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The Influence of Arab American Interest Groups on the United States Domestic and Foreign Policies

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Dedication

I, Miss Kesmia Fadia, dedicate this humble work to my beloved family who always supported me and gave me faith

My parents Kesmia Zin El Abidin and Kesmia Aida

My beautiful sister Kesmia Hadil

My sisters Kesmia Chahrazed, her husband, and her little family Haoua and Tadj Eledin

My sister Kesmia Amina, her husband, and her little family Hamsa and Mohamed

My brother Kesmia Amine and his wife

My lovely Cat of course

All my family

Thank You

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Written with love, Thank you all

Abstract

This thesis looks into the weight of Arab American interest groups on the United States' foreign and domestic policies. Arab American interest groups work together to achieve their different goals and aims. They have fought for decades for their communities' interests. By applying a different range of strategies, they seek to change the United States' foreign policy in favor of their original countries. Additionally, Arab American interest groups seek to re-shape the United States domestic policy to benefit the Arab American community. The present study attempts to measure the influence of the Arab American interest groups on the United States policymaking process. The academic field has not paid much attention to Arab American interest groups, in contrast to the Israeli lobbies. Therefore, there is a need for a study that aims to discuss the role of Arab American advocates. In order to achieve the objectives of this dissertation, descriptive, historical, and analytical methods have been used. According to the investigation results, the study reveals that Arab American interest groups have a limited influence on the United States' foreign and domestic policies.

Keywords: Arab American community, Arab American interest groups, Domestic policy, Foreign policy, United States.

ملخص

تبحث هذه المذكرة عن ثقل جماعات المصالح العربية الأمريكية على السياسات الخارجية والداخلية للولايات المتحدة. تعمل جماعات المصالح العربية الأمريكية معًا لتحقيق أهدافها المختلفة حيث قاتلوا لعقود من أجل تحقيق مصالح مجتمعاتهم وذلك من خلال تطبيق مجموعة مختلفة من الاستراتيجيات. تسعى جماعات المصالح العربية الأمريكية إلى تغيير السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة لصالح بلدانهم الأصلية، بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تسعى جماعات المصالح العربية الأمريكية إلى إعادة تشكيل السياسة الداخلية للولايات المتحدة لصالح المجتمع العربي الأمريكي. تحاول الدراسة الحالية قياس تأثير جماعات المصالح العربية الأمريكية على السياسة في الولايات المتحدة. بما أن المجال الأكاديمي لم يعر اهتمامًا كبيرًا لجماعات المصالح العربية الأمريكية، على عكس جماعات الضغط الإسرائيلية، هناك حاجة لدراسة تهدف إلى مناقشة دور المدافعين العرب الأمريكيين. ومن أجل تحقيق أهداف هذه الدراسة، تم استخدام الأساليب الوصفية والتاريخية والتحليلية. بالاعتماد على نتائج التحقيق، كشفت الدراسة أن جماعات المصالح الأمريكية العربية لها تأثير محدود على السياسات الخارجية والداخلية للولايات المتحدة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المجتمع العربي الأمريكي، جماعات المصالح العربية الأمريكية، السياسة الداخلية، السياسة

الخارجية، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية

Résumé

Cette s'intéresse au poids des groupes d'intérêts arabo-américains sur la politique étrangère et intérieure des États-Unis. Les groupes d'intérêt arabo-américains travaillent ensemble pour atteindre leurs différents buts et objectifs . Ces derniers ont battus pendant des décennies en appliquant de diverses stratégies qui servent leurs intérêts ainsi qu'a leurs sociétés. Les groupes de pression Arabo-américains cherchent à changer la politique extérieure américaine en faveur de leur pays d'origine d'une part, et d'une autre part à réorganiser la politique américaine intérieure au profit de la communauté Arabo-américains. Ce mémoire est pour but majeur : mesurer l'influence des groupes d'intérêt Arabo-américains sur le processus d'élaboration de la politique des États-Unis. Contrairement au domaine académique les lobbies israéliens n'a pas accordé beaucoup d'attention aux groupes d'intérêt arabo-américains. Par conséquent, il est nécessaire d'avoir une étude qui vise à discuter du rôle des défenseurs Arabo-américains. Afin d'atteindre les objectifs de cette étude, des méthodes descriptives, historiques et analytiques ont été utilisées. Selon les résultats de l'enquête, l'étude révèle que les groupes d'intérêt Arabo-américains ont une influence limitée sur les politiques étrangères et intérieures des États-Unis

Mots clé: La communauté Arabo-américains, Les groupes d'intérêt Arabo-américains, Politique Intérieure, Politique Extérieure, États-Unis d'Amérique.

List of Abbreviations

AAA:	Arab American Association
AAI:	Arab American institute
AANM:	Arab American National Museum
AAPAC:	Arab American Political Action Committee
AAUG:	Arab American University Graduates Association
ACCESS	Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services
ACLU:	American Civil Liberties Union
ADC:	Arab Americans anti-Discrimination
AIPAC:	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
AWACS:	Airborne Warning and Control Systems
BRSS:	Bridge Refugee and Sponsorship Services
CAIR:	Council of Arab-Islamic Relations
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
FBI:	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FISA:	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
ISIS:	The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KSM:	Khalid Sheikh Mohamed
MCA:	Muslim Community Association
MEI:	Middle East Institute
NAAA:	National Association of Arab-Americans
NATO:	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NNAAC:	National Network for Arab American Communities
NSC:	National Security Council
PAC:	Political Action Committee

SAPRAC: Saudi American Public Relation Affairs Committee
USA: United States of America
USAPA: The United States of America Patriot Act
USIPAC: The United States India Political Action Committee

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General Introduction

Research Background

The United States of America is a multicultural nation. Since its creation, it has been diverse in race, culture, religion, and ethnicity. This diversity is the result of various waves of immigration to its lands that later created minorities and ethnic groups under its political system. Yet, Arabs are not an exception, their ethnic groups in the United States united together to take political advantages from its government. To defend their existence, the Arab American community created what is called the Arab American interest groups that work to guarantee their legal rights. Those groups not only defend the Arab American community, but also seek to achieve their countries' interests, build strong economical and political ties with the United State, and intervene in solving some issues in the Middle East in particular Saudi Arabia.

The United States domestic policy that affected the Arab American community started after the September 11 events and the declaration of war on terror on Afghanistan and Iraq. On the other hand, the history and the international relations between the United States and the Middle East need to be conducted by the United States foreign policy. Understanding the United States' foreign policy to many scholars is a complicated task because it deals with various issues and problems in the world. However, the United States showed great interest in the Middle East due to its strategic location, its natural resources, and its countries' conflicts and crisis.

Research Problem and Question(s)

The United States of America considers itself as the world's leading power that seeks to control all countries through its foreign policy. Moreover, the leaders of the United States seek also to achieve national security and national peace among its citizens and ethnicities. However, as ethnic groups rise; their demands and interests rise as well. They band together

in a legitimated organization such as the interest groups (also called lobbies or pressure groups) to influence the US policy in both domestic and foreign concerns.

The United States' Policy is a sophisticated structure that contains both governmental and non-governmental structures which exist among them the ethnic groups of Arab Americans. Arab American interest groups have historically tried to promote their role in the shaping of American foreign and domestic policies. They use strategies to address the Middle East issues in particular and the situation of the Arab American community in the United States. Even though their tactics and strategies aim to influence the United States' decision-makers, Arab American interest groups influence is a controversial matter due to the dominance of the Israeli interest groups and the situation which is aggravated by the distorted image of the Arabs as "terrorists". Thus, this study proposes to investigate the following main research question:

- What influence do the Arab American Interest Groups have on the United States' Foreign and Domestic Policy?

To answer the main question, the present study also needs to answer and examine the following sub-questions:

- What strategies do Arab American interest groups follow to influence the United States policymakers?
- What are the major actors formulating and shaping American foreign and domestic policy?
- To what extent do the Arab American interest groups contribute to change the American perception of the Arab American community and the Muslim world?

Research Aims

This research aims at exploring the different characteristics of both Arab American interest groups and the American Foreign and domestic policy. It also seeks to investigate the strategies used by those interest groups in changing the foreign policy of America towards the

Middle East region. Moreover, it focuses on analyzing the influence of Arab American interest groups in shaping the American domestic policy towards the Arab American community after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. At last, the study's aim is to interpret the success and the failure of those groups in achieving their goals concerning the Saudi-American relationship, and the war on terror effects on Arab American Muslims and Arab Muslims in general.

Rationale for Research

Arab American interest groups are chosen for this research due to a personal interest in how those groups are formulated, and how the United States policy is made. Second due to those interest groups' contributions that might benefit the Middle East agenda, in which the Palestinian- Israeli conflict, Islamophobia resulted from the terrorist attacks are the main concern. Third, regarding the fact that the United States is the leading power of the world, its foreign and domestic policy are not fixed, and they are changeable almost during each doctrine and might be influenced by different ethnic groups. The reason why this topic is chosen in the first place is to show the ability of any minority in the United States to influence those powerful leaders and policymakers. The fourth rational is to show the different implications of the United States foreign policy in the Middle East countries and to find out to which extent the United States Foreign policy might be changed by the Arab American interest groups direct and indirect strategies, and hopefully to suggest some solutions or some new strategies to be followed. Finally, to know the effectiveness and the failure of the Arab and the Arab American interest groups, the two chosen cases -which are the AWACS airborne sale to Saudi Arabia as a foreign concern, and the impact of the war on terror and Islamophobia on Arab American community as a domestic concern, will hopefully help to explain the main question of the present study.

This study tends to investigate the influence of Arab American interest groups on the United States foreign and domestic agenda during Reagan's and Bush's doctrines. The Arab American interest groups such as the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA), the Middle East Institute (MEI), and the Arab American Institute (AAI) and others that worked in favor of the AWACS sale and the Arab American community are the concern of this study.

Research Methodology

The methodology employed to investigate the influence of Arab American interest groups on the US foreign and domestic policy depends on descriptive, historical, and analytical approaches.

The descriptive method is used to describe both Arab American interest groups and American policymakers. It also adopted to set the light on those groups' roles and strategies that they use to shape the American foreign agenda towards the Middle East and the American domestic agenda towards Arab Americans. The descriptive approach is mainly applied in chapter one which is the conceptual framework of this work.

Yet the historical method is used to set the light on the implications of the United States foreign policy towards the Middle East. It also shows the nature and the origin of the American-Middle Eastern conflicts, and how did they started and developed throughout histories such as the 9/11 attacks, the AWACS airborne sale, and the launching of the war on terror and their impact on Arab Americans. This approach is used in both chapters two and three because they both focus on historical events that created the conflicts. Finally, the analytical method is adopted to analyze the different works of Arab American interest groups especially those who fight the Americans' idea that "All Muslims are terrorists". On the other hand, it is used to analyze specific speeches and Acts made by the United States leaders about the Middle East after the September 11, 2001 attacks. This approach is used in both chapters

two and three. In chapter two, it aims to find if Islamophobia and the 9/11 attacks were the main reasons for the launching of the war on terror in Iraq. On the other hand, to deeply study the reasons behind the United States policies in the Middle East based on their leaders' speeches and their acts. In chapter three, aims at analyzing the different Arab American interest groups' records and works to see their effectiveness in shaping the United States agenda from one hand and their failure from the other hand.

The thesis depends on various primary and secondary sources. The primary sources used in the three chapters such as the United States constitution, American Political Dictionary, and official records of the various Arab American interest groups such as the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS), Arab American Institute (AAI), and the Saudi American Public Relation Affairs Committee (SAP RAC)...Secondary sources such as several books by McKeever, Marrar, Bard, and Terry; several articles from international magazines and newspapers; and thesis that gave good background information of the cases study. The style of citation that is used in this thesis is the Harvard Style due to its ability to provide a clear and immediate clue to the cited work on the civilization field.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is the theoretical part of this study that tackles the conceptual framework of both the Arab American interest groups and the United States policymakers. The second chapter represents the historical part which focuses on mentioning the problems between the United States and the Middle East countries especially Saudi Arabia and those who were involved in the 9/11 attacks as Iraq, In addition to a brief introduction to Islamophobia, and the declaration of war on terror and their impact on Arab Muslims in America. The last chapter of this study talks about the work of Arab American interest groups in shaping the United States foreign policy towards Saudi Arabia, and to change the domestic policy that affects the Arab American community.

Chapter One

Conceptual framework: Interest Groups and US Foreign Policy

1.1 Introduction

The first chapter of this dissertation presents the conceptual framework of both interest groups and the foreign policy of the United States as well as the domestic policy. The chapter is divided into four main sections. It first tackles the general meaning of interest groups in the United States and their classification according to different scholars and researchers. Then it introduces Arab American interest groups, in particular, their origins and characteristics, their goals, and their selected strategies to influence the United States foreign policy. A special focus is put in addition to the mention of the major Arab American interest groups in the United States. The last section in chapter one provides brief definitions of domestic and foreign policy. It also sets the light on the United States policy decision-makers and the several factors that influence its making process.

1.2 Interest Groups: A Classification

Interest groups are a part of each community and each nation. They are formed to advocate for their various interests and needs following strategies and tactics to succeed.

Interest groups, special interest groups, advocacy group, or pressure group is an association of individuals or an organization with the same interests. They share a desire to affect the policymakers to benefit themselves or their causes. Interest groups can be categorized as follow: economic interest groups as the Canadian Federation of Independence Business (CFIB) and American Bar Association (ABA); cause interest groups as Cure Autism Now in New York (CANNY); private and public interest groups as the Booking Institution (BI) (Clive S, 2020, par.01)

Robert McKeever and Philip Davies (2006) define interest groups as: "an association of individuals who band together to defend or advance the particular interest they have in common" (p.160). They also argue that there are thousands of interest groups in the United State, and those groups have an ideological orientation regardless of their main interest that is the representation of a particular interest on a particular issue (p.160).

In her book "*The Arab Lobby and the US: Factors for success and failure*" (2016), Dania Koleilat Khatib defines interest groups confirming that they are an important source of information and policy ideas for governments. She argues that

Communities become interest groups whenever they seek to influence policy-making. Ordinary associations or institutions become interest organizations whenever they try to influence the political process to promote their interests (p.18).

A lobbyist is a person who tries to influence legislation on behalf of special interest. He is known as the Corporate Affairs that was defined as the process of integrating the public affairs, programs, and policies at the level of the interest groups (Kostyaev, 2013, p.27). The lobbyists' roles are controversial in American politics because their efforts are not successful all the time. Yet, a lobbyist might fail in his attempt to convince the policymakers to change a decision or a law. Lobbyists are hired and paid by special-interest groups, companies, nonprofits, groups of citizens, and even school districts (Murse, 2020).

According to McKeever and Davies (2006), the interest groups are categorized as shown in figure 1 page 08. The figure represents a table that shows the different types of interest groups that existed in the United States of America.

Business/Trade	Agriculture	Unions	Professional	Single issue	Ideological	Group rights	Public interest
American Business Conference	American Farm Bureau Federation	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO)	American Medical Association	National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League	American Conservative Union	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	Common Cause
National Association of Manufacturers	National Farmers Union	United Auto Workers	National Education Association	Mothers Against Drunk Driving	People for the American Way	National Organization for Women	Friends of the Earth
National Automobile Dealers Association	Associated Milk Producers, Inc.	International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers	Association of American Universities	National Rifle Association	Christian Voice	American Civil Liberties Union	Children's Defense Fund
						American Association of Retired Persons	

Figure 1.1: Types of interest groups, McKeever (Davies, 2006, p.161)

From figure 1, we notice that McKeever and Davies (2006) mention only the domestic interest groups that deal with American citizens only. They classify interest groups into eight types and all of them are concerned with domestic issues. For instance, the first category that is Business and Trade holds the American Business Conference (ABC) and other domestic interest groups that are related to business and trade only. Other categories also deal with domestic interests that are connected to specific American citizens.

In another work by Dania Koleilat Khatib (2016), she classifies interest groups into four categories. The first category is the citizens' groups which are concerned with the protection of citizens as elders, health, homosexuals, and colored people's interests. For instance, the American Association of Retired Persons (ARP). The second category is the

business interest groups that work to present the individual businesses' interests to the government. For instance, the State Business Association (SBA). The third category is the ethnic interest groups which were appeared due to multiculturalism. Those groups defend the importance of cultural diversity in the USA such as the American Islamic Relationship (AIR) and the United States India Political Action Committee (AIPAC). The fourth category according to Khatib is the coalition of several interest groups that work to achieve more than one interest or to solve more than one issue. For instance, the Israeli lobbies as the Jewish American Israel (JAI) and the Anti-Discrimination League (ADL) (pp. 19-20).

According to the previous classification by Dania Koleilat Khatib (2016) and McKeever, Davies (2006), we notice that, unlike McKeever and Davies, Koleilat adds the foreign interest groups into her classification when she mentions the United States India Political Action Committee (USIPAC) and the Israeli lobbies as the Jewish American Israel (JAI).

In this regard, interest groups might be categorized in a simple classification; domestic interest groups and foreign interest groups.

1.2.1 Domestic interest groups in the United States

Domestic interest groups are those which are concerned with citizens' interests about domestic and international issues within a specific country. The history of domestic interest groups in the United States can be traced since the 1770s with the formation of pro-independence groups. In 1987, in Paper No. 10, President Madison explained that he was concerned with how organized groups- or factions- could endanger the stability of the United States political system (Phelan, par.1).

The role of domestic interest groups according to Melvin Smart (as cited by Marrar, 2009) is that the domestic interest groups seek to shape the international outcomes, the power struggle between the government's departments and branches, and the effects of separating

the economic interests (p.05). Due to Smart's chronological argument; the role of domestic interest groups in the United States is to push their agenda towards the US foreign policy in both domestic and international affairs.

1.2.2 Foreign interest groups in the United States

Unlike the domestic interest groups, foreign interest groups are those which are concerned with foreign interests and international relationships between two or more countries. Foreign interest groups in the United States were rising and changing since their emergence. From 1999 to 2011, the majority of foreign clients were governments, embassies, and political parties where they represented 84 percent; while the private interest groups represented 16 percent only. However in 2011; the private foreign interest groups that involve corporations, banks, and trade associations increased to become 65 percent, and the governmental clients decline to become 36 percent (Kostyaev, 2013, p.57).

The role of foreign interest groups depends on each group's ideologies and aims. Yet the common goals are to strengthen the political ties and relationships between countries.

1.3 Arab American Interest Groups: Origins, Characteristics, Goals, and Strategies

Arab American interest groups in the United States tend to have their features and strategies that occasionally serve their objectives and achieve their goals.

In his article "*The Arab Lobby: The American Component*", Mitchell Bard defines the Arab American interest groups as a small and influential part of the overall lobby (p. 04). The definition was presented due to Bard's argument that the term Arab might mislead the definition of Arab American interest groups because it suggested that the group's members are Arabs who focus on the Arab world only (Bard, 2010, p. 04). Additionally, Saad (as cited in Marrar, 2009) states that:

Lobbying is an essential component of the domestic structures which function as important inputs into the making of foreign policy and define the

broad internal limits within which decision-makers feel compelled to operate.

It may be direct or indirect, may aim at the executive or the legislature, or may focus on shaping public opinion. Foreign governments or citizen groups may lobby to secure favorable policies (p. 84).

However, Marrar (2009), in contrast to the claims that deny the existence of Arab American interest groups by Saad, Marrar denotes that

If we were to take the strictest forms of the above descriptions, we see that a Pro-Arab lobby has always existed with domestic and foreign actors... they focus on figuring out the “who’s who” of the Washington policy establishment and target policymakers with their positions on issues of interest to the Arab American community and others that share its concerns (pp. 84-85).

In this regard, Arab American interest groups are the organizations that seek to shape and influence the United States' foreign and domestic agenda, directly or indirectly, to achieve both their interests and their countries' interests.

Arab interest groups are older than the Israel lobby in the United States. Their existence is traced back to 1930 when the first established organization was The Arab National League of America (ANLA). Later in 1951, it was followed by many organizations in the time of King Saud of Saudi Arabia. King Saud who asked U.S. diplomats to financially back an Arab lobby to counter the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs (AZPCA) -later became the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) - (Bard, 2010, p.05). Smith (2010) follows Bard's argument about the existence of Arab interest groups, and he adds that those organizations helped in shaping the United States' foreign agenda and economic system since the end of world war two (par. 02). Two other Arab American interest groups were established after World War Two; the National Association of Arab American (NAAA) was

established by Richard Shadyac in 1972, and the Arab American Institute by James Zogby in 1985 (Marrar, 2009, p.22).

The Arab American interest groups have tried to establish their forces and strengthen their position in the United States political domain in favor of their interests. Yet, unlike the Israel lobby; they have shown their weakness and have not reached any effective role (Marrar, 2009, p.23). Bard (2010) draws a comparison between the Arab American interest groups and the Israel lobbies as ensured in the following quote:

One of the most important distinguishing characteristics of the Arab lobby is that it has no popular support. While the Israeli lobby has hundreds of thousands of grass root members and public opinion polls constitutently reveal a huge gap between support for Israel lobby and the Arab nations/Palestinians.

The Arab lobby has almost no foot soldiers or public sympathy (p. XIV).

This means that the Israel lobby is widely supported by American citizens; however, the Arab American interest groups have little support because their programs and efforts are divided towards several issues such as the Palestinian conflict, the oil problems, and so on.

Arab American interest groups, unlike the other ethnic groups which focus on a single issue, focus on two main issues that might sometimes be overlapped. The first issue is based on oil and the commercial relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States. It is represented primarily by representatives from the Saudi government and corporations with commercial interests in the kingdom (Bard, 2010, p.06).

The second issue that was tackled by the Arab American interest groups is the Palestinian question. Mearsheimer and Walt (as cited in Scholten, 2017) affirm that "The United States has enormous potential leverage at its disposal for dealing with the Israel and the Palestinians" (p.226). Scholten (2017) argues that the solution of this conflict depends neither on Israeli force nor on Palestine force, yet it is in the hand of the United States. So

that Arab American interest groups tend to influence the United States foreign policy in favor of Palestine.

Another issue that is tackled by Arab American interest groups is to fight the misunderstood idea that all Arabs are terrorists by increasing the knowledge about the Arab-American community and Islam in the US. Since the beginning of the twenty first century, and especially, after the events of September 11 that created a huge gap between the United States and the Arab world; many people linked the Arab American community with terrorism and Islam (Kerboua, 2016). Arab American interest groups have rejected this discrimination that link them with the Islamic terrorist groups who were involved in the 11/9 attacks on the Twin Towers; claiming that the majority of Arab American Muslims do not have an Arab background and have never been in the Arab world (Scholten, 2017, p.11).

Arab American interest groups follow several strategies to reach their goals. In her book *U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Role of Lobbies and Specific Interest Groups*, Janice Terry (2005) argues that the strategies of interest groups in shaping the United States foreign policy depend on their attempt to access a country within its cultural domain. This attempt is to succeed in convincing the policymakers to adopt their ideas and achieve their aims. She states that "lobbyists and domestic pressure groups manipulate and utilize the prevailing cultural milieu, first to gain access to, and then to convince, policy-makers to adopt policies that are favorable to their specific agendas" (p.29).

Farnel (1994) argues that lobbying is the direct or the indirect interventions of interest groups that influence the government and decision-makers. Direct lobbying or inside lobbying involves the personal meetings of the lobbyists with either the elected officials or their staff. It might be achieved also by the direct contact between them by phone calls and emails. An example of direct lobbying by Arab leaders was the visit of Prince Fahd to Washington in 1974. The Prince helped to establish the U.S. Saudi Joint Commission on

Economic Cooperation. Another example of direct lobbying is that members of Arab Americans organized The American Task Force on Palestine (ATFP) were sent to Washington to gain political endorsement for the Palestinian cause (Terry, 2005, p.51).

Nevertheless; Indirect lobbying or outside lobbying entails providing desirable constituents and assistants for the political officials and even organize strikes to support or offend the policymakers besides exploiting advertising, mobilizing public opinion (Kollman, 2014). Marrar (2009) said, "Although direct lobbying is essential to effectively shaping policy, pro-Arab leaders dedicate the majority of their time and resources to indirect means of pressure in order to represent the interests of the 1.2 million Americans of Arab ancestry" (p.85). An example about indirect lobbying, Marrar (2009) attaches much weight to the media as a part of the outside lobbying mechanism, because some stories from the West Bank and Gaza become printed and invaded the electronic media to show the Palestinian suffering under Israel's control (p.31).

In this regard; Arab American interest groups implement both direct and indirect strategies to influence the United States officials. However, they preferred indirect lobbying strategies to obtain access to the American policymakers.

The following is a list of the most famous Arab American interest groups in the United States. Those Arab American interest groups have a huge role in shaping the United States' foreign agenda. They adopted both direct and indirect strategies to achieve their main concerns. They had a huge role in making the AWACS airborne sale possible. They also had a significant role in changing the American view of the Middle East, Islam, and Muslims during the global war on terror. Those Arab American interest groups are

- Arab American University Graduates Association (AAUG) was established in 1967.
- Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) was established in 1943.

- The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA) was established in 1972.
- Middle East Institute (MEI) was established in 1946.
- Arab Americans Anti-Discrimination (ADC) was established in 1972.
- Arab American Institute (AAI) was established in 1985.
- Arab American Political Action Committee (AAPAC) was established in 1998.
- Arab American Association (AAA) was established in 2001.
- American Task Force on Palestine (ATFP) was established in 2003.
- Saudi American Public Relations Affairs Committee (SAP RAC) was established in 2016.

1.4 The United States Foreign and Domestic Policy: Decision Makers.

The policy of the United States is the most changeable in the world since it is changed with every President, and it might be influenced by other factors.

In their book "*USA politics*", McKeever and Davies (2006) point out that "foreign policy is a broad term, covering many different spheres of policy and action. Its concerns include defense and national security, overseas trade and commerce, global stability and conflict, and the Values and rules which govern relations between states" (p. 318).

In other words, foreign policy is defined as the actions and strategies that guide the international relationship between countries i.e. it guides American relations with the rest of the world to secure its goals of national interest in international relations.

To better understand the meaning of the foreign policy, it must first set the difference between domestic and foreign policy. The distinction between the two terms was depicted in the words of Kaarbo, Lantis, and Beasley (2012), saying that "Foreign" is the application of a policy towards the world outside the nation's territorial borders; while "Domestic" is the application of policy towards the nation's internal political system. Kaarbo, Lantis, and Beasley (2012) also distinct between foreign and domestic policy by giving examples for each one said: "Going to war with another country, signing an international trade agreement,

or aiding a rebel insurgency in another country are examples of foreign policy. Taxes, education standards, and civil rights are examples of domestic policy" (p.02)

Accordingly, the domestic policy is those implications and decisions made by the United States leaders in order to preserve the citizens' rights, the nation's peace and harmony, and domestic affairs such as education, health, taxes, and so on.

Based on the United States of America's constitution; the United States policymakers belong to the governmental actors only. They are divided between the executive branch and the legislative branch.

1.4.1 The Executive Branch

It is one of the main actors in the process of making the United States policy. McKeever and Davies (2006) argue that the executive branch consists of two parts; the most visible part in America which is the presidency, and the least visible part which is the bureaucracy (p.174).

First, the presidency in the United States includes the President and the Vice President. According to the US Constitution, Article 2, Section 1; "The Executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same Term..." The President's role is to make sure that the federal government runs effectively. He also oversees the foreign policy with the approval of the Senate. The President has the power to make treaties and appoint ambassadors to other countries (Trethen, 2020, sec.02). McKeever and Davies (2006) assert that even though the President is the chief commander; he is not the powerful part of the political system. The president's powers and authority are limited due to the federal system in the United States that is mainly based on the process of checks and balances between the executive and the legislative branches (p.183).

Second, the least visible part as it was described in McKeever and Davies (2006) is the federal bureaucracy that is consisted of the Cabinet, independent agencies, and commissions.

The Cabinet in “*The Encyclopedic Dictionary of American Government*” (1986) is a term used to denote the heads (secretaries) of the thirteen Executive Departments of the United States which are: State, Treasury, Defence, Justice, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Education, Energy, and Transportation. The heads of those Departments are appointed by the President with the Senate's approval in order to assist him in creating the agenda (p.32). In addition to the heads of the departments, the cabinet is composed of the Vice President who might advise the president and receives instructions from him (Smith, Zurcher, 1946, p.64).

On the other hand, the independent agencies and commissions in the executive bureaucracy represent the National Security Council (NSC) and The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The National Security Council (NSC) is the President's principal forum for considering national security and foreign policy matters. it is chaired by the President with its regular attendees who are the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Energy, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, the Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Chief of Staff to the President, and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. (The National Security Council, par 1-3). Second, The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is the world's premier foreign intelligence agency, its work is vital to the United States' national security. CIA collects and analyzes foreign intelligence, conducts over the actions of United States policymakers, including the President, and makes policy decisions informed by the pieces of information it provides (Central Intelligence Agency, sec 02).

1.4.2 The Legislative Branch

In the United States Constitution, Article 1, Section 1; "All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives". The Senate and the House are both are reliant upon the other when it comes to passing laws, yet the Senate is more prestigious because it has a unique power. The Senators can approve presidential nominations such as ambassadors and cabinet members, but the Representatives do not (France, 2020, sec.02).

Section 8 from the US Constitution specifies the powers of the congress concerning foreign policies which are: the power to levy taxes, the power to regulate the international and the interstates commerce and trade, the power to declare war, and the power to ratify treaties with foreign countries. Generally, the Senate is concerned with ratifying treaties, and the House is more concerned with regulating taxes and spending (France, 2020, sec.03).

1.5 Factors that Influence the US Foreign and Domestic Policy

The U.S. foreign and domestic policy might be influenced by many factors; external and internal.

Firstly, the external factors are the global political development that is an important part in influencing the United States policymakers every day. The influence happened due to many events such as the immigrations from and towards the United States, the development of nuclear weapons and weapon industry in general, and the rise of conflicts between countries especially the middle east countries- the Israel- Palestine conflict (Scholten, 2017, p.14).

Secondly, the internal factors that might influence the United States policy are divided into governmental factors and non-governmental factors.

The governmental factors that influence the foreign and domestic policy in the United States are the President and Congress. Each President in the United States was characterized

by having his doctrine that has significant authority over foreign policy and the process of decision making. One of the examples of the presidential influence was when President Bush decided to declare war on Iraq in 2003. Moreover; the second governmental factor is the Congress since it has some powers over domestic and foreign affairs as mentioned before (Scholten, 2017, p.15). An example of the congress influence is when the Senate encourages the former president Donald Trump's decision to move the embassy from Tel Aviv. The Senate voted 97/3 to maintain the US Embassy in Jerusalem in 2021 (Kampeas, 2021, par.01).

The non-governmental factors that may influence the United States policymakers are public opinion, media, and interest groups. First, people's voice might have a huge impact on policymakers because it pressures them on some issues. Democratic countries' policy is influenced heavily by public opinion because they care about their interests and concerns from a part; from the other part, they try to silence them. However, some issues and policies are relative to the public; the reasons that make policymakers decide about them away from the citizens (Role of Public Opinion in Policy Making, par 01). Second, media is also an influensive tool in policymaking process. It directly affects the foreign policy agenda of the United States as well as the domestic one. Media creates an atmosphere that reflects policymaker's decisions. It attracts the attention of driving forces to an internal or external affair via televised hearings, television coverage, or other electronic tools (O'Hefferman, 1991, p.104). Third, the interest groups, including economic, public, and ethnic groups, attempt to influence foreign policy through an array of strategies. They use tactics, such as framing the issue and shaping the terms of debate; offering information and analysis to elected representatives (who may not have the time to research the issue himself or herself); and monitoring the policy process and reacting to it through disseminating supplementary information, letter-writing campaigns, calling for additional hearings or legislation, and

supporting or opposing candidates during elections ("Who Makes U.S. Foreign Policy," n.d., para. 2).

Accordingly, Arab American interest groups are non-governmental factors that influence the United States' policymaking process. They rely on different sets of strategies during their attempts.

1.6 Conclusion

The conceptual framework of this study was discussed briefly in chapter one. The chapter provided the definition and the classification of interest groups in the United States; as well as, a brief definition of the lobbyist who is responsible for running the groups' programs and actions. Besides that, the chapter also shed light on the first concern of this study which is the Arab American interest groups. Those groups play an important role in the formulation of the United States foreign and domestic policy since their emergence in 1951. The chapter focused on their main goals, direct and indirect strategies, and the major groups that helped in manipulating the United States agenda especially towards the Middle East and the Arab American community that will be discussed in the next chapter. Moreover; the first chapter also shed the light on the United States foreign and domestic policy itself since it is the influenced variable in the study. In this regard, it focused on identifying the policymakers such as the president and the Congress; as well as; the factors that might influence them.

Chapter Two

The United States Foreign Policy towards the Middle East and the United States

Domestic Policy towards the Arab American Community

2.1. Introduction

The second chapter of this thesis discusses the implications of the United States foreign policy in the Middle East especially Saudi Arabia and Iraq, and the United States domestic policy on the Arab American Muslims. The chapter first provides an overview of the studied issue which is Arab American community. It also discusses the American's perception of the Middle East countries and religion. Second, the chapter discusses briefly the main events that affected the relationships between the United States and the Middle East countries. The main focus from those events and issues is on the AWACS airborne deal between the US and Saudi Arabia. It also discusses the reasons behind the discriminations against the Arab American community from both citizens and governments which is Islamophobia and the terrorists' organizations that created what is known as the Global War on Terror. Finally, the second chapter of this study focuses on the characteristics of the United States' foreign policy on the Middle East countries that were a part of the terrorist creation, and Saudi Arabia due to its importance to both the United States of America and the Middle East region.

2.2. Arab Americans: An Overview

The September 11, events have reshaped the United States' society and politics. This event left Americans holding bad memories and negative perceptions of the Islamic world in general. The event was one of the incidents that have a huge impact on the Muslim Americans and the Arab American communities. It has also affected Arab American relationships and policies. It created a big gap between the United States and the Middle East.

2.1.1. Arab American Community

Arab Americans are United States permanent residents who trace their ancestry to the Arab world. They are also citizens who emigrated from Arabic-speaking places in southwestern Asia and northern Africa (Ridder, 2011, par.01). Arab Americans according to the 1990 census were 870,000 citizens in the United States. Those citizens identified themselves as ethnically Arabs who arrived from one of the 21 Arab countries (Abraham, sec 04).

The Arab American community has been constructed through three major phases of immigration towards the United States from the 19th century. The first wave of Arab immigration was between the late 1800s and the First World War. The immigrants were mainly from Syria which was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. They left their homelands due to the empire's taxes and discrimination. Yet after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the vast majority of immigrants were Christian minorities who left the country for religious and political reasons (Abraham, sec.05). The number of immigrants increased by the beginning of the 1900s and reached 60,000 immigrants between 1908 and 1910. Those immigrants were unskilled people especially males who were looking for better living conditions. However Arab immigration started to slow down around 1917 due to the United States' laws of restrictions. By 1921, the US Congress passed The Quota Act –also known as The Emergency Immigration Act. The Act was passed to limit the number of immigrants to the United States to the number 370,000 per year (Cranford, sec.02).

The second wave of Arab immigration was after the Second World War and the 1960s. This wave was more diverse than the first wave because it included both Muslims and Christians from different Arab countries such as Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. The immigrants of such wave were refugees escaping from the war in their countries, and students looking for a higher educational level (Abraham, sec.05). The third wave started

from the mid-1960s until the present day. The third wave included more Muslims and Christians. It also included more professionals, entrepreneurs, unskilled men, and semi-skilled laborers. The immigrants of this wave were from several Arab countries. Lebanese, Palestinian, and Iraqi immigrants were refugees due to the war in their homelands. Syrian, Egyptian, and Jordanian immigrants were students and professionals. And Yemenis immigrants were the unskilled workers looking for better life conditions (Abraham, sec.05).

According to the Arab American Institute (2014), the number of Arab American citizens is around three million – 3.665.789 citizens. More than 80% of them are American citizens. Furthermore, a sizeable rate of them is of Lebanese ancestry because they represent 31% of the total number as shown in figure 2.1 below. The Iraqi immigrants represent 10%, the Palestinian immigrants represent 2% as well as the Jordanian immigrants, and 9% of them are from other Arab countries.

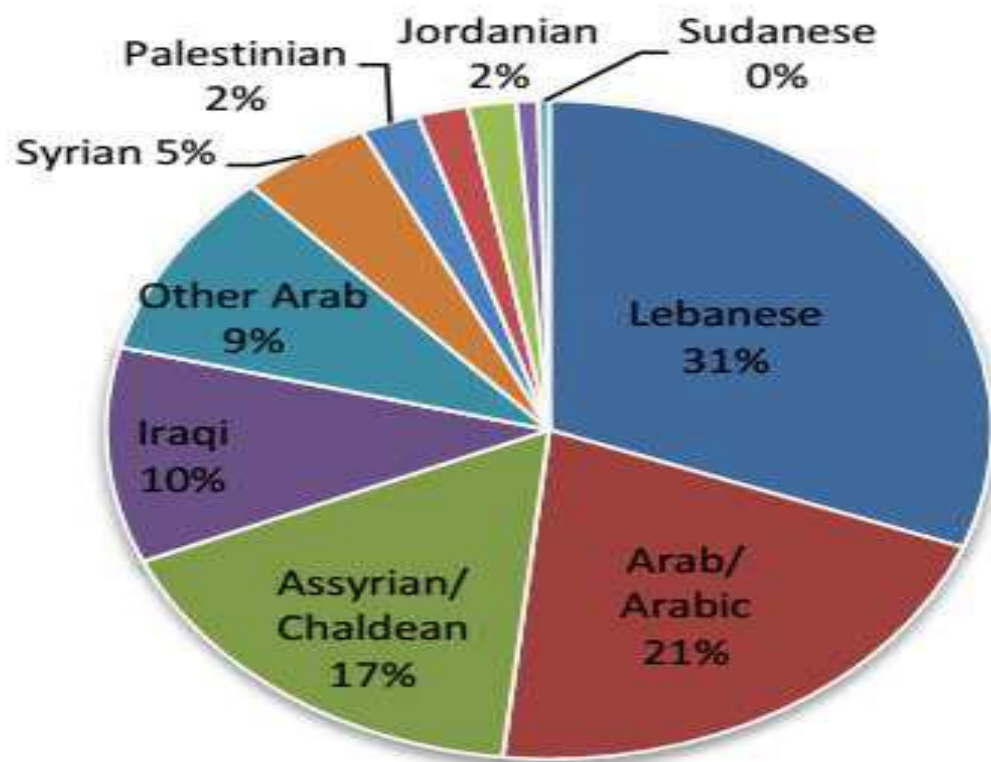


Figure 2.1: Arab Americans population by origin (Arab American Institute, 2014)

Arab Americans have asserted their identity within American society. Despite their differences and their negative stereotypical image, they have participated in shaping American history and Arab American relationships. According to 1980, 2000, and 2008 censuses that show the number of inhabitants in the United States, the number was increasing every 10 years. Figure 2.2 represents a table of the population of Arab Americans in the largest 11 states of America.

Rank	State	1980 Census	2000 Census	2008 Zogby Estimate
1	California	100,972	220,372	715,000
2	Michigan	69,610	151,493	490,000
3	New York	73,065	125,442	405,000
4	Florida	30,190	79,212	255,000
5	New Jersey	30,698	73,985	240,000
6	Illinois	33,500	68,982	220,000
7	Texas	30,273	65,876	210,000
8	Ohio	35,318	58,261	185,000
9	Massachusetts	36,733	55,318	175,000
10	Pennsylvania	34,863	50,260	160,000
11	Virginia	13,665	46,151	135,000

Figure 2.2: Arab American Populations, 11 Largest States, Pierre Tristam (2019).

It shows that the number of citizens is large in California by 715.000 citizens. It was followed by Michigan and New York by more than 400.000 citizens. The least number is in

Virginia with 135.000 citizens. From the table, we noticed that the number of Arab Americans is doubling every 10 years in the United States.

2.2.2. The American View to the Middle East Muslims and Arab American Muslims

In her thesis, “The Belligerence of the US Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East in the Wake of 9/11: Opportunistic Expansionism and/or National Security Considerations,” Nora Saighi (2015) states that "the view of Arabs and Muslims as backward, decadent, and corrupt is age-old and the way the west dealt with the middle east has always been influenced by inherited images and stereotypes" (p.09). This view of the Middle East was affected especially by the different events that happened in the region including the September 11, 2001 events.

Sulehri (2006), in his thesis “Americans’ Views of the Muslim World: Realities and Facilities”, suggests that polls and surveys have been an effective way to determine the Americans' opinions about foreign countries especially Islamic countries. Turkey was the first Islamic country that appears in an American poll in 1974. After Turkey, due to the region's issues, the Middle East has dominated the American polls. However, since the September 11 events, polls were directed towards all Muslims (p.40).

The Middle East includes sixteen countries that are ruled by Islamic governments. The region is the most important in the Muslim world due to its significant historical and Islamic associations (Sulehri, 2006, p.13). Sulehri (2006) states that "Most of the Muslims involves in the terrorist act against the west, particularly against the United States were directly or indirectly connected to the Middle East countries" (p.14). I.e. people in the United States have connected the terrorist attacks of September 11 directly to the Middle East countries, the reason why their perception to this region and Muslims was the same. Sulehri (2006) adds:

With the post 9/11 engagement of the United States in Iraq; the continuous nuisance created by Iraq’s neighbors Iran and Syria; the change of the political

situation in Palestine, with Hamas loosely holding onto power; and the recent Israel-Lebanon crisis, the middle east has become over more volatile in terms of American interests (p.14).

In this regard, the American view of the Middle East is not only a result of the September 9 events, but also its different issues and problems that created this stereotypical images that Arabs and Muslims are terrorists. Not only the Middle East countries, but also all Muslims are viewed as terrorists.

American Muslims including Arab Americans are not an exception to this view. The perception of American Muslims by the American public was also polled for the first time in 2002 after the 9/11 events. They were rated favorably by 54% of the public. The perception of American Muslims differs from generation to generation. American citizens who were under the age of 30 voted in favor of American Muslims; while old-aged people were the opposite (Sulehri, 2006, p.36).

2.3. Saudi Arabia: The History of AWACS Deal

According to the United States' Department of State, the United States and Saudi Arabia established full diplomatic relations since 1931 (US Relations with Saudi Arabia, 2020, par.01). The United States recognized the Kingdom of Hejaz and Nejd and its Dependencies on May 1, 1931, when the United States Minister Charles G. Dawes conveyed this decision to the Hejaz Minister in London. This decision was followed by renaming the country to become the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on September 18, 1932 (A Guide to the US History, sec.02).

Saudi Arabia was and still important to the United States as well as the Arab Islamic world because the Kingdom holds the world's second-largest reserve of oil. It is also important to the United States because it has a strategic location. Its location helps in the long-standing bilateral relationships with the United States. The relationships between the

kingdom and the United States are very remarkable because they both go in the same direction. According to the United States Department of State, "the United States and Saudi Arabia have a common interest in preventing the stability, security, and prosperity of the Gulf region and consult closely on a wide range of regional and global issues" (US Relations with Saudi Arabia, 2020, sec.01).

One of the most significant diplomatic deals between the United States and Saudi Arabia is the sale of the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS). The deal was passed by President Ronald Reagan in April 1981 after a series of events in the previous three years. Ferguson, McDonald, and Keany (1996) argue in their course "Selling the AWACS to Saudis" that the sale was passed by the United States' government after several important events. On November 4, 1979, during President Jimmy Carter's term, a group of armed Iranian students captured the United States' Embassy in Tehran. The students took more than 60 American hostages. This action claimed to hasten the end of the Shah's regime, in addition, to prevent America's interventions in Iran's affairs (Iran Hostage Crisis, 2019, par.01). The event was important because the United States failed to rescue the prisoners (Faulkner, par.02). The United States' administration had considered selling the AWACS to Iran. At the same time, the United States lost control of the secret Phoenix air-to-air missile that was in Iran during the Islamic revolution (Ferguson, McDonald, and Keany, 1996, p.02).

On December 24 of the same year, another important event struck. The Soviet airborne troops landed at Kabul airport in the night. Their landing was followed by a ground invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion by the Soviets was claimed that "Moscow was willing to exercise influence in Southern Asia" (Ferguson, McDonald, and Keany, 1996, p.02). They said, "Proponents of the AWACS sale said that this Soviet threat underscored Saudi Arabia's need for the aircraft" (p.02). The quote means that those who agree on the deal confirm that Saudi Arabia was under the threat of the Soviets just like Afghanistan; they argue that the

Kingdom needs the AWACS to protect its land. President Reagan himself supported the sale because he wanted to protect Saudi Arabia due to its importance to the United States and the Middle East as well. On the other hand, the deal was rejected by opponents who according to Ferguson, McDonald, and Keany (1996) "pointed out that AWACS aircraft were already flying over Saudi Arabia (with US crew), and that the invasion was further evidence of the region's instability" (p.02).

In November 1980 Ronald Reagan was elected to become the President of the United States. During his presidential term, he called for selling the AWACS to Saudi Arabia. On April 21, 1981, Reagan's government officially announced the proposed sale of several weapons including the 5 AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia -the 5 AWACS cost \$2- (Ferguson, McDonald, and Keany, 1996, p.03). However, Congress's reaction was negative to Reagan's announcement. The House of Representatives and the Senate rejected the sale of the AWACS because they were skeptical about Saudi Arabia's intentions. They both claimed that Saudi Arabia might use the AWACS airborne for other uses instead of its security (Koleilat, 2016, p.100).

Yet many interest groups, organizations, and administrations played an effective role in changing Congress's rejection of the AWACS airborne sale. In addition, due to President Reagan's efforts, media, and some Saudi Arabian members; the deal was ratified by the Congress. More details about the work of those factors will be discussed in the next chapter. We will discuss both the opponents' and the proponents' efforts in making this deal possible, especially Arab American interest groups.

2.4. Arab Americans, Islamophobia, and the War on Terror

Islamophobia and the War on Terror are two connected terms. In their context, they both refer to the American actions towards the Islamic world, especially the countries that were involved in the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The September 11 events, done

by a group of Muslims, created a huge fear and hate in the mind of American society. The Americans' fear of Muslims is translated to become Islamophobia. It created the stereotypical image that all Muslims are terrorists (Kerboua, 2016, pp.16-20). However, Islamophobia has not only affected society but it has also affected politics. As a result of this phobia, the government of the United States took a step against some Muslim countries of the Middle East. And that step was the beginning of the War on Terror. On the other hand, the government enhanced different laws and acts against terrorists. Those acts have affected the Arab American community as well.

First of all, the term Islamophobia is an organized mobilization against Islam and Muslims. The term is mostly used to describe prejudice, negative emotions, and hostility from non-Muslims towards the Muslim world. Islamophobia was popularized in the late 1990s with the British race equality think tank Runnymede Trust's report "*Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*", when he defines Islamophobia as

...any distinction, exclusion, or restriction towards, or preference against, Muslims (or those perceived to be Muslims) that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life (Elahi, khan, 2017, p.02).

However, the term was used in 1918 by two French researchers. They had used the term to classify what French people witnessed by the colonial power (Berntzen, Rambol, 2020, par.02). The ideologies from Europe later impacted the relationship between Americans and Muslims abroad in the 19th century.

Islamophobia in America surged officially after the September 11, 2001 attack on the two towers. It was the event that gave rise to the anti-Islamic movements. According to

Khaled Beydoun (2019), Islamophobia in America is a racial projection that caused a racial framing of Muslims' identity in the American mind (par.01). He adds

Islamophobia is far more than merely dread or hatred of Muslims, or fear or dislike of the religion and its followers. These prevailing definitions tend to fixate on explicit or irrational animus, and far too often, the behaviors and actions of individuals (par.02).

The same view is put forward by Kerboua (2016). He argues that Islamophobia is

The irrational fear of the Muslim faith. By extension, it is then the fear of the people who practice that religion. That animosity can be expressed through different affects: simple apprehension, fear, rejection, contempt, and hatred of Islam and Muslims. This term and the phenomena it signifies reappeared in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 events (p. 23)

From the previous definitions, we understand that Islamophobia is a system or a movement of racial ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and actions towards Islam and Muslims. This system is based on the non-Muslims' perception of Islam and Muslims after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The most affected by Islamophobia was the Arab American community.

Islamophobia since its first use was connected to politics and academic domains. Several scholars and academics who studied the term agreed that Islamophobia has three dimensions. In his book "American Islamophobia", Beydoun (2018) divides Islamophobia into private Islamophobia, structural Islamophobia, and dialectical Islamophobia. Private Islamophobia is all the violent and hateful actions towards Muslims by specific actors. He defines private Islamophobia as "the fear, suspicion, and violent targeting of Muslims by private actors . These actors could be individuals or institutions acting in the capacity not directly tied to the state" (Beydoun, 2018, p.32).

Besides his definition, Beydoun discusses several examples of practicing private Islamophobia towards American Muslims. One of the common examples is Craig Hicks's murder of the three Arab American Muslim students Deah Shaddy Barakat, his wife Yusor Mohammed, and her sister Razan Mohammed Abu Salha in Chaptel hill 2015 (Watts, Hanna, 2019, par.02). Beydoun (2018) argues that private Islamophobia can target specific individuals – like the students' murder-. As it can target collective communities or institutions; For instance, the September 2015 wave of armed and unarmed anti-Muslim protests, when the protestors targeted the Arab American community Masjids in the United States. In the same year, Arab American community in America witnessed another horrific event where non-Muslims burned down many Masjids in the Muslims' hoods (Beydoun, 2018, p.33).

The second dimension of Islamophobia is structural Islamophobia. It is defined, according to Beydoun (2018), as

The fear and suspicion of Muslims on the part of government institutions and actors. This fear and suspicion are manifested through the advancement of laws, policy, and programming build upon the presumption that Muslim identity is associated with a national security threat (Beydoun, 2018, p.36).

He adds "structural Islamophobia is manifested by historic policy and state against Islam and Muslims... by the abandonment laws, policies, and programs enacted to police Muslims during the protracted war on terror" (p.37). In simple words, Beydoun (2018) describes structural Islamophobia as the government's fear of Muslims after 9/11 affected its domestic decisions. Due to the classification of Muslims as terrorists who threaten national security; the legislative branch of the government adopted significant plans and strategies against American Muslims including Arab Americans. The third dimension is the dialectic

Islamophobia. The dialectic Islamophobia according to Beydoun (2018) "is the very thread that binds the private and structural forms together" (p.40).

Secondly, it is common that the September 11, 2001 events started the racial treatment of Arabs, Muslims, and the Middle East. War on terror according to Grewal (as cited in Cainker, 2018), Muslims in America are already familiar with this discrimination (p.166). Yet, governmental support arose dramatically after the attacks. The September 11 events were a crucial incident in American history. It was a series of airline hijackings and suicide attacks against New York and Washington DC. The attacks were committed by 19 armed men who are associated with the Islamic extremist group al-Qaeda lead by Osama Bin Laden, and the Taliban terrorist association. The operational planner of those attacks was Khalid Sheikh Mohamed or KSM as he was referred to in the 9/11 Commission Report (Bergen, 2001, par.1). Two of the terrorists' planes were directed towards the World Trade Centers. The number of deaths was 3,000 lives. The third plane targeted the Pentagon, it killed hundreds of lives. The fourth and last airliner did not reach its target because the pit was attacked and crashed in a field (Paing, 2016, p.8).

After those events, in particular, President Bush launched the war on terror policy against Afghanistan and Iraq. He said "The deliberate and deadly attacks which were carried out yesterday against our country were more than acts of terror. They were acts of war" (Paing, 2016, p.9). In a speech addressing Congress and the nation, Bush said "Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated." (America Responds to 9/11, 2020, par.1). A day after the 9/11 attacks the war on terror started officially with Bush's announcement. One month later, thousands of American troops with many others from the coalition and UN forces were going to Afghanistan (President Bush obtained the aid from the UN and others because they acted on the rule that if any member of The North Atlantic

Treaty Organization (NATO) was attacked, the attacker would be seen as an enemy to all members). And later in 2003, the United States sent thousands of troops to Iraq to oust Saddam Hussein's forces (Paing, 2016, p.9-20).

During The war on terror, both Iraq and Afghanistan witnessed terrible attacks from the United States military forces. The Bush administration decided on some policies to solve this foreign issue that threatened national security. Muslims and Islam were targeted heavily by the United States governments inside and outside the states. Muslim Americans and Arab Americans community were treated like terrorists who are a threat to non-Muslims in America and all over the world. The reason why Americans reacted aggressively to Muslims after the launching of the war on terror was in the first place their fear i.e. Islamophobia. However, Arab activists and interest groups played a huge role in changing this view to Arab American Muslims. The role of Arab interest groups especially Arab American interest groups that were remarkable in this issue will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.5. The Characteristics of the U.S. Foreign Policy towards the Middle East

According to Nora Saighi (2015), the history of the relationships between the United States and the Middle East goes back to the pre Second World War era. The United States presence in the region was due to cultural and religious purposes. The United States attempted to spread Christianity and to create educational institutions in the Middle East including the Syrian Protestants College (1866) – the American University of Beirut now-, and the Robert College (1863) in Turkey (p.46). Since the post-war era, the intervention of the U.S. into the Middle East increased after the discovery of oil resources in the Persian Gulf. It was followed by various involvements in the Middle East countries such as Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria. The foreign policy toward the Middle East continued until the decision of invading Afghanistan and Iraq as a reaction to the September 11 attacks.

Saighi (2015) argues that the reasons behind those invasions are mainly because the Middle East is important in American development. The region has a strategic location, rich in raw materials, has important economic and trade ties. Due to those characteristics, the Middle East region competed with other countries for power during the pre-war era. They also proved to be basic motives to the United States to invade the Middle East; even though the United States leaders denied this intention of controlling the Middle East's goods claiming that they have not been driven to wars – the war on terror- by any of those materialistic factors. In that case, the invasion of the Middle East countries had various reasons. From one side is to democratize, and from the other side is to control.

After the launching of the global war on terror, President George Bush and his advisors created their new agenda that was based mainly on democratizing the Middle East. The new agenda was named the "Freedom Agenda". The freedom agenda called for a future agreement to solve the Israel-Palestine conflict first; then free territories especially Iraq (Scholten, 2017, p.36). In her thesis, *"The Character of Duplicity In U.S. Foreign Policy With Respect to the Middle East in the Aftermath of 9/11"*, Taalah (2016) argues that Bush's doctrine was characterized by its call for democracy in the Middle East because he announced many policies to democratize it that were centered on six propositions:

1. Freedom is the universal right of all people.
2. Free people will always choose to live in a liberal political and economic order.
3. Authoritarianism fosters terrorism, while democracy will undermine terrorism.
4. Democracy in Iraq will engender a democratic domino effect in the Middle East.
5. A democratic Middle East will be peaceful.
6. Middle East democratization will enhance American security and national interests (p.92)

However, President Bush was influenced and convinced that the enhancement of American interests in the Middle East can only be achieved through regime change. His ideas were based on the neoconservatives of enhancing peace in the Middle East region. The Clean

Break report was written by Richard Perle, James Colbert, Charles Fairbanks, Jr., Douglas Feith, Robert Loewenberg, David Wurmser, and Meyrav Wurmser (Isseroff, par.2). The report asserts that to ensure democracy in the Middle East, the Israeli military will create relationships with its countries, and the Israeli military forces will intervene in Arab states conflicts arises. Yet, a direct intervention of the United States and Israel army was directed to Iraq during the rule of Saddam Hussein (Taalah, 2016, p.96). Taalah (2016) affirms that

The clean break report is twofold; firstly the democratic pro-American regime in Iraq will reject terrorism and would no longer destabilize the Middle East. Secondly, Israel would be relieved of the threat of Hezbollah to overcome the constraints of the Oslo peace process and to impose a solution to the Palestinians (p.93).

Accordingly, the report tended to establish the American democracy in Iraq to stop the terrorism in Saddam Hussein's regime to achieve peace in the era. However, on the other hand, it relieved Israel from the Hezbollah threat, and its attempt to solve the Palestinian question.

2.6. Conclusion

The second chapter is titled: The United States Foreign Policy towards the Middle East and the United States Domestic Policy towards the Arab American Community. It has talked the implication of the U.S. agenda with Saudi Arabia and Arab Americans. The has chapter provided an overview of Arab American community, of their immigration in the United States, and the American's view of Muslims of the Middle East region. Second, the chapter has briefly mentioned the main historical background of the relationships between the United States and the Middle East countries. Saudi Arabia is the Middle East country that builds strong ties with the United States. It has also examined the impact of Islamophobia and the war on terror on the Arab American community. Finally, it showed several implications of

the United States foreign policy that is characterized by duplicity on the Middle East countries that were involved in the terrorist attacks.

The last chapter will tackle the role of some Arab American interest groups in changing the United States policies. It will talk about the interest groups' participation in the AWACS airborne sale, the fight against Islamophobia, and the protection of American Muslims and Arab American Muslims from the domestic policies of the war of terror.

Chapter Three

The Influence of Arab American Interest Groups on the United States Foreign and Domestic Policy

3.1. Introduction

After discussing the theoretical framework of the Arab American interest groups and the United States foreign and domestic policymakers in the first chapter, the historical background of the AWACS's sale, the War on Terror, and Islamophobia's impact on Arab American community in the second chapter. The third chapter points out the involvement of the Arab American interest groups in changing the United States policy in two cases of study. The first one deals with the foreign policy which is the Airborne Warning And Control Systems (AWACS) deal focusing on those interest groups' role in changing the opposition arguments presented by the U.S. Congress. The second case tackles mainly the efforts of the groups on changing the American perception -that is Islamophobia- to the Middle East Muslims and the Arab American community. On the other hand, it tackles the role of Arab American interest groups and Arab American lobbyists in changing the domestic agenda towards this community to protect the Arab American citizens during the war on terror on Afghanistan and Iraq launched in Bush's doctrine. Finally, the last chapter of this thesis discusses the factors behind the Arab American interest groups' controversial role in changing the United States' foreign and domestic policy.

3.2. Arab American Interest Groups and the AWACS sale

The only case that represents real success for Arab Gulf lobbying is the F- 15 and the AWACS from 30 years ago. This was the time when Saudi Arabia marshaled its assets to influence the making of public policy in the US. I am taking this as a case of success, as ousting an opponent is a reason to evaluate the result as a win. In this case, the Saudis were

able to win, despite strong opposition from the pro-Israel lobby, by virtue of orchestrating a constituency in support of the sale. The pressure exerted by the coalition of American businesses and unions that the Saudis put together resulted in breaking up the opposition (Koleilat Khatib, 2016, p.93).

According to Dania Khatib's book *"The Arab Lobby and the US: Factors for success and failure"*, the major case where Arab American interest groups showed their ability to influence the American policymakers and the American foreign agenda was the sale of Airborne Warning and Control Systems aircraft known as (AWACS) to Saudi Arabia in 1981. Despite all the challenges and obstacles that faced the deal, the AWACS airborne sale was very important to Saudi Arabia due to its need for protection from the Soviet threat.

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter of this study, Congress with its both houses opposed the AWACS airborne sale to Saudi Arabia. When President Carter came to power in 1977, he had a meeting with Crown Prince King Fahd where they agreed to the Kingdom's need the weapons. Carter's administration expressed approval for the deal however it explained that the deal would face a lot of opposition in both houses of Congress. When President Reagan came to office, he officially announced the AWACS airborne sale to Saudi Arabia in April 1981. However, congress with both houses opposed the deal since the beginning for many reasons.

At the level of the House of Representatives, the opposition was very strong. On July 1, 1981, the deal was rejected by 301 to 111 votes due to a campaign by the Jewish lobby efforts. Simpson (2006) said, "The key to understanding the recurring obstacles, objections, and rejections encountered in attempting to sell advanced weapons to Saudi Arabia is the special relation that exists between the United States and Israel" (p.47). He also notes that the Israeli prime minister had personally interfered in blocking the sale (p.48). In addition to their prime minister visit, the Jewish interest groups used their financial and organizational

resources to defeat House members because they have relatively small constituencies (Koleilat, 2016, p.97). Halloran (1981) wrote in the New York Times that Representatives Norman F. Lent and Clarence D. Long said they had obtained 224 signatures on a bipartisan resolution asserting that the House objects to the proposed sale (Section A, p.1). The House opposition was fixed and Reagan's administration could not change it in the initial phase of the AWACS sale.

President Reagan lost any hope to convince the House of Representatives to change their opposition, and he focused on the Senate. However, Senator Bob Packwood told reporters of The New York Times that a letter signed by 34 Democrats and 20 Republicans had been sent to President Reagan saying "It is our strong belief that this sale is not in the best interests of the United States and therefore recommend that you refrain from sending this proposal to the Congress" (Halloran, 1981, p.1). However, The Senate later voted 52 to 48 to permit the sale of AWACS planes and other air combat equipment to Saudi Arabia (Mohr, 1981, para.1).

Accordingly, we understand that one of the main reasons why the House of Representatives and the Senate opposed the sale was the Jewish lobbies' efforts. Due to the strong relationships between the United States and Israel, the deal was opposed by representatives. They were afraid to lose the power of Israel and its loyalty to the United States. The Israel lobby -the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) - opposed the sale because it threatens the Israelis. Israel could no longer have the freedom of movement or the invincibility they had before in the Middle East if Saudi Arabia had weapons. In addition to the Jewish lobbies' financial support to the representatives who opposed the sale, the Senate rejected the sale because they believed that Saudi Arabia will use the weapons for other purposes rather than its security.

In addition to Reagan's efforts, and the Pentagon's approval for the sale; Saudi Arabia applied both direct and indirect lobbying strategies to win the arms sale after being silent in the initial phase of the sale. It relayed on Reagan's administration to push the sale. However, the Saudi leaders understood that the Senate did not trust its promises that the AWACS airborne will be used only in a defensive role (Simpson, 2006, p73).

Koleilat (2016) agrees that Arab interest groups and advocacy organizations played a key role in changing the Congress opposition, and convincing senators and representatives to ratify the deal.

In the context of direct lobbying, they relied upon Prince Bander's relationships with President Reagan, who later succeeded in obtaining the approval of Congress. Also, the Saudi leaders organized a trip for both senators and representatives to Saudi Arabia to see the region and to stop their fear of the Kingdom.

On the other side, Arab American interest groups and organizations spent efforts to show the significance of the deal for the American national interest with the help of Saudi Arabia's leaders. According to Koleilat (2016), the United States' Department of Justice argues in 1981 that the corporation shall be responsible for broadening the participation of Saudi Arabia with Arab American organizations whose goals and ideals are generally consistent with those of its government (p.105). Those Arab American interest groups that were involved in the sale are the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), and the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) achieved the aim indebted to its Executive Director David Sadd's efforts helped Prince Bandar to organize the support of US industries that had an interest in Saudi Arabia to lobby for the sale (Koleilat, 2016, p.105).

Because the NAAA represented a domestic American organization, the arguments of its president Sadd were based on the Arab American citizens' place in America. In the hearing organized by the United States governments to know the arguments of both sides, Sadd focused that his organization represented American citizens of Arab ancestry. The NAAA gave the same arguments as the Saudis claiming that the refusal of the sale would undermine Reagan's "credibility in the region, and among Arab American community stressing out that the American people including the Arab Americans would like to know the congress support to President Reagan to do what is in America's best interests and what American foreign policy should be to achieve those interests. On the other hand, the NAAA president stressed Saudi Arabia's need for the sale to protect its oil from the Soviet threat, defending his position by the United States need for this oil to build great economical ties in Saudi Arabia, later in the Middle East countries (Koleilat, 2016, p106).

On October 28, 1981, the Senate finally voted favorably for the package and the deal went through (Koleilat, 2016, p 95).

The AWACS sale was passed due to President Reagan's efforts in the first place because he wanted to do the sale. On the other hand, the Arab American interest groups' role especially the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) which its president stressed out in his arguments on the Arab American community in the United States, and focused on explaining Saudi Arabia's intentions and needs for the AWACS airborne to protect itself. And other factors the votes in the house started to shift. The success of the Arab American interest group was marked for the first time. The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) showed its effectiveness against the Jewish lobbies that were famous at that time for their power in the United States of America. Moreover, the Arab American interest groups also succeeded in changing and influencing the Unites States' foreign policy.

3.3. Arab American Interest Groups and Arab American Community

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the events of September 11, 2001, initiated an ideological gap between the United States and Arabs especially the Arab Americans. Bush's administration launched what is known as the global war on terror in both Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). We also related the war on terror to Islamophobia because the American's perception of the Arab American community, Muslims, Islam, and the Arab world has changed noticeably after the attacks on the Twin Towers. However Arab lobbies including Arab American interest groups engaged and still combating and fighting such fear and discrimination. They sought to educate non-Muslims about Islam and to bring the two worlds closer together again. Furthermore, educating only citizens to stop discrimination is not enough, the United States decision-makers on the other side created different policies against Islam and Muslims. To change this, Arab American interest groups are trying to influence policymakers to change or to reduce sanctions on Muslims and Arab American Muslims.

The Arab American interest groups attempt to fight Islamophobia and American non-Muslims discrimination against the Arab American community. Scholten (2017) provides an example of Arab American interest group which had great efforts in changing the American view to Muslims and fight Islamophobia. The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee's (ADC) core mission is to protect and support the human and civil rights of all people. The interest group also opposes racism and bigotry in any form, especially against Arab Americans. ADC's main focus is on Islam, Scholten (2017) said: "For example, the committee takes action against misinformation and stereotypes about Islam in the curricula of schools" p.26. In this regard, we understand that the ADC is highly involved in changing the American perception of the Arab American community which was related to terrorists. Its

efforts in schools curricula were mainly to change this idea of all Muslims are terrorists to young aged Americans.

Furthermore, in November 2009, ADC published an article titled "*Facts about Islam*". The article explained the Islam religion briefly, it stressed on "Muslims, Christians, and Jews all worship the same God" and that "Islam has been a relatively tolerant religion." (par.08). the article's main aim is to show that Islam does not mean terrorism, and Muslims are not terrorists. After the publishing of the ADC's article, the view of Muslims was somehow changed. The ADC's efforts were helpful to the Arab Americans because Arab American Muslims in the years after 2009 lived in harmony with the non-Muslims people. However, this harmony did not last forever due to the Middle East conflicts that appeared later such as the emergence of ISIS.

Another Arab American interest group that fought for the Arab American community is the Arab American Institute (AAI). In October 2001, James Zogby (AAI president) submitted a report to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The report includes various cases of violence and discrimination against the Arab American community after September 11. Zogby said: "Arab Americans found themselves the targets of incidents of hate and bias" (p.01). He adds: "part of the reasons why Arab Americans have come to be scapegoated in times of crisis is because, for many decades, my community has been defined by negative stereotypes propagated by the popular culture" (p.01). Based on Zogby's words, we understand that he directly attached the discrimination against Muslims to Islamophobia, i.e. the reason why Americans targeted Muslims in the first place is their fear of them.

Zogby (2001) gave many examples of terrific crimes against Arab Americans in his report including hate crimes and acts of bias that were reported to the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) from September 11 to October 10, 2001. He said:

So far, six cases have been reported to us where people have been fired and been told the specific reason for their dismissal was that their fellow employees didn't want "an Arab in the workplace." This is an area of concern that bears watching since there are signs that it may grow in the future. (p.02)

An Arab American Congressman was excluded from a flight. Arab American churches, as well as mosques, were attacked. And, in many instances, bigots struck out at anyone whom they suspected was Arab, victimizing Sikhs, South Asians, and Hispanics. (p.03)

Zogby (2001) however in his reports shows the help of the United States government to solve the problem of Islamophobia. He shed light on many efforts started by the president and his followers, the congress, and other departments. He stressed on the support that the AAI received from the FBI. From the Director on down, when he argues that the FBI has responded to every complaint of hate that the AAI has brought to them. They have also met with the AAI community's leadership in Washington and several centers across the US (p.04). He said

Let me note here that however serious this period has been, I dread to think how much worse it might have been had our nation's leadership not acted as quickly and proactively as they did. The President took the lead in cautioning against this backlash and was joined by the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Director of the FBI. Their repeated statements, I believe, helped to stem the wave of backlash. Also worthy of note were the actions of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives who passed resolutions decrying hate crimes against Arab Americans and American Muslims. Individual Senators and Representatives also took immediate action to shine a light on this problem. (p.03)

Accordingly, the Arab American interest groups played a huge role in fighting Islamophobia. They were successful to some extent in protecting Arab American Muslims from the discrimination of non-Muslims. The efforts of both AAI and ADC were remarkable during the post 9/11 events especially because the events revive the idea of all Muslims are terrorists and Islam is terrorism. Even though their role was remarkable; the discriminations did not stop definitely against Arab Americans and the Middle East especially after the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2014. All efforts of Arab American interest groups to fight Islamophobia were vanished due to the ISIS attacks and actions.

In addition to the Arab Americans' discrimination from non-Muslim Americans, The United States government also passed different acts and policies after the 9/11 events.

On September 11, 2001, immediately after the attacks on the two towers, the President of the United States George Bush promised that the United States will punish those responsible for these cowardly events. Only one day later, on September 12, 2001, the President declared war on terrorism confirming that the United States of America will use all of its sources to conquer this enemy. On September 14, 2001, the President, announced the National Emergencies Act declared that the nation was in a state of emergency. President Bush instructed Attorney General Ashcroft immediately after the 9/11 attacks and made him responsible for tracking down the terrorists and protecting the nation from another terrorist attack (Wong, 2006, p.173). On September 20, 2001, addressing Congress, President Bush said: "Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime" (McKeever, Davies, 2006, p.356).

So far, Arab American interest groups did not intervene in Bush's foreign policy when he declared the war on terror neither on Afghanistan 2001, nor Iraq 2003. No groups of the

mentioned interest groups had a comment on Bush's decision towards the Middle East. However, they kept working in fighting Islamophobia and discrimination on Arab American community and American Muslims inside the United States only.

The United States government after days of Arab American Institution (AAI) commission report against Arab American discrimination passed the Patriot Act on October 24, 2001. The United States of America Patriot Act (USAPA) enhances law enforcement, expansive powers, security agencies, and increased resources to deter and punish terrorist acts both at home and abroad. The Bush administration was supported by a Republican Congress. It was quick to push for the reinventing and renewing of the Act.

McKeever and Davies (2006) states that

The basic thrust of the legislation was to enhance the powers of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to monitor individuals' private communications... The main provisions of the Act modified the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to allow a considerable expansion of secret intelligence gathering. Such activities now cover all crime, not just terrorism, and extend the access of the intelligence and law enforcement services to more kinds of private information. Furthermore, government agencies are permitted much greater powers to share information and have thus blurred the distinction between foreign and domestic activities. Another important feature was broader powers for the attorney-general to detain indefinitely non-citizens suspected of terrorist activities. (p.350)

The Patriot Act had prohibited eavesdropping by the government on private face-to-face, telephone, and electronic communications authorized by court order in narrowly defined circumstances in cases of serious crimes. Section 201 from the act authorized the FBI and the CIS to intercept wire, oral, and electronic communications relating to terrorism. Section 215

allowed the FBI access to records and others. To facilitate cooperation between law enforcement and intelligence agencies in cases involving terrorism, Section 203 allowed government attorneys to disclose matters before a federal grand jury whose investigations are generally secret to any Federal law enforcement, intelligence, protective, immigration, national defense, or national security official when such matters concerned foreign intelligence or counterintelligence (Duignan, 2020, p2).

The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) reacted to the Patriot Act section 215 in particular. The section says "Access to Records and Other Items under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. Title V of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Of 1978 is amended by striking Sec. 501: Access to certain business records for foreign intelligence and international terrorism investigations" (An Act, 2001, p.37). It means that this section expands the FBA's ability to secretly obtain records and personal belongings of anybody living in the US, including Arab Americans. Section 215 would also give the FBI agents secret access to any individual's bank, library, or medical records.

As a reaction to section 215, American-Arab Anti Discrimination Committee (ADC) and several other organizations that were represented by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), filed a challenge to this section on October 03, 2003. Yet, The US Department of Justice has attempted to dismiss the challenge. However, in response to the US Department of Justice's attempts, the ACLU on November 06, 2003, filed a response on behalf of ADC and the other organizations asserting the reasons why the US government should not dismiss the challenge and the case should continue. Due to their demands, the United States government organized a hearing on December 3, 2003, in front of the District Court in Detroit, Michigan Judge Denise Pagehood. Other interest groups that participated in the hearing including the Muslim Community Association (MCA), the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS), Bridge Refugee and Sponsorship Services (BRSS), and the

Council of Arab-Islamic Relations (CAIR) (ADC's Challenge To The USA Patriot Act, 2003, par.02). In the same article published by the ADC website, the ADC President Mary Rose Oakar said, "We do not take this serious step lightly by any means, but we see this lawsuit as vital to defend the civil rights of Arab Americans..." (sec.02)

The president of ADC also said: "section 215 also allows the government to access, without probable cause, informations on our members which we regard as strictly confidential" (sec, 02). She concluded her speech by saying "Arab Americans are among the groups most vulnerable to abuse of this kind, and these unconstitutional provisions of the Act must be challenged to defend their basic rights" (sec, 02).

In this regard, we understand that the main reason why the ADC and other groups including the Arab American interest group the ACCESS opposed section 215 is that the section did not respect basic civil rights such as security, privacy, and freedom that are guaranteed in the American constitution. The ADC stressed that the government should not pass its limits and spy on American citizens and Arab American citizens. It should not disrespect their privacy. On the other hand, the ADC president showed her fear about her interest groups' members also because they will be under this secret access to private pieces of information. Those concerns and fears appeared in her speech in the hearing of December 2003.

The ADC and other interest groups kept working in this case. They tried to lobby decision-makers from the United States Congress. Yet finally, on March 15, 2020, Section 215 of the PATRIOT Act expired and failed to reach an agreement on a broader set of reforms to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) (McKinney and Crocker, 2020, par.01).

In this regard, we might say that the efforts of the Arab American interest groups were controversial in changing the Americans' discriminations against Arab Americans inside the

United States. In the Patriot Act of 2001, sec 102, the Arab Americans had different rights such as the full recognition of their citizenship, provide their protection and safety from discrimination, preserve their freedom to practice their religion and work on punishing any American citizen who committed crimes against them. However, this was just to win their support and their voices during elections since they are a big community. The discriminations after the act did not stop until nowadays.

From 2001 to 2021, many hate crimes were committed against Arab Americans and American Muslims especially during Trump's doctrine 2017-2021. On the other hand, the Arab American interest groups especially the Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) and Arab American Institute (AAI) which made great efforts to influence the United States' domestic policy through their speeches and reports to the congress. Their efforts helped the Arab American community and American Muslims to have privacy and security especially because almost all the domestic policies against them are results of Islamophobia in the first place.

3.4. The Arab American Interest Groups Limitations

The failure or the success of the Arab American interest groups in influencing the United States agenda was controversial as we stated in the first chapter. At the level of influencing the U.S. foreign policy, as we claimed in the third chapter, the Arab American interest groups' one case of success is the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia. They played a huge role in making the sale possible. At the level of domestic policy, they also tried several tactics to protect the Arab American community from racial discrimination.

However, the Arab American interest groups in both cases we discussed faced several challenges in their attempt to influence the American policymakers. In the case of the AWACS sale, the only challenge that they faced was the huge impact of the Jewish lobbies especially the AIPAC group. Due to the strong ties between the United States and Israel,

Israel showed its opposition to the sale. The AIPAC efforts in preventing the deal were remarkable; it tried to influence the congressmen in many ways. The sale as we mentioned before was opposed by the representatives who had the aid from the AIPAC. Yet, the Arab American interest groups' efforts besides the President Reagan's efforts the sale was approved by the congress in the same year of its proposition. And the case was considered as the first case of success of Arab American interest groups in influencing the United States foreign agenda.

Meanwhile, the second case that is mainly concerned with influencing the domestic policies towards the Arab Americans also faced different problems. The words Arabs, Muslims, and Islam terrify American citizens and American decision-makers. They draw a stereotypical picture of the terrorists and murders in with Arabs through generations as well sharply increased in the last two decades. Even worse, any attacks or violent acts that happen in America, fingers will be pointed at the Arab American community in particular. In addition to this image, Israel's efforts are also counted in using racist propaganda against Arab Muslims and Arab Americans. Its attempts to demonize and distort the image of Arabs were taken into account within the American society which almost all of them are Islamophobes. Due to those reasons, the Arab American interest groups were not fully able to shape and influence the United States' domestic policy. Yet they were successful to some extent in protecting the Arab American community.

Other factors that may affect the work of Arab American interest groups in promoting the Arab agenda are the lack of coordination and coalition among the entire Arabs. The lack of coordination appeared when each Arab American interest group works alone in favor of one issue. They do not work together in order to achieve a common goal or to change a specific policy. In addition to that, the Arab American interest groups failed to build strong relationships with the American decision-makers, unlike the Jewish lobbies. The reason that

made their techniques lack influence and they could not apply direct and indirect lobbying effectively.

3.5. Conclusion

The last chapter of this study went through pointing out two cases of study in which Arab American interest groups attempt to influence the United States policy. The first case dealt with the case of the Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) deal that marked the success of the Arab American interest groups especially the NAAA in influencing the United States foreign policy in particular. The deal was approved regardless of the Israeli lobbies' effort to counter the Arab American interest groups and Saudis. However, the second case tackled the influence of Arab American interest groups such as the ADC and the AAI on the United States' domestic policy. They attempted to stop the discrimination against the Arab American community and the American Muslims. Therefore, they failed to influence the domestic policymakers from one side but succeeded in influencing the public opinion from the other side. Finally, the arguments behind their failures were made after the deep analysis of their attempts and the opposition's attempts.

General Conclusion

After having examined the Arab American interest groups, we can conclude this work by simply saying that the Arab American interest groups have been quite active and have attempted to influence decision-makers through both direct and indirect lobbying, to have an impact on the United States foreign and domestic policy. To show this controversial influence on American policy, we divided this study into three chapters.

In the first chapter which was the conceptual framework, we discussed briefly the definition and the classification of interest groups in the United States. Based on different scholars, we found that interest groups in the United States are divided into domestic and foreign lobbies. Their main aim is to influence policymakers to recreate and reshape their decisions in favor of the groups' interests. Besides that, we also shed light on the main concern of this thesis which is the Arab American interest groups and their roles. Those groups play an important role in influencing the United States' foreign and domestic policies. In the conceptual chapter, we focused on their main goals which can be summarized as follows:

- They work in favor of their governments to influence the United States' foreign agenda, especially towards the Middle East.
- They work in favor of their interest because they belong to the Arab American community.
- They seek to influence the United States domestic policy that is directed towards their community which suffered from hate crimes and discrimination.
- They seek to reduce the AIPAC influence on the United States policymakers.
- They work to fight Islamophobia and the war on terror that was launched after the events of September 11, 2001.

- They try to change the American stereotypical image of Muslims and Arabs that was built over generations.

To achieve their goals, to influence the American policy, and to participate in fighting Islamophobia, Arab American interest groups applied direct and indirect strategies. The indirect strategies as was mentioned before are by sending letters, reports, or phone calls with decision-makers. While the direct strategies such as the personal meetings with decision-makers, or the diplomatic visits to the United States. We found that both strategies were implemented by the Arab American interest groups records.

Moreover; we discussed the making process of the United States foreign and domestic policy based on reading the American Constitution. We focused on the main parts such as the President, the Congress, the Cabinets, the Departments, and the Private Agencies. We mentioned factors that might influence the American policy including the interest groups.

In order to understand the different events that lead to the unfair policies towards the Middle East and the Arab American community. We in the second chapter talked about the implication of the United States agenda with Saudi Arabia and Arab Americans. From the provided overview about Arab American community and Arab Muslims, we found that this community represents the majority of ethnic communities in the United States. Thus, its population was increasing for decades until now. The reason why this community was targeted heavily by the American non-Muslims is that Islamophobia has existed even before their existence in the United States. However, this Islamophobia which is the fear of Muslims increased since the September 11, 2001 attacks on the twin towers, Washington by AL Qaida. Those attacks in Bush's doctrine caused the global war on terror that was launched just one day after the attacks.

We also mentioned in the chapter the relationships between Saudi Arabia and the United States, pointing that Saudi Arabia was very important to the united states the same as

Israel. Saudi Arabia is important to America because it is the core of the Middle East oil. Its strategic location in the Arab world was beneficial to the United States to expand its powers in the area. Saudi Arabia has built strong ties with the United States. The AWACS sale of 1981 was very important to both sides. The Saudis claimed that they need the airborne to protect their lands from the soviet invasion, and the Americans needed money.

We also talked about the characteristics of the United States' foreign policy towards the Middle East. Our research showed that the United States' foreign policy was characterized by duplicity. Duplicity briefly means that the policy has two faces. The United States leaders since the past justify their invasion of the Middle East by their attempt to democratize the region. That is why they built different institutions and universities in the region. However, when mentioning the characteristics of the region that is its strategic position and the main thing its oil and natural resources, we understand that the United States invaded the Middle East only to take benefits to its nation.

In our last chapter, we selected two cases to show the influence of the Arab American interest groups on the United States' foreign and domestic policy. The first case we dealt with is the Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) deal that marked the success of the Arab American interest groups in influencing the United States' foreign policy in particular. Saudi Arabia as we have seen applied both direct lobbying and indirect lobbying to win the sale. The direct strategy was when Prince Bander visited the United States to meet with the president. Also the National Arab American Association's president Sadd's presence in the hearing; the indirect lobbying includes many attempts of Arab lobbyists who get paid from the Saudi government to win the AWACS sale. However, it was a hard process for the Arab American interest groups because the sale to Saudi Arabia was ratified by the congress after months of its proposition officially by President Ronald Reagan. The deal was approved

regardless of the Israeli lobbies' effort to counter the Arab American interest groups and Saudis.

The second case that we have tackled is the influence of Arab American interest groups such as the Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Arab American Institute, and the National Arab American Association on American domestic policy. They attempted to fight Islamophobia and to stop discrimination against the Arab American community and the American Muslims were mainly by using indirect strategies. The ADC publications through media and public opinion about Islam and Muslims sought to correct the wrong American perception of Islam; on the other hand, to change the American discriminations against the Arab American community.

The AAI on the other side applied both strategies; the direct strategy was the different meetings that James Zogby held with different representatives and senators. The indirect strategies are when Zogby sent the commission report of October 2001 to the congress. The commission report includes many cases of hate crimes that were committed towards Arab American Muslims in the days after the terrorist attacks on the twin towers. Zogby asked for Arab Americans' rights because they are the majority in the United States. He asked decision-makers to create a domestic policy that might protect his community.

The American decision-makers after few days of Zogby's commission report announced the Patriot Act. Section 102 from the act stressed the Arab American community's rights. The section promised to protect the Arab Americans and to punish anyone who commits a hate crime against them. So far Arab American interest groups were satisfied. However, section 215 that allows the FBI to access private informations created a huge reaction from the ADC. ADC President Mary Rose Oakar found that this section is directed toward the Arab Americans in particular because the government relates them to the terrorist attacks. In the hearing when ADC President Mary Rose Oakar attended, she asked the

decision-makers to delete this section from the act because it affected its community and its committee members. After years of trying, the section was finally removed from the act.

We might say that the Arab American interest groups were successful in changing the American domestic policies towards the Arab American community. However, the hate crimes did never stop against them. Due to the recent problems in the Middle East, the Arab American communities were again under those discriminations.

After this detailed analysis of the Arab American interest groups' works, we found that their work is controversial. Their attempts to influence the United States foreign policy except for the AWACS deal were failed. They could not stop the global war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan, nor solve the Palestine conflict. They could not stop the war in Iran. Their failure was due to many reasons including Israel's efforts. Their lobby the AIPAC played a huge role in preventing Arab American works. The second reason for their failure in both domestic and foreign policy is the American view of Muslims. Islamophobia with all its dimensions was practiced in the United States against Arab Americans and Arab Muslims. The third reason is the lack of cooperation between the groups and the unfinished problems and crisis in the Middle East region

For future recommendations, Arab American interest groups need to focus more on American foreign policy. They must work together to solve one clear issue overtime to gain the sympathy of both domestic and external support. The Arab American interest groups must work smart in sharing their beliefs. They should not share their interests in their websites only, but also they need to focus on showing their aims, goals, and even their records on media especially social media. Finally, they need to work on public opinion because public opinion can change many policies in the United States. Arab Americans need to build strong relationships with policymakers in the United States just like the Jewish lobby who are very successful in changing the United States policies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Declaration of National Emergency by Reason Of Certain Terrorist Attacks

For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
September 14, 2001

Declaration of National Emergency by Reason Of Certain Terrorist Attacks

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

A national emergency exists by reason of the terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center, New York, New York, and the Pentagon, and the continuing and immediate threat of further attacks on the United States.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE W. BUSH, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, I hereby declare that the national emergency has existed since September 11, 2001, and, pursuant to the National Emergencies Act(50 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), I intend to utilize the following statutes: sections 123, 123a, 527, 2201(c), 12006, and 12302of title 10, United States Code, and sections 331, 359, and 367 of title 14, United States Code.

This proclamation immediately shall be published in the Federal Register or disseminated through the Emergency Federal Register, and transmitted to the Congress.

This proclamation is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or any person.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord two thousand one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-sixth.

GEORGE W. BUSH

Source: George Bush (2001), the White House Archive.

Appendix 2

The USA PATRIOT Act: by the Department of Justice



Department of Justice

The Department of Justice's first priority is to prevent future terrorist attacks. Since its passage following the September 11, 2001 attacks, the Patriot Act has played a key part - and often the leading role - in a number of successful operations to protect innocent Americans from the deadly plans of terrorists dedicated to destroying America and our way of life. While the results have been important, in passing the Patriot Act, Congress provided for only modest, incremental changes in the law. Congress simply took existing legal principles and retrofitted them to preserve the lives and liberty of the American people from the challenges posed by a global terrorist network.

The USA PATRIOT Act: Preserving Life and Liberty

(Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism)

Congress enacted the Patriot Act by overwhelming, bipartisan margins, arming law enforcement with new tools to detect and prevent terrorism: The USA Patriot Act was passed nearly unanimously by the Senate 98-1, and 357-66 in the House, with the support of members from across the political spectrum.

The Act Improves Our Counter-Terrorism Efforts in Several Significant Ways:

1. The Patriot Act allows investigators to use the tools that were already available to investigate organized crime and drug trafficking. Many of the tools the Act provides to law enforcement to fight terrorism have been used for decades to fight organized crime and drug dealers, and have been reviewed and approved by the courts. As Sen. Joe Biden (D-DE) explained during the floor debate about the Act, "the FBI could get a wiretap to investigate the mafia, but they could not get one to investigate terrorists. To put it bluntly, that was crazy! What's good for the mob should be good for terrorists." (Cong. Rec., 10/25/01)

- **Allows law enforcement to use surveillance against more crimes of terror.** Before the Patriot Act, courts could permit law enforcement to conduct electronic surveillance to investigate many ordinary, non-terrorism crimes, such as drug crimes, mail fraud, and passport fraud. Agents also could obtain wiretaps to investigate some, but not all, of the crimes that terrorists often commit. The Act enabled investigators to gather information when looking into the full range of terrorism-related crimes, including: chemical-weapons offenses, the use of weapons of mass destruction, killing Americans abroad, and terrorism financing.

- **Allows federal agents to follow sophisticated terrorists trained to evade detection.** For years, law enforcement has been able to use "roving wiretaps" to investigate ordinary crimes, including drug offenses and racketeering. A roving wiretap can be authorized by a federal judge to apply to a particular suspect, rather than a particular phone or communications device. Because international terrorists are sophisticated and trained to thwart surveillance by rapidly changing locations and communication devices such as cell phones, the Act authorized agents to seek court permission to use the same techniques in national security investigations to track terrorists.

- **Allows law enforcement to conduct investigations without tipping off terrorists.** In some cases if criminals are tipped off too early to an investigation, they might flee, destroy evidence, intimidate or kill witnesses, cut off contact with associates, or take other action to evade arrest. Therefore, federal courts in narrow circumstances long have allowed law enforcement to delay for a limited time when the subject is told that a judicially-approved search warrant has been executed. Notice is always provided, but the reasonable delay gives law enforcement time to identify the criminal's associates, eliminate immediate threats to our communities, and coordinate the arrests of multiple individuals without tipping them off beforehand. These delayed notification search warrants have been used for decades, have proven crucial in drug and organized crime cases, and have been upheld by courts as fully constitutional.

- **Allows federal agents to ask a court for an order to obtain business records in national security terrorism cases.** Examining business records often provides the key that investigators are looking for to solve a wide range of crimes. Investigators might seek select records from hardware stores or chemical plants, for example, to find out who bought materials to make a bomb, or bank records to see who's sending money to terrorists. Law enforcement authorities have always been able to obtain business records in criminal cases through grand jury subpoenas, and continue to do so in national security cases where appropriate. These records were sought in criminal cases such as the investigation of the Zodiac gunman, where police suspected the gunman was inspired by a Scottish occult poet, and wanted to learn who had checked the poet's books out of the library. In national security cases where use of the grand jury process was not appropriate, investigators previously had limited tools at their disposal to obtain certain business records. Under the Patriot Act, the government can now ask a federal court (the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court), if needed to aid an investigation, to order production of the same type of records available through grand jury subpoenas. This federal court, however, can issue these orders only after the government demonstrates the records concerned are sought for an authorized investigation to obtain foreign intelligence information not concerning a U.S. person or to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities, provided that such investigation of a U.S. person is not conducted solely on the basis of activities protected by the First Amendment.

2. The Patriot Act facilitated information sharing and cooperation among government agencies so that they can better "connect the dots." The Act removed the major legal barriers that prevented the law enforcement, intelligence, and national defense communities from talking and coordinating their work to protect the American people and our national security. The government's prevention efforts should not be restricted by boxes on an organizational chart. Now police officers, FBI agents, federal prosecutors and intelligence officials can protect our communities by "connecting the dots" to uncover terrorist plots before they are completed. As Sen. John Edwards (D-N.C.) said about the Patriot Act, "we simply cannot prevail in the battle against terrorism if the right hand of our government has no idea what the left hand is doing." (Press release, 10/26/01)

- Prosecutors and investigators used information shared pursuant to section 218 in investigating the defendants in the so-called "Virginia Jihad" case. This prosecution involved members of the Dar al-Arqam Islamic Center, who trained for jihad in Northern Virginia by participating in paintball and paramilitary training, including eight individuals who traveled to terrorist training camps in Pakistan or Afghanistan between 1999 and 2001. These individuals are associates of a violent Islamic extremist group known as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET), which operates in Pakistan and Kashmir, and that has ties to the al Qaeda terrorist network. As the result of an investigation that included the use of information obtained through FISA, prosecutors were able to bring charges against these individuals. Six of the defendants have pleaded guilty, and three were convicted in March 2004 of charges including conspiracy to levy war against the United States and conspiracy to provide material support to the Taliban. These nine defendants received sentences ranging from a prison term of four years to life imprisonment.

3. The Patriot Act updated the law to reflect new technologies and new threats. The Act brought the law up to date with current technology, so we no longer have to fight a digital-age battle with antique weapons-legal authorities leftover from the era of rotary telephones. When investigating the murder of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl, for example, law enforcement used one of the Act's new authorities to use high-tech means to identify and locate some of the killers.

- **Allows law enforcement officials to obtain a search warrant anywhere a terrorist-related activity occurred.** Before the Patriot Act, law enforcement personnel were required to obtain a search warrant in the district where they intended to conduct a search. However, modern terrorism investigations often span a number of districts, and officers therefore had to obtain multiple warrants in multiple jurisdictions, creating unnecessary delays. The Act provides that warrants can be obtained in any district in which terrorism-related activities occurred, regardless of where they will be executed. This provision does not change the standards governing the availability of a search warrant, but streamlines the search-warrant process.

- **Allows victims of computer hacking to request law enforcement assistance in monitoring the "trespassers" on their computers.** This change made the law

technology-neutral; it placed electronic trespassers on the same footing as physical trespassers. Now, hacking victims can seek law enforcement assistance to combat hackers, just as burglary victims have been able to invite officers into their homes to catch burglars.

4. The Patriot Act increased the penalties for those who commit terrorist crimes.

Americans are threatened as much by the terrorist who pays for a bomb as by the one who pushes the button. That's why the Patriot Act imposed tough new penalties on those who commit and support terrorist operations, both at home and abroad. In particular, the Act:

- **Prohibits the harboring of terrorists.** The Act created a new offense that prohibits knowingly harboring persons who have committed or are about to commit a variety of terrorist offenses, such as: destruction of aircraft; use of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons; use of weapons of mass destruction; bombing of government property; sabotage of nuclear facilities; and aircraft piracy.
- **Enhanced the inadequate maximum penalties for various crimes likely to be committed by terrorists:** including arson, destruction of energy facilities, material support to terrorists and terrorist organizations, and destruction of national-defense materials.
- **Enhanced a number of conspiracy penalties,** including for arson, killings in federal facilities, attacking communications systems, material support to terrorists, sabotage of nuclear facilities, and interference with flight crew members. Under previous law, many terrorism statutes did not specifically prohibit engaging in conspiracies to commit the underlying offenses. In such cases, the government could only bring prosecutions under the general federal conspiracy provision, which carries a maximum penalty of only five years in prison.
- **Punishes terrorist attacks on mass transit systems.**
- **Punishes bioterrorists.**
- **Eliminates the statutes of limitations for certain terrorism crimes and lengthens them for other terrorist crimes.**

The government's success in preventing another catastrophic attack on the American homeland since September 11, 2001, would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, without the USA Patriot Act. The authorities Congress provided have substantially enhanced our ability to prevent, investigate, and prosecute acts of terror.

Source: The United States' Department of Justice (2001).

Appendix 3

Part of George Bush' Speech that Discusses the War on Terror

I'm not going to allow this to happen -- and no future American President can allow it either. America did not seek this global struggle, but we're answering history's call with confidence and a clear strategy. Today we're releasing a document called the "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism." This is an unclassified version of the strategy we've been pursuing since September the 11th, 2001. This strategy was first released in February 2003; it's been updated to take into account the changing nature of this enemy. This strategy document is posted on the White House website -- whitehouse.gov. And I urge all Americans to read it.

Our strategy for combating terrorism has five basic elements:

First, we're determined to prevent terrorist attacks before they occur. So we're taking the fight to the enemy. The best way to protect America is to stay on the offense. Since 9/11, our coalition has captured or killed al Qaeda managers and operatives, and scores of other terrorists across the world. The enemy is living under constant pressure, and we intend to keep it that way -- and this adds to our security. When terrorists spend their days working to avoid death or capture, it's harder for them to plan and execute new attacks.

We're also fighting the enemy here at home. We've given our law enforcement and intelligence professionals the tools they need to stop the terrorists in our midst. We passed the Patriot Act to break down the wall that prevented law enforcement and intelligence from sharing vital information. We created the Terrorist Surveillance Program to monitor the communications between al Qaeda commanders abroad and terrorist operatives within our borders. If al Qaeda is calling somebody in America, we need to know why, in order to stop attacks. (Applause.)

I want to thank these three Senators for working with us to give our law enforcement and intelligence officers the tools necessary to do their jobs. (Applause.) And over the last five years, federal, state, and local law enforcement have used those tools to break up terrorist cells, and to prosecute terrorist operatives and supporters in New York, and Oregon, and Virginia, and Texas, and New Jersey, and Illinois, Ohio, and other states. By taking the battle to the terrorists and their supporters on our own soil and across the world, we've stopped a number of al Qaeda plots.

Second, we're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and terrorists who would use them without hesitation. Working with Great Britain and Pakistan and other nations, the United States shut down the world's most dangerous nuclear trading cartel, the AQ Khan network. This network had supplied Iran and Libya and North Korea with equipment and know-how that advanced their efforts to obtain nuclear weapons. And we launched the Proliferation Security Initiative, a coalition of more than 70 nations that is

working together to stop shipments related to weapons of mass destruction on land, at sea, and in the air. The greatest threat this world faces is the danger of extremists and terrorists armed with weapons of mass destruction -- and this is a threat America cannot defeat on her own. We applaud the determined efforts of many nations around the world to stop the spread of these dangerous weapons. Together, we pledge we'll continue to work together to stop the world's most dangerous men from getting their hands on the world's most dangerous weapons. (Applause.)

Third, we're determined to deny terrorists the support of outlaw regimes. After September the 11th, I laid out a clear doctrine: America makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror, and those that harbor and support them, because they're equally guilty of murder. Thanks to our efforts, there are now three fewer state sponsors of terror in the world than there were on September the 11th, 2001. Afghanistan and Iraq have been transformed from terrorist states into allies in the war on terror. And the nation of Libya has renounced terrorism, and given up its weapons of mass destruction programs, and its nuclear materials and equipment. Over the past five years, we've acted to disrupt the flow of weapons and support from terrorist states to terrorist networks. And we have made clear that any government that chooses to be an ally of terror has also chosen to be an enemy of civilization. (Applause.)

Fourth, we're determined to deny terrorist networks control of any nation, or territory within a nation. So, along with our coalition and the Iraqi government, we'll stop the terrorists from taking control of Iraq, and establishing a new safe haven from which to attack America and the free world. And we're working with friends and allies to deny the terrorists the enclaves they seek to establish in ungoverned areas across the world. By helping governments reclaim full sovereign control over their territory, we make ourselves more secure.

Fifth, we're working to deny terrorists new recruits, by defeating their hateful ideology and spreading the hope of freedom -- by spreading the hope of freedom across the Middle East. For decades, American policy sought to achieve peace in the Middle East by pursuing stability at the expense of liberty. The lack of freedom in that region helped create conditions where anger and resentment grew, and radicalism thrived, and terrorists found willing recruits. And we saw the consequences on September the 11th, when the terrorists brought death and destruction to our country. The policy wasn't working.

Source: George Bush (2006), the White House Archive.