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**The Role and the Influence of the  
American Jewish Lobby on  
The Middle East Crisis (Palestine Case)  
From 1897 to 2000**

*A Dissertation* Submitted as Partial Requirement for the Fulfillment of the "**Master**" Degree.

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**Part Two: Chapters**

**Chapter One: The Israeli-Palestinian**

**Conflict**

**From 1879-2000**

## **Introduction**

The Palestinian issue is a term that refers to the political disagreement and historical humanitarian problem in Palestine, starting in 1880 up to now, it is considered an essential part of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The term Israeli-Palestinian conflict is also used in “reference to the earlier phases of the same conflict, between Jewish and Zionist and the Arab population living in Palestine under Ottoman or British rule. It forms part of the wider Arab–Israeli conflict” ([www.Wikipedia.org](http://www.Wikipedia.org))

The Palestinian issue is linked to the emergence of Zionism and Jewish immigration to Palestine. It is focused on the issue of Palestinian refugees and the legitimacy of Israel and its occupation of the Palestinian territories through several phases.

Historically Palestine stretched from the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea to lands east of the Jordan River, and was bordered by Syria on the north and Egypt on the south; it is “10,000 square miles at present” ([www.mideastweb.org](http://www.mideastweb.org)). Most of this land is now controlled by or part of the State of Israel. The majority of the six million people of Palestinian descent live in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon , the autonomous territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (two million), Israel proper (approximately 750,000), or the United States (approximately 200,000).

The land called Palestine was occupied by the Ottoman Empire, a large group of territories ruled by an “oppressive regime” that found itself on the losing end of World War I. Great Britain had the most troops in Palestine when the war ended, and so Britain "won" the right to administer Palestine.

In this chapter we discuss the origins of the conflict and the historical periods that created this conflict and the real reasons that caused it. We divide it many periods, starting with the first Zionist Congress, then the Belfour declaration, the British mandate, UN resolution and establishment of Israel, the six day war, the Yom Kippur war, first intifada, the Oslo Accords, the second intifada and finally the disengagement, Hamas and occupation of Gaza.

### **1.1. Reasons of the Conflict**

Many Arabs and Jewish people prefer not to admit that religion is behind the Israeli-Arab Conflict. Both prefer showing other reasons in order to keep God away from the conflict. One can notice that it is even preferred to call it the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the Israeli-Arab.

Palestinians say that in 1948 they were forced to leave their homes and lands by the Jewish movements in order to establish the Israeli state in their lands. At that time the United Nations said that the land of Palestine should be divided into two states: an Israeli and an Arab state. However, the Arabs refused this proposal because they considered Palestine an Arab land and that the United Nations' decision came after turning the Palestinian people who were used to live in these lands into Refugees who went to live in other countries such as Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon.

The Jewish people say that historically they were used to live in the land of Palestine before the Palestinians. They also say that it is their right to come back and live in the land of their grandfathers. The majority of the Jewish people came back to live in the land of Palestine after the establishment of Israel. However, the borders of Israel did not stay within the 1948 lands and turned later to include the 1967 occupied lands of Palestine. Since 1967 the conflict started to become more

serious between the two people and today after several attempts to solve the conflict through peace still both people cannot solve the conflict. Both Israelis and Palestinians prefer to say that the reason of the conflict is related to the land itself, patriotism, and history.

The reason that it is not preferred to include religion in this conflict is that it will only make it worse and unable to be solved. In order to understand the real reasons behind the conflict, we should go back to what both Judaism and Islam say about the holy land and the two people. Jews believe that “God promised them the land of honey and milk” (Palestine) after they were liberated from slavery. Beside that the Jewish people believe that their holy temple was located on the Holy Mountain in *Jerusalem* where the *Aqsa mosque* now exists. The roots of the conflict can be connected to the struggle between the children of *Abraham: Isaac* and *Ishmael* who are the fathers of both nations: the Jewish and the Arab. However, according to Judaism the land of Palestine is given to them by God.

The Islamic point of view completely differs in which it said that Jews disobeyed God and his teachings. Islam also says that God made it clear to the Jewish people that a new religion and new prophet will be sent by him in the future. Beside that the *Aqsa* and *Haram* mosque come in the second place after Mecca in which Prophet Muhammad fled into the heavens to meet God from it. However, Muslims are supposed to stay in a state of war until the judgment day in the holy land. The Arabs are supposed to start complete diplomatic relations with Israel and admit its existence as a neighboring state beside a Palestinian free state that includes East Jerusalem as a capital, and a fair solution for the Palestinian refugees case.

The Israeli current government refused the Arab's offer as it is introduced and wanted to negotiate. However, future Israeli administrations may refuse it at all. The Arabs refused any change in their suggested offer since they consider it the minimum they can ask for especially that they already accepted to disclaim their right in the 1948 lands.

Even though both sides showed that they are ready to disclaim some of what they consider a holy right for them, still they cannot let it go easily. The religious beliefs that both people have make it harder for the leaders to take hard decisions for the sake of peace, security, and a better life for both sides. Here comes the turn of the great powers in the world to make pressure on both sides to reach peace. The Holy land is a place that millions are supposed to visit because of its religious importance and amazing history.

## **1.2. Roots of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict**

The most important historical phases of the development of the conflict from the first Zionist Congress to the Second Intifada are:

### **1.2.1. First Zionist Congress (1897)**

The first Zionist movement appeared in Europe. The first conference was in *Basel* in 1897 held from August 29 to August 31, it was organized by *Theodor Herzl*, the founder of modern political Zionism, and “author of *Der Judenstaat* and initiator of the congress, was elected as its first president” (Wikipedia). “From 1897 to 1946, a Zionist Congress was held every two years in various European cities, save for interruptions during the two World Wars” (Wikipedia). The congress officially announced “Zionism’s goal of establishing a legally assured home for the Jewish

people in the Land of Israel and created an umbrella organization to promote this goal". Convinced that the long history of oppression and persecution of Jews would not stop until Jews could live in a land of their own, these early Zionists committed themselves to a return to their ancient homeland, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people.

### **1.2.2. Balfour Declaration (1917)**

The British Foreign Secretary *Arthur James Balfour* sends a letter to *Lord Rothschild*, President of the Zionist Federation, declared that his government would "view with favour the establishment of a national home for the Jewish in Palestine "The British Balfour Declaration promised to create a Jewish homeland in the region comprising the ancient Land of Israel.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." (*Yapp 290*)

### 1.2.3. British Mandate Established (1920-1947)



#### **British Mandate Palestine:**

Palestine - comprising what are now Israel, the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jordan - was among several former Ottoman Arab territories placed under the administration of Great Britain by the League of Nations. The mandate lasted from 1920 to 1948. In 1923 Britain granted limited autonomy to Transjordan, now known as Jordan.

According to *Bickerton and Klausner* in their book “*A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*”

“The League of Nations divided the territory [formerly under Ottoman rule] into new entities, called mandates. The mandates would be administered like trusts by the British and French, under supervision of the League, until such time as the inhabitants were believed by League members to be ready for independence and self-government...” (43)

Britain was given the Palestine Mandate on land comprising modern-day Israel, the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jordan.

In 1921, Britain created Transjordan as a subdivision of the mandate in the area east of the Jordan River. In 1922, Britain barred Jewish settlement in the Transjordan section of the Palestine Mandate. Thus the area available for a Jewish homeland was reduced by more “than 75%”.

During the British Mandate period exactly in 1922, a large number of idealistic Jewish Zionists immigrated, pursuant the Balfour Declaration, to develop the land as well as to escape persecution in Europe that preceded the Holocaust. This migration continued for the rest of the decade and accelerated in the 1930s and 1940s; during the same period, the Arab population nearly doubled from natural increase and immigration from neighboring Arab countries. The Jewish population formed community organizations, labor unions, political bodies, and built roads, schools, hospitals and other infrastructures for an independent state. Arab resistance to Jewish immigration grew. In 1937, many Palestinians rebelled, calling for an independent

nation. Great Britain tried to find a way to satisfy both sides but gave up and, after the end of World War II, turned the problem over to the newly formed United Nations.

#### 1.2.4. UN Resolution and Establishment of Israel (November 29, 1947)



Source: [news.bbc.co.uk/...Palestinians/maps/html](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-1947-11-29)

#### Israel founded: UN partition plan for Palestine

The United Nations General Assembly decided in 1947 on the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, with Jerusalem to be an international city. The plan, which was rejected by the native Arabs, was never implemented.

The U.N. proposed side-by-side Israeli and Palestinian states, with Jerusalem being part of both. Jews flocked to the area by the thousands after the Holocaust. Israel proclaimed its independence in 1948 and quickly agreed about occupying three-quarters of the Palestinian state, including part of Jerusalem. Jordan and Egypt occupied the other part, and most of the Palestinians fled for their lives. Tensions flared between the neighboring nations for years.

According to *Friedman Thomas L.* in his book “*From Beirut to Jerusalem*”

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly voted 33 to 13 with 10 abstentions to partition western Palestine into two states, one for the Jews, which would consist of the Negev Desert, the coastal plain between Tel Aviv and Haifa, and parts of the northern Galilee, and the other for the Palestinian Arabs, which would consist primarily of the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza District, Jaffa, and the Arav sectors of the Galilee. Jerusalem, cherished by both Muslims and Jews as a holy city, was to become an international enclave under U.N. trusteeship.(14)

On May 14, 1948, the Jewish community declared its independence as the state of Israel. According to *Albert Hourani* in his book “*A History of the Arab People*”

“...this was immediately recognized by the United States and Russia; and Egyptian, Jordanian, Iraqi, Syrian and Lebanese forces moved into the mainly Arab parts of the country. In a situation where there were no fixed frontiers or clear divisions of population, fighting took place between the new Israeli army and those of the Arab states, and in four campaigns interrupted by cease-fires Israel was able to occupy the greater part of the country.” (359-360)

### 1.2.5. Six-Day War 1967



Source: [news.bbc.co.uk/...Palestinians/maps/html](https://www.bbc.com/news/palestine-1967)

#### Before the 1967 War

From 1948 to 1967, the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, was ruled by Jordan. During this period, the Gaza Strip was under Egyptian military administration. Israeli troops captured Egypt's Sinai Peninsula during the 1956 British, French and Israeli military campaign in response to the nationalization of the Suez Canal. The Israelis subsequently withdrew and were replaced with a UN force. In 1967, Egypt ordered the UN troops out and blocked Israeli shipping routes - adding to already high levels of tension between Israel and its neighbors.

Tension began developing between Israel and Arab countries in the 1960s. Israel began to implement its National Water Carrier plan, “which pumps water from the Sea of Galilee to irrigate south and central Israel” (www.mideastweb.org). The project was in accordance with a plan proposed by US envoy *Eric Johnston* in 1955, and agreed to by Arab engineers. Arab governments refused to participate however, because of the implied recognition of Israel. In secret meetings, Israel and Jordan agreed to abide by the water quotas set by the plan.

The newly formed Palestinian Fatah movement seized on the Israeli diversion as an "imperialist event" that would catalyze their revolution, and Yasser Arafat began calling for war to eliminate Israel. In the *Fatah newspaper, Filastinunah*, ("our Palestine") “Arafat ridiculed Egyptian President Nasser and other Arab leaders for their ineffectiveness, and called for effective action against Israel”.

In June 1967, Israel struck out against Egypt and Jordan .This was the *Six-Day War*. This was according to *Thomas Freidman* “...after Nasser had declared his intention to annihilate the Jewish state and forged military alliances with Syria and Jordan for that purpose, building up troop concentrations along his border with Israel and obstructing shipping to the Israeli port of Eilat...” (15-16)

In June 5, Israel attacked the *Egyptian Air Forces*, following Egyptian naval blockade of the Straits of Tiranin May 22 and Egyptian military buildup in the Sinai Peninsula in May 16, interpreted as acts of war. The attack quickly turns into a regional war, in which Israel defeats the combined forces of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and their supporters. “It captures Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip from Egypt, East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. The number of war casualties is estimated between 15,000 to 25,000.” (Wikipedia)

The United Nations called on Israel to give back the territory it had seized, but the calls fell on deaf ears. Israel controls this territory to this day.

"The most significant international declaration on the Arab-Israeli dispute after the Six-Day War was U.N. Security Council Resolution 242. The preamble to the resolution emphasized the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the need to work for a just and lasting peace." (*Shlaim* 259-260)

On September 1, 1967 An Arab summit conference was held in Khartoum between 28 of August and 2 September 1967. It was the first meeting of the Arab leaders since their defeat in the June War. Israel's leaders watched with keen anticipation to see what conclusions the Arab leaders would draw from their military defeat. "The conference ended with the adoption of the famous three noes of Khartoum: no recognition, no negotiation, and no peace with Israel." (*Shlaim* 259). This war changed the perceived balance of power in the Middle East and created a new reality. Israel had acquired extensive territories: the Sinai desert, the Golan Heights and the West Bank, that were several times larger than the 1948 borders

### **1.2.6. First Intifada (Uprising) December 8, 1987**

The increased Israeli attacks on Palestinian leaders and territory led to the declaration of an intifada "uprising" in 1987. At first it was a spontaneous eruption then it developed into a well-organized rebellion, according to *The Anti-Defamation League*:

"Masses of civilians attacked Israeli troops with stones, axes, Molotov cocktails, hand grenades, and firearms supplied by Fatah, killing and wounding

soldiers and civilians. Israeli troops, trained for combat, were not prepared to fight this kind of war. Amid confusing directives, abuses occurred. ” (24)

It lasted six years, and it led Palestinian people to question Israeli people and methods with guns and bombs. Israel, of course, responded with even more determination to keep the upper hand.

*Michael C. Hudson* described it as “The intifada erupted on 9 December 1987, seventy years to the day from Allenby's [British Commander of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force WWI] entry into Jerusalem. Triggered by an incident in Gaza, the uprising was the product of an accumulation of Palestinian tensions and grievances...” (2000)

According to the website *Palestinefacts* the cause of this intifada was a misunderstanding

On December 6, 1987, an Israeli was stabbed to death while shopping in Gaza. The next day, four residents of the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza were killed in a traffic accident. Rumors spread that the four had been killed by Israelis as a deliberate act of revenge. Mass rioting broke out in Jabalya on the morning of December 9, during which a 17-year-old threw a Molotov cocktail at an army patrol and was killed by an IDF soldier. His death became the trigger for large-scale riots that engulfed the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem.

Violence, riots, general strikes, and civil disobedience campaigns by Palestinians spread across the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israeli forces responded with tear gas, plastic bullets, and live ammunition.

After the outbreak of the First Intifada, Shaikh Ahmed Yassin created Hamas from the Gaza wing of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Hamas quickly began attacks on Israeli military targets, and subsequently, Israeli civilians.

The Intifada ended in a stalemate, with the Palestinians unable to eject the Israelis from the territories and the Israelis unable to stop the violence. That made the occupation increasingly uncomfortable.

“As a result, both sides soon fundamentally revised their policies: Within months the P.L.O. [Palestine Liberation Organization] agreed to recognize and make peace with Israel, and to establish a self-governing entity in a small part of Palestine. And Israel, some months later, agreed to recognize the P.L.O. and to evacuate much if not most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.”  
(*Benny 12*)

On November 15, 1988 “at the nineteenth meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC) [in Algiers], considered by the PLO to be its parliament in exile, the PNC proclaimed -- by a vote of 253 to 46 with 10 abstentions -- the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.” (*Bickerton and Klausner 229*).

### **1.2.7. Oslo Accords 1993-2000**

The Oslo Accords or the Oslo Process refers to “[...] the Israeli-Palestinian negotiating process begun in September 1993 which established a framework for resolving the conflict.” (*Anti-Defamation League 31*)

On September 13, 1993 representatives of the State of Israel and the *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)* signed the “*Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements*” (*Palestinefacts*), a document also known as the “*Oslo*

*Accords*”; it was the first Israeli-Palestinian agreement. It was signed by “Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and PLO representative Mahmoud Abbas, with Warren Christopher and Russian foreign minister Andrei Kosyrev adding their signatures as witnesses, while President Clinton, Arafat, and Rabin looked on.” (*Bickerton and klausner 263-264*). This was at a Washington ceremony hosted by US President Bill Clinton on September 13, 1993, during which Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin ended decades as enemies with an uneasy handshake. This agreement was the fruit of secret negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, represented by the PLO. This event was seen by many people as the definitive end of the First Intifada.

The Oslo Accords contained a set of mutually agreed-upon general principles regarding a five year interim period of Palestinian self-rule. The so-called “permanent status issues” are deferred to the later negotiations, to begin no later than the third year of the interim period. The permanent status negotiations were intended to lead to an agreement that would be implemented to take effect at the end of the interim period.

The Oslo Accords or Declaration Of Principles DOP contains three main points:

- *Transfer of Powers to the Palestinians*: an agreement to transfer of power and responsibilities to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, so they may have control over their own affairs.
- *The DOP does not prejudice the Permanent Status*: “The DOP specifically states that permanent status issues, such as Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements and borders are to be excluded from the interim

arrangements and that the outcome of the permanent status talks should not be prejudged or preempted by the interim arrangements.” (Palestinefacts)

- *Security remains an Israeli responsibility:* Israel and the PLO agree that during the interim period, Israel will remain responsible for security along the international borders and the crossing points to Egypt and Jordan, and be responsible for Israelis security and their settlements in West Bank and Gaza.

### **1.2.8. The Second Intifada (Al Aqsa Intifada) September 2000**

In July of 2000, Yasser Arafat walked out of the Camp David peace talks and began plans for the armed struggle to resume. On September 28, 2000, *Ariel Sharon* visited the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. This visit became the cause for starting large scale demonstrations, the day after the visit, violent confrontations explode between Muslims and Israeli Police. *Arafat* named the second intifada the Al-Aqsa Intifada after Sharon's visit, for Al-Aqsa Mosque contained within the Temple Mount compound (holy also to Jews and Christians).

The intifada had little to do with Sharon's visit, and everything to do with the Palestinian Arabs' political agenda. *SakhrHabash*, a member of the Fatah's Central Committee, gave an interview to the Palestinian Authority newspaper, including this comment on the outbreak:

[The Intifada] did not break out in order to improve our bargaining ability in the negotiations, nor as a reaction to Sharon's provocative visit to Al-Haram Al-Sharif: this was only the spark. It was accumulated in the depths of our people and was bound to explode in the face of Barak's government because of the political problem that was put off for more than a year and a half — the problem of independence.

On September 29, 2000. Palestinian Arabs staged large demonstrations and threw stones at police at the Western Wall in Jerusalem. "Police used rubber-coated metal bullets and live ammunition to disperse the demonstrators, killing 4 persons and injuring approximately 200."(*Palestinefacts*).

Palestinians began violent demonstrations against soldiers, settlers, and other Israeli civilians throughout the occupied territories; these demonstrations and ensuing clashes are known to Palestinian Arabs and many Israelis as the "al-Aqsa intifada".

From the perspective of the GOI [Government of Israel], the demonstrations were organized and directed by the Palestinian leadership to create sympathy for their cause around the world by provoking Israeli security forces to fire upon demonstrators, especially young people. For Israelis, the lynching of two military reservists, First Sgt. Vadim Novesche and First Cpl. Yosef Avrahami, in Ramallah on October 12, reflected a deep-seated Palestinian hatred of Israel and Jews. (*Michael 2001*)

## **Conclusion**

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict goes through many phases and many important decisions were made. These decisions affected both sides, Israelis and Palestinians, but the conflict still not solved.

It is so hard to define precisely the real reasons that caused this conflict, some say that its religious causes and others say it is because the land. Whatever the cause is, it created a severe crisis that no one could solve.

## **Chapter Two: The Power of the Jewish Lobby**

## **Introduction**

The discussion over the Jewish lobby, the Israel lobby, the Zionist lobby, or pro-Israel lobby, and its influence on the Middle East crisis especially Palestine and on the United States Foreign Policy is not new but the debate seems to have taken on a more open and severer shape in recent years. The publication of the *John Mearsheimer* and *Stephen Walt* study “*The Israel Lobby and U.S. foreign policy*” by *Harvard University* and the *London Review of Books* provided a new source of fierce debate. The fundamental issue of this book is the influence of the Zionist lobby on the United States foreign policy related to the Middle East issues.

“The opinions of this issue oscillate between two extremes. One argues that the Zionist lobby, motivated by the interests of Israel, is very influential and mainly responsible for the United States foreign policy on the Middle East. The second argues that United States foreign policy is based first and foremost on U.S. interests.”(*Ziada* 2). It means that either the role of the Jewish lobby is fundamental in U.S. foreign policy or it just plays a second role.

The main aim of this chapter is to attempt to describe the forces that make up the Jewish lobby and to define it and to describe its origins, its activities, its interests, and its sources of power. One of the most important problems facing researchers with the Jewish lobby is its precise definition. Originally the lobby was made up mainly of Jewish organizations. According to *Ziada* in his book “*The Zionist Lobby in United States Forces, Activities, Sources and Spheres of Influence*”:

“...by the late of 1970s and the beginning of 1980s this changed as the alliance between the organized Jewry and the Christian evangelicals came about. Another development in the 1980s was the active involvement of the emerging

neoconservative movement as it started to exert power and influence through the Reagan administration.”(2-3). This led to change the nature, influence and the interests of the Israel lobby

Firstly we started by reviewing some of the definitions of the lobby in general then the Zionist lobby in particular, including its origins. Secondly we presented the three forces that currently make up the Zionist lobby; the Jewish organizations, the neoconservatives and their think tanks and the Christian Evangelicals. Thirdly we described a particular organization within the lobby; the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). The history, mission, activities and influence of this organization will be described in order to provide a more detailed image of one of the influential members of the lobby. Fourthly we discussed the real power of the Jewish lobby. Finally we talk over the American/Israeli relationships

The conclusion is an overview of the background and reasons on the basis of which different elements of the Zionist lobby support Israel.

## 2.1. What is a Lobby?

Generally the lobby is defined, according to *Random House Webster's College Dictionary*, as a group of persons who try to influence legislators or other public officials to vote or act in favor of a special interest.

The researchers go through contradictory opinions about the right definition of the Jewish lobby but almost everybody consider it to be one of the strongest and most effective lobbies in the United States and in the world. In their study “*The Israel lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*”, *John Mearsheimer* and *Stephen Walt* refer to the Zionist lobby as “the lobby” and define it as “the loose coalition of individuals and organizations who actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction” (13). They emphasize that their use of the term lobby “is not meant to suggest that “the lobby” is a unified movement with a central leadership, or that individuals within it do not disagree on certain issues.” (13). They defined the lobby as mysteriously large, including everything from Washington think-tanks, New York newspapers, and websites, to traditional lobby groups such as the *American Israel Public Affairs Committee* (AIPAC). “Their study, however flawed, lent an air of academic respectability to a viewpoint of pervasive Israel lobby influence and power that has long preoccupied polemicists and a radical fringe.”(*Verbeeten* 37).

According to the *Webster's Dictionary* the Israel lobby is “a term used to describe organized or allege disproportionate Jewish influence on policy decisions and world affair”.

“The Zionist lobby is a multi-armed force that includes the state of Israel, Jewish American groups, their allies in government and other pro-Zionist interest groups. Israel and the Zionist lobby often act as anti-Arab and anti-

Moslem lobby. Zionists in the U.S. advocate unquestioned financial support for Israel, U.S. backing for Israel in international organizations, particularly the United Nations, pro-Israel policies regarding the Middle East and anti-Arab policies. The Zionist lobby works assiduously to limit or obstruct open, objective debate on the Arab Israeli conflict, Middle East history and discussion of Palestinian rights to self-determination.”(Terry 68)

## 2.2. The Birth of Israel Lobby

The U.S. Israel lobby can trace its roots to a Canadian. In 1926, 21-year-old Isaiah *L.Kenen* left Toronto for Cleveland where he worked as a journalist and became increasingly active in promoting Zionism. By 1941, he was president of the Cleveland Zionist District. He served throughout the 1940s as information director of the Jewish Agency and later on the Israeli delegation to the United Nations. In 1951, *Kenen* traveled to Washington to help lobby for the Jewish state in its efforts to win U.S. economic and military assistance.

Between 1951 and 1953, *Kenen* served as the Washington representative of the American Zionist Council, a tax-exempt umbrella organization of American Jewish groups which focused on Israel.

*Kenen* organized the *American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs* (AZPAC) in 1954 to act as a pro-Israel lobby with control and financing independent of the American Zionist Council. Its early years were tensed with bureaucratic struggle. “Its 1959 name change to the *American Israel Public Affairs Committee* isolated the *Zionist Organization of America*, one of the first official Zionist organizations in the United States and an important representative to the World Zionist Organization” (*Melvin* 88), which felt that AIPAC risked surrendering control to Jews who were willing to

help fund Jewish charities, schools, and communities but were less dedicated to the traditional Jewish idea of Israel as a sovereign Jewish state. The two organizations refused to cooperate for several years. Competitive tensions also existed between AZPAC/AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, also founded in 1954, yet considered by *Kenen* as irresolute on matters of vital importance to Israel "because it could not move on any issue unless it had a consensus." They would only begin to cooperate regularly after 1967, when the Six-Day war changed U.S. perceptions of Israel's strength and importance. (*Kenen* 106-11)

"AIPAC grew from a one-man show at its start into an organization with several dozen staff, a budget of over \$60 million, and more than 100,000 members"(AIPAC website 225). Since "*Kenen's* 1974 retirement, four men influenced the organization's growth. AIPAC is far from monolithic. While the "Gang of Four staked out hawkish positions on Israel policy, many in AIPAC's leadership were liberal democrats more inclined to compromise."(*Goldberg* 225-6). Internal resistance continues. Beginning in the 1990s, liberal Jewish organizations pronounced that AIPAC supported right and was unrepresentative of the views of most American Jews vis-à-vis Israeli policies. They also said that AIPAC favored Republican over Democratic candidates for electoral office. Such internal divisions have not weakened AIPAC's reputation as an influential and effective lobby group.

### **2.3. The Forces that Forms the Zionist Lobby**

Historically, the Jewish organizations formed the core of the Zionist lobby but since the 1980s two major political and religious forces have become actively

involved in supporting strong relations between Israel and the United States. These two forces are the neoconservatives and the Christian evangelicals.

### 2.3.1. Jewish Organizations

According to Abdullah Tami the Jewish population in the United States is estimated at “6 to 6.4 million”, the important thing about the United States Jews is their economic power. “According to *Forbes*, 25 to 30 percent of United States multi-millionaires and billionaires are Jewish.” (*Petras* 14). This fact leads as to understand the powerful influence of the Jewish components of the Israeli lobby.

The American Jewish community has created many organizations that are active in the religious, social welfare, economic and political fields. Despite the different scopes of the work of these organizations and their perspectives on religious and political matters, the majority shares the common commitment of supporting Israel. (*Ziada* 6)

*Blankfort Jaffrey* mentioned that “there are more than 60 Jewish organizations, 117 Jewish community relations councils and, 155 Jewish federations that are considered to be a part of the Zionist lobby.”( 23).

The most active and major Jewish organizations in the United States are:

- *The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations* (CPMAJO)“The CPMAJO is a central coordinating body for American Jewry; it represents 50 organizations”. Its main objective is “to strengthen and foster the special U.S. - Israel relationship” (*conferenceofpresidents* 52).

- *The American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)*. One of the most powerful lobbying groups in the United States, its main role is to ensure close and reliably strong U.S./Israel relations.
- *The Anti-Defamation League (ADL)*. “Founded in 1913 to stop the defamation of and discrimination against the American Jews, now it works against groups and individuals that are considered to be critical of Israel. The ADL and AIPAC are two of the most visible Jewish American Organizations in lobbying efforts.” (Terry 70)
- *B’nai B’rith International*. “It is an international Jewish human rights organization with more than 180,000 members and offices in 58 countries; it has an office at the E.U., a non-governmental status in the United Nations and an office at UNESCO. It considers itself to be the largest, one of the oldest and most active Jewish body in the world. It describes itself as a tireless advocate for Israel and the Diaspora in a variety of governmental and political arenas.”(<http://bnaibrith.org/general/history/aboutBBI.cfm>).

There are other important organizations as:

Development Corporation for Israel/ State of Israel Bonds; an organization that promotes and sells securities issued by Israel; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; American Zionist Movement; Zionist Organization of America; Central conference of American Rabbis; Women’s Zionist Organization of America (Hadassah). (Ziada 7)

### 2.3.2. Neoconservatives

Neoconservatives are conservatives who are “new” (neo) to the conservative movement, and colloquially called “neocon”. It is to some degree ambiguous term for an increasingly influential group in Washington these days largely responsible for the push toward war in the Middle East. Not long ago some of these “neoconservatives” wrote position papers for Israeli politicians. Now they are occupying a growing number of top-level and mid-level positions in the US government. They seem to consider Israeli interests equal with American interests. It has several definitions:

The neo conservatism is not a doctrine; it is more “persuasion” according to *Irving Kristol*, or a “sensibility” cited by *Josh Muravchick*, or a “tendency” according to *Norman Podhoretz*. In short, there are non-trivial differences among many people whom the media classify as neoconservatives”

Neo conservatism in the United States is “a branch of American Conservatism that focuses on foreign policy, where it proposes to use American economic and military power to bring democracy and freedom to other countries.” (*Ivring*). “The movement emerged in the 1970s among liberal Democrats who were angry at the party's move to the left especially in foreign policy, and played a major role in recent Republican presidential elections. It is notable for its support for Israel and its deep interest in the Middle East.” (*Wikipedia*)

According to *Eurolegal.org* -an extremely Liberal website in England- “In contrast to the “old” Conservatives, the Neo conservatives had often come from a liberal Jewish background. Instead of being anti-Semitic, they were rabidly pro-Israel.”

According to an article by *Michael Lind* in the *New Statesman*, the Neo conservatives are:

“Products of the largely Jewish-American Trotskyist movement of the 1930s and 1940s, which morphed into anti-communist liberalism between the 1950s and 1970s and finally into a kind of militaristic and imperial right.”

*James Zogby*, the President of the “*Arab American Institute*”, defines Neo conservatism as:

“Neo-conservatism is the secular political philosophy that defined the reaction of a group of former liberals to what they felt was the Democratic Party’s policy of appeasement toward the Soviet Union--most especially the USSR's treatment of its Jewish population and its relations with the Arab world. They were a small but influential group of writers, commentators and government officials.”

This definition is important because it highlights the fact that there are few Neo conservatives who could be defined as original thinkers. A final definition was announced by *David Horowitz* in an interview with an Italian newspaper:

“Neo-conservatism" is a term almost exclusively used by the enemies of America's liberation of Iraq. There is no "neo-conservative" movement in the United States. When there was one, it was made up of former Democrats who embraced the welfare state but supported Ronald Reagan's Cold War policies against the Soviet bloc. Today "neo-conservatism" identifies those who believe in an aggressive policy against radical Islam and the global terrorists.”

The Neoconservative emerged in the mid 1973<sub>s</sub>; many of today's most famous Neocons are from Eastern European Jewish immigrant families, who were frequently

on the edge of poverty. ‘The Great Depression radicalized many immigrants, and introduced them to the new and revolutionary ideas of socialism and communism’. They played a limited role in the Ronald Reagan Administration, and then had a voice in the Defense Department under the George W. Bush Administration after 9/11. *Irving Kristol* and *Leo Strauss* were the major founders of the movement.

In 2010 the highest priority of the neoconservatives is to increase military action by the United States in the Middle East and Afghanistan, and to expand it to an American confrontation against Iran, according to *Conservapedia* “Neoconservatives did not dominate the *George W. Bush* administration but did support its foreign policy, and especially favored the Iraq War and its efforts to spread democracy worldwide.”

On foreign policy, neoconservatives believe that democracy can and should be installed by the United States around the world, even in Muslim countries such as Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. *Stelzer* argued that “Neoconservatives [...] or most of them, believe that America’s security interests are best served by encouraging the spread of democracy abroad, and that all of the peoples of the world share Western values and the desire for freedom.” (4)

According to *Ziada*:

[...] The Neoconservatives support for Israel stems from their global political agenda, in which Israel has a role to play, especially in the Middle East. This is to say that the neoconservatives fundamentally support Israel to promote the interests of the United States and not because their political agenda is subjugated to Israel. (08)

### 2.3.3. Think Tanks

In general a think tank (or policy institute) is “an organization that conducts research and engages in advocacy in areas such as social policy, political strategy, economy, science or technology issues, industrial or business policies, or military advice”.(Merriam Webster's Dictionary) “Many think tanks are non-profit organizations, which some countries such as the United States and Canada provide with tax exempt status. Other think tanks are funded by governments, advocacy groups, or businesses, or derive revenue from consulting or research work related to their projects.”(Stone 149-157).

Think tanks in the United States form both foreign and domestic policy. It generally receives funding from private donors, and members of private organizations. According to *Ziada*: The Zionist lobby think tanks include,

The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP); The Brookings Institute with its Saban Center for Middle East Policy; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI); the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI); the Hudson Institute; the Center for Security Policy (CPS); the Foreign Policy Research Institute; the Heritage Foundation; the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis; the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA); Middle East Forum; Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies; Project for the New American Century (PNAC). (9)

Think tanks play a very important role within the Jewish lobby because of their impact on the political debate and their influence on the political elite. These organizations

publish policy papers and reports, testify in the congress, hold seminars, and distribute media materials. Government think tanks are also important in the United States, particularly in the security and defense field. These include the Institute for National Strategic Studies, Institute for Homeland Security Studies, and the Center for Technology and National Security Policy, at the National Defense University; the Center for Naval Warfare Studies at the Naval War College and the Strategic Studies Institute at the U.S. Army War College. The major neoconservatives members who worked in the Bush II administration are members of these Think Tanks, the most well-known member is *Richard Perle* “the leading advocate of hardline policies at the Pentagon” (Whitaker), he works for *the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI)*. “Perle is a resident fellow of the AEI since 1987; he served as chairman of the Defense Policy Board in the Department of Defense from 2001 to 2003. Also, Paul Wolfowitz, who recently joined the AIE, served as Deputy Secretary of Defense in the Department of Defense from 2001 to 2005.” (Ziada 9)

#### **2.3.4. Christian Evangelicals**

The Christian Evangelicals add considerable power to the Zionist lobby by providing a wide electoral base as well as a source of funding. Their majority sympathizes with Israel, “The fundamental reason behind this sympathy is the religious belief that the establishment of Israel and the return of Jews to the “Promised land” is a precondition for the return of Jesus.” (Ziada 9)

In July 2007, a group of Evangelicals send a letter to the president Bush in which they stated their support for statehood for both Israelis and Palestinians “The letter was sent in response to statements made by *John Hagee*, the founder of the organization “*Christians United for Israel (CUFI)*” (Ziada 10), both group have a disagreement

about whether Palestinian deserve a state or not but they both agree in their support for Israel as a Jewish State.

The main Christian Evangelical organizations that are active in lobbying are:

The International Christian Embassy-Jerusalem (ICEJ). National Unity Coalition for Israel. Christians United for Israel (CUFI), founded in 2006 by Pastor John Hagee, with the support of more than 400 Christian leaders around the U.S., as a national grassroots movement focused on the support of Israel. It states as its first main objective to educate and build Christian support for Israel throughout America. The Christian Evangelicals add considerable power to the Zionist lobby by providing a wide electoral base as well as a source of funding.

## **2.4. AIPAC**

The word AIPAC is an abbreviation of “*American Israel Public Affair Committee*”. “AIPAC is the lobby’s most powerful organization.”( *Mearsheimer and Walt* 58). According to *Ziada* “In deference of other Jewish organizations, AIPAC is registered as a domestic lobby based in Washington. Its main focus is lobbying the congress which makes it the spare head of the Zionist lobby within the congress.”(2). It ranked by members Congress 1997 as the second most powerful lobby active in Washington DC. According to *Mearsheimer and Walt* AIPAC is “a de-facto agent for a foreign government” (15), which has a “stranglehold on the U.S. Congress.” (18).AIPAC was described by the Detroit Jewish News as "a veritable training camp for Capitol Hill staffers”

### 2.4.1. AIPAC: The Organization

“Founded in 1954 by *I.L. Kenen*, AIPAC has grown from a small modest lobbying group in Washington to a large and major one. By 1985, AIPAC had a staff of 75 with an annual budget of \$5.7 million” (*Terry 72*). According to *Michael Massing* it currently has a staff of more than one hundred and an annual budget of \$47 million, and according to AIPAC website “the organization has 100,000 members in 2007. AIPAC has a network of 10 regional offices and nine satellite offices.”

AIPAC has an executive committee consisted of two hundred members who represent a wide spectrum of American Jewish opinion and a board of directors of fifty-odd members, The board of directors is the organ that hold the power within AIPAC. According to *Michael Massing* the board members are selected according to how much money they give and raise. “The board is thick with corporate lawyers, Wall Street investors, business executives, and heirs to family fortunes. Within the board itself the power is concentrated in an extremely rich subgroup, known as the Minyan club”. In this group there are four dominant members: Robert Asher, a retired lighting fixtures dealer from Chicago; Edward Levy, a building supplies executive from Detroit; “Mayer “Bubba” Mitchell, a construction materials dealer from Mobile, Alabama and Larry Weinberg, a real estate developer in Los Angeles (and a former owner of the Portland Trail Blazers).”(*Massing 20*). “By the 1990s, AIPAC was considered the second most effective lobby in the country, ranking only behind AARP (American Association of Retired Persons, with 33 million members)” (*Terry 72*). The main reason that made one of the most powerful and effective lobby in the United States is its financial and organized capacities and in 2001, AIPAC was ranked as the fourth most powerful among all lobbying groups.

### **2.4.2. AIPAC's Missions**

As the main role of lobbying is to support the interests of Israel, “AIPAC’s mission is to ensure close and reliably strong U.S.-Israel relations” (*Ziada* 3). On its website “AIPAC indicates that it has worked to help Israel become more secure by ensuring that American support remains strong. In addition it is working to secure vital aid to Israel to help guarantee that Israel remains strong and secure, to promote strategic cooperation between the two states, to develop sound U.S. anti-terrorist policies, to share homeland security techniques and technologies, to stop rogue states from acquiring weapons of mass destruction”.

### **2.4.3. AIPAC's Activities and Influence**

#### **2.4.3.1. Activities**

According to Ismail H. *Ziada*:

Through its well organized and financed network of supporters, activists and regional offices, AIPAC conducts a wide range of activities that are directed at the elite of the American society; legislators, government officials, civil servants, trade and labor union leaders, opinion leaders, journalists and students are targeted by the organization.(3)

It was mentioned in its Website “in addition to working closely with Congress, AIPAC also actively educates and works with candidates for federal office, White House, Pentagon and State Department officials, and other policymakers whose decisions affect Israel's future and America's policies in the Middle East”. The main AIPAC’s activity is the policy conference that is organized each year; it was described

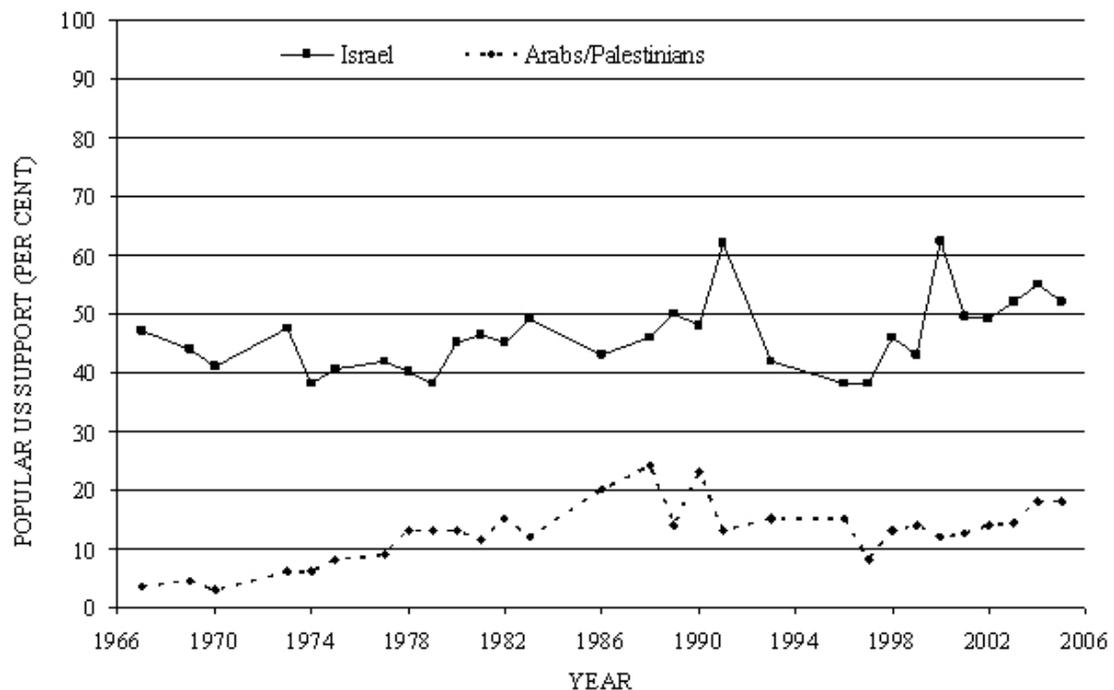
by *Michel Massing* as “a combination of a trade show, party convention, and Hollywood extravaganza that seems designed to show AIPAC’s national power.”

The conference is attended by the most important politicians of both parties, senates in addition to the half of the House; it shows a great support to Israel. Besides these activities, AIPAC employees provide the Congress members with the updates Middle East affairs. “Through its on campus program AIPAC organizes training programs to teach students how to be good defendants of Israel”. (Ziada 4)

#### **2.4.3.2. Influence**

AIPAC is well-known by its power; the main power is its influence in the congress election. *Mearsheimer* and *Walt* assert that AIPAC’s power stems from its ability to “reward legislators and congressional candidates who support its agenda, and to punish those who challenge it”. AIPAC keeps records of congress members regarding their positions, through statements or voting, on issues concerns the Middle East and makes sure that the Congressman support Israeli population. Such as the U.S. Congress, which controls federal allocations. Knowing that for four decades, a plurality if not majority of Americans sympathized with Israel, congressmen and senators are inclined to back the Jewish state.

The following graphic supports and shows this:



Source: “Gallup Polls on American Sympathy toward Israel and the Arabs/Palestinians,” Jewish Virtual Library website.

We notice that the financial support for Israelis is higher than the one for Palestinians.

## 2.5. The Power of the Jewish Lobby

*Henry Astier* described the power of America's "Jewish lobby" to be legendary. “The Israel lobby appears more powerful than it really is because its agenda normally parallels the interests of those who really hold power in Washington. When its agenda conflicts with those interests, its weakness becomes apparent.”(Zunes 6)

The influence of the Zionist lobby is fundamentally based on its financial power. This is demonstrated through its large contributions during elections. The capacity of the Zionist lobby to maintain its network of well financed think tanks, its influence on the media and its organizational capacities for its various activities are based on its

financial power. Another important source of power lies in its electoral base mainly created by the support of Christian Evangelicals.

## **Conclusion**

The Israeli lobby is an alliance of different interest groups that are politically, economically and religiously active in the United States. The Zionist lobby is very active and has different spheres of influence in the United States., e.g. in the congress and presidential elections as well as in the media.

We cannot say that these forces are helping the interests of Israel. The different groups that shape the Jewish lobby have different reasons for supporting Israel. It is widely perceived that the majority of the Jews in the United States support Israel as a Jewish state because they are Jews. This perception is considered as a fact or more as a law. This, however, is questionable. It is of crucial importance to discuss the interests of the Jewish economic elite who constitute a considerable part of the United States economic elite. The idea is that it could be accepted that the majority of the Jewish public is attached to Israel religiously, ideologically, or emotionally but this does not automatically apply to the Jewish elite whose support for Israel is based more on interests rather than religion or emotions.

**Chapter Three: The Jewish Lobby's Role and  
Sphere of Influence**

## **Introduction**

The activities of the Jewish lobby inside the United States are generally represented by the AIPAC, the major sphere of its role and influence are the Congress and the Executive, the Academia and the Media. “Jewish influence stems from the fact that they function collectively: they are organized, active, and concentrate on a single issue US policy in the Middle East” (*Petras* 40). The impressive thing is that “...the lobby represents no more than a third of America’s six million Jews.” (*Blankfort* 1), in spite of its small number, the lobby has massive power over Jews and Americans too. What makes the lobby’s task easier is that the majority of Americans lost faith and respect for their political system.

The most important source of influence in the Congress and administration stems from the financial capacity of the Zionist lobby which is demonstrated in the elections. In the Academia the lobby works to promote its ideas among the students and muteness any criticism against Israel. In the Media the Pro-Israel lobby is very powerful in getting its perspectives over Middle East issues reflected.

The Congress, the Executive branch, state and local governments, and national and local media have all come under the influence of the Jewish "lobby's" pro-Israel agenda to the point that none or few dare to criticize Israel or its US representatives.

Lobby’s influence reaches other countries not just the United States, exactly the Middle East. The Jewish lobby plays an important role in U.S foreign policy concerning Middle East issues especially Palestinian case.

The lobby tries to push USA, because it is the greatest power in the world, to help him to keep the land.

### 3.1. Inside America

#### 3.1.1. Influencing the Congress and the Executive

The Jewish lobby has a lot of ways and activities to influence the Congress; the most important one is the financial influence of the Zionist lobby in the elections. According to *James Petras* the lobby's influence is "[1] to influence the selection of candidates within the two major political parties and [2] to defeat critics of Israel and reward elected officials who will toe the Israel line" (46). *Mearsheimer* and *Walt* mentioned that the key of the success of the lobby in the congress is "some key members are Christian Zionists like Dick Armey, who said in September 2002 that "My No. 1 priority in foreign policy is to protect Israel" (16), normally the number one priority is to protect America but he consider Israel more important than the U.S.A.

In the congress the most influential organization is the AIPAC. "[Its] success is due to its ability to reward legislators and congressional candidates who support its agenda, and to punish those who challenge it." (*Mearsheimer and Walt* 16)

AIPAC keeps records of congress members regarding their positions, through statements or voting, on issues of concern of the Middle East and Israel classifying them as "good or bad". This classification guides the donations of the Zionist lobby supporters. The donations would be directed to the "good ones" and to the opponents of the "bad ones". "AIPAC also organizes letter-writing campaigns and encourages newspaper editors to endorse pro-Israel candidates." (*Mearsheimer and Walt* 16)

The donations of the Jewish lobby are not directed to one party over the other. It donates to both parties' candidates depending on who is to be favorable to its

interests. The data available relate to the Jewish contributions and reflect the financial power of the Zionist lobby as a whole. The data show that Jewish elite contributors are among the top contributors. According to *Jaffrey Blankfort* “in 2000, among the top 400 individual donors for both parties, 7 of the top 10 donors, 12 of the top 20, and at least 125 of the top 250 were Jewish” ( 5). According to Glenn Frankel “Between the 2000 and the 2004 elections, the 50 members of AIPAC's board donated an average of \$72,000 each to campaigns and political action committees. One in every five board members was a top fundraiser for President Bush or John Kerry.” (July 16, 2006)

Another influence of the AIPAC is that “It is common for members of Congress and their staffs to turn to AIPAC first when they need information, before calling the Library of Congress, the Congressional Research Service, committee staff or administration experts.”, this was mentioned by *Douglas Bloomfield*, a former AIPAC staff member. He notes that AIPAC is “often called upon to draft speeches, work on legislation, advice on tactics, perform research, and collect co-sponsors and marshal votes.” (qtd Camille 242)

According to *James Petras* “Jewish supporters in the Israeli lobby work closely with Congressional leaders to secure long-term, large-scale US military and economic aid for Israel” (40)

The Jewish lobby has also big influence on the executive branch, this in the point of view of *Mearsheimer* and *Walt* because of “That power derives in part from the influence Jewish voters have on presidential elections” (17)

The neoconservatives control the Office of the President, the Office of the Vice President, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the police-state apparatus known as “Homeland Security”.

Jewish contributions constitute a considerable share to the total fund raising of the two parties and more contributions go to Democratic Party. “It is estimated that in the early 1990s, 45 percent of the fundraising for the Democratic Party and 25 percent of the funding for the Republican Party came from Jewish funded political action committees (PACs)” (*Ziada* 5). A more recent survey by Richard Cohen of the Washington Post shows higher figures: 60 percent of Democratic financing comes from Jewish Pro-Israel PACs and 35 percent of the Republican fundraising.

This Jewish financial power combined with the Christian Evangelical electoral base provides a partial explanation of the massive support in the congress for the issues adopted by AIPAC and the neoconservatives.

### **3.1.2. In the Academia**

The Zionist lobby is active on the campuses around the U.S. Its main objectives are creating and maintaining a strong base of students that advocates and supports Israel and silencing any voices that are considered to be critical to Israel. According to *Mearsheimer* and *Walt* “academic freedom is a core value and because tenured professors are hard to threaten or silence.” (21)

The major Jewish organizations have many programs on campuses associated with them, according to *Ziada* “In 2002, a coordinating body of nearly 30 Jewish organizations was founded under the name Israel on Campus Coalition. Among

them AIPAC[Campus program], ADL, CPMJO[Israel on Campus Beat], American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Zionist Movement of America, and Hadassah.”(6). AIPAC brought college students to Washington, DC for intensive advocacy training, sending them back to school to win over campus leaders to Israel’s cause. The purpose is “vastly expand the number of students involved on campus . . . in the national pro-Israel effort” (*Mearsheimer and Walt* 21)

The most important role of the American Jewish lobby is its attempts to silence any voices among the university professors, which are sympathizing with the Palestinians and critical for Israel by monitoring what they write and teach. The lobby targeted many professors and the universities that hire them like “Edward Said, *Joseph Massad, RachidKhalidi*, Norman Finkelstein, *John Mearsheimer* and *Stephan Walt.*” (*Ziada* 6).

The case of Norman Finkelstein, a professor of political sciences at the DePaul University in Chicago who was “denied tenure at the university in June 2007, because of his views being critical to Israel and the Jewish elite in U.S.”(*Pilkington* June 12, 2007).

As a conclusion, the Lobby has gone to considerable lengths to isolate Israel from criticism on college campuses. It has not been as successful in academia as it has been on Congress, but it has worked hard to stifle criticism of Israel by professors and students and there is much less of it on campuses today.

### **3.1.3. In the Media**

The Zionist lobby and its supporters have a strong and powerful voice in the mainstream media in the United States. This is reflected in the coverage of the Middle East issues on which the media mainly adopts the Israeli perspective and narrative.

“It does not want an open debate on issues involving Israel, because an open debate might cause Americans to question the level of support that they currently provide” (*Mearsheimer and Walt* 19). The lobby focuses on the media because it forms the popular opinion.

“The parameters of political debate on Israel-related issues [...] are shaped by pervasive Zionist and Jewish organizational influence in the mass media, censoring and virulently attacking critics, and pushing pro-Israel "news" and commentaries” (*Petras* 46-47)

The most important media that support Israel reflexively and without qualifications are: *The New Republic*, *Commentary*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *The New York Daily News* and *The New York Post* and others. *The New York Times* occasionally criticizes Israel policies, it works as the defensive and anti-terrorist “Not a single voice or editorial in the *New York Times* has spoken of the mass killing of Palestinian civilians...” (*Petras* 47)

Israelis own and control the American media. They compose the largest group of billionaires in America who fund a vast network of political research organizations which determine the views of America's Jewish owned media and America's Jewish funded politicians.

### **3.1.4. Other Influences**

- **Religious Aspect:** The Lobby also influenced the religious aspect, the Israelis have even transformed Christianity in America. There are now tens of millions of so-called ‘Christian Zionists’ who have come to believe in the ‘Zionist God of Vengeance’ rather than the ‘Christian God of Forgiveness’. They no longer live on a God given planet but focus solely on the God given land of Palestine.

- **Military Aspect:** There is no doubt that the American military is by far and away the most formidable military power in the world. But who controls that military is an entirely different matter. The American politicians who command military policy are not Americans but Israelis - agents of the Jews-only state in Palestine. So, in effect the Jews-only state controls American politicians who control the American military which wages war for the sake of Jewish world domination.
- **Economic Aspect:** Lobby's success also varied depending on the policy at issue. The lobby was very successful in overcoming presidential opposition on economic issues, but rarely able to defeat the president on security and political issues. The lobby was more successful on economic issues because most of those were decided in Congress where pro-Israel congressman frequently fought for increased aid levels for Israel, reserved funds for Israel and adopted amendments to aid bills that were endorsed by the Israeli lobby.

To Sum up the lobby controls the American media, the republican and democratic parties, congress, the pentagon, the office of homeland security, the CIA, the defense intelligence agency, the state department, the national security council, and the presidency. The American military is applying the foreign policies of the Israelis.

### **3.2. Outside America**

The entire political effort of the Lobby, controlling the Congress an Executive, is directed toward controlling US foreign policy and, through US power, to influence the policy of US allies, clients and adversaries in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. According to *John Mearsheimer* and *Walt* "the Lobby has also sought to shape the

core elements of U.S. Middle East policy. In particular, it has worked successfully to convince American leaders to back Israel's continued repression of the Palestinians and to take aim at Israel's primary regional adversaries: Iran, Iraq, and Syria." (25)

Apart from the Israel-Palestine conflict, fundamental U.S. policy in the Middle East is affected by the Lobby. For different reasons, both U.S. and Israeli leaders have always believed that the Arabs need to be kept subordinate. However, once the U.S. solidified its alliance with Israel after June 1967, it began to look at Israelis and Israelis projected themselves as experts on the "Arab mind." Accordingly, the alliance with Israel has supported the most aggressive U.S. policies, Israelis believing that "Arabs only understand the language of force" and every few years this or that Arab country needs to be smashed up. The spectrum of U.S. policy differences might be narrow, but in terms of impact on the real lives of real people in the Arab world these differences are probably meaningful, the Israeli influence making things worse.

We can say that the destruction of Gaza is totally neutralized by Zionist influence over Congressional and White House policymakers. Maintaining U.S. support for Israel's policies against the Palestinians is a core goal of the Lobby, but its ambitions do not stop there.

The AIPAC is responsible for Palestinian persecution, exploitation, disempowerment, and isolation; denying their fundamental guaranteed rights under international law.

*Golda Meir*, former Labor Party Prime Minister once said: "There is no such thing as a Palestinian people. It is not as if we came and threw them out and took their country. They did not exist." (*Petras* 93), also *Ariel Sharon* in August 24, 1988 said: "You don't simple bundle people onto trucks and drive them away. I prefer to advocate a positive policy, to create, in effect, a condition that in a positive way will

induce people to leave.” (*Petras* 93). That means that priority number one of Israel and its Jewish lobby is to take the land from Palestinians which they believe that it is theirs. As *Ehud Olmert*, Israeli Prime Minister, said to the US House of Representatives in June 2006: “I believed and to this day still believe, in our people's eternal and historic right to this entire land.”(*Petras* 93)

The Lobby automatically gives unquestioned support to Israel's violations of peace, democracy, human rights, international court rulings, and United Nations resolutions. This is especially true even when the Israeli State obviously ignores US policy. There is no question that the Lobby's primary political loyalties lie with the State of Israel.

## **Conclusion**

The influence of the Zionist lobby is fundamentally based on its financial power. This is demonstrated through its large contributions during elections. The capacity of the Zionist lobby to maintain its network of well financed think tanks, its influence in the media and its organizational capacities for its various activities are based on its financial power. Another important source of power lies in its electoral base mainly created by the support of Christian Evangelicals.

It should be emphasized that the Zionist lobby's financial power originated in its network of interests, which is more than the Jewish economic elite. The Zionist lobby's economic base is very strong because it represents the interests of influential economic forces in the United States especially the Military-Industrial Complex which has a decisive role in the United States politics.

## **Abstract**

This research examines a subject that has been increasingly talked about for many years in terms of its dimensions, justifications and timing. We tackled the roles and influences of the American Jewish lobby on the Middle East Crisis, more precisely the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; we have limited this research between 1897 and 2000.

This research deals at first with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, starting with the reasons that caused this crisis and how it shaped through the years. Then we moved to the Jewish lobby, a detailed explanation about its presence in the USA and how it was created. At the end we described its role in the US election processes and the extent of influence of the Jewish finance and media on US decision making, in addition to its influence on the Middle East and specially Palestine. Finally we concluded that there is a real effect of the Jewish lobby on the US strategically decisionmaking especially the ones with great national importance for the USA and the reason behind this effect is to support Israel and displace the Palestinians from their land.

## الملخص:

تبحث هذه الدراسة التفسيرية موضوعا قد تم التحدث عنه منذ سنوات عديدة من حيث ابعاده و مبرراته و توقيتته. لقد عالجت دور و تأثير اللوبي اليهودي الامريكي على أزمة الشرق الاوسط، أكثر تحديدا الصراع الفلسطيني-الإسرائيلي، حددنا هذا البحث بين 1897 و 2000.

يتعامل هذا البحث اولاً مع الصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي، بدأ بالأسباب التي سببت هذه الأزمة و كيف تطورت على مر السنين. ثم ننتقل الى اللوبي الصهيوني عن طريق شرح مفصل عن تواجده في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية و كيفية تكونه. في النهاية نصف دور اللوبي في عملية الانتخابات في الولايات المتحدة و مدى تأثير الإعلام و التمويل اليهودي في اتخاذ القرارات في الولايات المتحدة، بالإضافة الى تأثيره على الشرق الاوسط عموماً و فلسطين خاصة.

أخيراً نستنتج ان هنالك تأثيراً حقيقياً للوبي الصهيوني على استراتيجية صنع القرار في الولايات و بالأخص التي لها اهمية وطنية للولايات و السبب خلف هذا التأثير هو دعم اسرائيل و تشريد الفلسطينيين.

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**The Role and the Influence of the American Jewish Lobby on  
The Middle East Crisis (Palestine Case)  
From 1897 to 2000**

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## **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to the memory of my father. My beloved mother, she has given me every educational opportunity in life and unconditional support for my choices. Without her patience and most of all love, the completion of this work would not have been possible.

Special thanks to all my family specially my grandmother and my dear cousins Amira, Sara and Nassima and my best friends Djamel, Soumia, Leila and Hind.

I feel fortunate to have a family and friends so proud and appreciative of my work.

## **GENERAL CONCLUSION**

When the United States, the most powerful state in the world, changes its understanding of foreign policy, it also constitutes international politics. That shows that US policymakers are under conditions and superpower that led them to change their policy toward Middle East. This superpower is the Jewish Lobby.

To sum up: Jews wield immense power and influence inside and outside the United States. The “Jewish lobby” is a decisive factor in U.S. support for Israel. Jewish-Zionist interests are not identical to American interests. In fact, they often conflict. We can conclude that the Jewish lobby is the base of Israel, if the lobby weakened, Israel will vanish.

Admiral Thomas Moorer, former Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, has spoken with direct frustration about the Jewish-Israeli hold on the United States:

I've never seen a President [...] stand up to them [the Israelis]. It just boggles the mind. They always get what they want. The Israelis know what is going on all the time. I got to the point where I wasn't writing anything down. If the American people understood what a grip those people have got on our government, they would rise up in arms. Our citizens certainly don't have any idea what goes on.

Both supporters and attackers present the role of the Israel lobby in the evolution of U.S.-Israeli relations as salient, decisive, and unique. To be sure, AIPAC has become a well-organized and well-funded expression of the American Jewish community, part of the broader phenomenon of ethnic participation in contemporary U.S. politics. It has known both success and failure in seeing Washington adopt its

preferred policies vis-à-vis the Middle East. Its impact upon foreign policy decision-making, however, is not out of the ordinary. Indeed, the importance of U.S.-Israeli relations is not the consequence of the strength of the Israel lobby, but rather the strength of the Israel lobby is a consequence of the importance of U.S.-Israeli relations.

## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict or Arab conflict is one of the most sensitive issues that are discussed. From the historic British dominance in the Middle East, and the more recent US influence and control over the region, the American goal is simply to be able to dominate the Middle East due to the vast oil reserves and the West's economic dependence upon it.

Since the birth of this conflict after the creation of the Jewish homeland, its effects and consequences on the Israeli and Palestinian culture rippled through the times and generations. An extremely tiny percentage of the effects are positive ones, as the negative aftermath of the powerful hostility affects every generation in a similar way that it did the previous one. The conflict has been found to be intertwined with every aspect of the cultural universals of Israelis and Palestinians, affecting the structure and basis of the Israeli and Palestinian governments, the productivity of both economies.

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is one of the longest running disputes of the 20th century. The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and its further expansion in 1967 was a result of a series of wars between Israeli Jewish settlers and Palestinians and the Arab states. Egypt was the first Arab state to sign a peace treaty with Israel in the late 1970s. Subsequent steps for resolving the conflict include a number of agreements between Palestinians and Israelis, on the one hand, and between Israel and neighbouring states, namely, Jordan, on the other. Although, the Oslo Accords of 1993 between Israel and the Palestine Liberation organization established a framework for the partial de-colonization of Palestinian land occupied by Israel in 1967, many thorny issues remain unresolved.

Many great powers contributed to solve this conflict but neither of them could find a solution, one of these countries is the United States. We witnessed many tries to solve the conflict but we noticed that behind America there is a massive power that controls it which the Jewish lobby. We can say that the lobby is the basic reason of the Middle East crisis, from Israel and the West Bank to Iraq and Iran.

The Zionist lobby is the most influential and financially powerful lobby in the world. It controls US political, economic and military systems.

Against this background, our first hypothesis is that the Jewish organizations are the main reason behind the support of the United States to Israel. The second hypothesis is that the Jewish lobby affects USA foreign policy and control it, another hypothesis is that the Jewish lobby is the base of Israel if it weakened Israel will vanish.

To test these hypotheses, we use the historical method to trace the role of the Pro-Israel lobby and how it affects Palestine and the Middle East in general. In addition, we use descriptive method because we are dealing with facts and describing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

This study is divided into two parts. Part one is devoted to the structure of the study, its objectives, problem and methodology. In addition, the researcher provided a survey of previous literature on the various aspects of the study. Part Two contains three main chapters. Chapter one is a historical framework of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict's origins and main phases of the conflict as the Balfour Declaration, the Six-Day War and the Oslo Accords. Chapter two is about the Jewish lobby, we discuss its definition, how it was created, the powers that form it and a detailed discussion about the Jewish organization the AIPAC. The third chapter is about the influence and

activities of the lobby. We divided it into two sub-titles, the first one is inside America and the second one is outside America. Finally the researcher concluded this study.

### 1.2.3. British Mandate Established (1920-1947)



Source: [news.bbc.co.uk/...Palestinians/maps/html](https://www.bbc.com/news/middle-east-1947-01)

#### **British Mandate Palestine**

Palestine- comprising what is now Israel, the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jordan - was among several former Ottoman Arab territories placed under the administration of Great Britain by the League of Nations. The mandate lasted from 1920 to 1948. In 1923 Britain granted limited autonomy to Transjordan, now known as Jordan.

### 1.2.4. UN Resolution and Establishment of Israel (November 29, 1947)



Source: [news.bbc.co.uk/...Palestinians/maps/html](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-1947-11-29)

#### Israel founded: UN partition plan for Palestine

The United Nations General Assembly decided in 1947 on the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, with Jerusalem to be an international city. The plan, which was rejected by the native Arabs, was never implemented.

### 1.2.5. Six-Day War 1967



Source: [news.bbc.co.uk/...Palestinians/maps/html](https://www.bbc.com/news/palestine-1967/maps/html)

#### Before the 1967 War

From 1948 to 1967, the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, was ruled by Jordan. During this period, the Gaza Strip was under Egyptian military administration. Israeli troops captured Egypt's Sinai Peninsula during the 1956 British, French and Israeli military campaign in response to the nationalization of the Suez Canal. The Israelis subsequently withdrew and were replaced with a UN force. In 1967, Egypt ordered the UN troops out and blocked Israeli shipping routes - adding to already high levels of tension between Israel and its neighbors.

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**Part One:**

**Research Methodology**

## **1. Definition of the Issue:**

The most important element of creating the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the Jewish lobby or the organization called the “AIPAC”, we mean by lobby “the intention of influencing decisions made by legislators and officials in the government by individuals, other legislators, constituents, or advocacy groups.” (www.Wikipedia.com). Also *Stephen Walt* and *John Mearsheimer* defined the lobby as “mysteriously large, including everything from Washington think-tanks, New York newspapers, and websites, to traditional lobby groups such as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)” (06). So what is the role of the Israel lobby in this crisis? And how did it affect?

## **2. Hypothesis:**

- The Israel lobby is considered as an element of the anti-Americanism in the Middle East crisis.
- The Jewish lobby is affected by the United States foreign policy.
- The power of American Jewish Organization is the main reason of the US support to Israel.
- The influence of the Jewish lobby in the US is limited and can't be even noticed in the strategically decisions made in the U.S.
- If the Jewish lobby is weakened, Israel will vanish.

## **3. The Importance of the Study:**

This research is important because of the recent course of this conflict and because of its continuing salience for millions of Jews and Arabs throughout the

world. “To analyze the effects conflict [...], one must first situate the conflict historical context, thus demonstrating how conflict is shaped by the time when it occurs” (*Rumbaut* 2002).

The long history of religious and political tensions between Israelis and Palestinians has simplified a highly noticeable conflict and a collective fear for safety within each group. International media coverage of the conflict has been broad and includes events in major cities (Haifa, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem) and in occupied territories (Gaza and the West Bank) such as bus and car bombings, military-related violence, terrorist attacks, interpersonal and political conflict, and riots and demonstrations in public spaces.

### **3. Methodology:**

In this study we used the descriptive method in combination with historical research because we are dealing with facts. In order to show the power of the American Jewish lobby, his involvement in the Middle East crisis exactly in Palestine and the impact and the consequences of this interference, we divided the research into three main chapters, each one contained many sub-titles.

Firstly, chapter one is talking about the Middle East crisis exactly the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, its origins, from the first Zionist Congress in 1897 until the Second Intifada (Al-Aqsa Intifada) in September 2000. We supported our facts with maps about the conflict and then we discussed the causes that created this conflict.

Secondly, this chapter included a detailed explanation about the presence of the Jewish lobby in the US, studying the Israel lobby by giving its definition, its real

power and the relation between the US and Israel, the forces that formed this lobby, in addition to a detailed information about the organization “AIPAC”.

Thirdly, chapter three is about the role and influence of the Israel lobby in the Middle East crisis in both outside and inside America. Inside America, we deal with the lobby’s influence on the Congress and the Executive, the Academia and the Media.

It has been hard to be objective when we deal with such topic, but we force ourselves to be as objective as possible because the data consulted deal with the value of information started by the Israelis and they defend their being and in the other hand the Palestinians who tend to justify their belonging to the land.

#### **4. The purpose of the Study:**

This study aims to explain different facts concerning the effects of the Jewish lobby on the national and international policy making in the US especially the ones concerning Israel and to explain the exaggeration of the lobby role displayed by some studies as if it is the sole decision maker of the US Policy especially the ones concerning the Middle East.

#### **5. Limitation of the Study:**

We limited the study from the First Zionist Congress in 1897 to the Second Intifada or Al-Aqsa Intifada in September 2000. We chose this limitation because of the importance of this period concerning the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; it is considered as a turning point in the history of the conflict. Most of essential

decisions and wars were during this period as the Six-Day War and the declaration of the state of Israel and others. Also it is considered as a development period for the Jewish lobby.