Index

AAI. See Arab American Institute (AAI)
AAUG. See Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG)
“The Abandonment of the Jews,” 18
Abelmann, Nancy, 158
Abourezk, James, 98, 118, 127
Abraham, Nabeel, 101
Abraham, Spence, 111
Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim, 102, 103, 106
Adamkus, Valdas, 83
Adams, Gerry, 53–4
Adams, John Quincy, 48
ADC. See American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC)
affirmative action in America, 164
opposition of neoconservative Jews to, 133, 142
Africa See also Angola; Nigeria; Somalia; South Africa emergence of independent states in, 140–1
myths about America and African-Americans in, 135–6
as symbolic homeland, 90, 133–4, 136–9
African-Americans
affinity with blacks everywhere, 133, 138
Africa as symbolic homeland, 90, 133–4, 136–9
as antipodal minority, 159
civil rights alliance with Jewish-Americans, 133, 139
conflict related to Hispanics, 3
consolidation of black integrationists, 143–8
discrimination against, 133, 136–40
feuds with Jewish-Americans, 3, 133–4, 139–42, 144–5, 159–60
identification with struggle of Palestinians, 141–2, 144–8
influence on U.S foreign policy, 133, 143–4, 157, 162, 204–5
influence on U.S. South African policy, 84–91
integrationists, 143–4
interest in Angola, 143
interest in Nigeria, 32, 90, 203
interest in Third World ideology, 133–4
internationalism of, 22
issue of American identity, 161–2
knowledge of Africa, 33–4, 136
perception of “Jewish power,” 144–6
radicals, 37, 86
response to emerging independent African states, 34
African-Americans (cont.)
slave history of, 32, 35–6
society's reluctance to incorporate,
138, 140
support for Haitian-Americans, 72
African Growth and Opportunity Act
(1998), 164
Africans on African-Americans (Gershoni), 135
Africare, 86, 144
Akinayemi, Bolaji, 90
Alamoudi, Abdurahman, 99, 113
Al-Bostaan, 127
Albright, Madeleine, 38
Alianza, 36
America Israel Public Affairs Com-
mittee (AIPAC), 21
American-Arab Anti-Discrimination
Committee (ADCO), 98, 115–17,
122, 125, 127–8
American Committee on Africa, 87
American creed, 32
Americanization programs, 178–80
American Lebanese League, 95
American Muslim Council, 130
American principles, 42
American Revolution, 12
American Srebrenica, 65
American values, x, 102
ancestral lands, 3
Anderson, Benedict, 11
Anglo-Americans
as dominant population, 12–13
Irish-Americans challenge hegemony of, 13
Anglo-Saxon culture
adherents to, 101
concept of individual law, 41
dominance of U.S. foreign policy, 25
resistance to, 102
view on foreign affairs, 205
Angola, 89, 143
anticommunism, American, 40
Anti-Defamation League (ADL),
154
“antipodal minorities,” 159
anti-Semitism
in America, 138
of blacks, 133
interwar period in America, 18
Jewish-American perception of
blacks, 141–2
in U.S. post–World War II period,
20–1
apartheid
African-American campaign
against, 143–4, 147–8
antiapartheid movement, 85–9
Arab American Institute (AAI), 115–
21
Clinton speaks before, 131
conference (1994), 127
Arab-American News, 117, 124
Arab-American politics
integrationists in, 101–2, 113–16
Islamic-leaning isolationists, 107–
13
left-leaning isolationists, 102–7
Zogby's role, 116–21
Arab-Americans
See also Islam; Muslim-Americans;
Palestinian-Americans
activism after Six Day War (1967),
97–8
in American society, 99
Christian Arabs, 124
debates over Oslo Accord, 121–8
effect of Gulf War on, 116–21
export of American values and in-
terests, 126–7
idea of ethnic solidarity, 96–7
Islamic-leaning isolationists, 107–
13
left-leaning isolationists, 102–7
Muslims' conception of Palestinian
cause, 90–2, 95
during Persian Gulf War, 69, 116–
21
response to Israeli invasion of Leb-
anon (1982), 94, 98
response to post-Oslo Israeli poli-
cies, 128–31
response to World Trade Center
bombing, 99–100
vs. Jewish lobby, 113–16, 119–21
Arab–Israeli War (1967). See Six Day
War (1967)
Arab–Israeli War (1973)
African nations' response to, 149
INDEX

black-Jewish relations in outcome of, 142
Arafat, Yasin, 95, 103, 105–6, 122, 125, 147
Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 46, 71–3, 162
Armenian-Americans, 63–4
Armenians genocide against, 64
Asali, Ziad J., 125
Asian-Americans
Chinese-Americans, 33
Confucian values of, 159
impact on U.S. foreign policy, 81
Japanese-Americans, 19–20
Korean-Americans, 5, 170
assimilation
American cultural, xi, 15
Anglo-Saxon demands related to, 16, 25, 32
of Arab-Americans, 97, 99
degrees of, 10
of European immigrants, 17
factors influencing, 5–6
of Japanese-Americans, 19
Muslims and Arab-Americans resisting, 102–3
of Palestinian scholars into American society, 105
shift to ethnic diversity from, 206
Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), 102–3, 105–6, 122, 125
asylum
U.S. granting of, 40
Avital, Colette, 152

Baker, James, 62
balkanization, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 26, 31, 48
Baltic states, 63
Begin, Menahem, 145
Beilin, Yossi, 150, 153
Ben-Gurion, David, 21
Berisha, Sali, 82
Berman, Paul, 140, 141, 156
bilingual education, 5, 29, 192
Black Panther Party, 103
“Black Power” movement, 36, 103, 140
Blair, Tony, 54

Bourne, Randolph, 16–17
Brandon, Henry, 61
Broder, David, 120
Brown Berets, 36
Burciaga, José Antonio, 189
Bush, George, 62, 72, 76, 79, 126
Bush administration, 53, 62, 64
Bustamente, Jorge, 181
Caldwell, Christopher, 73
California Proposition 187, 4
“Can the Blacks Do for Africa What the Jews Did for Israel?” (Weil), 86
Cárdenas, Cuauhtémoc, 186–7, 193
Carranza, Venustiano, 177
Carter, Jimmy, 42–4, 78, 144
“idealism” of, 43
“strategic incoherence” of, 43
Carter administration pro-African interests of, 86–7, 143
Castro, Fidel, 73–77
Catholics, American, 13, 54
Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, 105, 120
Chafets, Ze’ev, 145
Chazan, Naomi, 149
Chicanos, 36, 80
See also Mexican-Americans
Chinese, overseas, 10, 71, 81–2
Chinese-Americans, 33
Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), 15
Chomsky, Noam, 38–9
Christopher, Warren, 126
Chun Doo Hwan, 44
citizenship
acquisition of American, 169
as definition of national membership, 167
dual, 6, 11, 19, 207
foreign consular involvement in U.S. in, 169–73
immigrants adopting American, 196
immigrants seeking U.S., 5–6
Israeli, 168
Japanese dual, 19–20
Mexicans with American, 182, 190
requirements in Germany, 167–8
in United States, 169–73

281
citizens (native born), 6
Citrin, Jack, 49
civic culture, American, ix, x, 3, 8, 27, 158
civilizations (Huntington), 7
civil rights movement
anti-apartheid element to, 87
attitudes toward homelands during, 34–5
cooperation of blacks and Jews during, 133, 139
decline of Jewish-American interest in, 142
immigration legislation as outcome of, 22
influence of, 2, 97
Clinton, Bill
on American nativist attitude, 197
Arab-Americans in 1992 campaign, 120
decisions related to Sinn Fein, 53–4
meets with Arab-American lobby, 131
as player in Northern Ireland's problems, 53–4
pressured to intervene in Haiti, 72–3
signs Helms-Burton law, 77
visit to Africa, 90, 164
Clough, Michael, 48–9
cold war
disintegrative effects of, 132
post-cold war era, 46–7
rhetoric of, 22
U.S. inconsistent policy during, 41–4
color-blind, 33, 35, 196
Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (1986), 85
Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), 72–3, 86, 90, 143–4, 146, 164, 204
containment, 21, 33–4, 39
Coser, Lewis, 104
Council on American Islamic Relations, 130
Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, 38, 201
Croatian-Americans, 65–6
Croatian Democratic Union party, 65
Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), 74–6
Cuban-Americans, 3
actions of political exiles, 73–7
refugees, 40
Cyprus, 67–8
Czech- and Slovak-Americans, 57–62
Dashnag Party, Armenia, 64
Declaration of Principles (DOP), Israel-PLO (1993), 105, 107
DeConde, Alexander, 25, 31–2, 37
de la Garza, Rodolfo, 182, 192
de la Madrid, Miguel, 175
democracy
American promotion of, x
diasporic commitment to, 66–7
Israeli, 93
post-cold war importance of, 80
in U.S. foreign relations, 78–81
Democratic Party, U.S.
Jewish-black confrontation over party platform (1984), 147
Dershowitz, Alan, 140, 142
DeSipio, Louis, 192
diasporas
See also homelands
Americanized Mexican-American, 195
attitudes of homelands toward, 166–9
correlation to democratic change in homelands, 79
defined, 8
diaspora-homeland nexus, xi
diasporic identity, 134–5, 160
diasporic makeup, x, 10
economic power and political strength of members, 171–2
loyalty dilemma, 68–70
militant groups in, 199
as pawns, 9
political exiles in, 70–7
recently empowered, xi
diasporas, U.S.-based
See also foreign policy, U.S.; homelands
INDEX

Arab-American response to Gulf War, 69, 116–21
character and size of Cuban-American, 73–6
differences in older and more recent, 10–11
Dominican Republic, 172–3, 194
as force in countries of origin, 171
Haitian, 194
influence of Polish-American, 55–7
influence of Slovak-Americans on independence of Slovakia, 57–62
influence on U.S. foreign relations, ix–x
Irish-American, 12–13, 52–4
Israel as symbolic homeland for Jews, 9, 133–4, 138–9
as legitimate foreign policy voice, 200
as messengers of American values, 50
Mexican, 23–4, 175–6, 183–9
mobilization of homeland, xi, 5
political contributions of Jews, 171
post–World War II Jewish-American activities, 21
role in U.S. politics and foreign policy, x–xi
transnational character of some, 194
Yugoslavian, 64–5
Díaz, Porfirio, 177
Dinkins, David, 88, 154
Dodd, Christopher, 72
Dole, Bob, 87
Dominican-Americans, 172–3
Douglass, Frederick, 139
Du Bois, W. E. B., 33, 136, 137

eastern Establishment, 38–9
East European-Americans
See also Czech- and Slovak-Americans; Polish-Americans
lobbying during World War I, 55
lobbying for U.S recognition of their homelands, 14
post–World War II disappointment, 21–2
Echeverría, Luis, 175
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 21–2, 22
elites
activist, 50
African-American, 37, 203
Anglo-American, 207
Anglo-Saxon, 12, 27, 38
Arab-American, 91
decaying influence of, 51
diasporic, 11, 46, 200
Mexican diasporic, 174–5
use of homeland-related affairs by, 158
Emerson, Steven, 112–13
emigration attitudes of homelands toward, 166–70
of Irish to United States, 12–13
ethnic (diaspora) makeup, 3
ethnic groups
core, rearguard, and silent members, 96
electoral importance of ethnic vote in United States, 6–7, 22
influence on U.S. foreign policy, ix–x, 197–8
interaction among members of, 9–10
interaction and cohesion of, 9–10
Israeli outreach to minorities in United States, 151–3
politics in United States of, 1–2
ethnic integrationists
Arab-American, 113–16, 124, 126
conceptions of, 102
ethnic isolationists
Arab-American, 101–2
Islamic-leaning, 107–13
left-leaning, 102–7
ethnicity change in composition of, 3–4, 208
critics of the rising tide, 2
difference from race, 35–6
German, 167–8
growing influence in United States, 132
influence on U.S. foreign policy, 197–8
Jewish, 21
legitimization in American life of, 158

283
INDEX

ethnicity (cont.)
tolerance in United States of, 22
U.S., 160
Ethnicity, Race, and American Foreign Policy (DeConde), 25
ethnic vs. diasporic, 31
“evil empire,” 39
exile mentality, 50, 101, 104
exiles
See also political exiles
aberrant, 135
among refugee scholars, 104
Chinese, 81
identification with Israel, 135
inspiring radicalization of American Muslims, 112
political, 81–3
Farrakhan, Louis, 147, 162
Faruqi, Ismail R. al., 110
Fenians, 13, 53
Fernandez, Damian J., 74
Fernández Peyma, Leonel, 172
foreign policy, U.S.
Anglo-Saxon domination of, 12–
13, 25, 38–40
Arab-American lobby, 98
during Bush administration, 53, 62–
3, 68, 72, 75–6, 85
during Carter administration, 43–
4, 86–7
during Clinton administration, 53–
4, 72–3, 77
during cold war, 38–44
correlation with domestic politics, 25
criticism of, 38–40
criticized by Arab-American isola-
tionists, 101
diasporic factor in, 199, 204–5
focus in early twentieth century, 40–2
granting of asylum as, 78
influence of African-Americans on,
84–91, 133, 143–4, 157, 162,
204
influence of Cuban-Americans on,
74–5
influence of ethnic diversity on,
204
influence of ethnic groups on, ix–
x, 7–8, 22–3, 197–8
influence of Irish-Americans on,
13, 53–4
influence of Jewish-Americans on,
21, 133, 157
influence of Polish-Americans on,
55–7
influence of U.S.-based diasporas
on, ix–x, 6–7, 22–3, 25, 49–91,
197–9
isolationism vs. interventionalism,
47
“Jewish power” in, 21, 65
legalistic-moralistic approach
(Kennan), 21, 41, 45, 48
national interest in, 47–8
under Nixon, Ford, and Kissinger,
78
during Nixon administration, 42,
82
post-cold war, 46–9
post-cold war confusion in, 206
post-cold war focus, 38, 40, 45–
50
pressures of ethnic lobbies on,
158
during Reagan administration, 44,
78–9, 81
recognition of Israeli state, 21
related to containment of commu-
nism, 21
role of Congress in, 51–2, 80–1
Forster, John, 149
Fox, Vicente, 193
Frederickson, George, 84
Freedom Support Act (1992), United
States, 64
Friedman, Murray, 133
Fuchs, Lawrence, 180, 198
Fuentes, Carlos, 191–2
Galut (exile), xii
Garvey, Marcus, 33, 35, 136, 137,
138
Gates, Henry Louis, 162
General Bureau of Italians Abroad
(Direzione Generale degli Italiani
all’Estero), 167
Geneva Convention, 41
INDEX

German-Americans
  pan-German movement, 10
  representation in United States, 12
  during World War I, 10–11, 15, 69
  during World War II, 19
Gershoni, Yekutiel, 133–6
Gerson, Louis, 1–2
Glazer, Nathan, 28, 51, 134–5, 138, 196
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 62
governments
  attitude toward diasporas, 166–7
  defining nationality, 167
  manipulating citizenship, 169–70
Gray, William, 73, 152
Great Depression, 18
Greek-Americans, 8, 14, 67–8
Green, Marjorie, 154
Guatemala, 39
Gulf War
  effect on Palestinians and other Arab-Americans, 69, 116–21
  conceptions of immigration and diaspora, 166–73
  contributions of Czech and Slovak groups to independence in, 57–62
diasporas trying to unseat authoritarian regimes, 70–7
Dominican Republic, 172–3
as ethnic identification, 31
Greece seeking support of Greek-Americans, 67
immigrants’ travel to and contacts with, 5
influence of Czech- and Slovak-Americans on, 57–62
influence of ethnic diasporas in, 49–50
influence of Ukrainian and Armenian diasporas on, 62–4
Israel as Jewish-American, 133–4, 137–9
as issue in United States, 158
issues for African-Americans related to, 136–9
Japanese-American ties to, 19
manipulation of citizenship, 169–70
  Mexico’s relations with Mexican-Americans, 183–9
perception of diasporas, 23
perceptions of national identity, 23
permitting dual citizenship and absentee voting, 207–8
Polish-Americans support for, 55–7
used by black and Jewish groups in United States, 137
Hook, Benjamin, 154
Hooover, Herbert, 179
human rights, x, 37, 41–5
  as Anglo-Saxon ideal, 37
  in China, 48
post–cold war importance of, 80
U.S. adherence to idea of, 41–2
  in U.S. foreign policy, 46–8
Huntington, Samuel, 7, 204, 206–7
Hussein, Saddam, 69
The Hyphenate and Recent American Politics and Diplomacy (Gerson), 1–2
hyphenated Americans, 14–15, 88

285
INDEX

identity
African-American, 161–2
American, 7, 29
American ethnic, 26
ancestral, xi, 15
Arab-American, 97
diasporic, 134–5, 160
disappearance of German-American, 10–11
immigrant groups, 14
individual self-identification in United States, 11
among Israeli Jews, 153–5
national, 3, 23
pan-Arab ethnic, 92, 94
“Imagined Community” (Anderson), 11

immigrants
California Proposition 187, 4, 190
criticism of, 6
with dual citizenship, 6
fear in United States of, 4–5
growing transnationalism of, 5
identification with homeland, 14
from Poland to United States, 56
pre-civil rights movement expectations of, 32
threat of transnational, 6
immigration, U.S.
national origins quotas, 17
as political issue, 4–5
repeal of quota policy, 20
statistics related to, 4
Immigration Act (1965), 22, 97
Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986), 24, 184

Indyk, Martin, 120
Institute of Palestinian Studies, 122
integration
lack of African-American, 138, 140

integrationists
Arab-American, 113–16
black, 36–7
consolidation of black, 143–8
ethnic, 34–5
pluralist model, 26–8, 31
internationalists
cultural, 22
liberal, 38

Iranians
exiles and the fall of the shah, 70
Ireland
British concessions to, 54
Irish-Americans, 59
as ethnic minority, 12–13
famine and development of U.S.-based diaspora, 12
influence on U.S. foreign policy, 13, 52–4
nationalists, 52
political exiles, 12
Irish Republican Army (IRA)
 ceasefire vote (1994), 53
Sinn Fein wing, 53–4
Islam
See also Nation of Islam
embraced by some blacks in America, 37, 140
law and traditional teachings, 108–10
perceived Western assault on, 95
revival among Arab-Muslims in United States, 111–12
Islam vs. Arab nationalism and diaspora, 108–11
Islamic Jihad, 112
isolationism
of African-Americans, 37
of Arab-American politics, 101–13
isolationists, 34–5
Arab-American left-leaning, 102–7
liberal, 39
Muslim, 111
U.S. ethnic, 101
Israel
alliance with emerging African nations (1950s and 1960s), 148
attack on Qana in Lebanon, 129–30
commitment of Jewish-Americans to, 134–5, 140–2
criticism by black radicals of, 37
efforts to renew alliances with African nations, 150
ethnocultural and ideofocal traits, 153
as ethnocultural nation, 153
experience of Ethiopian Jews in, 153–5
invasion of Lebanon (1982), 94, 98
INDEX

Law of Return (1950), 168
outreach to U.S. ethnic minorities, 151–3
post-1973 relations with South Africa, 148–50
predominance of Orthodox Judaism in, 161
recent diverse Jewish-American opinion about, 202–3
reduces ties to South Africa (1987), 150
as symbolic homeland, 138
treatment of emigration, 168–9
Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty, 126
Israel-PLO accords. See Oslo Accords
Italian-Americans, 8, 19
Iwanka, Alicja, 11

Jackson, Jesse, 137
ascendance of, 145–7
as candidate for president, 111
Clinton’s trip to Africa with, 90
declaration related to Zionism, 156
Hymie and Hymietown slurs, 147
interest in Middle East peace, 156–7
rhetoric related to Jewish-black quarrel, 145
on use of term African-American, 88
Jackson, Jesse, Jr., 164
Jackson-Vanik amendment, 82
Jacoby, Tamar, 2
Jahshan, Khalil, 120, 122, 124, 126
Janowitz, Morris, 174
Japan
pre–World War II assistance to Japanese-American organizations, 19
Japanese-Americans, 33
dual citizenship of, 19–20
internment and relocation during World War II, 19
relation to Pearl Harbor, 18–19
Jewish-Americans, 8, 59
See also Israel; Judaism, Conservative and Reform; Judaism, Orthodox
connection and commitment to Israel, 93, 134–5
debate with orthodox Israeli Jews, 9
disputes with Israel, 161
feuds with African-Americans, 133–4, 139–42, 144–5, 159–60
impact on U.S. foreign policy, 21, 133, 157
internal conflict, 161
recent diversity of opinion about Israel, 202–3
relations with Israel, 9
support of world Jewry, 133–4
as targets of black isolationists, 37
Jews, Ethiopian airlifted to Israel, 153–4
Jewish-American response to, 154
riot in Israel (1996), 155
use made of, 155
Jews, Israeli adherence to Orthodox Judaism, 161
ethnic cleavages among, 153
Johnson, Andrew, 13
Johnson, Tim, 198
Joppke, Christian, 30–1
Judaism, Conservative and Reform
Israeli conversion debate related to, 161
majority movements among American Jews, 161
as minority in Israel, 9, 161
struggle for official recognition in Israel, 9, 161
Judaism, Orthodox
monopoly over religious services in Israel, 9, 161
ultra-Orthodox American Jews, 163
views on Conservative and Reform Judaism, 161
Kagedan, Allen, 150
Katz-Carmeli, Yehudi, 152
Kaufman, Jonathan, 142
Kennan, George, 21, 41, 45, 48
Kennedy, John F., 39
Kennedy, Joseph, Jr., 72
Khalidi, Rashid, 107

287
INDEX

Kilson, Martin, 32–3
Kim Dae Jung, 44–5
kin-country, 7
King, Coretta Scott, 154
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 35, 43, 137, 139
Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 39
Kissinger, Henry, 42, 78
Klaus, Václav, 61
Korean-Americans, 5, 79
as antipodal minority, 159
as home-country colony, 170–1
model minority, 159
pro-democracy, 44
response to Los Angeles riots (1992), 170
Kotler-Berkowitz, Laurence, 10
Kramer, Martin, 112
Kuriel, Ran, 150
Kymlicka, Will, 28, 30

The Labyrinth of Solitude (Paz), 194
La frontera de cristal (Fuentes), 191–2
Landsbergis, Vytautas, 82
Latinos, 39, 192
See also Hispanics; Mexican-Americans
Lau, Meir, 157
Law of Return (1950), Israel, 168
Lebanon
Israeli attack on Qana in, 129–30
Israel’s invasion of (1982), 94, 98
Lewis, Bernard, 109
Lewis, Samuel, 120
liberal-democratic ethos, American, 51
liberalism
assumptions of, 26
cold war liberals vs. Wilsonian liberals, 41–2, 45
Lie, John, 158
Lieberman, Joseph, 120
Lightner, Candace, 127
Lind, Michael, 29
Lithuania, 83
loyalty
to Britain, 16–17
cultural effects on, 81–4
dilemma of diaspora, 68–70
of ethnic Americans, 15
expectations of, 18
Greek-Americans, 67
homelands’ building of U.S.-based, xi
as issue for ethnic isolationists, 34–5
loyalty baggage, 81
manipulation of boundaries of, 167
of Mexican-Americans, 180
multiple loyalties, 6
subnational, 7, 49
of U.S.-based diasporas, xi, 7
U.S. policies to promote, 18–19
Lozoya, Jorge Alberto, 189

Macedonia, 67–8
McKinney, Cynthia, 23, 204–5
Maier, Charles S., 3
Maksoud, Hala, 120
Malcolm X, 35, 137
Mandela, Nelson, 3, 85, 88, 136
Mandelbaum, Michael, 47
Marecós, Ferdinand, 78–80
Masaryk, Tomas, 57
Mas Canosa, Jorge, 75–6
Mathias, Charles, 207
Matar, Philip, 107, 122
melting pot idea, 2, 16, 35
Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), 189–90
Mexican-Americans, 33, 59
See also Chicanos; Hispanics
American-born leadership, 180, 184
with American citizenship, 182, 190
attitudes toward Mexico, 173–6
concern related to Zapatista movement, 192–3
el pocho, 181–3
ethnic pride of, 175
fear of Mexican immigrants, 182–3
founding of League of United Latin American Citizens (LU-LAC), 180
government manipulation of, 178–9
importance of NAFTA to, 24
integration of, 184, 186, 195
INDEX

leadership during Great Depression of, 179–80
mistrust of homeland political system, 176
as mobilized diaspora, 174–6, 186–94
as pawns of Mexico and United States, 178–9
political opportunities, 184
political participation of, 184
relations with Mexico, 186–8
repatriation of, 178–9
response to 1988 elections, 186–8
Mexico
attitude toward and relations with its diaspora, 165–6, 173–83
attitude toward Mexican-American el pacha, 181–3
Directorate General of Mexican Communities Abroad (DGMC), 176
elections (1988), 186–8
elections (1994), 191–3
immigration to United States from, 6
legalized dual nationality, 5, 194–5
manipulation of Mexican-Americans, 178–9, 184–5
as a “narco-democracy,” 193
political parties in, 186–93
Program for Mexican Communities Abroad (PCME), 176, 189–90
Program for Mexican Communities Living in Foreign Countries (PMCLFC), 24
reimagined Mexican nation, 23–4, 166
relations with Mexican-American diaspora, 176–85, 195–6
relations with United States, 176–7
remittances from diaspora members, 175
self-perception as a “global nation,” 195
Mfume, Kweisi, 72, 204
Middle East issues
See also Arab-Americans; Islam; Israeli; Jewish-Americans; Lebanon; Palestinian-Americans
crises since 1995, 128–31
influence on Arab- and Jewish-Americans, 92–3
intra-Arab enmities, 93–4
Israel-Palestinian peace process and Israel-PLO accords, 92–3, 124–5
Six Day War (1967), 96–8, 140–2, 149
U.S. foreign policy, 101
Milosevic, Slobodan, 69
miscegenation, 138
Mohammed, Warith Deen, 37
Mokhiber, Albert, 115, 122, 127
Monroe, President, 48
Morga, Eduardo, 184
“mosaic,” 11, 29
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 51
multiculturalism, x, xi
African-American perception of debate related to, 84
in America, xi, 7, 25, 208
concerns in United States related to, 7, 197–8
cultural nationalism as, 29–31
growth in United States, 114, 132
in Israel, 152
liberal, 28
liberal pluralist version of, 27–8
Mexican support for American, 190
militant, 28
nationalist, 28–32
reconciling with liberal pluralism, 27–8
as seen by African-Americans, 84
multilateralism
of U.S. foreign policy, 204
Muslim-Americans
as activists and lobbying force, 130–1
American elections related to, 111
da’wa, 109
different denominations, 107
the Hijra in relation to, 108–9
ideal of, 110–11
Judeo-Christian heritage related to, 108
kufr, 111
as lobbying force, 108
Muslim-Americans (cont.)
mobilization of grass-roots support in, 113, 130
radicals among, 111–12
relation to Arab countries, 107–8
resisting assimilation, 102
terrorism related to, 112–13
umma, 108–10
Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA), 101, 111
Muslim organizations in United States
as leaders in Arab diasporic activism, 130–1
as lobbying force, 131
Muslim Public Affairs Committee, 130
Musso1ini, Benito, 167
Myrdal, Gunnar, 138

NAAA. See National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA)
NAFTA. See North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan, 64
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 86, 144, 154
National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), 98, 114–15, 117, 124
national identity, 3
national interest, 1, 197–210
nationalism
African, 135
American, 17
of African-Americans, 140–1
black racial, 33–6
conflict between Islam and Arab, 110
cultural, 29
homeland rhetoric of, 167
of immigrant groups in United States, 14
Irish, 13
of Mexican-Americans, 36
multicultural, 28–31
of Palestinian- and Arab-Americans, 36
pan-Arab, 114

nationality, dual, 20
national origins quota, 17, 22
Nation of Islam, 37, 103, 140, 162
nativism, American, 4, 14–15, 17–20
neo-Wilsonian values, x
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 129–30, 161, 171, 202
“New Jew,” xii
Nigeria
African-American help to, 203
African-American opposition to dictatorship in, 32, 90
Nixon, Richard M., 42
Nixon administration, 99
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 24, 175, 188, 192
Norwegian-Americans, 15
numerus clausus (affirmative action quotas equivalent to), 142
Nuremberg Trials, 41

Obregon, Alvaro, 179
Office of the Republic of Croatia, 65
O’Grady, Joseph, 54
Oklahoma City bombing, 20, 99
opposition, U.S.-based to affirmative action, 133
dilemma of Philippine-Americans, 81
Orfalea, Gregory, 98
Oslo Accords
Arab-American debates over, 121–8
Declaration of Principles, 105, 107
second Oslo agreement (1995), 128
Othman, Talat, 126
OTPOR (Croats), 66
Overseas students, 70–1

Palestine
Arab-American identification with cause of, 90–2, 94, 123
Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA), 104
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
INDEX

See also Oslo Accords
relations with African-American leaders, 145–7
sponsors PCNA, 104
support of diaspora for, 94–5
Palestine National Council (PNC), 104
Palestinian-Americans
activism of, 94
factors influencing, 128
intelligentsia in United States, 107, 130
relations with PLO, 105–6
Palestinians
after Six Day War (1967), 97–8
response to opening of tunnel in Jerusalem, 171
sympathy of American blacks for, 146–7
pan-Africanism, 22, 33, 140
Panić, Milan, 69
PAN (Political Action Party), Mexico, 193
"pariah states" (Israel and South Africa), 149
Park Chung Hee, 44
Paz, Octavio, 181, 194–5
PCNA. See Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA)
Peleg, Israel, 152
Peña Gómez, José Francisco, 172
Peres, Shimon, 126
Peretz, Martin, 140
Pezzullo, Lawrence, 73
Pickus, Noah, 15
Pittsburgh Agreement (1918), 57
pluralism, x, 9
criticism of American, 27–9
cultural, 22, 25–32
internationalization of American, 32
in Israel, 168
liberal, 35, 162
pluralism, American
domestic, 26, 42
demographic of, 25–7
internationalization of, 32
nationalist ethnic, 28–9
Polish-Americans, 14, 55–7
post–World War, 56–7
political exiles
Aristide, 71–3
campaigns related to Cuba and Haiti, 70–7
Chinese-Americans, 81–2
Cuban-Americans, 73–7
diasporic elites as, 11
fleeing communism, 40
Greek, 67
Irish-Americans perceived as, 12–13
politics, diasporic
Arab-American, 96–131
Palestinian-Americans, 94–5
self-determination model of, 89
politics, home country
diasporic interest in, 8–12
Mexican diaspora interest in, 24
related to migration, 10
politics, U.S.
black domestic, 143
ethnic lobbies in, ix, xi, 1–2
homeland factor in, 158
influence through local government on, 23
Israeli outreach to ethnic minorities, 151–3
role of diasporas in, xi
polyethnic America, 28
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 105
Porter, Bruce D., 49
PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), Mexico, 186–7, 193
Pressler, Larry, 198
PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), Mexico, 186–7, 191–3
Progrebin, Lettie, 160
Proposition 187, California, 4, 190
Psinakis, Steve, 79
Rabin, Yitzhak, 93, 95, 168
race
Anglo-Saxon, 12
difference from ethnicity, 35–6
race relations, 10
racism, 3
in America, 32–3, 35–6, 136, 139
anti-Arab, 115, 119–20
Chinese Exclusion Act, 15
INDEX

racism (cont.)
of ethnic isolationists, 35
official, 20
perceived expression of Jewish, 144
political, 114
related to Japanese-Americans, 19–20
in United States (1920s), 15–16
Raz, Joseph, 27–8
Reagan, Ronald, 39, 44, 74, 78
Reagan administration, 85, 87
Reed, Adolph, 142, 145–7
refugee policy, U.S., 40
religion
revival among Arab-Muslims in United States, 111–12
rift between Israeli and American Jews related to, 161
in United States, 12–13
remittances from Mexican diaspora, 175
Rhodesia, 143
Rieff, David, 77
Robbins, Bruce, 204–5
Robeson, Paul, Jr., 156
Robinson, Randall, 72, 86, 89–90, 164
Rockefeller, Steven C., 26
Rodriguez, Richard, 174, 182
Rozental, Andres, 189
Ruggie, John Gerard, 17, 205

Said, Edward
on Arab-American identity, 97
attacks on Zogby, 122
condemnation of Arab and Palestinian cultures, 125–6
critique of Western orientalism, 206–7
as left-leaning isolationist, 102–6
orientalism of, 36
Salem, George, 118
Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 75, 175, 186–7
Samhan, Helen Hatab, 114, 119
SAVAK, 42
Savir, Uriel, 151, 152
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 1
self-definition
American, xi, 18
black, 147
self-determination, 51–91
self-perception, Mexican, 166
Serbian-Americans, 65, 69
Shalala, Donna, 120
Sharabi, Hisham, 102, 105–6
Shorris, Earl, 181–2
Siblani, Kay, 124
Siblani, Osama, 117, 124
Sikh separatists, 200
Sinn Fein, 53
Six Day War (1967)
meaning for Jewish-Americans, 140–2
response of Arab-Americans to, 96–7
South African perception of, 149
Skerry, Peter, 29–30, 177
Slovak-Americans, influence and input on homeland, 57–62
Slovakia’s independence, 57–62
Slovak League of America, 57, 59–60
Smena, 60
Smith, Tony, 47
Solarz, Stephen, 198–9
Somalia, 133, 157, 203
South Africa, 133–4, 136
influence of African-Americans on U.S. policy toward, 84–91
perception of Six Day War, 149
relations with Israel, 148–51
Soweto Uprising (1976), 143
state breakdown, 3
statistics
political use of, 4
Stephanopoulos, George, 73
Stolarik, Mark, 58, 59
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 103, 141

Takaki, Ronald, 27
terrorism
Islamic, 99–100
as issue for Arab-Americans, 99–100
support for Hamas movement, 112–13
Terzi, Zehdi, 44
## INDEX

third wave (democratic transitions), 51
Third World
  African-American affinity for, 133
  ideologies, 34, 134
  liberation movements, 42
  Mexico’s identification with causes of, 183
  movements, 36, 141
  refugees, 40
  revolutions, 39
  rhetoric of, 94
Third Worldism, 32, 45, 103, 105, 140, 156
TransAfrica, 72, 86–7, 89–90, 143–4, 164
“Transnational America” (Bourne), 16–17
transnationalism
  black, 136–8, 140
  effect of growth in, 165
  of immigrants, 5–6
  political implications of, 6–7
  of some U.S.-based diasporas, 194
  transnationalist threat, 7
  trend in, 207
  in United States, 6–7
Trefunovic, Milos, 65
Truman, Harry S.
  decision to recognize Israel (1948), 21
  policy related to African-Americans, 33–4
Turkey, 67–8
Turki, Fawaz, 94–5, 103–4
Uhrig, Igor, 60, 61
Ukrainian-Americans, 62–3
United States
  See also foreign policy, U.S.
  Civil War, 52
  Defense Department, 38
  manipulation of Mexican-Americans, 178–9
  relations with Mexico, 176–7
  shift in racial composition, 198
  State Department, 38
  Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). See Garvey, Marcus
  Vietnam, 39
  Vietnam War, 42
  Vital, David, 154
  Vorspan, Albert, 142
  voting patterns
    white ethnic, 22
  voting rights
    of Mexican-Americans, 5, 184
    proposal for Dominican-Americans, 5, 172–3
    proposal related to Israeli emigrants, 5, 169
    of some diasporas, 5, 207
  Voting Rights Act (amended), United States, 5, 183–4
  Walesa, Lech, 82
  Walzer, Michael, 17–18
  War of 1812, 12
  Washington, Booker T., 139
  Watergate, 42
  We Are All Multiculturalists Now (Glazer), 196
  Weil, Martin, 86
  Weiner, Myron, 4, 81
  West, Cornel, 156
  “White elites,” 40
  white ethnics, 22
  Wilkins, Roy, 137
  Wilson, Woodrow, 14, 55–6
  Wilson administration, 18
  World Trade Center bombing (1993), 20, 99–100
  World War I
    See also Bourne, Randolph
    belief in American absorptive capacities, 14, 15–17
    East European-Americans lobbying during, 55–6
    German-Americans during, 69
    Zimmermann telegram (1916), 177
  World War II, 56–7
  Ya’ar, Ephraim, 168
  Yom Kippur War (1973). See Arab-Israeli War (1973)
  Young, Andrew, 43–4, 144–5

293
INDEX

Yugoslavia, 64–6, 69
Yzaguirre, Raul, 189

Zangwill, Israel, 2, 15
Zedillo, Ernesto, 193
Zelniker, Shimshon, 150
Zimmermann, Arthur, 177
Zionism, xii, 103, 138, 141, 153, 156
idea of, 168
negation of diaspora related to, 168
Wilson’s support for, 14
yeridah (emigration) related to, 168

Zogby, James
on Arab issues in United States, 98
attacks on, in Arab-American community, 121–2
“Builders for Peace” enterprise, 122–3
as president of AAI, 116–18, 127, 130
relationship with Arafat, 122
rise of, 116–21
at signing of Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty, 126
Zoot Suit Riots (1943), 180–1