People's Democratic Republic of Algeria Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research University of Mohamed Khider - Biskra Faculty of letters and Languages Department of English



# The Influence of the Jewish Community on the American Foreign Policy in the Middle East after the 09/11 Attacks

A Dissertation presented in partial requirements for the fulfillment of the Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization.

Submitted by:

Salima ZOUAOUI

<u>Board of Examiners :</u>

Mr. Elamri SEGUENI Mr. Mostafa MEDDOUR Supervised by:

Mr. Slimane TEMAGOULT.

\* June 2011 \*

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# Dedication

I dedicate this work to: My parents for their love and attention. My brethers **Tahar** and **Abd Elaaziz**. My sisters **Fadjria**, **Zouleyka**, **Habiba**, and **Rabiaa**. My Nieces **Nour El Hoda**, **Ahlam**, **Ibtisam**, **Lina**, and **Aya**. My classmates particularly **Meriem**, **Nesrine**, and **Samah**. My friends **Nassim**, **Abir**, **Baka**, Widad, Raoya, and **Menal**. Every single person who I know and I have not introduced him.

# Abstract

This dissertation studies the power and the influence of the Jewish Community in the United States foreign policy towards the Middle East after the September 11<sup>th</sup> episodes. Since their arrival to the United States, the Jews built an influential power within the American foreign policy based on organizations and committees which official position set on the American policymakers.

So, the American foreign policy in the Middle East is a consequence of power of the "Israeli Lobby" on it. The Israeli Lobby is the influential authoritative pressure group that is stated to inflect the United States foreign policy for the benefits of Israel in the Middle /East.

By using the events of 09/11, the Israeli Lobby practiced its strategy to dominate and control the Middle East.

In the present study, we propose the hypotheses that the Jewish Community Dominates the American Middle East policy and the Israeli Lobby is the pressure group that has manipulating the United States foreign policy in the Middle East also the Israeli Lobby manipulate the American policymakers specially in the issues that is important to Israel.

In sum we find that due to the Israeli Lobby, the world's superpower is setting aside its own security in order to advance the interests of anther state (Israel) so that the Jewish Community has a great authority in the United States.

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## **General Introduction**

The Jewish Community is a Jewish ethnic group. The Jewish population is one example of the American successful immigration. They immigrated to America because of many reasons; such as persecution, restrictive laws, anti-Semitism, economic hardship and so on. So, the Jews suffered a lot in many countries, but America opened its doors to them to enter the "Melting Pot". According to Glaser, Nathan and Denial, the first Jewish group immigrated to America was the "Sephardic" Jews from Spain and Portugal than followed by other groups from almost over the world, but particularly from Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia. After a hard times the American Jews have enjoyed a great power and wealthy in the United States. The Israeli Lobby is a powerful group that is deeply committed to shaping American foreign policy in ways for the benefit of Israel.

Foreign policy is a broad term, covering many different spheres of policy and action. The Foreign Policy of the United States, like the author nations, has always resulted from a mixture of self interests and the attempt to common ideas. As in other lands, self interests have frequently been provided and with the rhetoric of major ideas. The Middle East as a main part of the Islamic world encountered different American policies which had been more troubling and confusing to the people and government of the region that had began during the Cold War and lasted until now but which more pressure after the September 11<sup>th</sup> events. This study seeks to identify the influence of Jewish Community in the American foreign policy in the Middle East after the 09/11<sup>th</sup> events.

This study seeks to identify the influence of Jewish Community on the American foreign policy in the Middle East after the 09/11 events. The period of the study in this research is the era after the September 11 attacks. The reason to choose this period is due to the change in the American policy toward all the world particularly the Middle East because of the appearance

of the policy of "war on terror" which created new order and new concept in the American foreign relations specially with power of the Jewish community (Israeli lobby) in American foreign policy specially after that events.

This work aims to focus on the authority of American Jewish Community over the United States Middle East policy after the events of 09/11. Moreover, other particular objectives ranges from finding out the most important means that had been used by the United States in the Middle East after the period of 09/11 attacks. Also this research aims to understand the American foreign policy in the Middle East. To reach these goals we state the following questions: Do really Jews dominate the American Foreign Policy in the Middle East? How do the Jews manipulate the American foreign policy toward the Middle East after the 09/11 attacks? What is the role of the Israeli lobby in the American Middle East policy after 09/11? As an answer to these main questions in our study, we suggested the following hypotheses:

- The Israeli Lobby is the pressure group that influencing the America Foreign Policy in the Middle East.

- It may renew the Middle East under the slogan of the "War on terror" as an attempt to reach its objectives in the Middle East and the whole Islamic World.

- The United States may change completely its foreign policy in the Middle East after the 09/11 events.

This research will give a picture of Jewish influence in the American foreign policy toward the Middle East after the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 and shows the reader the Jews goals in that region which is to containing and dominating it.

This dissertation is divided into three chapters, introduction and a conclusion. In the first chapter, we talk about Jewish Community Historical Background; who are they, when, where, and why did they immigrate to America?

In the second chapter, we talk about the American Foreign Policy in general, its features and its decision makers, then we move to the American foreign policy before- and after the 11/09 attacks which became a turning point in the American foreign policy.

In the third chapter, we see the impact of the Jews in American middle East Policy. Where we deal with the Israel lobby; its definition and influences on the Congress, on the Executive, and on the Media. After that, we study the American Middle East Policy after the 09/11 events and its influence on the Israeli lobby on it.

#### Chapter one

## A Historical Background of Jewish Community

## Introduction

The Jewish community presented a model of prosperous American settlement. They immigrated to America from many areas and because of many reasons. The first Jewish group immigrated to America was the "Sephardic" Jews from Spain and Portugal than followed by other groups from almost over the world, but particularly from Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia. So we can say that the United States forms an important and successful settlement experience in the world. As Douglass noted, the United States has been called "a nation of immigration". There are several reasons for this, the country was settled, built, and, developed by generations of immigrations and their children (13).

The present chapter speaks about a historical background of Jewish Community in America. Who are they? When they came, from where they came, and what were the reasons that led them to immigrate?

## **1. Definition of Jewish community**

The Jew is a member of the people and culture community whose tradition religion is Judaism and who is descended from the ancient Hebrew people of Israel; a person who believes in and practices Judaism (Hornby 695).

Jew or Hebrew (Yěhūdhī, or Yehudi) any person whose religion is Judaism. In the broader sense of the term, a Jew is any person belonging to the worldwide group that constitutes, through descent or conversion, a continuation of the ancient Jewish people, who were themselves descendants of the Hebrews of the Old Testament ("Jew").

The Jews are divided into two groups: Sephardim Jews and Ashkenazim Jews.

## 1.1. The Ashkenazim

The Jews who lived in the Rhineland valley and near to France before their migration eastward to Slavic lands (*e.g.*, Poland, Lithuania, Russia) after the Crusades (11th–13th centuries). After the 17th-century persecutions in Eastern Europe, large numbers of these Jews resettled in Western Europe, where they assimilated, as they had done in Eastern Europe, with other Jewish communities. All Jews who had adopted the "German rite" were referred to as Ashkenazim to distinguish them from Sephardic (Spanish rite) Jews. The Ashkenazim Jews use Yiddish pronunciation of Hebrew, in cultural traditions, in synagogue chanting, in their widespread (until the 20th century), and especially in synagogue liturgy. Today Ashkenazim constitute more than 80 percent of all the Jews in the world ("Ashkenazi").

#### **1.2. The Sephardim**

Sephardim is a member of the Jews, or their descendants, who lived in Spain and Portugal from the Middle Ages until their persecution and mass expulsion from those countries in the last decades of the 15th century. The Sephardim initially fled to North Africa and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, and many of these eventually settled in such countries as France, Holland, England, Italy, and the Balkans. Salonika

(Thessalonica) in Macedonia and the city of Amsterdam became major places of Sephardic settlement. The Sephardim speak Ladino language; its origin is Latin to present their Literature, and customs. They became noted for their cultural and intellectual achievements within the Mediterranean and northern European Jewish communities. The Sephardim differ notably from Ashkenazi (German-rite) Jews in preserving Babylonian rather than Palestinian Jewish ritual Traditions. ("Sephardim")

### 2. Jewish Immigration to America

For many decades, social studies and history classes referred to the immigration diversity of the United States as a "melting pot," meaning a land where people from many different cultures and backgrounds with variant ethnicity, skin colour, religious ties and language come together to form one single nation ("USA Immigration Interesting Facts"). So the Jewish Community is considered as one diversity of the American "melting pot". Indeed, the history of the American Jewish Community, like the history of the American people, is a narrative of immigration (Chanes 2). More important, The Jewish population of the United States is the product of waves of immigration from all over the word and specially from Europe. The Jews immigrate to America in tree waves; Sephardim Jews from Spain and Portugal in 1654, German Jews by the 1840 and the great immigration from Eastern Europe

## 1.3. Sephardim Jews

The Sephardim Jews were the first group, which landed in 1654; in New Amsterdam (New York now). Chanes noted that Sephardim, "*S'pharad*" being the ancient Hebrew name for Spain (2). They called so by the Spanish and Portuguese. They spoke Portuguese They were also Dutch Jews for they had been driven from Spain and Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century and settled in Holland (Nathan and Daniel 18). From Holland the Sephardim immigrated to New Amsterdam (New York) in North America. So from the half of the Seventeenth century to the half of the Eighteenth century, they settled New York, New Port, Savanna, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The Jewish business men in that towns enjoyed support from Sephardim Jews business men who have power in London and Amsterdam (Djalel 17). Of these first Jews established the synagogue is appropriately named Shearith Israel; "the Remnant of Israel".

#### 2.2. German Jews

German Jews began to immigrate to America in significant numbers in the 1840s. Jews left Germany because of persecution, restrictive laws, economic hardship, and the failure of movements. They looked to America as a solution to their problems and a place of economic and social opportunities. This sizeable German immigration that arrived to America in the mid-19th century considered as the first intensive immigration to America. Most of the German Jews who immigrated to the United States were Ashkenazim (Djalel 14). According to Chanes, "Ashkenaz" being the ancient Hebrew name for Germany (2) . All Jews who had adopted the "German rite" synagogue ritual were referred to as Ashkenazim to distinguish them from Sephardic (Spanish rite) Jews. Ashkenazi Jews were mostly emigrated from German Jewish immigrants were poor like millions of non Jews Germans. The German Jews were moving sellers, but non Jews Germans were farmers. So that this largely German Jewish immigration become concentrated in business, particularly retail trade, and was economically quit successful. (Nathan and Daniel 138,139)

According to Djalel, the German Jews immigration to the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century led the expansion of the Jewish settlement toward the America West. And in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Jews had 160 settlements from New York in the east to California in the west (18).

## 2.3. The Eastern Europeans and Russian Jews

A large wave of immigration to the United States took place between 1880 and 1920. The enormous migration from East Europe began in the 1880's, pushed out of Europe by over population, oppressive legislation and poverty, they were pulled toward America by the prospect of financial and social advancement. This emigration, mainly from Russian Poland and other areas of the Russian Empire, began as far back as 1821. So nearly 50,000 Russian, Polish, Galician, and Romanian Jews went to the United States during the later decade, it was not until the pogroms, anti-Jewish uprisings in Russia, of the early 1880s, that the immigration assumed extraordinary proportions ("Immigration of Eastern European Jews").

From Russia alone the emigration rose from an annual average of 4,100 in the decade 1871-80 to an annual average of 20,700 in the decade 1881-90. Additional actions of persecution in Russia in the early nineties and continuing to the present time have resulted in huge increases in the emigration, England and the United States being the principal lands of protection. The Romanian discriminations, beginning in 1900, obliged outsized numbers of Jews to search for place of safety in the US. In addition to Eastern Europeans, the Russian Jews came to America after 1880. By 1924, two million Jews had arrived from Eastern Europe. The rise anti-immigration feelings in the United States at this time, resulted in the National Origins Quota of 1924, which strictly limited immigration from Eastern Europe after that time ("Russian Americans.").

Furthermore, a large wave of immigration came from the Soviet Union after 1988. As mentioned after the 1967 Six-Day War and the liberalization tide in Eastern Europe in 1968, Soviet policy became more restrictive. Jews were denied educational and vocational opportunities. Consequently, the character of the American Jewry was transformed, as the Eastern Europeans become the majority. Also the Eastern European Jews brought with them certain ideological principles that would influence American Jewry and liberal politics ("Immigration of Eastern European Jews").

## 3. The Motives that led the Jews to immigrate to America

We can say that the history of the Jewish Community in America is a part of the West history because its origins was the immigration from Europe to the new world (United States). Like any European immigration, the Jews immigrated to America because of many reasons. Those are some of them:

- The expulsion of Jewish Sephardim from Spain.
- Most important was that the American society is totally secular. As well as the American constitution based on ideas of liberty, equality and happiness.
- The American society is based on settlement so that they did not put any difficulties to Jewish immigrants.
- The Russian anti-Semitism policy and the pogroms.
- The desire to give the children better education and happy life.
- American Dream- Freedom and Gold Rush.
- The Holocaust ("Main Jewish immigration history America north-east").

In brief, the reasons that led the Jews to immigrate to the United States are summarized in the following: Jews immigrated to the United states because of persecution, ,restrictive laws, Anti-Semitism, economic hardship, and the failure of movement advocating revolution and reform in their countries As well as the American dream; freedom and Gold Rush; So that they looked to America as an antidote to the ills, a place of economic and social opportunities.

## 4. Religious Streams

According to Chanes, The American Jewish religion is generally grouped into four categories: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructions. Approximately 8 percent of American Jews identify themselves as Orthodox, and 32 percent as Conservative, 38 percent as Reform, a 3 percent as Reconstructions (6).

#### 4.1. Orthodox

This stream stayed with fearful religious as a way of life. The orthodox stream did not change anything from the Torah. This is the Torah from Sinai and no human can change it. Many of them were anti-Zionism. In the pre-World War II and immediately following the war, the American Orthodox Community became so weak that many predicated its disappearance, found new life with the arrival of rabbinic and scholarly leadership in the late 1930s, during the war, and especially through the 1950s. These leaders provided the intellectual, educational, and communal supports for health and growth. The past two decades, the American Orthodox has experienced a noticeable shift to the religious, social, cultural, and political right among some groups to engage within the American society (Chanes 8).

#### 4.2. The Reformist

The reformists accept the Jews ethical commandment and reject the practical commandment that is not suitable to 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Bible is the main stream here and not the Talmud. Reform Judaism, originating in early nineteenth-century Germany as a religious response to modernity flourishes in the United States because its stress on the independence of the individual, as opposed to the constraints of Jewish Law, fit well with the American culture (8).

#### 4.3. Conservative

Conservative Judaism had its roots in nineteenth-century Europe, but it evolved as an American religious movement. The conservatives are between the Orthodox and the reformist. Their big issue is that there is new realty and there has to be a change in the Jews religious customs. One of their changes was woman and man sitting to gather and pray. The conservatives keep guard the kaskrut and the Sabbath as is they also say that the practical

commandment are not relevant, but they some of them; all groups have been conserved to preserve their Jewish heritage and traditions (9).

## 5. Jewish organization

Since the Jewish arrival to settle America before more than 300 years and until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the voluntary work principle was the fundamental tool in organizing the Jewish life in America. This voluntary link in the American civilian life has been a positive effect on the Jews. In addition, the Jews established organizations and committees that help them to reach their goals. The following are some of them;

**5.1. Traditional Organizations:** They were established in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century before the establishment of the state of Israel. Their role was to help the American Jewish emigrants. However; after the establishment of the state of Israel they changed in order to assist Israel by pressing the decision makers and mobilizing the public opinion (Chanes 14). The following are some of them:

#### American Jewish Committee (AJC)

It was formed in 1906 as a reaction to series of Pogroms in Czarist Russia. It was established by German Jewish Community. After 1943, AJC developed into an extremely respected organization that provides an effective voice for American Jews on public affairs issues. Furthermore, American Jewish Committee has had a particular interest in ethnicity, pluralism, and Jewish continuity. Over the last two decades, AJC has became totally involved in international diplomacy and Israel support (17, 18).

#### American Jewish Congress (AJCongress)

It was founded in 1918 by Eastern European Jews origins who felt that the "aristocratic" German-Jewish leadership of the American Jewish Committee had no mandate from American Jewry. They established the congress in order to represent American Jewish interests at the peace conference following the World War I. Moreover, American Jewish Congress is the only community relations agency that has been pro-Zionist throughout its history (18).

#### Anti-Defamation league (ADL)

It was established as a commission of *B'nai B'rith*, which was an international fraternal and social organization, which has reshaped the contours of its activity over the years to become more active in the public policy field, in 1913. Anti-Defamation league focus not only on monitoring discrimination against Jews, but also on anti-Israel activity, left- and rightwing radicalism, and violations of church-state separation, as well as interfaith work and Holocaust education (19).

In addition, there are others; Jewish Council Federations, World Zionist Organizations Council of Jewish Federations, and so on.

#### **5.2. Traditional Organization with the New Role**

It was formed after the establishment of the state of Israel:

#### American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)

It is the main pro-Israel lobby. It was established in 1950. It is arguably the most influential voice in Washington on Israel related issues. Since 1975, AIPAC has been a very high profile agency. Its purpose is to develop support for Israel in the American government. Unlike other Jewish organization in America, AIPAC agenda is limited to Israel and Israel-American relations (24).

#### World Jewish Congress (WJC)

In umbrella of Jewish Public affairs groups representing Jewish Communities outside the United States and Israel. The World Jewish Congress came to prominence after World War II, when it played a vital role in the crafting Jewish policies to peace treaties (25).

## • American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (ADC or the "Joint")

It was established in 1914, was an example of Jewish communal response to a crisis situation. ADC or the Joint is the main instrument of American Jewry for providing the social service needs of Jews outside the United States (24).

## • The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (the

## "Presidents Conference")

The Conference was founded in 1954; it is one of the most important groups in American Jewish life. The formal mandate of the President Conference is to express the collective voice of American Jewish organizations to Israel to the American administration. Also, the President Conference has taken messages from the administration to the Israeli government (23).

Indeed, there are many Jewish American organizations, but we speak about some of them. In addition to those above, there are others; State of Israel Bonds, United Jewish Appeal, American Zionist Organization, and Israel policy forum.

### 5.3. The Treaties that formed as new Way to press and theory:

#### • The Washington Institute in Near East Policy

Pro-Israel think tank specializing in producing and disseminating pro-Israel media material (Elethaoui 274).

## - The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs

It is a Pro-Israel think tank specializing in promoting military cooperation between the U.S. and Israel (275).

In addition to that, there is The Institute for Advanced Strategic and Policy Studies and Freeman Center for Strategic Studies.

## 6. The Jewish Population of the United States (1654-2010)

The Jewish population in America is a result of a successful immigration during many times. The following table represented a calculation of Jewish population from 1654 to 2010.

According to this table we can say that the Jewish Population has risen from few numbers to millions (25 in 1654 to 3.300,000 in 1920). By the 1920s it reached four million, but by the 1924, the feeling of anti-immigration was raised and resulted in the National Origins Quota of 1924 which strictly limited the immigration. After that law, other several laws were emerged, however; the Jewish people still came to America which helped the raising of Jewish population until it reached nearly five and half million in 2010 (Figure 1).

In addition to this table the map in figure 2 represents the Jewish population in each state of the United States (see Appendix).

Year	Estimated Jewish Population
1654	25
1700	200-300
1776	1,000-2,500
1790	1,243-3,000
1800	2,000-2,500
1820	2,650-5,000
1826	6,000
1830	4,000-6,000
1840	15,000
1848	50,000
1850	50,000-100,000
1860	150,000-200,000
1870	200,000
1880	230,000-280,000
1890	400,000-475,000
1900	937,800-1,058,135
1910	1,508,000-2,349,754
1920	3,300,000-3,604,580
1927	4,228,029
1937	4,641,000-4,831,180
1940	4,770,000-4,975,000

1950	4,500,000-5,000,000
1960	5,367,000-5,531,500
1970	5,370,000-6,000,000
1980	5,500,000-5,920,890
1992	5,828,000
2006	5,275,000
2010	5,275,000

Source: American Jewish Desk Reference, (The Philip Leff. Group, Inc., 1999), p. 35. American Jew Year Book 2006 (NY: American Jewish Committee, 2006). North American Jewish Databank ("US Jewish Population.").

## Conclusion

We can say that the history of the Jewish Community in the United States became one unity later on, is a part of the Western history in whole and a part of the Jewish history in particular because the origins of the Jewish Community in U.S. were from the immigration of Europeans to the New World. All contemporary American Jews are "Jews by choice" in that their relationship with the Jewish people, Judaism, and its institutions is voluntary. They have freedom and feel part of mainstream American life.

In this chapter, we investigate a History of the Jewish Community In America. In which we speak about the Jewish people and their Immigration to America. Then we mention the reasons that lead them to immigrate, also the religious streams and their organizations in the United States. Finally, we deal with the Jewish population in America.

#### Chapter two

## An Overview on American Foreign Policy

## Introduction

Since first breaking free from British colonial control and becoming an independent nation, the United States has exercised a wide variety of foreign policies. From war and treaty with their former mother country, to isolation and neutrality the nation has always focused its relations with other through its needs and wants at home. The Foreign Policy of the United States, like the other nations, has always resulted from a mixture of self interests and the attempt to common ideas. As in other lands, self interests have frequently been provided and with the rhetoric of major ideas. This chapter presents an overview of American foreign policy.

## 1. The Features and the Decision Makers of the American foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a broad term; its concerns include defense and National Security, trade and commerce, global stability and conflicts, values and rules which govern relation between states. Its instruments are equally varied: economics diplomacy and action each offer a wide range of means of pursuing foreign policy goals. (Mckeever and Davies 357, 358).

Mckeever and Davies, in their book "USA Politics", note that until the Cold War, the American government had made with relatively few foreign policy-making institutions and personal. The main five players which contribute in making the American foreign policy are:

#### 1.1. The President

The American foreign policy is related with the character and the interests of the president. There are some presidents who were interested in foreign policy more than the domestic policy, in contrast with some other, who were interested in domestic policy more than the foreign policy (Mckeever and Davies 331,332).

### **1.2.** The State Department

"Of all the agencies and federal bureaucratizes engaged in foreign policy-making, the State Department is, in principal at least, the first among equal" (qtd. In Mckeever and Davies 332).It has a major role in conducting American foreign policy relations. It represents the United States through its embassies and consulates in over the world; negotiates treaties with other nations; acts as reposity of specialized knowledge about other nations and development in international politics; draws up policy recommendations for the president. In addition, it has houses bodies with specific functions, such as the Agency for International Development (AID), the Arm Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), and the United States Information Agency (USIA) (332,333).

#### **1.3.** The Department of Defense

It is also called the Pentagon. The key of its power is the enormous defense budget; Arms manufacturers and the congress are the two major sources of support that are attracted by the massive expenditures of Defense Department. It represents an important powerful player in the foreign policy-making process. It has the vital task of ensuring that the United States is military able of defending the nation and its interests at home and abroad (333).

#### **1.4. The National Security Council**

The National Security Council (NSC) was established in 1947 by congress during the Cold War, when the United States needed better coordination of foreign policy to advise the president with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies related to national security. The congress required that the president, vice-president, secretaries of state and defense, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency must all be members of the National Security Adviser (NSA) (Mckeever and Davies 335,336).

#### **1.5. The Central Intelligence Agency**

Since the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has rightly become synonymous with American espionage and secret operations in foreign countries, it was not created with these minds. Rather, as its name suggests, it was founded in 1947 to provide better intelligence about the world the United States was now seeking to lead. There was a clear need to coordinate the intelligence gathered by the different intelligence agencies of various government departments (336,337).

#### 1.6. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

Federal Bureau of Investigation is the principal investigative agency of the federal government of the United States. The bureau is responsible for conducting investigations in cases where federal laws may have been violated, unless another agency of the federal government has been specifically delegated that duty by statute or executive fiat. As part of the Department of Justice, the FBI reports the results of its investigations to the attorney general of the United States and his assistants in Washington, D.C., and to the United States attorneys' offices in the country's federal judicial districts. Although it is a federal agency, the FBI is not a national police force, and law enforcement in the United States remains principally the responsibility of state and local governments.

## 2. Other Administration Influences

In addition to the previous major elements of the policy making process. There is other bodies influence on this process.

#### 2.1. The Department of Treasury

It is an influential force in foreign policy-making, particularly in relation to factors which affect the value of the United States dollars, it represents the United States governor of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the world blank, and other regional international financial agencies. It has also some specific responsibilities which include exchange rates tariffs and the balance of trade (Mckeever and Davies 337,338).

#### 2.2. The Office of the United States Trade representative

It is situated in the White House, it has a growing influence, its major responsibility is to negotiate trading agreements on tariffs and trade (GATT) (338).

## 2.3. The Department of Commerce

Its main responsibility is to lie in implementing trade policy, and the departments of agriculture and labor, whose domestic clients are affected by the impact of international events and agreements (338).

## 3. Non-Governmental Influences

## 3.1. Public Opinion

From the perspective of most members of the public, foreign policy is far from their everyday lives. The public is much less influential in the making of foreign policy. The public accept whatever policy decisions the president makes. However, presidents sometimes pay considerable attention to public opinion. Poll data on foreign affairs in order to avoid the possible repercussion of any decision he takes. In addition, under certain circumstance, the

public takes strong interests in foreign policy and may have clear policy preferences (Mckeever and Davies 339).

#### **3.2. Pressure Groups**

Pressure groups are not like the public opinion, they are interesting in foreign policy. They have a big influence over foreign policy and may be effective in certain special issues (qtd. in Mckeever and Davies 340).

#### 3.3. Mass. Media

Mass. Media of the United States perform an interesting role in transmitting information to American people and its political leadership. And also it has an important role in supporting democracy and in affecting public opinion. In other words, Americans, since the beginning, they have considered the importance of the media so that they cared about possessing newspapers to express their opinions. When we speak of the media we mean television, radio, newspapers and magazines and also information agencies (Eleithaoui 85, 86).

## 4. The United States Foreign Policy before 09/11 Attacks

Nye thought that after the First World War, the United States of America had limited Internationalism and perused Isolationism, and by this policy, the country became the great "arsenal of democracy". The United States, for the second time, had entered an international war which was the Second World War when Japan had attacked Pearl Harbor in Hawaii in 1947. The United States of America and its allies had won the war; it had appeared as a superpower as well as the Soviet Union. The two fronts started a new struggle known as the Cold War because the two fronts had not engaged in a direct fight (90, 91). All these are detailed in the following.

#### 1.4. The First World War and the Inter-War Years

Before the World War I the United States followed a policy of neutrality or noninvolvement. In an effort to guard themselves from involvement in the wider conflicts of the European and focus on domestic affairs. So, on the outbreak of the First World War in Europe in 1914, President Wilson urged that they have to remain neutral but many Americans were incensed when in May 1915; a German submarine sank the British liner Lusitanian, killing 128 Americans passengers.

In April 1917, Wilson obtained a declaration of war from Congress. Declaring that neutrality was no longer feasible or desirable. Wilson proclaimed that the inter of this war was not just to defeat Germany or to end submarine warfare, but to secure "the rights and liberties...of free people everywhere." For Wilson America entered "the war to end all wars."(qtd History: 1865 to 1929). By the end of the World War I, Wilson had outlined his war aims; the Fourteen Points. These called for open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, free international trade, disarmament and a just settlement of colonial disputes. In October, the Germane government asked for peace, and on November 11 an armistice was declared. In 1919, Wilson went to Europe to draft the peace treaty. When Wilson proved unable to change European habits, Americans turned inwards. Following the involvement in World War I, the United States entered a nearly two decade long period of isolation from world affairs. Wilson did succeed in establishing the League of Nations, but the United States never ratified the Versailles Treaty and never joined the League of Nations (Mckeever and Davies 325,326).

#### **4.2. Between the Wars**

By the end of the World War I, many Americans were left with a feeling of distrust toward foreigners. However; public opinion seemed strongly with supporting the agreement of the Versailles Treaty, the Congress refused it and also the League of Nations. They rejected the treaty because they considered that the American people were not yet ready to play a commanding role in world affairs. These led to the isolationism policy ("U.S. Department of State 204").

Indeed, following the involvement in World War one, the United States entered a nearly two decade long period of isolation from world affairs. the result was not only a rejection of leadership and membership in international organizations, but a restricting of the American borders and an anti-foreign feeling among society.

The United States had always been a nation formed by and for immigration. The nation heritage is one of providing an opportunity for peoples from all over the world to strive for a better life in America. However; during the isolationist policies that followed the First World War, many called for a curbing of immigration as a way to reduce foreign influence on the nation. Moreover, the immigration Act of 1924 and the emergency of Quota Act severely restricted the number of immigrates allowed into the century. Furthermore, the isolation from world economic was one of the great causes of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

#### 4.3. The Second World War

The World War II began in 1939 when the German Army invaded Boland, than the Allies declared the war against Germany. Also the United States entered the war after the Japanese surprised attack on December 7<sup>th</sup>; 1941.the United States entry into World War II had brought an end to isolationism. In the light of attack, Roosevelt had no difficulty persuading Congress to declare War on Japan. Germany responded by declaring war on the United States. Thus the Americans, who had spent the past twenty years desperately trying to avoid military interference, now found themselves at War across both the Atlantic and the Pacific. (Mckeever and Davies 326). So, the United States refused to again make the mistakes of isolation and rejection of international agreement that were made in the twenties. This time, the United States did not isolate and retrench, instead helping to create the United Nation and

NATO as well as foster international trade and cooperation through agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

#### 4.4. The Cold War

After the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union appeared as the two superpowers. Although the Americans and the Russians had fought Hitler together as allies, friendship between them did not last after the World War II because of the ideological difference between the capitalism and the communism. American foreign policy makers viewed that they had to stop the spread of communism out of the Russian lands. Thus, the policy of containment was born; it is the American foreign policy strategy whose aim was the prevention of communism expansion, and spread of the Soviet ideology anywhere in the world. Its first establishment was by the Truman Doctrine in 1947 which was followed by the Marshall Plan in 1947 and the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957.

The Cold War ended in 1989 by the breakup of the Soviet Union. As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the post world war was widely considered as unipolar, with the United States as the sole remaining superpower. Nye said: "the end of the Cold War was one of the great transforming events of the twentieth century. It was equivalent to World War II in its effect on the structure of the international system, but it occurred without war" (138).

#### 4.5. The Post- Cold War

The end of the Cold War was woody considered as unipolar with the rise of the United States as the sole superpower. As a result, the Americans started to feel that they were the only people who could gave freedom to any other people. Thus, they created a new world order in to keep the peace and maintain stability. The new world order for the president Bush was founded upon "universal" values of capitalism, liberal democracy, free trade and the denial of aggression as foreign policy means(Mckeever and Davies 340). Therefore, under George Bush's president team, three major changes in world politics: the reunification of Germany, the end of communism, and the Gulf War. Those three events made the year 1990 unexpected year in the first twentieth century (Lagayette 179).

The United States started to apply their new world order under the name of bringing peace to all nations in the world which are under aggression and persecution. In addition, they could use force of international community especially the United Nations, if any nation disagrees with that new order. The United States multinational military interference in Iraq in order to liberate Kuwait was a good example of the new world order practice (Mckeever and Davies 342).

## 5. The American Foreign Policy after 11/09 Attacks

The terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 have affected the American global policy. These attacks have presented an "opportunity" for the United States to state its war against the Islamic nation. With regards to the American relations with the Islamic World, the 09/11<sup>th</sup> attacks have created a new Wave of anti-Islam movement in the United States and even other Western countries.

As it has been stated the "War on Terror" was not limited to Afghanistan and Bin Laden group but it would be continued against Muslim and non-Islamic countries which were considered supporters of terrorism. Bush characterized Iraq, Iran and North Korea "axis of evil." Furthermore, NATO warned that the United States has to provide evidence to justify any action against Iran, Iraq and North Korea. After Afghanistan, the United States attacked Iraq in 2003; in order to find and destroy Saddam's programmes for developing weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). This led to the invasion of Iraq more than three years (Yazdani 41, 42).

The tragic events of September 11, 2001 changed Americans' perceptions of the world, especially as they relate to issues of security. The Americans have seen responses ranging

from staffing and budgeting adjustments to sweeping laws redefining the focus of entire government departments. They have witnessed the creation of an entirely new Department of Homeland Security. In addition, Congress has enacted changes in laws aimed at strengthening the government's abilities to avoid and interrupt terrorist attacks before they occur, particularly, the USA PATRIOT Act (Mckeever and Davies 349, 350).

#### 5.1. Department of Homeland Security (DHS)

Is a cabinet department of the United States federal government, created in response to the September 11 attacks, and with the primary responsibilities of protecting the territory of the U.S. from terrorist attacks and responding to natural disasters. The legislation establishing the department consolidated much of the country's security infrastructure, integrating the functions of more than 20 agencies under Homeland Security. The department's substantive responsibilities are divided into four directorates: border and transportation security, emergency preparedness, information analysis and infrastructure protection, and science and technology. The Secret Service, which protects the president, vice president, and other designated individuals, is also under the department's jurisdiction ("US Civil Liberties After 9/11").

#### 5.2. The USA PATRIOT Act

Its title reflects a growing tendency in the United States to manufacture symbolic acronyms for legislation: the full name is thus the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (Mckeever and Davies 350). The USA PATRIOT Act (USA PATRIOT) is at the heart of any discussion of a shift toward interception-and-disruption, although other significant legal developments are occurring outside of the changes made by that Act. USA PATRIOT is a massive bill, passed by Congress soon after the events of 9/11. It contains ten titles and changes literally hundreds of provisions of the United States Code ("US Civil Liberties After 9/11").

## Conclusion

The American foreign policy witnessed important changes, especially in the international events such as: the World War I, World War II, Cold War, post Cold War, the attacks of 09/11 and the terrorism became the new challenge of the United States. It claimed its war under the slogan of the "War on Terror" and the whole Islamic World became its new victim. In this chapter, we study an overview of American foreign policy. Where we deal first with the features and the decision makers of the American foreign policy. Than The United States Foreign policy before 09/11 Attacks where we mentioned the First World War and the Inter-War Years, The Second World War, The Cold War, and The Post- Cold War. Finally, the American foreign policy after 09/11 attacks.

## **Chapter Three**

# The Impact of the Jews Strategy on the American Middle East Policy After the 09/11 events

## Introduction

The Jewish community in the United States was formed by the first wave of the European Jewish in the late nineteenth century. They settled on the industrial centers in the East and North of the country; thus they took control over many industrial and financial position such as banks and companies etc. almost half of this community concentrates in New York city, which considered as the most important economic, political, and scientific town, that's why they form a powerful pressure group that affects the government, federal, and local authorities (Hamidchi 167 -168).

The distinct economic situation and weal of American Jews have allowed them in supporting the Jews around the world by financial aids. In addition, since the United States rank advanced during the Second World War, American Jews power increased also and they became at the leadership center of the Jews. After the Second World War, the American Jewish activities were carried out by wide network of organizations, unions, and institutions which covered all religious, social, educational, and entertaining fields besides supporting Israel by all means. Therefore, American Jewish groups are experienced in lobbying the American government (Djalel 44).

The present chapter studies the impact of the Israeli Lobby on the American foreign policy toward the Middle East after 09/11 attacks. In which we deal with the Israeli lobby ; its definition , its influences over the American Congress and the Executive. Finally, we deal with the influence of the pro-Israeli Lobby on American Middle East policy.

## 1. Definition of the Israeli Lobby

The short-hand term "the Lobby" is referred to the coalition of individuals and organizations which band together in order to shape US foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction. The use of the Word "the Lobby" does not mean a unified movement with a central leadership, or that individuals within it agree on specific issues. Also Hamidchi pointed that the Israeli Lobby is considered as one of the activist groups in USA that has an obvious influence on the American policy especially during the presidential elections when the issues of helping Israel, the Middle East, and the Arabic-Israel relationships become the principle issues (167).

American Jews, that are considered part from the Lobby, are working hardly in their daily live to submit US foreign policy so that it serves Israel's interests. Voting for candidates who are pro-Israel organization is their main activities in order to include letter-writing, financial contribution, and supporting pro-Israel organizations (Mearsheimer and Walt 14).

## 2. The Israeli Lobby and its Influences

## **2.1. Influencing the Congress**

The impact of the Israeli Lobby in the American Congress is immerged from the legislation election and the decision making in the congress. The Jews do not rely on the Jewish voice in the elections, although; their participation in the election is larger than the other communities, where their participation in the United States election is 90% because they care much about the participation in the election. On other hand, the Israeli Lobby relies on supporting the non-Jewish nominative who are famous in their loyalty to Zionism and the Israel's right to be present and they want to defend Israel (Eleithaoui 249).

The Jewish money force has the great influence on the congress nominative. So the committees of the political work contributed with four million dollars to the congress

nominatives in the election of 1990 and all of them are the greatest supporters to Israel as well as in the congress council (1990) there were sixteen members each one of them received more than 100000 dollars from the Jewish exporters. Furthermore, from these contributions have emerged the power of the Jewish Lobby and particularly the AIPAC organization; which has a big impact not only on the Jewish members but also on the American congress (250,251). Also Mearsheimer and Walt mentioned that the AIPAC forms the major Lobby's influence in the congress. Its success is derived from its ability to reward legislator and congressional candidates who support its agenda and to punish those who challenge it (17). United States policy toward Israel has important consequences for the entire world. As the Israel Prime Minister Ariel Sharon once told an American audience:"when people ask me how they can help Israel, I tell them-Help AIPAC."(qtd. In Mearsheimer and Walt 18).

According to Eleithaoui, the American congress is considered as the best friend to Israel in the United States because of its sizeable influence in the election operations which lead it to adopt partial policy toward Israel specially in the Arabic- Zionist conflicts (250-252).

## **2.2. Influencing the Executive**

Like the Congress, the Executive branch is influenced significantly by the Lobby because of its Jewish voters' influence on presidential elections. One of their power points, despite of their small numbers in the population, is their large campaign donations to candidates from both parties. *The Washington post* declared that the Democratic Presidential candidates "depend on Jewish supporters to supply as much as 60% of the money." (qtd. in Mearsheimer and Walt 18). Moreover, Jewish voters concentrate in key states like California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania (Mearsheimer and Walt 18).

The Israeli Lobby has significant power toward the administration. Indeed, the Israeli Lobby forces make sure that enemies of Israel do not get main foreign-policy position. While important situations in the executive branch are occupied by pro-Israel individuals, this will help the lobby in obtaining its goals. For instance, during the Clinton administration, officials with close ties to Israel or to prominent pro-Israel organizations shape Middle East policy (Mearsheimer and Walt 17). Furthermore, the two great parties of the United States, the Republic and the Democratic, provide freedom to Israeli Lobby. So that naturally the American administration policy support the Jewish state whoever be the ruler from the two parties (Eleithaoui 252).

### 2.3. Manipulating the Media

Another method of influencing government is by inciting public opinion about Israel and the Middle East. It does not want an open debate on issues involving Israel because it may lead Americans to ask about the support they provide. Thus, they work to influence the media in order to shape public opinion (Mearsheimer and Walt 20).

Most Americans commentators are pro-Israel, for that reason, the media reflects the Lobby' perspective on Israel.

The Journal, along with other prominent newspapers like The Chicago Sun Times and The Washington Times control editorials that strongly pro-Israel and the same thing with magazines Commentary, the New Republic, and the Weekly Standard. The New York Times like other papers has editorial bias. Although the Times criticizes Israel and policies and declare the Palestinians legitimate grievance, it is not even-handed.

The media's reporting of news events involving Israel are treated more than editorial commentary because reporting have to be objective; in addition, it is difficult to cover events in the occupied territories without acknowledging Israel's actual behavior. Thus, the Lobby

makes letter writing campaigns, demonstrations, and boycotts against anti-Israel news. For example, CNN executive declared that sometimes he gets 6000 e-mail messages in a day about anti-Israel story. Israel's friends in Congress put pressure on the National public Radio station to make international audit as well as more oversight of its Middle East coverage. This shows the great influence of the Lobby on US policy and the lack of criticisms of Israeli policy by American media (21).

## 3. The significance of the term "Middle East"

After the war of 1967 of Israel and the American support to it, the Middle East included Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. After the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the second Gulf War against the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait; the United States supported its project of the Middle East which includes Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Koweit, Qatar, Bahrein, United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Yemen from the Arabic countries. Iran and Turkey from the non-Arabic countries, other people include Israel as a part of the Middle East because it got a great part of Palestine. Others add other countries to the Middle East such as Lybia, Sudan, Ithobai, Somalia, Guputy, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. So they mean by the Middle East the whole Islamic world (Alawondi 22).

## 4. The Reasons of the American Middle East Struggle

The invasion of Palestine 1948 and the establishment of Israel were the biggest and the most dangerous aspect of disorder which led to the Arabic-Israeli conflict. This conflict caused a cruel wars and human tragedies. The Israeli establishment came within "Western-Zionist" plan in order to ensure the Arabic divide and separation. In addition, the United States can dominate its natural resources and exploit its strategic location in the international conflicts. The instability and the underdevelopment were the aspects of the Israeli

establishment crises. As long as, the crises was the responsibility of the Westerns and the Soviet Union, the Arabs on the other side wanted to restore Palestine by any way even by the military Fighting .Because all of these causes , the Arabic Nation clashed with the westerners and considered them the responsible of the Arabic tragedy. Moreover, the fighting against Zionism became at the same time a fighting against the international powers which supported Israel (25).

Furthermore, the Americans were interesting in the Middle East for a long time because it relates the three continents; Africa, Europe, and Asia. It has a different raw materials; it contains amount of water and great number of oil sources. It is also the birth place of three religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The United States has long standing interests in the region: promoting democracy, protecting petrol assets, and supporting strategic partners such as :Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia ("US Middle East Foreign Policy since 2003").

# 5. The Influence of the Pro-Israeli Lobby on American Middle East Policy

### 5.1. The Israeli Lobby and Iraq War

Benjamin Netanyahu, published in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled "The Case for Toppling Saddam", he declared: "I believe I speak for the overwhelming majority of Israelis in supporting a pre-emptive strike against Saddam's regime." (Mearsheimer and Walt 30).

The relationship between Israel and United States enhanced the Israel presence in the region. This support was the result of great efforts done by the Jewish organizations that worked hard to remain the dominant regional power. In other words, these same organizations were behind United States invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

Some Americans believe that the war in Iraq was a "war for oil". This reason made the invasion of Iraq a strategic necessity. However; others believed that the war pledged by a desire to make Israel more secure. Because the pro-Israel leaders declared that "the real threat" from Iraq was not a threat to the United States, but was the "threat against Israel" (31).

Eventually, the chance arrived with 09/11events that led the Bush Administration to change its attitude toward the war. That change was due to the influence of neoconservatives in the Lobby. Even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the 09/11 attacks, any strategy aiming at the abolition of terrorism and its supporters have to contain determination effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq. Indeed, without the Lobby's hard work, the United States would have not been invaded Iraq in 2003. On the other hand, Israeli leaders, neoconservatives, and the Bush Administration all viewed war with Iraq as the first step in an ambitious campaign to reorder the Middle East. All what we can conclude is that Israel is the reason that the United States is engaging in the trillion dollar destruction of Iraq (32).

Just after the fall of Baghdad, in late April 2003, the Israelis turned their sight to Iran and Syria so that Israeli ambassador in Washington called for invasion of Iran and Syria as overthrow of Saddam was not enough for them. America "has to follow through. We still have great threats of that magnitude coming from Syria, coming from Iran." (Baloch 50 ).

### 5.2. The Israel Lobby and Syria

Not long after George W. Bush declared "mission accomplished" regarding the war in Iraq in May 2003, AIPAC focused its attention on new target, Syria. That step was taken before March 2003because they were too busy pushing for war against Iraq. However, once

Baghdad fell in mid-April, Sharon and his proponents began urging Washington to target Damascus. For example, on April 16, Sharon and Shaul Mofaz, his Defense Minister, gave high profile interviews in different Israeli newspaper. Sharon, in Yedioth Ahronoth, called the United States to "put heavy" pressure on Syria. Meanwhile, Mofaz told Ma'ariv that: "they have a long list of issues that they are thinking of demanding of the Syrians and it is appropriate that it should be done through the Americans." Whereas, the Washington post reported that: Israel was "fueling the campaign" against Syria by feeding the United States intelligence reports about the action of the Syrian president, Bashar Assad ( Mearsheimer and Walt 37).

They proved their case; Congressman Eliot Angel (D-NY) had reintroduced the Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act on April 12. This act threaten sanction against Syria if it did withdraw from Lebanon, give up its weapons of mass destruction, and stop supporting terrorism, as well as it called for Syria and Lebanon to take concrete steps to make peace with Israel. This legislation was strongly endorsed by the Lobby, especially AIPAC, as the Jewish Telegraph Agency put it "by some of Israel's best friends in Congress." (Mearsheimer and Walt 36).

Although the Bush Administration was not enthusiastic for the anti-Syrian Act, the Act passed overwhelmingly and Bush signed it into law on December 12, 2003. Importantly, Bush's fear was logical because Syria had a good relation with Washington before Iraq war. Also Syria providing the United States Intelligence with information about al-Qaeda members since 09/11,and had also warned Washington about a planned terrorist attack in the Gulf. So it was not a danger on the United States Security. Thus, Bush thought that the attack on Syria would make the United States look like an imperial country that seeks more power by beating up Arab States regardless of the consequences on the world. Therefore, an attack on Syria slogan. So that it would be more reasonable if the United States complete its unfinished job in Iraq, and then turn its sight to Syria. Because, if the United States attacked Syria which would cause trouble in Iraq (38).

However, Congress insisted to consider Syria as a threat because of pressures practiced by Israel officials and pro- Israel groups like AIPAC. Once again, if there was no Lobby, there would have been no Syria Accountability Act. Also the attacks on Lebanon in 2006 which was prepared by accusing Syria for Lebanon's former Prime-Minister murder and demanding the Syrian forces to withdraw from Lebanon. The event was asset up to make Syria and Lebanon fights each other which would give Israel a reason to attack Syria (37).

#### 5.3. The Israeli Lobby and Iran Nuclear Program

In December 2002, the United States revealed that Iran had surreptitiously constructed two nuclear facilities to enrich uranium and produce heavy water and these would provide Iran with the capacity to produce weapons-grade uranium and plutonium (Tzogopoulos 33).

In June 2003, United States secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld announced that the intelligence community in the United States assessed that although Iran did not have yet nuclear weapons, but it had a very active program (Tzogopoulos 34).

"If Iran continues its nuclear arms program-we will attack it. The sanctions aren't effective. There will be no choice but to attack Iran to halt the Iranian program." Shaul Mofaz, Israel Minister of Transportation in Yediot Ahronot, June6, 2008 ("Israel's War with Iran and the Zionist Power Configuration in America").

At the present time, when the national economy of the United States is in deep crises, the Israel Lobby is pushing for a new military confrontation and war with Iran. Major pro-Israel officials and politicians in Homeland Security, the National Security Council, the Congress and the White House are passing more police-state legislation to control and silence the growing majority opposition to the expansion of wars in the Middle East promoted by the Israel Lobby. Moreover, Israel tends all the time to describe their neighbors as threats to its status as an independent states, but its view to Iran differs from other Middle East countries, Israel considers Iran as the most dangerous enemy because it is the most likely adversary to acquire nuclear weapons ( Mearsheimer and Walt 38).

Thus, Zionists and their allies in Congress authored and enforced sanction against Iran that weakened the ambitions of the world's biggest oil and gas companies. The Israeli threats and public declarations about a massive air attack have pushed petroleum prices to world records. In the spring of 2008, the most powerful pro- Israel Jewish Lobby in the United States, AIPAC held their annual conference and ensured the support of both major United States presidential candidates and the majority of United States members of Congress for Israel to impose extreme economic sanction on Iran with threats of United States/ Israel military attack (39).

The United States campaign against Iran's nuclear program started in November 2002, when Sharon began publicly pushing the United States to stop Iran and shut down its nuclear program. The neoconservatives also were seeking to make the case for going after Iran. The pro-Israel Foundation for the Defense of Democracies and the Hudson Institute sponsored an all-day conference on Iran, asking the United States to replace its strategy with Iran by a democracy (Mearsheimer and Walt 38).

Eventually, the Bush Administration responded to the Lobby's pressure by introducing a Congressional resolution. The Resolution 362 called for a naval blockade of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Resolution 362 stated that:" the president should prohibit the exports to Iran of all refined petroleum products imposing stringent inspection requirements in all persons, vehicles, ships, planes, trains and cargo ships enters and departing Iran." ("Israel's War with Iran and the Zionist Power Configuration in America").

For instance, the 52 presidents of the major American Jewish Organization and their million members and affiliates successfully pursued AIPAC's proposal to increase economic sanctions on Iran. Each sanction introduced by the United States representative in the United Nation is a copy of memos and resolutions written and powerfully pushed in the Executive branch by AIPAC. They are backed by several hundred professional lobbyists and scores of pro- Israel Political Action Committees (PACs) and ten propaganda mills (the so-called 'think tanks') with tight links to AIPAC. Through their influence in the US, the Zionist Power Configuration in America (ZPC) has successfully secured the voices of other members of the UN Security Council ("Israel's War with Iran and the Zionist Power Configuration in America").

Therefore, any multinational corporation which signs economic agreements over Iranian oil assets is considered to be funding terrorism. Thus, US Congress enforced by ZPC and AIPAC authored Congressional legislation states that: "American companies are prohibited from any involvement in Iran's energy sector. These non-US international groups that have invested in Iran are for now going slow. They are trying to avoid pressing ahead with investments that would anger Washington, while also trying to avoid pulling out which could annoy Tehran." (qtd. in "Israel's War with Iran and the Zionist Power Configuration in America").

The military political leaders in Israel repeatedly and directly declared its preparation to attack Iran in the near future. Thus, the Israeli supporters who are effective in the United States made the Israeli war policy their primary priority in the attempts to ensure the support of the presidency and the congress. All the Israeli leaders who are in high position enunciate that the end of March 2006 will be the last date to wage a military attack on Iran .The idea of

update the attack was to restrict on the United States to impose the punishment matter on the Security Council (SC). Also, this date is a tactics extort Washington with the threatening of the "War on Terror" in order to put pressure on Europe (Britain, Germany, France, and Russia) to agree the punishment against Iran (Petras, 226-229).

## Conclusion

The American Jewish groups are experienced in lobbying the American government; the Israeli Lobby or the pro-Israeli Lobby and the AIPAC are the greatest influence groups in the United States. The power of the "Jewish lobby" is not a new phenomenon, but has long been an important factor in American life. The pro-Israeli lobby has forced the United States to invade in the Middle East in order to protect Israel and also to care for the American interest in the region.

In this chapter, we see that the pro-Israeli Lobby has various sources of power which have different effective strategies for access. Different Methods are followed by the Lobby to make Israel's enemies get weakened or overthrown. Moreover, Israel not only gets a free hand with Palestinians, but it is financially, politically, and military backed and supported the United States of America. In addition, the Lobby works hard to prevent United States leaders from pressuring Israel to make peace, and to make it impossible to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

## Conclusion

We conclude that the Jewish Community has a great authority in the United States which presented by the Israeli Lobby (pro-Israeli Lobby) which has a powerful capacity to shape American foreign policy in ways that work for Israel at the expense of the United States national interests and Palestinian interest.

The Jewish community has create powerful Organizations such as; American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), American Jewish Committee (AJC), American Jewish Congress (AJCongress), The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (the "Presidents Conference") and so on.

We also try to highlight the Lobby's influence on United States policy; particularly United States Middle East policy. Indeed, the Lobby's influence toward the American Middle East policy after the 09/11 attacks was emerged from its impact on the Iraq war, the conflict about the Iranian nuclear program, and goal in Syria. More important, according to Price noted, "It is also important to realize the U.S. helped create Israel (in 1948) and founded and supported it ever. With all this association (plus intensive Lobbying) it is easy to see how U.S. government officials have come to let Israel influence and guide our Middle East policy" ( "Understanding the Middle East War").

American policy in Middle East during the last sixty years expresses that it has always been dictated by a population of 5.2 million American Jews to a nation of over 296 million. The Jews play a major role in American politics. All this creates an atmosphere where many Americans, including decision-makers, have long been favorably disposed toward Israel. American Jews helped Israel to reinforce a special relationship with the US that meant enormous foreign aid, unprecedented diplomatic protection and an American blind eye

to many Israeli actions. All this are due to the power and the great influence of Israel Lobby over the American Foreign policy, particularly the Middle East policy.

The United States participated directly, or indirectly, in many wars in the Middle East to prevent any player to challenge its role. After the invasion of Afghanistan, the United States turned its attention, due to Lobbyists, to Iraq and Iran as danger in the "axis of evil" speech. Also the Israel Lobby introduced Syria as another threat to United States interests in the Middle East because Syria may threaten their goals in the region. Furthermore, after the September 11 attacks the United States claimed the war against the nation and they declared the war against the terror; "War on Terror" in the Middle East. According to Baloch the United States and the pro-Israel Lobby have a plan to redesign the map of the Middle East that may enable Israel to value its long outstanding dream of Greater Israel ("US Foreign Policy in the Middle East"). Thus, the "Jewish lobby" is a decisive factor in US support for Israel and Jews wield immense power and influence in the United States.

In this research we try to highlight the Lobby's influence on United States policy; particularly United States Middle East policy. We discover that the Pro-Israel Lobby has various sources of power which have different effective strategies for access. Different methods are followed by the lobby to make Israel's enemies get weakened or overthrown. Moreover, Israel not only gets a free hand with Palestinians, but it is also financially, politically, and military backed and supported by the United States of America.

We conclude that in the United States the interest groups are a key way of influencing government. Thus, the Pro-Israel "lobby" is a powerful group that is deeply committed to shaping American foreign policy in ways that work for the benefit of Israel. This Lobby is comprised of American Jews who make a significant effort in their daily lives to bend United States foreign policy so that it advances Israel's interests so that we can say that the Jewish Community has a great authority in the United States because they have the most successful pressure group there. This pressure group represented by the Israeli Lobby which manipulates the American policy particularly in the issues that have relation to the Israeli interest in the Middle East. In other words, the Israeli Lobby has a great impact on the American "War on Terror" policy toward the Middle East.

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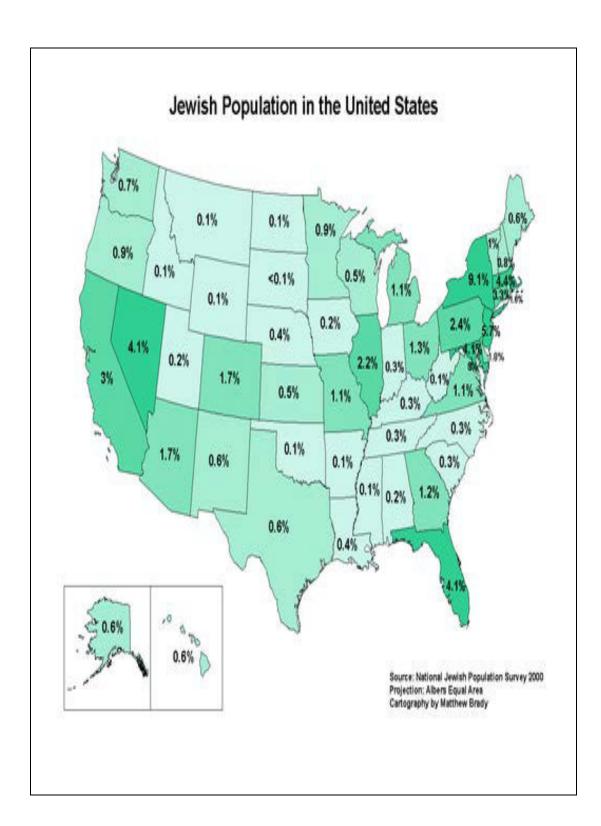
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## Appendix





### ملخص

يدرس هذا البحث مدى قوة تأثير القومية اليهودية في السياسية الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الأوسط بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر منذ قدومهم إلى الولايات الأمريكية، قاموا ببناء قوة مؤثرة ضمن السياسية الخارجية الأمريكية مرتكزة على المنضمات واللجنات و حيث إن وظيفتها الرسمية وضعت لتأثير في صانعي القرار في أمريكا.

لهذا فالسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الأوسط ما هي إلا نتيجة لنفوذ اللوبي الإسرائيلي عليها. إن ها اللوبي الإسرائيلي يمثل الجماعة الضاغطة ذات النفوذ السلطوي و التي نظمت من اجل تغير السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية من اجل مصالح إسرائيل في الشرق الأوسط.

باستخدامه أحداث 11 سبتمبر، طبق اللوبي الإسرائيلي إستراتيجيته من اجل السيطرة و التحكم في الشرق الوسط و ذلك بتحكمه في صناعة القرار الأمريكي في المنطقة.

في هذا البحث اقترحنا الفرضيات التالية: إن اليهود يسيطرون على السياسة الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط كذلك إن اللوبي اليهودي يمثل القوة الضاغطة التي تؤثر في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط. كما إن اللوبي اليهودي يؤثر على صناع القرار الأمريكان خاصة في القضايا المهمة لإسرائيل.

من خلال هذا العمل وجدنا انه بفضل اللوبي الإسرائيلي القوة العظمى أي أمريكا تضع جانبا أمنها من اجل تحقيق مصالح دولة أخرى- إسرائيل- لهذا فان الجماعة اليهودية لها تأثير كبير على السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية.

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## Dedication

I dedicate this work to: My parents for their love and attention. My brethers **Tahar** and **Abd Elaaziz**. My sisters **Fadjria**, **Zouleyka**, **Habiba**, and **Rabiaa**. My Nieces **Nour El Hoda**, **Ahlam**, **Ibtisam**, **Lina**, and **Aya**. My classmates particularly **Meriem**, **Nesrine**, and **Samah**. My friends **Nassim**, **Abir**, **Baka**, Widad, Raoya, and **Menal**. Every single person who I know and I have not introduced him.

## Abstract

This dissertation studies the power and the influence of the Jewish Community in the United States foreign policy towards the Middle East after the September 11<sup>th</sup> episodes. Since their arrival to the United States, the Jews built an influential power within the American foreign policy based on organizations and committees which official position set on the American policymakers.

So, the American foreign policy in the Middle East is a consequence of power of the "Israeli Lobby" on it. The Israeli Lobby is the influential authoritative pressure group that is stated to inflect the United States foreign policy for the benefits of Israel in the Middle /East.

By using the events of 09/11, the Israeli Lobby practiced its strategy to dominate and control the Middle East.

In the present study, we propose the hypotheses that the Jewish Community Dominates the American Middle East policy and the Israeli Lobby is the pressure group that has manipulating the United States foreign policy in the Middle East also the Israeli Lobby manipulate the American policymakers specially in the issues that is important to Israel.

In sum we find that due to the Israeli Lobby, the world's superpower is setting aside its own security in order to advance the interests of anther state (Israel) so that the Jewish Community has a great authority in the United States.

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#### **General Introduction**

The Jewish Community is a Jewish ethnic group. The Jewish population is one example of the American successful immigration. They immigrated to America because of many reasons; such as persecution, restrictive laws, anti-Semitism, economic hardship and so on. So, the Jews suffered a lot in many countries, but America opened its doors to them to enter the "Melting Pot". According to Glaser, Nathan and Denial, the first Jewish group immigrated to America was the "Sephardic" Jews from Spain and Portugal than followed by other groups from almost over the world, but particularly from Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia. After a hard times the American Jews have enjoyed a great power and wealthy in the United States. The Israeli Lobby is a powerful group that is deeply committed to shaping American foreign policy in ways for the benefit of Israel.

Foreign policy is a broad term, covering many different spheres of policy and action. The Foreign Policy of the United States, like the author nations, has always resulted from a mixture of self interests and the attempt to common ideas. As in other lands, self interests have frequently been provided and with the rhetoric of major ideas. The Middle East as a main part of the Islamic world encountered different American policies which had been more troubling and confusing to the people and government of the region that had began during the Cold War and lasted until now but which more pressure after the September 11<sup>th</sup> events. This study seeks to identify the influence of Jewish Community in the American foreign policy in the Middle East after the 09/11<sup>th</sup> events.

This study seeks to identify the influence of Jewish Community on the American foreign policy in the Middle East after the 09/11 events. The period of the study in this research is the era after the September 11 attacks. The reason to choose this period is due to the change in the American policy toward all the world particularly the Middle East because of the appearance

of the policy of "war on terror" which created new order and new concept in the American foreign relations specially with power of the Jewish community (Israeli lobby) in American foreign policy specially after that events.

This work aims to focus on the authority of American Jewish Community over the United States Middle East policy after the events of 09/11. Moreover, other particular objectives ranges from finding out the most important means that had been used by the United States in the Middle East after the period of 09/11 attacks. Also this research aims to understand the American foreign policy in the Middle East. To reach these goals we state the following questions: Do really Jews dominate the American Foreign Policy in the Middle East? How do the Jews manipulate the American foreign policy toward the Middle East after the 09/11 attacks? What is the role of the Israeli lobby in the American Middle East policy after 09/11? As an answer to these main questions in our study, we suggested the following hypotheses:

- The Israeli Lobby is the pressure group that influencing the America Foreign Policy in the Middle East.

- It may renew the Middle East under the slogan of the "War on terror" as an attempt to reach its objectives in the Middle East and the whole Islamic World.

- The United States may change completely its foreign policy in the Middle East after the 09/11 events.

This research will give a picture of Jewish influence in the American foreign policy toward the Middle East after the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 and shows the reader the Jews goals in that region which is to containing and dominating it.

This dissertation is divided into three chapters, introduction and a conclusion. In the first chapter, we talk about Jewish Community Historical Background; who are they, when, where, and why did they immigrate to America?

In the second chapter, we talk about the American Foreign Policy in general, its features and its decision makers, then we move to the American foreign policy before- and after the 11/09 attacks which became a turning point in the American foreign policy.

In the third chapter, we see the impact of the Jews in American middle East Policy. Where we deal with the Israel lobby; its definition and influences on the Congress, on the Executive, and on the Media. After that, we study the American Middle East Policy after the 09/11 events and its influence on the Israeli lobby on it.

#### Chapter one

## A Historical Background of Jewish Community

#### Introduction

The Jewish community presented a model of prosperous American settlement. They immigrated to America from many areas and because of many reasons. The first Jewish group immigrated to America was the "Sephardic" Jews from Spain and Portugal than followed by other groups from almost over the world, but particularly from Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia. So we can say that the United States forms an important and successful settlement experience in the world. As Douglass noted, the United States has been called "a nation of immigration". There are several reasons for this, the country was settled, built, and, developed by generations of immigrations and their children (13).

The present chapter speaks about a historical background of Jewish Community in America. Who are they? When they came, from where they came, and what were the reasons that led them to immigrate?

## **1. Definition of Jewish community**

The Jew is a member of the people and culture community whose tradition religion is Judaism and who is descended from the ancient Hebrew people of Israel; a person who believes in and practices Judaism (Hornby 695).

Jew or Hebrew (Yěhūdhī, or Yehudi) any person whose religion is Judaism. In the broader sense of the term, a Jew is any person belonging to the worldwide group that constitutes, through descent or conversion, a continuation of the ancient Jewish people, who were themselves descendants of the Hebrews of the Old Testament ("Jew").

The Jews are divided into two groups: Sephardim Jews and Ashkenazim Jews.

#### 1.1. The Ashkenazim

The Jews who lived in the Rhineland valley and near to France before their migration eastward to Slavic lands (*e.g.*, Poland, Lithuania, Russia) after the Crusades (11th–13th centuries). After the 17th-century persecutions in Eastern Europe, large numbers of these Jews resettled in Western Europe, where they assimilated, as they had done in Eastern Europe, with other Jewish communities. All Jews who had adopted the "German rite" were referred to as Ashkenazim to distinguish them from Sephardic (Spanish rite) Jews. The Ashkenazim Jews use Yiddish pronunciation of Hebrew, in cultural traditions, in synagogue chanting, in their widespread (until the 20th century), and especially in synagogue liturgy. Today Ashkenazim constitute more than 80 percent of all the Jews in the world ("Ashkenazi").

#### 1.2. The Sephardim

Sephardim is a member of the Jews, or their descendants, who lived in Spain and Portugal from the Middle Ages until their persecution and mass expulsion from those countries in the last decades of the 15th century. The Sephardim initially fled to North Africa and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, and many of these eventually settled in such countries as France, Holland, England, Italy, and the Balkans. Salonika

(Thessalonica) in Macedonia and the city of Amsterdam became major places of Sephardic settlement. The Sephardim speak Ladino language; its origin is Latin to present their Literature, and customs. They became noted for their cultural and intellectual achievements within the Mediterranean and northern European Jewish communities. The Sephardim differ notably from Ashkenazi (German-rite) Jews in preserving Babylonian rather than Palestinian Jewish ritual Traditions. ("Sephardim")

#### 2. Jewish Immigration to America

For many decades, social studies and history classes referred to the immigration diversity of the United States as a "melting pot," meaning a land where people from many different cultures and backgrounds with variant ethnicity, skin colour, religious ties and language come together to form one single nation ("USA Immigration Interesting Facts"). So the Jewish Community is considered as one diversity of the American "melting pot". Indeed, the history of the American Jewish Community, like the history of the American people, is a narrative of immigration (Chanes 2). More important, The Jewish population of the United States is the product of waves of immigration from all over the word and specially from Europe. The Jews immigrate to America in tree waves; Sephardim Jews from Spain and Portugal in 1654, German Jews by the 1840 and the great immigration from Eastern Europe

#### 1.3. Sephardim Jews

The Sephardim Jews were the first group, which landed in 1654; in New Amsterdam (New York now). Chanes noted that Sephardim, "*S'pharad*" being the ancient Hebrew name for Spain (2). They called so by the Spanish and Portuguese. They spoke Portuguese They were also Dutch Jews for they had been driven from Spain and Portugal at the end of the fifteenth century and settled in Holland (Nathan and Daniel 18). From Holland the Sephardim immigrated to New Amsterdam (New York) in North America. So from the half of the Seventeenth century to the half of the Eighteenth century, they settled New York, New Port, Savanna, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The Jewish business men in that towns enjoyed support from Sephardim Jews business men who have power in London and Amsterdam (Djalel 17). Of these first Jews established the synagogue is appropriately named Shearith Israel; "the Remnant of Israel".

#### 2.2. German Jews

German Jews began to immigrate to America in significant numbers in the 1840s. Jews left Germany because of persecution, restrictive laws, economic hardship, and the failure of movements. They looked to America as a solution to their problems and a place of economic and social opportunities. This sizeable German immigration that arrived to America in the mid-19th century considered as the first intensive immigration to America. Most of the German Jews who immigrated to the United States were Ashkenazim (Djalel 14). According to Chanes, "Ashkenaz" being the ancient Hebrew name for Germany (2) . All Jews who had adopted the "German rite" synagogue ritual were referred to as Ashkenazim to distinguish them from Sephardic (Spanish rite) Jews. Ashkenazi Jews were mostly emigrated from German Jewish immigrants were poor like millions of non Jews Germans. The German Jews were moving sellers, but non Jews Germans were farmers. So that this largely German Jewish immigration become concentrated in business, particularly retail trade, and was economically quit successful. (Nathan and Daniel 138,139)

According to Djalel, the German Jews immigration to the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> century led the expansion of the Jewish settlement toward the America West. And in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Jews had 160 settlements from New York in the east to California in the west (18).

## 2.3. The Eastern Europeans and Russian Jews

A large wave of immigration to the United States took place between 1880 and 1920. The enormous migration from East Europe began in the 1880's, pushed out of Europe by over population, oppressive legislation and poverty, they were pulled toward America by the prospect of financial and social advancement. This emigration, mainly from Russian Poland and other areas of the Russian Empire, began as far back as 1821. So nearly 50,000 Russian, Polish, Galician, and Romanian Jews went to the United States during the later decade, it was not until the pogroms, anti-Jewish uprisings in Russia, of the early 1880s, that the immigration assumed extraordinary proportions ("Immigration of Eastern European Jews").

From Russia alone the emigration rose from an annual average of 4,100 in the decade 1871-80 to an annual average of 20,700 in the decade 1881-90. Additional actions of persecution in Russia in the early nineties and continuing to the present time have resulted in huge increases in the emigration, England and the United States being the principal lands of protection. The Romanian discriminations, beginning in 1900, obliged outsized numbers of Jews to search for place of safety in the US. In addition to Eastern Europeans, the Russian Jews came to America after 1880. By 1924, two million Jews had arrived from Eastern Europe. The rise anti-immigration feelings in the United States at this time, resulted in the National Origins Quota of 1924, which strictly limited immigration from Eastern Europe after that time ("Russian Americans.").

Furthermore, a large wave of immigration came from the Soviet Union after 1988. As mentioned after the 1967 Six-Day War and the liberalization tide in Eastern Europe in 1968, Soviet policy became more restrictive. Jews were denied educational and vocational opportunities. Consequently, the character of the American Jewry was transformed, as the Eastern Europeans become the majority. Also the Eastern European Jews brought with them certain ideological principles that would influence American Jewry and liberal politics ("Immigration of Eastern European Jews").

#### 3. The Motives that led the Jews to immigrate to America

We can say that the history of the Jewish Community in America is a part of the West history because its origins was the immigration from Europe to the new world (United States). Like any European immigration, the Jews immigrated to America because of many reasons. Those are some of them:

- The expulsion of Jewish Sephardim from Spain.
- Most important was that the American society is totally secular. As well as the American constitution based on ideas of liberty, equality and happiness.
- The American society is based on settlement so that they did not put any difficulties to Jewish immigrants.
- The Russian anti-Semitism policy and the pogroms.
- The desire to give the children better education and happy life.
- American Dream- Freedom and Gold Rush.
- The Holocaust ("Main Jewish immigration history America north-east").

In brief, the reasons that led the Jews to immigrate to the United States are summarized in the following: Jews immigrated to the United states because of persecution, ,restrictive laws, Anti-Semitism, economic hardship, and the failure of movement advocating revolution and reform in their countries As well as the American dream; freedom and Gold Rush; So that they looked to America as an antidote to the ills, a place of economic and social opportunities.

## 4. Religious Streams

According to Chanes, The American Jewish religion is generally grouped into four categories: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructions. Approximately 8 percent of American Jews identify themselves as Orthodox, and 32 percent as Conservative, 38 percent as Reform, a 3 percent as Reconstructions (6).

#### 4.1. Orthodox

This stream stayed with fearful religious as a way of life. The orthodox stream did not change anything from the Torah. This is the Torah from Sinai and no human can change it. Many of them were anti-Zionism. In the pre-World War II and immediately following the war, the American Orthodox Community became so weak that many predicated its disappearance, found new life with the arrival of rabbinic and scholarly leadership in the late 1930s, during the war, and especially through the 1950s. These leaders provided the intellectual, educational, and communal supports for health and growth. The past two decades, the American Orthodox has experienced a noticeable shift to the religious, social, cultural, and political right among some groups to engage within the American society (Chanes 8).

#### **4.2. The Reformist**

The reformists accept the Jews ethical commandment and reject the practical commandment that is not suitable to 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Bible is the main stream here and not the Talmud. Reform Judaism, originating in early nineteenth-century Germany as a religious response to modernity flourishes in the United States because its stress on the independence of the individual, as opposed to the constraints of Jewish Law, fit well with the American culture (8).

#### 4.3. Conservative

Conservative Judaism had its roots in nineteenth-century Europe, but it evolved as an American religious movement. The conservatives are between the Orthodox and the reformist. Their big issue is that there is new realty and there has to be a change in the Jews religious customs. One of their changes was woman and man sitting to gather and pray. The conservatives keep guard the kaskrut and the Sabbath as is they also say that the practical

commandment are not relevant, but they some of them; all groups have been conserved to preserve their Jewish heritage and traditions (9).

#### 5. Jewish organization

Since the Jewish arrival to settle America before more than 300 years and until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the voluntary work principle was the fundamental tool in organizing the Jewish life in America. This voluntary link in the American civilian life has been a positive effect on the Jews. In addition, the Jews established organizations and committees that help them to reach their goals. The following are some of them;

**5.1. Traditional Organizations:** They were established in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century before the establishment of the state of Israel. Their role was to help the American Jewish emigrants. However; after the establishment of the state of Israel they changed in order to assist Israel by pressing the decision makers and mobilizing the public opinion (Chanes 14). The following are some of them:

#### American Jewish Committee (AJC)

It was formed in 1906 as a reaction to series of Pogroms in Czarist Russia. It was established by German Jewish Community. After 1943, AJC developed into an extremely respected organization that provides an effective voice for American Jews on public affairs issues. Furthermore, American Jewish Committee has had a particular interest in ethnicity, pluralism, and Jewish continuity. Over the last two decades, AJC has became totally involved in international diplomacy and Israel support (17, 18).

#### American Jewish Congress (AJCongress)

It was founded in 1918 by Eastern European Jews origins who felt that the "aristocratic" German-Jewish leadership of the American Jewish Committee had no mandate from American Jewry. They established the congress in order to represent American Jewish interests at the peace conference following the World War I. Moreover, American Jewish Congress is the only community relations agency that has been pro-Zionist throughout its history (18).

#### • Anti-Defamation league (ADL)

It was established as a commission of *B'nai B'rith*, which was an international fraternal and social organization, which has reshaped the contours of its activity over the years to become more active in the public policy field, in 1913. Anti-Defamation league focus not only on monitoring discrimination against Jews, but also on anti-Israel activity, left- and rightwing radicalism, and violations of church-state separation, as well as interfaith work and Holocaust education (19).

In addition, there are others; Jewish Council Federations, World Zionist Organizations Council of Jewish Federations, and so on.

#### **5.2. Traditional Organization with the New Role**

It was formed after the establishment of the state of Israel:

#### American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)

It is the main pro-Israel lobby. It was established in 1950. It is arguably the most influential voice in Washington on Israel related issues. Since 1975, AIPAC has been a very high profile agency. Its purpose is to develop support for Israel in the American government. Unlike other Jewish organization in America, AIPAC agenda is limited to Israel and Israel-American relations (24).

#### World Jewish Congress (WJC)

In umbrella of Jewish Public affairs groups representing Jewish Communities outside the United States and Israel. The World Jewish Congress came to prominence after World War II, when it played a vital role in the crafting Jewish policies to peace treaties (25).

#### • American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (ADC or the "Joint")

It was established in 1914, was an example of Jewish communal response to a crisis situation. ADC or the Joint is the main instrument of American Jewry for providing the social service needs of Jews outside the United States (24).

#### • The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (the

#### "Presidents Conference")

The Conference was founded in 1954; it is one of the most important groups in American Jewish life. The formal mandate of the President Conference is to express the collective voice of American Jewish organizations to Israel to the American administration. Also, the President Conference has taken messages from the administration to the Israeli government (23).

Indeed, there are many Jewish American organizations, but we speak about some of them. In addition to those above, there are others; State of Israel Bonds, United Jewish Appeal, American Zionist Organization, and Israel policy forum.

#### 5.3. The Treaties that formed as new Way to press and theory:

#### The Washington Institute in Near East Policy

Pro-Israel think tank specializing in producing and disseminating pro-Israel media material (Elethaoui 274).

#### - The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs

It is a Pro-Israel think tank specializing in promoting military cooperation between the U.S. and Israel (275).

In addition to that, there is The Institute for Advanced Strategic and Policy Studies and Freeman Center for Strategic Studies.

## 6. The Jewish Population of the United States (1654-2010)

The Jewish population in America is a result of a successful immigration during many times. The following table represented a calculation of Jewish population from 1654 to 2010.

According to this table we can say that the Jewish Population has risen from few numbers to millions (25 in 1654 to 3.300,000 in 1920). By the 1920s it reached four million, but by the 1924, the feeling of anti-immigration was raised and resulted in the National Origins Quota of 1924 which strictly limited the immigration. After that law, other several laws were emerged, however; the Jewish people still came to America which helped the raising of Jewish population until it reached nearly five and half million in 2010 (Figure 1).

In addition to this table the map in figure 2 represents the Jewish population in each state of the United States (see Appendix).

Year	Estimated Jewish Population
1654	25
1700	200-300
1776	1,000-2,500
1790	1,243-3,000
1800	2,000-2,500
1820	2,650-5,000
1826	6,000
1830	4,000-6,000
1840	15,000
1848	50,000
1850	50,000-100,000
1860	150,000-200,000
1870	200,000
1880	230,000-280,000
1890	400,000-475,000
1900	937,800-1,058,135
1910	1,508,000-2,349,754
1920	3,300,000-3,604,580
1927	4,228,029
1937	4,641,000-4,831,180
1940	4,770,000-4,975,000

1950	4,500,000-5,000,000
1960	5,367,000-5,531,500
1970	5,370,000-6,000,000
1980	5,500,000-5,920,890
1992	5,828,000
2006	5,275,000
2010	5,275,000

Source: American Jewish Desk Reference, (The Philip Leff. Group, Inc., 1999), p. 35. American Jew Year Book 2006 (NY: American Jewish Committee, 2006). North American Jewish Databank ("US Jewish Population.").

## Conclusion

We can say that the history of the Jewish Community in the United States became one unity later on, is a part of the Western history in whole and a part of the Jewish history in particular because the origins of the Jewish Community in U.S. were from the immigration of Europeans to the New World. All contemporary American Jews are "Jews by choice" in that their relationship with the Jewish people, Judaism, and its institutions is voluntary. They have freedom and feel part of mainstream American life.

In this chapter, we investigate a History of the Jewish Community In America. In which we speak about the Jewish people and their Immigration to America. Then we mention the reasons that lead them to immigrate, also the religious streams and their organizations in the United States. Finally, we deal with the Jewish population in America.

#### Chapter two

## An Overview on American Foreign Policy

## Introduction

Since first breaking free from British colonial control and becoming an independent nation, the United States has exercised a wide variety of foreign policies. From war and treaty with their former mother country, to isolation and neutrality the nation has always focused its relations with other through its needs and wants at home. The Foreign Policy of the United States, like the other nations, has always resulted from a mixture of self interests and the attempt to common ideas. As in other lands, self interests have frequently been provided and with the rhetoric of major ideas. This chapter presents an overview of American foreign policy.

#### 1. The Features and the Decision Makers of the American foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a broad term; its concerns include defense and National Security, trade and commerce, global stability and conflicts, values and rules which govern relation between states. Its instruments are equally varied: economics diplomacy and action each offer a wide range of means of pursuing foreign policy goals. (Mckeever and Davies 357, 358).

Mckeever and Davies, in their book "USA Politics", note that until the Cold War, the American government had made with relatively few foreign policy-making institutions and personal. The main five players which contribute in making the American foreign policy are:

#### 1.1. The President

The American foreign policy is related with the character and the interests of the president. There are some presidents who were interested in foreign policy more than the domestic policy, in contrast with some other, who were interested in domestic policy more than the foreign policy (Mckeever and Davies 331,332).

#### **1.2.** The State Department

"Of all the agencies and federal bureaucratizes engaged in foreign policy-making, the State Department is, in principal at least, the first among equal" (qtd. In Mckeever and Davies 332).It has a major role in conducting American foreign policy relations. It represents the United States through its embassies and consulates in over the world; negotiates treaties with other nations; acts as reposity of specialized knowledge about other nations and development in international politics; draws up policy recommendations for the president. In addition, it has houses bodies with specific functions, such as the Agency for International Development (AID), the Arm Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), and the United States Information Agency (USIA) (332,333).

#### **1.3.** The Department of Defense

It is also called the Pentagon. The key of its power is the enormous defense budget; Arms manufacturers and the congress are the two major sources of support that are attracted by the massive expenditures of Defense Department. It represents an important powerful player in the foreign policy-making process. It has the vital task of ensuring that the United States is military able of defending the nation and its interests at home and abroad (333).

## **1.4. The National Security Council**

The National Security Council (NSC) was established in 1947 by congress during the Cold War, when the United States needed better coordination of foreign policy to advise the president with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies related to national security. The congress required that the president, vice-president, secretaries of state and defense, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency must all be members of the National Security Adviser (NSA) (Mckeever and Davies 335,336).

#### **1.5. The Central Intelligence Agency**

Since the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has rightly become synonymous with American espionage and secret operations in foreign countries, it was not created with these minds. Rather, as its name suggests, it was founded in 1947 to provide better intelligence about the world the United States was now seeking to lead. There was a clear need to coordinate the intelligence gathered by the different intelligence agencies of various government departments (336,337).

#### 1.6. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

Federal Bureau of Investigation is the principal investigative agency of the federal government of the United States. The bureau is responsible for conducting investigations in cases where federal laws may have been violated, unless another agency of the federal government has been specifically delegated that duty by statute or executive fiat. As part of the Department of Justice, the FBI reports the results of its investigations to the attorney general of the United States and his assistants in Washington, D.C., and to the United States attorneys' offices in the country's federal judicial districts. Although it is a federal agency, the FBI is not a national police force, and law enforcement in the United States remains principally the responsibility of state and local governments.

## 2. Other Administration Influences

In addition to the previous major elements of the policy making process. There is other bodies influence on this process.

#### 2.1. The Department of Treasury

It is an influential force in foreign policy-making, particularly in relation to factors which affect the value of the United States dollars, it represents the United States governor of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the world blank, and other regional international financial agencies. It has also some specific responsibilities which include exchange rates tariffs and the balance of trade (Mckeever and Davies 337,338).

#### 2.2. The Office of the United States Trade representative

It is situated in the White House, it has a growing influence, its major responsibility is to negotiate trading agreements on tariffs and trade (GATT) (338).

## 2.3. The Department of Commerce

Its main responsibility is to lie in implementing trade policy, and the departments of agriculture and labor, whose domestic clients are affected by the impact of international events and agreements (338).

## 3. Non-Governmental Influences

### 3.1. Public Opinion

From the perspective of most members of the public, foreign policy is far from their everyday lives. The public is much less influential in the making of foreign policy. The public accept whatever policy decisions the president makes. However, presidents sometimes pay considerable attention to public opinion. Poll data on foreign affairs in order to avoid the possible repercussion of any decision he takes. In addition, under certain circumstance, the

public takes strong interests in foreign policy and may have clear policy preferences (Mckeever and Davies 339).

#### **3.2. Pressure Groups**

Pressure groups are not like the public opinion, they are interesting in foreign policy. They have a big influence over foreign policy and may be effective in certain special issues (qtd. in Mckeever and Davies 340).

#### 3.3. Mass. Media

Mass. Media of the United States perform an interesting role in transmitting information to American people and its political leadership. And also it has an important role in supporting democracy and in affecting public opinion. In other words, Americans, since the beginning, they have considered the importance of the media so that they cared about possessing newspapers to express their opinions. When we speak of the media we mean television, radio, newspapers and magazines and also information agencies (Eleithaoui 85, 86).

## 4. The United States Foreign Policy before 09/11 Attacks

Nye thought that after the First World War, the United States of America had limited Internationalism and perused Isolationism, and by this policy, the country became the great "arsenal of democracy". The United States, for the second time, had entered an international war which was the Second World War when Japan had attacked Pearl Harbor in Hawaii in 1947. The United States of America and its allies had won the war; it had appeared as a superpower as well as the Soviet Union. The two fronts started a new struggle known as the Cold War because the two fronts had not engaged in a direct fight (90, 91). All these are detailed in the following.

#### 1.4. The First World War and the Inter-War Years

Before the World War I the United States followed a policy of neutrality or noninvolvement. In an effort to guard themselves from involvement in the wider conflicts of the European and focus on domestic affairs. So, on the outbreak of the First World War in Europe in 1914, President Wilson urged that they have to remain neutral but many Americans were incensed when in May 1915; a German submarine sank the British liner Lusitanian, killing 128 Americans passengers.

In April 1917, Wilson obtained a declaration of war from Congress. Declaring that neutrality was no longer feasible or desirable. Wilson proclaimed that the inter of this war was not just to defeat Germany or to end submarine warfare, but to secure "the rights and liberties...of free people everywhere." For Wilson America entered "the war to end all wars."(qtd History: 1865 to 1929). By the end of the World War I, Wilson had outlined his war aims; the Fourteen Points. These called for open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, free international trade, disarmament and a just settlement of colonial disputes. In October, the Germane government asked for peace, and on November 11 an armistice was declared. In 1919, Wilson went to Europe to draft the peace treaty. When Wilson proved unable to change European habits, Americans turned inwards. Following the involvement in World War I, the United States entered a nearly two decade long period of isolation from world affairs. Wilson did succeed in establishing the League of Nations, but the United States never ratified the Versailles Treaty and never joined the League of Nations (Mckeever and Davies 325,326).

#### 4.2. Between the Wars

By the end of the World War I, many Americans were left with a feeling of distrust toward foreigners. However; public opinion seemed strongly with supporting the agreement of the Versailles Treaty, the Congress refused it and also the League of Nations. They rejected the treaty because they considered that the American people were not yet ready to play a commanding role in world affairs. These led to the isolationism policy ("U.S. Department of State 204").

Indeed, following the involvement in World War one, the United States entered a nearly two decade long period of isolation from world affairs. the result was not only a rejection of leadership and membership in international organizations, but a restricting of the American borders and an anti-foreign feeling among society.

The United States had always been a nation formed by and for immigration. The nation heritage is one of providing an opportunity for peoples from all over the world to strive for a better life in America. However; during the isolationist policies that followed the First World War, many called for a curbing of immigration as a way to reduce foreign influence on the nation. Moreover, the immigration Act of 1924 and the emergency of Quota Act severely restricted the number of immigrates allowed into the century. Furthermore, the isolation from world economic was one of the great causes of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

#### 4.3. The Second World War

The World War II began in 1939 when the German Army invaded Boland, than the Allies declared the war against Germany. Also the United States entered the war after the Japanese surprised attack on December 7<sup>th</sup>; 1941.the United States entry into World War II had brought an end to isolationism. In the light of attack, Roosevelt had no difficulty persuading Congress to declare War on Japan. Germany responded by declaring war on the United States. Thus the Americans, who had spent the past twenty years desperately trying to avoid military interference, now found themselves at War across both the Atlantic and the Pacific. (Mckeever and Davies 326). So, the United States refused to again make the mistakes of isolation and rejection of international agreement that were made in the twenties. This time, the United States did not isolate and retrench, instead helping to create the United Nation and

NATO as well as foster international trade and cooperation through agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

#### 4.4. The Cold War

After the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union appeared as the two superpowers. Although the Americans and the Russians had fought Hitler together as allies, friendship between them did not last after the World War II because of the ideological difference between the capitalism and the communism. American foreign policy makers viewed that they had to stop the spread of communism out of the Russian lands. Thus, the policy of containment was born; it is the American foreign policy strategy whose aim was the prevention of communism expansion, and spread of the Soviet ideology anywhere in the world. Its first establishment was by the Truman Doctrine in 1947 which was followed by the Marshall Plan in 1947 and the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957.

The Cold War ended in 1989 by the breakup of the Soviet Union. As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the post world war was widely considered as unipolar, with the United States as the sole remaining superpower. Nye said: "the end of the Cold War was one of the great transforming events of the twentieth century. It was equivalent to World War II in its effect on the structure of the international system, but it occurred without war" (138).

#### 4.5. The Post- Cold War

The end of the Cold War was woody considered as unipolar with the rise of the United States as the sole superpower. As a result, the Americans started to feel that they were the only people who could gave freedom to any other people. Thus, they created a new world order in to keep the peace and maintain stability. The new world order for the president Bush was founded upon "universal" values of capitalism, liberal democracy, free trade and the denial of aggression as foreign policy means(Mckeever and Davies 340). Therefore, under George Bush's president team, three major changes in world politics: the reunification of Germany, the end of communism, and the Gulf War. Those three events made the year 1990 unexpected year in the first twentieth century (Lagayette 179).

The United States started to apply their new world order under the name of bringing peace to all nations in the world which are under aggression and persecution. In addition, they could use force of international community especially the United Nations, if any nation disagrees with that new order. The United States multinational military interference in Iraq in order to liberate Kuwait was a good example of the new world order practice (Mckeever and Davies 342).

## 5. The American Foreign Policy after 11/09 Attacks

The terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 have affected the American global policy. These attacks have presented an "opportunity" for the United States to state its war against the Islamic nation. With regards to the American relations with the Islamic World, the 09/11<sup>th</sup> attacks have created a new Wave of anti-Islam movement in the United States and even other Western countries.

As it has been stated the "War on Terror" was not limited to Afghanistan and Bin Laden group but it would be continued against Muslim and non-Islamic countries which were considered supporters of terrorism. Bush characterized Iraq, Iran and North Korea "axis of evil." Furthermore, NATO warned that the United States has to provide evidence to justify any action against Iran, Iraq and North Korea. After Afghanistan, the United States attacked Iraq in 2003; in order to find and destroy Saddam's programmes for developing weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). This led to the invasion of Iraq more than three years (Yazdani 41, 42).

The tragic events of September 11, 2001 changed Americans' perceptions of the world, especially as they relate to issues of security. The Americans have seen responses ranging

from staffing and budgeting adjustments to sweeping laws redefining the focus of entire government departments. They have witnessed the creation of an entirely new Department of Homeland Security. In addition, Congress has enacted changes in laws aimed at strengthening the government's abilities to avoid and interrupt terrorist attacks before they occur, particularly, the USA PATRIOT Act (Mckeever and Davies 349, 350).

#### 5.1. Department of Homeland Security (DHS)

Is a cabinet department of the United States federal government, created in response to the September 11 attacks, and with the primary responsibilities of protecting the territory of the U.S. from terrorist attacks and responding to natural disasters. The legislation establishing the department consolidated much of the country's security infrastructure, integrating the functions of more than 20 agencies under Homeland Security. The department's substantive responsibilities are divided into four directorates: border and transportation security, emergency preparedness, information analysis and infrastructure protection, and science and technology. The Secret Service, which protects the president, vice president, and other designated individuals, is also under the department's jurisdiction ("US Civil Liberties After 9/11").

#### 5.2. The USA PATRIOT Act

Its title reflects a growing tendency in the United States to manufacture symbolic acronyms for legislation: the full name is thus the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (Mckeever and Davies 350). The USA PATRIOT Act (USA PATRIOT) is at the heart of any discussion of a shift toward interception-and-disruption, although other significant legal developments are occurring outside of the changes made by that Act. USA PATRIOT is a massive bill, passed by Congress soon after the events of 9/11. It contains ten titles and changes literally hundreds of provisions of the United States Code ("US Civil Liberties After 9/11").

## Conclusion

The American foreign policy witnessed important changes, especially in the international events such as: the World War I, World War II, Cold War, post Cold War, the attacks of 09/11 and the terrorism became the new challenge of the United States. It claimed its war under the slogan of the "War on Terror" and the whole Islamic World became its new victim. In this chapter, we study an overview of American foreign policy. Where we deal first with the features and the decision makers of the American foreign policy. Than The United States Foreign policy before 09/11 Attacks where we mentioned the First World War and the Inter-War Years, The Second World War, The Cold War, and The Post- Cold War. Finally, the American foreign policy after 09/11 attacks.

## **Chapter Three**

## The Impact of the Jews Strategy on the American Middle East Policy After the 09/11 events

## Introduction

The Jewish community in the United States was formed by the first wave of the European Jewish in the late nineteenth century. They settled on the industrial centers in the East and North of the country; thus they took control over many industrial and financial position such as banks and companies etc. almost half of this community concentrates in New York city, which considered as the most important economic, political, and scientific town, that's why they form a powerful pressure group that affects the government, federal, and local authorities (Hamidchi 167 -168).

The distinct economic situation and weal of American Jews have allowed them in supporting the Jews around the world by financial aids. In addition, since the United States rank advanced during the Second World War, American Jews power increased also and they became at the leadership center of the Jews. After the Second World War, the American Jewish activities were carried out by wide network of organizations, unions, and institutions which covered all religious, social, educational, and entertaining fields besides supporting Israel by all means. Therefore, American Jewish groups are experienced in lobbying the American government (Djalel 44).

The present chapter studies the impact of the Israeli Lobby on the American foreign policy toward the Middle East after 09/11 attacks. In which we deal with the Israeli lobby ; its definition , its influences over the American Congress and the Executive. Finally, we deal with the influence of the pro-Israeli Lobby on American Middle East policy.

## 1. Definition of the Israeli Lobby

The short-hand term "the Lobby" is referred to the coalition of individuals and organizations which band together in order to shape US foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction. The use of the Word "the Lobby" does not mean a unified movement with a central leadership, or that individuals within it agree on specific issues. Also Hamidchi pointed that the Israeli Lobby is considered as one of the activist groups in USA that has an obvious influence on the American policy especially during the presidential elections when the issues of helping Israel, the Middle East, and the Arabic-Israel relationships become the principle issues (167).

American Jews, that are considered part from the Lobby, are working hardly in their daily live to submit US foreign policy so that it serves Israel's interests. Voting for candidates who are pro-Israel organization is their main activities in order to include letter-writing, financial contribution, and supporting pro-Israel organizations (Mearsheimer and Walt 14).

## 2. The Israeli Lobby and its Influences

## **2.1. Influencing the Congress**

The impact of the Israeli Lobby in the American Congress is immerged from the legislation election and the decision making in the congress. The Jews do not rely on the Jewish voice in the elections, although; their participation in the election is larger than the other communities, where their participation in the United States election is 90% because they care much about the participation in the election. On other hand, the Israeli Lobby relies on supporting the non-Jewish nominative who are famous in their loyalty to Zionism and the Israel's right to be present and they want to defend Israel (Eleithaoui 249).

The Jewish money force has the great influence on the congress nominative. So the committees of the political work contributed with four million dollars to the congress

nominatives in the election of 1990 and all of them are the greatest supporters to Israel as well as in the congress council (1990) there were sixteen members each one of them received more than 100000 dollars from the Jewish exporters. Furthermore, from these contributions have emerged the power of the Jewish Lobby and particularly the AIPAC organization; which has a big impact not only on the Jewish members but also on the American congress (250,251). Also Mearsheimer and Walt mentioned that the AIPAC forms the major Lobby's influence in the congress. Its success is derived from its ability to reward legislator and congressional candidates who support its agenda and to punish those who challenge it (17). United States policy toward Israel has important consequences for the entire world. As the Israel Prime Minister Ariel Sharon once told an American audience:"when people ask me how they can help Israel, I tell them-Help AIPAC."(qtd. In Mearsheimer and Walt 18).

According to Eleithaoui, the American congress is considered as the best friend to Israel in the United States because of its sizeable influence in the election operations which lead it to adopt partial policy toward Israel specially in the Arabic- Zionist conflicts (250-252).

## **2.2. Influencing the Executive**

Like the Congress, the Executive branch is influenced significantly by the Lobby because of its Jewish voters' influence on presidential elections. One of their power points, despite of their small numbers in the population, is their large campaign donations to candidates from both parties. *The Washington post* declared that the Democratic Presidential candidates "depend on Jewish supporters to supply as much as 60% of the money." (qtd. in Mearsheimer and Walt 18). Moreover, Jewish voters concentrate in key states like California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania (Mearsheimer and Walt 18).

The Israeli Lobby has significant power toward the administration. Indeed, the Israeli Lobby forces make sure that enemies of Israel do not get main foreign-policy position. While important situations in the executive branch are occupied by pro-Israel individuals, this will help the lobby in obtaining its goals. For instance, during the Clinton administration, officials with close ties to Israel or to prominent pro-Israel organizations shape Middle East policy (Mearsheimer and Walt 17). Furthermore, the two great parties of the United States, the Republic and the Democratic, provide freedom to Israeli Lobby. So that naturally the American administration policy support the Jewish state whoever be the ruler from the two parties (Eleithaoui 252).

## 2.3. Manipulating the Media

Another method of influencing government is by inciting public opinion about Israel and the Middle East. It does not want an open debate on issues involving Israel because it may lead Americans to ask about the support they provide. Thus, they work to influence the media in order to shape public opinion (Mearsheimer and Walt 20).

Most Americans commentators are pro-Israel, for that reason, the media reflects the Lobby' perspective on Israel.

The Journal, along with other prominent newspapers like The Chicago Sun Times and The Washington Times control editorials that strongly pro-Israel and the same thing with magazines Commentary, the New Republic, and the Weekly Standard. The New York Times like other papers has editorial bias. Although the Times criticizes Israel and policies and declare the Palestinians legitimate grievance, it is not even-handed.

The media's reporting of news events involving Israel are treated more than editorial commentary because reporting have to be objective; in addition, it is difficult to cover events in the occupied territories without acknowledging Israel's actual behavior. Thus, the Lobby

makes letter writing campaigns, demonstrations, and boycotts against anti-Israel news. For example, CNN executive declared that sometimes he gets 6000 e-mail messages in a day about anti-Israel story. Israel's friends in Congress put pressure on the National public Radio station to make international audit as well as more oversight of its Middle East coverage. This shows the great influence of the Lobby on US policy and the lack of criticisms of Israeli policy by American media (21).

## 3. The significance of the term "Middle East"

After the war of 1967 of Israel and the American support to it, the Middle East included Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. After the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the second Gulf War against the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait; the United States supported its project of the Middle East which includes Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Koweit, Qatar, Bahrein, United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Yemen from the Arabic countries. Iran and Turkey from the non-Arabic countries, other people include Israel as a part of the Middle East because it got a great part of Palestine. Others add other countries to the Middle East such as Lybia, Sudan, Ithobai, Somalia, Guputy, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. So they mean by the Middle East the whole Islamic world (Alawondi 22).

## 4. The Reasons of the American Middle East Struggle

The invasion of Palestine 1948 and the establishment of Israel were the biggest and the most dangerous aspect of disorder which led to the Arabic-Israeli conflict. This conflict caused a cruel wars and human tragedies. The Israeli establishment came within "Western-Zionist" plan in order to ensure the Arabic divide and separation. In addition, the United States can dominate its natural resources and exploit its strategic location in the international conflicts. The instability and the underdevelopment were the aspects of the Israeli

establishment crises. As long as, the crises was the responsibility of the Westerns and the Soviet Union, the Arabs on the other side wanted to restore Palestine by any way even by the military Fighting .Because all of these causes , the Arabic Nation clashed with the westerners and considered them the responsible of the Arabic tragedy. Moreover, the fighting against Zionism became at the same time a fighting against the international powers which supported Israel (25).

Furthermore, the Americans were interesting in the Middle East for a long time because it relates the three continents; Africa, Europe, and Asia. It has a different raw materials; it contains amount of water and great number of oil sources. It is also the birth place of three religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The United States has long standing interests in the region: promoting democracy, protecting petrol assets, and supporting strategic partners such as :Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia ("US Middle East Foreign Policy since 2003").

# 5. The Influence of the Pro-Israeli Lobby on American Middle East Policy

## 5.1. The Israeli Lobby and Iraq War

Benjamin Netanyahu, published in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled "The Case for Toppling Saddam", he declared: "I believe I speak for the overwhelming majority of Israelis in supporting a pre-emptive strike against Saddam's regime." (Mearsheimer and Walt 30).

The relationship between Israel and United States enhanced the Israel presence in the region. This support was the result of great efforts done by the Jewish organizations that worked hard to remain the dominant regional power. In other words, these same organizations were behind United States invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

Some Americans believe that the war in Iraq was a "war for oil". This reason made the invasion of Iraq a strategic necessity. However; others believed that the war pledged by a desire to make Israel more secure. Because the pro-Israel leaders declared that "the real threat" from Iraq was not a threat to the United States, but was the "threat against Israel" (31).

Eventually, the chance arrived with 09/11events that led the Bush Administration to change its attitude toward the war. That change was due to the influence of neoconservatives in the Lobby. Even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the 09/11 attacks, any strategy aiming at the abolition of terrorism and its supporters have to contain determination effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq. Indeed, without the Lobby's hard work, the United States would have not been invaded Iraq in 2003. On the other hand, Israeli leaders, neoconservatives, and the Bush Administration all viewed war with Iraq as the first step in an ambitious campaign to reorder the Middle East. All what we can conclude is that Israel is the reason that the United States is engaging in the trillion dollar destruction of Iraq (32).

Just after the fall of Baghdad, in late April 2003, the Israelis turned their sight to Iran and Syria so that Israeli ambassador in Washington called for invasion of Iran and Syria as overthrow of Saddam was not enough for them. America "has to follow through. We still have great threats of that magnitude coming from Syria, coming from Iran." (Baloch 50 ).

## 5.2. The Israel Lobby and Syria

Not long after George W. Bush declared "mission accomplished" regarding the war in Iraq in May 2003, AIPAC focused its attention on new target, Syria. That step was taken before March 2003because they were too busy pushing for war against Iraq. However, once

Baghdad fell in mid-April, Sharon and his proponents began urging Washington to target Damascus. For example, on April 16, Sharon and Shaul Mofaz, his Defense Minister, gave high profile interviews in different Israeli newspaper. Sharon, in Yedioth Ahronoth, called the United States to "put heavy" pressure on Syria. Meanwhile, Mofaz told Ma'ariv that: "they have a long list of issues that they are thinking of demanding of the Syrians and it is appropriate that it should be done through the Americans." Whereas, the Washington post reported that: Israel was "fueling the campaign" against Syria by feeding the United States intelligence reports about the action of the Syrian president, Bashar Assad ( Mearsheimer and Walt 37).

They proved their case; Congressman Eliot Angel (D-NY) had reintroduced the Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act on April 12. This act threaten sanction against Syria if it did withdraw from Lebanon, give up its weapons of mass destruction, and stop supporting terrorism, as well as it called for Syria and Lebanon to take concrete steps to make peace with Israel. This legislation was strongly endorsed by the Lobby, especially AIPAC, as the Jewish Telegraph Agency put it "by some of Israel's best friends in Congress." (Mearsheimer and Walt 36).

Although the Bush Administration was not enthusiastic for the anti-Syrian Act, the Act passed overwhelmingly and Bush signed it into law on December 12, 2003. Importantly, Bush's fear was logical because Syria had a good relation with Washington before Iraq war. Also Syria providing the United States Intelligence with information about al-Qaeda members since 09/11,and had also warned Washington about a planned terrorist attack in the Gulf. So it was not a danger on the United States Security. Thus, Bush thought that the attack on Syria would make the United States look like an imperial country that seeks more power by beating up Arab States regardless of the consequences on the world. Therefore, an attack on Syria slogan. So that it would be more reasonable if the United States complete its unfinished job in Iraq, and then turn its sight to Syria. Because, if the United States attacked Syria which would cause trouble in Iraq (38).

However, Congress insisted to consider Syria as a threat because of pressures practiced by Israel officials and pro- Israel groups like AIPAC. Once again, if there was no Lobby, there would have been no Syria Accountability Act. Also the attacks on Lebanon in 2006 which was prepared by accusing Syria for Lebanon's former Prime-Minister murder and demanding the Syrian forces to withdraw from Lebanon. The event was asset up to make Syria and Lebanon fights each other which would give Israel a reason to attack Syria (37).

## 5.3. The Israeli Lobby and Iran Nuclear Program

In December 2002, the United States revealed that Iran had surreptitiously constructed two nuclear facilities to enrich uranium and produce heavy water and these would provide Iran with the capacity to produce weapons-grade uranium and plutonium (Tzogopoulos 33).

In June 2003, United States secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld announced that the intelligence community in the United States assessed that although Iran did not have yet nuclear weapons, but it had a very active program (Tzogopoulos 34).

"If Iran continues its nuclear arms program-we will attack it. The sanctions aren't effective. There will be no choice but to attack Iran to halt the Iranian program." Shaul Mofaz, Israel Minister of Transportation in Yediot Ahronot, June6, 2008 ("Israel's War with Iran and the Zionist Power Configuration in America").

At the present time, when the national economy of the United States is in deep crises, the Israel Lobby is pushing for a new military confrontation and war with Iran. Major pro-Israel officials and politicians in Homeland Security, the National Security Council, the

Congress and the White House are passing more police-state legislation to control and silence the growing majority opposition to the expansion of wars in the Middle East promoted by the Israel Lobby. Moreover, Israel tends all the time to describe their neighbors as threats to its status as an independent states, but its view to Iran differs from other Middle East countries, Israel considers Iran as the most dangerous enemy because it is the most likely adversary to acquire nuclear weapons (Mearsheimer and Walt 38).

Thus, Zionists and their allies in Congress authored and enforced sanction against Iran that weakened the ambitions of the world's biggest oil and gas companies. The Israeli threats and public declarations about a massive air attack have pushed petroleum prices to world records. In the spring of 2008, the most powerful pro- Israel Jewish Lobby in the United States, AIPAC held their annual conference and ensured the support of both major United States presidential candidates and the majority of United States members of Congress for Israel to impose extreme economic sanction on Iran with threats of United States/ Israel military attack (39).

The United States campaign against Iran's nuclear program started in November 2002, when Sharon began publicly pushing the United States to stop Iran and shut down its nuclear program. The neoconservatives also were seeking to make the case for going after Iran. The pro-Israel Foundation for the Defense of Democracies and the Hudson Institute sponsored an all-day conference on Iran, asking the United States to replace its strategy with Iran by a democracy (Mearsheimer and Walt 38).

Eventually, the Bush Administration responded to the Lobby's pressure by introducing a Congressional resolution. The Resolution 362 called for a naval blockade of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Resolution 362 stated that:" the president should prohibit the exports to Iran of all refined petroleum products imposing stringent inspection requirements in all persons, vehicles, ships, planes, trains and cargo ships enters and departing Iran." ("Israel's War with Iran and the Zionist Power Configuration in America").

For instance, the 52 presidents of the major American Jewish Organization and their million members and affiliates successfully pursued AIPAC's proposal to increase economic sanctions on Iran. Each sanction introduced by the United States representative in the United Nation is a copy of memos and resolutions written and powerfully pushed in the Executive branch by AIPAC. They are backed by several hundred professional lobbyists and scores of pro- Israel Political Action Committees (PACs) and ten propaganda mills (the so-called 'think tanks') with tight links to AIPAC. Through their influence in the US, the Zionist Power Configuration in America (ZPC) has successfully secured the voices of other members of the UN Security Council ("Israel's War with Iran and the Zionist Power Configuration in America").

Therefore, any multinational corporation which signs economic agreements over Iranian oil assets is considered to be funding terrorism. Thus, US Congress enforced by ZPC and AIPAC authored Congressional legislation states that: "American companies are prohibited from any involvement in Iran's energy sector. These non-US international groups that have invested in Iran are for now going slow. They are trying to avoid pressing ahead with investments that would anger Washington, while also trying to avoid pulling out which could annoy Tehran." (qtd. in "Israel's War with Iran and the Zionist Power Configuration in America").

The military political leaders in Israel repeatedly and directly declared its preparation to attack Iran in the near future. Thus, the Israeli supporters who are effective in the United States made the Israeli war policy their primary priority in the attempts to ensure the support of the presidency and the congress. All the Israeli leaders who are in high position enunciate that the end of March 2006 will be the last date to wage a military attack on Iran .The idea of

update the attack was to restrict on the United States to impose the punishment matter on the Security Council (SC). Also, this date is a tactics extort Washington with the threatening of the "War on Terror" in order to put pressure on Europe (Britain, Germany, France, and Russia) to agree the punishment against Iran (Petras, 226-229).

## Conclusion

The American Jewish groups are experienced in lobbying the American government; the Israeli Lobby or the pro-Israeli Lobby and the AIPAC are the greatest influence groups in the United States. The power of the "Jewish lobby" is not a new phenomenon, but has long been an important factor in American life. The pro-Israeli lobby has forced the United States to invade in the Middle East in order to protect Israel and also to care for the American interest in the region.

In this chapter, we see that the pro-Israeli Lobby has various sources of power which have different effective strategies for access. Different Methods are followed by the Lobby to make Israel's enemies get weakened or overthrown. Moreover, Israel not only gets a free hand with Palestinians, but it is financially, politically, and military backed and supported the United States of America. In addition, the Lobby works hard to prevent United States leaders from pressuring Israel to make peace, and to make it impossible to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

## Conclusion

We conclude that the Jewish Community has a great authority in the United States which presented by the Israeli Lobby (pro-Israeli Lobby) which has a powerful capacity to shape American foreign policy in ways that work for Israel at the expense of the United States national interests and Palestinian interest.

The Jewish community has create powerful Organizations such as; American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), American Jewish Committee (AJC), American Jewish Congress (AJCongress), The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (the "Presidents Conference") and so on.

We also try to highlight the Lobby's influence on United States policy; particularly United States Middle East policy. Indeed, the Lobby's influence toward the American Middle East policy after the 09/11 attacks was emerged from its impact on the Iraq war, the conflict about the Iranian nuclear program, and goal in Syria. More important, according to Price noted, "It is also important to realize the U.S. helped create Israel (in 1948) and founded and supported it ever. With all this association (plus intensive Lobbying) it is easy to see how U.S. government officials have come to let Israel influence and guide our Middle East policy" ( "Understanding the Middle East War").

American policy in Middle East during the last sixty years expresses that it has always been dictated by a population of 5.2 million American Jews to a nation of over 296 million. The Jews play a major role in American politics. All this creates an atmosphere where many Americans, including decision-makers, have long been favorably disposed toward Israel. American Jews helped Israel to reinforce a special relationship with the US that meant enormous foreign aid, unprecedented diplomatic protection and an American blind eye

to many Israeli actions. All this are due to the power and the great influence of Israel Lobby over the American Foreign policy, particularly the Middle East policy.

The United States participated directly, or indirectly, in many wars in the Middle East to prevent any player to challenge its role. After the invasion of Afghanistan, the United States turned its attention, due to Lobbyists, to Iraq and Iran as danger in the "axis of evil" speech. Also the Israel Lobby introduced Syria as another threat to United States interests in the Middle East because Syria may threaten their goals in the region. Furthermore, after the September 11 attacks the United States claimed the war against the nation and they declared the war against the terror; "War on Terror" in the Middle East. According to Baloch the United States and the pro-Israel Lobby have a plan to redesign the map of the Middle East that may enable Israel to value its long outstanding dream of Greater Israel ("US Foreign Policy in the Middle East"). Thus, the "Jewish lobby" is a decisive factor in US support for Israel and Jews wield immense power and influence in the United States.

In this research we try to highlight the Lobby's influence on United States policy; particularly United States Middle East policy. We discover that the Pro-Israel Lobby has various sources of power which have different effective strategies for access. Different methods are followed by the lobby to make Israel's enemies get weakened or overthrown. Moreover, Israel not only gets a free hand with Palestinians, but it is also financially, politically, and military backed and supported by the United States of America.

We conclude that in the United States the interest groups are a key way of influencing government. Thus, the Pro-Israel "lobby" is a powerful group that is deeply committed to shaping American foreign policy in ways that work for the benefit of Israel. This Lobby is comprised of American Jews who make a significant effort in their daily lives to bend United States foreign policy so that it advances Israel's interests so that we can say that the Jewish Community has a great authority in the United States because they have the most successful pressure group there. This pressure group represented by the Israeli Lobby which manipulates the American policy particularly in the issues that have relation to the Israeli interest in the Middle East. In other words, the Israeli Lobby has a great impact on the American "War on Terror" policy toward the Middle East.

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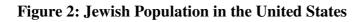
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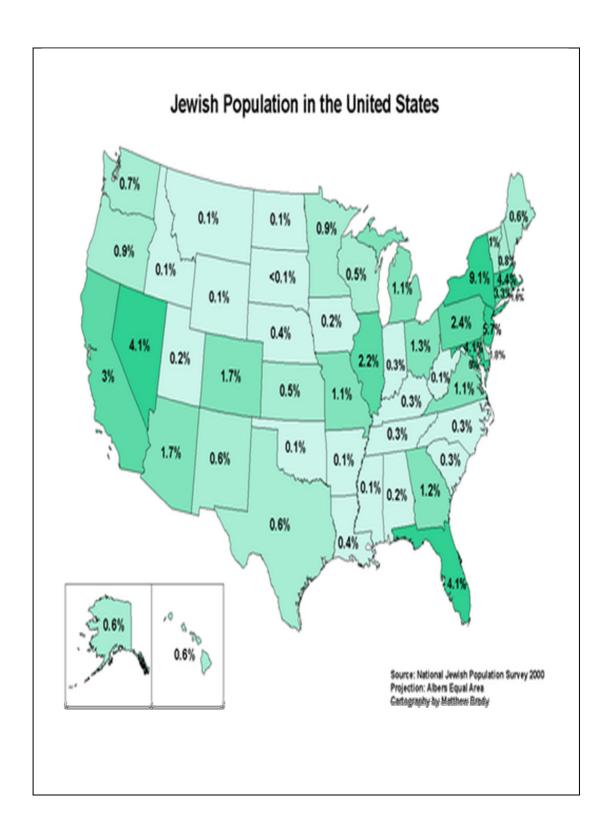
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## Appendix





## ملخص

يدرس هذا البحث مدى قوة تأثير القومية اليهودية في السياسية الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الأوسط بعد أحداث 11 سبتمبر منذ قدومهم إلى الولايات الأمريكية، قاموا ببناء قوة مؤثرة ضمن السياسية الخارجية الأمريكية مرتكزة على المنضمات واللجنات و حيث إن وظيفتها الرسمية وضعت لتأثير في صانعي القرار في أمريكا.

لهذا فالسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه الشرق الأوسط ما هي إلا نتيجة لنفوذ اللوبي الإسرائيلي عليها. إن ها اللوبي الإسرائيلي يمثل الجماعة الضاغطة ذات النفوذ السلطوي و التي نظمت من اجل تغير السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية من اجل مصالح إسرائيل في الشرق الأوسط.

باستخدامه أحداث 11 سبتمبر، طبق اللوبي الإسرائيلي إستراتيجيته من اجل السيطرة و التحكم في الشرق الوسط و ذلك بتحكمه في صناعة القرار الأمريكي في المنطقة.

في هذا البحث اقترحنا الفرضيات التالية: إن اليهود يسيطرون على السياسة الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط كذلك إن اللوبي اليهودي يمثل القوة الضاغطة التي تؤثر في السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط. كما إن اللوبي اليهودي يؤثر على صناع القرار الأمريكان خاصة في القضايا المهمة لإسرائيل.

من خلال هذا العمل وجدنا انه بفضل اللوبي الإسرائيلي القوة العظمى أي أمريكا تضع جانبا أمنها من اجل تحقيق مصالح دولة أخرى- إسرائيل- لهذا فان الجماعة اليهودية لها تأثير كبير على السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية.