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**Investigating the Impact of Arab-American Advocacy
Groups on Shaping the American Foreign Policy**

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

I, Miss Gadi Meimouna, dedicate this work to:

Allah my creator, my source of knowledge and inspiration.

My great teacher prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

My dearest beloved who has meant and continues to mean so much to me, the person who had always expressed the value of learning to me; my father, although you are no longer of this world, your memories have continued to regulate my life. May Allah grant you paradise.

To my lovely family, particularly my adorable mother, Ahlem, Islam and Rayane.

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All my respectful teachers, especially Mr. Sib who has enlightened my university life.

My kind classmates: Mamma, Salsabil and Fatma.

Mr. Salem, A very special dedication to you.

To all the people in my life who touch my heart. Thank you for your support and motivation.

I, Miss Mebarka Mennai, dedicate this work

To my inspiring parents, Mom and Dad who have always loved me unconditionally and who show me what nobody else would ever have.

To my beloved brothers and sisters for their whole-hearted support.

To my uncle, Elid, my aunt Hait and my grandma, Zina. For their endless support.

To all my dearest friends: Meimouna, Hakima & Ahlam. I'm proud of you.

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Any errors or omissions which remain, however, rest solely on the researchers own.

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the influence of Arab advocacy groups over the American foreign affairs. By the virtue of first amendment of the U.S. constitution, Americans, including Arab Americans, are authorized to petition their government. Hence, Arab Americans band together in the form of advocacy groups in order to lobby the government for their interests. Furthermore, they employ the whole range of strategies to manipulate the foreign agenda correspondingly to the benefit of their ancestral countries as well as to the Palestinian cause. This study attempts to assess and measure the impact of Arab advocacy groups on the frame of U.S. foreign agenda. Arab Advocacy groups are barely concerned in the academic field, in contrast to Israeli one. Therefore, there is a need to a study that is aimed to ameliorate the discussions about Arab Americans advocators. To fulfil the dissertation's objectives, both descriptive and historical methods are utilized. The study reveals that Arab advocacy groups have inefficaciously affected the American foreign policy.

Key words: Advocacy groups, Arab advocacy groups, lobby and foreign policy.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAA: Arab American Association

AAI: Arab American institute

AANM: Arab American National Museum

AAPAC: Arab American Political Action Committee

AAUG: Arab American University Graduates Association

ACCESS: Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services

ADC: Arab Americans anti-Discrimination

AIPAC: American Israel Public Affairs Committee

Art: article

ATFP: American Task Force on Palestine

AWACS: Airborne Warning and Control Systems

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

CNN: Cable News Network

Cons: constitution

MEI: Middle East Institute

MSNBC: Microsoft National Broadcasting Company

NAAA: National Association of Arab-Americans

NNAAC: National Network for Arab American Communities

NSC: National Security Council

PAC: Political Action Committee

SAPRAC: Saudi American Public Relation Affairs Committee

SOD: Secretary of Defense

SOS: Secretary of State

U.S.: United States

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General Introduction

The diversity of the American society has resulted in multiple minority and ethnic groups. Generally, these groups unite together in order to defend their rights and to seek support for their original countries' issues. Thus, Arab Americans represent no exception, and unify together in the form of advocacy groups for the same reasons stated beforehand. Tocqueville (2002) postulates that people in the United States can easily find a mobilization to assemble with.

The term advocacy group refers to the organized groups of individuals, with similar interests and common goals, who seek to lobby the government and the public policy (Obar, Zube & Lampe, 2017).

“Lobby refers to groups and individuals who support a specific cause or interest and who try to influence public officials to vote a certain way or to make certain decisions” (Fleshler, 2009, p.9).

Comparing the definition of the two terms, advocacy group and lobby, the same meaning has been shown, that is to say they can be used as an equivalent.

Arab advocacy groups encompass the coalitions, of Arab ancestor members, that pursue to advocate the U.S. government on behalf of the Arab Americans. They also strive to manipulate the American foreign agenda for their original countries' interests. Arab advocacy group is a natural phenomenon in the American political regime along with the Palestinian cause.

On the other side, American foreign policy is a sophisticated structure involving both governmental and nongovernmental players; advocacy groups are major players within the nongovernmental ones. The foreign policy embodies the actions that are taken

by American government to deal with the international affairs, including national security, overseas trade and the world peace as well (McKeever & Davies, 2006).

As Arab advocacy groups are increasing within the American society, they are expected to affect the U.S. foreign agenda, especially, with regard to the prolonged Palestinian question along with the Jewish ascendancy and the falsified images which Arabs have been fraught with.

Despite the big challenges, debates continue about the potential of the Arab advocacy groups' influence.

Given this situation, we find a great interest to investigate the impact of Arab advocacy groups on shaping the American foreign policy.

1. Statement of the problem

The U.S. imposes itself as a leading power upon the world. It attracts more people to immigrate, which proliferates different minority and ethnic groups along with Arab groups. As ethnic groups rise, their demands and interests raise as well. They band together in legitimated mobilizations such as the advocacy groups (also called lobbies) to influence the American government in both the domestic and foreign concerns.

Arab advocacy groups seek to manipulate, in particular, the American foreign agenda, in which the Palestinian question is a prominent matter as well as the Gulf oil. Gaining the support of the American government is of great significance for Arab advocacy groups, especially, concerning the Middle East issues so that they employ various tactics for the sake of winning the consent of the U.S. policy makers. However, their influence remains a controversial matter due to the dominance of the Israeli lobbies and the situation which is aggravated by the falsified image of the Arabs as "terrorists". Thereafter,

Arab lobbies lost the grassroots factor as an influential card over the foreign agenda. Thus, it is of utmost importance to investigate the impact of Arab advocacy groups on shaping the American foreign policy.

2. Research questions

The present study seeks to examine the following questions:

Main research question

What is the impact of Arab advocacy groups on shaping the American foreign policy?

Subsidiary questions

1. What strategies do Arab Advocacy groups employ?
2. What are the major actors formulating and affecting American foreign policy?
3. What are the implications of Arab advocacy group's practices on the Saudi American relationships (Air Warning and Control Systems sale)?
4. To what degree do the Arab advocacy groups contribute to the Palestinian question?

3. Research Hypothesis

The basic assumption of the study is:

Arab advocacy groups tend to have a limited impact on the American foreign policy.

4. Aims of the study

The current study aims at:

1. Exploring the characteristics of Arab American advocacy groups.
2. Investigating and assessing the involvement as well as the efficiency of Arab advocacy groups in the American foreign policy with regard to the Palestinian question and the Saudi American relationships.

5. Significance of the study

Arab American advocacy groups are chosen as a point of investigation due to the fundamental contribution which these nongovernmental actors may have in promoting the Middle East agenda, in which Palestinian question is the core of the concern, regarding to the fact that the USA is the superpower over the world. Thus, "U.S. foreign policy shapes events in every corner of the globe. Nowhere is this truer than in the Middle East, a region of recurring instability and enormous strategic importance" (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2006, p.4).

Furthermore, such practices can be enhanced only by gaining grassroots base. The latter is affected by academic concerns, that is why Arab advocacy groups are in need of the academic support which endeavors to raise awareness towards them as well as demonstrating their weaknesses and strengths in order to promote their efficiency. Moreover, the study will draw more attention to Palestinian Israeli conflict hoping to participate in solving this issue.

6. Methodology of the study

Within its general framework, the study attempts to determine the influence of Arab advocacy groups on the American foreign policy, in which the former is the independent variable while the latter is the dependent one.

The descriptive method is adapted throughout the course of study as it serves to cast lights on the area of the research.

The study examines a case of failure in the history of Arab American advocacy groups as a case study along with some further historical notions within the stream of investigation. Therefore, the historical framework is also utilized.

In order to test the hypothesis, primary and secondary sources are used in this research. The primary sources offered a good insight in how the Arab lobby formed and the vital actors in American foreign policy decision makers. They include the U.S. Constitution, American Political Dictionary and official records of the various Arab American advocacy groups; such as the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS), Arab American institute (aaiusa.org) and the Saudi American Public Relation Affairs Committee (SAPRAC)...etc. Such materials raise insights into the credibility of the study.

In addition to that, secondary sources such as several books and articles from international magazines and newspapers as well, the only accessed doctoral thesis gave good background information of the cases study under the scrutiny in this research.

7. Structure of the study

The present study is composed of two main parts: a theoretical chapter and a practical one. The theoretical part which overviews the corresponding literature consists of four sections. The first one encompasses a historical overview about Arab Americans. The second one explains the main tenets of Arab American advocacy groups. After that, the prominent Arab advocacy organizations in the USA is highlighted. The last section of chapter one is devoted to the scope of American foreign policy. Here we demonstrate the connotation of American foreign agenda as well as the main actors who are involved in conducting the foreign affairs.

The second chapter is divided into three main sections wherein a case of success and a case of failure for the Arab lobby are addressed in section one and two. Then, The researchers end up chapter two with a section that provides a discussion about the prospects and limitations of Arab advocacy groups in the United States. The general conclusion summarises the main findings of the study.

Chapter One

Arab Advocacy Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy

Dimensions

1.1. Introduction

The theoretical chapter of this study consists of four sections. The first section provides a historical overview pertaining to the birth of Arab American community in the United States. The second one focuses on the origin of the Arab advocacy groups, their aims, their characteristics and their main strategies in manipulating the U.S. foreign policy. The third section discusses the foundations of their organizations. Then, the last section ends up with the scope of the American foreign policy in which the major foreign policy decision makers are tackled.

1.2. Arab-American Community

Since long ago, Arabs have been interested to experience the American mainstream. Thus, they have been integrated within its community through several waves.

1.2.1. An overview

Arab American community consists of more than 3.7 million Americans who have an Arabic descent from one of the 22 countries of the Arab world. It has been constructed through three major phases of Arab immigration from the late 19th century till the present day ("Arab American Institute," 2014).

Despite the difficulties and the negative stereotypes Arab Americans had, they have asserted their identity within the American society and strengthened it. Furthermore, they have participated in shaping the American history. Thus, Arab Americans are essential part of the American nation:

Arab Americans are U.S. citizens and permanent residents who trace their ancestry to or who emigrated from Arabic-speaking places in southwestern Asia and northern Africa, a region known as the Middle East. Not all people in this region are Arabs. Most Arab Americans were born in the United States ("100 questions and answers," 2011, para.1).

The first arrival of Arab American traces back to the Moroccan slave who had been brought with the Spanish settlers in the early 15th century ("Arab American National Museum," 2018). Arab Americans coming can be sketched out in the following three waves:

1.2.1.1. The First Wave (1880s–1920s)

During the period of Great Migration (1880-1924), a large number of Arabs approximately 200,000 came to the U.S. from Greater Syria (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine). The majority of them were Christians ("Arab American National Museum," 2018). They fled their homelands seeking better life conditions as well escaping Ottoman persecution, conscription, and taxes. Although Arab immigrants settled in big cities, such as Cleveland, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, and New York, they were illiterate, unskilled and poor working as peddlers (Esber, n.d).

According to Arab American National Museum (n.d):

Arab immigration, like immigration from all non-European countries, started to slow down around 1917 due to the several laws which were passed by the U.S. Congress, including the 1921 Quota Act and the Immigration Act of 1924. These laws established an immigration quota system that placed restrictions on immigrants from all countries except Northern and Western Europe (p. 10).

1.2.1.2. Second Wave (Post WWII-1960s)

After the WWII, the U.S. witnessed another wave of Arab immigration more diverse than the first, including both Muslims and Christians from different Arab world countries, especially from Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Yemen. Most of them were refugees escaping the war in their countries, as the Palestinians, and others were students looking for higher educations. These groups asserted the Arabic identity within the American society.

They established national pan-Arab organizations such as the Organization of Arab Students, as well the Association of Arab-American University Graduates. It was at this time when the “Arab American” identity started to emerge. This is also when Arab Americans started to become more involved in American politics on both the local and national levels ("Arab American National Museum," n.d, p. 11).

1.2.1.3. The Third Wave (1970s–Present)

The restrictive immigration laws were repealed by the enactment of the Hart-Cellar Act which admitted to the non-European immigrants to come in more diverse and large numbers than the first and the second waves. They were varied in terms of origin, religion,

and social status. The most came after, mainly, were refugees escaping wars and starvation. Some came as students looking for high education; others came seeking better lives opportunities ("Arab American Institute," 2009).

1.2.2. Origin and Population

According to the Arab American Institute (2014), the estimated number of Arab Americans is 3,665,789; more than 80% are U.S. citizens. Furthermore, a sizeable rate of them is of Lebanese ancestry. More details are demonstrated in the following figure:

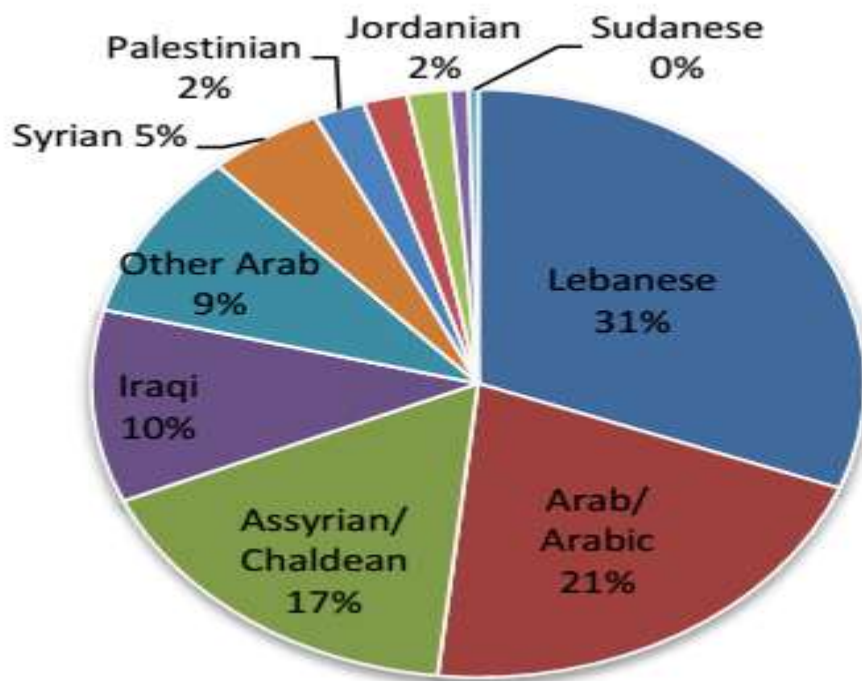


Figure 1.1: Arab Americans population by origin (Arab American Institute, 2014)

Arab Americans habitation expands all over American nations. However, 94% of them cluster in urban cities, chiefly, California, New York, and Michigan. More details are highlighted in the following map:

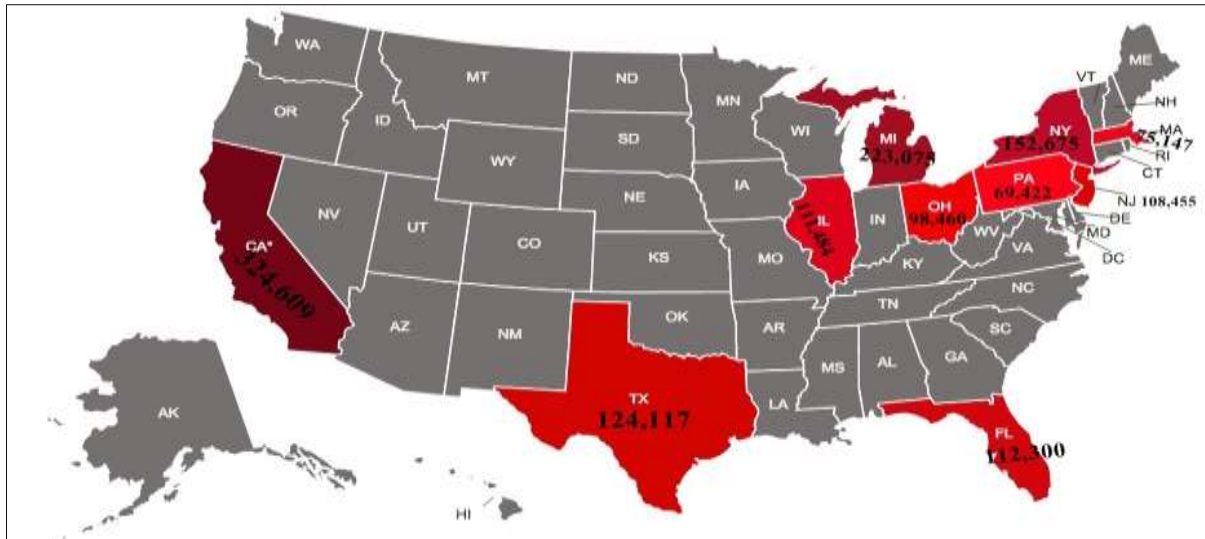


Figure 1.2: Top 10 States by Arab American Population ("Arab American Institute," 2014).

1.2.2.1. Religion

It is estimated that 24% of Arab Americans are Muslims, 63% are Christians and the remaining proportion has other religions or do not have any particular belief ("Arab American Institute", 2014).

1.2.2.2. Education

American immigrants with Arabic origin are distinguished by their educational average. 89% of Arab Americans have at least a high school diploma and 45% of them have a bachelor's degree or higher. Besides, 18% of them have a postgraduate degree. Thus, they are highly educated comparing to the national level of Americans ("Arab American Institute", 2014).

1.2.2.3. Work

Today's Arab Americans occupy different professional fields; 65% are workers and yet 5% are out of work. 88% of Arab Americans work in private sector, whereas 12% are government employees. Most Arab Americans are involved in managerial, professional,

technical, sales or administrative fields; others are service employees ("Arab American Institute", 2014). Further information can be better seen in the following figure

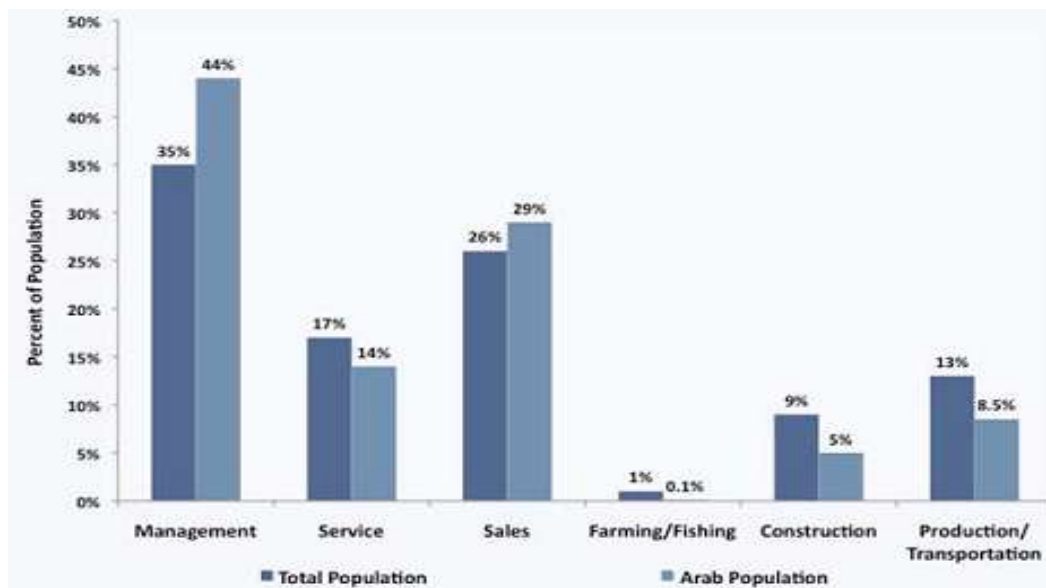


Figure1.3: Occupation of Arab Americans (Arab American Institute, 2014)

1.2.2.4. Income

High education typically results in high incomes. Individual income of Arab Americans is 27% higher than the national average of \$61,921. Nevertheless, 13.7% of them are poor ("Arab American Institute", 2014).

1.2.3. Famous Arab Americans Politicians

James Abourezk, U.S. Senator. (Lebanese ancestry).

Spencer Abraham, U.S. Secretary of Energy and U.S. Senator. (Lebanese ancestry).

George J. Mitchell, U.S. Senator. (Lebanese mother).

Ray LaHood, U.S. Congressman and U.S. Secretary of Transportation. (Lebanese and Jordanian ancestry).

John E. Sununu, U.S. Senator. (Palestinian ancestry).

Victor G. Atiyeh, Governor of Oregon.

Pat Danner, U.S. Congresswoman.

Arabs in the USA have an ancient history which dates back to the great migration era and proceeds to the present day; they are as diverse as the Arab world. In addition to that, Arab immigrants are distinct from other minorities in terms of the high educational level and individual income. Though the marginalization and the negative perception of them, Arabs have been able to integrate within the American mainstream.

1.3. Arab American Advocacy Groups

Arab advocates in the United States tend to have their own features and strategies that will serve their own objectives.

1.3.1. Definition

The heterogeneous nature of American society and the constitutional privileges which legislates the right for Americans to petition their government have stimulated the political activists to confederate in the form of advocacy groups, also called lobbies, in order to be involved in the political processes. Hence, Obar, Zube and Lampe (2017) define advocacy groups as “the notion of advocating for, championing, or supporting a specific viewpoint or cause. Often applied in the political context, the term suggests a systematic effort by specific actors who aim to further or achieve specific policy goals”

(p. 4).

Saad (as cited in Marrar, 2009) states that:

Lobbying is an essential component of the “domestic structures,” which “function as important inputs into the making of foreign policy, and define the broad internal limits within which decision-makers feel compelled to operate.” It may be direct or indirect, may aim at the executive or the legislature, or may focus on shaping public opinion. Foreign governments or citizens’ groups may lobby to secure favorable policies (p. 84).

Hence, Marrar (2009), in contrast to the claims that deny its existence, denotes:

If we were to take the strictest forms of the above descriptions, we see that a pro-Arab lobby has always existed with domestic and foreign actors... they focus on figuring out the “who’s who” of the Washington policy establishment and target

policymakers with their positions on issues of interest to the Arab American community and others that share its concerns (pp. 84-85).

In this regard, the Arab lobby in the United States can be also defined as "a collection of formal and informal groups that lobby the public and the government of the United States on behalf of Arab interests" ("The united states," 2015, P. 19).

Accordingly, Arab advocacy groups are the organizations that seek to promote Arab agenda through lobbying American policy to voice their interests.

1.3.2. Origins of Arab Advocacy Groups

The Arab lobby in USA has a long history being an integral part of the American foreign affairs. Smith (2010) claims that "there is an Arab lobby in the United States—one as old as, if not older than, the Israel lobby, and it has helped to shape U.S. foreign policy and economic life since the end of World War II" (para.4).

Namely, Arab advocacy groups have existed since the days of the Saudi king Saud, 1951, who recommended the American diplomats for funding the pro-Arab lobbies in order to be able to counter the American Zionist committee for public affairs which is now known as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) ("The united states," 2015).

1.3.3. Goals of Arab Advocacy Groups

Arab advocacy groups, as any other ethnic groups in United States, have their own means and procedures to provide information groups to governmental policy makers who probably make it as a legislative action (Goldstein, 1999). As Marrar (2009) asserts, "They have to gauge the political pulse of elected officials and their appointees in order to develop proper tactics for gaining influence" (p.85). This influence enables them to express

their great interests of the Arab world, talk about the Palestinian issue and strengthen their position domestically and abroad.

The other major object the Arab lobby has sought for many years is changing the concept of terrorism, violence, discrimination, defamation and intolerance which the Arabs encountered following the events of 9/11 that caused the ideological gap between the two nations. However, the Arab lobby attempts to redefine the fabricated notions about Arab Americans and the whole Arab states in different forms like appearing at various media or publishing articles (Harris, 2001). In other words, these efforts might lead to alter the negative image about Arabs in Americans' minds into a positive one. Hence, this positive prospective will be instilled in their beliefs and cultivate the ties with Americans in the hope of gaining sentiment of public opinion.

1.3.4. Characteristics of Arab Advocacy Groups

The Arab lobby has tried to establish a major force in the political domain and strengthen its position in the favor of its interest. However, it has shown its failure and weakness when compared to the Israel lobby (Marrar, 2009). That is to say, their given efforts have not yet rivaled the effectiveness of Israel lobby. Many Arab intelligentsia claim that the Arab lobby is unable to press the Middle East affairs to the U.S public (Smith, 2010).

Bard (as cited in Smith's the Arab Lobby, 2010) informs the American public that the Arab lobby might be older than the Israeli one, and asserts its existence despite the disapproval of others. On the other hand, he draws comparisons between the two lobbies as the following words ensure, "One of the most important distinguishing characteristics of the Arab lobby is that it has no popular support. While the Israeli lobby has hundreds of thousands of grass root members" (pp. 4-5). It means that the Israel lobby is widely

supported by American citizens, whereas the Arab lobby has little support because its propaganda efforts are uncoordinated and divided into many issues such as Palestine, oil and so on.

1.3.5. Strategies of Arab Advocacy Groups

All advocacy groups tend to use the whole kit of methods and strategies in order to fulfill their interests including direct as well as indirect lobbying techniques.

Kollman (2014) divides lobbying strategies into two: direct and indirect. Direct lobby, or as he calls inside lobbying, involves personal assembly with elected officials or their staff or contacting them by phone calls and emails. Whereas indirect lobbying (outside lobbying) entails providing desirable constituents and assistants for the political officials and even organize strikes to support or offend the policy makers besides exploiting of advertising, mobilizing public opinion and so on.

According to the scholars' prospective, Arab advocacy groups employ both direct and indirect lobbying tactics to manipulate the American policy makers.

1.3.5.1. Direct Lobbying

Arab leaders are trying to grasp every opportunity in order to assert the effectiveness of their lobbies in the United States, namely their good relationships with American policy makers to intervene in shaping satisfactory foreign affairs .Thus, Terry (2005) points out that "Prince Fahd officially visited Washington in 1974 and helped to establish the U.S. Saudi Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation. Subsequent cooperative agreements followed" (p. 51). He also refers to the decisive role of Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the Saudi ambassador to the U.S., to stabilize strong diplomatic relationships between the two countries stating that "Bandar is now dean of the Washington diplomatic corps" (p.51). Therefore, Terry emphasizes "perhaps not

coincidentally, the representatives with the benefit of easy access are from regimes closely tied or heavily dependent on the United States" (p. 51).

At the same time, Arab advocates, by their own, strive to a more direct lobbying of political officials via supporting the favorites' prospective (Ben Hafsa, 2014) ; or opposing and sometimes suing them. Thus, Terry (2005) mentions that members of Arab Americans organized The American Task Force on Palestine (ATFP) were sent to Washington to gain political endorsement for Palestinian cause.

The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) also" has participated in meetings with each president and obtained access to top government officials" ("United States," 2015, p. 218).

Similarly, Arab American anti-Discrimination (ADC) has a personal contact with official actors in U.S. Government such as the Congress, the White House, the State and Justice Departments, to favor the aspirations of the citizens ("Arab Americans anti-Discrimination," 2017).

Thereby, the candidate Jesse Jackson was one of the Arab lobby receptive. In particular, he was a forthright defender of Palestinian question ("United States," 2015).

Additionally, President Jimmy Carter claims that:

The Arab lobby had pressured him mightily while he was involved in the peace negotiations between Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. They [Arab Americans] have given all the staff, Brzezinski, Warren Christopher, and others, a hard time. ("United States," 2015, p.33)

Moreover, "on July 19, 2005, The Hill reported that Dutton (a lobbyist for Saudi Arabia) had worked assiduously to persuade Congress to approve two major arms sales to that nation" ("United States," 2015, p. 33).

All the notes mentioned above suggest that the Arab lobby has entered upon the process of inside lobbying.

1.3.5.2. Indirect lobbying

According to Marrar (2009), most of Arab American political activists give preference to indirect methods in order to lobby the American policy makers. He also adds:

Their staffs compose press releases, track policy dynamics, recruit donors, allies, and organizational members, while at the same time trying to act as the liaison between the Arab American community, its government, and the general public. One of the most important functions of pro-Arab representatives is to speak at civic forums in the hope of manipulating sentiment in favor of their preferences. This takes place not only through regular appearances at various media and institutional outlets throughout the country, but also by responding to phone calls and other electronic communiqués from parties interested in the standpoint of the Arab American community. Pro-Arab personnel also engage in debates with opposing factions, particularly those representing pro-Israel interests, and provide data not readily accessible in the mainstream. (Marrar, 2009, p. 85)

In addition, Terry (2005) states that previously, a professional lobbyist was costly hired to endorse Arab issues so that they can attain political advocates. In this context, Terry mentions an example, although it was proved to be a futile experience, for the outside lobbying strategies:

In the wake of the 1990 Iraqi invasion, Kuwait hired the lobbying firm Hill and Knowlton to publicize Iraq atrocities, but several of their more egregious claims were quickly proven to be fabrications, thereby causing embarrassment and doing more harm than good. (Terry, 2005, p. 51)

Moreover, the fundamental role of the researches and studies, as an indirect technique, is extremely asserted for Arab advocacy groups, especially when NAAA dealt with the library on Congress to make a report which smoothed the AWACS path (Koleilat, 2014).

The Institute of Palestine Studies also tried to adopt this way through publication of books and studies for the animation of Palestinian legacy (Terry, 2005).

A more central actor in the process of lobbying which Arab advocacy groups defect in is grassroots base, however, they endure to gain it by trying "to develop sympathies among the general public if it is to use public opinion or the electoral process as a means of influencing U.S. policy" ("United States," 2015, p. 217).

In this regard, Ben Hafsa (2014) claims that Arab lobby "works principally to mold public opinion in a variety of ways such as writing books and press articles, winning to its side well-known chroniclers, discrediting distorted information, and so forth" (p. 515).

Furthermore, Marrar (2009) attaches much weight to the media as a part of the outside lobbying mechanism. He states "as stories from the West Bank and Gaza made their way into the print and electronic media, pro-Arab advocates reached out to fellow Americans to convey Palestinian suffering under Israel's control" (p31).

Terry also concurs with Marrar's words by the claim of the Palestinian American scholar Edward Said "We still have no understanding of the power of the media and what

you might call the “cultural work” of civil society ... And Israel has just announced another \$100 million campaign to improve its image. And we do nothing"

(Terry, 2005, p. 52).

Away from all of these expected operations, Rosen (2010) notes that Arab advocacy groups possess another useful arm for lobbying U.S. government. He says:

It is the Europeans, especially the British, French, and Germans, that are the most influential Arab lobby to the U.S. government. The Arabs know this, so their preferred road to Washington often runs through Brussels or London or Paris. Nabil Shaath, then Palestinian Authority foreign minister said in 2004 that the European Union is “the ally” of our choice. (p. 18).

European countries have long-term, strong and flexible ties with United States, except for Russia, due to their common principle and views (Rosen, 2010).

In the other side, Arabs have built thick relationships with the Europeans so that they can rely on them to be the peacemakers and to allay the tension between them and Israel (Rosen, 2010). He refers to the Israeli Requests of \$10 Billion in U.S. Loan guarantees for Soviet immigrants, and claims that the deal failed due to the European interference.

George H. W. Bush was vacationing at his family's summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine, in late August 1991 when British Prime Minister John Major and his wife Norma visited. It was the kind of informal quality time directly with the president, unmediated by aides and advisers that makes European leaders so influential on issues like the Middle East. Major had just told the Egyptian press that Israeli settlements, including those in

East Jerusalem, were "illegal" and "damaging" to the peace process, and he wanted Bush to stand up to Israel. (Rosen, 2010, p. 22)

In short, Arab advocacy groups have been involved in all sorts of lobbying in order to obtain access to the American policy makers.

1.4. Major Arab American Advocacy Organizations

As any ethnic group, it was difficult for Arab Americans to adopt the American life. Therefore, from the late 19th century, churches, clubs and cultural organizations were founded in order to maintain the Arabic identity and help Arab immigrants to accommodate the American society. Yet, they were not recognized on the national level. Nevertheless, only in 1960s Arab American political organizations started to emerge, especially after the defeat of the 7-days war of 1967 (Terry, 2005).

1.4.1. Middle East Institute (MEI)

Middle East Institute (MEI) is the ancient institution that speaks on behalf of Arab Americans in Washington. It was created in 1946 by the scholar George Camp Keiser and the former U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter. It has mainly sought to provide reliable sources, authentic information and analysis which stretch Middle East notions across the United States. It has gained a noticeable respect; therefore, many scholars who have had a good relation with lawmakers, have supported MEI in respect of participating in the decision making process ("Middle East Institute,"1946).

1.4.2. Arab American Association

It was the first organization that paved the way for Arab American political foundations since 1960 ("Arab American National Museum,"2018).

1.4.3. Arab American University Graduates Association (AAUG)

After the Arab Israel war of 1967, Arab American scholars and students were impelled to confederate in what is known as Arab American University Graduates as the first national organization that speaks for the Arabs, in particularly, Arab Americans on the educational level ("The Association of Arab American University Graduates," 2010).

This Association is a profitless organization created in 1967, it is exempted from tax. AAUG is devoted to filter the image of Arab people through promoting educational and cultural information and encouraging American people for better realizing the real Arab world concepts. It was dissolved in 2007 ("The Association of Arab American University Graduates," 2010).

1.4.4. The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA)

The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA) was founded in 1972. Terry (2005) claims that " it lobbies the U.S. Congress and writes to the White House and Congress on specific issues of import to Arab Americans and the Middle East"(p. 61). Hence, it is considered as the first organization that was admitted as an Arabic lobby (Scholten, 2017).

1.4.5. Arab Americans Anti-Discrimination (ADC)

The organization of Arab Americans Anti-Discrimination emerged in 1980 by the former Senator James Abou Rezk. It Advocates Arab Americans Anti-Discrimination, inhumanity or any racist practices ("Arab Americans anti-Discrimination," 2017).

1.4.6. Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS)

Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) is a nonprofit organization founded in 1971. It encompasses the interest of Arab immigrants in different spheres which facilitates for them the adjustment of the American mainstream.

Access provides services for whole American community too through its national institutions; Arab American National Museum (AANM) and National Network for Arab American Communities (NNAAC) ("Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services," 2014)

1.4.7. Arab American Institute (AAI)

Arab American institute (AAI) is a non-profit and a nonpartisan organization which was established in 1985 under the leadership of James Zogby, its main concern is to elevate the Arab Americans political participation ("Arab American institute,"2009). Despite the varied circumstances that boost the emergence of Arab Americans, their unified goal is to promote the Arabic agenda within the American policy.

1.4.8. Arab American Political Action Committee (AAPAC)

Arab American Political Action Committee (AAPAC) was created on January, 1998 by Arab American professionals group. It is a nonprofit organization. It is also separated from other organization or any interest groups in America. Its main objectives are arranging and encouraging the political participation of Arab Americans, assisting Arab American candidates who pursue to win a seat in branches of the government, lobbying in the interest of the issues that are approved by the Arab American community, and providing financially the congressional candidates ("Arab American Political Action Committee,"2013).

1.4.9. American Task Force on Palestine

American Task Force on Palestine (ATFP) is a profitless institution that was founded in 2003 in Washington. ATFP's founder is Ziad Asali. It seeks to advocate the issue of self-determination and statehood of Palestinians in the American national interest to end the long-lasting Palestinian–Israeli conflict through building a peaceful and secure

Palestine state. ATFP chiefly pursues to make powerful working linkages with central offices, such as the government departments and agencies, Think Tanks, and the media. It has strengthened the tie between the US, Palestinian, Israeli and Jordanian governments hoping to achieve its advocacy objectives ("American Task Force on Palestine, "n.d).

1.4.10. Saudi American Public Relation Affairs Committee (SAPRAC)

Saudi American Public Relation Affairs Committee (SAPRAC) is a Saudi American organization created in 2016 by Salman Alansari; it is located in Washington DC. Alansari aspires to refine the sophisms about Saudis. Thus, SAPRAC pursues to develop the Saudi American political and economic relationships through maintaining, basically, a strong grassroots base which will contribute in enhancing the Saudi case in US foreign agenda ("The Saudi American Public Relation Affairs Committee," 2018).

1.5. Scope of American Foreign Policy

The influential role of the United States on the international arena inspires researchers to deliberate on the scope of American foreign policy; herein, understanding the basics of conducting foreign policy process is the major area of study.

1.5.1. Definition

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

In other words, foreign policy "refers to the goals and actions of the U.S. government in the international system. Thus foreign policy may be what the U.S. government wants to achieve, and the steps taken in that regard, toward other international actors. (n.d., p. 3)

Nonetheless, the distinction between foreign and domestic policy is clearly depicted in the words of Kaarbo, Lantis, and Beasley (2012). They maintain that:

"Foreign" is meant to apply to policy toward the world outside states' territorial borders, and "domestic" is meant to apply to policy made for the internal political system. Going to war with another country, signing an international trade agreement, or aiding a rebel insurgency in another country are examples of foreign policy. Taxes, education standards, and civil rights are examples of domestic policy (p.2).

The security of the country, its citizens and its allies is high subject on the American foreign agenda (Albright, 2000).

Besides that, economic and ideological interests are also involved in the foreign affair which is meant to promote democratic values, global environment as well as corporation with all allies against new transnational threats, such as environmental degradation, narcotics and terrorism (McKeever & Davies, 2006).

1.5.2. Foreign Policy Decision Makers

According to the American Constitution, the foreign policy process is divided between two governmental actors: the executive and legislative branch.

1.5.2.1. The Executive Branch

The Executive branch of U.S. government is considered as one of the major actors in conducting the foreign policy.

1.5.2.1.1. The President

Owing to the constitutional power, presidents have the access to foreign policy since they are the commanders in chief "and they must sign and implement legislation that is related to foreign policy that passed through Congress" (U.S. Const. art. I, § 3). They also have the power, with the consent of the senate, to make treaties and nominate ambassadors. They have the right to appoint some other senior foreign policy officials without the confirmation of the Senate. The post of National Security Adviser is a good example ("The Foreign Policy," n.d).

1.5.2.1.2. The Cabinet

The Cabinet in the United States is consisting of the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense. The secretaries officially appointed by the president to assist him in making decisions concerning the foreign affairs (Watts, 2010). As it is mentioned in Article II, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, "when called into the actual Service of the United States; he [president] may require the opinion... of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments" (§ 1). So, the cabinet is considered as an advisory body to the head of the state to aid him exclusively controls the foreign policy formation.

1.5.2.1.2.1. The Secretary of State (SOS)

The Secretary of State (SOS) is designated by the president of the state with the consent of the Senate. It is serving as the adviser to president in formulating the U.S. foreign policy. Moreover, it handles the negotiations with overseas representatives, ambassadors and ministers to reach harmony and conciliate the treaties in the external affairs. It coordinates and oversees U.S. governmental activities abroad; it informs the Congress and U.S. citizens regarding the international diplomatic relations with other countries (Watts, 2010).

1.5.2.1.2.2. The Secretary of Defense (SOS)

The Congress ratified the National Security Act of July 1947 to shape the secretary of defense that is made up of the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the Department of the Air Force. Along with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Its main roles including form strong foreign military forces to be able to cope with issues internally and externally; it consults the president on military matters pertaining to the conflicts throughout the world (Kinnard, 1980).

1.5.2.1.3. National Security Council (NSC)

National Security Council includes "the president and vice president, the secretaries of state and of defense, and advisers such as the director of the CIA and the Joint Chiefs of Staff" (Watts, 2010, p.201). In the last four decades, it was approved as "the assistance to the president for national security affairs" (McCormick, 2010, p.377), as well as it is considered as the chief formulator of the foreign policy. The council, appointed as the advisor to the president on military affairs, can take political or military action to settle the international disputes (McCormick, 2010).

1.5.2.1.4. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

The CIA's principal role is collecting, analyzing, assessing and distributing the foreign intelligence information to the President and senior U.S. government policymakers to boost in building decisions related to national and international safeguard. It collects information from newspapers, magazines articles, television broadcast or any available open sources about intelligence issues. Then, intelligence analysts scrutiny the collected information and write a report to responsible authority to formulate the U.S. policy towards countries (Gates, 1987).

1.5.2.2. The Legislative Branch

American constitution has authorized the legislative branch over foreign policy. According to Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, that Congress has the power to declare wars, keep armed forces, control international commerce ratify treaties and agreements, also sets the laws which frame the foreign agenda. Besides that, Congress is either involved in appointing some cabinet members, such as ambassadors and diplomats as well as "has the general legislative power and the power to appropriate funds, called "the power of the purse" (Carter & Scott, 2008).

1.5.2.3. Non-Governmental Actors

Policymakers are sometimes subjected to interest groups, public opinion, mass media, and Think Tank in taking foreign policy decisions.

1.5.2.3.1. Interest Groups

Truman (as cited in Jayapalan, 1991) defines interest groups as a band of people who share fundamental attitudes. They assemble for the sake of advocating for their various interests.

Advocacy groups, including economic, public and ethnic groups, attempt to influence the public policy through an array of strategies. Hence, their concerns will be promoted in the foreign agenda.

They use tactics, such as framing the issue and shaping the terms of debate; offering information and analysis to elected representatives (who may not have the time to research the issue himself or herself); and monitoring the policy process and reacting to it through disseminating supplementary information, letter writing campaigns, calling for additional hearings or legislation, and supporting or opposing candidates during elections ("Who Makes U.S. Foreign Policy," n.d., para. 2).

1.5.2.3.2. Public Opinion

The voice of the people can have a significant impact on foreign policy decisions. Abraham Lincoln (as quoted in Hopley, 2012) notes, "public opinion in this country is everything" (para. 1). A common attitude in America is that public opinion opposed the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and ended the war. The pervasive concern is the ability of the government to silence the public. So, it has to bow to the public pressure when it takes

some crucial decisions relating to domestic or foreign crisis. In short, public opinion is a driving force in conducting the American diplomacy (Holisti, 1996).

1.5.2.3.3. Media

A commonly shared belief is that the media has a decisive influence on U.S. politics. It is directly affecting the foreign policy agendas. It attracts the attention of driving forces to an internal or external affair via televised hearings, television coverage or other electronic tools; Congress might react to an international crisis to end conflicts or reach harmony (O'Hefferman, 1991).

1.5.2.3.4. Think Tanks

One of the main nongovernmental actors affecting foreign policy is the Think Tank. It is a research institute which provides studies and analysis that treat the political concerns; consequently, it has a say in the foreign affairs.

Haas, a former Director of Policy and Planning of U.S. Department of State, writes that the Think Tanks "generate new thinking among U.S. decision-makers, provide experts to serve in the administration and Congress, give policy-makers a venue in which to build shared understanding on policy options, educate U.S. citizens about the world, and provide third-party mediation for parties in conflict" (2002, p. 5).

The United States has become a foremost force and a member of many international organizations in the world; it politically and diplomatically affects the arena of global affairs. The U.S. foreign policy pursues to safeguard peace and protecting human rights; seeks to impose international justice framework; and navigates global conflicts.

1.6. Conclusion

The theoretical framework was discussed in this chapter. It provided a short history of the birth of Arab American community who traced their existence in United States from the late 19th century. Besides that, it included the dimension of the Arab advocacy groups that have been existed since 1951, and became an integral part in the formulation of the American foreign affairs. Moreover, the Arab lobby pursued to affect the governmental policy makers who probably would make their issues as a legislative action. They as well strived to change the instilled beliefs of American public concerning the terrorism issue. Furthermore, it showed the main strategies adopted by Arab advocacy groups in affecting the U.S. foreign policy. They have been involved in all sorts of lobbying, direct and indirect lobbying, in the sake of obtaining the access to the American policy makers. Finally, the chapter shaded the light on the scope of American foreign policy in which the major foreign policy decision makers are identified; like the president, the congress, the public opinion, the mass media and the Think Tank.

2. Chapter two

Arab Advocacy Groups: Success, Failure, and Prospects

2.1. Introduction

After discussing the theoretical framework of the Arab advocacy groups and the U.S. foreign policy actors, this chapter points out two cases of study; the first one deals with the case of success; Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) Deal and the second one tackles the Judaizing the Jerusalem's issue that is considered as the failure case. Then, the arguments behind their failures are made, in addition to their future prospects.

2.2. A Case of Success: Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) Deal

The major case where Arab lobby had an overweight on the American foreign affairs was the sale of Airborne Warning and Control Systems aircrafts known as (AWACS) to Saudi Arabia in 1981.

During Regan period, Saudi Arabia engaged in \$8.5 billion arms sale with the USA. The sale includes five known as AWACS aircrafts to monitor movement in the skies and to direct friendly fighter planes in combat, as well as equipment to improve the performance of 62 F-15 (Mohr, 1981, para.4).

AWACS transaction was one of the greatest challenges which faced the oil lobby due to the oppositions of Congress as well as the Jewish lobby.

Because of the Jewish lobby efforts, American Congress, at first, opposed the deal (Laham, 2002). Moreover, Simpson notes (as cited in Koleilat, 2014) Israeli prime minister had personally interfered in blocking the sale. Therefore, The House of Representatives rejected the deal by a margin of 301 to 111, and Reagan lost any hope in the House and focused on the Senate (Sperling, as cited in Koleilat, 2014, p.128).

Hereupon, the Saudi side applied both direct and indirect advocacy strategies to win the arms sale. Koleilat (2015) agrees that Arab advocacy organizations played a key role in persuading the Congress to ratify the deal. In the context of direct lobbying, they relied upon Prince Bander relationships with President Regan, who later succeed in obtaining the approval of Congress.

On the other side, Arab organizations spent efforts on preparing studies and researches that exhibit the significance of the deal for the American national interest. Besides that, they strived also to organize the support of the business community in addition to the hired advocacy groups which were involved in lobbying the President to affect Congress.

The Saudis successfully profited from the media too in order to ensure the acceptance of the arms purchase among the Americans, thus, NAAA achieved the hoped aim indebted to its Executive Director David Sadd's efforts (Koleilat, 2015). As a result, "The Senate voted 52 to 48 to permit the sale of AWACS planes and other air combat equipment to Saudi Arabia" (Mohr, 1981, para.1).

However AIPAC tried firmly to counter Arab advocacy organizations, the latter worked in harmony to gain the sale which was marked as the most essential achievement of Arab lobbies on the American foreign agenda.

2.3. A Case of Failure: Judaizing the Jerusalem's Issue

On December 6th 2017, Trump has officially declared in his short speech that delivered at the White House that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel.

2.3.1. Judaizing Jerusalem's Issue

Paul (as quoted in Dunn's book, 2009) defines the concept of judaizing as "to adopt (characteristically) Jewish way of life" (473). In other words, judaizing means assimilating to the culture, the belief, the religion, and the values of the Jewish. Additionally, Rosenthal (1996) clarifies that judaizing Jerusalem is "The Israelis...trying to judaize Arab East Jerusalem" (para. 1). Deeply, Israeli authorities have also tried to invade Al-Quds city attempting to change the demographic landscape of the occupied East Jerusalem at the expense of the Palestinians who are living in Jerusalem.

On December 6th 2017, Trump has announced in a short speech, delivered at the White House, "I have determined that it is time to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel," he adds, "While previous presidents have made this a major campaign promise, they failed to deliver. Today, I am delivering" (Borger & Beaumont, 2017, para. 3). He asserts that Jerusalem will be officially the diplomatic capital of Israel, "Today, Jerusalem is the seat of the modern Israeli government. It is the home of the Israeli Parliament, the Knesset, as well as the Israeli supreme court." He adds. "It is the location of the official residence of the prime minister and the president. It is the headquarters of many government ministries" (Borger& Beaumont, 2017, para. 21). This sudden decision is delivered because Trump has endorsed on the Act of 1995 Jerusalem Embassy that was repeatedly invoked by the precedent American presidents. Hence, he orders the department of state to move the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (Borger & Beaumont, 2017).

2.3.1.1. The Reason behind Trump's Decision

The key promise of delivering the Jerusalem as the Israel's capital and transforming the diplomatic mission of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem has been resolved in his presidential campaign. After winning the presidency, Trump delays 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act only for six months then he implements his determined pledge. The rationalization of the taken decision can appear in his presidential election, he has diligently endeavored for the support of some influential Zionist lobbies. Many individuals support him financially by investing millions of dollars in different forms of his electoral campaign such as the billionaire Sheldon Adelson, who has donated twenty millions of dollars to Trump's PAC to influence him to recognize the Jerusalem as the capital of Israel ("policy brief,"2017).

2.3.1.2. Israel Policy in Judaizing Jerusalem

Since its occupation of Palestinians territories in 1967, Israel was continuously planning to annex the holy city and Judaize it. Its chief goal was forcing the Arab Jerusalemites to abandon. Moreover, Jewish policies pursued to insulate Jerusalem from other cities of Palestine; and dictating its system of sovereignty and racism over Arab population ("How Israel is Judaizing," 2017).

The other measures Israel applied included building the separation wall that made Jerusalem part from the other cities expanded to the West Bank, surrounded the towns and split the villages from each other. As a result, many Palestinians Jerusalemites are detached from the other neighbors, furthermore they can't build their homes unless the municipality grants their permits, but almost it refuses to oblige them to move away ("How Israel is Judaizing," 2017).

Israel's purposes further to reinforce its policies in the occupied East Jerusalem by imposing new schemes that extend its control over the city, and block any Palestinians' trial in getting to the Israeli settlements.

2.3.1.3. Arab-American Advocators' Reactions

One may think that Trump's decision of Judaizing Jerusalem will evoke furious reactions from Arabs around the world. They will demonstrate and build their efforts to rescind the decision and mobilize the international public opinion toward their issue. Disappointedly, Arabs have kept yielded on the matter that should be strongly addressed in the negotiating table with Israeli side. Arabs admit defeat because they are devoid of courage to chiefly put forward the aspiration of the Palestinian nationalism and reach that destination, the two-state solution and Jerusalem remaining a Palestinian capital.

That feeling of failure reverts to the Arab lobby which stands unable to be a forceful political opponent to the Israel lobby which hampers the final peace agreement. However, many attempts have been made by Arab lobby that is to say, Arab American organizations to openly pull the public opinion and secretly lobby the policymakers to favor the main interests of Palestinians and reach eventual agreement concerning the two-state solution (Marrar, 2009).

On December 6, 2017, ADC has firmly denounced the decision of the U.S. President Donald Trump to deliver Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem. Trump reckons that his solution will settle the conflict between Israel and Palestine, as his own words point out the fanciful explanation "We are not taking a position of any final status issues, including the specific boundaries of the Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, or the resolution of contested borders" (Borger & Beaumont, 2107, para. 8). Namely, transforming of U.S. embassy to Jerusalem is the best

compromise, as he alleges, fulfills the long-term peace process of Paletinian-Isreali struggle ("ADC Rejects Trump's Attempt," 2017).

Trump's announcement will evoke a critical situation that has disastrous impact and may escalate the official reactions at the local and international levels. Israel takes over the East Jerusalem that is considered as one of the central concerns for the Palestinians who supposedly have the right to determine its destination. Unanimously, the fate of Jerusalem is always placed on the negotiating table between the two conflicting sides, aiming to reach an agreement. Apparently, the annexation of Jerusalem by Israel is inconsistent with international law and conventions. Israeli leaders confirm that Jerusalem has become an Israeli part that deeply has entrenched over the years in Zionist thought as the capital for the Jewish people ("ADC Rejects Trump's Attempt," 2017).

The decision of Trump Administration will provoke violence, instead of achieving reconciliation between parties in dispute, and reaching to the final peace agreement. Besides to that, this resolution will hinder any possible steps on the process of peace. However, the U.S. policy will not be seen credible as a diplomatic driving force across the globe ("ADC Rejects Trump's Attempt," 2107).

AAI also makes it clear regarding the U.S. embassy move and the unlawful appropriation of the Palestinian East Jerusalem; the idea of judaizing cannot be taken out of its context, that is to say, the hegemony of Israel over East Jerusalem, expelling the native habitants, destroying their homes, canceling their residency and taking over their holdings were not clear-cut reasons for Trump's administration to recognize such violent actions as illegal or even describe Israel as an occupier of Palestinian lands. Worse than all, Trump confirms that Jerusalem is unnegotiable concern, that is Israel's own and the Palestinians have no rights in Jerusalem (Baddar, 2018).

Trump's decision has terribly encouraged the Israeli authority to escalate its criminal acts against Palestinians, enacts new laws to push the Palestinian residences out of Jerusalem and prevents the Israeli departure from any part of the Jerusalem. Apart from the injustice practiced on Palestinians, Israel military harms the Palestinian protestors through ruthless attacks. The Deputy Director, Omar Baddar, claims that the embassy transformation is yet an unconsidered resolution by Trump Administration that causes disastrous implications, which inevitably lead to extensive loss of human life and material damage (2018). He adds, "We condemn this decision in the strongest terms, and call on "the adults in the room", both in Congress and the White House, to find constructive measures to reduce the damage resulting from the irresponsible actions of this administration"(Baddar, 2017, para. 3).

Moreover, James Zogby, the president of AAI, has strongly condemned president Trump's statement, then he couldn't remain as silent as many Arab leaders. In the article for CNN press, Zogby denounces the American decision and regards it as a flagrant corroboration which will prove a further Israeli violence against the Palestinians. According to Zogby:

The opening of the US Embassy in Jerusalem is dangerous, reckless and cruelly insensitive to the Palestinian people. The smiling Israeli and American guests at the opening ceremony on Monday -- juxtaposed with the deadly protests occurring on Gaza's border, where Israeli military forces have killed dozens of demonstrators -- only highlights how removed from reality the Trump administration is.

(Zogby, 2018. Para. 1)

Zogby, in an interview for MSNBC, goes on to say that the ruthless declaration failed to respect Palestinians' rights and deprives them of a decent life. There is a severe need to negotiate the Palestinian Israeli conflict instead of aggravating the situation, but America, as Zogby says, "has never been willing to deal with it because basically they don't see Palestinians as equal people to the Israeli Jews" (Zogby, 2018, 00:5).

In addition, Zogby writes another article for AL-Ahram Weekly Press. Herein he outlines the incentives to Trump's announcement. Thus, it is mainly an ideological and ethnic conflict in which the priority is only for the Jewish. James concludes with a pertinent claim; he states,

While Americans remember 7 December, the date of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, as “a day of infamy”, Arabs and Palestinians may well feel the same about 6 December — the date President Donald Trump delivered a fatal and fateful blow to peace and justice in the Holy Land (Zogby, 2018, para. 9).

The above mentioned is regarded as indirect tactics which try to manipulate the American voice since it has a decisive role in the American foreign affairs. Yet, the Arab American advocacy organization, once more, failed to advocate for the Palestinian cause or at least to reduce the brutal practices against the Palestinians.

2.4. Limitations and Prospects of Arab Advocacy Groups

There are many factors that constrain the efficiency of the Arab Advocacy groups. However, signs of hope are lying ahead.

2.4.1. Limitations

Disappointedly, the word 'Arabs' terrifies the American citizens who draw a picture of the terrorists and murders in their minds as a compelling description to the Arabs. This idea of terrorism has been instilled in the generations as well sharply increased in the last two decades. Even worse, any attacks or violent acts that happen in America, fingers will be pointed at the Arabs living there. Unfortunately, they become an easy scapegoat for their failures. Therefore, the fabricated image of Arabs has been counted as a convincing reason that hinders them, in many times, from affecting the U.S. foreign agenda and press all the Arab affairs on the ground.

The obvious point that many agree on is the strong effectiveness, whether positively or negatively, of the propaganda and the media in gaining or losing the issues that the lobbies in America are seeking to achieve. There are lobbies that truly understand the mechanism of social media and the propaganda and their influences in convincing the high authorities and the public opinion in the affairs strongly hoped to be expressed. The Israeli lobby is a prominent example as it succeeded in many times to voice the Jewish interests using propaganda and the media as a driving force.

Thus, AIPAC, an eternal enemy to Arab lobby, has stepped up its effort to shape the American perceptions of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it justifies its position to the American public that Israel never occupied Palestine and all its current policies in the Palestinian land are legal. It also works as the media watchdogs, controlling what American news media publish or broadcast if any televised coverage does not support the

Israel's favor, it attacks it. It used a racist propaganda in an attempt to demonize and distort the image of Arabs. As a result, the efforts of Arab lobby have not yet approached the effectiveness of the AIPAC, and namely it is difficult to capture a fair voice in American news to advocate its cases. In short, Pro-Israel lobby has occupied the American media and the American mind. So, dictating the American policy in the Middle East and gaining many issues for their behalf such as in the judaizing the Jerusalem issue.

The second factor which can reduce the efficiency of Arab advocacy groups in promoting the Arab agenda is the lack of coordination and coalition among the entire Arabs. Due to the fact that each Arab advocacy group separately lobbies for its own country's sake and favor, the Arabs now stand unable to counter the Israeli lobby and to reinforce their common values and interests. Moreover, the Arab countries compete with each other to make a superior secret diplomatic relation with U.S. authorities to keep its position high on the American agenda. Working disjointedly, each one on its own, cannot lead to an effective result and touch every vital foreign policy actor. Therefore, it is difficult for their issues to be heard.

Moreover, the Arab lobby has no grassroots base support for its position. This is due to their lack of the techniques of communication with the American public at large. Hence, they have failed to build a strong relationship that may pave the way to persuade the Americans' minds to guarantee their support for their cases. In addition to the lack of the grassroots, they apply narrow, temporary methods and plans which they adopt only if a critical situation happens. Definitely, the creation of a lobby requires a long-term process and ongoing strategic planning to involve the U.S. government and the general public.

Within this respect, Koleilat (2014) states:

In addition to the fact that the instances of success of Arab lobbying on major issues such as the AWACS episode were not due to the use of foreign lobbyists, but to other factors, including pressure from the President and the economic interest involved, as the deal meant jobs in the various districts. The role of the lobbyist is to formulate the right narrative in order to orchestrate a base in support of the issue at stake (p. 210).

On the other hand, and as a matter of fact, the Palestinian case is a common issue that unifies all the Arabs. It is considered as the most powerful tool for the Arab lobby to take a revenge from the enemy and return back their dignity. Almost, it has received more sympathy and support from the domestic and abroad Arabs, who adhere to keep it on the top of their concern and express it on the American agenda.

The external events have significant impact on reducing the degree of the influence of the Arab lobby in the United States. For instance, “the deal of the century” that is announced by the U.S. President Donald Trump, who has tried to involve the relevant Arab parties, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan that have common borders with the Palestinian territory to end the complicated conflict between Israel and Palestine.

But the reality is quite different, the Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi exerts extensive efforts to convince Jordan, which has an opposing attitude on the suggested decision, to join the “deal of the century” discussions attempting to reach a harmony concerning the final peace agreement between the Palestinians and Israelis as Trump asserts (“Egypt makes efforts to influence,”2018).

After a long discussion, all the parties, U.S., Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan, agree on the items of the deal that proposes splitting the Palestinian territory and

exchanging some cities with that countries. It is a new attempt to liquidate the Palestinian issue since it is a deal in which the Palestinian side has been ignored.

The perplexing point here is that the Arab lobby did not condemn that decision or cancel it. This is because the three Arabic countries, which have endorsed the deal, have given up on the question of Palestine, in particular, the Jerusalem's issue for their own benefit. The other reason is that Israel is a main player in the deal. In short, the Arab lobby cannot effectively influence the corridors of American power in the light of a huge disappointment and a division of the major Arab countries.

2.4.2. Prospects

If the Arab advocacy groups will to attach more weight to American foreign policy, they need to focus on one clear issue that gains the sympathy of both domestic and external supports. They have also to work on grassroots base; therefore, much time, huge money and extensive efforts will be devoted on that issue.

The Arab lobby has eventually recognized that staying silent is not an option. It is a form of defeatism that should be outed. So, the political lobbying must start at the grassroots. This point is adopted by SAPRAC organization that pursues to develop its political and economic relationships with America through maintaining, basically, a strong grassroots base that can extensively help in affecting the U.S. government.

At the same time, the Arab advocacy groups should share their values and interest not merely in their own websites, but trying to use all kinds of social media as well as the propaganda that can be a strong bridge to the American authorities in order to manipulate their decisions, also to gain the support of the general public.

In this regard, the real future for the lobbying of the Arab advocacy groups in the United States will not be able to define a coherent vision for the future of the region unless

the Arab lobby and the Arab world speak with a single voice of the issue they may face in the future.

Previously, the Arab lobby overcame all the difficulties to gain the AWACS Deal, and was able to compete the Zionist lobby, AIPAC, thus voicing its statement on the ground eventually. Currently, that effective influence in the global arena of the Arab lobby is dwindling barely to be nonexistent due to the repeated failures and the inability to reunify all Arabs on one side to strengthen its position over its eternal enemy, AIPAC.

2.5. Conclusion

The practical part went through pointing out two cases of study, the first one dealt with the case of success; Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) Deal that witnessed the victory of the Advocacy groups by which the Israel lobby was defeated to counter them. However, the second case tackled the Judaizing the Jerusalem's issue in which the Arab lobby was unable to affect the U.S. foreign agenda. Therefore, they failed to keep the Jerusalem as a Palestinian capital. Finally, the arguments behind their failures were made, in addition to their future prospects.

General Conclusion

The Arab advocacy groups refer to the groups of Arab members who band together within the U.S. community, which seek to influence not only the domestic concerns, but also the foreign affairs as well. So, the theoretical framework of this study provided a historical overview pertaining to the birth of Arab American community and the origin of the Arab advocacy groups in the United States. Besides, a detailed description was presented in which the aims and the characteristics of the latter were explored. Furthermore, their main strategies in manipulating the U.S. foreign policy were identified. Then, the foundations of their organizations are discussed. It is ended up with the scope of the American foreign policy in which the major foreign policy decision makers were tackled.

The Arab advocacy groups adopt various tactics in the sake of winning the consent of the U.S. policy makers. However, their influence remains a controversial matter due to the sovereignty of the Israel lobbies and the situation which is distorted by the falsified image of the Arabs as "terrorists". Thus, this research was conducted to investigate the impact of the Arab advocacy groups on shaping the American foreign policy. In doing so, this study assessed the success and the failure cases of the Arab advocacy groups and measured the extent of their efficacy on the frame of U.S foreign agenda on the level of Palestinian question and the Saudi American relationships. To fulfil the research's objectives, both descriptive and historical methods were utilized.

In the practical part of the study, the hypothesis was proved to be valid through data description. After examining the Arab lobby, it can be concluded that the Arab advocacy groups had inefficaciously affected the American foreign policy. Nevertheless, the only case that witnessed their success was the AWACs deal as a result of the gruelling inside and outside lobbying. They sought to build a strong private relationship with the vital actors of the decision making process such as the president and the pentagon.

Yet, their coalition did not last for long term, after the AWACs deal was implemented, the coalition broke up. So, they were unlikely to speak with a unified voice.

That is to say, both direct and indirect strategies were ineffective. On the other hand, they failed to develop a positive agenda that could reinforce their persuasive arguments to have an impact on U.S. foreign policy.

For a successful lobbying in the future, the Arab advocacy groups need to adopt new effective strategies. They should direct the public opinion into the Palestinian issues in the region to gain their support and sympathy. Therefore, they can build strong grassroots to push policymakers in the US to resolve the two-state solution, which is the official stance of the US government. Furthermore, they had better adopt a similar approach and strategies of the Israel lobby had examined in the early years.

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المخلص

تسعى هذه الدراسة لتقصي دور الجماعات الضاغطة العربية في توجيه السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية. بموجب التعديل الأول للدستور الأمريكي يُسمح للأميركيين بمن فيهم العرب الأمريكيون بتقديم التماس إلى حكومتهم. ما خول للعرب الأميركيين تشكيل جماعات ضاغطة تهدف للضغط على الحكومة بما يخدم مصالحهم. وعليه تستخدم اللوبيات العربية مختلف الاستراتيجيات من اجل الاستحواذ على حصة الأسد في الاجندة الخارجية للسياسة الامريكية وفق ما يخدم مصالح حكومات بلدانهم الأم بما فيها القضية الفلسطينية. إلا ان الأبحاث الهائلة حول جماعات الضغط الإسرائيلية الأمريكية - التي تسعى أساساً لمجابهة العرب- ضيقت حيز البحث الأكاديمي حول الجماعات العربية. مما شكّل لنا حافزا للقيام بهذا البحث الذي من شأنه أن يثري الدراسات حول اللوبيات العربية. و لتحقيق أهداف الدراسة يعتمد الباحثان على المنهج الوصفي ، إضافة للمنهج التاريخي. لقد أكدت نتائج الدراسة صحة الفرضية، و أثبتت أن تأثير جماعات الضغط العربية ليس بالفعّالية اللازمة كي ينجح في توجيه السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية.