

HUMANISTICKE STUDIJE



8 | 2020

UNIVERZITET
DONJA GORICA

ČASOPIS HUMANISTICKE STUDIJE

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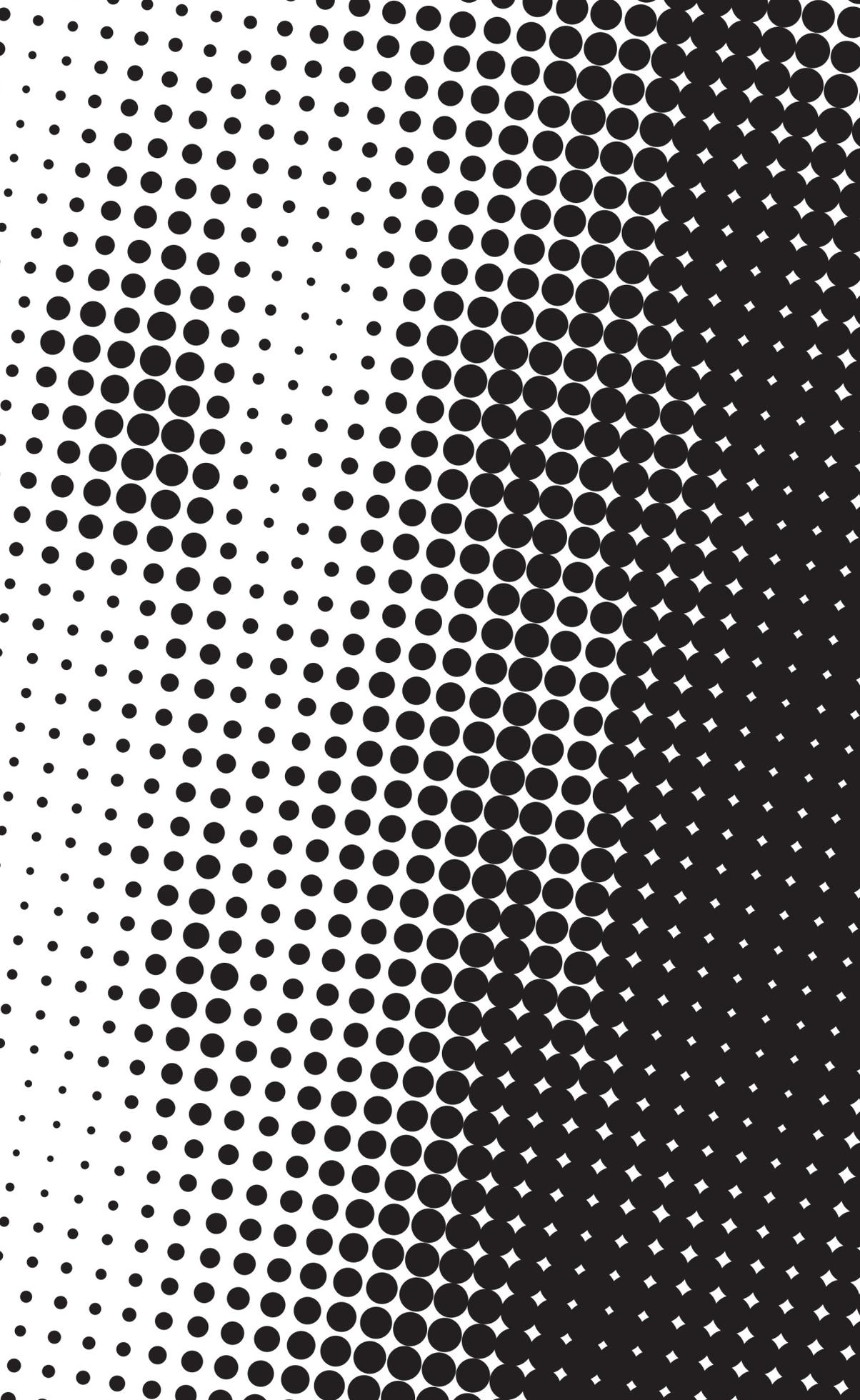
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The Role of Ethnic Interest Groups in U. S. Foreign Policy

Within most of modern states political lobbying has become an integral part of the complex decision-making mechanism, covering a wide range of societal issues. The emergence and institutionalization of lobby groups have become a form of adaptation of the management system to the increasing complexity and social and cultural differentiation of modern societies, providing channels for the realization of group interests and mass participation in political processes, including foreign policy of the states. Ethnic lobbies in the United States are considered a unique contemporary phenomenon that has been reflected in scientific discourse since the beginning of the 21st century and stands out among the minorities inhabiting the multicultural space of the American state. Ethnic lobbying reflects the most unexpected, contradictory, and diverse methods of political activity and cooperation, reflecting the close interaction between the U. S. government and ethnic groups, the complexity of sociopolitical trends that dominate Western societies, and the particular type of influence on government officials and their foreign policy. The need to generalize and conceptualize ethnic lobbying, highlight its components and resources on the example of US ethnic groups and their influence of US foreign policy as an effective model of relations between ethnic groups and the state, which can be partially used by other societies, determined the importance and relevance of the article.

Key words: United States, lobbying, foreign policy, interest groups, decision-making process

In the modern theory of international relations, there are three approaches to the understanding of the role of internal political processes in world politics as a whole. Realists and their followers are convinced that the only thing that matters is the dynamics of relations between countries, and that events within states can be ignored with varying degrees of certainty. The opposite view of things implies that relations between states are nothing more than a point of application of internal political dialogue or confrontation, a reaction to external stimuli. In this confrontation, decision-makers can pursue personal gain or defend their own understanding of the national interest.¹ Finally, an intermediate approach (conditionally

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¹ Rosati Jerel A. and Scott James M. Scott., *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2011, pp. 385–386.

it can be called interactionism) boils down to the fact that the importance of the international and domestic political levels of world politics is approximately the same. The relevance of one or another level depends to a large extent on the state and impact of another level, and various „slices“ of world politics are in continuous interaction.² With all the subjectivity of the choice of the level of phenomena in world politics subject to analysis, the phenomena themselves at this level are interconnected, and their interaction directly follows from the unity of political and social processes.³

World politics is going through a stage of transformation, in which states have to share part of their sovereignty with the so-called new political actors. Among the interest groups, a special place is occupied by the ethnic lobby, whose influence is a reflection of multiculturalism, ethnic, and cultural pluralism in the age of globalization. Ethnic lobbying is aimed not only at taking into account the particular interests of ethnic groups in the domestic political process, preserving their identity, but also at the formation and implementation of foreign policy strategies of states, their relations with countries of origin.

The emerging political system operates simultaneously, although not always synchronously, with the Westphalian system.⁴ This fact testifies to the complexity of world political processes, and it is preferable to describe complex phenomena using flexible rather than unilateral approaches. This conclusion is prompted by the analysis of the phenomenon, inscribed in several different contexts, namely, the lobbying of certain decisions in the field of US foreign policy, carried out by ethnic, racial and cultural communities. The status of such communities, even within the Westphalian system, is not fully controlled by the state. There are standards for the treatment of minorities, which are enshrined in legal or forceful methods. The regime of relations between states and communities often acquires autonomous dynamics and independently ensures its reproduction⁵. It means that ethnic lobbying in American foreign policy can be attributed to such regimes.

The promotion of interests occurs within the state, but due to the significant role of the United States in modern international relations (and more broadly in world politics) the consequences of the decisions made definitely affect relations between states. Therefore,

² Sikkink Kathryn, „Patterns of Dynamic Multilevel Governance and the Insider-Outsider Coalition“ in Donatella Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow (ed.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005, pp. 152–154.

³ Temby Owen, „What Are Levels of Analysis and What Do They Contribute to International Relations Theory?“, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 2013, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 722–723.

⁴ Kayaoglu Turan, „Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory“, *International Studies Review*, June 2010, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 193–194.

⁵ Krasner Stephen D., *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 103–104.

it is necessary to clarify what ethnic lobbying is and what resources it relies on. At the same time, it is critically important to distinguish between resources as the potential of influence and the influence itself, the implementation of which depends on many factors.

In the Western academic environment since the 1990s, there has been a surge in interest in ethnic lobbying, although researchers have focused more on influence itself rather than on the resources. This is explained by the fact that the phenomenon of ethnic lobbying implies the secrecy of information and, probably, the presence of shadow forms of promoting interests so that the possibilities of empirical confirmation of the influence of certain subjects of ethnic lobbying are still limited. Some authors take alarmist views, believing that American foreign policy is overly influenced by the respective communities. For example, Samuel Huntington noted that resources intended to ensure the national interests of the United States are being increasingly redirected to serving commercial and ethnic preferences⁶. The diaspora researcher Yossi Shain acknowledged the significant influence of ethnic communities on American politics but emphasized that such influence also has a two-way direction. Ethnic lobbies are forced to act within the American ideological field, which involves them in the processes of democratization of the countries in whose interests these lobbies work⁷. Ethnic lobbies have the opportunity to influence foreign policy, and this state of affairs meets with its understanding in the American society, but the influence of ethnic lobbies in the United States should not be overestimated. When it comes to significant issues, the last word often remains with the majority of American citizens, and the determination of ethnic groups to defend their agenda is limited by political and social institutions, as well as the inevitable stratification within any lobby⁸. Thus, statements about the presence of the influence of ethnic lobbies, regardless of their resource base, often prevail. Therefore, it seems necessary to analyze ethnic lobbying in the US foreign policy from the point of view of resources.

The very concept of lobbying is often equated with political corruption and unfair interference in state administration by wealthy segments of the population and corporations. Moreover, after the publication of the book „The Logic of Collective Action“ by the famous economist Mancur Olson, it is generally accepted that lobbying presupposes the presence of an organized interest group⁹. Therefore, any interest that has matured in society, but did not lead to the

⁶ Huntington Samuel, „The Erosion of American National Interests“, *Foreign Affairs*, 1997, No. 76, pp. 47–48.

⁷ Shain Yossi, *Marketing the American Creed Abroad: Diasporas in the US and Their Homelands*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 10.

⁸ Smith Tony, *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2005, pp. 131–134.

⁹ Olson Mancur, *The logic of collective action*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965, p. 132.

formation of a group, does not receive representation in the authorities. Consequently, lobbying and lobbyists who carry it out initially undermine the democratic foundations and the equality of the subjects of the political process. In our opinion, the function of lobbying is nobler: lobbying organizations act as intermediaries between interest groups and government bodies, and carry out communication that is important for the political system. This is especially important in the period between parliamentary or presidential elections when politicians are less inclined to respond to the needs of society.

Also, due to the complication of management tasks facing the state, the erosion of the usual dividing lines in society and the growth of social differentiation, the role of lobbying institutions in democratic states (including the United States) is gradually increasing. This, for example, is evidenced by the outcomes of the initiatives of the Democrats in the field of health care, in particular, the failed reform during the reign of President Bill Clinton: lobbyists exerted such strong pressure on Congress that the head of state was eventually not supported by his party¹⁰. The healthcare system, which was hardly adopted under President Barack Obama, experienced similar difficulties.

Of course, lobbyists (mainly professional lobbyists not mass lobbyist organizations) should not be regarded as silent and selfless executors of the customer's will. Lobbyists and lobbyist organizations pursue their interests, which at some point may even conflict with the client's requests. Among the interests of the lobbyist and lobbyist organizations, it is first of all important to note the desire to retain and increase the number of clients, create a certain reputation in the professional environment, and implement some ideals. However, a situation where the interests of the lobbyists and their client diverge is rather an extreme case. The fact is that the main resource of a lobbyist is information and his/her informal connections in government bodies, that is, ultimately, experience as well. On the contrary, interest groups and their representatives, in most cases, do not have such unique experience. Therefore, one of the most important services of a lobbyist is consulting. In the USA, according to Rogan Kersh's estimates, a lobbyist, on average, spends almost a third of his time talking with a client, explaining to him the essence of the problem, that is, in fact, formulating the client's interest¹¹. Since most often the lobbyist or lobbyist organization also play a key role in assessing the results of their work, contradictions between the lobbyist and his clients are statistically unlikely. As a result, lobbyists and lobbyist organizations are independent to a significant extent,

¹⁰ Burbank Matthew, Hrebenar Ronald J, *Parties, interest groups, and political campaigns*, Boulder, Colo: Paradigm Publishers, 2008, pp. 212–213.

¹¹ Kersh Rogan, „State Autonomy & Civil Society: The Lobbyist Connection“, *Critical Review. A Journal of Politics and Society*, 2000, Vol. 14, No. 23, pp. 237–245.

but the costs of monitoring the situation in the required branch of government are also high.

Lobbyists and a lobbying organizations are focused specifically on promoting the agenda of certain interest groups to politicians, even when this may lead to the adoption of unpopular measures. Thus, politicians balance between the perception of appropriate measures in society and the need to maintain their positions, which is more likely with the support of influential interest groups, and interest groups balance between the need to complete their tasks and the need to act with an eye to the interests of politicians. Such fluctuations depend on the information available, including the time of its receipt and accuracy. This is what lobbyists use when offering to the clients and politicians data on market conditions or voter preferences. However, politicians in the United States, according to Patrick Bernhagen's estimates, are ready to go against public opinion only in 20% of cases.¹² So the effectiveness of lobbyists and lobbying organizations partly depends on the side they choose in a political dispute.

Often, the objects of influence of lobbyists are not politicians and officials, but the general population. In order to promote a particular political solution, it is often necessary to formulate a simplified and compelling view of such a solution. The formation of a favorable information background entails the use of so-called grassroots lobbying, that is, a public campaign in support of a separate initiative with the participation of most members of an interest group (organization). In this case, the consumer of the service is not only the client of the lobbyist, but also the politician who receives, for example, letters from voters on a particular issue¹³. Mass and professional types of lobbying are closely intertwined in practice. For example, the largest organization of the Polish diaspora in the United States, the Polish American Congress (PAC), has a special unit in Washington that constantly promotes issues on the agenda of the Polish diaspora.

In the scientific literature, there are two approaches to understanding lobbying. In legal disciplines, an organizational approach has matured, which interprets the analyzed phenomenon very narrowly. For example, Elisabeth Bloodgood noted that only non-governmental organizations can act as the subject of lobbying, while state and municipal authorities can be the target. Both function within the framework of the legislation¹⁴. It turns out that all lobbying practices that go beyond legislative regulations do not exist for the organizational

¹² Bernhagen Patrick, Marshall David, „Interest Group Success: When (and Why) Does Business Lose?“, *Comparative Political Studies*, 2015, Vol. 48, No. 8, pp. 952–953.

¹³ Harris Phil, McGrath Conor, „Political Marketing and Lobbying: A Neglected Perspective and Research Agenda“, *Journal of Political Marketing*, 2012, Vol. 11, No. 12, pp. 78–80.

¹⁴ Bloodgood Elisabeth, „The interest group analogy: international non-governmental advocacy organizations in international politics“, *Review of International Studies*, 2011, Vol. 37, No. 11, pp. 94–95.

approach. This problem is solved to a certain extent by the institutional approach, which outlines the broader boundaries of the concept of „lobbyism“. Empirical data indicate that the subjects (agents) of lobbying are not only clearly non-governmental organizations, but also individual departments, their units and even individuals.¹⁵ Of course, legislative regulation is not able to cover all the existing forms and all subjects of lobbying. David Lowery emphasizes that the regulation of lobbying often arises as a reaction to already existing activities. According to their estimates, it is only about 20% of the annual volume of the market for services in this area that is recorded using the instruments of legislative regulation, the rest is considered the shadow or, conventionally, „gray“ market.¹⁶ In addition, an essential element of lobbyism is an extra-legal mechanism such as trust: lobbyists have access to decision-makers due to the relationship of commitment, sympathy or respect between them.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the institutional approach has a significant drawback: it is often impossible to distinguish between lobbyism and a broader concept — advocacy.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the overlap of concepts and their blurred boundaries are rather a reflection of existing practice. Paradoxically, the institutional approach, with its inherent uncertainty, allows us to come to a clearer understanding of the phenomenon of lobbying.

As a result, lobbyism represents both legal and extra-legal influence on decision-makers. The goals and strategy of such impact, as shown above, are subordinated to the social and political context (that is, the information relevant to the stakeholders, as well as the existing preferences in society), on the one hand, but, on the other hand, are largely determined by the performer, not the customer. Finally, it is not only interest groups and the lobbyists themselves who benefit from lobbying, but partly also the political elite and society as a whole.

The specifics of lobbying, the applicability of certain strategies of activity, the ratio of the influence of the subjects of lobbying, depend on the sphere of application, since the consequences of the decisions made and the scale of the actions taken are different. In particular, foreign policy lobbying is a rather narrow sphere of application of the efforts of interest groups. According to the Center for Responsible Policy, since 2004, the volume of services under the foreign policy section has fluctuated between 4–6 million US dollars. Although

¹⁵ Figueiredo John, Richter Brian, „Advancing the Empirical Research on Lobbying“, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2014, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 172–178.

¹⁶ Lowery David, „Lobbying influence: Meaning, measurement and missing“, *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 2013, Vol. 2, pp. 8–14.

¹⁷ Harris Phil, McGrath Conor, „Political Marketing and Lobbying: A Neglected Perspective and Research Agenda“, *Journal of Political Marketing*, 2012, Vol. 11, No. 12, pp. 82–83.

¹⁸ Feldman Pavel, „Conceptualization of approaches to the interpretation of the phenomenon of lobbying“, *Moscow State University Bulletin. Series 18. Sociology and Political Science*, 2019, No. 24, pp. 180–187.

this figure does not include lobbying on Israel, this amount is significantly less than contributions to any of the narrow areas of the sale of goods and services. For the sake of comparison, since 2004, contributions for the category of „weak alcoholic beverages“ have fluctuated in the range of 15–20 million US dollars, for the category „building materials and equipment“ – 12–15 million US dollars.¹⁹ Thus, the volume of the market for lobbying foreign policy decisions is small, but even relatively small investments can provide the subject of lobbying with significant advantages.²⁰

Another feature of promoting interests in American foreign policy is that voters in most cases do not care about the problems of other countries and regions. The majority of citizens in any state (not only in the USA) are not very familiar with the mechanism of decision-making on the world stage as well as with problems and models of their solution. In the United States, the lack of interest of ordinary people in foreign policy issues is reinforced by the doctrines of American exclusivity, the country's geographic isolation from the main „hot“ spots, and sometimes skillful manipulation by the media. In general, American citizens tend to trust and support the positions of those groups or individuals who are directly affected by a certain phenomenon or process. For example, US policy towards Cuba is largely shaped by the opinion of the natives of this island.²¹

Many political actors, including ethnic lobbies, benefit from the comparative indifference of American citizens to foreign policy. An ethnic lobby (at least for American realities) means formal organizations or informal associations acting on behalf of and in the interests of communities (although not necessarily with the consent of the majority of participants) that have arisen as a result of the division in society along cultural, ethnic, religious and racial lines.²² According to Olson, such non-market associations are based on alienation, psychological discomfort, which means that the benefits they receive are social, political, but, above all, psychological.²³ It seems that the basis of the common interest of an ethnic or cultural-political community (more broadly, an ethnic lobby) can be not only negative consolidation. This can also be facilitated by factors such as general group and individual social experience, a common language

¹⁹ The Center for Responsive Politics, Influence & Lobbying, Alphabetical List of Industries, 2020 <http://www.opensecrets.org/federal-lobbying/alphabetical-list?type=s> (accessed 01/11/2020)

²⁰ Huntington Samuel, „The Erosion of American National Interests“, *Foreign Affairs*, 1997, No. 76, p. 47.

²¹ Davidson Lawrence, *Foreign Policy, Inc.: Privatizing America's National Interest*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009, pp. 76–77.

²² Elements of Successful Interest Groups, LumenLearning, 2020, <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-politicalscience/chapter/elements-of-successful-interest-groups/> (accessed 01/11/2020)

²³ Olson Mancur, *The Logic of Collective Action*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965, pp. 133–134.

of communication, established traditions of behavior, the presence of close ties with relatives in other countries (including in the territory of origin). In addition, ethnic lobbies should be distinguished from ethnic communities (including diasporas). John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, using the example of the Israeli lobby, showed that not all representatives of the Jewish diaspora are members of it, but certain neoconservative and protestant organizations are actively involved in the activities of the lobby as well.²⁴

The resources of the influence ethnic lobbies exert on the decisions of state bodies are described in different ways in modern political science. Mearsheimer and Walt list the following resources of ethnic lobbying: structural (lack of opponents), discursive (favorable coverage in the media, in scientific and analytical literature), organizational, electoral (the number of sympathetic voters), financial, personal (having „their own people“ in the government). Researchers note that it is equally important to influence not only the decision-making process itself and the persons implementing it, but also the coverage of the issue in public space. If in the public opinion there is a certain degree of distrust about some of the options available, then most likely decision-makers will lean towards the least contested option, regardless of personal preferences²⁵. Consequently, one of the mechanisms of lobbying comes down to cutting off solutions that are unacceptable for a certain organization and consolidating the result obtained by establishing stable ties with officials in the executive and legislative branches of government.

It is possible to reduce the number of solutions considered by means of a certain presentation of facts in the media and in the presence of a certain number of scientific and expert centers that adhere to a similar interpretation of the facts. In addition, public action by politicians (such as condemning or expressing support) also limits the number of alternatives considered. Accordingly, the task of the lobby is to push politicians to take such steps or, conversely, to deter them from taking such actions. In turn, it is possible to ensure the choice of the desired option by promoting obviously loyal persons to the positions of the executive and legislative branches. In this case, the lobbying structure can not only directly transfer contributions to the electoral funds of the respective candidates, but can also assist in establishing contacts with major sponsors of political campaigns²⁶.

Since the research of Mearsheimer and Walt concerned only the Israeli lobby in the United States, David Haglund and Tyson McNeil-Hay tried to consider the resources of influence that are characteristic of all ethnic lobbies. In their opinion, the success of an

²⁴ Mearsheimer John, Walt Stephen, *The Israel Lobby and U. S. Foreign Policy*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007, pp. 113–129.

²⁵ Ibid, pp. 151–153.

²⁶ Mearsheimer John, Walt Stephen, *The Israel Lobby and U. S. Foreign Policy*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007, pp. 163–168.

ethnic lobby is ensured primarily by the economic and social status of the respective ethnic group, as well as the cohesion and effectiveness of lobbying organizations. At the same time, the socioeconomic and organizational resource of ethnic lobbies is not necessarily used for legal actions, including for influencing decision-making bodies. Often, the influence of the lobby can be indirect and is expressed in public illegal actions (for example, the Cuban lobby prepared an attempt on Fidel Castro's life and facilitated armed raids on the territory of Cuba).²⁷ Accordingly, it is not only the resources of influence of the ethnic lobby that matter, but also the ways and ability to use these resources.

The Indian researcher Dinshaw Mistry notes that the size of the ethnic group in the interests of which the lobby acts does not matter much. The resettlement of representatives of an ethnic group and their concentration in separate constituencies are much more important. In addition, the scientist suggested that the lack of one resource in the lobby can be compensated for with the help of other resources. For example, the underdevelopment of the organizational resource (disagreements among the relevant organizations, little experience of their interaction with the governing bodies) can be compensated with the ability of lobbyist structures to join broad coalitions, including those that include stronger players. Dinshaw Mistry, using the example of the Indian lobby, demonstrated that even in the absence of an electoral, organizational and structural resource, the success of an ethnic lobby is possible with the use of compensatory mechanisms.²⁸ At the same time, too wide coalitions lead to the fact that the interest of its members in continuing to defend their interest is reduced, and it becomes more and more difficult to maintain communication within the coalition.²⁹ In other words, the possibilities of using compensatory mechanisms are not unlimited.

Thus, the resources of the influence of ethnic lobbies include:

- concentration of representatives of ethnic, racial and cultural communities within the boundaries of a separate administrative unit (including the electoral district);
- certain financial capabilities to ensure the conduct of mass actions and the establishment of close contacts with decision-makers;
- an appropriate level of political culture, in particular the ability to enter into coalitions with a wide range of participants;
- „built-in“ lobbyists, that is, representatives of the lobby working in various positions in state and municipal authorities;

²⁷ Pérez Louis A. Jr., „Fear and Loathing of Fidel Castro: Sources of US Policy toward Cuba“, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 2002, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 227–254.

²⁸ Mistry Dinshaw, „The India Lobby and the Nuclear Agreement with India“, *Political Science Quarterly*, 2013, Vol. 128, No. 4, pp. 717–722.

²⁹ Olson Mancur, *The Logic of Collective Action*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965, pp. 139–140.

- the presence of the minimum required number of formal organizations necessary to defend the relevant interest;
- the lack of lobbying structures with a commensurate potential with the opposite agenda.

Each community that has emerged as a result of ethnic, racial and other cultural and political divisions in society has a unique combination of the above resources. This leads to different degrees of the proximity of interest groups and lobbying structures to „access points“. These include not only decision-makers (the president, speakers of both chambers), but also persons involved in the discussion and development of decisions (members of specialized committees of the Congress and parliamentary caucuses, leaders of factions and party organizers, heads of departments of executive bodies).³⁰ Depending on the presence or absence of a certain group of resources, the tactics of actions of ethnic lobbies may differ. In general, the practice of recent decades in the United States shows that a significant number of interest groups have only electoral and financial resources, which leads to the use of indirect and massive forms of lobbying, such as organizing citizens' appeals to government bodies (petitions, demonstrations).³¹ The last of the above listed resources of ethnic lobbies seems to be the most important one. This is confirmed by the practice of ethnic lobbying in the foreign policy sphere.

In 2007 and 2010 the Armenian lobby sought the adoption of a resolution in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, calling on the President to recognize the Armenian Genocide in 1915 in Turkey. The main sponsor of the resolutions was Adam Schiff, a congressman from California, in whose constituency the number of voters of Armenian origin reached 10%. This step was supported by The Armenian National Committee of America, which is one of the largest structures of US ethnic lobbying. However, these resolutions were never considered in the House of Representatives, since the small Turkish lobby used the pressure of official Ankara and the services of professional lobbyists (in particular, the former Republican member of Congress Republican Robert Livingston Jr.). The representatives of the opponents of the resolutions did not call for a direct rejection of the recognition of the Armenian genocide. The focus of their rhetoric was shifted to the issue of strengthening friendly relations between the United States and Turkey. Thus, the Turkish lobby in the public space managed to oppose the ideology of human rights protection, which condemns war crimes, with the ideology of mutually beneficial cooperation and promotion of national

³⁰ Drutman Lee, *The Business of America is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate*, New York: Oxford University Press 2017, pp. 29–31.

³¹ Goldstein Kenneth, *Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Participation in America*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 14–27.

interests.³² In general, the relatively weak Turkish lobby was able to thwart the much more influential Armenian one.

Such manipulation of public opinion as a way of influencing foreign policy decisions requires big intellectual resources, a deep understanding of ideological processes in the American society. Lawrence Davidson notes that influence groups narrow and expand the content of basic American ideologemes (for example, „freedom“), and then support their arguments with skillfully selected information. So, expansionist aspirations, in principle, violate the freedom of the object of expansion, however, the interpretation of freedom exclusively as freedom of trade and entrepreneurship allows for an opportunity of getting around the contradictions to a certain extent.³³

Like a resource of political culture, the long-term work requires the acquisition of built-in lobbyists. In the political realities of the United States, this happens through the formation of stable ties between ethnic lobbies and the bureaucratic apparatus. Some departments and committees in both houses of Congress need „support groups“ to demonstrate citizen approval of their activities. As a result, advisory committees or public councils have been formed at many subdivisions of state and municipal authorities. Representatives of government bodies or members of one of the Congress chambers are often included in the supervisory or advisory councils of the respective lobbying organizations. These structures often go beyond advisory functions and act as intermediaries on behalf of „their“ departments in contact with other authorities and interest groups.³⁴ In 2018, there were over 77000 advisory organizations under the federal executive authorities of the United States.³⁵

Understanding the goals of lobbyists is an integral part of explaining the actions of ethnic groups. A comparison of historical past and present circumstances is a rational formula for drawing conclusions about ethnic lobbying. The ethnic roots of immigrants play a crucial role in pursuing political and ideological motives. The study of the history of these groups is the key to a deep approach to understanding the tasks of ethnic minorities and their role in foreign policy. Taking into account modern realities that only summarize the historiographical review of the issue, which in the case of the different ethnic lobbies in the United States have a diverse scope of development.

³² Zarifian Julien, „The Armenian-American Lobby and Its Impact on U. S. Foreign Policy“, *Society*, 2014, Vol. 51, pp. 504–507.

³³ Davidson Lawrence, *Foreign Policy, Inc.: Privatizing America's National Interest*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009, pp. 51–52.

³⁴ Drutman Lee, *The Business of America is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate*, New York: Oxford University Press 2017, pp. 33–35.

³⁵ Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA) Database (2020), List of Members by 2018, <https://www.facadatabase.gov/FACA/apex/FACADatasets> (accessed 01/11/2020).

Much of the scholarly work discussed in the article examines the formation of ethnic influence of minorities on the foreign policy in the context of multiculturalism. They emphasize that the evolution of democracy and the development of modern tendencies have provoked the emergence of lobbying as a socio-political phenomenon. Migration and saturation of the country's demographic space necessitate the defense of minority rights. The historical preconditions for the formation of the structure of the ethnic lobbies in the United States are a pattern that is dictated by a multicultural factor. In addition, a comparison of historical facts with modern realities makes it possible to explain in detail the reasons that characterize the uniqueness of the US ethnic lobbies as minorities that have managed to gain the support of US politicians.

Thus, depending on the availability and numerous combinations of resources, the degree of influence of ethnic lobbies on foreign policy can vary significantly. In addition, the acquisition of some resources requires separate and long-term work, which is not within the capacity of all communities that have arisen as a result of ethnic, racial or cultural differentiation. It also seems that the concept of lobbying should include not only direct influence on decision-making bodies, but also activities to acquire the appropriate potential for exerting influence. The list of resources formulated above can hardly be called exhaustive, but nevertheless, it sets certain parameters for studying specific ethnic lobbies and their activity in the field of US foreign policy.

Ethnic lobbies will likely expand their resource potential and increase the scale of their involvement in making foreign policy decisions in the United States, especially after the US presidential elections in November 2020. In this regard, the analysis of the resource potential of ethnic lobbies and trends in the development of interaction between interest groups and official authorities remains one of the most important areas of research for European and US specialists in international relations and world politics.

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Mykhaylo Komarnytskyy

ULOGA ETNIČKIH INTERESNIH GRUPA U SPOLJNOJ POLITICI SAD

U većini modernih država političko lobiranje postalo je sastavni dio složenog mehanizma odlučivanja, pokrivajući širok spektar društvenih pitanja. Pojava i institucionalizacija lobističkih grupa postali su oblik prilagođavanja sistema upravljanja sve većoj složenosti i socio-kulturnoj diferencijaciji modernih društava, pružajući kanale za ostvarivanje grupnih interesa i masovno učešće u političkim procesima, uključujući i spoljnu politiku države. Etnički lobiji u Sjedinjenim Državama smatraju se jedinstvenim savremenim fenomenom koji se odražava u naučnom diskursu od početka 21. vijeka i ističe se među manjinama koje naseljavaju multikulturni prostor američke države. Etničko lobiranje reflektuje najneočekivanije, kontradiktorne i raznolike metode političkih aktivnosti i saradnje, odražavajući blisku interakciju između vlade SAD-a i etničkih grupa, složenost sociopolitičkih trendova koji dominiraju zapadnim društvima i posebnu vrstu uticaja na vladine zvaničnike i njihovu spoljnu politiku. Potreba za generalizovanjem i konceptualizacijom etničkog lobiranja ističe njegove komponente i resurse, na primjeru američkih etničkih grupa i njihovog uticaja na američku spoljnu politiku kao djelotvornog modela odnosa između etničkih grupa i države, koji mogu djelimično koristiti druga društva, što u konačnici determiniše važnost i relevantnost ovog rada.

Ključne riječi: Sjedinjene Države, lobiranje, spoljna politika, interesne grupe, proces donošenja odluka