

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The phenomenon of interest group in the U.S. history lasted in century. In the development process, the United States experienced the phenomena of Interest Group that rapidly growth and continue to rise significantly from time to time. The battles of involvement of special interest group come to dominate in public when the interest group spent the biggest amount of money to TV advertisement, public opinion influence and all many aspects in order to change a huge part of American politics agenda.

According to [opensecrets.org](https://www.opensecrets.org) only in between 2017 to 2018, A number of Interest group develop significantly until reaching more than a hundred groups existed in America and there are top 50 interest groups dominated the distribution of money donation mostly to the each of top american congress's member. The surprising fact was among those top 50 groups, the name of pro Israel lobbying group was rank in 36th position with the total spending upto \$4,127,329. (FEC, 2018) It showed that the Pro Israel lobbying groups has been played an important roles in shaping U.S. policy decision making indirectly.

The interest group are competing to influence the domestic decision making process in order to benefit their own interest. The close tied relations between the Interest group member and the U.S congressional member of pro's Israel who take charges in the policy making is inevitably success to rise the assistance and

support from the United States to Israel. Besides, CNN highlighted that the largest American military assistance went to Israel. In Obama administration, Israel is set to get about \$38 billion over 10 years. (Gaouette, 2016) Among all the Jews group name, AIPAC or American pro Israel lobbying probably became one of the famous one. AIPAC is believed as the vehicle for the sake of Israel-America goodness and Israel security protection in the Middle East.

Through the AIPAC official website. The group was claimed that the establishment is to promote peace and counter-terrorism around the world. They believed people should live in harmonious circumstances and peaceful condition in term of many aspects such as religion and military aspects. (AIPAC, 2017) This concern also brought to Joe Biden speech point who has addressed the issue of terrorism coincided with the terrorist bombing that once attacked Istanbul, Turkey. He tirelessly remains attendant about how dangerous terrorism effect is which at the same time also being a critical concern that faced by the world. (AIPAC, 2016)

One of the strong point from the AIPAC is because they have their own voice in U.S. domestic politics. The writer said so because once, in Bush administration era, when the United States had an idea to sell advanced military equipment to the Arab nation states such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain and Oman. (B.R., 2010) In which, they all received sophisticated weaponry, including bombs that could be guided via satellite, worth around US \$ 20 billion. (Ahmadtaufik, 2007) The decision of U.S. to sell their military equipment to Arab nation could disturbed

Israel's pride because the advanced air possessed by Middle East Nation was possibly will be equally advanced as the one that Israel got from the United States and might rivalry Israel in term of military aspect in the Middle East.

AIPAC acknowledged the concern that Israel had and showed its big role by making U.S. disbursed funds successfully. In Bush Administration, American congress agreed to increase U.S. military assistance to Israel by \$6 billion over the following decades. Israel was to receive incremental annual increases of \$150 million, starting at \$2.55 billion in FY2009 and reaching \$3.15 billion per year for FY2013-2018. (Jewishvirtuallibrary, Jewish Virtual Library, 2014)

During Trauman presidential, AIPAC under Kenen was helping out to get U.S. assistance for the early Israel State. In March 2009, prior to U.S. defeated Iraq on Iraq war, AIPAC had circulated an action alerts to congress. AIPAC commanded its member for giving pressure to congress in Clinton administrative. AIPAC contributed in a number of important decision related to Israel, including when the AIPAC using the same methods against Iranian nuclear. (Weiss, 2012)

However, the case of Iranian nuclear became one of the long way journey for U.S. which conflicted with one of Middle East nation state, Iran. The disputes more complex because it seems hardly to overcome. The battles of argument from both countries had been witnessed from time to time that surely proved U.S. determination to tackle the issue. In the other side, Iran was also very serious to stand still on its argument which never give up on its nuclear enrichment.

It is true that at that time, mostly people wonder whether Iranian Government created a Mass Destruction Weapon (MDW) within the country exactly like what U.S. claimed to public. America is a main country which was persistently reported any kinds of Iranian suspicious nuclear activities to IAEA through its National Intelligence Agency and posed sanctions.

On March 4, 2000, Bill Clinton signed a law that allows sanction against people and organization that provide aid to Iran's nuclear program. (CNN, 2017) This idea came out with reasons. First, after the Iranian Islamic revolutions popped out, it ended all western involvement. It means U.S. and its alliances probably will be difficult to intervene the oil reverse and gold mining from this country. Second, Ayatulloh the former Iran leader who at that time was a symbol of the Islamic revolution in Iran was known as radical of Islamism and anti-Americanism. U.S. - Iran were definitely stand in very opposite way. Ayatulloh always described the United States as "The Great Satan". (Sadjadpour, 2017)

The ups and downs in the process of reaching out the agreement had been continued in long term periods until passed to the era of Bush and Obama. In June 2001, according to the data from BBC.com, Mr former president of the United States-George Bush launched his statement to public that he warned the universe that the proliferation of long-range missile was being developed in the three countries: Iraq, Iran and North Korea or as known as "axis of evil". (BBC, BBC News, 2016)

Unlike Bush who places the interest of Israel significantly important and essential, Obama is quite different. Prior to JCPOA was achieved, Netanyahu

seemed very uneasy to see the fact that instead of closing Iran path way, Netanyahu thought Obama will prefers to just cut off the materials by forcing Iran to sign the agreement of Iranian commitment. If Bush bravely declared war to Saddam Hussein straightforward after 9/11 tragedy happened, Obama preferred to talk to American enemy. He thought “Jaw to jaw is better than war to war”. (Adams, 2015)

Netanyahu came to U.S. to meet Obama to discuss about what is the right decision to be achieved. Netanyahu argued that rather than to ratify the agreement, people should pay more attention to the effect emerged if the agreement would keep on going. He thought that reaching out into the agreement won't stop Iranian to produce its nuclear weapon, because still Iran could develop it secretly. (Cato, 2015)

Obama seemed to be in deep thoughts to decide what the best solution he could give to the international community and its eternal ally- Israel. We can see from his reaction before the decision was taken. He knowingly took initiatives to meet Jews representative to discuss about what good decision should be taken. He knows exactly that the decision needs to be beneficial for AIPAC at least. AIPAC is not only as a special interest group but also a biggest supporter of the congress. Besides, he also needs to consider about Israel security in the region and any possibilities that might happen as well as to meet the world expectation. (Haaretz, 2015)

Finally the decision was taken after being in long term process of debate. On October 19, 2015, Iran met its initial nuclear commitments under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) related to Iranian Nuclear programme

together with P5 + 1 country including China, France, Germany, Russia, The U.K, The U.S., and Iran. All of participants expressed their continuing commitment to the implementation of JCPOA. The agreement said to cut off Iran's path to uranium enrichment and plutonium enrichment by reducing existing stockpiles and putting barriers in the way of new production. The agreement also asked for the commitment of Iranian government to be transparent with all related to its Nuclear activity. (The White House, 2016)

The agreement definitely could not be achieved when there is no country has perseverance to raise up the issue to public persistantly. The interest of Israel is the objection of all pro Israel lobbying group in America, especially AIPAC. Israel will achieve nothing without the help of its interest group in America to bridge their notion, idea and vision aimed to indirectly influence America decision making. AIPAC itself is just an interest group which cannot touch the involving country directly no matter how powerful they are. In here, U.S. has playing a big role in making all the expectation come true. It is definately can be seen due to their persistence attempted from the beginning until reached out the agreement. Obama cannot decide what is best by himself, he needs support from the congress, American history and also some pressure from International community to decide what best for all, importantly for their ties and supportive relations with all alliances ultimately Israel.

B. Research Question

Considering the explanation and the analysis of the information above as seen at background of the problem,

the writer decides to shape a research question as follows:
How does the AIPAC influence the United States decision regarding Iran nuclear program?

C. Theoretical Framework

According to Mohtar Masoed book *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi* (Masoed, 1990, p. 109), concept is an abstract that represent an object and/or phenomenon. It used to simplify a complex situation or phenomenon. In answering the research question above, the concept that is used by the writer to examine the problem background is using a concept of interest group.

Concept of Interest Group

Interest group also known as pressure group, attempts to influence public policy in various ways. Most of interest groups share a desire to affect government policy which aims to exclusively benefit group members or particular society. They attempt to achieve their goals by lobbying both by attempting to bring pressure to bear on policy makers to gain policy outcomes in their favour. (Thomas, 2016)

According to Gabriel A. Almond, interest groups is an organization which try to influence the government policy decision and at the same time, have a willingness to get public position both in politics and governmental office. The special interest group existed is aimed to strengthen and to affect all the demands of their interest through lobbying the senate, parliament member or governmental officers that they have been supported. (Andrew & Mas'oad, 1997)

Most of special interest group has the same purpose that is none other than to influence the policy decision making. Because of that reason, they need a technique to release their goals so that they can gain self interest. (Cipto, 2003, p. 201) There are some techniques used by interest group and one of them is through lobbying. Lobbying itself is divided into several types includes,

a. Direct Lobbying.

The lobby is made directly to members of Congress or government officials. They regularly meet with members of Congress to communicate information in accordance with their interests. The meeting with members of the commission and sub-commissions important and decisive policy processes. Nevertheless, in its process, lobbying comes not only from one side, but can also be initiated from the opponent side. (Cipto, 2003, p. 95)

In evidence to prove that AIPAC had been in contacted with U.S. congressmen and government official directly showed their perspective of some certain issues it could be seen when the Iranian nuclear agreement was still on debate. It was known that Obama invited Howard Kohr, the AIPAC executive officer and official from other prominent Jews Organization to have a briefing at the White House. (Bruck, 2014)

According from Center health and gender equality, lobbying engagement to policy maker is one of critical components to advocate either government domestic and foreign policy decision. It is explain that lobbying activities is aim to give several options for policy-

maker to vote and stand for specific issue, policy or legislation's related as the interest group's stand for.

1. Research The Issue And Lawmaker

Usually, before a lobbyist conduct lobbying activity and arrange meeting with a policy-maker ,they will collect information related to the issue they want to uprise. They will gather as many informations as they can why the issue is threaten their interest or other interest they have been supported. In here for instance, the Iranian nuclear issue which very capable to threaten U.S. – Israel interest in the Middle East resulted AIPAC highly dedication to conduct lobby to American congress. They also would not approach a policy-maker who has not any close relations history with the group in the past. For instance, they usually approaching policy maker who has experienced in supporting their favour in the past, because of financing donors they received in the previous election campaign. (Genderhealth)

1. Schedule The Meeting With The Elected Official

After gathering all the information regarding the issue and the law-maker's background, the next step is schedule the meeting with the elected official. It is explain that the brief information of the issue, personal story and clear "ask" is more powerful than presenting a several plan or tacts. Here means, they knowingly understood that take and give is needed. The amount of money that

the group has been donated for election campaign is not a free of charge after all. Tell the concern the group has and ask for help to advocate the policy friendly options to the policy-maker. (Genderhealth)

2. Finalize Pre-Meeting Details

In here the lobbyist or a member of the group should clear with these three components. First is the message that going to address, second is the resources that want to leave behind, and the third is what is the ultimate “ask” that the lobbyist has aimed. (Genderhealth)

3. During The Meeting

When the meeting is on, the lobbyist should stress more about what is the impact of the issue for the group. Mention also about the good relations that has been built up previously and what the group has been effort for the law maker before. For instance, When the Iranian nuclear disputes is on going, AIPAC persistantly stated on the group official websites that Iran nuclear is possible attracting another terrorist sponsors and threaten global stabilization. Besides, not only Israel that will be get disadvantage but also America’s interest in the Middle East. The group will obviously mentioning about Israel-America relations in the past years and AIPAC biggest finance supports for U.S. election candidates over a few years. (Genderhealth)

b. Hearing Section

Lobbying can also be done through the hearing process to acquire, input from the outside congressman. On this occasion, the lobbyist can use the information or messages in accordance with the purpose of their

interest groups. (Cipto, 2003, p. 95) For instance, The AIPAC policy conference which is annually held and gathers all the AIPAC activists around the world, especially in the U.S. to hear their opinion in effort to advance Israel - America relationship and interest.

So far, AIPAC had succeeded in making high number of participant every year. It acknowledged that the participant rose significantly since the first policy conference held in 2004. In 2004, it was attended by 14.000 delegates and representatives from both countries. (AIPAC, 2016)

In every conference, AIPAC especially provides speaker from both countries to give a shot on the conference. For instance on March 20, 2016, AIPAC confirmed 400 speakers including former vice president Joe Biden and former presidential candidates such as Donald Trump, Hilary Clinton, Ted Cruz and John Kasich. (Hager, 2016)

c. Caucus Initiative

Now it appears a new habit in which the interest groups play an active role. A lobbyist today is not only to support but also may provide links to form a caucus senators or representatives. Along with this model, the lobbyists try to influence the senator or representative to vote or take on the same side. (Cipto, 2003, p. 96)

For instance, as reported by Jewish Telegraphic Agency, in 2015, there were 28 Jewish members of congress: 26 democrats, one independent who caucused with democrats and one republican. 9 of them were senators and 19 were representatives. When the discussion of Iranian nuclear agreement was on

proceed, AIPAC knowingly focused on Jewish law makers and did lobbying to them to watch over the Congress on deciding to vote to disapprove regarding the enacted of JCPOA. (Kampeas, 2015)

d. Election Support

1) Financed Candidates

U.S. interest groups can utilize their funds to finance the campaign of the candidate of politicians. One result of the use of funds to support this election campaign is the emergence of PACs (Political Action Committees). PACs are political arm of the interest groups, especially in the election and is known as a very large interest groups influence in campaign election. (Cipto, 2003, p. 97)

AIPAC is one of the interest group that overwhelmed in support candidates in order to re-elect in the election campaign. Among the presidential candidate, AIPAC generated contributions in the amount of \$212,927 for Hillary Clinton and \$203,850 for Ted Cruz. Marco Rubio received \$132,552 and Lindsey Graham received \$74,200. Perhaps that is the reason why those candidates are willing to fully support Israel through AIPAC legislation. (Hager L. M., 2016)

AIPAC is just an Interest Group no matter how powerful and impactful they are in U.S. lobbying, but then to make a political contribution directly to the other state is obviously prohibited. So, considering that sort of money around \$ 3 MILLION, AIPAC is annually making themselves contributive to

encourage candidates for accepting pro-Israel contributions through election support.

2) Creating a Publication

The interest groups not only can give donations in the form of money to support the candidates. They also provide another voice to support the candidates such as facilities publications of candidate's behavior while the candidate served, in particular voting behavior in the legislature. By publicizing the legislators voting patterns then the public can assess the extent to which such member has been beneficial or detrimental to the public interest. (Cipto, 2003, p. 99)

According to U.S. Senate public records, AIPAC has spent nearly \$2 million on direct lobbying, more than it's ever spent in any previous six-month period since 1999 in order to do Iranian nuclear propaganda through media social and tv advertisement before the agreement reach on point in order to prevent the ratification of this agreement happen. (Silverstein, 2015)

D. Hypothesis

Based on the theory above, the strategy of AIPAC to influence the U.S. decision regarding Iran nuclear program is through:

Focus lobbying the congress regarding the enacted of JCPOA agreement.

E. Research Methods

This research will be completed using qualitative by providing a relevant data and/or information respectively. The data and/or information were mostly from books, journal article, articles in periodical, reports, websites, and document from website in order to obtain the update data and information.

F. Research Purposes

This research aims to examine the role of AIPAC as special interest group on behalf of Israel interest in influencing the domestic policy of U.S. related to the case Iranian nuclear. This research only focused on the contribution of AIPAC lobbying the U.S congress and further explanation about the invisible activities behind the JCPOA agreement.

G. Writing Systematic

Chapter I is a proposal making or an introduction of the research that consists of abstract, problem background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methods, research purposes and Writing systematic.

Chapter II the writer will talk about the exceptional level of U.S. supports for Jews states, including how Jewish in the early stage was making effort to influence U.S. politics and their behaviour in order to benefit Israel and support the emergence of Israel State through its foreign policy and security assistance in the Middle East.

Chapter III will discuss about the dynamic of Iranian nuclear until reach to the agreement. How the process of

Iran acquiring nuclear energy program in the beginning and when the Iranian nuclear started in disputes.

Chapter IV will talk about AIPAC lobbying engagement to congress in order to protect Israel from Iranian nuclear threat in the future.

Chapter V will be conclusion