

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE IMPACT OF ETHNIC GROUPS ON UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

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SPRING 2015

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for baccalaureate degrees in Political Science and History
with honors in Political Science

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of my thesis will be to examine the impact of ethnic concentrations on United States foreign policy. First, I will identify significant ethnic groups within the United States and provide some historical background into why they settled where they did. I will then examine their voting records in recent elections to determine an overall trend for each group, in each election. Next, I will determine each group's primary foreign policy objective. Using that foreign policy objective, I will analyze how they voted and how these voting patterns may have impacted the overall United States foreign policy during that given time period. Finally, I will analyze the methods used by each ethnic group to champion their primary foreign policy objective. Then using these ethnic group specific methods I will determine which methods are effective and why.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Speel for supervising this thesis and for all of the advice and guidance he has given me over these last four years. Without his help and words of wisdom I would not be where I am today. He has been one of the best mentors that I have ever had. I would also like to thank Dr. Roecklein, without his suggestions and revisions this thesis would not have been possible.

Chapter 1

Introduction

“Mr. Gorbachev tear down this wall”, is a quote from Ronald Reagan that will forever represent the fall of communism in Europe. The fall of the Soviet Union had a profound impact on United States foreign policy. It was the end of a dual power world and the beginning of a hegemonic world, a world where the United States was the world’s last remaining superpower. This had a major impact on the main foreign policy objectives of the United States. Prior to the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States had one major foreign policy objective and that objective was to stop the spread of communism, by primarily being Anti-Soviet. This policy objective had largely been in practice since the end of WWII, meaning that for about the last 45 years that objective had been the same¹. With the fall of the Soviets, the United States now lacked a clear, concise objective. The United States was free to pursue whatever foreign policy platform it wished because now it lacked a major enemy/threat. It was within this environment that more interest groups began to play a role in American foreign policy. This was the case because now the United States policy was much more fluid and apt to change. Prior to this time if an interest group sought a foreign policy outside of being anti-communist or perceived as not helping to combat communism, it was either rejected or seen as inconsequential, there are some

¹ Heindl, Brett S. "Transnational Activism in Ethnic Diasporas: Insights from Cuban Exiles, American Jews and Irish Americans." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39.3 (2013): 46382. Web

notable exceptions. It was only after the Soviets fell that interest lobbies could maximize their full effectiveness².

It is within this new environment that ethnic lobbies have been most effective, with some notable exceptions prior to the fall of the Soviets. Due to the pluralistic nature of the United States system, lobbying leaders has been effective in one way or another since the beginning of the United States, with ethnic lobbying becoming more effective following the Cold War³. Ethnic groups have used lobbying to promote their policy goals for decades. To understand their role in foreign policy and why they have been so effective, we must first flesh out what is meant by an ethnic group. For the purposes of this paper, I will use the existing literature to define ethnic minority groups as groups that “share a common in group connection coupled with a feeling of belonging to a common ancestral homeland⁴.” This definition is important to establish because it provides a stringent definition of what makes an ethnic interest group different from other interest groups.

The Cold War represented an abnormality in American Foreign policy, because of the direct Soviet threat that was created; there was a distinct and focused foreign policy objective. Prior to this, just as it is today, the United States as a democracy represents a patchwork of foreign policy objectives. Because of this patchwork, ethnic lobby groups have and had been able to sway foreign policy goals into their favor. Ethnic lobbying dates back to the very first democracies in ancient Greece where senators would be lobbied by different ethnic

² Ibid.

³ Heindl, Brett S. "Transnational Activism in Ethnic Diasporas: Insights from Cuban Exiles, American Jews and Irish Americans." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39.3 (2013): 463-82. Web

⁴ Rubenzer, Trevor, and Steven B. Redd. "Ethnic Minority Groups and US Foreign Policy: Examining Congressional Decision Making and Economic Sanctions." *International Studies Quarterly* 54.3 (2010): 755-77. Web.

groups on whether or not to go to war against another city-state.⁵ It is embedded in the very essence of a democracy. So, in summary the cold war was a brief pause in the history of United States foreign policy and today it has resumed its normal functioning which resembles a patchwork of policies controlled by elected officials that have to respond to ethnic lobbies in order to obtain their vote.

Ethnic groups can influence foreign policy through different methods of lobbying: direct lobbying, grassroots lobbying, coalition building and monitoring the policy making process⁶. First, direct lobbying is the most common and most well-known type of lobbying. This is the direct discussion with leaders by lobbyists, where the lobbyists attempt to influence the decision making of that leader. Grassroots lobbying is an indirect form of lobbying. This lobbying is characterized by making a decision maker aware of the group's position by flooding their office with letters, phone calls and/or petitions. This is when a group mobilizes individuals to take up this task, so that the leader believes that public opinion is on the side of the group. This can also include the targeting the media for support. Coalition building is when groups partner with other groups on a specific issue to make their lobby stronger. This makes it harder for a leader to refuse to listen to a lobby because they are not just one group, but multiple groups and have more resources and power together. Finally, monitoring policy is an important type of lobbying. It is impossible for leaders to be up to date on every single issue that is at hand in the world. This lobbying strategy makes the leader aware of the issue that is affecting their group and through making this leader aware of the problem seeks to persuade the leader to fall in line

⁵ Gurbanzade, Rafiga. "The Influence of Ethnic Lobbying." *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*. International Strategic Research Organization, 8 Aug. 2012. Web. 4 Apr. 2015.

⁶ Zarifan, Julien. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Society*, Vol 51, No5, Oct. 2014, 503-512

with the group's position on that specific issue⁷. This differs from direct lobbying because it does not have to entail direct contact with the policy-maker. It can include scholarship and briefing pamphlets that make a policy maker aware of the current issue without directly implying which side the policy-maker should be on. A good example of this would be providing a list of pros and cons on a pamphlet of United States intervention in a certain conflict. This pamphlet would include information from both sides, but lead the policy-maker to the desired decision by providing better arguments for that position⁸. Ethnic lobbies within the United States use all of these types of lobbying with great effectiveness; some groups use certain types better than others.

Ethnic groups and their influence can best be seen by examining the major ethnic lobbies within the United States. Using a survey conducted by David M. Paul and Rachel Anderson Paul from 2005 to 2007, the pair interviewed fifty four Washington Insiders and had them rank the influence a particular ethnic group had on foreign policy decision making. As a group this surveyed population had an average of 14.2 years each of foreign policy experience. From this study it was found that the top four most influential ethnic groups were: Jewish, Cuban, Irish and Armenian⁹. The top four most influential ethnic groups according to this survey will be used as the basis for the four case studies within this paper. These four were chosen because not only have they been ranked the most influential in this survey and many others, but because they represent a wide range of objectives and histories. They all have varying

⁷ Zarifan, Julien. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Society*, Vol 51, No5, Oct. 2014, 503-512

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Paul, David M., and Rachel Anderson. Paul. *Ethnic Lobbies and US Foreign Policy*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009. Print.

relationships with their ancestral homeland, from almost complete coordination in the case of the Jewish Americans to complete contradiction in the cases of the Cubans¹⁰. Due to their diverse backgrounds, they will provide a through representation of ethnic groups and their efforts to influence foreign policy decision making as a whole.

Sub-Chapter 1 (Literature Review)

The influence of ethnic groups on foreign policy is one of the least studied fields within political science scholarship. Much of this lack of scholarship originates from the fact that research into the study of ethnic groups is a precarious enterprise. Many scholars pursue other areas of interest for fear of backlash from other scholars, accusing an individual of being racist against a particular group. At the heart of this backlash is the fact that Jewish Americans make up one of the most, if not the most influential ethnic lobbying group in the United States. Within Western history there have been many profound cases of anti-Semitism and unfortunately there are vestiges of these beliefs in some parts of the world today¹¹. Due to this history, many scholars are afraid the study of ethnic group influence may cause some to label that individual as anti-Semitic, because any serious inquiry into the role of ethnic group influence will require the study of Jewish American influence¹². It is thus at this juncture that I will provide a disclaimer. The purpose of this essay is not to target any specific ethnic groups and judge their action or

¹⁰ Paul, David M., and Rachel Anderson. Paul. *Ethnic Lobbies and US Foreign Policy*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009. Print

¹¹ Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen M. Walt. *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007. 20. Print.

¹² Ibid.

inactions. The purpose of this paper will be to study the role of ethnic groups from an unbiased standpoint and analyze how their lobbying directly affects the foreign policy of the United States. The Jewish-American lobby will be studied as a case study because it is seen by most scholars as the most effective and successful lobby within United States history. It is for that reason and for no other reason that this group will be examined.

Current scholarship has examined many aspects of ethnic group lobbying. These studies have ranged from the Paul study that was referenced above to many others. The most common form of study that has been done is the survey method. There have been numerous forms of analysis that focus on examinations of changes in foreign policy and then making a connection to a specific ethnic group as well. For example, the failure of the United States to officially recognize the genocide of Armenians in 1915 by the Ottoman Empire is largely seen as a failure by the Armenian-American Lobby¹³. Julien Zarifan uses this results-analysis method in his study of the Armenian ethnic group in *The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on US Foreign Policy*. There have also been many studies that have focused on the correlation between campaign donations and foreign policy outcomes. Many of these studies have found a strong correlation among campaign donations by PACs (political action committees) and changes in foreign policy, especially those of a technical nature¹⁴. This was proved to be true in Rubenzer's study of the impact of campaign contributions by Cuban Americans on foreign policy outcomes¹⁵. One of the notable exceptions from the norm of studying policy decisions and tracing them to

¹³ Zarifan, Julien. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Society*, Vol 51, No5, Oct. 2014, 503-512

¹⁴ Rubenzer, Trevor. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests." *American Journal of Political Science* 55.1 (2011): 105-16. JSTOR. Web. 23 Sept. 2014.

¹⁵ Ibid.

an ethnic group, was a study conducted by Rubenzer and Redd. This study was conducted in 2010. This was an experimental study that used undergraduate students as the policy makers. They gave the students options to choose how to respond, as if they were elected leaders within the country. They found that leaders respond to highly mobilized ethnic identity groups. They also found that a potential reelection constituency is more important than just a geographically large population within a district, for the purposes of ethnic groups and their measurable influence¹⁶.

It is with this current basis of scholarship, that much of the research within this case study will be based. Using the four most powerful ethnic groups as case studies, this paper will examine their voting habits, their lobbying efforts and how these correlate into results. The hope is that a correlation between voting records and effectiveness in shaping foreign policy can be found. Lobbying strategies will also be examined to determine their effectiveness because an effective lobbying strategy coupled with a strong voting record will likely lead to a better chance of successfully pushing their individual position. The primary focus within the case studies will be on districts that contain large numbers of a particular ethnic group voting bloc and how that influences the decision making of their individual congressional representative. Congressional representatives will be a focus within this study because they tend to be easier to influence than the executive, especially for geographically concentrated ethnic groups¹⁷. This is the case because they tend to run smaller campaigns where these individual voting blocs tend to have the largest effects. The aim is to add to the scholarship by bringing in actual voting records rather

¹⁶ Rubenzer, Trevor. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests." *American Journal of Political Science* 55.1 (2011): 105-16. JSTOR. Web. 23 Sept. 2014.

¹⁷ Zarifan, Julien. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Society*, Vol 51, No5, Oct. 2014, 503-512

than just hypothetical ones, such as was the case with the Rubenzer-Redd study. Senatorial voting records will also be used when district by district populations cannot be found as well; the focus is the ethnic concentrations and how they affect votes in Congress. My expectation is that districts with large ethnic voting blocs will be the most likely to be receptive to lobbying efforts by ethnic groups. They will also be more likely to change their foreign policy votes based upon the objectives and views of the particularly, numerically strong group within their district. This study will help to complete a largely under-researched area of political science, by providing a more complete picture of how ethnic group efforts affect congressional decision-making and how the voting records of these groups affect these congressional decisions. Executive actions will also be explored to highlight an even greater national effectiveness when appropriate.

Chapter 2

Jewish Americans

“Other Special interest groups have managed to skew U. S. foreign policy in directions in their favor, but no lobby has managed to divert U.S. foreign policy as far from what the American national interest would otherwise suggest, while simultaneously convincing Americans that the U.S. and Israeli interests are essentially identical.”¹⁸ This has been the great achievement of perhaps one of the most powerful lobbies in the U.S. The power of this lobby is without question. The most powerful arm of this lobby has been its primary organization AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee). Throughout this paper, AIPAC will often be used to

¹⁸ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 55.Print.

describe the activities of the entire lobby since it is so dominant within the lobby. For instance, a National Journal study in March 2005, ranked AIPAC in second place in Washington's "Muscle Rankings." The Lobby was ranked higher than more well-known but non-ethnic lobbies, such as the NRA and UAW.¹⁹ To quantitatively appreciate the success that this lobby has had, one need not simply consult foreign policy decisions made by American lawmakers and officials. One can also consult the sheer degree of foreign aid which is devoted to Israel.

Israel has been the largest per capita recipient of U. S Foreign Aid for the last several decades.²⁰ Due to this immense power and success, it is the first case study that will be explored. It will be explored foremost because other lobbies will be compared against it. This is a useful comparison because all other ethnic lobbies strive to be as powerful as the AIPAC. The power of this lobby is derived from many factors. Such factors certainly include the highly effective organization of AIPAC, and the resources which this lobby is able to bring to bear on American government. There is of course an additional element in the case of AIPAC and its success. Israel as a democracy in the Middle East exudes American political values in that region of the world more than any other regime. At least part of the success of AIPAC then must be ascribed to the actual foreign policy interests or true national interest of the American government. However, this is by no means the entire story.

AIPAC also has unusually strong allies in American domestic politics, which have their roots in Evangelical religion. For a number of American religious constituencies, the fate of Israel is theologically linked to the convictions and aspirations of Christianity. Christian constituencies in the United States frequently believe that the success of the state of Israel is

¹⁹ Richard E. Cohen and Peter Bell, "Congressional Insiders Poll," *National Journal*, March 5, 2005; James D. Besser, "Most Muscle? It's NRA, Then AIPAC and AARP," *The Chicago Jewish Star*, March 11-24, 2005

²⁰ Newhouse, John. "The Influence of Lobbies on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 88.3 (2009): 73-81. Print.

directly linked to promises of Biblical prophecy. The Christian conservative Evangelicals believe that Israel is instrumental to Christian hopes for the return of the Messiah.²¹ With 77 percent of Americans identifying themselves as Christians²² and a large majority of those being evangelicals, it is no surprise these factors contribute to the influence of AIPAC. This is a complicated and rare strand in American domestic politics that enhances the lobbying impact of AIPAC in American governmental circles. In this respect, it can be pointed out; AIPAC is rather unique, as Christian religious communities have an independent interest in supporting a strong American presence in Middle Eastern affairs with a special mission to protect the Biblical heritage of American groups who are not Jewish.²³

In this part of my thesis, I am attempting to demonstrate the manner in which AIPAC functions as a sort of role model for narrow constituencies in the United States who wish to bend the policies of the American government in the foreign policy sphere. Yet there is still another highly unique factor that comes into play in AIPAC's strength. This factor is the legacy of the Holocaust, an event in World History so horrific and traumatic as to provide lawmakers and other sources of public opinion with additional reasons to safeguard the future of Israel in the tense and often dangerous Middle East. It was only after the Holocaust that the Jewish people were given their own state in Israel and rightfully so.

The Holocaust as an international catastrophe has had and continues to have a profound effect on the foreign policies of western governments. The specter of genocide lingers over the international political culture, and constitutes a genuine concern that American

²¹ Martin, William. "The Christian Right and American Foreign Policy." *Foreign Policy* 114 (1999): 66-80. Print.

²² Newport, Frank. "In U.S., 77% Identify as Christian." In U.S., *Gallup.com*. Gallup, 24 Dec. 2012. Web. 02 Jan. 2015.

²³ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007.55. Print.

lawmakers have which often does not directly emanate from the lobbying powers of AIPAC. The scourge of anti-semitism remains a chronic international and to some degree even a national problem in the United States; it is a source of government policy which often supports the interests of AIPAC, but which does not strictly speaking emanate from AIPAC. In this aspect, again, the fate of Israel can be found to exert various pressures on American officials which cannot be narrowly linked to the lobbying efforts of a particular ethnic group, but which certainly coincide with AIPAC's policy imperatives in many cases.²⁴

This brings us to a set of special circumstances which seem to attend to the influence of AIPAC, and to voices in the American foreign policy community which are critical of some financial packages to the state of Israel. The accusation of anti-semitism exerts a very powerful influence on the public debates in the area of American foreign policy, and makes it rather difficult to trace precisely the influence of the lobbying constituencies which are ethnically partial to the state of Israel. Anti-semitism is a matter of moral concern to a diverse array of American political constituencies, who must also highlight the influence of AIPAC in American foreign policy debates in some cases.

Sometimes, scholars argue, the accusation of anti-semitism is employed as a rather blunt instrument to enhance the foreign policy interests of Jewish lobbying organizations. According to Jeff Warner and Dick Platkin, "A key component of this attack on freedom of speech is the 'new anti-Semitism,' the claim that criticism of Israel is based on hatred of Jews. But the real purpose of the new anti-Semitism is to discredit and silence Israel's critics in the U.S. and elsewhere, even though comparable criticisms are common place in Israel, especially in

²⁴ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 44 Print.

such renown newspapers as Ha'aretz, the 'New York Times of Israel.'²⁵ It may be argued by some voices in policy debates that any initiative critical of or lacking in sympathy for Israel constitutes an anti-semitic gesture. This is powerful because any well-esteemed scholar would never want to be charged with such a claim. This is because the majority of scholars understand the history that follows that phrase and would never want to be associated with those ideals. In at least some cases, charges of anti-semitism may be employed without compelling evidence or as an auxiliary source of leverage for ethnic interest groups. It is often hard to make the distinction when dealing with anti-semitic charges whether or not these charges are of true moral concern or the impact of skillful lobbying. It is still however important to highlight this charge and that it could in some cases be used as a lobbying strategy in some limited groups.

Of course, there exist vestiges of anti-semitism within scholarship, but the majority of well-respected scholars are not anti-semitic. This charge however, gives the American lobbyists for Israel the power to discredit scholarly research in one breath. If enough pressure is exerted on a scholar for publishing criticisms of the Jewish American lobby, these claims can quickly ruin the reputation of that scholar. This is one of the many reasons why there is a lack of criticism of the Jewish American lobby, compared to other lobbies. This is also why many scholars are fearful to write on the Jewish American lobby.

For example, one of the most recent and comprehensive scholarly criticisms of the Jewish American lobby was by John Mearsheimer from the University of Chicago and Stephen Walt from Harvard University. The two claimed that the Jewish lobby was moving U.S. foreign policy away from U.S. national interests and instead closer to Israeli national interests.

²⁵ Warner, Jeff, and Dick Platkin. "The New Anti-Semitism, and the Campaign to Silence American Critics of Israel." *The War of Ideas in the Middle East*. Mondoweiss, 26 Aug. 2013. Web. 02 Jan. 2015

They argued that this was to the detriment of the United States and needed to be stopped.²⁶ The two were immediately labeled radicals and anti-semitic. Walt's colleague at Harvard, Alan Dershowitz, an avid supporter of Israel, wrote a response to their work, connecting them to anti-semitic factions and claiming their work was nothing more than a new conspiracy against Jews.²⁷ This charge by Dershowitz was published less than a month after the two professors published their work. This example shows the backlash that can come from the Jewish American lobby when they are criticized. There are many more examples of this happening; this just happens to be the most recent and high profile. It is this power to censor using the charge of anti-Semitism that has increased the power of the lobby, causing scholars to be fearful to criticize the lobby within the public discourse. This power to censor is unequalled by any other lobby, however this lesson in the use of history can be beneficial to other lobbies, such as the Armenian Americans who also had been the target of persecution in the 20th Century.

Another aspect of the Jewish American lobby that makes them the most powerful is their infrastructure. The Jewish American lobby has some of the best connections within the United States Government and is very well funded.²⁸ The primary driving force behind this well connected lobby is their primary organization, AIPAC. AIPAC's power comes from its ability to reward and punish legislators.²⁹ AIPAC dishes out these rewards and punishments in the form of campaign contributions. These campaign contributions when targeted towards a specific senator

²⁶ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 33. Print.

²⁷ Dershowitz, Alan M. *Debunking the Newest--and Oldest--Jewish Conspiracy: A Reply to the Mearsheimer-Walt "working Paper"* Cambridge, MA: Harvard U, John F. Kennedy School of Government Website, 2006. Print.

²⁸ Newhouse, John. "The Influence of Lobbies on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 88.3 (2009): 73-81. Print.

²⁹ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 42. Print.

or congressional member can have a major impact. AIPAC in the past has been prompted to reward leaders who support pro-Israel stances and punish those who are against them; these punishments were often large donations to the opposing candidate in an election.³⁰ AIPAC's influence penetrates much further than that, according to Douglas Bloomfield, a former AIPAC staff member, "It is common for members of Congress and their staffs to turn to AIPAC first when they need information, before calling the Library of Congress."³¹ Committee staff members also report receiving emails and calls from AIPAC daily. It is the power of the purse and the power of policy monitoring that make AIPAC so powerful. They dictate what the relevant issues for discussion will be by providing congressional members with their side of the story on issues; they then use the power of the purse to coerce members into following along with their agenda. In the words of former Senator Ernest Hollings, "You can't have an Israeli policy other than what AIPAC gives you around here."³² The power that AIPAC has over the Congress is very impressive compared to many other lobbies. Their power does not stop there.

AIPAC and the Jewish American lobby have a stronghold on the executive branch as well. This power stems from two main things, their campaign donations and their ethnic concentrations within the United States. First, the *Washington Post* in 2003 estimated that in some elections Jewish campaign contributions made up sixty percent of the Democratic

³⁰ Paul, David M., and Rachel Anderson. Paul. *Ethnic Lobbies and US Foreign Policy*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009. Print.

³¹ Hollings, Ernst. "Bush's Failed Mideast Policy Is Creating More Terrorism." *The Post and Courier* [Charleston, SC] 06 May 2004: n. pag. Print

³² Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 34. Print.

presidential private contributions.³³ This is just one example of the economic power that the Jewish American Lobby wields on the executive. Major contributions by the Christian Right can also be seen on the Republican side, especially among some pro-Israel Neoconservatives. This power of the purse has similar effects as the power of the purse had on the legislature, with punishments and rewards being rolled out at the lobby's discretion.³⁴ The Jewish vote is concentrated in California, Florida, Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania.³⁵ Of the top thirty largest United State House districts in terms of Jewish population, twenty-five of these districts are located within those five states.³⁶ Of those states, Florida and Pennsylvania were both considered "swing states" in the last election.³⁷ Swing states are very crucial when trying to win a presidential election. This causes many candidates to court Jewish Americans, because of where their population concentrations are located and also higher voter turnout rates magnify their power.³⁸ To see the importance of swing states and how close presidential elections can be, one only has to look back at the 2000 presidential election, where George Bush won by a very slight margin. According to the Federal Election Committee that margin was only 537 votes in Florida.³⁹ According to the United States Census Bureau, Jewish Americans make up a little less

³³ Edsall, Thomas. "GOP Uses Remarks to Court Jews (washingtonpost.com)." GOP Uses Remarks to Court Jews (washingtonpost.com). Washington Post, 1 Jan. 2003. Web. 14 Oct. 2014.

³⁴ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 66 Print.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ "Ancestry by State." United States Census Bureau. United States Government, 1 Jan. 2010. Web. 18 Nov. 2014.

³⁷ Stark, Caitlin. "By the Numbers: Swing States." CNN. Cable News Network, 1 Jan. 2012. Web. 17 Oct. 2014.

³⁸ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 55. Print.

³⁹ "2000 Presidential Popular Vote Summary Table." Federal Elections 2000. Federal Elections Committee, Dec. 2001. Web. 02 Jan. 2015.

than 3 percent of Americans or around 9 million people with around 600,000 in Florida alone.⁴⁰

Due to the nature of very close executive elections, presidential candidates often fall completely in line with policies advocated by the Jewish American lobby, for fear that funding can be cut off from them or that the candidates could lose valuable battleground votes.⁴¹ Presidents must not only deal with those two issues, but they must also work with a Congress that is restricted by the lobby as well; this was shown in the previous example.

These facts and examples help to explain how the lobby works and what it does, but to understand the lobby's power some examples must be used. The first example of their far reaching power is the Syria and Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act. This act was encouraged by the Jewish American lobby in early 2003. The major sponsor for this act was Elliot Engel from the 17th district in New York. This act threatened sanctions against Syria if it did not withdraw from Lebanon, give up its WMDs, stop supporting terrorism and take concrete steps towards a peace with Israel.⁴² The Bush administration had been against this bill at the onset; they had just invaded Iraq in March of 2003 and did not want to antagonize another Middle East power. Congress with the enthusiasm of the Jewish American lobby had other ideas. They passed the bill 398-4 in the House and 89-4 in the Senate.⁴³ Pressure mounted against President Bush and he signed the bill into law in December of 2003. This is important because

⁴⁰ "Ancestry by State." United States Census Bureau. United States Government, 1 Jan. 2010. Web. 18 Nov. 2014.

⁴¹ Engel, Eliot. "Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003 (2003 - H.R. 1828)." GovTrack.us. Civic Impulse, Web. 2003.

⁴² Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 60. Print.

⁴³ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 32. Print.

the Jewish American lobby took on the President of the United States and defeated him, a feat that most lobbies cannot accomplish.

Elliot Engel was representing New York's 17th district at the time. The 17th district at the time had the 10th highest Jewish population concentration of all house districts.⁴⁴ This is important to note because a connection can be made between AIPAC's endorsement and Engel's decision to sponsor the bill. Politically it was an easy decision for Engel because if he sponsored it, he could reap the benefits from AIPAC and the support of his Jewish constituents.

The next example of the Jewish American lobby asserting their power was when Israel launched Operation Defense Shield in April of 2002. President Bush opposed these actions and called for Israel to back down. As pressure from the lobby increased, Bush began to change his tone, calling the leader of Israel at the time "a man of peace."⁴⁵ Pressure continued to mount when the lobby went to Congress and prompted them to pass two resolutions, one in the House and one in the Senate. These resolutions stated that the United States "stands in solidarity with Israel."⁴⁶ The votes on these resolutions were 352-21 and 94 to 2 respectfully⁴⁷. Again the lobby had swung into action and again prompted Congress and the President to bend to their demands.

It is also worth examining the vote totals within these two examples. In both cases, over 90 percent of the House and Senate voted in favor of the bill or resolution that was in front of them. This is a rarity within Congress to have that much bipartisanship on a bill that was

⁴⁴ "Ancestry by State." United States Census Bureau. United States Government, 1 Jan. 2010. Web. 18 Nov. 2014.

⁴⁵ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007.28.Print.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

actually meaningful, let alone two bills. This speaks to the power and influence that the lobby had and continues to have.

Perhaps the most controversial Congressional vote within this past decade was the Iraq war resolution. Some scholars such as Walt and Mersheimer make the claim that one of the reasons that the United States pursued a war in Iraq was to support Israel and the interests of the Jewish American Lobby.⁴⁸ When examining the Iraq War Resolution, 81 of 208 Democrats voted for the Iraq war resolution, approximately 39 percent of Democrats.⁴⁹ While, 214 republicans out of 222 voted for the resolution or 96 percent.⁵⁰ However, in the top ten House Districts with the largest Jewish populations according to the 2000 Census⁵¹, nine out of ten elected officials voted for the resolution, seven out of the eight Democrats in this top ten voted for it. This means that for the Democrats within the top ten most populated by Jewish Americans, 88 percent voted for it compared to just 38 percent of all Democrats. In March of 2003, Congressman Jim Moran, a Democrat from Virginia, whose district is not in the top ten most populated by Jewish Americans made this comment at an anti-war forum: "If it were not for the strong support of the Jewish community for this war with Iraq, we would not be doing this (sending troops into Iraq)."⁵² The combination of the statistics and the comments by Congressman Moran would lead one to believe that the Jewish Lobby at least had some

⁴⁸ Mearsheimer, John, and Stephan Walt. *Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007. 25-27. Print.

⁴⁹ "H.J.Res. 114 (107th): Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 ..Senate Vote #237 -- Oct 11, 2002." GovTrack.us. Govtrack, 1 Jan. 2002. Web. 19 Nov. 2014.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ "Ancestry by State." United States Census Bureau. United States Government, 1 Jan. 2010. Web. 18 Nov. 2014.

⁵² Barrett, Ted. "Lawmaker under Fire for Saying Jews Support Iraq War." CNN. Cable News Network, 12 Mar. 2003. Web. 20 Nov. 2014.

influence on the decision to invade Iraq, a country that impacts the interests of Israel much more than the interests of the United States because of its close proximity.

The most recent action that the Jewish American Lobby has taken to sway legislators in their favor was the recent letter that 47 Republican senators sent Iran, warning them that a nuclear deal with the Obama administration would only be temporary. Indicating that as soon as Obama left office the deal would be null and void.⁵³ This letter comes on the heels of a visit by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to a joint Congressional session. At this joint session Netanyahu criticized President Obama for not pursuing a tougher stance against Iran, claiming that the negotiations were only allowing Iran more time to develop its nuclear program.⁵⁴ According to AIPAC, "Tough pressure brought Iran to negotiations and additional pressure will strengthen America's bargaining position. It is now essential that Congress take up new sanctions legislation to let Tehran know that it will face much more severe pressure if it does not clearly give up the option of developing nuclear weapons."⁵⁵ It was within these circumstances that the Senators drafted their letter. Of the Republican Senators in Congress, 47/54 signed the letter.⁵⁶ Sheldon Adelson, a strong wealthy supporter of Jewish American Interest groups, was rumored to have placed around 100 million dollars into Conservative leaning groups this past election cycle. Many of these figures are not public as many of the groups that Adelson donated to are not required to report their donors.⁵⁷ Adelson has publically voiced his opposition with the current United States negotiations with Iran; many of the

⁵³ Chen, Kelly. "Criticism, Some From The Right, Builds On GOP Letter To Iran." *The Huffington Post*. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 14 Mar. 2015. Web. 16 Mar. 2015.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ "Legislative Agenda." *AIPAC*. AIPAC, 1 Jan. 2015. Web. 16 Mar. 2015.

⁵⁶ "Here's a List of the GOP Senators Who Signed the Iran Letter." *Washington Post*. The Washington Post, 10 Mar. 2015. Web. 16 Mar. 2015.

⁵⁷ Stone, Peter. "Casino Tycoon Sheldon Adelson Takes \$100 Million Gamble on GOP Senate." *The Daily Beast*. Newsweek/Daily Beast, 3 Sept. 2014. Web. 25 Mar. 2015.

Republican Senators who are part of the new Republican majority in the Senate were helped by these groups during their elections. This letter may be a direct response to Adelson's donations that helped them win their elections. Only time will tell the impact that the letter will have on negotiations, however the ability to get a letter of that nature written takes considerable lobbying clout; this is because it is in direct defiance of the President of the United States and harms his ability to negotiate with Iran. Due to these facts, this is a significant lobbying achievement by the Jewish American lobby.

In conclusion, The Jewish American lobby is one of the most dominant and forceful lobbies in the United States. Its influence cannot be overstated. Its methods should be used as an example of how to conduct successful lobbying within any field, especially ethnic lobbying. Its connection to a larger electorate, its use of history and its infrastructure are unmatched in Washington. There are numerous other examples of its successes, but the most identifiable and clear-cut examples were used in this case study for the sake of simplicity. The Jewish American Lobby will be the benchmark for the rest of the lobbies that will be examined within this paper. It will be explained within the other case studies where the other ethnic lobbies fall short in comparison to the Jewish American Lobby. Understanding why this lobby succeeds in U.S. foreign policy making is crucial in understanding U. S. foreign policy.

Chapter 3

Armenian American Lobby

“Today let’s all stand together & remember the 1.5 million people who were massacred in the Armenian Genocide. April 24th, 1915.”⁵⁸ This was a tweet not by the leader of an Armenian American Lobby or a lawmaker on Capitol Hill, but rather by Kim Kardashian. For better or for worse she is one of the most recognizable Armenian Americans in the United States; with 14.5 million followers on Twitter alone, her reach is quite impressive.⁵⁹ Beyond Kim Kardashian, the Armenian American lobby has been one of the more successful lobbying groups in the last several decades. What makes the work of the Armenian lobby all the more remarkable is their relative small size; according to the US Census, people reporting Armenian heritage in the 2010 census was only five hundred thousand.⁶⁰ The Armenian American lobby groups put that number closer to 1.5 million.⁶¹ Regardless of whether the figure is half a million or 1.5 million, they still make up less than one percent of all Americans. Their success does not lie within their population size, but rather from many other factors. Their success as a lobby group comes from three major factors: their history, their historic split between two major lobbying groups, and their connections to prominent leaders, especially in California, and other lobbying groups; however, their success has not been absolute.

⁵⁸ Marcus, Stephanie. "Kim Kardashian Tweets About The Armenian Genocide." *The Huffington Post*. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 24 Apr. 2012. Web. 25 Nov. 2014.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ "Ancestry by State." *United States Census Bureau*. United States Government, 1 Jan. 2010. Web. 18 Nov. 2014.

⁶¹ King, David, and Miles Pomper. *The U.S. Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Policy Toward Armenia and Azerbaijan* *Journal of Armenian Studies*.8.1 (2004): 1-26. Web.

Foremost, Armenians have a tragic and unique history. Armenians were under the rule of the Ottoman Empire coming into the twentieth century. The Ottoman Empire was on the decline at this point and was doing all that it could to maintain its power. World War I broke out in Europe in August of 1914; the Ottoman Empire joined the war on the side of the Central Powers in November of that year. Once in the conflict, the Ottomans were struggling with internal unrest. In 1915 the Ottomans, who were fearful of the Armenians, rounded up as many of the Armenians as possible and led them on death marches to work camps and other locations. It is estimated that between one million and 1.5 million Armenians were killed in the process.⁶² One survivor described the Genocide as such: “Meskeneh was a horrible, horrible place. 60,000 Armenians had been buried under the sand there. When a sandstorm hit, it would blow away a lot of the sand and uncover those remains. Bones, bones, bones were everywhere then. Wherever you looked, wherever you walked.”⁶³ Once the great powers of Europe heard of these atrocities they declared them crimes against humanity. After World War One, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved and many former Ottoman states were granted their independence. Turkey took over as the successor to the old Ottoman Empire and destroyed many of the documents related to the Armenian Genocide.⁶⁴ The present day Turkish government refuses to label the Armenian massacre as genocide, but rather calls it a tragedy of war.⁶⁵ The current President of Turkey had

⁶² Tusan, Michelle. "The Armenian Genocide and Foreign Policy." *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* 94.2 (2014): 13-15. ProQuest. Web. 13 Nov. 2014.

⁶³ Missakian, Arpiar. "Armenian Genocide Resource Library for Teachers - Survivor Accounts." *Armenian Genocide Resource Library for Teachers - Survivor Accounts*. The Genocide Education Project, 2004. Web. 21 Jan. 2015.

⁶⁴ King, David, and Miles Pomper. "The U.S. Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Policy Toward Armenia and Azerbaijan" *Journal of Armenian Studies* 8.1 (2004): 1-26. Web.

⁶⁵ Gregg, Heather. "Divided They Conquer: The Success of Armenian Ethnic Lobbies in the United States." *Migration Seminar Series* (2002): 1-36. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Web.

this to say when asked about the Armenian Genocide in April of 2012: “the Armenian diaspora, after the 1960s, determined the incidents in 1915 as their resolute policy to pursue in order to keep their solidarity and stated that some parliaments, none of which can utter their ideas about the incidents even for a minute, reached unfair verdicts regarding the issue.”⁶⁶ Some remaining Armenians following World War I still reside in present day Turkey.

The Armenian population in Russia was granted its independence from Russia following World War One, but came under Soviet control in 1920, retaining its status as an independent state for only two years. This was until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 when Armenia again became independent. Due to the events of World War One and the instability after the war, many Armenians emigrated across the globe, creating diaspora groups across the world, especially in the United States.⁶⁷ This has created a policy goal for Armenians across the world as they seek to garner support for recognition of the Armenian Massacre as genocide.

Given this historical context, two major Armenian lobbies have formed in the United States. The competition between the two lobbies has made the Armenian lobby as a whole much more influential. These two groups, although not on purpose at first, have ended up being very complementary to each other through their differing structures. Their complementary power has been realized to a greater scale following the Cold War, when their policy goals became more similar.

⁶⁶ Gül, Abdullah. "A Joint History Commission Should Be Established to Look into the Armenian Allegations" *Presidency Of The Republic Of Turkey* .: Government of Turkey, 2012. Web. 03 Jan. 2015.

⁶⁷ Julien. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Society*, Vol 51, No5, Oct. 2014, 503-512

The first major Armenian American Lobby group to form was the predecessor to the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), which still exists today. Since the previous organization eventually became the ANCA, for the sake of simplicity, I will refer to it as the ANCA throughout to help keep it in a more modern context. The ANCA originally was formed to back the newly independent Armenia in 1918. The ANCA's goal was and is to promote "a united, free and independent Armenia."⁶⁸ The ANCA has been active in American politics since 1918. The ANCA is organized in a bottom-up organizational structure. Their focus started as a grass-roots operation and is characterized by numerous regional offices that garner support on issues of importance to Armenia. They engage in many email and writing campaigns by constituents to their respective law-makers on behalf of Armenian issues.⁶⁹ In addition to their grass-roots operations, they have historically focused on coalition-building with other ethnic lobbies; some of their ethnic alliances include the Kurds, Greeks and the Cypriots.⁷⁰ They use these coalitions to help win support for issues that are important to their cause, similar to vote-trading in Congress.

The other lobbying organization that works on behalf of Armenian Americans is the Armenian Assembly of America (AAA). The AAA was founded in 1972 by a group of wealthy, elite Armenian Americans. The AAA is organized in a top-down structure; they are very centralized and do most of their work out of their Washington, DC office. Upon their founding, they were a money generating organization, which focused on gaining the support of

⁶⁸ "About the ANCA." Armenian National Committee of America. ANCA, 1 Jan. 2013. Web. 20 Nov. 2014.

⁶⁹ Gregg, Heather. "Divided They Conquer: The Success of Armenian Ethnic Lobbies in the United States." Migration Seminar Series (2002): 1-36. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Web.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

wealthy Armenian elites and wealthy supporters of the Armenian cause.⁷¹ Their cause differed from the ANCA because they supported Armenians across the globe, while the focus of the ANCA was primarily freeing the Soviet Armenia. Their primary connections are not with grass-roots movements, but rather target prominent leaders who will support their cause, often with political contributions. Instead of building ties with other ethnic lobbies, the AAA has built strong relationships with both the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the United Nations.⁷²

The two groups were in opposition from their founding because they had different fundamental goals. The fundamental goal of the ANCA was to support Soviet Armenia and fight for its independence; while the goal of the AAA was to promote and aid all Armenian Diasporas regardless of their geographical location. Opposition between the groups came from competition for resources. The ANCA wanted to focus its resources on freeing Soviet Armenia, and the AAA wanted to focus its resources more broadly. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s there was stiff competition for support among Armenian Americans.⁷³

Following the Earthquake in Armenia in 1988 and the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, these two groups although still opposing each other, have seen their goals almost universally coincide. The earthquake brought the two sides together to help Armenians in need and the fall of the Soviets made Armenian issues more universal and less centered on dealing with the Soviet-run government. Today, both organizations support calls to recognize the

⁷¹ Gregg, Heather. "Divided They Conquer: The Success of Armenian Ethnic Lobbies in the United States." Migration Seminar Series (2002): 1-36. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Web.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Julien. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Society*, Vol 51, No5, Oct. 2014, 503-512

Armenian Genocide, support foreign aid to Armenia and oppose any United States measures to help Armenia's longtime foe, Azerbaijan.⁷⁴

Through these two distinct organizations and the more recent overlapping goals between the organizations, Armenian Americans have been able to use this competition to increase their clout. These two organizations have been more powerful in competition than they could have ever been together for a few reasons. First, their competition has forced the other lobby to work that much harder. Complacency could lead the other lobby to drive their lobby into extinction, meaning that members of the two lobbies work that much harder for survival.⁷⁵ Second, the two lobbies have structures that avoid redundancy and actually make the entire lobby stronger. With the opposing structures of one group being top-down and the other being bottom-up, the lobby can mobilize both the elites and the common person.⁷⁶ Double-mobilization helps the lobby as a whole garner more support. Third, the two differing types of coalitions help the lobby. The ANCA has other ethnic groups that can lobby Congress on behalf of the Armenians as well as with the Armenians; while the AAA has the UN and the US Holocaust Museum that lobby for international support for Armenian issues; this international support can then put more pressure on the United States.⁷⁷ It is thus important to realize, may it be luck or planning, that the two organizations with relatively the same goals have managed to complement

⁷⁴ Gregg, Heather. "Divided They Conquer: The Success of Armenian Ethnic Lobbies in the United States." Migration Seminar Series (2002): 1-36. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Web.

⁷⁵ King, David, and Miles Pomper. The U.S. Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Policy Toward Armenia and Azerbaijan *Journal of Armenian Studies*.8.1 (2004): 1-26. Web.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Julien. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Society*, Vol 51, No5, Oct. 2014, 503-512

each other and increase the power of the lobby while avoiding squandering of resources or inefficiency.

Now that the working of the Armenian lobby has been explained it is important to examine some of their successes and failures. This will provide insight into how these resources are used and puts into context their relative power in Washington.

Foremost, recognition of the Armenian Genocide has been one of the primary goals of both the ANCA and AAA. Both groups have lobbied the United States Congress to pass an official resolution to recognize the events of 1915 as genocide. There have been numerous resolutions proposed on the House floor to recognize the Armenian genocide. The most recent resolution that passed the United States House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee in March of 2010 caused the Turkish government to recall their ambassador.⁷⁸ The bill states that “The Armenian Genocide was conceived and carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923, resulting in the deportation of nearly 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men, women, and children were killed, 500,000 survivors were expelled from their homes, and which succeeded in the elimination of the over 2,500-year presence of Armenians in their historic homeland.”⁷⁹ The bill never came up for a vote on the House floor as the Obama administration encouraged the House not to put it up for a vote.⁸⁰ The Armenian lobby continues to push for the passage of a resolution on the Armenian Genocide; however the United States Executive is almost always against it. For instance, Obama as a senator and candidate supported labeling the

⁷⁸ Sabloff, Nicholas. "Armenian Genocide Resolution Approved: US House Panel Says Deaths Of Armenians Were Genocide." The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 04 Mar. 2010. Web. 14 Nov. 2014.

⁷⁹ "Text of Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution." *GovTrack.us*. GOVtrack, 2010. Web. 03 Jan. 2015.

⁸⁰ Sabloff, Nicholas. "Armenian Genocide Resolution Approved: US House Panel Says Deaths Of Armenians Were Genocide." The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 04 Mar. 2010. Web. 14 Nov. 2014.

events of 1915 as genocide, however once elected president and serving as commander in chief he has come out against it.⁸¹ The reason that Obama and presidents before him have come out against this resolution is because they wish to continue good relations with the state of Turkey, a NATO member. Turkey has been an area of military importance for many years for the United States and presidents do not want to strain that relationship by passing a resolution.⁸² This is one of the areas that the Armenians have fallen short in. The Armenians unlike the Jewish American Lobby do not have the power to convince the United States to act in the Armenian interest instead of the United States interest in this area. The Armenian lobby has been able to convince 30 states and a few cities to recognize the Armenian Massacre as genocide through a formal resolution.⁸³ This was a win-win for the states and cities because they gained the support of Armenian Americans, and their votes did not sacrifice anything because they lack any real foreign policy power.

Foreign Aid measured in per capita terms often shows the relative success of an ethnic lobby. Armenia is no exception to this examination. From 1990 to 1999, Armenia was the largest per capita US aid recipient among the Caspian Sea nations.⁸⁴ Much of this foreign aid was the direct result of lobbying by the Armenian Lobby. Armenian Aid was never truly in question. Through the power of the lobby and the continual reminder of the Armenian Massacre,

⁸¹ Julien. "The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *Society*, Vol 51, No5, Oct. 2014, 503-512

⁸² Sabloff, Nicholas. "Armenian Genocide Resolution Approved: US House Panel Says Deaths Of Armenians Were Genocide." The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 04 Mar. 2010. Web. 14 Nov. 2014.

⁸³ King, David, and Miles Pomper. The U.S. Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Policy Toward Armenia and Azerbaijan *Journal of Armenian Studies*.8.1 (2004): 1-26. Web.

⁸⁴ King, David, and Miles Pomper. The U.S. Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Policy Toward Armenia and Azerbaijan *Journal of Armenian Studies*.8.1 (2004): 1-26. Web.

many members of Congress were sympathetic to Armenia. Also, during this time it was the policy of the United States government to give aid to Soviet Successor states to help them break free from Russian influence. The efforts of the lobby may have pushed the aid package that Armenia got past the other nations, but it was assumed that Armenia would get some aid after the Soviet Union collapsed. The real policy goal of the Armenian lobby was not just to increase Armenian aid, but to restrict aid to their longtime enemy Azerbaijan.

The Freedom Act passed in 1992 was created to help the former Soviet states break free from Russian influence. The power of the Armenian lobby was seen in its ability to get section 907 added to the bill. Section 907 reads as follows: "United States assistance under this or any other Act (other than assistance under title V of this Act) may not be provided to the Government of Azerbaijan until the President determines, and so reports to the Congress, that the Government of Azerbaijan is taking demonstrable steps to cease all blockades and other offensive uses of force against Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh."⁸⁵ The Armenian lobby wanted to restrict aid to Azerbaijan and successfully convinced John Kerry to write this section into the bill. This showed the power that this highly organized lobby could wield. The important thing about this section is that its effect mattered very little to the United States at the time, so it was not seen how this provision would conflict with the United States' national interest. For Congress, this was a winning proposition because they could win the support of Armenian Americans while not risking the support of any other Americans, as there was no major Azerbaijani lobby at the time and most non-Armenians were ill-informed on this issue.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Kerry, John. "FREEDOM Support Act (Enrolled Bill (Sent to President)), Section 907." Library of Congress. United States Government, 1992. Web. 18 Nov. 2014.

⁸⁶ King, David, and Miles Pomper. The U.S. Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Policy Toward Armenia and Azerbaijan *Journal of Armenian Studies*. 8.1 (2004): 1-26. Web.

John Kerry was the author of Section 907, and this was not a coincidence; Section 907 was written because of the lobbying efforts by Armenian groups. As I noted above most Americans were ill-informed on this issue and were not concerned, one way or another. However, John Kerry was very concerned and this was because Massachusetts has some of the highest concentrations of Armenian Americans. The most notable is Watertown, Massachusetts. Watertown has the third largest metropolitan concentration of Armenian Americans in the United States.⁸⁷ Kerry wanted these Armenian votes in Watertown and across Massachusetts and knew that by writing Section 907 that he would receive them. His support and connection to the Armenian American lobby were shown clearly throughout his time in the Senate. Another example of how deep John Kerry's connection to the lobby went was when he was awarded for his support of the lobby in 2004, while he was running for President. An Armenian National Committee Press Release that came out on March 26 of 2004 states that: "the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) is sponsoring a major fundraiser in Beverly Hills for Democratic presidential candidate Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts."⁸⁸ The release goes on to state that: "ANCA supporters are among the leading contributors of the event, expected to raise over half a million dollars for the Kerry campaign."⁸⁹ This press release shows that not only was Kerry an Armenian supporter because of the large Armenian concentrations within his state, but also because of the political contributions that he did and could receive in exchange for his continued support of Armenian causes.

⁸⁷ "Cities with the Most Armenian Americans." *City-data Top Lists*. City-data.com, 1 Jan. 2013. Web. 10 Dec. 2014.

⁸⁸ Kassakhian, Ardashes. "ANCA LEADERS, FRIENDS SPONSOR MAJOR KERRY CAMPAIGN EVENT." *Armenian National Committee of America Western Region*. Armenian National Committee of America, 26 Mar. 2004. Web. 10 Dec. 2014.

⁸⁹ Ibid

The circumstances surrounding Section 907 have changed, however for two reasons. First, large oil deposits were discovered in the Caspian Sea region and in Azerbaijan. Second, 9/11 shifted the American Foreign Policy interests to combatting terrorism first and foremost. The discovery of large oil deposits prompted many congressional leaders to rethink their policy in Section 907. When a few large American oil companies signed deals with the Azerbaijan government for the drilling of these new oil deposits, the oil companies began to pour thousands of dollars into lobbying campaigns to repeal 907.⁹⁰ According to the United States Energy Information Administration, Azerbaijan was producing about 179,000 barrels of oil a day in 1997; By 2002, that figure had almost doubled to about 315,000 barrels of oil a day.⁹¹ 9/11 created the final blow for Armenian resistance. The Azerbaijan government offered their assistance in the new war on terrorism; they allowed the United States to use their bases and airspace for the War in Afghanistan.⁹² The Bush Administration argued that they should give the Azerbaijan government aid in return for their support of the War on Terrorism. The Armenian lobby continued to work to uphold Section 907, but they were defeated in 2002, when Bush lifted the restrictions.⁹³

These examples of the successes and failures of the Armenian lobby reveal something very important about the nature of their lobby when compared to United States interests, Historically if their policy goals did not interfere with United States Foreign Policy interests they generally got what they desired, Section 907 in 1992; However if their interests

⁹⁰ King, David, and Miles Pomper. The U.S. Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Policy Toward Armenia and Azerbaijan *Journal of Armenian Studies*.8.1 (2004): 1-26. Web.

⁹¹ "Azerbaijan." *U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA)*. US Government, 2014. Web. 04 Jan. 2015.

⁹² King, David, and Miles Pomper. The U.S. Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Policy Toward Armenia and Azerbaijan *Journal of Armenian Studies*.8.1 (2004): 1-26. Web.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

conflicted with the United States national interests they did not get what they desired, the failed genocide resolutions and 907 in 2002. This is an important qualification when comparing this lobby to the Jewish American Lobby because they often achieve their goals in spite of the United States national interest. The Armenian lobby should attempt to use the Jewish American lobby as a model on how to transform their interests into perceived United States national interests. Whether or not they can achieve this or not is currently unknown. The only way to know for sure if they can model the Jewish American lobby is if a direct attempt is made by one of the lobbying groups. Despite many of these shortcomings, the Armenian lobby is still a very effective lobby, especially given their small population size. The lobby brilliantly uses its dual organizations to its overall advantage, a feature which is very admirable and should be copied by other lobbies if they wish to be successful.

Chapter 4

Irish American Lobby

The Irish American Lobby is quite different from the previous two lobbies. The primary difference is that unlike the previous two case studies, it can be shown fairly clearly that the Irish American Lobby has been waning in influence over the past ten years. The modern Irish lobby is thus an important case study which many lobbies can learn a great deal from because what led to their fall is a subject that other groups can study and strive to prevent. Despite the lessons that may be learned, it may be less the fault of the lobby's practices and more so the result of

international political changes in Ireland and in the United States. The Irish lobby as a whole can be studied using three main periods, pre-1990s, the 1990s and post 9/11. These three time periods represent the fundamental shifts that the lobby underwent. Prior to the 1990's, the Irish lobby was slowly growing in political power, during the 1990's the lobby was at its peak of political power and ever since 9/11 the lobby's power has been waning.⁹⁴

Irish Americans have had a robust and long history in the United States. Irish Catholics began to immigrate in large numbers to the United States primarily in the 19th century. This immigration was motivated by economic hardship in Ireland and a quest for a better life in the United States. It was during this period that the well-known Potato Famine in Ireland between 1845 and 1852 occurred. This Famine led millions of Irish to immigrate to the United States. One Irish artist described the scene, "I saw the dying, the living, and the dead, lying indiscriminately upon the same floor."⁹⁵ Into the Twentieth Century, Irish Americans began to hold important political offices and became a significant part of American Society. They began to form their own politically active organizations as well as social clubs. Some examples of these clubs and organizations are the Ancient Order of the Hibernians and the Gaelic Athletic Association. These clubs and organizations allowed Irish Americans to participate in American Society, while still retaining aspects of their cultural heritage.⁹⁶ The Catholic Church was another entity that bound Irish Americans together, as the vast majority of Irish Americans were Catholic

⁹⁴ "From the Beltway to Belfast: The Clinton Administration, Sinn Fein, and the Northern Ireland Peace Process." *New Hibernia Review* 1.3 (1997): 23-29. Print.

⁹⁵"The Irish Potato Famine, 1847." The Irish Potato Famine, 1847. Eye Witness to History, Jan. 2005. <http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/irishfamine.htm>

⁹⁶ Cochrane, Feargal E. "The End Of the Affair: Irish Migration, 9/11 and the Evolution of Irish-America." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13.3 (2007): 335-66. Print.

when they immigrated to the United States. This strong cohesiveness has changed in the 21st century.

Irish Americans had an influential impact on American politics in the form of political machines in the 19th century and into the twentieth century. Political machines were notorious for doling out public funding and jobs in exchange for votes. These machines often had strong connections with organized crime. Irish Protestants who had immigrated to the United States much earlier than Irish Catholics were very involved in many municipal political machines throughout the country.

One of the most famous political machines was in Chicago. This particular political machine gained control of the city with the election of Edward Kelly, an Irish American Catholic as mayor of Chicago. Kelly was elected mayor through the support of large numbers of Irish Americans seizing control of the Chicago Democratic Party. This particular machine came about during FDR's New Deal; it used public funds and funds from organized crime to fund the machine's activities. The connection to Irish American organized crime provided much of the funding for the machine's activities where the New Deal funding was not enough.⁹⁷

Another prominent Irish American Political Machine was Tammany Hall; many Irish Americans were deeply involved in its operations from the early 1800s into the 1960s. One of the more famous Irish American heads of Tammany hall was Charles Murphy. Charles Murphy was the "boss" from 1902 to 1924. Murphy was the son of Irish Immigrants and

⁹⁷ Biles, Roger. "Machine Politics." *Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago Historical Society, Sept. 2005. Web. 22 Feb. 2015.

reformed much of the corrupt practices that had taken place under previous bosses, such as Boss Tweed. His reforms help keep Tammany Hall from being dissolved.⁹⁸

These two political machines represent an important characteristic of the Irish Americans that is distinct from the other case studies; this is that they have been involved in American politics for over 150 years. This makes them different because the other groups immigrated much later and thus have been involved for a shorter duration. This has had a profound impact on how each group lobbies.

One of the most prominent political families of the twentieth century, the Kennedys, had their origin in the workings of political machines. The Kennedys are of Irish descent; the family immigrated to the United States in 1849 from Ireland. Joseph P. Kennedy, the father of John F. Kennedy is famous for bootlegging during prohibition. Bootlegging and political machine worked hand and hand during prohibition. These two entities thrived off of one another because political machines would accept bribes not to arrest bootleggers; they could then illegally import alcoholic products into the cities that were run by machines and make a profit.⁹⁹ Following Prohibition, the Kennedys used their increased wealth and connections to expand their political power. He continued to use these connections and money to launch his sons' political careers, with John F. Kennedy becoming president.¹⁰⁰

Irish Americans participated in large numbers in the Civil War. Most Irish Americans who fought during the Civil War fought until 1865 and then laid down their weapons

⁹⁸ Allbray, Nedda. "Charles Murphy." *American National Biography Online*. American National Biography Online, 15 Feb. 2004. Web. 16 Mar. 2015.

⁹⁹ Whitehead, Philip. "The Bootleg Politician: He Could Have Anything He Wanted, except the Thing He Wanted Most. So Joe Kennedy Used His Money and the Vast Influence It Bought to Promote the next Generation. But How Had He Made the Fortune That Bought the Presidency." *The Independent*. Independent Digital News and Media, 11 Oct. 1992. Web. 08 Feb. 2015

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

and returned home, just as the Union army did. However some Irish Americans, who were well trained from their many years of fighting in the Union army, decided that they should stand up for the Irish cause. They called themselves the Fenian Brotherhood. Their goal was to invade Canada, which was controlled by the United Kingdom at the time, take it and use it as a hostage for Ireland's independence. This Brotherhood was a failure, but it launched multiple raids from 1865-1867.¹⁰¹

In 2013, 33,348,049 people identified as being of Irish Ancestry in America.¹⁰² Although, this number is second only to German Americans in ancestry, their relative political power has diminished since the late 1990s and especially since 9/11.¹⁰³ The crucial question is why did this occur? How did it occur among a group that has over 30 million people identifying ancestrally with it? As explained earlier this was largely the result of three distinct periods that shaped the lobby.

Irish Catholic Americans were growing in political clout throughout the twentieth century. The watershed moment that changed the platform for Irish Americans was when the Irish National Caucus (INC) was founded in 1974 by Father Sean McManus. Its mission statement is "Ireland too has the right to be one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."¹⁰⁴ This was a watershed moment for the Irish American Lobby because prior to the founding of the INC, the Irish Northern Aid Committee was the primary organization for the

¹⁰¹ "The Fenian Raids." Canadian War Museum. Canadian Museum of History, n.d. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

¹⁰² "2013 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates." *American FactFinder - Results*. US Census Bureau, 1 Jan. 2013. Web. 4 Jan. 2015.

¹⁰³ Cochrane, Feargal E. "The End Of the Affair: Irish Migration, 9/11 and the Evolution of Irish-America." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13.3 (2007): 335-66. Print.

¹⁰⁴ "Mission." *Irish National Caucus*. INC, 1 Jan. 2014. Web. 15 Jan. 2015.

Irish American Lobby.¹⁰⁵ The committee was founded by a former member of the Irish Republican Army. This set the tone for how the committee conducted its operations. Its primary goal at the time was to provide monetary aid to the Irish Republican Army, who was engaged in a conflict with the British. This led many in Washington to see the Committee as largely a group that was funding militants.¹⁰⁶ The INC was a more peace oriented group; their focus was not on raising funds to send to the Irish Republican Army, but rather to raise funds to lobby for the unification of Ireland and protection of Irish human rights. This effort was much more directed at Washington than it was at political violence in Ireland. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the INC promoted peace and did not send any of the money it raised in the United States to Ireland. Its logo of a dove on top of a shamrock stressed its nonviolent nature.¹⁰⁷

Due to this rebranding, the lobby began to see some tangible success. It was these more peaceful values that allowed the INC to gain support throughout Washington. Its most successful campaign in this period was the McBride principles. The McBride principles were based upon affirmative action principles in the United States and the Sullivan Principles for South Africa. The reason that they were modeled after these two areas is because the INC was hoping to connect the cause in Northern Ireland with the plight of minorities in the United States and the victims of Apartheid in South Africa.¹⁰⁸ According to the INC, the MacBride principles “require American firms with branches or other enterprises in Ulster to desegregate employees of

¹⁰⁵ Cochrane, F. "Irish-America, The End Of The IRA's Armed Struggle And The Utility Of 'Soft Power'" *Journal of Peace Research* 44.2 (2007): 215-31. Print.

¹⁰⁶ Guelke, Adrian. "The United States, Irish Americans and the Northern Ireland Peace Process." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 72.3 (1996): 521-36. Print.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

different religions and eliminate religious discrimination in jobs.”¹⁰⁹ These principles would and did impose economic sanctions on firms. The essence of these principles was to force the United Kingdom into passing a similar law. They would be forced into doing this because United States’ firms would refuse to do business with firms that discriminated based on religion.

Their campaign was somewhat successful as they managed to get the principles enshrined in the 1984 platform of the Democratic Party; however this did not lead to legislative action at the federal level. Throughout the late 1980s and into the early 1990s they did manage to get thirteen states to enact the principles into law; Massachusetts was the first in 1985 and Pennsylvania was the thirteenth in 1992.¹¹⁰ States could enact these laws because they would bar any company doing business in their state to do business with a firm in the United Kingdom that did not follow the same principles. This showed the growing power of the INC as they had been effective in 13 states, their power and influence would continue to grow into the 1990s.

The MacBride Principles were introduced on the Congressional floor in 1995 in the form of House Bill 470. The sponsor of the bill to make them federal law was Benjamin Gilman of New York’s 20th district. Joseph Kennedy II, Joseph’s eldest grandson also sponsored the bill. The bill had 35 total sponsors.¹¹¹ This shows that although the bill never came up for a vote, there were many congressional supports of the Irish Cause. Using just co-sponsors alone, that represents about 8% of congressional leaders who are not only willing to vote for the bill, but sponsor it.

¹⁰⁹ "MacBride Principles - Genesis and History - The Irish National Caucus." *The Irish National Caucus*. INC, 1 Jan. 2014. Web. 1 Jan. 2015.

¹¹⁰ Guelke, Adrian. "The United States, Irish Americans and the Northern Ireland Peace Process." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 72.3 (1996): 521-36. Print.

¹¹¹ Benjamin, Gilman. "House Bill 470." GovTrack.us. Civic Impulse, 2004. Web. 08 Feb. 2015.

The Irish Lobby managed to achieve a new level of political clout in the 1990s and this clout was highlighted by their ability to successfully lobby President Bill Clinton. The first factor that allowed the INC to successfully lobby Bill Clinton was the end of the Cold War. The Cold War had forced the United States to treat disputes in Northern Ireland cautiously; the Americans did not want to upset the British, their long standing ally against the Soviet bloc. However, following the end of the Cold War the United States could negotiate more freely and afford more push-back from the British. Of course, the United States did not want to antagonize its strong ally, but at the same time was more willing to criticize its practices than in prior years.¹¹² Second, the IRA as an entity began to seek a more peaceful resolution to their armed conflict. This sidelined the more militant Committee and provided an even greater role for peaceful organizations such as the INC.¹¹³ Also, during this time, a new Irish Interest group was formed; it was the Americans for a New Irish Agenda (ANIA).

The ANIA was composed of a more elite group; it included many wealthy donors from many diverse sectors. The ANIA lobbied Clinton directly when he was campaigning during the 1992 election. They proposed that Clinton become directly involved in Northern Ireland once he was President.¹¹⁴ Once Clinton took office, the ANIA continued to lobby him for support. In 1994 when a conference was being held in America on Northern Ireland, the organizers invited

¹¹² Cochrane, F. "Irish-America, The End Of The IRA's Armed Struggle And The Utility Of 'Soft Power'" *Journal of Peace Research* 44.2 (2007): 215-31. Print.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Cochrane, F. "Irish-America, The End Of The IRA's Armed Struggle And The Utility Of 'Soft Power'" *Journal of Peace Research* 44.2 (2007): 215-31. Print.

Gerry Adams, but the British Government strongly opposed this. Through the efforts of the ANIA, the visa for Adams was approved by President Clinton.¹¹⁵

President Clinton continued to be involved in issues pertaining to Northern Ireland; In 1995 Clinton visited Northern Ireland and in 1998 Clinton was a key player in the formation of the Good Friday Agreement. This Agreement ultimately led to the foundation of the current political system in Northern Ireland.¹¹⁶ This marked a hallmark achievement for the Irish Lobby as a whole because they were able to lobby the President and have him intervene in Northern Ireland, something that no American President had been willing to do prior to this.

President Clinton was influenced by the Irish lobby more than any President prior to him. There are a few reasons that the lobby was so successful with President Clinton. First, President Clinton needed the Irish American Vote. For example, in the exit polls following the 1992 presidential election, 47% of Catholics voted for Clinton compared to 43% of Americans.¹¹⁷ In the 1996 exit polls, 55% of Catholics voted for Clinton.¹¹⁸ Irish American Catholics still make up a large portion of American Catholics. Irish American Catholics play a key role in the Democratic party as well, even though political machines were gone by the 1990s, Irish Catholics still exerted substantial influence. This influence has been shown, especially in city centers such as New York and Boston. In 1900, 692,000 New York Residents were of Irish Descent. By 1990, 535,000 people were still of Irish Descent in New York City. New York City

¹¹⁵ O'Dowd, Niall. "Irish Power, Irish Politics." *Irish Voice* 1 Mar. 1995: 7. Print.

¹¹⁶ Cochrane, F. "Irish-America, The End Of The IRA's Armed Struggle And The Utility Of 'Soft Power'" *Journal of Peace Research* 44.2 (2007): 215-31. Print.

¹¹⁷ "Election Polls -- Presidential Vote by Groups." *Election Polls*. Gallup, 1 Jan. 2010. Web. 10 Jan. 2015.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

politics following political machines was still dominated by Irish Democratic leaders.¹¹⁹ Some of the major New York Irish Democratic leaders in the last 20 years have been: Brian Higgins (current U.S Representative), James D. Griffin(former Senator and Mayor of Buffalo New York) and George Pataki(former Governor of New York). All are from New York and have identified as being of Irish descent.¹²⁰ New York at the time was a microcosm for elements of the Democratic Party that still retained its connections to Irish Americans.

Another explanation for why Clinton acted and others did not is probably the creation of the ANIA. The ANIA as was noted earlier was composed of primarily wealthy individuals. These wealthy individuals were actively lobbying Clinton during the campaign; campaign contributions in 1992 and future campaign contributions in 1996 had to play a role in Clinton's decision making. It is hard to ignore a well-connected, wealthy group's ambitions when they have deep pockets to support their cause. The connections that these leaders had to the Democratic Party made their support even more important for Clinton to obtain, especially in city centers such as New York and Boston, with over half a million Irish Americans in New York City alone.¹²¹ According to the *Washington Post* in a 2013 St. Patrick's Day Article: "New York [state] has the most concentrated Irish population; 12.9 percent of its residents claim Irish ancestry, which compares to a rate of 11.1 percent of the country overall. Boston, meanwhile, claims the most-concentrated Irish population for a city: 20.4 percent."¹²²

Another example of the Irish American lobby's power in the 1990s was the case of Joe Doherty. Doherty was a member of the IRA that murdered a British Army Captain. He

¹¹⁹ Bayor, Ronald H. *The New York Irish*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996. Print.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Kliff, Sarah. "The Irish-American Population Is Seven times Larger than Ireland." *Washington Post*. The Washington Post, 17 Mar. 2013. Web. 3 Apr. 2015. .

fled to the United States after he escaped detention. Many Irish Americans called on the United States not to extradite him back to the United Kingdom. In 1984, a federal court stopped his extradition claiming that it was politically motivated. In 1990, over 100 members of Congress signed a petition attempting to stop his extradition again.¹²³ The Congressman that wrote the letter was Gary Ackerman. Ackerman represented New York's 7th district at the time. This support from Ackerman represented the long time Irish American support that came from the New York City Area, with a large population of Irish Americans still inhabiting the area as was stated earlier. Irish Catholic Americans supported the prevention of Doherty's extradition. This support and their large numbers likely prompted Ackerman to draft the 1990 petition.

Eventually in 1992, Doherty was extradited to the United Kingdom when the Supreme Court overruled the district court's ruling. This overwhelming support for Doherty even though he was what would be considered a terrorist today represented the political clout of the Irish American lobby at the time.¹²⁴

Given these successes in the 1990s, 9/11 and globalization have weakened the Irish American lobby. Foremost, 9/11 profoundly changed Americans' views on political violence. Although the IRA had agreed to the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 that changed politics in Northern Ireland, the IRA did not agree to a lasting cease fire until 2005. Due to 9/11, support for the IRA among Americans dropped very quickly during this period.¹²⁵ American involvement with any association that attacked an established state would have been political

¹²³ Maykuth, Andrew. "He Waits As The World Goes On Joe Doherty Says He Was A Freedom Fighter. The U.s. And Britain Say He's A Terrorist." *Philly.com*. Philly.com, 18 Mar. 1990. Web. 14 Mar. 2015.

¹²⁴ Cochrane, Feargal E. "The End Of the Affair: Irish Migration, 9/11 and the Evolution of Irish-America." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13.3 (2007): 335-66. Print.

¹²⁵ Cochrane, F. "Irish-America, The End Of The IRA's Armed Struggle And The Utility Of 'Soft Power'" *Journal of Peace Research* 44.2 (2007): 215-31. Print.

suicide at this point. Many Americans would have labeled the IRA freedom fighters prior to 9/11, but after many were inclined to see them as terrorists instead. The more militant faction of the IRA or the Real IRA, which split off from the formal IRA in 1997 and is still fighting in Northern Ireland, was placed on the United States Terrorist Organizations List on May 16, 2001.¹²⁶ 9/11 also shifted the foreign policy focus of the United States to the War on Terror and pushed all other objectives to lesser priorities, this included issues pertaining to Northern Ireland.

9/11 also profoundly influenced immigration and regulation of illegal immigration in the United States. An important phenomenon had occurred in the Irish Community during the 1990s, Irish immigration to the United States had changed. Prior to the late twentieth century, Irish Immigration had been based on economic necessity.¹²⁷ This began to change in the 1990s. The GDP of Ireland was about 50 billion in 1990. By 2001, their GDP had skyrocket to about 100 billion; in about 11 years their GDP had about doubled.¹²⁸ Given this change in the economy of Ireland, less Irish began to immigrate to the United States because it was not an economic necessity. The Irish that did immigrate were primarily doing so illegally because they came on short term visas and decided to stay past their visa dates. These illegal immigrants that stayed longer than allowed by law have had increasing difficulties due to post 9/11 immigration crackdowns.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ "Foreign Terrorist Organizations." *U.S. Department of State Terrorists*. U.S. Department of State, 1 Jan. 2014. Web. 18 Jan. 2015.

¹²⁷ Cochrane, Feargal E. "The End Of the Affair: Irish Migration, 9/11 and the Evolution of Irish-America." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13.3 (2007): 335-66. Print.

¹²⁸ "Ireland GDP 1960-2015." *GDP by Country*. Trading Economics, 1 Feb. 2015. Web. 1 Feb. 2015.

¹²⁹ Cochrane, Feargal E. "The End Of the Affair: Irish Migration, 9/11 and the Evolution of Irish-America." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13.3 (2007): 335-66. Print.

Even the legal immigrants that come to the United States are not joining the Irish American lobby groups as previous immigrants did. Much of this lack of interest is due to these immigrants being economically more well off than their ancestors were in previous years. They are coming from a wealthy Ireland and do not feel the need to create an Irish community in the United States, when they can fly to Ireland when they want to reconnect to their ancestral homeland.¹³⁰

In addition, to the Post-9/11 world, the Irish American Lobby lives in the Post-peace world for Northern Ireland. Yes, the RIRA is still active, but the IRA is no longer active and the RIRA is a much smaller group, which most people do not support in the United States. This post-peace world for Northern Ireland leaves the Irish American Lobby without a unifying cause. In the 1990's there was a direct cause and way for members to be involved in something that they felt was meaningful.¹³¹ The Irish American Lobby lacks that strong cause today. Without that cause and with falling numbers in terms of immigration, the lobby is losing power.

The lobby is also the victim of assimilation. Yes, most Irish Americans did not consider themselves Irish first and Americans second in the 1990s, but they expressed some sympathies for Ireland due to their heritage. The reason for this sympathy has vanished with the peace in Northern Ireland: so has some of the support for the lobby because most Irish Americans are not well-connected to Ireland. Without a direct event to activate their ancestral sympathy they are not concerned about Irish issues. Most are many generations removed from

¹³⁰ "From the Beltway to Belfast: The Clinton Administration, Sinn Fein, and the Northern Ireland Peace Process." *New Hibernia Review* 1.3 (1997): 23-29. Print.

¹³¹ Cochrane, F. "Irish-America, The End Of The IRA's Armed Struggle And The Utility Of 'Soft Power'" *Journal of Peace Research* 44.2 (2007): 215-31. Print.

Ireland and only supported Ireland because there was a direct need at the time; now they are less likely to champion Irish American causes on behalf of the lobby.

Expounding upon assimilation, Americans as a whole are less active in civic groups. In Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone*, he shows the overall decline in civic engagement from 1975-1998. According to Putnam, attending group meetings dropped by 58% over that 25 year period.¹³² Due to the fact that Irish Americans are generally well assimilated into American society and culture; it can be assumed that they will behave more like the general American population, especially as they become further removed from the first immigrant generation. This would help explain the drop off when combined with other factors explained above.

It is important to note that although in decline, the Irish American lobby still retains considerable political power. It still has the financial infrastructure and political connections to make it relevant. The power and influence that it exerted in the 1990s, shows that when its infrastructure is combined with a unifying cause it can wield considerable influence.¹³³

In conclusion, the history of the Irish American Lobby is a source of valuable information to all lobbies. It highlights how actions taken can strengthen or weaken a lobby. It also shows how outside influences, whether they are geopolitical or economic, can change the position of a lobby. Although, the Irish American lobby may be in decline today, an issue in the future could propel it forward. It is also important to note that although in decline, it still retains political power. It is yet to be determined if the Irish American Lobby can ever regain its prior prominence, but if any group can do it; why not the Irish?

¹³² Putnam, Robert. "About the Book." *Bowling Alone*. Robert Putnam, 1 Jan. 2015. Web. 1 Feb. 2015.

¹³³ Cochrane, Feargal E. "The End Of the Affair: Irish Migration, 9/11 and the Evolution of Irish-America." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13.3 (2007): 335-66. Print.

Chapter 5

Cuban American Lobby

The Cuban American lobby provides a drastically different perspective than any of the previous case studies. The lobby is not in state of political decline like the Irish American lobby is, but rather is undergoing a state of transformation. The lobby is currently shifting its policy aims in response to many diverse factors, with the chief factor being a demographic change within the lobby. Some parts of the lobby are advocating a complete reversal on previous positions regarding the Cuban Embargo. Although this process is not complete, it is important to understanding the modern Cuban American lobby in the context of ethnic lobbying. The Cuban American Lobby should be studied using three rough time periods of ideological thought. The first is when the anti-embargo forces were hardline Cuban-exiles. The second is the transition period with hardline Cuban exiles still retaining some power, but slowly losing their political power to younger Cuban Americans who expressed very different views. The third time period is our current one with younger Cuban Americans and more moderate migrants leading the Cuban American Lobby. Throughout all of these periods, the Cuban American lobby exercised significant political power and achieved many of their policy goals at the time.

Foremost, a large number of Cubans immigrating to the United States can be traced back to 1959. In 1959, Fidel Castro defeated his opposition in Cuba and took over the country. This was the result of a civil war that was fought between 1953 and 1959.¹³⁴ Much of Castro's opposition fled to the United States as political refugees. These refugees settled in the United States, with the largest number settling in Florida due to its geographic proximity to

¹³⁴ Rubenzer, Trevor. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests." *American Journal of Political Science* 55.1 (2011): 105-16. *JSTOR*. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

Cuba. The following year the United States enacted a trade embargo, which was expanded and made more restrictive in 1962. The embargo is still in effect today. From 1959 until the present, Cubans have fled to the United States as political refugees.¹³⁵ From 1959 until 2008, Fidel Castro led the communist country of Cuba. He has been accused of numerous human rights violations. Raul Castro, his brother took over for his ailing brother in 2008.¹³⁶

The Cuban Americans who immigrated following the 1959 defeat and into the 1990s represented a hardline ideology against Fidel Castro. This group of individuals was strongly in favor of upholding the Cuban Embargo. They created a diverse network of political organizations to lobby on behalf of upholding this embargo as well as exposing the abuses of the Castro government.¹³⁷ The Cuban American lobby became very powerful throughout the 1980s and 1990s. According to the Centre for Public Integrity, which is a watchdog group funded by the Carnegie Foundation and Rockefeller Family fund, the principle Cuban American lobby group, the CANF (Cuban American National Foundation), poured \$ 3.2 million into political campaigns from 1979 to 1997.¹³⁸

During this time period, the Cuban American lobby was united. They achieved many policy successes because of their financial and political clout. Besides its financial power, the lobby had one very valuable asset and that was its location. The concentration of Cuban Americans in Florida, a swing state in presidential elections, forced many on Capitol Hill to listen to their lobbying efforts. Perhaps the simplest example of this was the election of 2000. In

¹³⁵ Rubenzer, Trevor. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests." *American Journal of Political Science* 55.1 (2011): 105-16. *JSTOR*. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Horowitz, Irving Louis. "The Cuba Lobby Then and Now." *Orbis* 42.4 (1998): 553-63. *JSTOR*. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

¹³⁸ "Cuban Exiles Wield Big Stick, Watchdog Says Group's a Potent, Sometimes Fearsome Lobby, Investing \$3.2 Million into U.S. Politics." *The Globe and Mail (Canada)* 24 Jan. 1997, News sec.: 14. Print.

Florida, 82 % of Cuban Americans voted for President Bush.¹³⁹ Bush won the state of Florida by about 500 votes, which gave him the needed Electoral College votes to become president.¹⁴⁰ According to the 2000 Census, about 2/3 of the Cuban population lived in Florida, which numbered about 2 million at the time.¹⁴¹ This means that about 1.3 million Cuban Americans lived in Florida at the time of the election. If Cuban Americans voted at the same rate as all Americans which was 51.3% in 2000.¹⁴² This meant that about 660,000 Cuban Americans voted in the 2000 election. If Bush received 82% of the Cuban American vote that means that over half a million of Bush's votes were from Cuban Americans. This leads to the conclusion that without the Cuban American vote, Bush would not have won the 2000 presidential election.

Cuban Americans throughout that time period have supported Republicans, who have been strongly in favor of continuing the economic embargo. One example of the Cuban American lobby's power and influence during this time can be shown in the Helms-Burton Act of 1996. This act imposed stricter constraints on the Cuban Embargo. This was the case because it prohibited companies from doing business with Cuba and fined them if they were found to be doing so. This strengthened the embargo and was a major policy victory for the Cuban American lobby.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ "The Kerry Campaign Seeks Cuban-American Beachhead." *WSJ*. Wall Street Journal, 20 Sept. 2004. Web. 1 Mar. 2015.

¹⁴⁰ "2000 Presidential General Election Results - Florida." *2000 Presidential General Election Results*. Election Atlas, Mar. 2001. Web. 10 Feb. 2015.

¹⁴¹ "The Hispanic Population." Census 2000 Brief. United State Census Bureau, May 2001. Web. 12 Feb. 2015.

¹⁴² "National Voter Turnout in Federal Elections: 1960–2012." *Infoplease*. Pearson Education INC, 2013. Web. 18 Feb. 2015.

¹⁴³ Rubenzer, Trevor. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests." *American Journal of Political Science* 55.1 (2011): 105-16. *JSTOR*. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

The Helms-Burton act showed the power of the Cuban American Lobby to achieve legislative success. In the Senate, Florida was represented by a Democrat and a Republican at the time; both voted for the act.¹⁴⁴ As was mentioned earlier, Florida has a large number of Cuban Americans residing within it. However this shows that the Cuban American lobby's ability to achieve policy results went further than just the state of Florida. New Jersey, the state with the third highest Cuban American population had both of their senators approve the act as well.¹⁴⁵ Cuban American lobbying efforts allowed them to get the House, Senate and President to approve this act. Their support for the act transcended just Florida and showed their ability to garner support from other areas of the country.

During this time of domination by the pro-embargo forces there existed some dissention by some groups within the lobby. These groups would start to gain in political power throughout the 1990s and into the early 2000s. These groups ushered in a transition phase for the lobby. During this time, the lobby's dominant voice was still the anti-embargo voices, but a sizeable minority of anti-embargo forces began to show up with increasing political clout.

First, many Cuban American academics argued against the legality of the embargo. They argued that an economic embargo was simply illegal under international law. They went further claiming that not only was the embargo illegal, it was ineffective. The original purpose of the embargo had been to force Castro to abandon his communist state for a democratic one; this had not happened. They argued that the intent of the embargo had been lost many years ago because Cuba remained a communist state. They also argued that with the end of

¹⁴⁴ "H.R. 927 (104th): Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act." *GovTrack.us*. GOVtrack, 2001. Web. 20 Feb. 2015.

¹⁴⁵ "H.R. 927 (104th): Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act." *GovTrack.us*. GOVtrack, 2001. Web. 20 Feb. 2015.

the Cold War, Cuba was no longer a strategic threat for Soviet expansion because the Soviet Union was dissolved. Given all of these arguments, the embargo according to the majority of academics should be lifted.¹⁴⁶

Second, Cuban American business leaders have been arguing for many years that Cuba was a missed opportunity for business expansion. These leaders had argued that this untapped potential should be taken advantage of and while doing this, American values would also be exported. Many of these leaders wanted the United States to use the Chinese model that opened the door with the Chinese in the 1970s to be used with Cuba.¹⁴⁷

Third and most significant has been the demographic change among Cuban Americans, the Cuban exiles who immigrated to the United States in 1959 and in the 1960s have seen their numbers dwindle as they passed away within the last 10 to 15 years. They leave behind their children and grandchildren who have had drastically different upbringings. These children have spent most or all of their childhood in the United States and this has shaped their views on the embargo.¹⁴⁸ For these individuals, they were not subject to the Castro's regime, but rather just live with the reality that they are restricted from seeing their family members still in Cuba because of the Embargo. They also do not share the same hatred of Castro that their parents or grandparents harbored. These facts and many others have caused the majority of young Cuban Americans to be against the embargo.¹⁴⁹ As the number of young Cuban Americans continues to

¹⁴⁶ Horowitz, Irving Louis. "The Cuba Lobby Then and Now." *Orbis* 42.4 (1998): 553-63. *JSTOR*. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Marks, Alexandra. "Not Their Fathers' Cuban-American Politics." *The Christian Science Monitor* [Boston] 20 May 2003: 1. Print.

¹⁴⁹ "Cuban-Americans Urge New Approach to Cuba." *PR Newswire* [New York] 5 Sept. 2002: 1. Print.

increase, the number of hardline political exiles continues to decrease; thus causing a demographic shift within the lobby.

Perhaps nothing better represents this transition period as well as the death of the most prominent Cuban American leader, Jorge Mas Canosa. Mas Canosa was a very active Cuban American leader and has been credited by many as holding the growing opposition to the embargo at bay. When he died in 1997, this left a leadership void, which allowed many anti-embargo Cuban Americans to begin to speak out.¹⁵⁰ As they were allowed to speak out, they realized that many Cuban Americans shared their same sentiments.

As is the case with many movements the change from one policy goal to the opposite has been a slow transition. This is no surprise and can be explained by many different factors.

First, in American Society elderly residents vote at a much higher rate than younger residents do. For example, in the 2014 midterm elections 37% of voters were over the age of 60; while 12% were under the age of 30.¹⁵¹ This reflects a common trend in American elections of younger Americans voting at much smaller percentages than older Americans. This may explain the slow transition by politicians to the views of younger Cuban Americans. They will not transition to the younger Cuban American policies until a large enough voting block of Cuban Americans change their position.

Second, many of the leaders of the pro-embargo stance hold high-ranking positions within lobbying organizations and also wield considerable financial clout. Even though the Cuban Americans' opinions were changing throughout the 2000s, many of the older Cuban

¹⁵⁰ Rubenzer, Trevor. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests." *American Journal of Political Science* 55.1 (2011): 105-16. *JSTOR*. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

¹⁵¹ "Where Are the Millennials? Midterm Voters Skew Old." *NBC News*. NBC, 04 Nov. 2014. Web. 20 Feb. 2015.

Americans were financially more established than were the younger Cuban Americans. This allowed them to donate greater amounts to political campaigns which increased the level of influence that they had on congressional and presidential campaigns. This blocked on the younger Cuban Americans until they could achieve similar levels of donations.¹⁵²

This transition period largely came to an end with Obama's announcement of closer ties with Cuba in December of 2014. This announcement came as the first strengthening in ties with Cuba in over 50 years.¹⁵³ It was done in response to the changing demographics within the Cuban American lobby. In June of 2014, 52 percent of Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County supported ending the embargo, 68 percent supported opening up diplomatic ties and 69 percent supported lifting travel restrictions.¹⁵⁴ This poll showed the support that existed just a few months prior to Obama's announcement. This marked the end of the transition because the president responded to the changing demographics and viewpoints within the lobby and acted accordingly. No other president before this period was willing to make such a dramatic shift in their Cuban policy. One important aspect of this decision should be pointed out; President Obama waited until after midterms to make this announcement. This represents that there is still electoral opposition to this policy and the support may not have been strong enough to risk losing votes in the midterm elections.

As soon as President Obama made his announcement, Marco Rubio, a Republican Senator from Florida denounced it.¹⁵⁵ This denouncement went much deeper than just partisan

¹⁵² Rubenzer, Trevor. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests." *American Journal of Political Science* 55.1 (2011): 105-16. *JSTOR*. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

¹⁵³ Halimi, Serge. "Obama's Bold Cuban Gesture." *Le Monde Diplomatique*[Paris] 1 Jan. 2015: 2. Print.

¹⁵⁴ Adams, David. "Poll: Most Cuban-Americans Back Closer Ties." *Washington Post* 18 June 2014: 13. Print.

¹⁵⁵ Halimi, Serge. "Obama's Bold Cuban Gesture." *Le Monde Diplomatique*[Paris] 1 Jan. 2015: 2. Print.

disapproval; Rubio denounced it for very calculated, political reasons. The Republican Party has an advantage among senior citizens compared to the Democratic Party and a disadvantage among young voters compared to the Democratic party. For 2013, 48% of senior citizens leaned or were affiliated with the Republican Party, while 45% of seniors were affiliated with the Democratic Party. For those 18 to 29, the Republicans are at a disadvantage with only 35% affiliated with them and 53% affiliated with the Democratic Party.¹⁵⁶ Compound this with the earlier statistics that seniors vote at a higher rate than younger Americans and this inflates the push by Republicans to support policy issues that seniors support; this includes the Cuban Embargo. As has been shown above, older Cuban Americans still support the Embargo and thus so will Rubio. This explains why Rubio immediately denounced the softening of ties with Cuba when President Obama announced them. Not only can this be explained by demographics, but it can also be explained by aspirations. Rubio wants to run for president and if he wants to win the presidency, he will need the state of Florida and thus Cuban American Votes. Florida has been a key swing state for the last 20 years¹⁵⁷, a fact not lost on Senator Rubio.

President Obama's actions also can be explained by demographics. As was shown earlier and especially in the 2000 election Cuban Americans have long supported Republicans (82% of Cuban Americans voted for Bush in 2000¹⁵⁸). With younger Cuban Americans coming out against the embargo, an age demographic that has a large majority affiliated with the Democratic Party, the softening of ties with Cuba may be an attempt to swing young Cuban Americans to the Democratic Party and disrupt the longtime allegiance between Cuban

¹⁵⁶ "U.S. Seniors Have Realigned With the Republican Party." *Gallup*. Gallup INC, 26 Mar. 2014. Web. 13 Mar. 2015.

¹⁵⁷ Kyle, Kondik. "Sabato's Crystal Ball." Larry J Sabatos Crystal Ball RSS. University of Virginia, 15 Sept. 2011. Web. 25 Mar. 2015.

¹⁵⁸ "The Kerry Campaign Seeks Cuban-American Beachhead." *WSJ*. Wall Street Journal, 20 Sept. 2004. Web. 1 Mar. 2015.

Americans and the Republican Party. This disruption could provide a large swing of Cuban Americans over time to the Democratic Party. As was shown in 2000, a small minority can decide a presidency and with Florida always positioned as a battleground state this could have drastic impacts on future elections.

President Obama's actions can also be explained by direct lobbying by young Cuban Americans, which has intensified within the last few years. Groups such as the Cuban Study Group are among many young Cuban Groups that support an end to the embargo. According to their website, they "believe that U.S. policy towards Cuba is counterproductive and warrants change. Policies of isolation and sanctions have rarely brought about transitional changes, and disproportionately hurt the Cuban people over the government it intends to compel to change."¹⁵⁹ These groups have been directly lobbying the Obama administration and have seen some success, given the recent announcement by the President. The Executive Director for the Study Group worked for the Bush Administration from 2001 to 2003. "As Executive Director of the Cuba Study Group, Mr. Bilbao is responsible for all the Group's projects and activities, including developing policy recommendations and educating Members of Congress and the Administration on more effective policies toward Cuba."¹⁶⁰ Through these actions and other actions taken by the group in the form of direct lobbying have had a profound effect on the Obama administration.

The embargo itself cannot be lifted without congressional action because an executive action cannot lift it; it can just affect the ways in which it is carried out. The true test of whether or not the Cuban American lobby is fully out of its transition period is whether or not the young Cuban Americans will be able to lobby Congress to act on their behalf and lift the

¹⁵⁹ "About Us." Our Core Beliefs. Cuba Study Group. Web. 25 Mar. 2015.

¹⁶⁰ "Staff." Cuba Study Group. Cuba Study Group, 1 Jan. 2015. Web. 3 Apr. 2015.

embargo. If they can achieve this policy goal, it will mark a new era for the Cuban American lobby. However, it should be pointed out that the executive action within itself is a policy victory for the young Cuban Americans because they showed that they can be effective in enacting policy change.

In closing, the Cuban American Lobby has shown its strength in many policy arenas. It has influenced many foreign policy decisions with regard to Cuba and continues to stay relevant. One of the more remarkable achievements of this lobby has been its ability to stay strong despite changes within its primary policy goal. The ability for a group to change from one side to another and stay relevant is very rare in American politics. It is from this transition period that the most can be learned from the Cuban American lobby; other interest groups should apply these lessons to adapt to changing demographics within the United States. Only time will tell how successful the Cuban American lobby can be in bringing an end to the embargo. The true challenge for the lobby will also come if the embargo is lifted, how will they stay unified? If they do not take on these challenges that they are presented with, they may face waning political power much like the Irish Americans have been subject to in the last few years. The Cuban American lobby and its effectiveness should be relevant as a research project for many years to come.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The four major case studies have shed light on how effective, highly mobilized ethnic groups can be. The four groups provide many lessons for other interest groups on how to lobby with the American political framework. These sampled ethnic groups all have had a major impact on United States foreign policy. The most successful group seems to be the Jewish American lobby. The Jewish American lobby was the only group that seemed to have the ability to get United States decision makers to act in the lobby's favor even if their goals seemed to contradict United States foreign policy goals. The Armenian Americans could not achieve this, as was shown through their failed attempt to prevent aid from going to Azerbaijan after 9/11. The Irish Americans could not do this, as was shown following 9/11, when many Americans began to see the IRA as a terrorist organization. Cuban Americans in recent years have been close to achieving this, but it cannot be firmly supported that easing of tensions is against American foreign policy objectives as a large majority of Americans support the lifting of the Cuban Embargo.¹⁶¹ Corresponding with the power rankings that were presented in the introduction it seems that placing the Jewish American lobby as number one in terms of clout was appropriate.

Irish Americans and Cuban Americans, unlike the other two groups, should be examined on a timeline. Both of these groups showed considerable political clout at different time periods and then experienced declines. For the Irish American Lobby, political power was strong until 9/11 when many Americans began to see the IRA as terrorists. Cuban Americans, who had been able to keep the embargo in place for many decades, are experiencing a decline currently. This decline has been marked by a demographic divide that has begun to split the older Cuban Americans and the younger Cuban Americans. These two groups provide very distinct insight when compared to the two other groups because their decline and its reasons were also able to be examined using a timeline of rise and fall.

The four groups provide additional lessons on how to stay politically relevant. It seems that the key to political relevance is a combination of connections, geographic distribution and unity. Connections to leaders throughout Washington, DC seem to have been and are important for political

¹⁶¹ Peralta, Edyer. "Polls Show Cuban-American Views On U.S.-Cuba Relations Are Nuanced." *NPR*. NPR, 17 Dec. 2014. Web. 14 Mar. 2015.

relevance. It seems that without these connections a group's message will not be conveyed to political leaders. This was true for all four groups. Beyond just connections to other leaders, connections to other lobbying groups seemed to be just as important. This was best shown through Jewish Americans connection to the Christian Right and Armenian Americans connections to other ethnic lobby groups and the U.S Holocaust Museum. Second, geographic distribution played a key role for all four groups. Whose district and or state that these ethnic groups inhabited mattered to the Representatives and Senators. It was shown in all four groups, that there was a strong relationship between whether members of Congress would support a certain bill and whether or not they were from a district or state that had a large minority of that particular ethnic group within it. This was true on numerous pieces of legislation presented throughout this paper. Finally, unity, which ties into geographic distribution; a group can have a large number of residents, but is not relevant unless it is unified behind a cause. Strong unity among the ethnic groups was best shown with the Jewish American and the Armenian American case studies. A lack of unity and thus less political power was shown especially through the Irish American lobby and to some degree in recent years the Cuban American lobby. The Irish American lobby currently lacks a strong unifying issue and thus has lost some of its political relevance. Cuban Americans have lost some of their political relevance because the lobby has split into two separate camps, although both camps have achieved varied amounts of success.

Some additional factors must be pointed out that ethnic groups cannot control. They cannot control the interests of the public. The public may not be interested at all in their cause and let them operate with little scrutiny or support. This may help or hurt the group's cause, but the group cannot change this fact. Another factor that the group cannot control is the urgency that their cause demands on the international scene. For example, the Irish Americans could not have changed the impact that 9/11 had on the perceptions of the IRA. Finally, the groups cannot control their power and or resources in the present; they can only work towards more power and/or resources in the future. These are important

characteristics to point out because they directly affect the effectiveness of the given groups, yet these groups cannot change these facts and thus the real challenge is dealing with them in the best fashion.

The most significant conclusion is that highly mobilized ethnic groups are effective and do shape United States foreign policy. For better or for worse concentrations of ethnic groups influence our elected representatives. This was shown time and time again through Congressional and executive actions. The primary focus of this study has been to uncover that connection and analyze its affect. The four case studies that were examined represented the strongest and most powerful of all ethnic lobbies. It may be prudent in the future to examine the effects that weaker lobbies can have to get a better picture of the aggregate ethnic lobbying effectiveness. Another important issue that has presented itself within this research project has been the effect 9/11 has had on ethnic lobbying. Three of the four lobbies were impacted by 9/11 and the resulting War on Terror. More research needs to be done into how this has shaped and changed the strategies of ethnic lobbies.

Ethnic lobbies will continue to be politically relevant and shape American foreign policy in the decades to come. How these lobbies respond to changes in the American political environment will truly test their power and effectiveness. Demographics will change and shift their concentrations; new lobbies will rise and fall, however one fact will remain constant, American political leaders will continually seek reelection; this pursuit will keep them attuned to ethnic concentrations that belong to mobilized ethnic lobbies.

ACADEMIC VITA

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OBJECTIVE

- Further my education by pursuing a Doctorate of Philosophy in Political Science and teach at the collegiate level in the future.

EDUCATION

- Bachelor of Arts in Political Science *Anticipated Spring 2015*
- Bachelor of Arts in History *Anticipated Spring 2015*
 - Penn State Erie, The Behrend College
 - Minor in Applied Economics
 - Schreyers Honors Scholar

INTERNSHIP EXPERIENCE

- Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Governor's Northwest Office Intern, *2014*
 - Represented and spoke on behalf of the Governor of Pennsylvania at various events throughout Northwest Pennsylvania
 - Researched and presented findings of numerous issue based policy analyses to the Northwest Coordinator
 - Informed and aided constituents that sought assistance from the office

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

- Schreyer Thesis *Anticipated Spring 2015*

- Researching and creating an honors thesis with the assistance of a tenured faculty member
- Addressing the impact of ethnic groups on United States Foreign Policy decisions
- Upon completion and approval this thesis will be added to a searchable, university-wide accessible database
- International Trade and Finance *Fall 2014*
 - Analysis of why nations trade, barriers to trade, the international monetary system, and macroeconomic policy in an open economy
- Intermediate Macroeconomic Analysis *Fall 2014*
 - Examination of forces that determine the level of aggregate economic activity
- Philosophy and Feminism *Spring 2014*
 - Explored diverse feminist philosophies of culture and knowledge, and examines gender's role in accounts of reality, truth, morality, and justice
- Government and Politics of East Asia *Fall 2013*
 - Examination of political institutions, democratic and communist revolution, political leadership, political processes of major states of East Asia
- American State and Urban Politics *Fall 2013*
 - Explored basic characteristics and processes of American state and urban politics; nature of intergovernmental relations involving these governmental levels

- American Public Policy *Spring 2013*
 - Examination of selected areas of public policy in America. Analysis of policy content, alternatives, and impact.
 - Enriched normative coursework with an honors project examining Immigration policy from a policy formulation perspective
- Research Associate *Spring 2013-Spring 2014*
 - Conducted Research alongside a distinguished faculty member that examined a comprehensive list of statistical variables with the goal of creating a searchable multilateral treaty database
- International Law and Organizations *Spring 2013*
 - Addressed major topics and issues of international law with special attention to institutional arrangements (international organizations) through which that law operates
- North American Politics, Toronto, Canada *Summer 2012*
 - Surveyed the differences between the United States and Canada's governmental systems
 - Collaborated with Canadian students enhancing multicultural learning

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

- Penn State Educational Partnership Program Tutor, Erie, PA, *Fall 2013-Spring 2014*
 - Tutored Students at Wayne Middle School and sought to help them realize the dream of college is attainable regardless of economic status
- Grove City Borough Summer Help, Grove City, PA, *2010-2013*

- Assisted with the day to day operations of a municipal public works department
- Witnessed the every-day operations of a municipal government
- Experienced first-hand the effects of public spending and execution of local government services

LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONS

- College Republicans President
 - Administer all aspects of College Republicans
 - Organized a debate between two opposing state assembly candidates
- National Society of Leadership and Success, Member
 - Coordinate with driven individuals to improve each other's leadership skills and abilities
- Phi Sigma Alpha, Political Science Honor Society, Vice President
 - Enhance political science scholarship on college campuses