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**THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF JEWISH LOBBY AS A
MECHANISM OF THE UNITED STATES DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY
ESTABLISHMENT**

Svitlana Busheva

*Ivan Franko National University of Lviv
Institute of philosophy, Department of theory and history of political science
Universytetska st., 1, 79000, Lviv, Ukraine
svitlanabusheva@gmail.com*

Lobbying is a unique and powerful tool of influence and communication between the state and its citizens, an indicator of the development of civil society. Moreover, lobbying is gaining different variations depending on the socio-political environment and the interests of its constituent, formalization or latency. The mechanism of lobbying was popularized in the United States, where it became an integral part of the political life of the country and is characterized by huge diversity. It has a component of ethnic lobbying as a reflection of the special interests of ethnic groups and their implementation mechanisms. The Jewish lobby is rather complex and has interesting history of origin. Furthermore, it represents the most controversial events in the field of formation and influence on foreign and domestic policy of United States.

Key words: Jewish lobby, leverage, minority, majority, proxy, alliance, strategic asset.

Current research centralizes the issue of Jewish Lobby as a unique phenomenon, which covers different aspects of the United States political environment and influences the crucial processes inside the state's governing institutions. Moreover, it is important to emphasize a fact that the object of this investigation is focused on the analysis of the basic methods and practices of the Jewish ethnic lobbying system and the consequences of their interference into the decision-making field. In addition, the major goal is to examine and formulate an estimation of this diverse coalition's work outcomes.

Considering the story line of the United States and Israel relations, it is explicitly obvious that most of the events were tied and this alliance has deep historical roots. As a result, both political actors gained their positions in each other territories. There is a huge variety of assumptions, which claim that this partnership is mutually beneficial for these countries. On the one hand, it is subjectively formulated a statement, but on the other hand, it has been approving its veracity throughout many years.

During many years, Israel ignored the generally accepted standards of international law. Furthermore, they have challenged numerous resolutions of United Nations. It is noteworthy that this state violated the chief orders according to an occupation of conquered lands. It would be necessary to highlight that Israel has also done extra-judicial killings and recurrent acts of military aggression. The world society condemned Israel's policies and actions against its Palestinians oppression and asserted the negative opinion about the illegal and outrageous behavior of Jewish [4, p. 31]. The overview and response for this international consensus are described, for instance, in numerous UN resolutions that are blaming Israel. The considerable fact is that these documents have been approved by the overwhelming majorities. Therefore, a rhetorical question about Jewish state-building successfulness arises according to the fact of European events in XX century.

The solution of this problem is explained by the appearance of American support. It is important to underline the fact that, the world's nations were unanimously demanding the withdrawal of Jewish people from Palestinian country. Consequently, there was no chance for Israel to operate the situation, but the United States are the most dedicated baker of this country. However, this kind of assistance also has the exceptions. For example, some American politicians and media figures tend to condemn and criticize different actions of Israeli policy, but predominantly the US attitude is formulated of vigorous supporter's opinion [4, p.31]. The Israel has a value for Americans not just as a country, this phenomenon is more complex and derives a theoretical transparency to the occurrence of Jewish powerful impact in the US. The supporters are strangely enthusiastic about Jewish ethnic-religious country. In spite of the fact that there were many occasional controversies over particular policies, the US government continues to contribute to Israeli development with specification on the military, diplomatic and financial backing. Moreover, they provide approximately more than \$3 billion aid annually. In turn, this interaction became an integral part of US interest realization in the region of Arab countries. In other words, Israel represents a democratically confirmed ally, which is lobbying American ideological views.

The historical factor played the most significant role in these relations. The United States have become Israel's rescue during wartime. In addition, they took its side throughout negotiating peace processes. It is important to emphasize that Nixon administration resupplied Israel when they were waging October War and also they protected Israel from the intervention of Soviet [4, p.31]. The U.S. was involved in the negotiations, which finished that war. Furthermore, Washington took a key position in the negotiations that came before and followed the 1993 Oslo accords [4, p.31].

The peculiarity was an occasional friction of Washington and Israeli representatives in both cases. It is necessary to underline that the United States operated its positions attentively with Israel and systematically sustained the Israeli approach to the negotiations. Indeed, these types of relations remained the U.S. to be a lawyer of Israel in every situation.

According to the discussed facts, the Americans have given Israel wide liberality in their actions in the Occupied Territories (for instance, the West Bank and Gaza Strip) [4, p.31]. The compromise was kept even in cases when Israeli actions were at odds with the policy of Washington. Moreover, the Bush administration's ambitious strategy to transform the Middle East – beginning with the invasion of Iraq – was partly intended to improve Israel's strategic situation. Moreover, the administration of George Bush supported Israel's side during the war in Lebanon and gave Jewish a great latitude [4, p. 31]. Indeed, they primarily opposed calls for a ceasefire because they wanted to give Israel more time for them to go after Hezbollah. Considering this example separately from wartime alliances, it is important to highlight a fact that it is hard to imagine a state's aid provided to another one with a corresponding level of material and diplomatic assistance for such a long period.

Israel may have appeared as a strategic partner during the Cold War period. The importance of this devoted friendship was conditioned also by serving as America's attorney after the 1967 war. Israel helped to the U.S. to prevent Soviet expansion in the region and caused demeaning defeats on Soviet allies (for instance, Egypt and Syria). From time to time they have also helped to protect other U.S. proxies (for example, Jordan's King Hussein), and its military power forced Soviet to spend more efforts in order to support its losing allies. Israel was the best in the provision of useful intelligence to Washington about Moscow capabilities. Israel's strategic liability and importance throughout this period should not be overestimated, however. The aid to Israel was not cheap, and these phenomena influenced U.S. relations with

the Arab world. For instance, the Washington's decision to provide Israel with \$2.2 billion funding in order to give them emergency military aid during the period of October War inflicted an Arab oil embargo [4, p. 32]. This, in turn, had an impact on the production decrease that triggered a significant loss of economies. In addition, Israel's military could not fully protect Washington's interests [5, p. 17]. A good example of it is a situation when the United States could not expect the complete protection of Israel when the Iranian Revolution in 1979 expressed concerns about the safety of oil supplies in the Persian Gulf. The U.S. were to develop its own «Rapid Deployment Force». Considering Israel to be a strategic proxy during the Cold War, the first Gulf War showed that Israel was becoming a burden instead. Washington could not use Israeli bases throughout the war without ruining, in turn, the anti-Iraq coalition. Moreover, they had to distract resources (Patriot missile batteries) to save Israel from actions, which could crush the anti-Saddam alliance. The similar historical case happened again in 2003. However Tel Aviv was a devoted ally of the United States and was ready to attack Saddam, President Bush was not able to ask a Jewish help in this situation without inflicting negative consequences on Arab opposition [2, p. 37]. Therefore, the Jewish state stayed behind a curtain.

This unique method of co-existence also depicts both sympathy and interest of Americans in the region. The poor Jewish nation was constantly attacked by other nations and was trying to settle down without, at the first sight, any harmful intention. A horror, caused by Nazi during the period of World War II motivated the democratic U.S. to some extent. Therefore, they provide many arguments why Washington protected Jewish position and established a specific alliance with Tel Aviv.

There are different points, which argue that the core of this issue does not relate to the sphere strategic or moral reasons. Moreover, the explanation of it is centralized in the political power and influence of the Israel lobby. Many scholars assume that lobby has an ability to work efficiently within the U.S. political organization, the relations between Israel and the Washington might have been less warm than it is today in the case of its absence.

The term «lobby» is as an appropriate definition of the loose coalition of representatives and organizations that actively cooperate in order to shape the domestic and foreign policy of the United States in order to give it a pro-Israel direction. It is important to emphasize that the usage of this term does not describe lobby as a unified movement, which has a central leadership or that officials of this mechanism do not argue on particular issues. It is noteworthy that lobby is not a cabal. Furthermore, it has nothing in common with conspiracy. The real goal of its actions is substantially compatible with the interest-group tradition, which has governed the U.S. political life for a long time.

The mechanism of lobby consists of American Jews who make a considerable effort in their everyday lives to direct Washington's foreign policy so that it would be beneficial for Israel's interests. The actions and activities of this tool go beyond simply voting for candidates who are pro-Israel in order to deal with writing letters, donating money and supporting pro-Israel organizations. It is necessary to mention a fact that the lobby is not merely a parallel with American Jews. Israel is not a most noticeable or important issue for many of them and many individuals do not adhere to the lobby's positions. For instance, in 2004, the survey showed that roughly 36 percent of Jewish people in U.S [4, p. 40]. claimed they were not emotionally touched by the issues related to Israel. Furthermore, specific groups that work on behalf of Israel's state, for example, the «Christian Zionists» are not Jewish. The crucial fact is that Jewish-Americans have differences on specific policies according to Israel. It is absolutely clear that a lot of the chief organizations in the lobby, for example, AIPAC and the Conference

of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, are operated by hardliners [4, p. 40]. Indeed, they are completely supporting the expansionist policy of Israel's Likud party. The peculiarity is that it includes its hostility to the process in Oslo. On the one hand, the basic share of the U.S. Jewry is disposed favorably to the problem of making concessions and positive actions in relation to the Palestinians, but on the other hand, the organizations like Jewish Voice for Peace are for the promotion of these steps. In spite, the disagreement of different opinions, a huge part of organized groups of the Jewish community in the United States prefers conservative Washington's support for Israel.

The American political system has a divided government. This fact actually offers many options how to make an impact on the policy process. Consequently, the interest groups are allowed to form the policy in various ways. The good example of its differences is lobbying elected representatives or even members of the Executive Branch. They might also make campaign contributions and, in addition, they can take over molding of public opinion. Moreover, it is noteworthy that special-interest groups have disproportionate rights in a case when they are involved in the solution of a particular issue and the main part of the population is indifferent. Considering the American society, it is undoubtedly the sphere of foreign affairs. The major problem is that the bulk of the citizens do not take much care about this aspect and they are not simply interested in the foreign direction. Therefore, the policy makers will obviously tend to coordinate those who are interested in this question, even if it is a minority [4, p. 43]. As a result, it also explains the confidence about their actions and fearlessness that the rest of the population will judge, penalize or punish them.

The lobby also has a considerable system of the force exertion by means of a lever over the Executive Branch. That leverage power derives to some extent from the influence of Jewish voters, which they express on presidential elections. However, the number of these voters is small (less than 3 percent), but it is necessary to emphasize a fact that Jewish citizens make large campaign contributions to candidates from both parties [4, p. 43]. It is noteworthy to mention that Washington Post had highlighted that Democratic candidates for presidential chair are dependent on Jewish supporters to supply approximately 60 percent of the funding. In addition, these voters have a specifically high turn-out rates that mean they are interested in the issue of the political sphere. They are mainly concentrated in California, New York, New Jersey, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. This aspect makes their participation valuable and increases a weight of Jewish votes in determining electoral results. Therefore, they have a big matter in close elections, and the candidates try not to irritate Jewish voters. The main organizations in the lobby system also have a role in targeting the administration in power. For instance, pro-Israel powers need to make sure that critics of the Israel state are not getting the important for the foreign-policy appointments. The example of such actions is the decision of Jimmy Carter when he wanted to appoint George Ball his first secretary of state [4, p. 44]. The events turned in other way and the Carter knew that Ball was considered to be critical of Israel. Furthermore, he realized that the lobby would definitely oppose the appointment. Therefore, public critics of Israeli policy do not have persuasive positions and are rather an endangered species in the foreign policy of Washington.

Moreover, in order to control the government policy directly, the lobby tries to formulate public estimation about Israel and the Middle East. Certainly, they do not want to create an open debate according to issues about Israel, because this type of debate can probably cause Americans to doubt in the accuracy of a support level and funding that they currently provide. Therefore, pro-Israel organizations strive to rule the media. They also are trying to operate the think tanks and academia. The Jewish lobby has leverage on institutions that are critical for the

modulation of popular opinion. This mechanism's perspective on Israel is generally mirrored in the mainstream media. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that a huge part of American commentators are pro-Israel. The peculiar feature of debates among Middle East specialists shows that these people are completely out of their abilities to criticize Israel [3, p. 19]. Israeli Lobby has a great impact in all fields of its activities and they might even influence other interest groups. For instance, American Jewish are concerned about Turkish lobby in the U.S. and they clearly illustrate their attitude against it, but it would be much difficult for the opponents to do the same [1, p. 144] There is a minority of people who are not afraid to express the opposed thoughts and claim for negative aspects of Israel relations with the U.S. and international failures of this country as well. However, it is hard to imagine how this minority can spread their opinion because the truth is that it would definitely come through the fire of disputes of pro-Israel adherents.

Finally, current research provides a historical parallel and analysis of the U.S. and Israeli relationships, which have shaped the background of Jewish influence in the American governmental policy. In addition, there are many scientific controversies that create a debate over this issue, arguing that Jewish lobby has significantly influenced the situation in Israel and the Middle East region as well. As a result, the historical foreign policy actions and inner lobbying leverage have conditioned a bright field of complex subjects that are shaping Washington's decision-making process. Therefore, Jewish lobby is not a transparent phenomenon because of its ruling options variety and their implementation.

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ТЕОРЕТИЧНИЙ ТА ІСТОРИЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ ЄВРЕЙСЬКОГО ЛОБІ ЯК МЕХАНІЗМУ ФОРМУВАННЯ ВНУТРІШНЬОЇ І ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ США

Світлана Бушева

*Львівський національний університет ім. І. Франка
філософський факультет, кафедра теорії та історії політичної науки
вул. Університетська 1, 79000, Львів, Україна
svitlanabusheva@gmail.com*

Явище лобізму є унікальним і потужним інструментом впливу та комунікації між державою та її громадянами, індикатором розвитку громадянського суспільства. Більше того, лобізм набирає різноманітних варіацій залежно від соціально-політичного середовища та інтересів, що його конституують, формалізованості або ж латентності. Найбільшої популярності інститут лобізму набув у Сполучених Штатах Америки, де став невід'ємною частиною політичного життя країни і характеризується значним різноманіттям. Його складовою є етнічний лобізм як відображення особливих інтересів етнічних груп та механізмів їх реалізації. Єврейське лобі має доволі складну та цікаву історію виникнення і уособлює найконтroversійніші явища у сфері формування і впливу на зовнішню і внутрішню політику Сполучених Штатів Америки.

Ключові слова: єврейське лобі, важелі впливу, меншість, більшість, проксі, альянс, стратегічний актив.