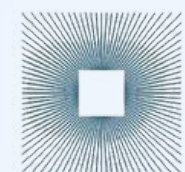




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**Institute for Advanced
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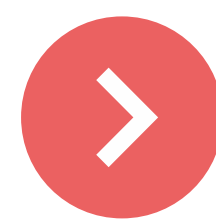


THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC INTEREST GROUPS ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: LOBBYING AND ADVOCACY IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

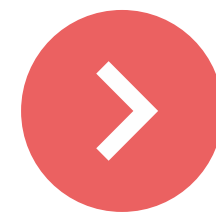
PREPARED BY FAZLIDDIN DJAMALOV

SUPERVISOR: ULUGBEK ISHANKHODJAEV

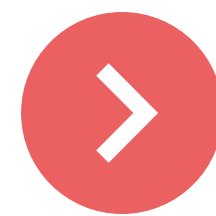
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OF EXAMINING ETHNIC INTEREST GROUPS
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CHAPTER 3. EXPLORING THE ROLE OF
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UZBEKISTAN RELATIONS.

OBJECT

**THE INFLUENCE OF
ETHNIC INTEREST
GROUPS ON U.S.
FOREIGN POLICY**

SUBJECT

**THE LOBBYING AND
ADVOCACY ACTIVITIES IN THE
CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS**



1.1. FRACTIONS THEORY, ELITE THEORY, PLURALIST PERSPECTIVE AND COLLECTIVE ACTIONS ON INTEREST GROUP INFLUENCE

The term “**lobby**” can be defined as a collective of representatives from financially influential groups who exert influence on public policy

Fractions Theory



Emphasizes **economic divisions** within society and competition between interest groups for influence.

Elite Theory



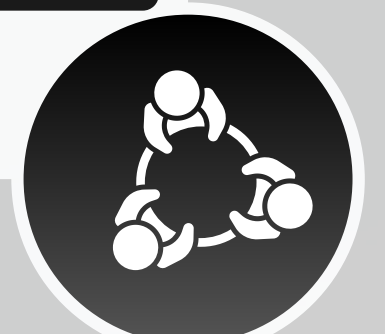
Argues that power is concentrated in the hands of **a small, influential group**, shaping lobbying efforts.

Pluralist Theory



Recognizes **the diversity** of interest groups and their participation in democratic processes.

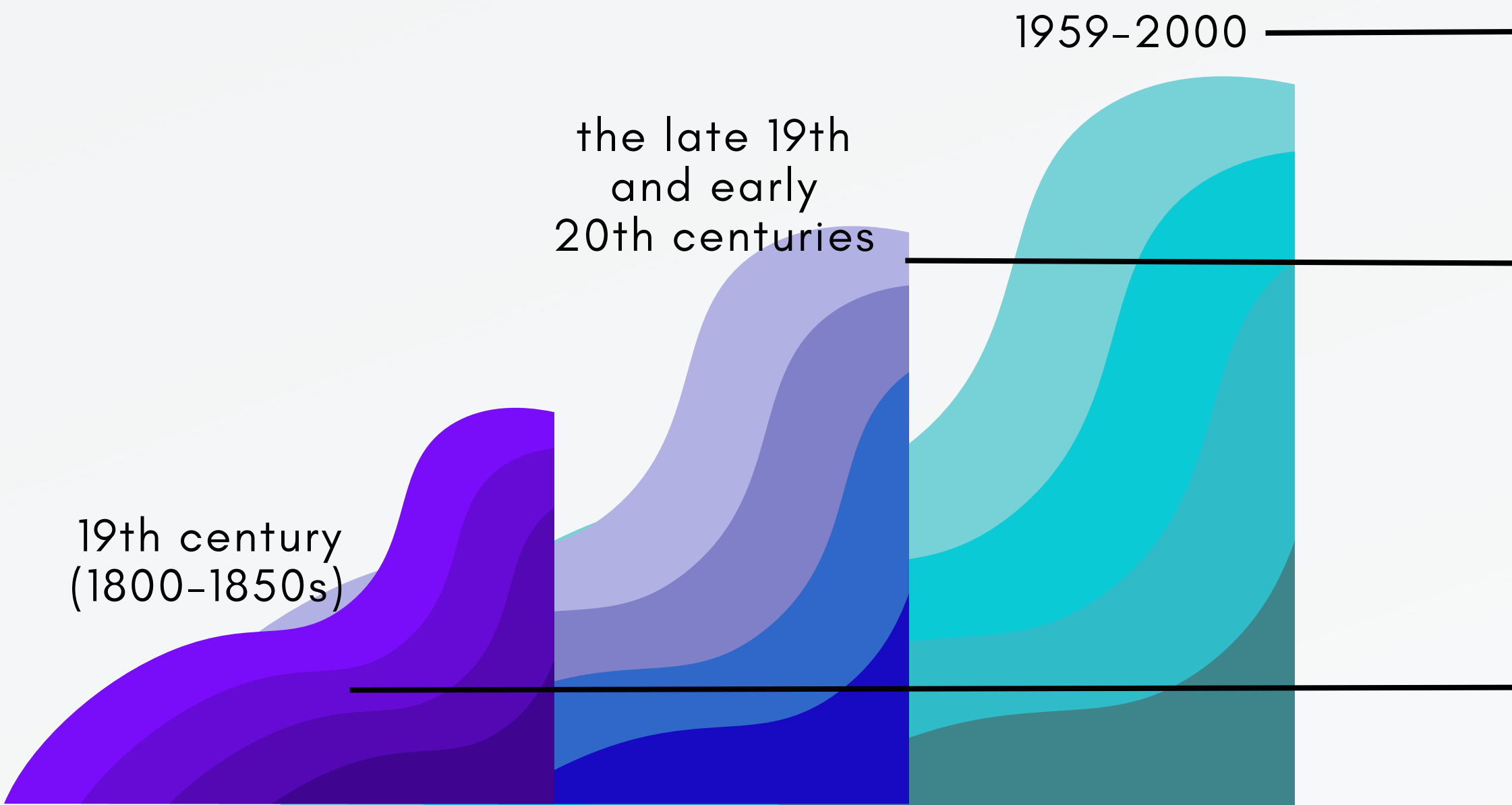
Theory of Collective Action



Focuses on **challenges of mobilizing** collective action and the importance of organizational strength.

1.2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF ETHNIC INTEREST GROUP APPEARANCE ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

3 waves of immigration to U.S.



This wave was marked by changing **global dynamics, including geopolitical events** and shifts in immigration policies

Driven by the rise of **political and religious motivations**, as individuals sought to escape persecution, religious intolerance, and political upheaval in their countries of origin

Significant influx of immigrants, predominantly from Europe, **seeking better economic opportunities** and escaping adverse conditions in their home countries

The dissolution of the Soviet Union resulted in the formation of new states that attracted the attention of the United States as potential areas for expanding its influence, **particularly from an ideological standpoint.**

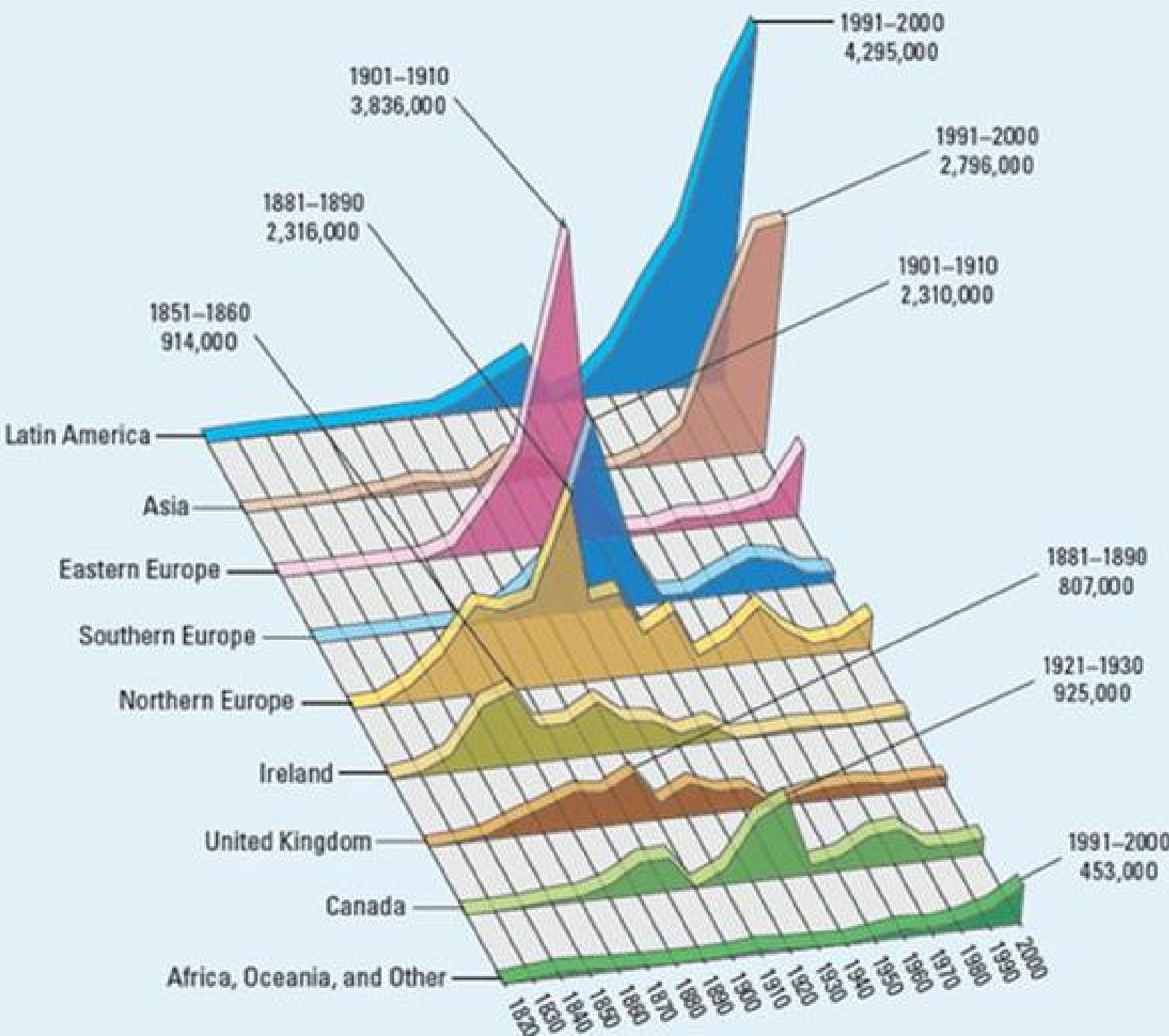
U.S. Immigration, 1820–2000

Key Events That Affected Immigration

1845–1849	Irish Potato Famine
1882	Chinese Exclusion Act
1914–1918	World War I
1924	National Origins Act*
1929–1941	Great Depression
1939–1945	World War II
1965	Immigration Act**

* established quota system, placing limits on immigration from some countries

** abolished quota system, easing limits on immigration



Source: National Geographic Historical Atlas of the United States, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.

The concept of “**ethnicity**” refers to the shared cultural, historical, and social characteristics that define a particular group of people

“**Diaspora**” refers to a dispersed population of individuals who share a common ethnic or cultural background, residing outside their ancestral homeland

*Table.
Waves of immigration
to U.S. by years and
share of ethnicity*

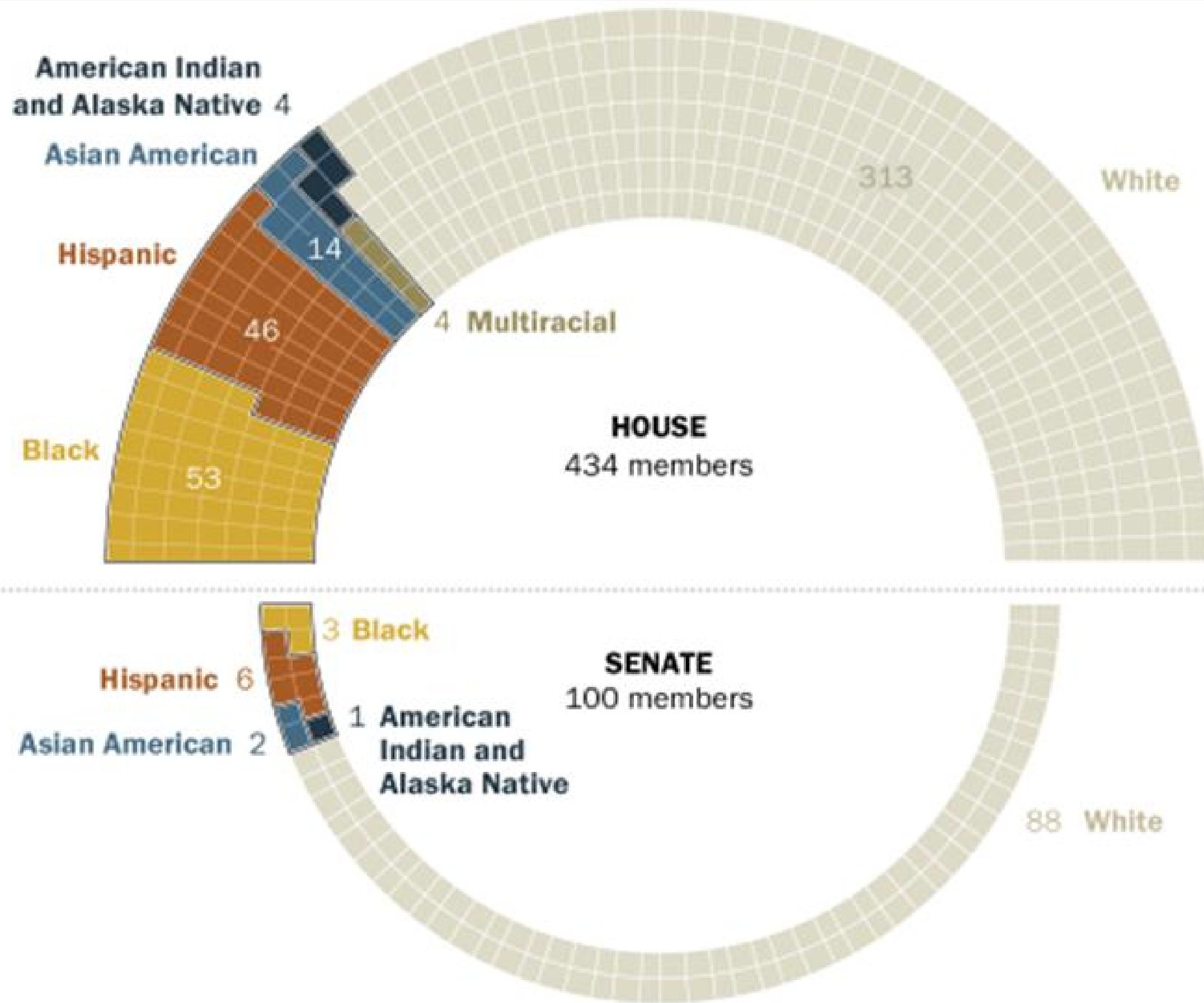


Table. 118th U.S. Congress by Ethnicity and Race

2.1. GOALS, INTERESTS, AND POLICY PRIORITIES OF ISRAELI AMERICAN INTEREST GROUPS IN RELATION TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Since the conclusion of the Yom Kippur War in October 1973, Washington has provided Israel with support on a scale unmatched by any other country

1970s



Since the 1980s, with the beginning of the conservative era of "Reaganomics", there has been a link between the Israeli lobby in the United States and right-wing Christian conservatives, who are very influential in American society

1980s

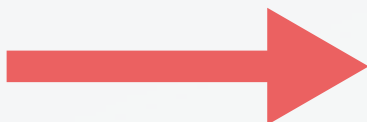


The attack of radical Islamists on the United States on September 11, 2001 also increased sympathy for Israel, which is fighting Islamists in the Middle East

2000s



1951



1959

American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs (AZCPA)

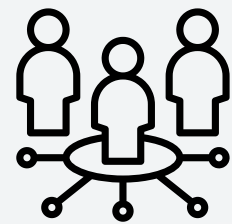
American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)

AZCPA

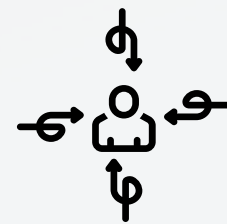


-> PACs (Allies for Israel, ZOA, National Action Committee, Heartland PAC)
-> Anti-Defamation League (ADL)
-> The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (CoP)
-> American Israel Education Foundation (AIEF)
-> Washington Institute for Near East Policy

HOW ISRAEL BUILT OUT AN EFFECTIVE LOBBY SYSTEM IN US?



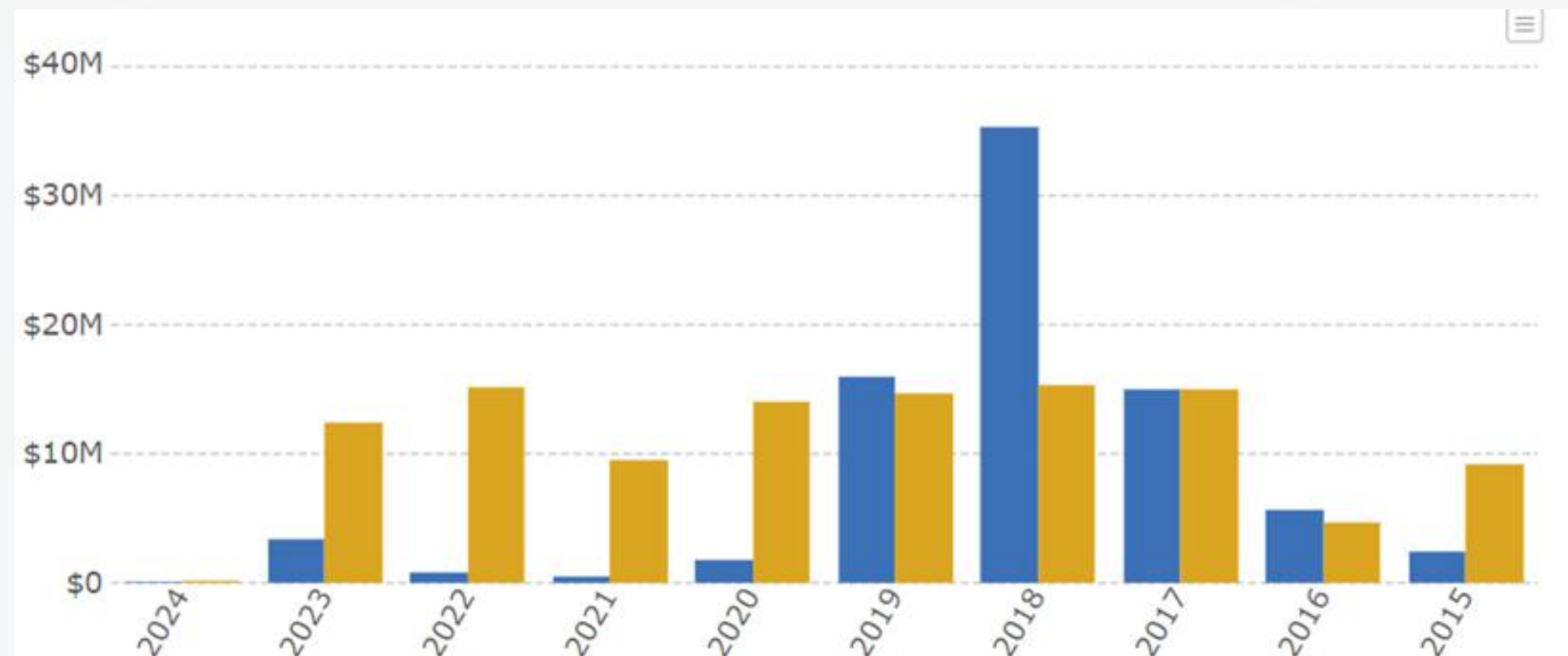
Firstly, there exists a highly organized and effective system of resident organizations. One of the key factors contributing to the high effectiveness of these organizations is the presence of a large number of volunteers who work out of conscience rather than fear.



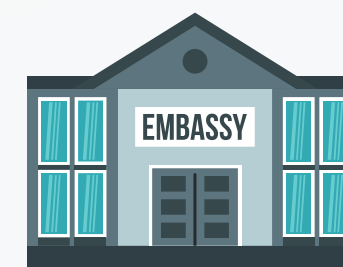
Secondly, Israel is utilizing the potential of indirect lobbying methods, which hold significant value in democracies with a majoritarian electoral system. In a majoritarian electoral system, parliamentarians are closely tied to a specific and relatively small number of constituents.

Lastly, unlike other less affluent ethnic lobbies, is the nearly unconditional and significant support for the policies pursued by almost any occupant of the White House

Each year, **Israel receives approximately \$3.3 billion in direct aid**, which accounts for around one-fifth of all funds allocated in the budget for foreign assistance



LOBBY'S RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS



The relocation of the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem



A hardline stance on Israeli peace negotiations

2.2. DIVERSE AND DYNAMIC NATURE OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

The Arab immigrants in the United States initially prioritized the issue of **Palestinian plight after the Balfour Declaration** paved the way for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

1917



After the 1967 Six Day War that a new generation of activists emerged, leading to **the establishment of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates**

1967



With increased Muslim immigration since the 1950s, Muslim organizations proliferated. Key organizations such as the Muslim Student Association (1963), the Islamic Society of North America (1982), MPAC (1988), and CAIR (1994) emerged

1950-1990s

1972

The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA)

2000s

The Jihadi Ideological Lobby appearance (Saudi Wahhabis and the Turkish Fethullah Gulen movement)

1994



The SAAR Network (SAAR) and the Safa Group (SAFA)

2001

The Muslim lobby mitigated the damage and launch a counteroffensive to demonstrate that Muslims had no association with the 9/11 attacks

Al-Qaeda



DIVERSE APPROACHES OF THE MUSLIM LOBBIES

The most influential Muslim lobby in the US is the Saudi lobby

- Saudi Arabia's dominance in OPEC and the oil market grants
- Constructing mosques and Islamic centers throughout the US
- President Obama's visit to Riyadh - a new era in America's foreign relations has emerged

Starting in June 2017, Qatar launched an extensive lobbying effort in the United States in response to President Donald Trump's support of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and other Arab nations in imposing a blockade against Qatar

Qatar enlisted the services of **35 U.S. lobbying firms**, compensating them with a minimum total payment of **\$19.5 million**

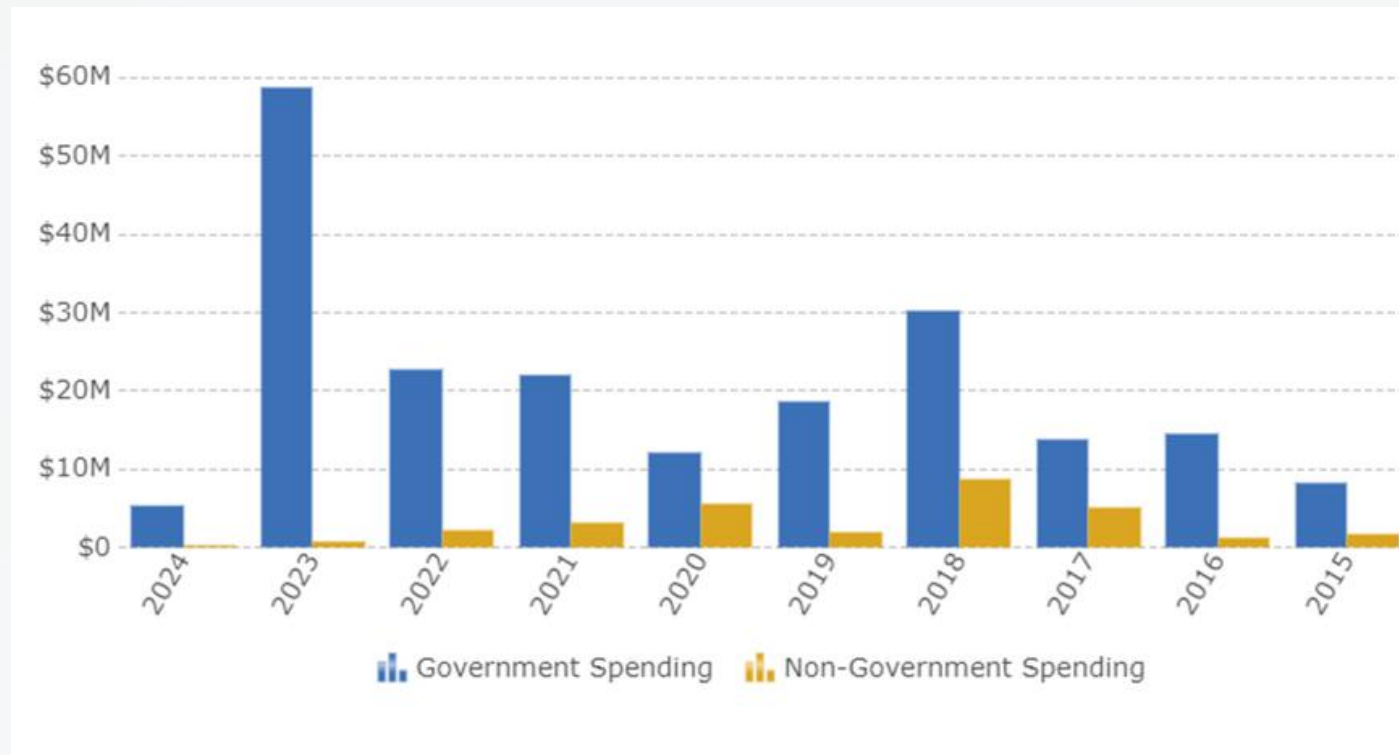


Brian D. Ballard



John Ashcroft

The governments of six Muslim countries spent over \$700,000 at former President Donald Trump's hotel in Washington during the first two years of his presidency



THE ACADEMIC MUSLIM LOBBIES



Creation of the big students' associations by African and Muslim communities at the US universities

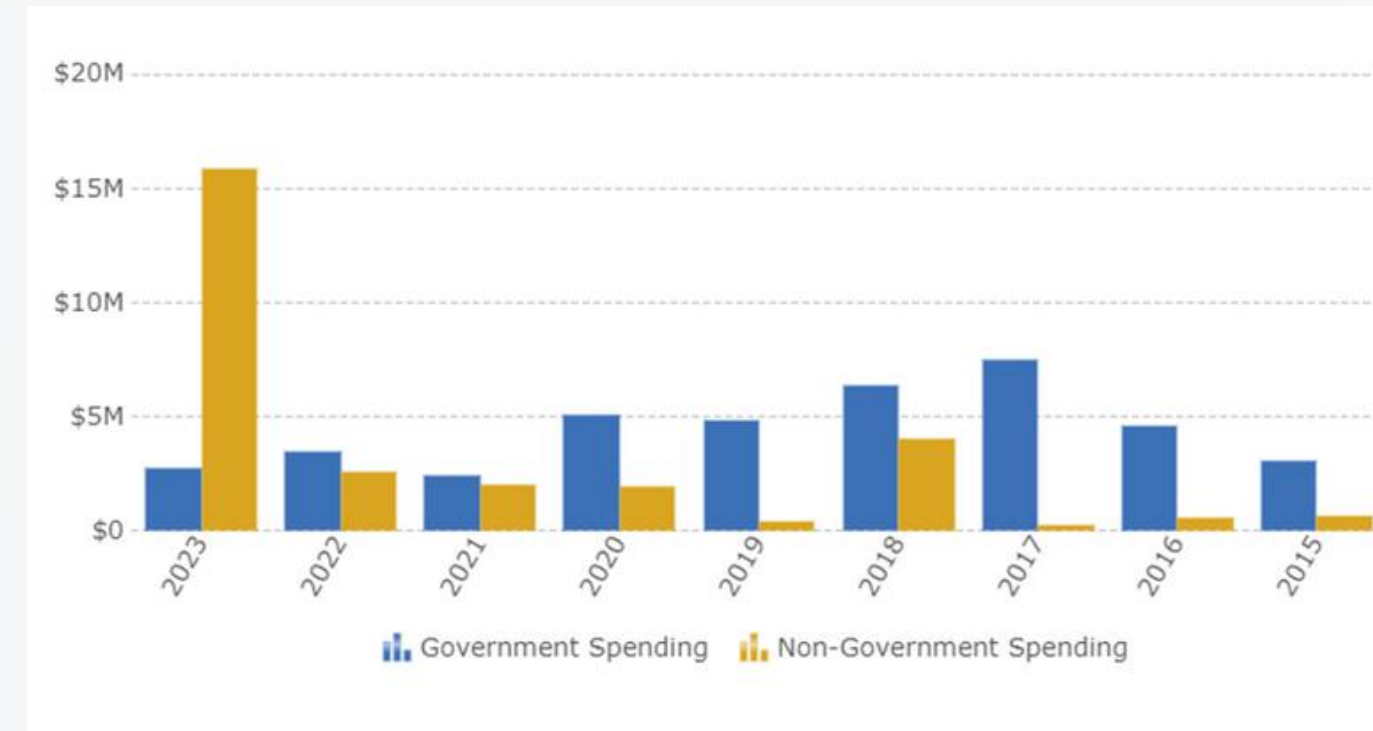
2.3. UNVEILING THE DYNAMICS OF INFLUENCE THE TÜRKIYE INTEREST GROUPS

Ongoing disagreements between the U.S. and Türkiye revolve around several key issues that Türkiye has been actively lobbying on:

- Türkiye has sought to address U.S. support for Syrian Kurds
- Seeking to reduce its reliance on the West and forge new relationships with other “midsize powers” such as Saudi Arabia and India
- Maintaining its position within NATO



Türkiye's role as a mediator between Russia and Ukraine following the 2022 invasion has increased its significance in U.S. policy considerations.



"FETO," Fethullah Gülen



1956

1979



1999



2003



The number of Americans identifying their ethnic identity as Turkish was **230,342** in 2016

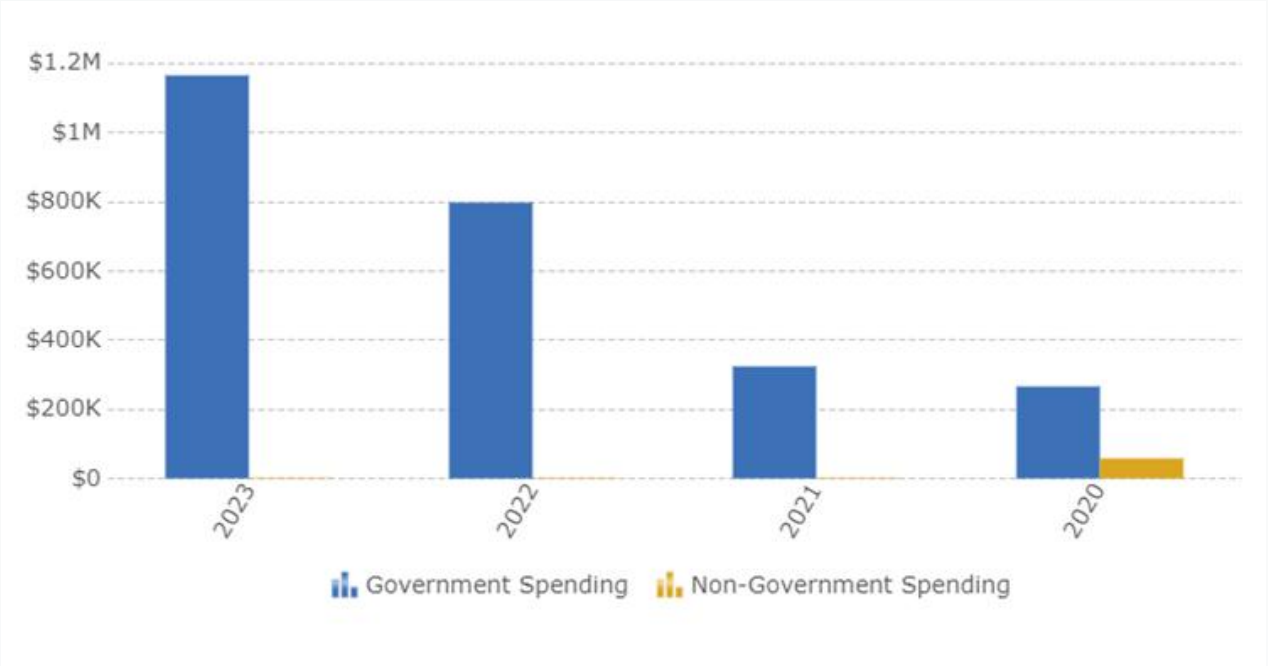
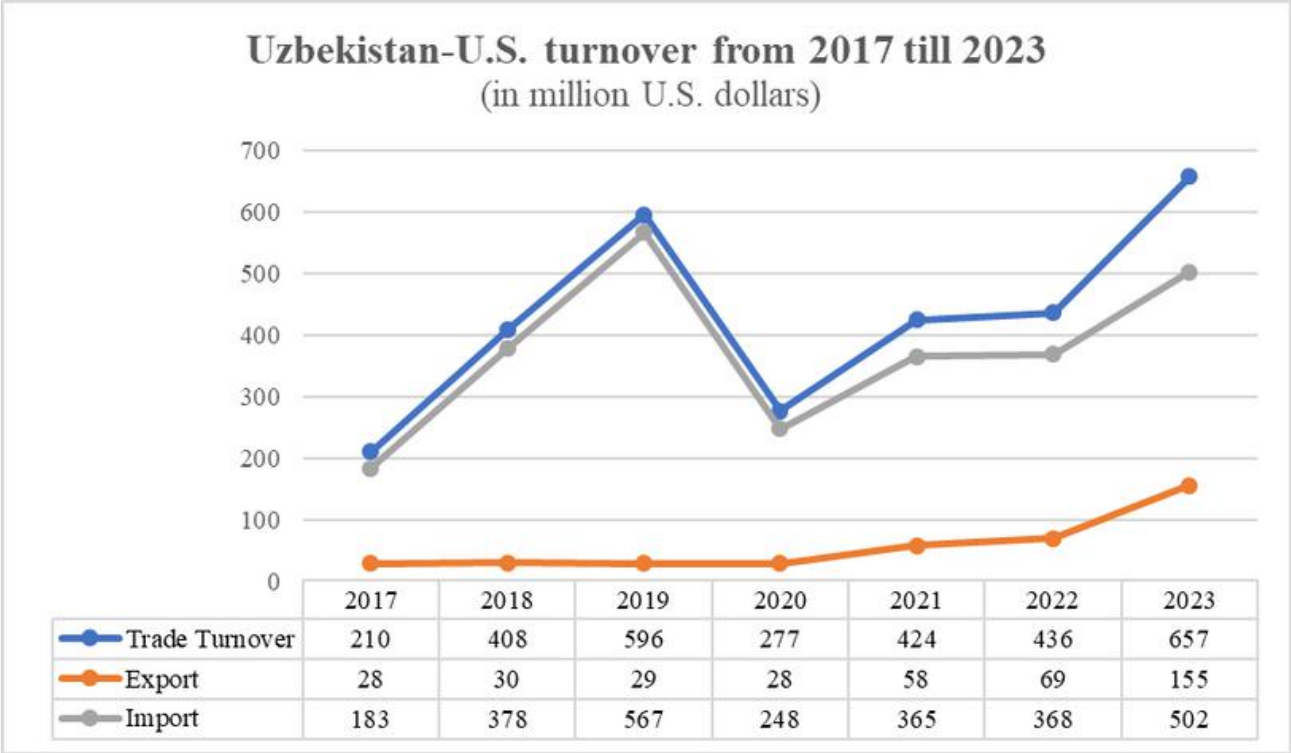
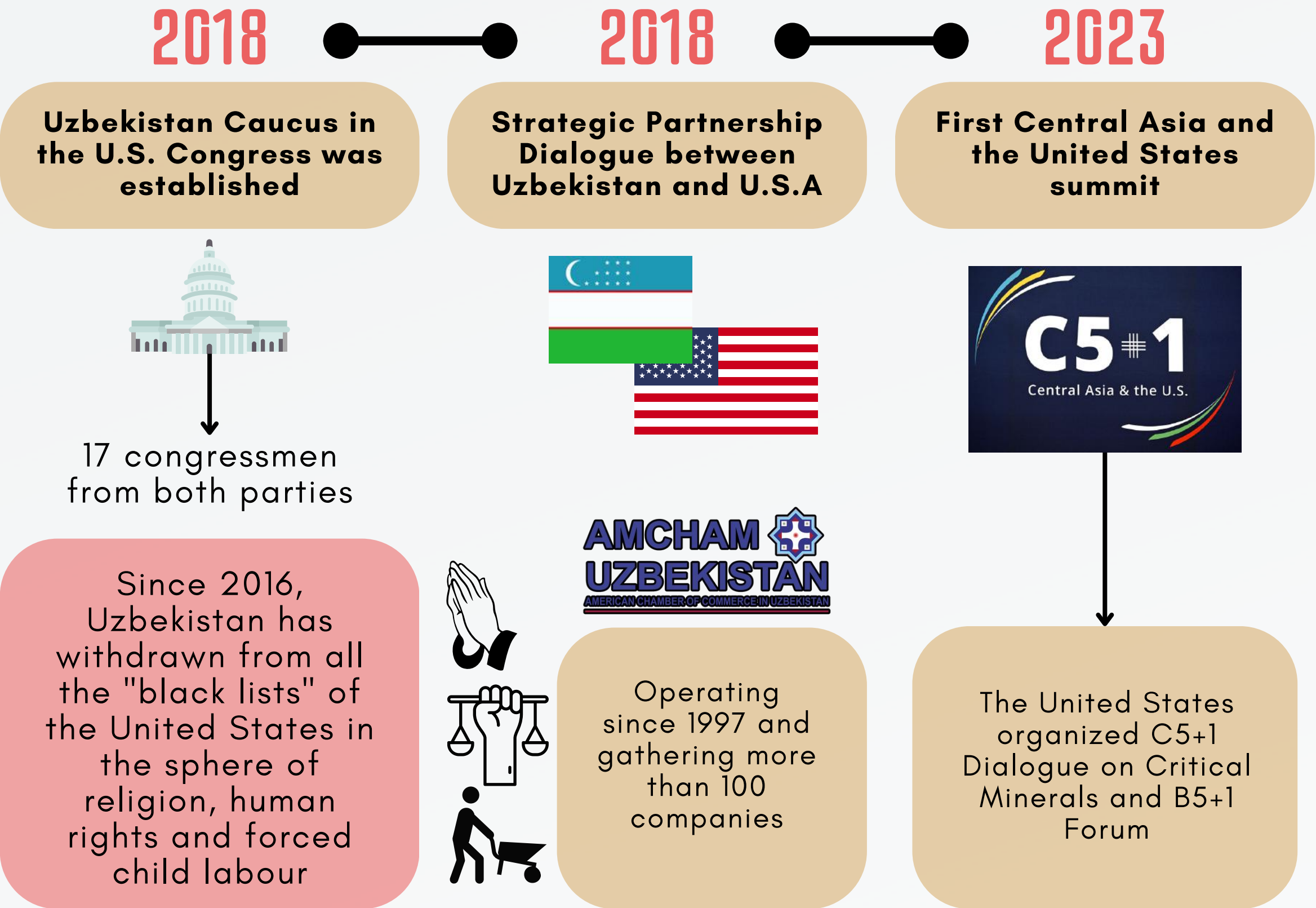
LOBBY'S RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS



TURKISH
COALITION
of
AMERICA

Engagement with US think tanks and academic institutions through Turkish Heritage Organization and by creating a narratives by Turkish Coalition of America and Turkish-American Caucus

3.1. CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN LOBBYING FOR UZBEK INTERESTS IN THE US GOVERNMENT



3.2. THE IMPACT OF UZBEK DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS ON THE U.S. RELATIONS WITH UZBEKISTAN

A majority of Uzbek immigrants arriving in the United States have obtained green cards through the **diversity visa lottery program (Green Card)**.

1990s



The promotion of the Uzbek diaspora in the USA began with the establishment of **educational programs** by President Islam Karimov in 1997. One notable initiative was **the Umid Foundation**, which aimed to provide educational opportunities for Uzbek students.

1997-
2002



The Umid Foundation **underwent a transformation and became the "El-Yurt Umidi" Foundation**, with a renewed focus on financing scholarships for young Uzbek students to pursue master's and doctoral programs at prestigious foreign universities

2018



- Approximately 70% of the "new Uzbeks" residing in the U.S are undocumented, as their American visas have expired.
- Every year, a significant number of Uzbeks, ranging from 6,000 to 7,800, immigrate to the United States.
- The ethnic Uzbek community in the United States is characterized by diversity

In 2020, the DV Program received a total of 1,674,787 applications from individuals of Uzbek origin, with an additional 2,572,653 applications including derivatives, which accounted for **approximately 8% of the total Uzbek population**

The activities of the **"Uzbek Society of America,"** the first Uzbek diaspora organization in the United States, should be reevaluated to focus on fostering people-to-people relations

The establishment of a government-funded **Association of Uzbek Students in the US**, which could organize a conference aimed at facilitating networking and collaboration among students

It would be advantageous to establish a dedicated **charity foundation under the Uzbek Embassy in Washington D.C.**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who have supported and contributed to the completion of this work. I am particularly thankful to Ulugbek Ishankhodjaev for his valuable recommendations, which have deepened my understanding of the intricate dynamics between ethnic interest groups, policymakers, and the significant role of lobbying in shaping American politics.

Furthermore, my position as a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Advanced International Studies, along with my publications in *The Diplomat* and *Trend.az*, have greatly influenced this research. Additionally, my participation in the Caspian Basin Studies Program in Azerbaijan provided valuable insights into Armenian ethnic groups' lobbying efforts.

I am also grateful for the expert advice received from diplomats at the Department for Cooperation with the Americas of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan during my long-term internship, which significantly enhanced the quality of this work.

I hope that this research will contribute to a better understanding of the value of lobbying and inspire continued efforts to promote its significance in the policy-making process of Uzbekistan.

For further information about the dissertation, approach to f.djamalove@iais.uz