

SİYASİ ELMLƏR**UOT 32****LOBBIES IN THE US: INFLUENCE OF ARMENIAN LOBBY ON THE US FOREIGN POLICY****Bayram Kadir ALIYEV**

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The number of actors behind decision-making process increases in the pluralist political environment. In this article, a particular type of interest groups, ethnic lobbies and their influence on policy process are analyzed. Armenian lobby in the US and its influence on American Foreign Policy towards South Caucasus and Turkey are selected as case study and analyzed from political pluralism perspective.

Keywords: *Ethnic lobbies, interest groups, Armenian lobby, the US Foreign Policy*

1. Introduction

The role of interest groups (also known as factions, organized interests, pressure groups, and special interests)² at political decision-making process and their influence on governmental policies increase sharply in Democracy Promotion Era. In political science, studying on interest groups also became important in parallel of increasing its role. Namely, by 1940s and 1950s the nature of political science changed and researches on interest groups gained importance, while earlier political scientists did not take much attention on interest groups.³

² Cigler J., Allan & Loomis, Burdett A., "The changing nature of Interest Group Politics", in Ed. by Cigler J., Allan & Loomis, Burdett A. "Interest Group Politics", CQ Press, 2012, p. 2

³ Ainsworth, Scott H., "Analyzing interest groups: Group influence on People and Policies", W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2002, p. 5

Interest groups are inseparable parts of Democratic Governments. We see that influence of interest groups to governance and policy-making process is in agenda at democratic regions such as the US and European Union. Interest groups show differences, there are plenty kinds of interest groups in the world. Naturally, every groups- it can be ethnic groups, minorities, religious groups, trade organizations, and etc.- have social interests. Emerging of interest groups in particular country on the context of influencing policies, basically, is the product of this social interest. In this paper, I try to analyze Armenian lobby, which is one of the most powerful ethnic lobbies in the USA, and its influence on American foreign policy towards South Caucasus and Turkey. Selecting Armenian Lobby and its activities in the US is important, because as we will see in the next part of my paper, the US is one of the most influenced country by lobbies and Armenian Lobby is one of the most influential lobbies in the US. I discuss direct impact of Armenian Lobby to American Foreign Policy towards South Caucasus and Turkey, in which both of them are extraordinarily crucial for Armenia and Armenian People.

For this purpose, firstly, I examine characteristics of ethnic lobbies, then looking Armenia and South Caucasus region (because without knowing these relations we cannot understand activities and goals of Armenian Lobby) and lastly, Armenian lobby in the U.S., its activities and its role on American foreign policy towards South Caucasus and Turkey.

1.1. Ethnic Lobbies and their Features

Definition of Lobbies generally is given like that: “Lobbying is generally defined as the process of seeking to influence a government and its institutions to execute policies that serve interests of a group of individuals.”⁴ David Truman defined Interest groups as: “An interest group is a group that is based on one or more shared attitudes and makes certain claims upon other groups or organizations in the society.”⁵ Activities of interest groups embrace broad fields of life, since the kind of activity depends on nature of interest groups and their goals. My aim is not that to do research on classifying interest groups and their activities. This kind of issues are examined and described broadly Ainsworth’s well-known “Analyzing Interest Groups: Group Influence on People and Policies” work.⁶ However, I would like give some information about emerging

⁴ The influence of ethnic lobbying on the US foreign policy, Available online: <http://www.turkishweekly.net/op-ed/2997/the-influence-of-ethnic-lobbying-on-us-foreign-policy.html>

⁵ Hrebenar, Ronald J., “Interest Group Politics in America”, M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1997, p. 8

⁶ Ainsworth, Scott H., “Analyzing interest groups: Group influence on People and Policies“, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2002, p. 5

of interest groups. Emergence of difference groups that have influence on policy-making are related with emergence of Pluralism. Pluralist theory possesses central point to describe and to analyze emergence of interest groups and their behaviors. Therefore, Pluralism theory expresses plurality of interests in societies rather than each and every of them have same goals. It is known that, as I mentioned above, pluralism is only applicable at liberal democratic systems, since its criteria appropriate to this kind of political environment. In conclusion, lobbying and activities of pressure groups, lobbies as well as international advocacy networks are possible and valuable at societies which possess pluralistic thoughts. So that, political system of host country is very important for the Lobbying organizations, since it determines the extent to which diasporas might influence the homeland politics in addition to the hostland ones.⁷

Success of ethnic lobbies mostly depends on historical background of the ethnic identity of lobbyist organization and lobbied country. For instance, Armenian, Kurdish and Jewish lobby are most influential lobbies in the USA. These lobbies are very influential at other countries also. Influence of ethnic lobbies are depends on political history of respective ethnic identities. Namely, it is known that how Jewish suffered from Nazi Government among World War I and II period. On the other hand, although it is another discussion object, but Armenians also suffered at 1915s migration from Ottoman Empire, whether it was genocide or not, but Armenian ethnic identity has been built on these issues. Kurds are also encountered danger of loss of their identity because of the public perception of violation of their rights in Iran and Turkey. So, we see that any danger of assimilation and removing threat from international arena as a nation, as an ethnic identity mobilize respective ethnic identity or any group.

As it is classified, lobbying is concerned both domestic and international issues which is directly depend on from type of lobbying. For instance, a union of homosexuals naturally interested in domestic politics rather than foreign policies of countries, since they attempt to get their rights in the specific country. It seems like, on this context, the nature of ethnic lobbies appropriate to international issues rather than domestic policies. So that, ethnic lobbies emerge as a union of migrated people to any country and their activities are related with foreign policies of their migrated country to make beneficial it for their root country according to the interests of their original country and usually they try to support interests of their original country as well. From this point of view, it can be said that ethnic lobbies, basically, try to develop relations between their host and original country. Other issues are derived from this basic principle. The other example to ethnic lobbying is that activities of countries at

⁷ Baser, B., Swain, A., "Diaspora Design Versus Homeland Realities: Case Study of Armenian Diaspora", *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, Nr. 1, Winter 2009, p. 51

international arena with benefits from lobby organizations at those countries. On this context, activities of ethnic lobbies are subject matter of International Relations. In current international politics role of the diaspora and ethnic lobbies increasing steadily with increasing of liberalization at international sphere, it can be said that lobbies are one of the key actors in international relations.

Lobbying activities are analyzed under two categories which describes form of lobby activities. Furthermore, a lobby organization can use both of them at the same time. These two categories are:

- Direct Lobbying
- Indirect Lobbying (Also known as Grassroots lobbying)⁸

Direct lobbying is a lobby activity which tries to influence policies and legislation process directly. For this purpose, lobbyist organization meets responsible officials directly and tries to convince him/her in favor of their goals. Direct Lobbying Strategy is used by the vast majority of interest groups. It is less subject to misinterpretation, simple and less dangerous than Indirect Lobbying strategy.⁹

Indirect Lobbying uses propaganda, media, and other tools in order to change decisions of legislative bodies by changing public opinion. Indirect lobbying tactics are coalitions, boycotts, referendums, demonstrations, media lobbying and etc. which became important side of electronic lobbying.¹⁰ It is considered that Grassroots lobbying (Indirect Lobbying) is more influential lobbying form than direct lobbying.¹¹ Direct and indirect lobbying cover many lobbying techniques such as face-to-face meeting, public relations campaign, using mass media, publishing and distributing brochures, reports, manifestos and other techniques.

2. Armenian Lobby and its influence on Foreign Policy of the USA

In this section of my paper, I try to discuss goals of Armenian Lobby and its role on American Foreign Policy. It is beneficial to know that what is going on at the South Caucasus region and to know key points of Armenian Foreign Policy to reach true results of research question in front of us. And it should be considered that, common issues in the region which is also shaped the US foreign policy toward it are Nagorno-Karabakh problem, Armenian Genocide issue, currently energy issues both from Central Asian countries and from Azer-

⁸ Direct and Grassroots Lobbying Definitions, Available Online: <http://www.irs.gov/Charities-&-Non-Profits/Direct--and--Grass-Roots--Lobbying-Defined>

⁹ Hrebenar, Ronald J., "Interest Group Politics in America", M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1997, p. 79

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 118

¹¹ Ibid, p. 157

baijan. All conflicts in the region and all developed strategies by both domestic and international political actors are depends on above-mentioned issues.

2.1. South Caucasus Politics and Armenian Foreign Policy

End of Cold War and collapse of Soviet Union created new political environment in the South Caucasus and these countries (Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia) declared their independency like other post-Soviet countries. There were serious ethnic conflicts at the region eve of independency in which they have been continuing even today. Armenia occupied 20 % of Azerbaijani territories and Nagorno-Karabakh which is an unrecognized region which has been taken under the control by Armenians during Nagorno-Karabakh war with Azerbaijan among 1991-1993. We see that formation and shaping of Armenian foreign policy and its interests have been constructed on these issues. Analyzing Armenian Foreign Policy, firstly we should look it at three different context:

- Firstly, Armenian geopolitics should be examined with framework of its own dynamics and its place at current international system

- Secondly, there are international actors that interested in geopolitical advantages of the country. One of such important international actors is Armenian Lobby which is trying to divert system.

- Thirdly, the most important problem of Armenia in regional basis is Nagorno-Karabakh problem which it has experienced serious problems with neighbor countries for this problem.¹²

In light of these three arguments, we can classify Armenian Foreign Policy orientations like that:

- Recognition of Armenian and Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. Armenia tries to gain recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic which was under the control of Azerbaijan till 1991 with majority of Armenians

- Recognition of “Armenian Genocide” which is claimed happened at 1915 in Ottoman Empire. Armenia executes it to make pressure on Turkey and tries to legalize its territorial claims against Turkey.

- Attempting to weaken position of Turkey and Azerbaijan.¹³

So that, Armenian foreign policy interests are shaped on above-mentioned interests. In next parts of this paper, we will see that Armenian Republic executes its foreign policy interests with the help of Armenian

¹² Bueyuekakinci, E., “Ermenistan Dis Politikasından Uluslararası Sistem Degiskenlerine Bakis” (A view of International System Dimensions from Armenian Foreign Policy), ed. Yesilot, O., “Degisen Duenyada Kafkasya” (Caucasus in Changing World), Kitabevi Publications, Istanbul, 2005, p. 125

¹³ Ibid

Lobbies at the World. Our main research question is related how Armenian Lobby successful is, in which we will try to clarify this question.

2.2. The US Foreign Policy towards South Caucasus countries and Turkey

The end of Cold War caused hot debates on foreign policy line of the USA both academic and political environments. One of the most important dimensions of these debates is ethnic groups influence on American Foreign Policy. Basically, some scholars saw increasing of ethnic lobbies influence as a threat for the American National interests, while others thought that activism of ethnic lobbies at American foreign policy is positive thing, so it is indicator of how different ethnic groups are integrated to the American social and political life.¹⁴ Artur M. Schlesinger, Samuel Huntington, Tony Smith and others supported first argument, while Yossi Shain and others thought that ethnic lobbies influence is not negative case for America. Huntington's ideas on the issue is quite valuable. He compares American foreign policy during Cold War and post-Cold War period and argues that American society united during Cold War period and struggled against communism, so at that time there was no problem at foreign policy development, but after the ending of Cold War emergence of different ethnic lobby groups and their efforts to influence foreign policy of the country is a threat for the America because of it is warning of dissolution of American foreign policy. Huntington sees such kind of foreign policy as a threat for national security of America.¹⁵ As I tackled above, these debates were expression of realistic and pluralistic thoughts. Realists such as Huntington always support priority of national interests and state-oriented policies, while pluralists think that society should attend policy process and plurality should be dominated both in domestic and foreign policies. We see that realpolitik changed its dominant place at American foreign policy at post-cold war period. In this work, we study Armenian lobby's influence on American foreign policy which is activities of these organizations are executed by ethnic Armenians.

Importance of Armenia in South Caucasus policies of the USA and humanitarian aids to the country is not appropriate to the geopolitical position of Armenia and functionality of the US Foreign Policy. Armenian Lobby in the US has extraordinarily important role on the US policies toward not only Armenia, but also whole region countries, especially Azerbaijan and Turkey. If

¹⁴ Gregg, Heather S., "The success of Armenian Ethnic Lobbies in the US", Available Online: <http://intersci.ss.uci.edu/wiki/eBooks/Articles/Success%20of%20Armenian%20Lobbies%20Gr egg.pdf>

¹⁵Ibid

we have a look at South Caucasus entirely, its energy resources and importance on security, we see that the US's attention to Armenia is not suitable to American interests. Therefore, Armenia has been the most confidential ally of Russia among South Caucasus countries and Russia possesses military base in the country. On the context of American interests, stability of Azerbaijan and Georgia has vital importance, however Armenia has played a crucial role making instable these countries. Especially, Armenian uncompromising policies on Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and being occupied of Azerbaijani territories- which the UN recognize Armenia as a conquering country and make resolutions on it¹⁶- and damage energy projects which are supported by the US. Energy pipeline projects such as Baku- Tbilisi- Ceyhan (BTC) and Baku-Tbilisi- Erzurum (BTE) had not been applied for many years since there was no regional stability for many years, in which Armenia's position directly influenced it. Most recent example to Armenia's anti-western policies is Armenia's desire to be a part of Custom Union which was founded by Russia and this union claims to be an alternative to European Union.¹⁷ In addition, as Azerbaijan do not get enough support from the US, it makes barrier its relations with the US and balanced place of the US with Russia in its foreign policy. Furthermore, we can give many examples to the importance of Azerbaijan for the US. For instance, after Uzbekistan demanded the US to leave its military base at the end of 2005, Azerbaijan's importance as a regional ally increased. In April 2005, an agreement had been reached regarding the stationing of US troops in Azerbaijan.¹⁸ From this perspective, the US, logically should not support Armenia, but should make pressure on Armenia, since it is suitable for American interests.

The US has two strategic aims in its policies on Armenia:

- Solution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict or at least provide continuity of ceasefire
- Integration of Armenia to Western System

Regarding solution of Nagorno-Karabakh problem, we see that the US cannot prevent its effectiveness and so that solution conditions depend on Russia at current stage of conflict. As it was mentioned above, Russia has strong influence on Armenia, although the efforts of the US intended to Westernize Armenia. On the other hand, Azerbaijani side do not accept the US as non-partisan state attempts to participate peaceful solution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. There are many factors to cause it. The most important one

¹⁶ Available Online: <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eur/rls/or/13508.htm>,
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/ga10693.doc.htm>

¹⁷ Available Online: <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/68285>

¹⁸M. Haas, A. Tibold, V. Cillessen, "Geo-strategy in the South Caucasus", Clingendael Institute publications, November 2006, p.29

is execution of “FREEDOM Support Act” which was made 24th of 1992, to assist all post-Soviet countries with exception of Azerbaijan. The section 907 was added to this act which prohibits American government to any direct assist to Azerbaijan.¹⁹ Putting section 907 to the “Freedom support Act” was related with Armenian Lobby in the US, which will be spoken next part of the paper.

Regarding integration of Armenia to the West, it is also unsuccessful because of domestic dynamics of Armenia have different directions. Many parties in the country are supporting making close ties with Russia instead of Western countries include the USA. Although, Armenian Lobby in the USA is supporting the idea that Armenia should integrate west, but they continue to support those Russian-oriented political actors in Armenia. It creates paradox about main goals of Armenian Lobby.

The policies of the US toward Azerbaijan are very complex and paradoxical. Generally, American foreign policy towards Azerbaijan and Turkey has been defined according to their relations with Armenia since the end of Cold War. First years of independency of Azerbaijan was not good on the context of relations with the USA. With the impact of Armenian lobby, the US government banned foreign aid to Azerbaijan. However, the relations began improving after Bush administration remove Section 907 in January 2002 which banned direct government aid to Azerbaijan. Furthermore, Azerbaijan became also an important US ally in “war against terrorism” after terrorism act in the US September 2002. Azerbaijan has shown its maximum support to the US against its war on terrorism. When energy projects began to be applied, the influence of Armenian lobby began to decrease in parallel of it.

During Cold War period, Turkey had been one of the most important countries for the USA, as it was located in neighborhood of the Soviet Union and Turkey was accepted strategic ally of the USA at that time. Turkey’s that role did not change in course of a time, when Cold War period ended, privileges of countries politically slithered to energy issues. On this context, Turkey’s strategic importance for not only the USA, but also all Western countries increased, it became transit country of energy. Furthermore, Turkey played important role at Middle East policies of the USA. So that, it is obvious that Turkey’s importance for the USA is incomparably more than importance of Armenia.

2.3. Armenian Lobby in the US

In this part of my paper, I would like give short information about more influential Armenian lobby organization in the US, their activities, mission and

¹⁹M. Haas, A. Tibold, V. Cillessen, “Geo-strategy in the South Caucasus”, Clingendael Institute publications, November 2006, p.29

etc. Main Armenian lobbying groups are Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) and Armenian Assembly of America (AAA). Each of these lobbies are using direct and indirect lobbying techniques effectively. They use all of above-mentioned techniques together, for example, when they need, they make coalitions with other lobbies such as Greek lobby and Roman Lobby against Turkey, they are being very active at elections, they have their own media organizations, they meet state officials of the USA face-to-face and etc.

2.3.1. Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA)

Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) is the biggest and strongest Armenian lobbying organization at the USA and it has variety of functions at the country. It uses grassroots lobbying methods, so it works on issues regarding Armenian American community. Regarding main targets of this organization, it is written official website of the ANCA that:

- To foster public awareness in support of a free, united and independent Armenia;

- To influence and guide U.S. policy on matters of interest to the Armenian American community;

- To represent the collective Armenian American viewpoint on matters of public policy, while serving as liaison between the community and their elected officials.²⁰

As our main subject is influence of Armenian Lobby on American Foreign Policy, I will not analyze broadly ANCA's role on elections at federal, state or local level, although it is participating very actively at this process. ANCA tries to educate both Armenian American voters about position of candidates regularly, and also candidates about issues that they put on as a target in front of them. Regarding its influence on issues regarding Armenia, it is written that:

"Initiating legislation on issues of concern to the Armenian American community, such as strengthening Armenia as a secure, prosperous and democratic state; supporting Nagorno Karabagh's right to self-determination and independence within secure borders; increasing U.S. aid levels to Armenia to promote economic and democratic development; securing direct U.S. aid to Nagorno Karabagh; ensuring the appropriate commemoration of the Armenian Genocide; and encouraging Turkey and Azerbaijan to lift their blockades and adhere to international standards for human rights and humanitarian practices."²¹

²⁰ Official Website of the Armenian National Committee in the US, Available Online:

<http://www.anca.org/ancaprofile.php>

²¹ Ibid

If we compare Armenian foreign policy and the goals of ANCA, we see that on these issues they have same attitudes. Although they did not gain to be recognized Nagorno-Karabakh and to be recognized “Armenian Genocide” in the USA officially, however it is witnessed that they acquired success to achieve to be recognized in many states of the USA. If only section 907 against Azerbaijan which was prepared with direct influence of Armenian Lobby is taken into account, it is just enough to see how they successful. Furthermore, in the official website of the ANCA, it is plenty of information about “Armenian Genocide” and a lot of documents about what they are using to reach their goals. In addition, they are many links to other organizations which is known as an indicator of strength,

2.3.2. Armenian Assembly of America (AAA)

Armenian Assembly of America goals to educate American Armenians about their cultural heritage and their ethnic identity, to prevent important Armenian cultural materials and buildings, to educate American Society about Armenian culture, to share information about historical, educative, religious and cultural life of Armenia and to provide Armenian ethnic group contribution at democracy life of America. Furthermore, it aims to attempt increasing aids of the USA to Armenia, to encourage Congress visits to Armenia, to create projects with purpose to strengthen democratic and social institutions.²² Activities of AAA are academic works, governmental issues, public relations, migrant issues and etc. In addition, the Armenian Assembly aims to strengthen U.S./Armenia and U.S./“Nagorno Karabakh” relations, tries to contribute Armenia's and “Karabakh's” (unrecognized state) democratic development and economic prosperity and seeks universal affirmation of the “Armenian Genocide”.²³

2.4. The Influence of Armenian Lobby on relations of the US with South Caucasus countries and Turkey

We see that all Armenian lobby organizations in the USA take into agenda problems regarding Azerbaijan and Turkey. As we saw, main problematic issues with Azerbaijan are Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and foreign aid of the US. On Turkish context, main problem is recognizing of “Armenian Genocide”. We saw that one of main goals of Armenian Diaspora is recognizing of Nagorno-Karabakh de-facto state. Although it is not recognized

²²Kantarci, Shenol, “ABD ve Kanada’da Ermeni Diasporasi: Kuruluslar ve Faaliyetleri” (Armenian Diaspora in the USA and Canada: organizations and their activities), Ermeni Arastirmalari Dergisi (Journal of Armenian Studies), Nr. 3, 2001, p. 100

²³Available Online: http://www.armeniapedia.org/wiki/Armenian_Assembly_of_America

by the US officially, some states in the US have already recognized this republic such as Rhode Island, Maine, Louisiana and Massachusetts. Furthermore, some states are the eve of recognizing with the impact of Armenian Lobby, for instance, a resolution calling for the recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh was brought in the parliament of California (the USA) on January 6. Assemblyman Mike Gatto supported people of Armenian ethnic group in the US around California and he called the world in for the United States to recognize the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic as a sovereign state.²⁴

These kind of issues make tension between Azerbaijan and the USA and it forces Azerbaijan to become distant from the West. Namely, for example when Los Angeles City Council made decision to recognize “Nagorno-Karabakh” republic, Azerbaijan has officially condemned the Los Angeles City Council for recognition of the so-called “Nagorno-Karabakh Republic”. Foreign Ministry’s spokesman Elman Abdullayev said the Los Angeles City Council’s resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has been adopted under pressure by the Armenian lobby of the city.²⁵ Furthermore, supporting of Armenia in any case, attempts to recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh and “Armenian Genocide” are common interests of all Armenian lobbying organizations. These common interests make Armenian Lobby powerful in the USA. For example, Armenia accepted 2 billion dollars as a foreign aid from the USA between 1992 and 2010. The same period Azerbaijan’s accepting aid is around 800 million dollars. If we consider that, the population of Azerbaijan is more than population of Armenia around two times, we will see that how Armenian Lobby is successful in the USA.²⁶

Armenian Lobbyists main interest on Turkish-American relations is recognition of “Armenian Genocide”. We see that sometimes the US makes decision on Turkey which is paradoxical its national interests by the lobbying of Armenian interest groups, as Samuel Huntington argued. Armenian Lobby’s goals to make pressure on Turkey is expressed by former President of Assembly of Turkish American Associations, Tamer Acikalin with “4R” strategies. He argues:

- **Resurrection:** The first goal is mobilizing Armenians in the US and consciousness of Armenian people in the USA at their national identity

²⁴ Available Online:

http://www.armenianow.com/commentary/analysis/51236/armenia_karabakh_recognition_azerbaijan

²⁵ Available Online: <http://azeriamericanews.com/2014/01/30/baku-condemns-la-council-for-recognition-of-nagorno-karabakh-republic-independence/>

²⁶ USAK (International Strategic Research Organization) Research Center, “ABD’nin Ermenistan Politikası” (Armenian Policy of the USA), Available Online: <http://www.usakgundem.com/ders-notu/22/abd%E2%80%99nin-ermenistan-politikas%C4%B1.html>

- **Recognition:** It means recognition of “Armenian Genocide” at worldwide. We see that Armenian interest groups at whole world, especially in the USA, in France and etc. developed countries try to recognize it. As we saw above, they got some successes. Many countries worldwide such as Lebanon, Italy, France recognized “Armenian Genocide” and in the USA 43 states recognized of “Armenian Genocide”.
- **Restitution:** After realizing first two goals, they will demand compensation for “Armenian Genocide” from Turkey
- **Repatriation:** It is known for years that Armenian has claims on East Anatolian region of Turkey as there are some Armenian cultural heritage remains such as Armenian churches.

For this purpose, Armenian Lobbies are working in the USA Congress hardly. Namely, they negotiate with senators, organize short visits to Armenia and attempt to organize speeches of those senators at the Congress in order to recognize Genocide. So tension between the US and Turkey increases during March- April of each year, since 24th of April is official commemorate day of victims of “Armenian Genocide” and Armenian Lobbies and naturally they make pressure on State officials of the US to recognize “Armenian Genocide”. For instance, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee made decision on 3th of April to discuss resolution which was introduced by Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Robert Menendez and Senator Mark Kirk which is about recognizing of “Armenian Genocide”.²⁷ Resolution is about remembering and observing the anniversary of the “Armenian Genocide” on April 24, 2014 and it calls the US President to attempt building equitable, constructive and normal relations between Turkey and Armenia which is possible to recognize of Turkey “Armenian Genocide”.²⁸ These kind of resolutions have been passed in 2007 and in 2010 and it caused tension between Turkey and the USA. For instance, Turkish President Gul called President Obama to stop resolution about recognizing of “Armenian Genocide” and Turkey recalled their ambassador in Turkey as a reaction.²⁹

There are another important factor that has impact on success of Armenian Lobby. It is known that Greeks are also against Turkey which their lobby is the second influential lobby at the USA. Secondly, Kurdish Lobby-

²⁷ Turkish FM calls Kerry over Armenian Genocide resolution in US Senate, Available online: <http://www.todayszaman.com/news-344331-turkish-fm-calls-kerry-over-armenian-genocide-resolution-in-us-senate.html>

²⁸Ibid, Complete text of resolution is also available online: <http://beta.congress.gov/bill/113th-congress/senate-resolution/410/text>

²⁹ McCormick, James M., “Ethnic Interest Groups and American Foreign Policy: A growing influence?”, in Ed. by Cigler J., Allan & Loomis, Burdett A. “Interest Group Politics”, CQ Press, 2012, p. 317

Kurdish National Congress- also makes propaganda against Turkey. We saw that above one of the tactics of Armenian lobbies is cooperation with other lobby organizations. Making decision against Turkey in the US Congress, Armenian lobby get supports of these lobbies which it needs to be successful in its goals.

Conclusion. In this work, we saw that lobby activities in the USA are increasing steadily as pluralistic political thoughts became dominant at the country. We saw that there is a hot debate on suitability of ethnic lobbies influence at foreign policy activities of the US, as many well-known scholars think that lobbies influence on foreign policy of the USA is threat for the country's national interests.

Secondly, we examine that Armenian lobbies main goals in America and its role on American Foreign Policy. It is seen that Armenian lobbying activities in the US is related with Azerbaijan, Armenia and Turkey. Related with Azerbaijan its goals are gaining recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh and making pressure on Azerbaijan regarding removing blockade on Armenia. First success of Armenian Lobby is achieving banning on Azerbaijan Republic with the addition of section 907 on Freedom Support Act in 1992. This banning continued till 2002. We see that sometimes Armenian lobby causes difficulties on relations of the US with Azerbaijan with attempting to recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh as independent state in the US. Also, it is explained in this paper that the US sometimes is forced to develop foreign policies which is not appropriate to the national interests of the country.

The other success of Armenian lobby is about amount of foreign aid of the USA to Armenia and Azerbaijan, in which these countries are propaganda objects of Armenian Lobby in the USA. Although Azerbaijan has been damaged country- as its 20 % territories was occupied by Armenian troops and international community accept this fact- but most of the US's aid goes to Armenia. Armenian Lobby's another goal on Armenia is supporting of this country by the USA in any case. We see that it achieves its goal. As it was mentioned above, although Armenia is closer Russia than the USA and Armenian political actors in the country follow pro-Russian policies, but the USA's support on Armenia is continuing.

Regarding Turkey, main goals of the Armenian Lobby is recognition of "genocide" in the USA and effort to gaining the US pressure on Turkey to accept "genocide" against Armenian citizens of Ottomans at 1915. We see that Armenians lobby organizations are very active in the US Senate and they have influence on American Foreign Policy. With the impact of Armenian Lobby, the US foreign policy shows paradoxical trends, which is based on clashes between American National Interests and influence of Armenian Lobby.

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Bayram Qadir oğlu Əliyev

ABŞ-dakı Lobbilər: Erməni lobbisinin ABŞ Xarici Siyasətinə təsiri

Xülasə

Pluralist siyasi mühitdə qərarvermə prosesinə təsir edən aktorların sayı artır. Bu məqalədə, çıxar qruplarının xüsusi növü olan etnik lobbilər və onların siyasi qərarvermədəki rolu analiz edilir. ABŞ-dakı erməni lobbisinin ABŞ-ın Cənubi Qafqaz və Türkiyə ilə bağlı verdiyi qərarlara göstərdiyi təsirin siyasi pluralizm nəzəri çərçivəsindən analiz edilməsi məqalənin praktiki tərəfidir.

Açar sözlər: Siyasi pluralizm, etnik lobbilər, maraq qrupları, Erməni lobbisi, ABŞ Xarici Siyasəti

Байрам Кадир оглы Алиев

Лобби в США: Воздействие Армянского лобби на внешнюю политику США

Резюме

В среде политического плюрализма число акторов, воздействующих на процесс принятия решений, возрастает. В этой статье анализируются особенности группы интересов, этнических лобби и их роль в принятии политических решений. Практической стороной анализа является анализ воздействия армянского лобби на принятие решений, связанных с Турцией и Южным Кавказом, с точки зрения политического плюрализма.

Ключевые слова: Политический плюрализм, этнические лобби, группы интересов, Армянское лобби, Внешняя Политика США