., p.64.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p.76.

<sup>156</sup> The Paris Peace Conference is a meeting that was held, in January 19, in 1919. The conference convened the four victorious allied powers following the end of WWI to establish a process of peace. 32 diplomats of countries and nationalities attended the conference. It led to the five Parisian Treaties (Versailles, Saint-Germain, Neuilly, Trianon and Sevres), Alain Sharp, The Paris Peace Conference and its Consequences, retrieved at: [https://Encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/the\\_paris\\_peace\\_conference\\_and\\_its\\_consequences](https://Encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/the_paris_peace_conference_and_its_consequences), October 08, 2014.



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The organization opposed radically the Nazi oppression in Europe; It organized a protest movement in Madison Square Garden in New York City to denounce the Nazi movement. The American Jewish Congress worked hard to rescue the Jews of Europe. It created what is called the World Jewish Congress WJC in 1936 led by Stephen Wise. The mission of AJC was to link between the world Jewish Congress and U.S. government to support the Jews of Europe.

By 1942, the European Jews were threatened to be killed by Adolf Hitler who wanted to eliminate the entire Jewish community, in Europe. Consequently, AJC planned to rescue these people by influencing the American public opinion. They organized another rally with 70 000 protestants, in Madison Square Garden, on March 1 1943.<sup>157</sup>

When the American Jewish Congress came to birth, it was radically opposed by the American Jewish Committee. This latter claimed that, to achieve its goals, the Jewish community needed successful, wealthy, and educated representatives which are the membership of the American Jewish Committee. However, gradually, the American Jewish Congress proved to be a powerful organization with a membership that exceeds 40 000.<sup>158</sup>

The American Jewish congress in its beginning activities was designed to provide the Jews with a united voice in the Paris Peace Conference, and support the oppressed Jews of Europe. Stephen Wise asked for the Human Rights of people and encouraged the creation of a Jewish homeland. Besides, the congress was the first organization that defended Zionism in the United States. It aimed to realize five fundamental goals, the security of Israel and the Jews of world wide, fighting anti-Semitism, preserving religious freedom in America, ensuring the separation of church and states, advocating American independence from oil and supporting moderate Muslim nations and individuals who oppose radical Islam.

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<sup>157</sup>Jeffrey S. Gurock, *American Jewish History and Holocaust*, RoutledgeTaylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 1998, p.99.

<sup>158</sup>Gary A. Tobin, Sharon L. Sassler, *Jewish Perception of Anti-Semitism*, Plenum, United States, 1988,P. 135-137.

Nowadays, this lobby has officers in many nations of the world, among them, Jerusalem. Its President is elected each two years for a two years term.<sup>159</sup>

### 2.3.5 The Anti-Defamation League

The Anti-Defamation league, ADL was created in 1913 by Sigmund Livingston<sup>160</sup>. The beginning activities of this lobby was the abolition of Anti-Semitism which threatened the Jewish lives until nowadays. It also rejected bigotry and supported the Civil Rights Movement. It is composed of 29 offices in America and 3 in other countries. Its National director is located in New York called Abraham Foxman since 1987 and its national chairman in the United States is Robert Sigmund.

ADL was founded following the case of Leo Franc in 1913, the woman employee who was supposed to be killed by Leo Franc, the Jewish factory manager. He was one among the important cause that the lobby defended. The organization rejected racism in religion and fought against terrorism which is viewed as anti-democratic and racist. It also supported the separation of church and state and prevented from other genocides in the world as it happened with Hitler.<sup>161</sup>

ADL regarded Anti-Semitism differently from the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee, in the sense that it considered it from the identity of the Jews and not from the one of the American Jews.

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Sigmund Livingston is a German Jew born in December 27, 1872, in Germany and died in June 13, 1946 at the age of 73, in Chicago. He immigrated to the United States in the 1880s and settled in Bloomington. He got his diploma of law, in 1894 from Illinois Wesleyan University law school. Livingston created the Anti-Defamation League in 1913 after serving in B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish charitable organization. In 1908, he got the office of the group's Midwest responsible to fight anti-Semitism. He defended the case of Leo Franc a Jew who was expected to have murdered a working woman in his factory. He fought against anti-Semitism and bigotry .In 1929, he became a corporate council in Chicago and in 1944, he wrote books denigrating anti-Semitism in Europe as "Must Men Hate". Bill Kemp, Bloomington Lawyer led Fight against Anti-Semitism, retrieved at: [https://www.pantagraph.com/news/local/pfop-bloomington-lawyer-led-fight-against-anti-Semitism/article\\_0cdf4d33-fd33-f7f8-50d4-bf5e-ac369ef04d77.html](https://www.pantagraph.com/news/local/pfop-bloomington-lawyer-led-fight-against-anti-Semitism/article_0cdf4d33-fd33-f7f8-50d4-bf5e-ac369ef04d77.html), Jul 11, 2010.

<sup>161</sup> Paul A. Djupe, Laura R. Oslo, op.cit., p.34-37.

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In addition to that, it claimed that it had deeply studied the problem in the past than it was done by the other two agencies. In other words, the Anti-Defamation League worked directly with individual's incidents and local acts, whereas the inclination of the other organization was directed to general issues.<sup>162</sup>

The parent lobby of the Anti-Defamation League is the B'nai B'rith which was created in 1843. In the period between 1913 and 1945, ADL played an important role in fighting against anti-Semitism especially with the arrival of the East European Jews to America who were poor and homeless. As the leaders of ADL were wealthy German Jews, they feared that their image would be worsened by the newcomers, so they worked hard to help their fellows to be accepted in America. Moreover, when the American Congress published a commission's forty-two volumes restricting immigration by imposing severe conditions to the newcomers as the rejection of illiteracy, ADL worked hard to correct the requirement put by the congress.<sup>163</sup>

### **2.3.6 The Zionist Organization of America. (ZAO)**

Since its creation, the American Organization of America (ZAO) defended the Jewish issues. Its former leader, Louis Brandeis, born in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1805, and graduated from Harvard University. Brandeis finished as a prominent lawyer, and started developing the idea of Zionism because of his devotion to Israeli's cause..He was elected to High office with Woodrow Wilson's administration that nominated him as the country's first Jewish Supreme Court Justice. Brandeis was so involved in the Zionist Movement that it led him to the creation of FAZ, the Federation of American Zionism renamed later on as ZOA, the Zionist Organization of America.<sup>164</sup>

The debate around the creation of the Jewish state took place in the period of World War II to save the Jews who were in distress, in Europe.

This idea started to be shaped with Britain's intervention to take Palestine from the Ottoman Empire promising the Jews to settle there. The promise was declared in

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<sup>162</sup>Gary A. Tobin, Sharon L. Sassler, op.cit., p.141-p142.

<sup>163</sup>Spencer Blakeslee, op.cit., p.79-80.

<sup>164</sup>Shelley Kapnek Rosenberg, Challenge and Change: History of the Jews in America ,Behrman House ,Inc. Springfield New York, 2005, p.66-67.

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a letter by the U.K. foreign minister, Arthur James Balfour to Lord Lionel Rothschild, the leader of the Jewish community, in England, in 1917. The letter which was called the Balfour declaration affirmed the support of the British to Jews. The declaration was greeted by the Jewish community and the Zionist were enthusiasts about this historical step towards them. In addition to that, the Paris Peace Conference was another factor that accelerated the creation of the Jewish homeland. The Zionists who attended the conference were effective in exposing their motives to have a Jewish state.<sup>165</sup>The Balfour Declaration by the British government states as follows:

*Dear Lord Rothschild,*

*I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of his Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspiration which had been submitted to and approved by, the cabinet. His Majesty's government views with favor the establishment in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.<sup>166</sup>*

In terms of lobbying activities, ZOA participated to a large extent to the creation of the Jewish homeland by influencing the executive branch. Currently, the organization has other objectives as promoting the educational field in Israel by collecting money to help the Jews to educate.

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.,P.68.

It also supports the new immigrants by financing their scholarship. In Israel, precisely in Tel Aviv, ZOA strongly contributed to creating a campus for education of immigrants to Israel. It is done by ZOA House, a cultural center near Ashkelon, in Israel.<sup>167</sup>

### **2.4. The Methods of Influence.**

To make the lobbying process efficient, the Jewish lobby adopted several methods of influence. It influenced the law-makers, supported presidential election, dominated the public discourse and the media, granted American candidates supporting the Jewish cause important donation.

#### **2.4.1 Influencing the Law-makers.**

As far as lobbying is concerned, influencing the decision-makers is one of the major sources of the lobby's power. To reach their objectives, the lobbyists exercised their influence on the executive branch that has the power to implement the laws and take important diplomatic and military decision. Following some lobbying activities, the American Jewish lobby was at the origin of the great decisions taken by the leadership of America as the Syrian Israel agreement, the American support to Veto Security Council, condemnation of Israel's retaliatory raids ,and the Camp David Peace Treaty .Most American Presidents generated sympathy to Israel according to electoral cycle and public opinion as it was the case with President Wilson who supported the Balfour Declaration. Moreover, influencing the White House is assuring a real success as it is illustrated in the words of Avraham Harman:<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup>Encyclopedia of the Arab Israel Conflict, Inc, op.cit.,,p.1129.

<sup>168</sup>Mitchell Geoffrey Bard, The Water's Edge and Beyond, Transaction publishers New Brunswick, New Jersey (USA) and London (UK) 1991,p.121-122.

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*In the process of persuading, human beings are open to all kinds of Influences. One of the most important influences, especially in large country like the United States, which is struggling with huge problems ,is gaining a man's time. It is not that you are trying to persuade him to do something against his will, his interest or the American interests. It is a question of competing for his time. If there is somebody like Abe Feinberg who has access to the President, doesn't overstay his welcome or abuse it, but reserves use of this access to matters of greatest importance, then he has gained Presidential attention on this matter. That is important. If you go through diplomatic channels, the information gets- there- eventually. . . .<sup>169</sup>*

Another point is that, it was clearly revealed by American Presidents that opposing the American Jewish lobby means destroying one's political career. This behavior happened with Jimmy Carter who complained that his failure at his reelection was due to a pressure exercised by special interests groups. In addition to that, there is another method of lobbying used by the lobbyists, the president's advisers who play a central role in influencing the decision of the head of state. Those advisors may be experts, bureaucrats and friends. However, sometimes, the advises of these individuals may trouble the President, in the sense that he will be confused which advise he should choose. In case that the president has a strong opinion about an issue, the adviser cannot change his mind about it, but if the opinion of the President is weak ,he may be easily influenced by outsiders that is interest groups as the Jewish lobby. <sup>170</sup>

### 2.4.2 Supporting Presidential Elections.

The other method of influence that empowers the American Jewish lobby is its strong support to presidential elections. Among the major reasons for the importance of this boost, the fear of the candidate not to win in the election due to opposing the lobby's interests. Consequently, any policy relating to the Middle East, and contesting Israel became inactive. It's what AIPAC stressed by the 1980's that issues

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<sup>169</sup>Ibid.,p.122.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid.,p.126.

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concerning Israel must be the center of interests of national campaign particularly in congress.<sup>171</sup>

Not only, the lobbyists give their voices to candidates who are pro-Israel but also back their campaigns by granting them potential donations. This phenomenon was illustrated in the words of Hamilton Jordan, the presidential advisor and former White House Chief of Staff who said as follows<sup>172</sup>: <<Whenever there is a major fundraising in this country, you will find American Jews playing a significant role.>><sup>173</sup>

The candidates who are unfriendly to Israel see the American Jewish support given to their adversaries. Moreover, the fact of simply giving opinion or view against Israel may compromise their political careers. This is what happened with Howard Dean in 2004 when he had just advised the U.S. government to take a more “even-handed role” in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Dean’s recommendation made echo in the American Jewish lobby which qualified him as hostile towards the Jewish state, although he was pro-Israel and his wife was a Jew. The statement of Dean showed that any idea that turns over the Arab-Israeli conflict is not welcomed even if it is a mere observation.<sup>174</sup>

Most voters register as Democrats with a minority of Republicans, and all the candidates supporting Israel are backed by the American Jewish vote as it happened with Senator Gary Hart who supported Reverend Jess Jackson. This later criticized the Jews who considered him as anti-Semitic. Consequently, the Jews favored former Vice President Walter Mondale<sup>175</sup> over Hart in the New York primary. By his inclination to the Jews, Mondale gained their voices for four years.

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<sup>171</sup>Michael Thomas, American Policy towards Israel, Rutledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2007,p.14.

<sup>172</sup> John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, op .cit .,p. 163.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., p.141.

<sup>175</sup>Walter Mondale is an American Democrat, born in January 5, 1928, in Ceylon, Minnesota. He graduated from the university of Minnesota. He served in U.S. Army as a corporal from 1951 to 1953. From 1956 to 1960 he practiced as a private lawyer and in the period between 1960 and 1964 he was appointed as an Attorney General of Minnesota. In 1984, in a democratic speech, he proposed that he could raise taxes to reduce budget deficit, but he was defeated by Colorado Sen. Gary, in the New Hampshire, in primary 1984. In 2002, he became the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party’s candidate, but Noam Coleman won the election. In 2008, he was nominated as Norway’s honorary Counsel for Minnesota, but in 2010 he resigned from this office, CNN Library, Walter Mondale Fast Facts: retrieved at <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/30/us/walter-mondale-fast-facts/index.html>,December 15,2017.

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In 1980, Jimmy Carter by his Mideast policy lost the support of the Jews. Similarly, for Regan who obtained only 32%, while Modal gained 66% of the American Jewish vote.<sup>176</sup>

The same attitude was reproduced with Bush because of his Secretary James Baker who had executed Mideast policy; He was viewed as pro-Arab. Adding to that, the American President overtly showed his anti- Jewish feeling which decreased his Jewish vote. Unlike these candidates, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton was largely advocated by the Jewish voters because his party was in pro-Israel direction. As a result, he gained 80% to 85% of the Jewish vote. The level of vote reached by Clinton proved to be the highest since Lyndon Johnson who obtained 90% in 1964 against Barry Goldwater. Moreover, even in 1996, the success of Clinton was due to the fact that he generated sympathy to the American Jews. However, Senator Robert Dole who asked U.S. government to reduce aid to Israel and criticized it for the Islamic terrorism in Lebanon who kidnapped and killed an American lost support of the Jews. Similarly, the first lady Hillary Clinton against Conservative Republican congressman, Rick Lazio; She won 53% of the Jewish vote which assured her victory over Lazio.<sup>177</sup>

The other factor that increases the voter turnout of the American Jews is their concentration in key states as California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey and New York representing 10% of the whole population. This observation was stated in the words of Jeffry Helmreich who declared as follows<sup>178</sup>:<< American Jewish voters maintain the potential to be the decisive factor in national election results....American Jews wield power through their high concentration in key states and their tendency to behave as a swing vote in ways that set them apart from virtually all other groups in American politics.>><sup>179</sup>

Another point is that the lobbyists are more interested in the Capitol Hill rather than in the White House. They claimed that they have more time to expose their issues in the Capitol Hill rather than with the President that may allow them just one

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<sup>176</sup> Rafael Medoff, op.cit., p.200.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.,p.205-207.

<sup>178</sup> John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt,op.cit.,p.163.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.,p.163.



hour. They also focus their attention on the congress because they noticed that this political body is potentially active in foreign policy.<sup>180</sup>

It is important to note that the influence of the lobby can oppose the President's decision as one Jewish leader Earl Raab declared<sup>181</sup>: << As a political force, the Jews will be able to exert influence over American foreign policy to the extent that their influence is wielded in the direction of what American public official considers the best interests of the United States.>><sup>182</sup> The statement of Earl Raab demonstrated clearly that the influence of the lobby may limit the power of the President that is it took supremacy over the presidential decision.<sup>183</sup>

### 2.4.3 Influencing Public Discourse and the Media.

Dominating public opinion is another method of influence that the American Jewish lobby focused on. Few years before the creation of the Israel state in 1943, Peter Bergson, a Zionist and activist politician came from Palestine and created a collaboration of journalists and actors and produced a literal coup de theatre. They produced the pageant called "we shall never die" played beneath forty-two- foot tablets of the Ten Commandments; this movie affected public opinion and influenced the creation of the future national Jewish homeland.<sup>184</sup>

It was reported by Eric Alterman, the CUNY professor of journalism that in 2002 there were 56 columnists and commentators devoting their supports to Israel and the people who criticized it counted only five persons. It was also reported that in 2006 the interest groups were very active on the internet. They reserved a software called a megaphone where Israel diplomats recommended by the foreign ministry to reserve a website for the lobbyists to put their messages in order to defend the cause of Israel.<sup>185</sup> This phenomenon was commented by Chris William as follows:

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<sup>180</sup> Mitchell Geoffrey Bard, *op.cit.*, p.32. .

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p.34.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> David Shoenbaum, *The United States and States of Israel*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1993, p.27.

<sup>185</sup> *International Business Publication, op.cit.*, p.16-17.

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<<Whoever it used, megaphone is effectively a high-tech exercise in ballot stuffing, we're calling it lobbyware.>><sup>186</sup>

There are two important newspapers, the New York Time and the Washington Post which defended the cause of Israel. Nowadays, there are several columnists who consecrated their writing to the Middle East are, William Safire. A. M. Rosenthal, David Brooks, Thomas L. Freidman, Nicholas D. Kristol ,et Maureen Dowd. All these columnists wrote about the American foreign policy, but never supported the Palestinian cause even if at certain moments some of them were critical to Israel. The columnists who potentially advocated the Israeli cause, Jim Hoagland, Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, George Will, Michael Kelly, and William Kristol. However, the only outstanding columnist who criticized Israel and supported Palestine is Robert Novak.<sup>187</sup>

It is important to note that the lobbyists made great efforts to control the journalists who wrote in an anti-Israel context to the point that they orchestrated writing letters, demonstrations, and boycott protesting against those who are against Israel. This fact was denounced by the CNN executive who claimed that he received per day six thousands e-mail messages for all the anti-Israel writing. They even boycotted some papers as the Chicago Tribune, the Los Angeles Time, and the Miami Herald.<sup>188</sup>

In the American society two points of view had been developed towards the Jews concerning the media. The first one developed by the non-Jews who think that the American Jewish power resides in their domination of the mass media, the second view stated by the Jews themselves who consider that the mass media is a source of anti-Semitism. In fact, studies revealed that the Jews consisted fewer than 5 percent of the working press nationwide population. They represent about fourth or more of the writers, and producers in American media elites including network news divisions, the top newsweeklies and the four leaders papers, New York Time, Los Angeles Time, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal<sup>189</sup>.

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<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> John J .Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, op.cit., P.170-171.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.,p.172 .

<sup>189</sup> J.J. Goldberg, op.cit.,p.279-280.

Adding to that, Eugene Fisher, a director of Catholic-Jewish relation at the National Conference of Catholic Bishop declared as follows:<<If there is Jewish power, it's the power of the word, the power of the Jewish columnists and Jewish opinion makers.>><sup>190</sup>

Another point is that, in defending the American Jewish journalist to not being supporters of Israel, Stephen D. Isaacs former reporter, dean at Columbia University and author of "Jews and American Politics" considered that in journalism as in politics being a Jew is not a reference that makes him promoted in politics and gives a high priority to the Jewish concern as it was illustrated in his words:<<Jews in the media tend disproportionately to be what I call apostate Jews, apostate Jews are attracted to all sorts of businesses that allow them to cross over and not be Jewish. By being a journalist, a Jew can't be Jewish, because journalism per se requires a certain distance. You can't be tribal or racial and also be a hands-off journalist. >><sup>191</sup>

### 2.4.4 Campaign Donation and Financial Figures.

Adding to all the methods of influence mentioned above which strengthened the lobbying body, the American Jews thought about another potential one which is the financial political contribution that is Campaign donation. It was revealed that out of 125 member of the Democratic National Finance Council, over 70% are Jewish contributors. In the year of 1976, 60% of the participants in donation to the democratic party were American Jews. Besides, in 1972, President Nixon collected over 60% of fundraising from the Jewish community. Similarly, in 1968, Humphrey could obtain 75% from the contributors.<sup>192</sup> Moreover, Freeman, in "Evangelical and Israel" stated that in Bush's administration the donation were estimated about half of the major funds. They are consecrated to the Democrats to the point that in 2004, the Republicans asked Bush to influence the Jews to give them their donation.

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid.,p.280.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Adam M.Howard, Foreign Relation of the United States, government Printing office Washington,2013,p.286.

This idea could be put into effect two years after in 2006 when the Republicans could obtain 42% of the general funds that was granted to GOP. Consequently, the campaign donation, the Jewish vote, and the pro-Israel Lobby are key points which make it clear that the opposition to Israel is absolutely impossible.<sup>193</sup>

### 2.4.5 The Lobby within the American Congress.

The American Jewish presence in Congress dates back to the 1960s when they counted only ten Jews in the House of Commons. By 1930 to 1940, the Jews in the Congress were estimated about 1,4% of the House of Commons. There were no Jewish member in the Senate. However, by 1974 the number of the American Jewish MPs in the House of Representatives doubled and in 1991 it reached thirty-three in the same chamber. In 1992, the American Jews in the Senate were about ten. It is important to note that the presence of the Jews in the Congress is a new phenomenon that was not really accepted by the non-Jews, because of anti-Semitism. However, this feeling had disappeared through time allowing them to form an important lobbying entity defending the Israeli cause within the Congress.

Among the congressmen who were strongly active in pro-Israel direction, California Senators Barbara Boxer, and Diane Feinstein. There were also Pennsylvania Senator Arlen Specter, and New York representative Ben Gilman. The American Jewish congressmen constituted a lobbying body which is more important than the American Jewish organizations working continually to defend the interests of Israel.<sup>194</sup>

Within the congress, the two houses of Parliament differed greatly in their representation to the Jewish cause. The Senators are Member of Parliament representing a state and working on the public policy.

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<sup>193</sup> Stephen Spector, *Evangelical and Israel : The Story of the American Christian Zionism*, University Press, Inc. New York, 2009.p.245.

<sup>194</sup> J.J. Goldberg, *op.cit.*,p.254.

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The House of representative is more concerned with the Jewish community. In the sense that when the representatives met together, it is usually to debate issues towards Israel, they even met once a month and their meeting are more frequent than those of the Senators. This attitude makes their Republican colleges feel as if they do not belong to the same political institution.<sup>195</sup>

Within the House of Representatives the Jews are divided into two parts. The first part is concerned with the Jews who represent a great part of the Jewish community existing in New York, Miami, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston Detroit, and Chicago. These members of parliament are expected to promote politically if they advocate the Israeli cause. However, the second part of the Jewish representative who represents an insignificant number of the Jew in America behaves as if they are law-makers who happen to be Jewish.

It was estimated that in the district with a large Jewish community, an American Jewish representative could represent 200,000 Jews as did Larry Smith in South Florida. Contrarily, Dan Glickman represented only 1,000 Jews in his district. To illustrate the latter idea Glickman declared as follows: <sup>196</sup><<One time Larry and I appeared on a panel together in Israel, and he was asked what's unique about American Jewish politics. He said, Look at it this way. Here I am a congressman named Smith representing South Florida with 200,000 Jews. And here's Dan Glickman with less than 1,000 Jews in his district. And boy, what we wouldn't do to trade names.>><sup>197</sup>

The activities of the congress in foreign policy date back to 1922 and 1944. It supported the Balfour Declaration that allowed the creation of the state of Israel and the Pro-Zionist American Palestine Committee that took birth in 1932 with the membership of sixty-eight senators. <sup>198</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid., p.256.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., p.256-257.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.,p.33.

## Chapter Two .What is the Jewish Lobby?

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There are too many reasons that make the congress generate sympathy to Israel. Among these reasons, the elections and public opinion. Besides, the United States and Israel have common social, political and cultural values. Israel is also regarded as an outpost in a region of totalitarian regime and a great help to the United States to combat terrorism and Soviet expansionism. America is also motivated by an old sense of culpability towards the Jews concerning the Holocaust. It potentially supports Israel and the congress itself is in a pro-Israel direction to avoid any feeling of anti- Semitism that may compromise the relation with the Jews. <sup>199</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

### **Conclusion:**

The rapid economic status reached by the Jews in America allowed them to gain a position of power in the American political arena. As a result, they gave birth to the Jewish Lobby, which devoted its activities to defend the Jewish cause all over the world. This remarkable political body represents a bridge between Israel and the United states. It works hard to influence U.S government in pro-Israel direction in order to consolidate the relationship between the two countries. Moreover, to achieve its objectives, the lobby uses strategic method as influencing law-maker, dominating public discourse and grating presidential candidates important donation. The major organizations created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are AIPAC, ZOA, AJC, and ADL. These agencies strongly worked to achieve the objectives of the Jews as defending the oppressed European Jews, influencing the world's view on creating a Jewish state for the Nazi survivals, liberating immigration in America, and helping the Jews of Romania. They constituted the starting Jewish lobbies in the political history of the American Jews. The development of the Jewish Lobby's activities in the twenty century in the United States will be the focus of the next chapter.

**Table 1**

**U.S. Military and Economic Aid to Israel from 1946 to 2019 and the Request of 2020.**

Fiscal Year	Military	Economic	Missile Defense	Total
1946-2017	94,790.100	34,281.000	5,705.609	134,776.709
2018	3,100.000	-	705.800	3,805.800
2019	3,300.000	-	500.000	3,800.000
2020 Request	3,300.000	-	500.000	3,800.000
<b>Total</b>	<b>101,190.100</b>	<b>34,281.000</b>	<b>6,911.410</b>	<b>142,382.510</b>

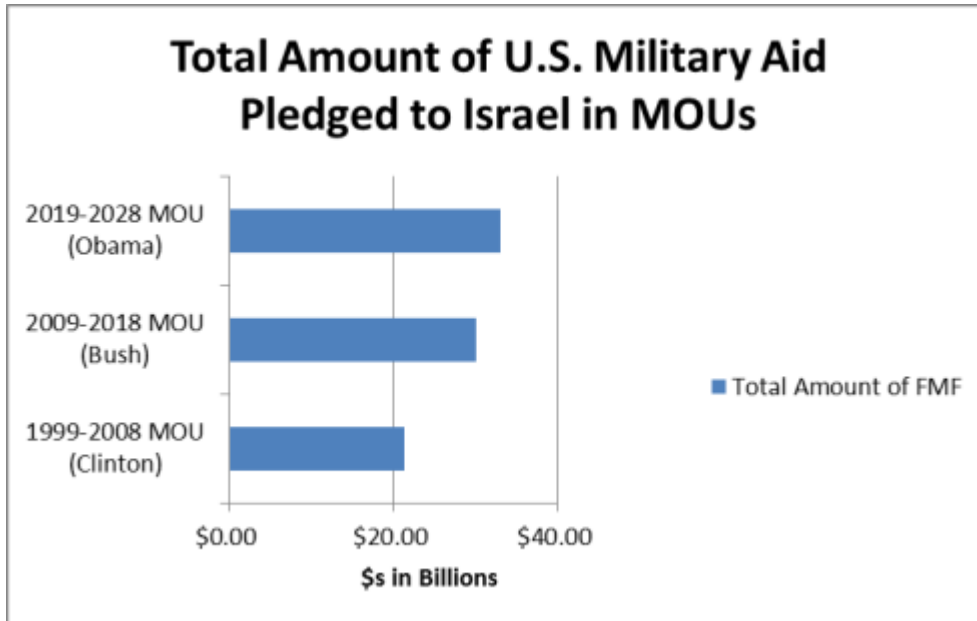
The table above shows the U.S. foreign assistance to Israel that was estimated currently at \$142,3 billion since the Nixon administration. It also demonstrates that Israel is the largest cumulative recipient of U.S foreign aid, despites of the slow and growth development of bilateral relationship. <sup>200</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> EveryCRSReport.com, Foreign Aid to Israel retrieved at://www.everycrreport.com/RL33222.html#\_Toc16501584U.SForeign Aid to Israel, August 7,2019.



The different agreements signed in three American administration under the MOU.



The agreements signed under the term MOU meaning 10 years memorandum of understanding between the Israeli government and the three American administrations shows the amount of military aid provided by the United States to the Jewish states. It has raised in the Clinton administration from \$20 billion to more than \$38 billion in Obama's administration.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>201</sup>EveryCRSReport.com, Foreign Aid to Israel retrieved at://www.everycrcreport.com/RL33222.html#\_Toc16501584U.SForeign Aid to Israel, August 7,2019.

# Chapter Three

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## **A Pivotal Century of Lobbying Activities from 1924 to the aftermath of 9/11 Attacks.**

### **Introduction.**

Since the lobby's creation in the nineteenth century, it devoted its lobbying activities to promote the Jewish interests in the world, especially those who were persecuted in Europe. The Jews under the Holocaust barbarism and the Russia oppression were the main focus of the lobby's agenda. The American Jews worked hard to save the European Jews. They started by influencing America to liberate immigration and lobbied the international view to create a new Jewish homeland where the Jews can live peacefully and worship freely.

After the creation of Israel on May 14, 1948 proclaimed by David Ben-Gurion and recognized by the U.S. President Harry S. Truman who supported the Balfour declaration of 1917, the infant state received a considerable material and psychological support from the United States to help the Jewish population to start a descent leaving in the new born country. Moreover, after having provided the necessary financial help needed by the Jewish people newly arrived in Israel, the lobby started to influence various aspects of U.S. foreign policy notably, the Middle East where Israel security was at stake.<sup>202</sup>

It is important to note that the main interests of the United States in the Middle East turned over controlling the Persian Gulf oil, stopping the developing of weapon of mass destruction, and combating terrorism. However, in some situations believing to do well, the American Jewish lobby undermined the American and Israel interests as well.<sup>203</sup>

In matter of the two-states solutions, Israel rejected radically this idea insisting on the fact that no American President advocated this cause and Israel should be the dominant state in the Palestinian territory. Adding to that, to gain a position of power in the Middle East, Israel used America to maintain the financial and military support to help her to defend itself against its neighbor adversaries. But to reach such objectives, the lobbying organizations pushed the United States to check if these countries possessed the WMD and to overthrow the regimes in Iraq, Iran and Syria, claiming that democracy should be spread in these territories.<sup>204</sup>

The other event that was regarded as a turning point in American history, 9/11 attacks which left America lost in how to behave in the Middle East. Consequently, to reduce Islamic terrorism, Bush directed his attention to the Arab and Islamic world and tried to have a friendly relationship with them which troubled the interests of Israel.

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<sup>202</sup>John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt ,op. cit.,p.199.

<sup>203</sup>Ibid.

<sup>204</sup>Ibid.,200.

The American foreign policy in the Middle East witnessed several disagreements between Bush and Sharon, the Israeli Prime Minister. This conflict turned around the Palestinian issue that finished by being resolved because Bush was continually pressured by the lobby and the Jewish government. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict needed a potential support from the State Department and the U.S. intelligence community which Bush lacked. This latter underwent the same difficulties with the lobby in the Iraqi and the Syrian affair which ended up winning. Adding to that, In 2006, the second Lebanon war broke out, another case in the American foreign policy with the lobby exercising another influence on the U.S. government to control the Middle East area.<sup>205</sup>

### **3.1 Lobbying Activities from 1924 to 9/11 Attacks.**

From 1924 to 2001, the lobby worked hard to lobby for the interests of the Jews especially those persecuted in Europe. It started by liberating immigration, creating a Jewish homeland, then providing it with an unqualified material and military help.

#### **3.1.1 The American Jews Lobbying for Free Immigration.**

In 1946, two years before the establishment of the state of Israel, Immigration started to be liberated, in America. The American President, Truman, decided to help the Holocaust' survivors by permitting them to enter America. The AJ Committee planned to influence the U.S. government to allow the entrance of 100 000 Jewish immigrants to the land of freedom. However, in that post war period, defending the Jews for this cause implied destroying the American image.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup>Ibid.,p.202-203.

<sup>206</sup>Rafael Medoff ,op.cit.,p. 232-233.

The AJ Committee gave birth to the Citizen Committee on Displaced Persons (CCDP) to manage its lobbying efforts on emigration. Moreover, throughout that period of struggle, the Jewish leaders drew attention to the church groups as an important support for their campaigns. They welcomed the other religious groups as the Christians, the Catholics, and the Protestants to join their efforts for the admission of the Displaced Persons.<sup>207</sup>

On April 1947, only the worthy refugees could be accepted in America as it was decided by the National Catholics Rural Life Conference. But the resolution had changed in June of the same year, when the Jewish leaders spoke on behalf of the oppressed and poor Jews, in Europe. In 1948, the number of immigrants who were admitted in America was limited to 100 000 refugees. This number comprised a handful of Jews and the major part was the agricultural laborers, and other people from countries invaded by the Soviet Union.<sup>208</sup>

In the final congressional committee meeting, the Jewish lobbyists could obtain the acceptance of 200 000 immigrants with several changes as a reduction in the percentage of farmers and people whose countries were occupied by the Soviet Union. It also permitted the immigration of the German group expelled after the war from the Nazi occupied areas to join America. In June 1948, the Displaced Person Act<sup>209</sup> became a law following the demand of the AJ Committee which rejected to veto it in order to preserve its alliance with the Christian religious group.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid.,p.233.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.,P.234.

<sup>209</sup> The Displaced Persons Act is a political law enacted, in 1948, in the United States. It permitted people who were persecuted by the Nazi movement in Europe to enter America. In that period of time, the doors of immigration were closed, but the displaced persons were admitted in America following President Truman's administration support to permit those people in distress to settle there. Julie Gubenko, Displaced Persons Act of 1948, retrieved at <http://immigration-online.org/464-displaced-persons-act-of-1948.html>, March 22, 2012.

<sup>210</sup> Rafael Medoff, op.cit., p.235.

Accordingly, the DS Act helped to liberate immigration, but it didn't help the Jewish cause. This act was intended to support the Holocaust victims, but finally it assisted Hitler's associates. In 1951, another act was passed by the restrictionists called the McCarran-Walter Act. Initially, this act brought back the principles of the former Quota Act that worked on the national origin system that is the American perception of emigration.

The McCarran-Walter Act<sup>211</sup> was radically rejected by the Jewish lobbyists who qualified it as a racial act. The Jewish lobbying efforts failed to abrogate this act because it was passed by the congress. It was until 1965, when America underwent political and social changes that the Quota act was terminated.<sup>212</sup>

### **3.1.2 Helping the Jews of Europe.**

Liberating Immigration was not the only objective that the American Jews intended to reach, there were other issues to which they devoted their lobbying efforts. Among them, the support of Europe's Jews ; they drew a particular attention to the victims of the Holocaust, the oppressed Jews in Romania, Russia, and other countries. The lobbying activities to rescue the Europe's Jews existed before 1920 when the American Jews created political and charitable organizations to support their cause.

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<sup>211</sup> The McCarran-Walter Act is an American law enacted in 1952 by Senator McCarran, a democrat of Nevada. It was issued to reform the Immigration Quota Act passed in 1924. The law forbade any immigrant entity with communists ideas or belonging to communist organizations to be admitted in America. It also denied the freedom of belief and association and prohibited immigrants from PLO, the Palestinian Liberation Organization being a communist party to enter the United States. Consequently, It was described by its opponents as discriminatory and xenophobic, David Cole, The McCarran-Walter Act Reborn, retrieved at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1990/11/18/mccarran-walter-act-reborn/389a81bf-00ac-434b-b869-3d3e29b13eae/>, November 18, 1990.

<sup>212</sup> Raphael Meddof, op.cit., p.236-237.



They even denounced anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union using the American Jewish press to inform the world about the fragile situation in which their brethren and sisters were.<sup>213</sup>

With the declaration of World War II in 1939, the Americans rejected the idea to help the Europe's Jews for fear of destroying America's neutrality and threatening young American Soldier's lives. At that time, the American government sided secretly the Jews because President Roosevelt generated sympathy to those people. But to not anger the Americans who opposed the idea of supporting the Jewish cause, he made small steps in helping the Jews.

He organized a meeting in Evian, France, where he invited thirty- three nations to raise the European Jews' question. The meeting was an opportunity for the Europe's Jews to discuss their problem, but it didn't bring successful results.<sup>214</sup>The Evian Conference didn't help the Jews as it was stated by Emanuel Celler in his book "Roosevelt and the Holocaust" :<< Did not even have the dignity of announcing its failure; it merely fizzled out.>><sup>215</sup>,the conference did not even condemn Hitler genocide and justified Germany's Jewish policy,<sup>216</sup>

President Roosevelt was not free in dealing with the political affairs; he had to consult the State Department which supported the American Public Opinion. In the period between 1935 and 1945, the situation of the Jews had worsened than before which urged the American Jews to ask the support of the public and the authorities of the United States. In 1944, the president of the B'nai B'rith organization beseeched the American government to discuss the Jewish problem with the Germans overtly. That appeal found echoes in the American public and its government.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>213</sup>Hasia R.Diner, op.cit.,p.215-216.

<sup>214</sup>Ibid.,p.216.

<sup>215</sup> Robert L. Beir and Brian Joseph, Roosevelt and the Holocaust: How FRD Saved the Jews and Brought Hope to a Nation, Skyhorse Publishing, New York,2013,p.116.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup>Ibid., p. 216-217.

Moreover, the American Jews were deeply affected by their brethren's situation in Europe, so they devoted themselves to help them by any means that could improve their social and economic status after the Holocaust. For instance, in North America, the American Jews wanted that the Europe's Jews situation to be known all over the world, so the Yiddish press as *Keneder Adler* and other Yiddish dailies published a rich report exposing the miserable state of these people.<sup>218</sup>

In 1933, great efforts had been made to support the Jewish cause. Rabbi Stephen Wise, the leader of the American Jewish Congress launched a series of boycotts of the German goods. He believed that this boycott will certainly degrade the German economy. A year after, the Jewish Labor Committee came into being; it aimed to support the Jewish Unionists escaping from Germany. There was also the American Jewish Committee which showed overtly its anger towards the British government that forbade the entrance of the Jewish refugees in Palestine. Moreover, the year of 1942 witnessed the meeting of thousands of people in Madison Square Garden in New York. It was organized by the American Jewish organizations. These masses gathered to denounce the maltreatment of the European states to the Jews. Nevertheless, the Jewish leaders regarded the meeting as simple words of compassion, so they were not satisfied and needed more. They aspired to have a Jewish homeland that indeed was proposed by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver<sup>219</sup> who sent a great Joy within the world Jewry.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Nancy E .Rupprech, Wendy Koenig, *The Holocaust and World War II: In the History and in Memory*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, United Kingdom, 2012, p.131.

<sup>219</sup>Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver was born in 1893, in Lithuania. He was ordained a reform Rabbi in 1915 after being immigrated to the United States, in 1902. He was designated as the leader of the reform Jewish congregation in Cleveland. He strongly defended Zionism and was appointed as a chairman of the United Palestine Appeal in 1938, a Zionist organization in America known for its financial help to the Jews. In 1943, he and Rabbi Stephen Wise became co-chairman of the American Emergency Council (AZEC) which was in charge of spreading Zionism in the United States. Silver resigned from the organization in 1944 because of a dispute with Rabbi Stephen Wise, but he returned , in 1945. In 1946, he was nominated as chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency. During the years of war, he played a central role in politics. He died in 1963 in Cleveland, Jeffrey S. Gurock, *American Zionism Mission and Politics*, Rutledge, New York, London,1998,p.311.

<sup>220</sup>Rafael Meddof, *op.cit.*,p.217.218.

Adding to that, in 1944, the situation of the Jews worsened in Europe notably in Germany when it became difficult for the allies to save the Jews because of Hitler's determination to eliminate the entire Jewish community. By the same year, five million European Jews were killed and 75000 Jews remained alive in Hungary. In this period of time, Franklin Roosevelt prevented against genocide and warned to punish severely whoever practiced it. Adding to that, American leaders led campaigns against such aggressive behavior towards the Jews, and Catholics and Protestants asked the Hungarian population to defend the Jews. There was also the bombing of Anschutz area in Silesia, Poland 620 miles from Foggia and the destruction of the German oil storage depots, Sythete Oil Plan Factories. But no apparent result took place in that period of time.<sup>221</sup>

Annoyed by the Jews' miserable situation, Roosevelt decided to allow them to create WRB, an American Jewish organization to help them to rescue from the tyranny of Hitler. This American Jewish agency was not only supported by the American President but it could also have the help of foreign governments. However, some Anti-Semites in America thought that Roosevelt created this agency to fulfill his own interests. In other words, they thought that Roosevelt couldn't neglect four millions of Jews for his presidential elections since those Jews were directly related to their fellows in Europe .Moreover, helping them meant winning the presidency of America. The WRW turned the Anti-Semitic views to other statements that is, no similar community in the world was oppressed as the Jews were and no people were stateless as the Jews were, having no nation to defend them.<sup>222</sup>

Adding to all the efforts made by President Roosevelt to help the Jews, he tried to influence the British government to allow for a Jewish asylum in Palestine.

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<sup>221</sup>Robert N. Rosen, *Saving the Jews, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Holocaust* , Thunder's Mouth Press, New York, 2006.p.382.

<sup>222</sup>Robert N. Rosen,op.cit.,p.350.

Moreover, in Germany, by June 16, 1944, when the German were defeated, the United States focused on the oppressive treatment of the Hungarian government to the Jews and warned it for such behavior in the future. The U.S. government showed it clearly to Germany and Hungary through WRB that it is ready to accept all the Jews who aspired immigration.<sup>223</sup>

### **3.1.3 Lobbying for the Creation of a New Jewish Homeland.**

The years between 1945 and 1950 were a harsh period for the oppressed Jews in Europe. Victims of the Holocaust and others persecuted in Eastern Europe hoped to have a new homeland where they could flee the atrocities they were enduring in that continent. At that time, the doors of the Promised Land were still closed due to restrictive immigration. As a result, in October 1945, 80% of the Jews' camps immigrated to Palestine encouraged by Ben-Gurion<sup>224</sup>, the first Zionist leader.<sup>225</sup>

On November 29, 1947, England and the United Nation found a solution for the Arabs and the Jews. They decided to divide the Holy land between the two communities, but this decision was not satisfactory for the Muslims. As a result, a civil war broke out leading to the creation of the state of Israel on May 14, 1948 approved by President Henry Truman.

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., p.355.

<sup>224</sup> David Ben-Gurion is born in October 16, 1886, in Polonsk, Poland, and died in Tel Aviv, Jaffa, in December, 1973. He is the founder of the state of Israel and the first prime minister of the new Nation. Ben-Gurion promoted in the Israeli defense by uniting all the paramilitary organizations into the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) in order to fight the Arab Palestinians and the surrounding Arab nations. He contributed to the creations of new cities and towns. His second period as prime minister in 1956 met the Suez crisis when the British and the French tried to help Israel to seize the control of this area and overthrow the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. He resigned from his post in June 1963, but preserved his seat in (the Knesset) the Israeli parliament. He left the Parliament in 1970 and in the same year, he wrote "an Achieved Personal History" and "The Jews in their Land" in 1974". Dr Spencer C. Tucker, *The Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Political, Social, and Military History*, ABC CLIO, Santa Barbara, California, Denver, Colorado, Oxford, England, 2008, p.211.

<sup>225</sup> Colin Schindler, *The Story of Modern Israel*, Cambridge University Press, United States, 2008, p. 54.

The American Jews expressed a great joy for this event because Israel was a place of safety destined to their oppressed brethren in Europe. The following step that the American Jews thought about in their lobbying efforts was to support the Jews of Palestine that is to help them military and financially.<sup>226</sup>

### **3.1.4 The Great Benefactor and Israel.**

In 1948, after a long and harsh struggle for the creation of a new Jewish homeland, the Jews could finally find an asylum where they could live peacefully and worship freely. In its first three years, only 650 000 American Jews headed for Israel. The rest of the Jewish community in the United States choose to stay there which provoked a conflict with their Jewish leaders who asked them to leave America and join their real land of origin. But the American Jews had a comfortable economic status that they refused to give up, so they preferred to remain in America and help their fellows in Israel. When newly created, Israel was a poor country; it needed a foreign help to develop itself economically and military. In deciding to help Israel, the American Jews knew that they needed potential financial aid and this could not be achieved without the support of the American law-makers.<sup>227</sup>

Jacob Blaustein, the American Jewish oilman and leader of the Jewish community, in a trip to Israel in 1950 addressed the Israelis an influential speech to arise in them the request for monetary and political help from the American government. At that time, it was necessary that Israel would need this kind of support if it wanted to survive after the European oppression to which the Jews were subject in 1930 and world War.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Ian J. Bickerton, Carla L. klausner, op.cit., p.70-73.

<sup>227</sup> Edward Tivnan ,The lobby Jewish political Power and American Foreign Policy, Simon and Schuster, New York,1987,p.29-30.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.,p.31-32.

It was noticeable that during the first years of Israel's birth, its population was estimated about 1million which developed in the course of time. This situation made the Israeli leaders emphasized their need on the U.S. government. Although the American Jews devoted their financial help to Israel and the Americans granted the Israelis \$135 million loan from the Import-Export Bank, this aid remained insufficient for the infant state. As a result, to get more from the United State, the Israeli leaders thought that the perfect way was to form a lobby bloc to influence the American legislation in pro- Israel direction.

I.L. Kenen, an American journalist and a Zionist, played a central role in collecting potential funds from the U.S. government to help Israel.<sup>229</sup>Accordingly, several organizations drew attention to the Jewish cause, but the most important one was the American Zionist council (AZC) which conducted a permanent assistance to Israel. Its leader I.L. Kenen asked the American government to grant the Jewish state \$150 million. His demand was accepted, but reduced to \$65 million a year and with the presidential election it raised to \$73 million.<sup>230</sup>

The president Eisenhower and his administrators did not generate sympathy to the Jews, so once the election was over, the monetary help degraded to \$55 million in the period between 1953 and 1954. Besides, the U.S. financial assistance was stopped by John Foster Dulles, one of Eisenhower's administrator members due to the hydroelectric water project in Israel. The pro-Israel lobby could not oppose the decision of the State Department and was forced to stop the water project to bring back the U.S. financial support.<sup>231</sup>

The presidential period of Eisenhower was a harsh period in matter of lobbying efforts for the Jewish state. Despite the great efforts made by the American Israel Public Affair Committee (AIPAC) to influence the U.S. government, it failed to raise the amount of money needed by Israel.

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<sup>229</sup>Ibid.,p.34-35.

<sup>230</sup>Rafael Medoff,op.cit.,p.237.238.

<sup>231</sup>Ibid.,p.238 .

The U.S. financial assistance decreased to \$25 million, then to \$7, 5 million and stopped definitely, in 1959. Consequently, (AIPAC) immediately appealed the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to discuss the problem.<sup>232</sup>

Adding to the decrease of the financial assistance to Israel, the Eisenhower administration tried to build a friendly relationship with the Arab States notably Saudi Arabia .This latter represented a superpower in matter of oil that the U.S. economy needed to reconstruct itself. The Eisenhower's position with the Arab world represented a real threat to Israel's future.<sup>233</sup>

The decreasing financial assistance to Israel in the 1960s made AIPAC, the American Jewish lobby newly created started to show great interests to preserve the American monetary help. But doing so was not so easy because AIPAC in its early days was more symbolic than substantive. In addition to that, several Arab countries began to protest the Israeli affairs by boycotting all the countries and the firms dealing with it as it was the case with Egypt which blocked Israel shipping.<sup>234</sup>

The United States denounced any boycott of international waterways, but its reaction aroused the anger of President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1964 who protested the American congress resolution. As the Arab countries decided to stop dealing with Israel, they imposed a questionnaire on the American companies checking if any Jew was working there. Consequently, in 1965, AIPAC, the American Jewish lobby's defender of the Israeli interests succeeded to convince U.S. companies to ignore the Arab questionnaire.<sup>235</sup>

In order to reinforce the anti-boycott Act, the American Jewish organizations devoted their lobbying activities to this issue. The leader of the Anti-Defamation League, Arnold Foster tried hard to convince the Prime Minister, Golda Meir to react rapidly, otherwise the Arabs would gain the battle.

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid.,p.239.

<sup>233</sup> Edward Tivnan, op .cit .,p.36.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

However, The fight against the boycott continued during the year of 1973 and 1974 which was the period of the Arab oil embargo. The American Jewish lobbyists insisted on stopping the American business dealing with the boycott by influencing the Democrat, Jonathan Bingham to legislate for removing the boycott. They argued that 200 American companies including twenty- five banks were boycotting the Israeli business. By 1977, the Bingham Bill succeeded to terminate the boycott and penalized any country breaking this law.<sup>236</sup>

### **3.1.5 The Lobby and Eisenhower's Administration.**

The waterfall project canal which Israel started to build in 1953 provoked the anger of the U.S. government, planning to develop this area for the profit of the neighboring countries. Consequently, the project was halted and the U.S. financial help to Israel decreased. Adding to that, in the same year Israel committed another mistake towards the Arab countries; they murdered fifty Arab civilians in the village of Kibya as revenge to a Jewish family who was killed by a bomb thrown in this area. This event made an international echo, but the Israelis claimed that they reacted in such a way to protect their fellows against the Arab raids.

Another conflict appeared between Israel and America, the Israeli government requested the US to change its embassy's location from Tel Aviv to West Jerusalem as it is the current Israel capital, but the US refused. All the political clashes between Israel, the United States, and the Arab countries led the Jewish leaders to think about the creation of a new lobbying organization to speak on behalf the Israelis in such harsh times.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid.,p.240-241.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., p.37-38.-



Once more, Israel launched an assault against an Arab country, Egypt. The story started when Gamal Abdel Nasser discovered in his country Israeli spies accused of bombing attacks attempts against the British, the Americans, the Egyptians and the U.S. Information agency offices in Cairo. The Egyptian President put them immediately on trial with the agreement of Western Human Rights Organizations. Eight of the spies were condemned and two of them were executed. As a revenge to this event, the Israelis attacked the town of Gaza. This act was denounced again by Eisenhower's administration.

Another important event which marked this period of time, the election of Moshe Sharett<sup>238</sup> as the Israeli Prime Minister and Ben-Gurion's successor. This event occurred directly after the hydraulic project and the assault on Kybia which was denounced by the U.S. and the U.N. Sharett was different from Ben-Gurion, in the sense that he used to negotiate with the Arab countries in a diplomatic way. Moreover, in the Attack of Gaza, he was neither informed by the conspiracy against Egypt nor he knew about the presence of the Israeli spies which he radically opposed. Sharett and Ben-Gurion were totally different in their attitudes towards the Arabs. The first was diplomatic and the latter was belligerent. Ben-Gurion finished by overthrowing Sharett from his office and diverted it to himself.<sup>239</sup> Moreover, from the two politicians emerged two schools, the Ben-Gurionists and the Sharretists. The formers rejected the peace idea, whereas the latter encouraged it.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> Moshe Sharett is Israel's second Prime Minister who was born in October 15, 1894 in Kherson, Ukraine. He settled in Palestine with his parents in World War I and served as a military officer in the Turkish army, then when he came back to Palestine, he became the editor of Davar in 1925. Sharett held many offices before reaching the position of Prime Minister. He started as the secretary of the Jewish agency's political department in 1931. In 1933, he was elevated to the post of chairman of the political department until 1948, then he was jailed by the British for four months, in Latrun prison. When released, he was appointed as Israel's foreign minister then in 1955 the second prime minister after Ben-Gurion's resignation. He died in July 7, 1965, in Israel. Michel Geoffrey Bard , Moshe Swartz, 1001 Facts Everyone Should Know about Israel, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Lanhan, Bouldern, New York, Toronto, Oxford, 2005,p.48.

<sup>239</sup> Edward Tivnan,op.cit.,p.46-47.

<sup>240</sup>Darek J. Penshar, Anita Shapira, Israel Historical Revisionism: From Left to Right, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York 2013,p.21.

The Following step that Israel took against the Arabs was the invasion of Egypt in the Sinai region with the help of the French and the British by October 29, 1956. The military operation led by the Israelis and their allies provoked another time the anger of the American government as well as the Jewish leaders who feared the intervention of Russia that denounced the aggressive behavior of the Israelis against Egypt. Consequently, Eisenhower asked Ben-Gurion to withdraw his military troops from the region insisting on the fact that Israel was mistaking by making relationship with Britain and France. He added that the real supporter of the Jews is the United States, so if they do not obey they will lose it support. Fortunately, this situation ended by the withdrawal of the Jews from the Sinai, fearing the tax exemption would be suspended.<sup>241</sup>

Despites the bad attitude of the Jews towards the Arabs by several assaults against them, in Gaza, Kybia, and the Suez, it did not worsen the image of the Israelis in America. The latter is still taking for granted the genocide the Jews endured in the Holocaust and their long struggle for peace and whatever they did they could be excused.<sup>242</sup>

### **3.1.6The Lobby and the Johnson Administration. “The Sale of the Tanks and planes to Israel.”**

The Johnson’s presidency proved to be an era of the Israel lobby’s development in terms of selling arms to Israel. Early from his Senate office in the Eisenhower’s administration, Johnson showed his pro-Israel inclination when he sided the Israelis in the Suez affair, in 1957.

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<sup>241</sup> Edward Tivnan, op.cit.,p.48.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.,p.50.

Johnson friendly relationship originated from his Biblical belief, stating that the Christian faith derives from the Jewish one. In addition to that, Johnson before being a president promised to the Israelis that the United States would never give up Israel declaring that to Levin Eshkol, Israel's Prime Minister when visiting the United States.

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By 1964, a great pressure about the tanks and the plane' sale was exerted by Myer Feldman on the Secretary of state Robert Komer. Additionally, in 1965, the Arab states were informed that the United States were selling arms secretly to Israel through West Germany since 1962 under the terms of a secret agreement, in 1960. This action aroused the anger of the Arab countries which made Johnson feared that they would turn their purchase to the Soviet Union.<sup>244</sup>

The American President decided to sell the arms fairly between the Arabs and the Israelis. He planned to sell tanks to Israel as well as to Jordan. At the same time, the United States tried to convince Israel to buy arms from Eastern countries, but the Israelis complained that they had not the possibility to pay as the Arabs had. Moreover, the Israelis continued to pressure the United States for the sale of the phantom jet<sup>245</sup> in addition to the tanks. However, the U.S. government responded that no planes were available and it would stop definitely the sale if the Israelis did not give up the water project in Jordan.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Mitchell Geoffrey Bard,op.cit.,p.190.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid .,p.143.

<sup>245</sup>The Phantom Jet is a super power aircraft made at McDonald Douglas, an American aerospace manufacturing contractor formed by the collaboration of Donnell Aircraft and the Douglass Company ,in 1967. It can fly faster and higher than any other plane in the world. Moreover, it can burn up more than JP-5 jet fuel in a few second than any other craft of its kind. They are created for military combat to the most dangerous mission . It was used during the Vietnam war. It has the feature of being the last U.S. fighter flown by highly qualified pilot. It can also carry a potential quantity of weapons including air to air missiles and various bombs. Chris Peck, The Ranch, Xlibris, United States,2013,p.72.

<sup>246</sup>Mitchell Geoffrey Bard,op.cit.,p.194.

It is important to note that the United States found itself in a sensitive position in terms of the arm' sale and to avoid being unfair, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Peter Solbert declared publicly as follows:<< In no case, however, will the US contribute to provide one state in the area a military advantage against another.>><sup>247</sup>

This situation changed in 1964 after continuous pressure exerted by the Jewish lobby on U.S. administration. The President National Security Advisor, Mc George Bundy, secretly invited eleven Jewish House Democrats in Augusts and announced them that the United States is the first supporter of Israel. He added that the need of Israel for the arm' sale would be fulfilled since it would certainly assured the victory of Israel over the Arab countries.

In 1966, the statement of Bundy was concentered when the State Department announced the sale of 200 Patton tanks and in May of the same year, a new agreement was passed allowing the supply of Skyhawk jet bombers to Israel. As a result, the sale of such military arms empowered Israel defense, in the sense that Israel could defeat its enemies by bombing the frontiers and beyond. Adding to that the sale of arms shaped the American policy towards Israel and revealed its potential support to it.<sup>248</sup>

### **3.1.7 The Lobby and Carter's Administration.**

Jimmy Carter's period of presidency turned over bringing about a Middle East peace settlement.

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid.,p.195.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

Carter had as a secretary of state, Cyrus Vance and a national advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski; both of them were in Carter's policy direction. Carter was ambivalent in his attitude towards the Jews. He was in one hand deeply attached to Israel because it is the land of the Bible and in the other hand he was determined to establish peace between the Arabs and the Israelis.<sup>249</sup>

Carter's determination for the peace process aroused the Jewish leaders' anxiety who thought of themselves pressured by the U.S. and not having the choice to negotiate the situation. However, Carter's administrators, Vance and Brzezinski advised the president not to go faster in trying to resolve the problem in the middle East because the Palestinian cause is a very sensitive issue, so he had to go slowly in order not to irritate their Jewish fellows. But Carter in a speech in a town meeting in Clinton, Massachusetts, declared publicly as follows:<< The Palestinians claim up till this moment that Israel has no right to be there, that the land belongs to the Palestinians, and they've never given up their publicly professed commitment to destroy Israel. That has to be overcome. There has to be a homeland provided for the Palestinian refugees who have suffered for many, many years.>><sup>250</sup>

Carter's speech was shocking for the American Jewish community to the point that the dissatisfaction of the American Jews amplified in mid-June of 1977 when AIPAC started to react seriously to the American peace process. The lobby wrote a letter to the white house in which it expressed its anger towards Carter's pro-Arab policy. Moreover, the American Jewish leaders stated that if Carter showed such attitude before he would never accede to the American presidency.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Edward Tivnan,op.cit.,p.98.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.,p.101-102.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid ,p.104.

Adding to the Jewish reaction, another point troubled Carter concerning his plan in the peace process resolution, the appointment of Menachem Begin<sup>252</sup> as Israel Prime Minister. This latter proved to be determined in the question of the West Bank that is this region is the property of Israel which confirmed to Carter that Begin's vision was the rejection of the United Nation Resolution.<sup>253</sup>

Begin was not so appreciated neither by the Jewish community nor by the American politicians. Despite his patriotism and devotion in the military field, the Americans thought that he played no role in 1967 and he was viewed as terrorist when he participated in the bombing of the King David Hotel in 1946 and the massacre of Deir Yassin, in 1948<sup>254</sup>. Begin was also conflicting with Ben-Gurion who treated him as fascist. Besides, when he won the Prime Minister office, he was largely criticized by the Americans and the British offered 10 000 pounds for Begin's head for the Irgun's murderous attacks.<sup>255</sup>

After having largely debated the Middle East peace process and no satisfactory result was obtained, Carter concluded that this issue was a difficult task. He even declared to Moshe Dayan, the Israeli Foreign Minister during his first visit to the United States that he would announce a joint statement with the Soviet Union to resolve the Question of the Israeli- Arab conflict.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>252</sup>Menachem Begin is born in 1913 in Brest Litovsk, Russia, and died, in 1992. He was known for his Zionist activities. He was arrested by the Soviet Secret Policy for his inclination to Zionism and jailed for eight years. When he was released, he headed for Palestine, in 1942. He was a talented orator, and writer. He also commanded the Irgun, a guerilla group which fought against the British. He served as Israel Prime Minister from 1977 to 1983. Ronald L. Eisenberg, *The Jewish World in Stamps: 4000 Years of Jewish Civilization in Postal Stamps*, Schreiber Publishing; Rockville, Maryland, 2002, p.156.

<sup>253</sup>Edward Tivnan, op.cit., p.106.

<sup>254</sup>The Massacre of Deir Yassin took place on April 9, 1948 when the Zionist force launched an assault against the village of Deir Yassin which was a strategic place where the Arab forces could attack Israel. However, despite a pact that was signed by the inhabitants of the village and the Jews to live in peace, an attack was led by Menachem Begin including elements from the Irgun, killing 154 men, women, and children. Following this event, over 726 000 Arab Palestinians left their home, fearing terror. Tony Rea and John Wright, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Oxford University Press, New York England, 1997, p.24.

<sup>255</sup>Edward Tivnan, op.cit., p.107-109.

<sup>256</sup>Ibid., p.119.

### 3.1.8 The Soviet Union's Intervention in the Middle East Peace Process policy.

As the Carter's several efforts brought no effective results in the Middle East peace process, the American President thought about driving the Soviet Union to help him for resolving this controversial issue. The United States convinced the Soviet Union to sign a joint communiqué determining the rights of the two conflicting nations .On 1 October 1977, the communiqué was declared as follows: <sup>257</sup>

*The United States and the Soviet Union believe that, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East problem, all specific questions of settlement should be resolved, including such key issues as withdrawal of Israel Armed Forces from territories occupied in 1967 conflict; the resolution of the Palestinian question, including insuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; termination of the state of war and establishment of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence.*<sup>258</sup>

This declaration provoked an echo in the two conflicting parties. The PLO welcomed warmly the communiqué and hoped that the United States and the Soviet Union would bring a fair resolution to the Palestinian cause. However, the Jewish lobby considered it as another furious attack from Carter's administration which aspired a peace process at any price. Moreover, the Lobby was shocked by the URESS participation in this Arab- Israeli conflict and the expression of the "legitimate rights" that is the two superpowers were determined to recognize the Palestinian rights which might probably be at the expense of the Israeli rights.

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<sup>257</sup> Mitchell Geoffrey Bard, op.cit., p.220.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., p.220-221.

This event urged Rabin Schindler to send a telegram to Vance, the American secretary of State. He claimed that the statement humiliated Israel by reducing it to a vassal state dependant on the protection of the Soviet Union, while the statement should be a prescription for peace.<sup>259</sup>

In trying to bring Peace in the Middle East, the American President was troubled by many obstacles which slowed the resolution of this issue and finally no satisfactory result was obtained. At first, Carter planned to convene the parties at the Geneva Conference in order to find an available agreement. However, he failed to drive the adversaries to the Conference which led him to organize the Camp David Summit where Israel and Egypt finished by signing a pact which was regarded as a crucial moment in the Middle-East history. Additionally, Carter found it hard to satisfy the two parties when he sold the F-15s to Saudi Arabia and at the same time he criticized Begin in the settlement policy. This action encouraged the Jewish lobby to exert more pressure on Carter's administration to not to intervene in the settlement and help Israel military as he did with the Arabs.<sup>260</sup>

When Carter tried to deal with "the legitimate rights" of the Palestinians as he declared in the joint communiqué he was counterattacked by a potential opposition from the Jewish lobby. His political power was diminished and he became vulnerable in restoring the Middle East issue. His administration was strongly pressured by the Jewish lobby that rejected any concession. Finally, the peace treaty was signed without reaching the objectives aspired by Carter and even his reelection was at issue.

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., p. 237.



Carter proved to be the most American President supporting the Palestinian cause which cost him his failure to his reelection to the American Presidency.<sup>261</sup>

### **3.1.9 The American Jewish Lobby between Regan and Clinton. The Sell of the AWACS to the Saudi Arabia.**

After Jimmy Carter's Presidency, came the era of Ronald Regan elected in 1980, a Republican who won a considerable number of voters since President Eisenhower who reached 35 %, in 1956. Regan's administration proved to be different from Carter's one in the sense that he was more solicited by the American Jews; the American Jewish lobby gained a position of power never reached before.<sup>262</sup>

In the two decades before 2000, the lobby gave a major importance to his neoconservatives friends which appeared clearly in the appointment of Kirkpatrick, a political science professor of Georgetown university as US ambassador to the U.N. Kirkpatrick manifested her dissatisfaction with Carter's alliance with the Soviets when he asked them to help him for the peace process which hurt the American Interests in Iran and Nicaragua. She wrote an article entitled "Dictatorship and Double Standards". Moreover, she was fiercely fighting against communism exactly as did Regan who near the neo-conservatists never accepted the Soviet Union and the totalitarian regime.<sup>263</sup>

In this period of time, another important event occurred, the request of the Saudi Arabia for the sale of the "AWACS", Airborne Warning and Control System which provoked an echo in the American Jewish community as well as in AIPAC.

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<sup>261</sup>Ibid.,p.237-238.

<sup>262</sup>Stephen Schwartz, It is Good for the Jews, The Crisis of America's Israel Lobby, Double day, New York, the United States,2006,p.122.

<sup>263</sup>Ibid.,p.123-125.

The sale of such military engines to the enemy of Israel represented a real threat to it, but AIPAC failed in its lobbying efforts to stop this operation. Consequently, the Saudis ended by signing a contract of half millions of Dollars and paid \$200 000, an annual retainer to Dutton for the AIWACS campaign. The sale was voted by a majority in the Senate. Besides, Saudi Arabia represented a potential partner to the United States which would make the sale of the AIWACS inevitable even if AIPAC opposed it.<sup>264</sup>

After the AIWACS's affairs, a noticeable change occurred in the Jewish lobby; the transformation of its leading members. Tom Dine, the lobby's chief resigned in 1993 and shortly after his departure came Stephen J.Rosen, a radical leftist from a Stalinist family. When Dine left AIPAC, it had reached its pick in power, it counted 150 people of its staff and 50 0000 members with \$15 million of budget. Rosen was known for his capacity to get secret information from Israel's rivals, he even divulgated that he could get information from NSDD99, the National Security Division Directive.<sup>265</sup> Moreover, the other event which marked Regan presidency is the Israel's Lebanon invasion in 1982. This event happened following the assassination's attempt of Shlomo Argov, the Israeli ambassador in London by a terrorist group directed by Abu Nidal.<sup>266</sup>

### **3.1.10 George H.W. Bush, the Lobby and the Golf War.**

When George H.W. Bush called Bush 41 came to the American presidency in 1989, he was reluctant to the Jewish influence in Washington. His secretary of state, Jane Backer declared overtly :<sup>267</sup><< Fuck the Jews. They do not vote for us anyway.>> However, although Bush generated sympathy to the Arabs,

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<sup>264</sup>Ibid.,p.132.

<sup>265</sup>Ibid.,p.136.

<sup>266</sup>Ibid.,p.139.

<sup>267</sup>Ibid.,p.145.

the controversial Arab-Israeli conflict made the Americans on the same position as Israel.<sup>268</sup>

In 1991, the Iraqi-Kuwaiti war was declared threatening the security of Israel when the Iraqi Scud missiles flew over Israel. Again, Israel appealed its American Ally to protect it by solving the problem. At the end, Saddam was defeated, but in the aftermath of the war, the Jews were lost between remaining with the Democrats or moving to the Republicans. Those latter proved to be more protecting to the Israeli state, therefore the Jews finished by giving up the Democrats. Patrick Buchanan, a Catholic from Chevy Chase, Maryland and the former Nixon Speechwriter openly stated that the Kuwaiti war was declared for the benefit of the Jews after being advocated in Washington and lobbied by the American Jews to defend the Israel's interests fearing the Scud missiles on the Jewish territory.<sup>269</sup>

### **3.1.11 Clinton's Administration and the Oslo Agreements.**

The coming of Bill Clinton to power in 1993 coincided with a new era in AIPAC's political inclination. The American Jewish lobby took a new direction, the alliance with the Christians conservatives. Unlike to what happen with Regan who was not really acceptable by the other groups of the Jewish lobby as ADL and AJC, Clinton was determined to prove that the Jewish Democrat marriage was suitable for the Jews. For this reason, he nominated forty-four Jews for the Federal Appeal Court contrarily to Bush who appointed only twelve and Regan twenty-seven.<sup>270</sup>

Clinton played another role in the Middle-East peace process, in the sense that it led to the signature of the OSLO agreement which emphasized the following points:

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<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.,p.146-147.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.,p152-153.

The withdrawal of Israel from Gaza, the economic promotion and the international help for Israel. However, the OSLO agreements which were signed fifty years after Camp David were considered as an artificial conciliation between the Jews and the Arabs meaning that history was repeating itself. Besides, in the Arab side, Camp David gave birth to fundamentalism in Egypt called Egyptian Islamic jihad, the inspiration of Al-Qaida which led to the assassination of Anouar el-Sadat.<sup>271</sup>

The Egyptian President sympathized with the Muslim Brotherhood or Ikhwan el Muslimin in the period of Nasser's revolution. However, he terminated his alliance with them to get the economic help from America that reached 2\$ billion per year since 1979. The Oslo agreements ended the first Intifada, but few years after restarted terrorism once again. Moreover, some American Jewish intelligence and neoconservatists rejected the Jewish democrat marriage, criticized Clinton administration of being sympathetic to the Arabs and accused it of having the objective of restoring Israel to the Arabs. Adding to that, a member of the Clinton administration was particularly attacked by this polemic, Martin Endyk being served as the first executive of direction of Washington Institution. At the end of Clinton term, in 2001, another Palestinian revolt broke out, the second Intifada which marked the Israeli- Arab conflict. This event coincided with the arrival of George W. Bush to power who behaved similarly as his father in conducting the American foreign policy in the Middle East. The forty-third American President got a less humiliating percentage than his father who obtained only 11%.<sup>272</sup>

### **3.2 The Lobby and American Foreign Policy after 9/11 Attacks**

The 9/11 Attacks was a horrific event that marked the American history. It was a series of suicide attacks by the terrorist group El Qaida upon the United States, on 2001.

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<sup>271</sup>Ibid.,p.156.

<sup>272</sup>Ibid.,157-159.

The two twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York were the target of nineteen terrorists who crashed two airlines in the two buildings causing the death of thousands of people. The Pentagon in Virginia just outside Washington DC was also subject to this conspiracy. This event was regarded as a turning point in American foreign policy.

### **3.2.1 9/11 Attacks**

In Tuesday morning of 9/11 September, a special flash was announced at 8:48 a.m. The news had reported that an airplane had hit one of the two towers of the World Trade Center causing a gap in the Building. But later on, it was clear that a large jet had crashed into the south tower of the World Trade Center and all the TV stations had their cameras filming the event. At 9:03 am, a second airplane crashed into the north tower causing a panic in the building and confusion outside.<sup>273</sup>

People in New York were terrified by the situation, they tried to escape or help other horrified persons in the streets. There were small objects plummets either jumping or falling from the building that people realized to be bodies. At 9:45 a.m. a third jet crashed on the Pentagon, the Home of the Military Command Center. At 9.58, the most terrible aspect of the attack happened. The north tower of the World Trade Center had collapsed as the floor had exploded in glass and smoke causing the destruction of the building. At 10:10 a.m. the news had announced that a fourth airplane crashed in Pennsylvania and completed the series of atrocities that day. It was followed at 10:28 a.m. by the entire collapse of the south tower in New York.<sup>274</sup>

The series of violence that day shaped the dramatic effect of the terrorist attack on America. The number of the dead as revealed by the media was estimated about 3117 excluding the nineteen hijackers.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> Ian Markham and Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi, 11 September Religious Perspectives on the Causes and Consequences, One world Oxford, England, 2002, p. 7-8.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

According to Sinnamon Still Well, there were rumors considering the American Jews at the origin of 9/11 Attacks because 4000 employees didn't attend their offices that day, in the World Trade Center.

In those Attacks the number of the Jews who died was approximately estimated between 270 and 400. Moreover, the State Department published a partial list of the persons in response claiming that the number of the Jews who died is fewer than the number which was expected to be present that day.<sup>276</sup>

### **3.2.2 The American Jews in the Aftermath of 9/11 Attacks.**

According to the Anti-Defamation League, rumors called the big lie considered the American Jews at the origin of 9/11 Attacks. It continued to spread quickly and powerfully two years after this conspiracy in many parts of the world such as Arab and Muslim world, part of Europe, and the United States. Despite the great efforts made by the Watchdog Group to combat these rumors, it found acceptance in the world.<sup>277</sup>

In Pakistan, few days after the tragedy of September 2001, rumors spread around Madrassas claiming that Jews were behind this Attack. According to Kelton kobb in Ian Markham and Ibrahim M. Abu Rabbi (2002) "September 11 Religious Perspectives on the Causes and Consequences" in his chapter "Violent Faith", a journalist who was in Pakistan few weeks after 9/11 Attacks, reported that the head of one Madrassa in Peshawar, El Sheikh Rahat, affirmed that "The Jews have done this..."<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>276</sup>Lord Jules, How many Israeli died at the WTC attacks, retrieved: at:<http://www.abovetopsecret.com/forum/thread627511/pg1>, May 14, 2012.

<sup>277</sup>Marilyn Mayo, Anti-Semitic 9/11 Conspiracy Theorists thrive after 15 Years After Attacks, retrieved at:<https://www.adl.org/blog/anti-semitic-911-conspiracy-theorists-thrive-15-years-after-attacks>, September 09,2016.

<sup>278</sup>Ian Markham and Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi, op.cit., p. 150.

considering the attacks as a plot by Israel to draw the world into war. The rumors were not limited in Medrassas, they were in other parts of the world such as, Egypt. The Egyptian Sheikh Muhammad Al-Gamei'a, the representative of Al-Azhar University in the United States and the imam of the Islamic Center of New York, was asked three weeks after 9/11 Attacks for an unofficial university Websites. He stated for the interviewers that America suspected that "the Jews were behind this ugly act". Nevertheless, it won't declare it to its public since the American Jews have the upper hands in all the sensitive domains of the United States.<sup>279</sup>

### **3.2.3 The Lobby and the Palestinian Cause. George W. Bush's Resolution for the Peace process.**

Following the event of 9/11 September which marked the American history, the American government sought seriously to combat terrorism in order to avoid another disaster to the American population. In this context, Bush's administration started to think about uniting its force with the Islamic and the Arab word to create a coalition against terrorism. But doing so, it required from the US to stop the Arab-Israeli conflict by supporting the two-states solution and limiting the violence in the second intifada. The way the US planned to combat terrorism alarmed the Israeli leaders who rejected radically the idea of the two-states solution and made the Jewish lobby change the U.S. government's inclination to their own interests. This fact was illustrated in the words reported by a Washington Post headline in February 2003 as follows:<sup>280</sup><< Bush and Sharon nearly Identical on Mideast Policy.>><sup>281</sup>

Before this phrase was published, Sharon, the Jewish Prime Minister viewed the pressure exerted by the United State on Israel to end the Arab Israel Conflict as unacceptable, claiming that Bush was trying to appease the Arabs at the Jewish expense.

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>280</sup> John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, op.cit., p.204.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

Another dispute erupted between the two leaders when the Israeli Minister of tourism was killed by the Palestinian rebels. This event led to another military violence in the occupied territories, in the West Bank. Consequently, Bush asked Shimon Peres, the Israeli Foreign Minister to stop immediately the assault on the Palestinians, but he refused, claiming that the Israelis would not withdraw from this region until Arafat stopped Palestinian terrorism.<sup>282</sup>

The fact that Bush outlined his agenda to back the Palestinian state aroused the anger of the Jewish lobby. The head of the Anti-Defamation League, Abraham Foxman demanded from Collin Powell on October 23 that the U.S. government should stop pressuring Israel to withdraw its force from the occupied areas. Moreover, on November 16, Eighty-nine senators asked Bush not to meet Arafat since the Palestinian state did not stop violence against Israel.<sup>283</sup>

The situation between Bush and Sharon started to improve due to the military success realized by the U.S. troops that made the need to the Arab alliance unnecessary. Adding to that, the retaliation of IDF, Israel Defense Forces following the three suicide bombing showed no remark from the U.S. government who stated as follows<sup>284</sup>: <<Israel is a sovereign government.>><sup>285</sup>

### **3.2.4 Tracing the Road Map.**

Despite all the conflicts that occurred between Bush and the Israel lobby in matter of the peace process in Palestine, the American President continued to put into effect its plan of the two-states resolution in order to assure American security against terrorism.

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<sup>282</sup> Ibid.,p.205 .

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.,p.206-207.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.,p.207.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.



He cited two points in a speech that he made in the Middle East on June 24, 2001. First, he insisted on the fact that Arafat must give up the control of Palestine; the government must have a new leadership. Second, Israel must end its settlement in the occupied territories to allow the creation of the Palestinian state. However, the establishment of the Palestinian state required a shaping of a road map that Bush decided to draw with the help of the European Union, Russia, and the UN. The implementation of this project was delayed until March 7, 2003 due to the war in Iraq.<sup>286</sup>

Another important event occurred in this period of time, the nomination of Mahmoud Abbas as the Prime Minister of Palestine and as a reduction of Arafat power in the Palestinian government. Moreover, the road map project was not welcomed by the Israeli leaders. Sharon did not accept the idea of Palestine in the occupied territories, so he intended to destroy the Bush peace plan in the Middle East as it was illustrated in an article written by Chemi Chalev<sup>287</sup> :<<The strategic goal of Sharon and his advisors is ultimately to undermine the road map and to exclude the three remaining members (the EU, UN, and Russia) of the so called Madrid Quartet.....from active involvement in the peace process.>><sup>288</sup>

Sharon opposed radically the road map plan, and most of the Jewish lobby leaders took the same direction. Zukerman, the chairman of the President Conference, Abraham Foxman, the head of ADL and Malcom Hoenlein, the executive vice Chairman of the Conference of the President had the same view. Even AIPAC wrote a letter to the President asking him to avoid forcing Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories. Moreover, despite the efforts made by the Bush determination to realize the peace process, the Israelis continued the execution of their settlement project that is to take over all the Palestinian lands and remain the sole leader of these territories.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Ibid.,p211-212.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.,p.212.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.,p.213.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.,p.219.

After Arafat death in 2004, Mahmoud Abbas came to power in 2005 and Bush was reelected. In this period of time, the American President was taking another inclination, supporting Sharon's plan that is to disengage unilaterally from the Palestinian state contrarily to what was planned previously and compromising its creation.

### **3.2.5 The Assault on Gaza.**

Despite the Americans long attempts to achieve the two-states solution in order to solve the problem of terrorism, and in spite of the views of Geneva Convention on the Palestinian cause, the American Jewish lobby ignored all the constraints that might represent an obstacle for Israel to have the total control of Palestine. Consequently, Israel planned to implement its settlement project that is to start invading Gaza and put an end to the democratic elected government, Hamas. However, to force Hamas to resign, Israel executed a plan of blockade against the Palestinians; It launched a massive attack on Gaza on 28 June 2006, bombarding the basis infrastructures of over 1,4 million of Palestinians.<sup>290</sup> Moreover, it ended all financial assistance from the U.S. government which raised poverty. The salaries of over 165 000 employees were stopped, so over 80% of Gaza's population that is 64% of all the Palestinians went on starvation.<sup>291</sup>

The Israeli assault on Gaza made important damages as the bombing of bridges linking North and South of the city. This attack intended to impoverish million of Palestinians that is the entire population of Gaza and effectively over 48 a 60 factories had closed their doors leaving to Egypt and other Arab countries. Moreover, between 21 and 26 June, 44 Palestinians were murdered, thirty of whom were civilians including eleven children and two pregnant women.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>290</sup>James Petras, *The power of Israel in the United States*, Charity Press, Inc. Fernwood Books, Atlanta, 2006, p.94.

<sup>291</sup>*Ibid.*, p.96.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, p.95.

### **3.2.6 The Role of the Jewish Lobby in the Assault on Gaza.**

The episode of terror that Israel inflicted on Palestine before, during, and after the assault on Gaza provoked many damages. It destroyed the infrastructures of the whole Palestinian population which includes the Gaza's electrical power station and water supply and devastated the bridges connecting North and South Gaza. In addition to that, it was followed by a total blockade in order to undermine the Palestinian economy. It also killed and wounded a great number of civilians among whom pregnant women and children.<sup>293</sup>

It is important to note that President Bush who was radically opposing to harm civilians and damage the infrastructures did not react to such barbarism against the Palestinian people. However, the Jewish lobby find itself in a position of power that is it could do anything against Palestine and there will be no reaction since the highest authority of the United States was siding Israel. Moreover, the impetus that the Jewish lobby gained in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict stems from the potential congregational support and the media on the "Israel hostage ". These two factors changed Bush's views on the two-states solution in pro-Israel direction. Additionally, the Jewish lobby that is the Conference of the Major Jewish Organization and AIPAC were the principles elements that guided the process of terror in Palestine. The military attacks were executed by the Israeli Generals, Shin Bet, the Mossad, the Consent of the Israeli Defense Minister and the Prime Minister without the advice of the American government.<sup>294</sup>

What made the assault on Gaza so successful is the influence of the U.S. Congress and the Bush's administration to bring the EU against the Hamas government. Moreover, Hamas was totally rejected by Israel notably the Jewish lobby who drove Israel to devastate the economic and social life of the Palestinians.

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<sup>293</sup> Ibid.,p.100.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.,p.100-101.

The lobby found no objection to the violation of peace, democracy, human rights and International Court including the United Nation's Resolution.<sup>295</sup>

### **3.2.7 The Lobby and the Iraqi War.**

After 9/11 Attacks, in 2003, the United States decided to invade Iraq, but this invasion was motivated by some reasons that seems to be difficult to grasp. Indeed, the Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein was a dictator, but he could not represent a real threat to America. In matter of military power, he possessed a weak army and his plan to obtain nuclear weapon was destroyed. Moreover, in the issue of terrorism Saddam was not suspected to have any relation with Osama Ben laden, the Al-Qaida's leader. These arguments made it clear that the war in Iraq was not based on convincing motives. However, when regarding the subject in another dimension, we will notice the existence of an important element that played a central role in this issue. The American Jewish lobby and a group of neo-conservatists made great efforts to influence the United States to invade Iraq in order to empower Israel and the American position in the Middle East.<sup>296</sup>

Basically, the connection of the Israel lobby to Iraq's invasion was also explained by the nomination of a group of neo-conservatists as high officials in the Bush' s administration. Those policy-makers, Paul Wolfowitz, Douglas Feith, and three civilians in the Pentagon, Richard Perle, Kenneth Adelman, and James Woolsey, members of the influential Defense Policy Board; Scooter Libby, the vice president's chief of staff; John Bolton, undersecretary of state for arms control and international security, and his special assistant, David Wurmser and Elliott Abrahams, who is in charge of Middle East policy and National Security Council.

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<sup>295</sup> Ibid .,p.101.

<sup>296</sup> John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt,op.cit.,p.238-239.

In addition to these people there were some journalists as Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, William Kristol, and William Safire.<sup>297</sup>

Each one of these officials played a significant role in pushing the war in Iraq as Douglas Feith who had close relations with organizations in the Jewish lobby, he even sided Israel in his settlement. Additionally, Feith, Perle, and Wurmser wrote “Clean Break” a report in 1996 advising the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu to overthrow Saddam and reshape the entire Middle East.<sup>298</sup>

It was important to stress on the fact that some American leaders believed that after the shocking event of 9/11 Attacks America must punish any terrorism possession of (WMD) Weapon Mass Destruction. As a result, overthrowing Saddam will be a concrete example to all the states in the region to submit to America’s power and avoid any opposition to it.<sup>299</sup>

The other reason that the observers gave in Iraq’s invasion, the war of oil. Many Americans claimed that by attacking Iraq, America was targeting the Iraqi oil. Moreover, there was a potential advocacy from the democrats to go on war in Iraq. Their support was explained by their aspiration to promote democracy in the Middle East. However, all these reasons had no weigh near the security of Israel. This idea was illustrated in the statement of Philip Zelikow, a member of the president’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board(2001-2003), executive director of the 9/11 Commission and counselor of the Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice(2005-2006).He talked to a university of Virginia audience on September 10, 2002 that Saddam did not represent a threat to America but a threat against Israel He stated as follows:<sup>300</sup><<And this is the threat that dare not speak its name, because the European don’t care deeply about that threat.....And the American government doesn’t want to lean to hard on its rhetorically, because it is not a popular sell.>><sup>301</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid.,p.239.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.,p.230.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.,p.231.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

### 3.2.8 The Lobby and the Syrian Affair.

Basically, the period of Clinton's presidency was not as hostile towards Syria as under the Bush's one. With Clinton, the lobby's agenda was focusing on peace, but with the coming of Sharon in 2001, a significant shift was noticed, in the sense that the lobby changed its peaceful inclination to a violent one.

It is important to note that the hostilities against Syria started before eleven September when a report in May 2000 called the (USCFL), the U.S. Committee for a Free Lebanon claimed that the Syrian troops must withdraw from Lebanon. This report did not gain support in Clinton's presidency, but in Bush's period, another Act was issued by AIPAC in 2002 and presented to Congress against Syria. This Act was called the Syria Accountability Act; it asked for the same points cited in the (USCFL) report, but Bush did not support it because it coincided with the preparation of the war in Iraq. Adding to that, Syria represented an important factor in supplying America with information about El-Qaida, and any aggressive policy against it would destroy Bush plan about terrorism.<sup>302</sup>

Despite all the reasons that made Bush reluctant to invade Syria, the lobby did not give up this idea. In the aftermath of the collapse of Baghdad in 2003, the lobby launched another series of lobbying efforts. It asked for changing the regime in Syria as well as the other regimes in the Middle East as it was illustrated in the words of Richard Perle, the head of the Hawkish Defense Policy Board. He announced to a journalist as follows:<< We could deliver a short message, a two-worded message to the assistant secretary of state declared similarly that after Iraq, Bush would target Iran then, North Korea. He also added that Syria by detaining the WMD it represented a serious threat to U.S. interests in the Middle East.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Ibid.,p.273-274.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

As it happened with Saddam, the claims against El Assad multiplied, accusing him of possessing the WMD. Jed Babbin, a conservative commentator and another Congressman Engel added that the weapons would certainly exist in Syria if America could find them in Iraq. In Addition to that, Richard Perle reintroduced the Syria Accountability Act in Congress with the support of Engel and AIPAC, making Bush who was reluctant to the Act signing it in December 12, 2003. However, even if the American President signed this Act under pressure he would be convinced that Syria represented no threat for the U.S. despite its support for Iraqi insurgency.<sup>304</sup>

### **3.2.9 The Iranian Case and the lobby.**

The vision of the United States about Iran was different from the one of Syria. In other words, the United States and Iran had a competitive relationship since the coming of Shah Pahlavi to power who supported radical groups as Hamas, Hezbollah and the Islamic Jihad. He was accused of detaining chemical weapon, aspiring to control the nuclear fuel cycle, and developing missiles that might help Iran to destroy its neighbors notably Israel.<sup>305</sup>

Iran was viewed as among the countries most denying the Holocaust and hoping the collapse of Israel. Moreover, it was considered as the dominant Islamic state in the Persian Gulf in matter of oil. This power appeared clearly with the American invasion to Iraq which represented the Iranian rival to the point that some thought that “ Iran looks like the winner of the war.” The growing of the nuclear power made the Arab countries and Israel think that Iran might do similarly as Saddam when it invaded the Kuwait in 1990. Besides, there was the fear about the origin of Iran as being a Persian and not an Arab country. There were conflicting religious groups of Shia and the Sunna and as Iran is a Shia government, it troubled the Sunni countries as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Arab Emirates.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> Ibid.,p.275-276.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid.,p.280.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., p.281-282.

It is important to note that the lobby for over fifteen years since 1990 was pressuring the United States to use hostilities against Iran. For this reason, when Condoleezza Rice tried to develop the peace process in the Arab-Israeli conflict, it was difficult for her to achieve such aim. The failure of Rice was due to the presence of the Israeli leaders and the lobby that rejected radically the creation of the Palestinian state and their insistence on President Bush or any other American President to change his policy towards this issue. In the fifteen years of pressure, the lobby portrayed Iran as the most important threat ever seen in the Middle East<sup>307</sup>. This idea was illustrated by the words of the Israeli Defense Minister Benyamin Ben-Ezer who declared in 2002 before the Iraqi war as follows<sup>308</sup>: <<Iraq is a problem.....But you should understand, if you ask me, today Iran is more dangerous than Iraq.>><sup>309</sup>

After Baghdad's collapse, the lobby and the neo-conservatives who pushed the war in Iraq started to do similarly for Iran calling for regime change and democratization of the government. But to execute their plan, they made a relationship with Reza Pahlavi exactly as they did with Ahmed Chalabi, the Iraqi politician exiled. They promised to Reza Pahlavi that if he won the Iranian presidency he would promote the country's relation with Israel.<sup>310</sup>

Another action was undertaken in this issue, the introduction of the Iran Democracy Act to the U.S. parliament which was voted in May 2003. This Act was calling for democracy in Iran claiming that Iran advocated terrorism. Moreover, it considered Iran as a growing nuclear power which represented a major threat for America, Israel, and its Arab neighbors. Additionally, the lobby continued to pressure the United States to attack Iran military, but the American President, the Israeli leaders and the International community were conscious that there was a great opposition for attacking Iran.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid.,p.282.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.,p.291.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid.,p.292-293.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.,p.292.



Adding to that, Bush was not motivated for a military attack and the lobby knew that there was little chance with the current American President. However, they still hope that this aim will be achieved with his successor if Iran continues to plan for developing WMD to dominate the Middle East.<sup>312</sup>

### **3.2.10 The lobby and the Second Lebanon War.**

The second Lebanon war started when Hezbollah, the Shia organization killed and detained Israeli soldiers in a cross border ride, in 2006. As a response to Hezbollah attack, Israel declared a devastating war against Lebanon that lasted for thirty-four days. It killed hundred civilians, destroyed Lebanon infrastructures, and undermined the country's economy. Consequently, the international view condemned Israel barbarism and U.S. good relation with the Seniora government was affected. In addition to that, the war empowered the relations between Syria, Hezbollah, and Iran.<sup>313</sup>

Although, the war was harmful for the United States, it played a central role in backing Israel diplomatically and military. The Jewish lobby's efforts in the war focused on keeping America in a pro-Israel direction. Some commentators claimed that Israel in attacking Lebanon did not take the right decision and it would be better for the US not to advise Israel in such decision. However, the same commentators stated that when America supported Israel in this war, it was executing the will of the American public because of its devotion to the Jewish state.<sup>314</sup>

It is of some interests that the Israel lobby, particularly AIPAC from the beginning of the war to the end made sure that US is in pro-Israel direction. It collected money, influenced the media, and lobbied the congress.

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid. ,p. 298.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.,p.306.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.,p.307.

But the war was opposed by many congressmen as Van Hollen. He addressed a letter to secretary of state Condoleezza Rice on July 30 expressing his anger and asking her to stop the war immediately. He declared as follows.<sup>315</sup>

*The Israeli response.....has now gone beyond the destruction of Hezbollah's Military assets. It has caused huge damage to Lebanon's civilian infrastructure, resulted in the large loss of civilian life, and produced over 750,000 refugees. Hezbollah is undeniably the culprit, but it is the Lebanese people--not Hezbollah--Who are increasingly the victims of the violence. As a result, the Israeli bombing campaign, supported by the United States, has transformed Lebanese anger at Hezbollah into growing hostility towards Israel and the United States. The result has been a surge in the political strength and Popularity of Hezbollah and its leaders, Hasan Nasrallah, and the weakening of the already fragile Lebanese government.....We have squandered an opportunity to isolate Hezbollah and Strengthen our credibility and negotiating leverage in the region."*<sup>316</sup>

The letter of Van Hollen made an echo in the Jewish lobby, in the sense that it aroused its anger even if in the beginning of his writing he focused on the U.S. interests and the legitimacy of Israel to defend itself.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid.,p.326.

<sup>316</sup>Ibid.,p.327.

<sup>317</sup>Ibid.

## **Conclusion**

The remarkable level of material and diplomatic support that the United States provided to Israel since its creation explains the special relationship that the two countries shared. However, this situation has no equal in American history. In other words, in helping the Jewish state, America compromised its international image and put its security at stake.

In matter of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, no American President could resolve this issue because the lobby pressured the U.S government to prevent any action that could promote the two-states resolution. Adding to that, the episodes of terror that Israel inflicted on the Palestinian people in Gaza and the American silence towards such situation of human rights' abuse when it punished other dictatorial regime claiming to transform these countries in democracies community amazed the international view.

The American Jewish lobby led the United States to fuel a devastating war in Iraq and attempted to do so in Syria and Iran and ended up by pushing the war in Lebanon. Moreover, the alarming situation in the Middle East developed Islamic radicalism, empowered Hezbollah, and brought closer Syria and Iran.

When shaping the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, the Israel lobby jeopardized the American and Israel's interests, in the sense that Israel could benefit from a complete execution of the OSLO agreements, protect the Israeli lives and diminished Palestinian terrorism.

Table 3

	Total Number of Cases	Percent
Truman (1945-52)	41	7
Eisenhower (1953-60)	64	10
Kennedy (1961-63)*	18	3
Johnson (1964-68)	68	11
Nixon (1969-72)	83	14
Nixon-Ford (1973-76)	111	18
Carter (1977-80)	116	19
Reagan (1981-84)	111	18
Total	612	100

In the table above we notice that the distribution of case varies from President to another. Moreover, the cases increased after the six days war in 1967 which explained the development of the Jewish lobby notably AIPAC that pressured extensively the different administrations.<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> Mitchell Geoffrey Bard, op.cit ., p.254.

Table4

<b>Presidential Position by Administration President</b>	
	<b>Supports Lobby (%)</b>
Truman (1945–52)	54
Eisenhower (1953–60)	55
Kennedy (1961–63)*	67
Johnson (1964–68)	59
Nixon (1969–72)	48
Nixon-Ford (1973–76)	58
Carter (1977–80)	36
Reagan (1981–84)	54

In this table, the president's support to the lobby relies on the party identification. If the President is Democrat he will certainly intensify his sympathy to the Jewish lobby because the Jewish community since World War II was involved in the Democratic Party. It voted for the democrats and granted important donation for the campaign of the American democratic candidates.<sup>319</sup>

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<sup>319</sup>Ibid.,p.256.

Table 5

<b>The Relationship between Administration Position and Lobby Success</b>		
	<b>Number of Cases</b>	
	<b>President Opposes Lobby</b>	<b>Lobby Wins (%)</b>
Truman	19	11
Eisenhower	29	17
Kennedy	6	33
Johnson	28	21
Nixon	43	23
Nixon-Ford	47	34
Carter	74	31
Reagan	51	33

The success achieved by the lobby in the table above indicates whether the president is in pro-Israel direction or not. For instance, the lobby has registered its greatest success under the Nixon-Ford administration of 1972-1973. The lowest lobby wins was with Truman President due the opposition of this latter to Israel's Sinai campaign in 1950. <sup>320</sup>

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<sup>320</sup>Ibid.,p.285.

# Chapter Four

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## **Final Thoughts about the Jewish Lobby**

### **Introduction**

American potential aid to Israel helped the Jewish lobby to gain a position of power in shaping U.S. Middle East policy. Moreover, the crucial role played by the lobby in the region proved that its influence is connected directly to all the decisions implemented following each case. The nations that were affected by U.S. intervention in the Arab-Israel conflict as Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia represented the adversary side in the issue against Israel . However, other nations as the Golf states, Morocco, Libya had no role in this cause.

Another element that contributed to the Arab-Israel conflict is the vote in congressional policy which posed a serious problem in the sense that most of the cases that are related to the lobby are successful. Beside, all the Bills that are advocated by the lobby never come to vote.<sup>321</sup>

It is important to note that U.S. financial and political support to Israel surpassed any other aid it provided for the other countries. However, it promised to establish a balance on military support to the Middle East, but in reality it secretly helped Israel as it did in 1967 to the point that it counted as its most supplier of arm. In matter of political independence and territorial security, America supported Israel to remain in the occupied territories and reshape borders with its Arab neighbors.<sup>322</sup>

### **4.1 The Jewish Lobby's Success.**

The success achieved by the Jewish lobby during a century of lobbying activities shows the hard work undertaken by these organizations in making American foreign policy in pro-Israel direction.

#### **4.1.1 The Success of the Major Lobbying Organizations.**

Among the Jewish Interests groups that succeeded to influence the United States in pro-Israel direction, AIPAC. It is one of the most influential Jewish lobby that achieved great successes in lobbying activities mainly in the American foreign policy. AIPAC dominated U.S. legislation. For instance, it could collect seventy-six cosponsors for the Jackson- Vanick amendment to the trade Act of 1974, a Bill that restricted the Jewish emigration to the Soviet Union. It also could gather seventy-six senators in the same year to sign a letter pressuring President Ford to advocate the Jewish peace process effort in the Middle East. Moreover, in the 1980s, it lobbied the Regan administration to modify the operation of the arm' sale to Saudi Arabia.

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<sup>321</sup> Mitchell Geoffrey Bard, *op.cit.*, p.245-246.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*

In present days, AIPAC is significantly active within the American congress. It has the possibility to support resolutions and condemn others, advocate and reject Bills by influencing the policy-makers. Adding to that, the success of AIPAC appeared clearly in the \$3 billion it received annually from the United States in the past three decades.<sup>323</sup>

AIPAC is also regarded as an important opponent of terrorism. It helped jurisdiction to investigate terrorists concerned with criminal actions. It also financed military project with the support of the United States as “Israel Arrow Anti-Missiles System” which is currently considered as the most sophisticated working anti-ballistic missiles system in the world. Adding to that AIPAC when lobbied for an incredible financial aid estimated at \$3billions yearly it positioned Israel as the first cumulative recipient of U.S. foreign assistance since World War II.<sup>324</sup>

AIPAC is considered as the most powerful component of the Israel lobby in the United States. It was noticed that by 1990, AIPAC was classified as the second most efficient lobby behind American Association of Retired Persons. Moreover, in 1997 it was named by Fortune magazine as the second most influential group in Washington DC. Even, in March 2005, AIPAC maintained this ranking as revealed by the “National Journal Study”. However, the lobby offended the American laws in many cases, but without being prosecuted as in 1984 when it was discovered by the FBI stealing secret information provided by U.S. companies to the International Trade Commission.<sup>325</sup>

Another case was registered in AIPAC’s misbehavior, David Stein, AIPAC’s President was recorded showing off his political influence for gaining support from the United States to Israel.

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<sup>323</sup> James M. McCormick, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth, UK, 2012,p.71.

<sup>324</sup> USA International Business Publication, *Israel Lobby in the United States; Hnabook: Strategic Information, Organization and Operation*, Washington DC, USA, 2009,p. 27.

<sup>325</sup> Mohsen M. Saleh, Ishtiaq Hossain, *the American Foreign Policy*, Al Zaitouna Center For Studies Consultation, Beirut, Lebanon,2011,p.150.

Adding to that, another shocking spying event occurred within AIPAC from 2005 to 2008 with Colonel Laurence Franklin who was indicted by U.S. Supreme Court of having stolen secret information about American's Iran policy and divulged them to Steve Rosen and Keith Weissman, two executive officials from AIPAC.<sup>326</sup>

The other Jewish interests group which is as important as AIPAC, ADL, the Anti-Defamation League. It is a watchdog Jewish defense agency that scored several successes in lobbying for the Israel cause. This lobby made priority in fighting right-wing extremism. It collected secret information from extremist organizations. These efforts were achieved by 1931 when ADL was directed nationally by Richard Gustadt who established the Fact-Funding Department. ADL has many departments specialized each in different issues, civil rights, international affairs, government affairs, and education. Adding to that, the organization benefited from an important financial support.

In 2000, ADL gathered an annual income of \$48,693,379 with 400 employees and thirty-three regional offices in America as well as foreign countries as Austria, Canada, and Israel. It is important to note that one of the major ADL's objectives is fighting Anti-Semitism that many American Jews still fearing nowadays. They believe that this phenomenon may rebirth under specific circumstances; therefore they reserved great donations for this issue.<sup>327</sup> It also fought any anti-Semitic feeling as the Nazi, the KU, KLUX, KIAN, Henry Ford, Father Charles Coughlin( leader of the Christian Front), the German American Bund, and Neo-Nazi, and helped the survivors of the Holocaust. Moreover, it denounced a group of ten leading organizations among which an organization asking the US for stopping financial support to Israel Apartheid. Adding to that, ADL focused on another goal, the separation of church and state. It insisted on "true religious liberty means freedom from having the government impose the religion of the majority on all citizens"<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> Ibid.,p.151.

<sup>327</sup> George Michael, *Confronting Right Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA*, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group , New York and London, 2003,p.14.

<sup>328</sup> USA International Business Publication,op.cit.,p.35-36.

The other Israel lobby which devoted its lobbying efforts to Israel's cause, the American Jewish Committee (AJC). The founding fathers of this organization, the financier Jacob Schiff, the jurist Oscar Straws, and the philanthropist Cyrus L. Sulzberger. It was created in response to the pogroms and the acts of oppression inflicted on the European Jews. By 1930, AJC focused on defending the Jews overseas, especially when World War II was declared.

This lobby identified itself in fighting right-wing extremism. It struggled against the Nazi movement, fascism, and anti-communism. It operated in government authority, Army and Navy intelligence and the FBI. However, AJC withdrew from the investigation area. It adopted another method to combat right-wing extremism, the notion of "quarantine" or "dynamic silence"<sup>329</sup>. This tactic was undertaken to reduce the public confrontation. This attitude was illustrated in a statement of ADL's publication as follows:<sup>330</sup><<At certain points for certain agitations, silence is the best course. Publicly can sometimes help a demagogue who is not well agitator's background and affiliation will sharply cut his influence, depriving him of decent people.>><sup>331</sup>

Currently, AJC recommenced fighting domestic right-wing extremism as advocating hate crime legislation, notably, in 1998. It created a permanent office in Berlin, Germany to control right-wing extremism. Because of the organization's devotion to this issue, it could collect \$39,793,811, an annual amount income, in 2000. It has thirty-two regional offices in major American cities and in foreign countries as Jerusalem, Beirut, Geneva, and Warsaw. Nowadays, Harold Tanner is the agency's President, and David H. Harris is its executive director.<sup>332</sup>

### **4.1.2 The Factors of the Success of the Jewish Lobby.**

According to Mitchell Geoffrey Bard in his book, "the Water Edge and Beyond", the lobby succeeded due to some factors that supported its pro-Israel policy.

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<sup>329</sup> Ibid.p.16.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.,p.17.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

Among these factors, the executive case, presidential preference, the administrative preference, the party affiliation, and the presidential popularity. Studies have been made to analyze each variant and its relation with the lobby. Thus, In mater of the executive case, there are some policies that are decided at the level of the President and the Secretary of State, so if the President or its administrators side the lobby, it will certainly succeed.<sup>333</sup> Moreover, concerning the administration preference, the administration may play a crucial role in the lobby' success, meaning that policies change when the administration changes. Each administration presents the cases supported by the Jewish lobby differently. For instance, Carter's administration advocated the peace process resolution which opposed the lobby's interests. Eisenhower contested the Hydraulic building project that Israel started to put into effect. Bush in his presidency's early years opposed the Lobby, but finished by taking side with it when he allowed the Attack on Gaza in 2006.<sup>334</sup>

The other factor of the lobby's triumph is the party affiliation. The fact that the President is Democrat or Republican makes the difference in the lobby's influence. The American Jews alliance with the Democrats started with their beginning activities in American politics. Their financial donation was generally directed to democratic candidates to the points that it was obvious to be rewarded for their support.<sup>335</sup>

Adding to the party affiliation, another element that helped the lobby, the President's unpopularity. The fact that the President is not so much supported by its public gave the opportunity to the lobby to gain a position of power on him. For example, Truman and Johnson whose popularity was under 50 sided the lobby in his interests. The former supported the creation of Israeli state in 1948, and the latter advocated the Phantom Jets' sale to Israel.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>333</sup>Mtichell Geoffrey Bard,op.cit.,p.352.

<sup>334</sup>Ibid.,p.354-355.

<sup>335</sup>Ibid.,p.355-356.

<sup>336</sup>Steven L. Spiegel, *The Other Arab Israel Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Regan*, the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London,1986, p.387.

### **4.1.3 America and Israel's Views on Four Major Issues.**

Currently, the four important issues in the Middle East that is Iran quest for nuclear weapon, the American settlement in Iraq, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Hezbollah, and Israel clashes from Lebanon are the central assessments of American and Israeli opinion.

In the case of Iran, the United States and Israel gathered a series of motives to view this Arab country as a serious threat to their national security and to worldwide peace. They claimed that it is sponsoring terrorism and it has a vehement desire to create nuclear weapon of mass destruction in order to control the Middle East. They added that Iran aspires for Israel's extermination and disapproves all the moderate states dealing with the Jewish state. Moreover, it financed most of the terrorist organizations as Hezbollah, the Palestinian Hamas, and the Islamic jihadists. Consequently, the US and the UN agreed on economic and financial sanction on Iran accusing it of instigating a nuclear weapon program. Iran was also viewed by Bush near to Iraq and North Korea as "the Axis of evil".<sup>337</sup>

In 2007, an assessment of the Pew Global Attitudes Project revealed a series of surveys on public opinion on a range of topics concerning Israel and the United States. It was discovered that the polls gave practically the same results with 89% in Israel and 86% in America viewing Iran as the greatest danger to their two countries. Similarly, in 2006, the Maaravi poll revealed on how to resolve the issue of Iran's nuclear program. 75% majority of an Israeli sample thought that US and the Europeans would not be able to stop the nuclear program peacefully. In the same survey, 53% majority believe that Israel is incapable to end the nuclear plan by attacking Iran, whereas 44 % declared that Israel should attack Iran even without any international military support.<sup>338</sup>

As far as Iraq is concerned, it was considered as a highly controversial issue in terms of U.S. invasion. Many people thought that the war in Iraq was due essentially to Israel and AIPAC's influence on the American foreign policy.

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<sup>337</sup>Eytan Gilboa, EfraimInbar, *US-Israel Relations in a New Era : Issues and Challenges after 9 /11*, Rutledge Taylor and Francis Group, London, and New York,2010,p.63.

<sup>338</sup>Eytan Gilboa,op.cit.,p.64.

Professors John Mearsheimer from the university of Chicago and Stephen Walt from Harvard University declared that Israel and AIPAC were behind the war in Iraq. Besides, other indictments were addressed to other suspects as for Senator Ernest F. Hollings from South Carolina who accused Bush of having break out war in Iraq simply to release Israel from Saddam Hussein's hostilities. Additionally, General Antony Zinni, on May 24, 2004 inculpated senior officials, Douglas Feith, Paul Wolfowitz, Lewis Liby, Richard Perle, and Eliot Abraham as being at the origin of the war in this Arab country.

In 2004, a minority of Americans thought that the war was declared following the influence of powerful American Jews. However, the multiple attacks of Saddam Hussein with 39 scud missiles on Israel and his support for the Palestinian terrorism led to another contradictory opinion. 78 % of Israelis voted for the war in Iraq in 2003 which meant that Israel and AIPAC has nothing to do with the U.S military operation in Iraq. Moreover, in 2007 the ADL/BESA/MM poll revealed that 59% of Israelis believed that U.S. attack on Iraq was a wise decision, but a Gallup Poll of February in the United States, 57% of majority from the Americans denounced U.S. invasion in Iraq. The same question was asked by CBS New/ New York Time Poll in September as follows:<sup>339</sup> "looking back do you think the US did right in taking military action against Iraq, or should US stayed out?" A majority of 53% responded by the US should have stayed out.<sup>340</sup>

Concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, no final resolution could be seriously achieved in this issue, since peace process was marked by the Oslo agreements' failure. Later on, other events occurred, in 2003, the alliance of EU, UN, US, and Russia issued a road map for the Israeli-Palestinian peace. Then, the election of Mahmud Abbess to the Palestinian presidency in November 2004 was another turning point in the future Palestinian policy. The new President was completely different from his predecessor, Yasser Arafat, in the sense that he opposed terrorism and aspired for a new peace resolution with Israel.

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<sup>339</sup>Ibid., p.65.

<sup>340</sup>Ibid.



However, the weakness of this latter empowered Hamas which won the parliamentary election in 2006, and diverted the control of Gaza from the Palestinian authority.<sup>341</sup>

Polls over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in 1997, 2003, and 2005 showed that Americans generated more sympathy to Israel than to Palestine. In 2006, following the Oslo agreements' failure and the Israeli terror attacks on Palestine since 2000, opinions changed within American and Israeli societies. In 2007 ADL/ BESSA/MM survey revealed that 51% of majority from an Israeli sample that people thought a radical decision from America must be imposed on Israel to resolve the conflict with Palestine.<sup>342</sup> For this reason, several measures have been undertaken as the organization of the Annapolis conference, Maryland in America, inviting Arab countries as Syria, and Saudi Arabia to find a solution for the Arab-Israeli conflict and even the American President, Bush visited Israel for the same reason.<sup>343</sup>

The other controversial issue that neither Israel nor America could resolve, the second Lebanon war. The U.S. and Israeli opinions were divided on whether Israel should continue or stop its military operation against Hezbollah firing rockets on its Jewish cities. Gallup poll revealed that 53% of an American majority disagreed for the war with Hezbollah, but another 39 % accused Syria and Iran for being at the origin of the conflict. 27% incriminated Lebanon, and only 15% held Israel charged Hezbollah, whereas 23% accused Lebanese and Israeli government. Besides, the result of the dispute was ambiguous, no one could determine whether Hezbollah or Israel won the war. When the Americans and the Israelis were asked who won the war, 18 % of the Marravi sample indicated Israel, 15% said Hezbollah and 66% answered neither sides won the war.<sup>344</sup>

A final question was asked to the Americans by Gallup poll following the war: << As a result of the recent development in the Middle East related to the fighting between Hezbollah and Israel, do you think that the situation had improved or gotten worse?>>

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<sup>341</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>342</sup>Ibid.

<sup>343</sup>Ibid.,p.67.

<sup>344</sup>Ibid.,p.69.

31% responded Israel security improved, 52% thought it decreased, 35 % found that Hezbollah force in Lebanon developed, whereas 44 % said it weakened.

According to Eytan Gilboa and Efrain Inbar from what have been mentioned above in their book “ The US- Israeli Relations in a New Era” concerning the multiple public assessments in both American and Israeli society, both states are on the same dimension in viewing themselves favorably and relying on each other. The two population thought of having the same values and Israel ensured that America would never give up it if it needed it support.<sup>345</sup>

#### **4.1.4 Noam Chomsky’s Vision about the Lobby’s Success.**

Noam Chomsky is an American Jew and one of the U.S. contemporary intellectual elite who is known for his critical view towards American hypocrisy and the European regimes. However, when analyzing U.S. Middle East policy, his views changed because the issue is about his homeland’s interests. He even attacked Professor John J. Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago and Stephen M. Walt, the American Dean of the Kennedy school of Harvard University. He denounced the study of the Jewish lobby made by the two politicians in their book “the Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy”. Moreover, he wrote fifteen theses defending the success of the Jewish lobby which were qualified as erroneous.<sup>346</sup> (see appendix 14)

#### **4.2. Critics about the Jewish Lobby.**

The Jewish lobby was subject to several critics from important figures who denounced the pressure that this organization exerted on the American government to guide U.S. foreign policy in pro- Israel direction, especially in the Middle East.

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<sup>345</sup> Ibid.,p.69-70.

<sup>346</sup> James Petras, op.cit.,p.168-169.

### **4.2.1 Political figures opposing the Israel Lobby.**

The critics to the Jewish lobby started as early as the 19th century, and it became more important in the 20th century when the lobby started to be regarded as a powerhouse. Accordingly, some congressional members opposed the lobby overtly as it was the case of Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relation Committee. Moreover, the critics towards the lobby increased by the 1970s when America showed interests to help Israel which provoked the anger of the lobby's opponents.

The other Anti-Israel lobbies who declared publicly their critics to AIPAC are Senator Charles Percy and Paul Findley of Illinois. These two congressmen failed in the 1980s election. They claimed that the cause of their failure was their protest to the Jewish Lobby and those who were elected were backed by friends of Israel. Findley added that his defeat showed that any candidate representing the views of Israel is expected to win the election. Besides, the defeat of the two candidates sent a message to all the people opposing the Jewish lobby that the critics had to be eliminated from Capitol Hill.<sup>347</sup>

Pat Buchanan is another politician who did not hide his opposition to the Jewish lobby. By 1991, he showed a fierce Anti-Semitic attitude toward the Jews declaring that they were at the origin of the Gulf War. Adding to that, the Israel lobby was in the pages of Washington Report on the Middle East affair, a monthly magazine edited by several former U.S. ambassadors to the Arab countries. This magazine which was supported by private persons declared that Israel was using a "Nazi style" Genocide against the Arabs. The magazine minimized the Holocaust, and claimed that the Jews were behind Monica Levinsky' scandal and the assassination of John F. Kennedy.<sup>348</sup>

### **4.2.2 Critics about Chomsky's Fifteen Theses**

According to James Petras in his book, "The Power of Israel in the United States", when Chomsky described the Israel lobby as any other lobby in Washington, he forgot that the lobby's budget notably the one of AIPAC is estimated about \$2millions.

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<sup>347</sup>Rafael Meddof, op.cit.,p.244-245

<sup>348</sup>Ibid.,p.246.

It has got a direct linkage with the congressional member staff and an easy connection with the legislators. Moreover, the 75 Jewish organizations operate in pro-Israel policy, among which are the most important one is the Conference of Major American Jewish Organization and the American Israel Public Affair Committee.<sup>349</sup> Adding to that, Chomsky forgot that the lobby could collect 100 billion dollars over the 40 past years, an amount of money that is similar to the one granted to Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Moreover the staff of the lobby is huge; AIPAC's employees count around 150 full time functionaries.<sup>350</sup>

Chomsky did not also cite the congressional majority in military, economic, and political support that the lobby receives each year. He even omit to mention the diplomatic disadvantage that denounced Israel's violation of human rights in trying to assure its security, using America as an ally against its Arab adversaries. Besides, Chomsky's erroneous theses failed to reveal the lobby's influence in electing congressmen to whom it granted generous donations in order to preserve their support in congress. It is what happened when the United States suspended its financial aid to Palestine, an action advocated by AIPAC. The vote was estimated to 361 to 37 with 9. Adding to that, Chomsky also did not refer in his statements to all the congressmen who failed in their elections because they questioned the policy and tactics of the lobby.<sup>351</sup> For the war in Iraq, Chomsky denied the role played by the lobby and the Israeli government. The group of neo-conservatists who supported Bush's attack on Iraq, Wolfowitz, number 2 in the Pentagon, Douglas Feith, number 3 in the Pentagon, Richard Perle, head of the Defense Policy Board, Elliot Abrahams in charge of Near East and North African Affairs for the National Security Council and dozens activists in the government and ideologues in the mass media.<sup>352</sup>

### **4.2.3 James Petras' Views about the Impact of Zionism on American Foreign Policy.**

According to James Petra in his book "The Power of Israel in the United States", Almost all the acts of terrors that happened in the Middle East after Israel's creation and the foreign support for the Jewish colonial state compromised American interests

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<sup>349</sup>Mohamed E. Ahrari, *Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Greenwood Press, Inc. New York, Westport, London, 1987, p.2.

<sup>350</sup>James Petras, op.cit.p.170.

<sup>351</sup>Ibid.,p.170-171.

<sup>352</sup>Ibid.,p.173.

in this region. However, one should ask the question why America launched the war in Iraq, and why did it lose it, and who was responsible for this war? The investigation should be after the neo-conservatists and the Pentagon Zionists who pushed deliberately the war in Iraq. The inquiry must have two ideas. The first one from the nationalists, the American public should be aware of the dangerous influence of Zionism on U.S. war policy in the Middle East and the undemocratic nature of the congressional decisions. Instead of forcing Israel for negotiating the two-states resolution, the United States, engaged in unilateral military strategy. This led the Zionists to compromise the U.S. world politico-economic position on its loss over Arab Muslim oil producer's support.<sup>353</sup>

The second idea of the inquiry is from the progressives which is the question of the Zionists corrupting the democratic right of U.S citizens in shaping American foreign policy. A minority of well organized lobbyists have the upper hands on congressional members, humiliate the spokespeople and limit the area of the media. Adding to that, the progressives will criticize Israel not only on the role played by the Pentagon Zionists in diverting the U.S foreign policy to the Israel's interests, but also on the general world view towards Israel behavior in terms of self-serving vision, and reluctance to the international laws, covenants, and Geneva Accords. It was also considered by the progressives that the inquiry should go beyond democratizing American foreign policy. A question should be asked about the same genocide committed by the Nazis in World War II, the brutality inflicted on civilians in the Middle East, people who lost their lives, homes, educational institutions are the highest crimes against humanity.<sup>354</sup>

### **4.2.4 George W. Ball Analysis to the American Special Relationship with Israel.**

George W. Ball was the former Undersecretary of State from 1961 to 1966 and United State Permanent Representative to the UN in 1968.

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<sup>353</sup> James Petras, op.cit.,p.183.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid.,p.184.

He asked America in a statement that he read in the Foreign Relation Committee of the United States Senate on July 15, 1982 to revise its relationship with Israel and denounced the Israeli aggressive military actions in the Middle East. He added that instead of being punished when acting undesirably, the Jewish state is rewarded, provided with more military and economic aid. He added that all the American Presidents who opposed Israel in the Middle East failed to implement their policy in this region. Eisenhower ordered Israel to withdraw from the Sinai after the Suez war, but with no satisfactory results. Moreover, when another country behaves unfairly, it is immediately sanctioned. It was the case with Turkey when it colonized Cyprus in 1974, America urgently cut its military aid to the invader.<sup>355</sup>

According to fifty-two British diplomats, U.S. relationship with Israel compromised American interests. They wrote to Tony Blair that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict worsened the relation between the West, the Arabs, and the Islamic world. They added that Bush's intervention is "one sided and illegal"<sup>356</sup>. Moreover, President Johnson, during the Israeli crisis of 1967, did not hesitate to help the Jewish state overtly without taking "advice or consent" of the congress before implementing decisions that jeopardize American interests in the region.<sup>357</sup>

Ball advised America to calculate the negative impact that its relation with Israel may have on its own interests. He argued as follows: <<Our first step in shaping a Middle East policy that will advance and protect our indispensable national interests is to acknowledge that Israel is no longer a weak, beleaguered state menaced by powerful enemies on all sides. Yet we have never seriously tried to adjust our policies to this change in circumstances.....>><sup>358</sup> In analyzing the American relationship with Israel, Ball wondered how could be the future of Israel and Palestine if the American support was different.<sup>359</sup>

The U.S. relationship with Israel is not any other relation, in the sense that both countries are committed to each other.

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<sup>355</sup> Stephen Green, *op.cit.*, p. 253-254.

<sup>356</sup> Susan George, *Hijacking America: How the Religious and Secular Right Changed What Americans Think*, Polity Press Cambridge, USA, 2008, p.77.

<sup>357</sup> Cheryl A. Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interests: A critical Examination*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, and Chicago, 1989, p.128.

<sup>358</sup> Stephen Green, *op.cit.*, p.354.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*

It was noticed that from 1946 to 1963, America had helped Israel with \$27 billion in economic and military aid, meaning that \$ 7.700 for every man, woman, and child living in Israel that is \$38,000 for each family of five. It was also estimated that 70% of all U.S. official support turned around the military assistance. America has granted Israel 17 billion in military aid since 1946 and over 99% has been given since 1965. This support is equivalent to three times the military assistance given to the other 19 Middle East states combined.<sup>360</sup>

Another parameter in this relationship is the cooperation between Israeli and American military intelligence for many years. Yitzhak Hoffi, the current Director of Mossad ( the equivalent of the CIA) joined the U.S. Army Command and General Staff college in the mid-1960's at an early stage of his career. Adding to that, it was revealed by the New York Time magazine in 1978 that Seymour Hersh affirmed that America transmitted "technical information" to the Israeli nuclear weapons program in the mid-1960's.

Another point is that by 1973, the Pentagon and IDF created what is called "data acquisition teams" as part of the work of the Defense Department's Weapons System Evaluation Group (WSEG) whose mission is to study Soviet and U.S. weapon system when used in opposition to each other. The Israeli official who participated in this activity, Brigadier General Uzi Eilam, Chief of research and Development for the IDF. The WSEG's reports carry the following classification stamp: SECRET: NOFORNEXEPT ISRAERL. This words means "Secret: no dissemination to any foreign national except an Israeli with U.S. security clearance."<sup>361</sup>

In 1977, a Defense Department official published an article in the Armed Forces Journal analyzing the U.S. military assistance to Israel into the mid-1980's and the U.S. congress approval on it. Beside, in the period between 1976 and 1986, the number of the medium tanks given to Israel corresponded with the one deployed by America to NATO. The magazine was immediately attacked by the Anti-Defamation League following its publication.<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>360</sup> Ibid.,p.251.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid.,p.251-252.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.,252.

#### **4.2.5 The U.S. Aid to Israel. A Double-Edged Weapon.**

It was considered that the U.S. staggering aid to Israel helps us to grasp the relationship between Israel, the United States, and the intermediate role of AIPAC. Israel's economic status depends squarely on U.S. support. It could collect \$27 billion in economic and military aid from America since its creation until nowadays, among which 14.6 billion never have been backfilled. Regan's administration granted Israel \$4.5 billion. It was noticed that during this year, a postman or a grocery-checkout clerk was paid \$200 a month, and a top photographer working for a foreign news attained \$600 a month.<sup>363</sup>

It is important to note that, Israel's foreign aid in 1970 was about \$2 billion and in 1984 it rose to \$23 billion which one-third of it is owed to America. In 1988, this help attained \$41 billion. However, Israel's exports are more important than its imports. It has also an incredible welfare system for the new immigrants and for education, maternity leave, hospitalization, the handicapped and other social services. As a result, in 1985, Israel announced an economic crisis due to the foreign reserves that it had. About 782 companies fell into despair, and in the period between 1973 and 1983, the Israelis were at the same level of consumption as the Americans.<sup>364</sup>

The Americans can no longer ignore the great amount of money transferred to Israel each year when one fourth of them is living in poverty. Adding to that, the military support that caused atrocities to innocent people as invading Iraq which is not in the American best interests.<sup>365</sup> Israel's addiction to the foreign aid explains clearly its economic disorder. Analysts concluded that Israel used to spend more than it makes and it lives beyond its means.<sup>366</sup>

American aid to Israel is a double-edged weapon; In other words, when America supported Israel financially, obviously it helped it to overcome its weaknesses, but at the same time it helped her to hurt itself.

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<sup>363</sup> Edward Tivnan, op.cit., p.217-218.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> Sam A. Cohen, Future of the Middle East- United- Pan Arab States, Authorhouse Bloomingfield, USA, 2014, p.265

<sup>366</sup> Edward Tivnan, op.cit., p.218-219.



Israel's addiction to the American aid and foreign reserves draws her image of a worthy borrower. However in this context, Dan Meridor a member of the Knesset <sup>367</sup>said that Israel should never been debated declaring as follows::<< What's \$2.6 billion to Israel when compared to the \$500 million we pay to NATO?>><sup>368</sup> Israel's addiction to the American aid appeared also in the words of John Bowdon, an American democrat and U.S. Secretary of Treasury who stated as follows:<< Without billions of dollars in American economic and military aid, Israel simply could not survive. Yet it is only candid to say that support for this level of aid, in the absence of greater willingness by Israeli leadership with their neighbors, is eroding.>><sup>369</sup>

All in all, AIPAC at any price would not give up the American aid. It was its main objective when it came to birth and it remains the same nowadays even if the foreign aid caused serious damages to Israel's economy. The Israel lobby continued to influence America in a direction that may be harmful for Israel and America itself. In the sense that, it continued to oppose arms sale to the Arab states even If a great number of Israelis asked for peace. Similarly, the lobby asked for more aid even if it prevented Israel from relieving its economy.<sup>370</sup>

### **4.2.6 The lobby Spying on the United States.**

Israel's espionage in the United States dates back to the 1950's. In 1954, it spied U.S. diplomats by putting bugging devices in their embassy, in Tel Aviv. Another spying case happened with Shin Bel; Israel internal security used a woman secret agent to seduce U.S. marine Guarding.

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<sup>367</sup> Knesset is the Parliament of Israel composed of 120 representatives. Knesset members(KMs) are chosen in nation-wide election from party lists. The elections are held every four years. It is the only Israeli truly democratic government in the Middle East, with all citizens over the age of 18 having the right to vote. Ronald Eisenberg, 2011, Dictionary of Jewish Terms: A guide to the language of Judaism, Schreiber Publishing , USA, p.224.

<sup>368</sup>Edward Tivnan, op.cit.,p.237.

<sup>369</sup>Paul Findley, They Dare to Speak out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby, Laurence Books, USA, 2003,p.135.

<sup>370</sup>Edward Tivnan, op.cit.,p.239.

Moreover, U.S. military industrial complex was spied by Israel's industrial espionage. Adding to that, Israel had stolen highly enriched uranium which was taken from a U.S. Navy nuclear fuel plan that helped it to build its first nuclear bomb. One would certainly ask the question what would be the reaction of America if it was Iran who had stolen the information?

Several affairs of espionage were discovered by the United States in the period between the 1960's and the 1980's, among which the biggest one in the U.S history, Jonathan Poland affair. It was about a Jewish employee of the United States Naval Intelligence. The secret agent stole ten thousands of classified documents and sold them to Israel. This event harmed deeply the United States security. At the end Mr. Poland was forgiven and rewarded by Israel by giving him citizenship, in 1966.<sup>371</sup>

In 2004, another shocking incident happened with AIPAC. It was a spying scandal that made echo in American politics. The lobby was charged as an intelligence collecting U.S. information for Israel. The indicted persons in the affair, Lawrence Franklin, a minor official at the Pentagon, AIPAC's policy director, Steve Rosen, and Lobby Middle East expert Keith Weissman. The scandal was about Franklin who divulgated information to Keith during a meeting in July 2004 in Arlington that turned around the Iranian purpose to kill Israeli agents spaying in Iraqi Kurdistan.<sup>372</sup>

Franklin was known of working anarchically, he has the habit of taking confidential documents to his home in West Virginia breaking the regulations. The three officials were accused of transmitting secret information to AIPAC from the Pentagon since 1999. However, AIPAC accused Rosen and Weissman in 2005 that this behavior was not part of their job, but Rosen replicated that he did not work on his own and AIPAC knew what Rosen was doing. By January 2006, Franklin was sentenced to eleven and half years in prison.<sup>373</sup>

In the period between 1979 and 1985, another spaying act happened with Ben Hami Kadish, a Jewish citizen and a former U.S. Army mechanical engineer.

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<sup>371</sup> Antonio Carnovale, *The Middle East : Everything That you Always Wanted to Know and No One Would Tell you*, University LLL, Boumington, USA, 2013, p.48.

<sup>372</sup> Stephen Schwartz, *op.cit.*, p.222.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, p.223-225.

The Israeli agent gave secretly information about U.S. National Defense to Israel. In 2008, the agent was forgiven because he was aged even if he confessed that he was an Israeli agent. By the 1990's, Israel's espionage in the United States reached its climax, in the sense that it in every American corner. The Mossad was warned to stop spying on the US, but Israel continued to do so, to the point that in 1998 the FBI qualified it of being a major player in industrial espionage in the United States. For this reason, one would ask the question how could Israel spy America , the country that helped her since its creation until nowadays?<sup>374</sup>

### **4.2.7 The United States Shutting Eyes on the Israel's Nuclear Arsenal**

America still condemning other nations for possessing nuclear arsenal, whereas it found no objection for Israel's detainment of such destructive weapons. The United States attacked Iraq and overthrew Saddam Hussein charging him of hiding weapons of mass destruction. This country was initially accused by the Jewish state because the Iraqi President rewarded Palestinian families for having launched assault against Israel. The result after the war in Iraq was that no (WMD) were found in the Arabic country and young American soldiers lost their lives on the Battlefield.<sup>375</sup>

Similarly, in Syria, the Israel lobby was behind the war because it happened that Syria is a potential supporter of the Palestinian state. Thus, with the collaboration of the U.S. military aid, they launched a bomb on what they considered as the beginning of Syria's nuclear weapon program. Besides, the same thing happened In Iran, Israel also pretended that this country has a nuclear program, so it also influenced the United States to undertake nuclear sanction. During the period of investigation, five Iranian nuclear scientific were found killed mysteriously which raised the doubt that the Mossad was behind such cruel act.<sup>376</sup>

One cannot avoid to conclude that the U.S. foreign policy's inclination is directed by Israel and its lobby. All what has been mentioned above about the nations that America investigated for suspecting to possess (WMD) is ambiguous because when it came to Israel the rule changes.

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<sup>374</sup>Antonio Carnovale,op.cit.,p.51.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.,p.53.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid., p.53-54.

In other words, America shuts eyes overtly on Israel's nuclear arsenal which is estimated about 100 to 200 atomic weapons. Adding to that, the Jewish state was one of the countries which refused to sign the " Nuclear Proliferation Treaty" that was established in 1965. The treaty called for ending the spread of nuclear weapon all over the world.<sup>377</sup>

### **4.2.8 Americans Failing Confidence in America.**

According to Dennis D. Jett in his book "Why American Foreign Policy Fails" that following the recent events that happened in the Middle East in the twenty-first century, the Americans failed confidence in their country, notably after the war in Iraq. Their anxiety aroused from the fact that the U.S. government did not save the national interests because it did not drive affairs with competence and made America insecure. This was illustrated in a survey in the spring of 2007 revealing a deep of anxiety and a crisis of confidence within the American population. The polls showed that a great part of the Americans thinks that the world is becoming a threatening place for them and others said that the American government is hiding the truth about its foreign relations. Thus, the Americans won't no more trust their country. They thought of themselves unsafe at home and humiliated abroad.<sup>378</sup> Besides, many of them thought that Bush's administration drove foreign policy to failure and if a democratic President were elected, things would happen differently. But in reality, the change of presidents in the course of time will not assure the improvement of American interests. A new president won't guarantee the control of the congress.

It was also noticed that several books have been written describing the problem in Washington and ending by giving advice that may lead to a future world as a better place. However, the writer's recommendations are not taken into consideration for the simple reason of the existing of a status quo due to the people who benefit from this inert situation.

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<sup>377</sup> Antonio Carnovale,op.cit.,p.55.

<sup>378</sup>Dennis D. Jett, *Why Americans Foreign Policy Fails: Unsafe at Home and Despised Abroad*, Palgrave Mac Milan, New York, Houndmills, Basingstoke , Hampshire, England, 2008,p.144-145.

These people are capable to do anything to save their own interests as the lobbyists who protest radically every reform that can challenge the way they want the implementation of policies.<sup>379</sup>

Adding to the ideas mentioned above, Denis D. Jett claimed that the lobbies invested a huge amount of money to keep their interests going even if billions of dollars are spent in campaign elections. Moreover, the other major problem which affected American foreign policy is the value of greed that was depicted in Washington and in America in general. It was reported that the salary of an American CEO of an important company was estimated about 42 times the wage of an average worker. Moreover, By 1990, it increased to 107 times and in 2007 it became 364 times. Thus, the salaries of employees and bosses are not balanced. However, in Europe the 20 first well paid corporate executives represent one third of what the CAO have in America. Adding to that university professor and workers are the less well paid in the United States.

The connection of how salaries are unbalanced in America and American foreign policy resides in Washington. In other words, the policy is made in Washington and the government spent tremendous amount of money on elections and foreign policy and not on the people who deserve it. One can conclude that money in the United States is over everything and the lobbyists who provides it are well considered than whoever.<sup>380</sup>

It was also considered that anyone making negative remarks about the lobby was immediately objected and badly viewed. This was the case of Carter's national security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski who published a book in 2007 showing the reasons why the American foreign policy failed the last three years. The politician just gave some recommendations about future foreign policy to avoid what happened with Clinton and Bush and proposed "stricter lobbying laws" he was directly opposed by the lobby.

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<sup>379</sup>Ibid.,p.145.

<sup>380</sup>Ibid.,p.149.

This latter removed this idea, claiming that it was very effective in important issues. Thus, the American politician deduced that it was not democracy but Washington in action and even AIPAC. The Israel lobby works hard to maintain its donors even if it engages in espionage activities.<sup>381</sup>

According to Dennis. D. Jett , Mearshimer and Walt in viewing the lobby as the first suspect of U.S. foreign policy failure were wrong. He focused on the fact that indeed the Bush administration did not play any role in the peace process in the Middle East, but this was not due to the lobby's efforts, it was to satisfy the will of the Christian conservatives.<sup>382</sup>

Denis D. Jett noticed that during Bush presidency, his chief political advisor, Karl Rove used an efficient tactic that assured the president's victory. What Rove did according to David Frum, the speech writer of President Bush that Karl tried to please some political constituencies as those of the Christian conservatives and served them instead of resolving the national interests. Rove made it sure that the polls that guarantee successful elections are the ones where supporters participate and the political campaign which are general viewed of negative results. Moreover, according to an analyst, Adam Nagourney, that the strategy used by Rove still working with every advisor of Republican President. Even after his departure from Washington, his tactic still applied because of its efficiency. In fact, Rove did not create this method; he just used the theory of reaching political goals through policy-making process.<sup>383</sup>

### **4.3 Mearsheimer and Walt's Final Thoughts about the Lobby.**

Chomsky's fifteen theses were subject to serious critics by American intellectual pundits. Mearsheimer and Walt proposed in their book a resolution plan to reconstruct the damages caused by U.S. policy in the Middle East and notably in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The plan turned about developing a new relationship with Israel, insisting on the two-state solution, and weakening the Jewish the lobby.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>381</sup>Ibid.,p.151.

<sup>382</sup>Ibid.,p.152.

<sup>383</sup>Ibid.

<sup>384</sup>Mearsheimer J. John and Stephen Walt, op.cit.,336-337.

### **4.3.1 A Normal Relationship with Israel.**

Among the main solutions that Mearsheimer and Walt proposed in the reconstruction of which had been damaged in the Middle East by the American special linkage to Israel that remains until nowadays is establishing a new relationship with the Jewish state. America should treat this country normally as any other one. Israel is an independent state of about sixty years old which is politically, economically, and socially prosperous. Thanks to the American benefactor. Thus, this treatment should change. In other words, America should stop claiming that its interests are similar to those of Israel, and when Israel acts undesirably, it should be contested by the United States. Adding to that, the economic, political, cultural, and educational exchange with Israel has to continue as with any other country in the world. Besides, the Arm' sell should be balanced, in the sense that America mustn't buy secretly weapons to Israel as it happened in the past. Israel should benefit from the American military aid as any other country. <sup>385</sup>

### **4.3.2 Terminating the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.**

Ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a hard and perpetual task that no American leader could succeed to deal with. However, it was considered by Mearsheimer and Walt in their book "The Israel Lobby and American Foreign Policy" that the difficulty remains in the weak influence that the United States had in this cause.

In past time, America deliberately resolved some situations in the Middle East violently. In 2006, Bush gave the green light to Israel to attack savagely Hezbollah, in Lebanon. The same thing happened with Regan when he supported the Jewish assault on the (PLO). Moreover, attacking Iraq is another disaster that America undertaken, in 2003. Thus, all those decisions did not bring any positive result to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. <sup>386</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> Ibid., p.341.

<sup>386</sup> Ian J. Bikerton, *The Arab Israeli Conflict: A Guide for the Perplexe*, Continuum International Publishing,2012,p.285.

Few American Presidents tried to bring a solution to this issue, but they could not reach their objectives due to the Jewish lobby that strongly worked to destroy their efforts. Carter organized the Geneva conference, the Camp David Summit and asked the help of the Soviet Union, but with no satisfactory results. What must be done nowadays as proposed by the two politicians, Mearsheimer and Walt is to push Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories that she sized from the Arabs in 1967 and let the Palestinians who fled in 1948 to return home.<sup>387</sup>

It is sometimes considered that Israel is not prepared for such step, meaning that Israel stills a vulnerable country which had not the possibility to allow the Palestinians a new state. But in another dimensions, one should not forget that nowadays, it counts among the most powerful military country in the world. Even, nowadays, its military budget exceeds that of Iran and Syria combined. Currently, Israel has also a potential nuclear weapon and it assures its security as it has ever been before. Adding to that, the question of terrorism which continue to pose a serious problem for Israel because of the Islamic group Hezbollah that is supported by Syria may be stopped because this latter promised to end this support if it regain Golan<sup>388</sup>.

Additionally the United States should cut its military support if Israel continued its settlement in the occupied territories or remain a colonial power on its own.<sup>389</sup> If the two parties want to reach a satisfactory result, they will need to resolve the core issue, that is the withdrawal of the Jews from the territories that it occupied in 1967 and it should be an imminent decision. Besides, the Palestinian economy should be supported by the United States to promote.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>387</sup>Mearsheimer J. Stephen Walt, op.cit., p.342.

<sup>388</sup>Golan Heights is an area of 1,800 km<sup>2</sup> on the borders between Israel and Syria. This region felt under the Israeli control after the 1967 war because of the military conflict between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The Golan was a Syrian region before it was seized by Israel. It occupied two- third of it, and detained its most strategic part, Abdulazi Alghashian, Why is the Golan Heights so Important, retrieved at : <https://theconservation.com/qanda-why-is-the-golan-heights-so-important-96440>, May 14, 2018.

<sup>389</sup>Mearsheimer J. Stephen Walt, op.cit., p.343-344.

<sup>390</sup>Itamar Robinovich and Jehuda Reiharz, Israel in the Middle East. Documents and Reading on Society, Politics and Foreign Relation, University Press of New England, Massachusetts, Waltham, Hanover, and London, 2008, p.355.



Another view was given by Michael Brecher in his book “The Dynamic of the Arab Israeli Conflict “is that he recommended that Israel and its neighbors must grasp the idea that there is no solution with violence. They failed in the past and they will do similarly in the future. The resolution would be realized by mutual agreement between the parties. In other words, Syria recover the Golan Heights from Israel and Lebanon its remaining territories in return of a peace pact.<sup>391</sup>

### **4.3.3 Undermining the Lobby’s Power.**

The other important solution proposed by Mearsheimer and Walt to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, weakening the lobby’s power. However, to reach such objective they gave four methods they thought efficient for the two parties. First, they spoke about the financial support. Second, countering the lobby by other organizations over the policy-makers. Third, the media should denounce the lobby’s activities by various arguments, and fourth, the lobby must be constructive and supporting different set of policies.

Firstly, In matter of financial support, there should be a stop to the generous amount of money granted to the lobby; the influence of the lobby on policy-makers cannot be reached only if the campaign donation organized by the lobby are reduced.<sup>392</sup> Secondly, countering the lobby by other interest’s group, that is using other organizations as the Arab Muslim American agencies. However, the latter are viewed as small and vulnerable comparing to the Jewish lobby. It is the case of the oil lobby and other groups as the Council of the National Interests on Americans for Middle East Policy. However, according to both politicians, empowering these groups and establishing a balance of power with the Jewish lobby may solve the Middle East issue.<sup>393</sup>

Thirdly, the media should openly discuss the Arab-Israeli conflict; the Americans have no profound idea about this issue because they do not know the history of the Palestinians and the Jews, and all the crimes caused by the Israelis towards these people.

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<sup>391</sup>Michael Brecher, *Dynamic of the Arab-Israel Conflict: Past and Present: Intellectual Odyssey II*, Palgrave McMillan, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 2017,p.23.

<sup>392</sup>Mearsheimer J. Stephen Walt,op.cit.,p.349.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid.,p.350.

Obviously, both situations are hardly similar, the Palestinian suffered a lot when they were ejected from their land, in 1948. They called the war “alNakma”, the catastrophe, but the Jews called it the war of independence. For this reason, to reform the public opinion, the American scholars and journalists should encourage a more open discourse to undermine the lobby’s efforts and to let the Americans have a true idea about the past that shapes the present.<sup>394</sup>

The media should play another role, to write on the lobby and inform the public about its activities. However, when asked to give more details about the lobby and publish its work to reshape public opinion, a journalist, Michael Massing, responded that it is a lack of media coverage and asked a question as follows:<sup>395</sup> <<Why the black out? For one thing, reporting on these groups is not easy. AIPAC’s power makes potential sources reluctant to discuss the organization on the record, and employees who leave it usually sign pledge of silence. AIPAC’s officials themselves rarely give interview, and the organization resists divulging its board directors.>><sup>396</sup>

Fourthly, a new lobby means a new agenda. The lobby must have a different inclination on U.S. interests. Developing other Jewish groups that already exist as the Israel Policy Forum or American for Peace Now and initiate them to different policies. Making the leaders of the elite organizations as AIPAC and the Zionist Organization of America conscious that the policy undertaken in the past was harmful for Israel, the Israelis, and the United States. Besides, when thinking about the question, we will notice that these lobbies are still defending a powerful state with a flourishing economic, cultural, and social life instead of defending the right of weak people. Thus, the Hard-liners, Christian Zionist should be convinced to abandon their commitment to Israel in order to avoid another disaster that is the collapse of the Middle East.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>394</sup>Ibid.,p.350-351.

<sup>395</sup>USA International Business Publication, op.cit.,p.22.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid.

<sup>397</sup>Mearsheimer J. Stephen Walt,op.cit.,p.353.

### **Conclusion.**

Currently, and following the recent events in the Middle-East, Israel assembled a skeptical critical mass by the world politics opinion, but to reduce this negative view the Jewish state used to victimize under anti-Semitic feeling or the Holocaust. A survey of the public opinion revealed that “the Jews talk too much about the holocaust”, they also talk too much about Anti-Semitism. However, these two issues are no more an alibi for the Jews nowadays. Consequently, Israel was viewed as the biggest threat to world peace as showed by a poll undertaken by the European Union. Moreover, in 2007, in a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), twelve nations qualified Israel of having a negative image. Adding to that, another survey in 2008, (BBC) declared that Israel has a negative impact on world’s affairs next to Iran and Pakistan. In another poll, in 2010. It was noticed that except in the United States where Israel and the lobby are well endorsed, the population of Australia, Canada, France, Germany, and Britain has a bad image of them .<sup>398</sup>

Adding to what has been mentioned above; the treatment of Israel to the Palestinians increased the critical views of world opinion. In 2011, it was showed by a poll that most European thought that the Jewish state is inflicting a war of terror on the Palestinians. This view stemmed from the Invasion of Gaza that led to several European protest movements contending Israel criminal behavior. Moreover, Israel’s attack on the humanitarian aid directed to Gaza in 2000 was denounced by many European countries. Similarly, did Norway’s populations which boycotted the Israeli products. Moreover, Britain responded by its Methodist church to support and engage with the boycott of the Jewish goods coming from illegal settlement.<sup>399</sup>

It is important to note that even many Jewish communities living in the Diaspora criticized Israel and the Jewish organizations advocating the attack of 2008 and 2009. Jews residing in Britain denounced Israel’s treatment to the Palestinians and deplored the loss of lives on both sides. They even asked for immediate Israel military withdrawal.<sup>400</sup>

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<sup>398</sup>Norman G. Finkelstein, *Knowing too much: Why the American Jewish Romance with Israel is Coming to an End*, OK Books, New York, London, 2012, p.20.

<sup>399</sup>*Ibid.*, p.21.

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*, p.22.

In recent years, concerning public opinion in America, the American population support for Israel is weak following many poll assessments. A Gallup in 2010 showed that the Americans are more favorable towards Canada, Britain, Japan than Israel. It was also noticed that the American opinion had incredibly declined recently. Adding to that, a poll of 2009 made by an Israeli project that the number of Americans who were strongly supporters of Israel decreased about 70% to 50 % in just nine months. Another poll in 2011 revealed a significant change in opinion too, following the proposal of President Mahmud Abbas for a Palestinian statehood. However, the American president Barrack Obama, the congress, and both major political parties rejected this idea, contrarily to the American population that welcomed it favorably.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>401</sup>Ibid.,p.23-24

## **General Conclusion**

The Israel lobby is regarded nowadays as the most powerful interest group in the United States. It has been created to support the American Jews and to speak on behalf the Jews all over the world. However, to put into effect its objectives, the lobby acts in two ways. It may be a formal lobbying that is it operates directly as AIPAC does which is a registered domestic organization, or an informal lobbying as the B'nai B'rith and Hadassah which proceed indirectly. Moreover, other aspects of the informal lobbying may appear in the Jewish voters' behavior or American public opinion. Both lobbying aspects work together and form what is called the Jewish lobby which aims to influence American policy in pro-Israel direction.

It is also worth to note that almost the entire Jewish population resides in twelve key electoral states which is significantly sufficient to elect the President. Adding to that, all Gentiles who are pro-Israel benefit from the largest Jewish support in America. Any congressmen who aspires for the American presidency should care about the lobby's wishes, otherwise he will never promote politically.

There are other competing interest groups in America as the Arab lobby, but the balance of influence tips towards the Jewish lobby as it was analyzed in this research work. What made the Jews deeply committed to the lobby is their awareness about the threat of the obliteration of the state of Israel. Thus, the only means to assure Israel's security is to empower the Jewish lobby.

Israel's creation and development is a dilemma that posed a controversial issue to worldwide view. What is more enigmatic is the uncritical American-Israeli relationship in the American government, although the U.S. national interests are sometimes compromised.

## **General Conclusion**

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Moreover, it is important to note that in this plight there is a positive point; the success of the lobby in the Middle East and the failure of the American policy in this region would drive to an opportunity of change. In other words, it is possible to reshape the lobby's influence and discuss seriously about the American interests in the Middle East. Among these interests, Israel wellbeing but not its presence in the occupied territories.

American concern in the Middle East started as national self-interests. By the years 1948-1963, the successive U.S. Presidents as Kennedy, Eisenhower and Truman, assured Israel' security as they exactly did with the other Arab countries, Jordan and Lebanon. However, this attitude didn't last for a long period of time. The treatment of the Jewish state changed radically with the Johnson administration, that is from 1964 to 1967. This latter helped Israel military providing it secretly with arm' sale making America its largest arsenal' supplier. Moreover, Johnson saw no inconvenient to the war with Egypt granting Israel with the necessary aid to attack or invade any other country without carrying about the consequences.

The astronomic diplomatic and material aid that America provided for Israel to assure its security is the main reason that empowered it in the Middle East. Moreover, the major element that supported this help is the strong influence exerted by the Jewish lobby on the American government.

The lobby's success is unbelievable, in the sense that AIPAC which remains the most influential Jewish lobbying organization in the United States could pressure the American legislation and obtain 3 billion in monetary aid annually. However, to reach its objectives, the lobby was helped by some factors as the executive branch, the party affiliation, and the presidential popularity.

## **General Conclusion**

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Before Israel existed as a state, it existed as a political body in the capitals of Europe and in Washington. The United States' attention to the Middle East started after WWII. It was motivated by oil and anti-communism. After Israel's creation in 1948, America tried to avoid backing one party against another that is Israel against Palestine. However, with the course of time, this situation changed with the different events as the six days war, the sale of Soviet weapons to the Arab countries, and the lobby's pressure on the American government. As a result, multiple circumstances explain the current Israeli-American relationship.

In the four major issues in the Middle East that is, Iran quest for nuclear weapons, American settlement in Iraq, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and Hezbollah and Israel clashes, America justified its behavior. It claimed that the situation in these counties was threatening the national and international security as for the case of Iran which sponsored terrorism and aspired for the detainment of WMD to control its neighboring countries. Additionally, in 2007, following a general assessment of the Pew Global Project, the American and the Israeli population were questioned about this issue, Iran was accused of representing a real threat to both countries.

Few contemporaries intellectual elites as Chomsky defended the Israel lobby. He issued a fifteen thesis analysis supporting the success of the Jewish lobbying organizations, but they were considered as erroneous because he stated that the lobby has no special influence or place in U.S. Politics.

As the lobby was advocated by some figures, it was also radically opposed by others. The lobby started to be opposed early in the nineteenth century and this opposition developed in the twentieth century mainly by some American senators who were deprived from advancing in their political career.

Other politicians in the twentieth century showed openly their opposition to the Jewish lobby and American relationship with Israel as did George W. Ball, the former

Undersecretary of state from 1961 to 1966 and United States Representative to the UN in 1968. Ball denounced overtly the U.S. commitment to the Jewish state. He questioned the fact that America saw no inconvenience to the aggressive behavior of Israel in the Middle East and its continuous encouragement by adding more military and financial aid. He also wondered the fact that if ever another country dares to behave in such a way, he will surely immediately be punished.

It is also worth to note that the American financial and military support to Israel is a double-edged weapon. In other words, a great part of the American population is poor, so the Americans could not admit that their government is helping another state when one fourth of them were living in poverty. Adding to that, the loss of the American young soldiers is another consequence of the negative outcome of the U.S. help to Israel.

The other surprising fact, Israel spying behavior in the United States and the American government turning blind eyes to it. Several cases of espionage were detected by America as when Israel had stolen highly enriched Uranium that it took from U.S. Navy nuclear fuel plan to build its first nuclear bomb. However, when America punished other nations for suspecting them to possess nuclear arsenal, it shut eyes on Israel. Moreover, what is more shocking is the war which was declared in Iraq for motives that were not justified. As a result, it was the devastation of this Arab country and the killing of young American soldiers.

American tolerance to Israel's illegitimate acts is rarely questioned because the Jewish lobby works hard to keep the media in pro-Israel direction that is giving strategic and moral arguments to the Jewish state's behavior. It was clearly seen that when few American presidents tried to engage in the peace process in the Middle East, Israel showed its radical opposition to it. It was the case of President Jimmy Carter who wrote a book where he declared that the Jewish policies in the occupied territories resembles to South Africa's Apartheid regime. This declaration aroused the anger of the lobby which viewed the president as anti-Semite and a "Jewish hater"



When Iraq was invaded, a great number of Americans showed their dissatisfaction and lack of confidence in their government. In a national poll taken in October, 2006, 39% of the American population believed that the Jewish lobby is the principle factor that drove the war in this country. They even believed that the special relationship of the United States with Israel is another major reason of anti-Americanism in the world which made the Americans unsafe and humiliated abroad.

It was also considered by Professors Mearsheimer and Walt in their book "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy" that the difficulty to speak about the lobby resides in its domination to the public discourse. In other words, as America is a land of freedom of expression, it gave the lobby the opportunity to speak on Israel issues overtly and its influence has developed over time. The lobby can contest anyone who dares to oppose it or complains that its activities are against the American national interests.

Questioning the lobby's influence is questioning Israel existence. Moreover, debating the Jewish issues dates back to two centuries before, when the Jews endured misery and persecution in Europe. The multiple riots against them in Russia as the Pogroms, their extermination during the Crusades, their oppression by the Spanish inquisition and the Holocaust which exterminated six millions of Europe's Jews gave the lobby the right of influence even if this influence transgresses the moral laws.

James Petras, in his book, "The Power of Israel in the United States" stated that Alexis De Tocqueville, an American analyst showed his anxiety about the challenge to democracy when "tyranny of the majority" deprives the minority from its rights. He added that the real threat to democracy in American foreign policy is not the unruly majority of the electorate, but the majority of the financial supporters for the Democratic Party and the minority fundraisers of the Republican Party.

Other political figures who seriously criticized American foreign policy and U.S. relationship with Israel, Mearsheimer and Walt. Both proposed some solutions to remedy the situation in the Middle East. They suggest to create a new relationship with Israel, in the sense that to treat this country as any other one.

## **General Conclusion**

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Israel is no more an infant state, it has sixty years old and it had promoted economically and military, thanks to the American benefactor. Besides, the Jewish state should be punished when it behaves unfairly. They also added that the Arab-Israeli conflict which is a very difficult issue that no American leader could resolve until nowadays should be ended.

Mearsheimer and Walt proposed another strategic solution, undermining the Jewish Lobby's power. However, this solution needs four methods to be realized. Reducing the lobby's financial resources, giving the opportunity to other non Jewish lobbying organizations to have access to the policy-makers, using the media as a means to inform the public about the lobby's activities and finally, the lobby should advocate different sets of policies.

Israel's history was marked by the unyielding aid it received from the United States but no one can find a compelling strategic or moral rationale that justifies this aid. Adding to that, this situation is at odd with the depiction of America as the leader of democracy when its military support caused disaster in the Middle East and compromised its national and foreign interests. Consequently, what has to be done is to have a candid discussion about the influential activities of the lobby and a more open debate about U.S. interests in this vital region in order to achieve a definite resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Appendix 1

**Peter Stuyvesant, Manhattan  
to the Amsterdam Chamber of the Directors,  
September 22, 1654**

The Jews who have arrived would nearly all like to remain here, but learning that they (with their customary usury and deceitful trading with the Christians) were very repugnant to the inferior magistrates, as also to the people having the most affection for you; the Deaconry [which takes care of the poor] also fearing that owing to their present indigence [due to the fact that they had been for captured and robbed by privateers or pirates] they might become a charge in the coming winter, we have, for the benefit of this weak and newly developing place and the land in general, deemed it useful to require them in a friendly way to depart; praying also most seriously in this connection, for ourselves as also for the general community of your worships, that the deceitful race-such hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ be not allowed further to infect and trouble this new colony, to the detraction of your worships and the dissatisfaction of your worships" most affectionate subjects.<sup>402</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> Jacob Rader Marcus, op.cit.p.29-30

Appendix2.

## **The West India Company to Peter Stuyvesant, April 26,1655.**

Honorable, Prudent, Pious, Dear, Faithful [Stuyvesant].....

We would have liked to effectuate and fulfill your wishes and request that the new territories should no more be allowed to be infected by people of the Jewish nation, for we foresee therefrom the same difficulties which you fear. But after having further weighed and considered the matter, we observe that this would be somewhat unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by this nation [the Jewish community], with others, in the [Portuguese re-]taking of Brazil, as in the shares of this company. Therefore after many deliberations we have finally decided and resolved to apostle [to note in the margin] upon a certain petition presented by said Portuguese Jew [January 1655] that these people may travel and trade to and in New Netherland and live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or to the community [in the future poor Jews would not be supported by the Manhattan churches], but be supported by their own nation. You will now govern yourself accordingly.

[The Director of the W [est]. I[ndia]. Co. Department of Amsterdam.]<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>403</sup>Ibid., p. 32-33.

Appendix3:

### **The British Naturalization Act,1740.**

An act for naturalizing such foreign Protestant, and others therein mentioned, as are settled, in any of His Majesty's colonies in America (Anno 13 Geo. 2 Cap. 7).

Whereas the increase of people is a means of advancing the wealth and strength of any nation or country;

And whereas many foreigners and strangers, from the lenity of our government, the purity of our religion, the benefit of our laws, the advantages of our trade, and the security of our property, might be induced to come and settle in some of His Majesty's colonies in America, if they were made partakers of the advantages and privileges which the natural born subjects of this realm do enjoy;

Be it therefore enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty, all persons born out of the allegiance of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, who have inhabited and resided, or shall inhabit or reside for the space of seven years or more, in any of Majesty's colonies in America, and shall not have been absent out of some of the said colonies for a longer space than two months at any one time during the said seven years, and shall take and subscribe the oaths...shall be deemed, adjudged, and taken to be His Majesty's natural born subjects of this kingdom, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as if they and every of them had been or were born within this kingdom...

III. And whereas the following words are contained in the following in the latter part of the oath of abjuration, videlicet, "upon the true faith of a Christian"; And Whereas the people professing the Jewish religion may thereby be prevented from receiving the benefit of this act.<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> Ibid., p.37-38.

Appendix 4

**The Unanimous Declaration of the thirteen  
United States of America, in Congress, July 4,  
1776**

When in the course of the human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights that among these are life, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments is instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing in powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>405</sup>Ibid.,p.94-95

Appendix 5.

### **The Maryland “Jew Bill” of 1826.**

The only instance in which state legislator engaged in a formal and detailed debate on the merit of extending full civil capacities to Jews took place in Maryland in 1818-1825. The final version of the bill that was adopted by the Maryland General Assembly on January 5, 1826, focused specifically on “people professing the Jewish religion”, in contrast with an earlier version of the bill, which had proposed to grant all “civil rights and religious privileges” to all of the state’s citizens. Legislators wary of granting equality to Muslims, atheists, and other “infidels” blocked the universal version and ultimately adopted the bill that referred to the Jews alone. The bill also replaced the previous, explicitly Christian oath of office which one affirming “belief in a future state of rewards and punishments,” a formula with which Jews would be comfortable.

To extend to the sect of people professing the Jewish Religion the same rights and privileges that are enjoyed by Christians.

Section 1: Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, that every citizen of this state professing the Jewish Religion, and who shall hereafter be appointed to any office or public trust under the State of Maryland, shall in addition to the oaths required to be taken by the constitution and laws of the United States, make and subscribe to a declaration of his belief in a future state rewards and punishments instead of the declaration now required by the constitution and form of government of this state.

Section 2: Be it enacted, that the several clauses and section of the declaration of rights, constitution and form of government, and every part of any law of this state contrary to the provisions of this act, so far as respects the sect of people aforesaid, shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be repealed and annulled on the confirmation hereof.

Section 3: [summarizes the procedure by which one must undertake to amend the state constitution]<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>406</sup>Rafael Medoff, op.cit., p.321.



Appendix 6.

**Grants' Expulsion Order.**

General Order,

No. 11

The Jews as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department, and also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order.

Post commanders will see that all of this class of people be furnished passes and required to leave, and anyone returning after such notification will be arrested and held in confinement until an opportunity occurs of sending them out as prisoners, unless furnished with permit from headquarters.

No passes will be given these people to visit headquarters for the purpose of making personal applications for trade permits.

By order of Maj.-Gen; US; Grant

Jno A. Rawlins,

Assistant Adjutant- General<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> Ibid.,p.320-321.

**Resolution of the American Jewish Congress,**

**Philadelphia, December 15-18, 1918.**

Convening of American Jewish Congress; opened with prayer by Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, of Philadelphia; Col. Harry Cutler, chairman of administrative Committee, calls Congress to order; Nathan Sraus, chairman of Executive Committee, welcomes delegates, and outlines aims of Congress. Judge Julian W. Mack elected president of Congress by acclamation. Twelve vice-president elected: Louis Marshall, N.Y.C.[ et al]....

Resolution adopted(1) Extending greetings to the Jewish soldiers and sailors of the United States and their co-belligerents and expressing gratitude and pride for their valor, and honor and respect for those who fell;(2) Expressing appreciation of the British [Balfour] declaration and its approval by the Governments of France, Italy Greece, Serbia, and Holland, and pledging the co-operation of the Jews of America toward the realization of the aim of the declaration; (3) Expressing joy in the great victory of the forces of the United States and the Entente Countries, and congratulating the president of the United States on his exalted leadership during the course of the war;(4) Demanding that the future of the Jews of Romania be surrounded with such protective measures and adequate guarantees as will secure their rights; that all direct and implied anti-Jewish restrictions in Romania be removed; that the Jews in Romania be granted the fullest political, civil, religious, and national rights, and that the laws of naturalization be in theory and in fact the same for the Jews as for the other inhabitants of Romania;(5) to elect a delegation to leave for Europe, where, in co-operation with representatives of the Jews of other lands, it shall use its best endeavors to realize the objects of the congress; that the delegation shall render a report to the Congress after its labors are completed; that president of the Congress summon the Congress to receive report of delegation not later than one year after the Treaty of Peace shall have been signed, and to transact such

other business as many come before it; that in the event the delegation requires further instruction, or new conditions arise, it may direct the present of the Congress to summon a special session of the Congress; (6) Instructing delegation to Europe to co-operate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, and specifically with the world Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference may recognize the aspirations of the historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine, and declare that, in accordance with the British Government's [Balfour] declaration, there shall be established such political administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such League of Nations as many be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish commonwealth;(7) Calling upon the American Union of Romania Jews and upon the Federation of Rumanian Jews of America to refrain from sending any commission for the purpose of working independently on behalf of the Romanian Jews, but to work in that respect through the executive agencies of the Congress;(8) Suggesting that Peace Conference "insert in the Treaty of Peace as conditions precedent to the creation of the new or enlarged states, which it is proposed to call into being," clauses expressly providing that:

(a) all inhabitants of the territories of such states, including war refugees who shall return to them, "shall for all purposes be citizens thereof";

(b)for a period of ten years from the adoption of this provision no law shall be enacted restricting any former inhabitants of a state from taking up his residence in that state and thereby acquiring citizenship therein;

(c) all citizens, without distinction as to race, nationality, or creed, shall enjoy equal, civil, political, religious, and national rights and no laws shall be enacted or enforced which shall abridge such rights on account of race, nationality, or religion, or deny to any person the equal protection of the laws;

(d) the principle of minority representation shall be provided for by law;

(e) the members of the various national as well as religious bodies of the state shall be accorded autonomous management of their own communal institutions, religious, educational, charitable, or otherwise;

(f) no law shall be enacted restricting the use of any language and all existing laws declaring such prohibition are repealed, nor shall any language test be established;

(g) those who observe any other than the first day of the week as their Sabbath shall not be prohibited from pursuing their secular affairs on any day other than that which they observe; nor shall they be required to perform any acts on their Sabbath or holy days which they shall regard as a desecration thereof;(9)...Delegates instructed to demand citizenship and religious liberty for the Jews in Russia, Romania, Poland, and the Balkans.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> Jacob Rader Marcus, op.cit.,p.337-339.

Appendix 8

## **The Johnson Immigration Act of 1921.**

The flow of immigration to the United States is now in full flood. The need for restrictive legislation is apparent. The accommodations at Ellis Island are not sufficient for the avalanche of new arrivals; larger cities have not houses for them; work cannot be found for them; and, further, the bulk of the newer arrivals are of the dependent rather than the working class....

Members of your committee, as a result of personal investigation at Ellis Island... found the new immigration at Ellis Island to consist practically of all nationalities except Orientals. It found by far the largest percentage of immigrants to be people of Jewish extraction. On the steamship New Amsterdam, sailing from Rotterdam, the committee found that 80 percent of the steerage passengers were from Galicia, practically all of Jewish extraction. On the New Rochelle, arrivals come without funds. It was apparent to the committee that a large percentage of those arriving were incapable of earning a livelihood. These are temporarily detained, causing great congestion, much delay, and pitiful distress, until relatives or others arrive to give bonds that the newcomers will not become public charges....[T]he largest number of Jews coming to the United States before the war in a single year was estimated that of the 74,665 immigrants arriving at Ellis Island, more 75 percent were of the Semitic race.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> Rafael Medoff, *op.cit.*,p.323-324.

**Declaration of the Establishment**  
**of the State of Israel, May 14, 1948.**

The Land of Israel was the birth place of the Jewish people, here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from the Land of Israel the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and restoration of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood. In recent decades they returned by the hundreds of thousands. They reclaimed the wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages, and established a vigorous and ever-growing community, with its own economic and cultural life. They sought peace yet were prepared to defend themselves. They brought the blessings of progress to all inhabitants of the country and looked forward to sovereign independence.

In the year 1897 the first Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl' s vision of the Jewish state, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national revival in their own country.

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and reaffirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to constitute their National Home.

This recent holocaust, which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe, proved anew the need to solve the problem of homelessness and lack of independence of the Jewish people by means of the reestablishment of the Jewish State, which would

open the gates of all Jews and endow the Jewish people with equality of status among the family of nations.

The survivors of the disastrous slaughter in Europe, and also Jews from other lands, have not desisted from their efforts to reach Eretz-Yisrael, in face of difficulties, obstacles and perils; and have not ceased to urge their right to a life of dignity, freedom and honest toil in their ancestral land.

In the Second World War the Jewish people in Palestine made their full contribution to the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and their war effort gained them the right to rank with nations which founded the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Resolution requiring the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine. The General Assembly called upon the inhabitants of the country to take all the necessary steps on their part to put the plan into effect. This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent State is unassailable. It is the natural right of the Jewish people to lead, as do all other nations, an independent existence in its sovereign State.

Accordingly we, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the World Zionist Movement, are met together in solemn assembly today, the day of termination of the British Mandate for Palestine; and by virtue of the natural and historic right of the Jewish people and of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

We hereby proclaim the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, to be called Medinath Yisrael (The State of Israel).

We hereby declare that, as from the termination of the Mandate at midnight, the 14th-15th May, 1948 and pending the setting up of the duly elected bodies of the State in accordance with a constitution, to be drawn up by the constituent Assembly not later than the 1st October, 1948, the National Council shall act as the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, which shall be known as Israel.

The state of Israel will be open to the immigrants of Jews from all countries of their dispersion, will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its

habitants; will be based on the principles of liberty, justice and peace as conceived by the prophets of Israel; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens without distinction of religion, race or sex, will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, education, and culture, will safeguard the Holy places of all religions, and will loyally uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The State of Israel will be ready to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementation of the Resolution of the Assembly of November 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic Union over the whole of Palestine.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building of its States and to admit Israel into the family of nations.

In the midst of wanton aggression, we yet call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve the ways of peace and play their parts in the development of the State, on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions – provisional and permanent.

We extend our land in peace and neighborliness to all the neighboring states and their people, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all. The State of Israel is prepared to make its contribution to the progress of the middle East as a whole.

Our call goes out to the Jewish people all over the world to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development and to stand by us in the great struggle for the fulfillment of the dream of generation for the redemption of Israel.

With trust in Almighty God, we set our hand to this Declaration, at this session of the Provisional State Council, on the soil of the Homeland, in the city of Tel Aviv, on this Sabbath eve, the fifth of Iyar, 5708, the fourteenth day of May, 1948. David Ben-Gurion, Daniel Uster, Mordecai Brentov, Yitzchak Ben-Zvi, Eliyahu Berlin, et al., et al.<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>410</sup> Jacob Rader Marcus, op.cit.,p.486-488.



Appendix 10

## Memorandum for the President

Subject: Proposed Representation to Provisional Government of Israel Regarding Maintenance of Peace in Palestine.

Information of a wide number of sources causes the department increasing concern over the apparent tendency of the Provincial Government of Israel to assume a more aggressive attitude in Palestine.

Following the termination of the British mandate on May 15 and the Establishment of a Jewish State, the Israel authorities were quick to respond to United Nation efforts to stop the fighting in Palestine. After the termination of this four- week truce on July 9, hostilities were resumed and it soon became apparent that Israel had materially improved its military position during the period of the earlier truce. Nevertheless, both the Government of Israel and the Arab States agreed to accept the Security Council's order of July 15 for a cease-fire and truce of indefinite duration in Palestine. The demilitarization of Jerusalem was included in the Security Council's resolution and was accepted by the Government of Israel and the Arab State in principle. In recent weeks, however, a new and aggressive note had become manifest, and the readiness of Israel to maintain the truce has become subject to doubt.

The department has noted evidence of hostility of Israel in Palestine towards the military observers serving under Count Bernadotte; the Inflammatory speeches of the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mr. Shertok, with regard to alleged "rights" of Israel in Jerusalem; the military occupation by Israel of much of Jerusalem area; and the refusal of the Israeli military governor to cooperate with Count Bernadotte in discussion regarding the demilitarization of Jerusalem.

The department has likewise noted increasing evidence of systematic violation of the United Nations truce by the forces of Israel, including forwards movement of Israeli forces from agreed truce position continued sniping and firing against Arab position; and conclusive evidence of the organized transport of arms shipments to Palestine from France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, the Israeli Foreign Minister has officially proclaimed that Israel will not accept pending negotiation of a final peace settlement, the return of approximately 300 000 Arab Inhabitants of the part of Palestine now comprising the Jewish State who fled from their homes and are now destitute in nearby Arab areas.

The Foreign Minister of Great Britain, in a conversation with our Ambassador on August 6, expressed grave concern over the situation in Palestine. He was fearful not only that the URSS would take advantage of this situation to foment trouble in Iraq and Iran but also that within “ the next few days” the Jews, on grounds of some Arab provocation, real or manufactured would reopen their offensive with the objective of seizing more territory--- probably Transjordan. Mr. Bevin thought that the Palestinian situation was as serious as Berlin. “If the United States and the United Kingdom go slack (in Palestine), we lose.”

The department, in light of these development, feels that it would be wise to call in Mr. Eliahu Epstein, the Representative of the Provisional Government of Israel, and discuss frankly our concern with him. We would tell Mr. Epstein that, as he undoubtedly knows, the United States is the best friend of Israel. We have recognized that States and desire to see it continue in existence and proper as a peaceful member of the community of nations. We have now before us the question of de jure recognition of the provisional Government of Israel, support for Israel's membership in the United Nations and the application of Israel for a loan from the Export-Import Bank.

We should like to see all these matters arranged in a manner satisfactory to both governments but we should find it exceedingly difficult, for example to advocate a loan to Israel if that country is likely to resume hostilities. Similar difficulties would arise concerning membership in the United Nations.

As a friend of Israel we deem it paramount importance that this new republic not places itself before the bar of world opinion and the United Nation in the role of an aggressor. We should like to tell Mr. Epstein for the information of his government that we shall be not less zealous in the Security Council to oppose aggression from the Israeli side as we were when the attacks was launched by the Arab side.

From the wider political aspect and not for the information of Mr. Epstein, it is obvious that it would be most injurious to the interests of the United States if hostilities should be opened by Israel against Transjordan with the result that the United Kingdom would automatically honor its commitment to Transjordan under its existing treaty with that country. This would bring forth an outcry in the United States for the lifting of our arms embargo in favor of Israel, with the result that the two great Anglo-Saxon partners would be supplying and aiding two little states on the opposite side of a serious war, from which only the Soviet Union could profit.

With your concurrence the Under Secretary of State proposed immediately to discuss these matters with Mr. Epstein.<sup>411</sup>

G.C.MARSHALL

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<sup>411</sup> Stephen Green, op.cit.,p.283-284.

Appendix 11

**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**

**WASHINGTON 25, D.C.**

**12 April 1948**

**MEMORANDUM FOR :THE PRESIDENT**

**THE SECRETARY OF STAT**

**THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

**Subject: Clandestine air transport operations in Europe**

Incidents involving the clandestine transport of munitions by aircraft into foreign areas of extreme political sensitivity, such as Northern Italy and Palestine are increasing. U.S. owned-aircraft and U.S. crews are directly participating in these activities. It appears that no effective U.S. control are exercised outside of the US in restraint of such operations.

Example of clandestine operations include the following: (a) C-46 transport airline, owned by a non-scheduled U.S. airline, was cleared by the State Department for a flight to Italy where it was allegedly to be converted to civilian passenger use. This aircraft landed on 11 March at Geneva where its contents were observed to include small arms. The aircraft departed the same day for Rome, but was finally reported to have been located, completely empty and apparently abandoned by the crew, at an airfield near Perugia, Italy; (b) an American-owned C-54 four-engine transport aircraft landed on 31 March at the Prague airport. The plan was immediately surrounded by secret police and subsequently loaded with a number of very heavy crates.

The aircraft took off without obtaining the required clearance, and protest by Czech airport officials were overruled by the senior secret police officer who stated that the

flight was a government operation. The plane returned the next day to Prague where the American crew, after attempting to evade interrogation, finally admitted that they had flown a cargo of “ surgical instruments and hand tool” to a small village in Palestine. They further asserted that the owner of the aircraft had been unaware of the operation; (C) the Czechoslovak airline (CSA) requested OMGUS early in March for clearance to operate two flights weekly for a total of six weeks into Italy via Munich and Innsbruck for the purpose of hauling “cut timber”. The aircraft were to land at an airfield situated in the coast between Genoa and the French border. (No Italian customs officials are stationed at this airfield and the location is such that trans-shipment of air cargo to ocean shipping could be affected.) Although none of these flights appears to have taken place with the above itinerary, there is reason to believe that several operations into Northern Italy have been completed covertly. (For further information on the above examples, see attachment.)

It is apparent that further irresponsible activities of privately-owned U.S. aircraft and U.S. unscheduled airlines (operating on charter basis only) can have the following unfavorable effects on U.S. national security: (a) increase in the potential of Italian communists, particularly in Northern Italy; (b) Embarrassment to the U.S. through smuggling of arms to either sides in the current Palestine hostilities; (c) objections by friendly governments; and (d) furtherance of the objectives of unfriendly nations in activities over which the U.S. has no control.<sup>412</sup>

R.H.HILLENKOETTER

Rear Admiral, USN

Director of Central Intelligence

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<sup>412</sup> Ibid.,p.294-295.

### Appendix 12

#### Attachment

Example(a): The C-46 transport aircraft reported to have landed in Italy after departing from Geneva on 11 March with a cargo of small arms was located at Castiglione de largo on the, same day. At this airfield the pilot turned over the aircraft to an Italian company, Societa Aeronautica Italiana, for conversion and use as a passenger plane. Although the aircraft and crew were examined by Italian customs officials dispatched to the field in advance by the Italian Director of the Civil Aviation, the nature of the cargo, which was presumably removed at this time, has not been reported. The pilot has stated that upon his arrival at destination, Italian officials assured him that the required notification would be given to the proper air authorities. American officials, however, were not officially informed of the plane's arrival. Flight clearance and all documents of the aircraft were found to be in order. USMAA, Rome, reports all the crew members were apparently Jewish and suspects that the flight may have some connection with the Jewish underground movement although he points out that it is also possible that the crew simply engage in the sale of contraband as a sideline to their legitimate business. Although A-2 cabled a request for full information concerning the cargo, the MAA gives no indication in his reply that he interrogated the pilot on this matter.

The C-46 is owned by an American non-scheduled carrier, Service Airlines, Inc,(owned by a group of US veterans, Martin Bellefond, President, and William Burr,Jt., Vice President, formerly a New York State operator) and is the first of a number of C-46's for which this company is obtaining flight clearance through the department of State for delivery for the Italian Aviation company mentioned above. The F.B.I became suspicious of the activities of Service Airline last January during the course of an investigation of the export of explosives by boat from the port of Newark New Jersey.

Some of the personalities involved in this illicit export operation appear to be involved in financing the transport of arms and ammunition to Europe. The principle figure under investigation is a man named Wiseman, whose activities have been followed and whose name appears on numerous checks for very large sums of money. (He is reported to have at his disposal a fund of some 21/2 million dollars). Service Airlines was engaged by a group of individuals, including Wiseman, who met one night in January in the office of Pratt Steamship Company in New York. Service Airlines, which is based on Burbank California, agreed to arrange with the Lockheed Corp. for the purchase and reconditioning of three constellations. It has also acquired a total of twelve C-46's. Meanwhile, a subsidiary company was established in Panama under the name of aere as de Panama and a number of C-46's and one of the constellation have been flown to Panama where they are now registered as Panamanian aircraft. The US Civil Aeronautic Authority was duly notified and these air transports have been dropped from the list of US aircraft and have now acquired foreign status. The US government automatically grants permit transits to aircraft registered in foreign countries with which it has reciprocal air agreements. Service Airlines, thus, has been able to obtain such transit permits calling for specified in the US en route to South America, points in the Caribbean, or Europe. The cargo manifests or bills of lading for such aircraft are usually cleared without question, nor is the actual cargo examined even in cases where an export license acquired. Service Airlines appears to have complied with all existing requirements and, in spite of abundant indications of illegal operations, the present evidence available appears to be insufficient to warrant prosecution for illegal activities. The F.B.I. investigation is continuing, however. The Italian government has apparently cooperated closely with Service Airlines, but the behavior of minor Italian officials in failing to report the C-46 incident to American authorities in Italy may indicate that the cargo of arms was unloaded and disposed of with their knowledge and perhaps collusion. (Active cooperation may be expected between left wing Italians and members of the Jewish underground inasmuch as the USSR is still sponsoring the partition of Palestine.)

Example(b): On 31 March, an American C-54 transport plane arrived in Prague. It was immediately surrounded and isolated by Czech security police and two large trucks drove up from 35 heavy cases were loaded onto the craft. The plane took off immediately without making the necessary clearance with airport officials. Their protests, however, were overruled by the Chief Security Police who stated that this was a government operation. The aircraft returned the following day and representatives of the US embassy and the Military Attache interrogated the pilot and the crew. In a sworn statement, Seymour Lerner admitted being in charge of the flight and revealed that the plane is owned by Ralph Cox of New York who operates a charter airplane service under the name of Ocean Trade Airways. The plane was chartered in Paris by Lerner to a British subject named Cooper, without the knowledge, but under the general authority given by Cox to Lerner to carry freight from Prague to various destinations. At Prague, the plane loaded 14,000 pounds, stated on the manifest to be "hand tool and surgical instrument" and took off for a non-stop flight to Beit Darras, Palestine. After unloading the cargo at its destination, the plane returned to Prague. US Ambassador Steinhardt believes that the facts sworn to above are substantially correct, but that the cases probably contained small arms and/or ammunition. ( Beit Darras is an Arab village not far from Palestine, due to the fluid situation existing in the area, it is not known whether the cargo was delivered to Arab or Jewish agents.)

Investigation of this irregular airline in the US has developed the following information: Ocean Trade Airways operates out of an airfield at Laurinburg Maxton, North Carolina, about twenty-five miles from Pope Field. (USAF base). Mr. Cox and all the operating personnel are employed by American Airlines on a part time-basis. When operating for Ocean Trade Airways, crews wear American Airlines uniforms with the company insignia removed. The airline apparently has a heavy schedule of commitments and is flying DC-3's as well as the C-54's on mission both to South America and Europe.



Example (c): No firm information has been received concerning the operation of Czech Airlines( CSA) in a series of special flight to Villanova d' Albegna near the Italian coast between Genoa and the French border.( Villanova d' Albegna has a recently established air service to Trieste, via Milan and Venice. Scheduled flights are operated three times weekly.) USAFE reported, however, that on 2 April a Czechoslovak aircraft with indication letters OAJ overflew Munich, apparently on route to Nice, France. No clearance over the US zone was sought or granted.<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Ibid.,p295-297.

### **The Jackson Amendment of 1973.**

#### Amendment on East-West Trade and freedom of emigration

(a) To assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights, and notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, after October 15, 1972, no nonmarket economy country shall be eligible to receive most favored-nation treatment or to participate in any program of the government of the United States which extends credits or credit guarantees or investment guarantees, directly or indirectly, during the period beginning with the date on which the president of the United States determines that such country\_

(1) denies its citizens or opportunity to emigrate; or

(2) imposes more than a nominal tax on emigration or on the visas or other documents required for emigration, for any purpose or cause whatsoever; or

(3) imposes more than a nominal tax, Levy, fine, fee, or other charge on any citizen as a consequence of the desire of such citizen to emigrate to the country of his choice, and ending on the date on which the president determines that such country is no longer in violation of paragraph (1), (2), or (3).

(b) After October 15, 1972, a nonmarket economy country may participate in a program of the government of the United States which extends credits or credit Guarantees or investment guarantees, and shall be eligible to receive most-favored nation treatment, only after the president of the United States has submitted to the Congress a report indicating that such country is not in violation of paragraph (1),

(2), or (3) of subsection (a).

Such report with respect to such country, shall include information as to the nature and implementation of emigration laws and policies and restrictions or discrimination applied to or against persons wishing to emigrate. The report required by this subsection shall be submitted initially as provided herein and semi-annually thereafter so long as any agreement entered into pursuant to the exercise of such authority is in effect.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>414</sup>Rafael Meddof, *op.cit.*, 326-327.

### Appendix 14

Among the fifteen erroneous thesis that Noam Chomsky wrote, James Petras reported eight thesis in his book “The Power of Israel in the United States” as follows:

### **Noam Chomsky’s erroneous thesis**

- 1)The pro-Israel Lobby is just like any other lobby; it has no special influence or place in US politics.
- 2) The power of the groups backing the Israel Lobby are no more powerful than other influential groups.
- 3) The Lobby’s agenda succeeded because it coincides with the interests of the dominant powers and interests of US state.
- 4) The lobby’s weakness is demonstrated by the fact that Israel is ‘merely a tool’ of US empire- building to be used when needed and otherwise marginalized.
- 5) The major forces shaping US Middle East policy are “big oil” and the “military-industrial complex”, neither of which is connected to the pro-Israel lobby.
- 6) The interests of the US generally coincide with the interests of Israel.
- 7)The Iraq war, the threats to Syria and Iran, are primarily a product of “oil interests” and the “military-industrial complex”, and not due to the role of the pro-Israel Lobby or its collaborators in the Pentagon and other government agencies.
- 8) The US behavior in the Middle East is similar to policies that it had pursued elsewhere in the world, and this policy preceded the lobby.<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> James Petras, op.cit.,p.169

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