

American Jewish Altruism in Support of International Humanitarian Intervention and Kosovo Peace-building

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Abstract

At the end of 20th century, parts of Europe get caught again by xenophobia's which were hidden under the rug of the Cold War. Balkans was again at the heart of eruptions of nationalistic ideas and hegemonistic aspirations. In resolving the last unsettled Kosovo case in the Balkans, west democracies corrected the mistake made at the beginning of the same century. In this direction gave input the Jewish community of USA. "We need to come out in defence of the defenceless victims ... cannot let people like Milosevic to continue killing men, women and children. We had to do this earlier, but not later or now", said Elie Wiesel, the most prominent Jewish Nobel Prize winner, in a meeting with Holocaust survivors and veterans¹.

This was not the only voice of the Jewish members in defence of Kosovo Albanians. A significant number of elite American-Jewish prominent politicians and diplomats, senior U.S. administration, from public life,...have been cautious in pursuit of developments in Kosovo before the war. Altruism within Jewish elite influenced or advised U.S. policy makers on the necessity of intervention in Kosovo, to prevent scenarios

¹ Kurtzman, D. Jews back Kosovo attack, citing Holocaust, (1999) *Jewish Teleg*
<http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/10468/jews-back-kosovo-attack-citing>
[Accessed: 10 December 2013].

prepared by the Serbian regime to de'albanize Kosovo. They decided and implemented the diplomacy of dynamic actions in stopping the repetition of the similarities of holocaust within the same century. What prompted this perfectly organized community in the U.S., with distinctive culture and other religious affiliations to people of Kosovo to support them during exterminating circumstances? Which were the driving factors on influencing the policy of most powerful state in the world in support of Albanians? This paper aims to illuminate some of the answers on the raised question as well as analyze the activities of most prominent American-Jewish personalities, some of their philanthropic actions that are associated with emotions, their principles and beliefs to prevent human suffering and exodus of Kosovo Albanians, similar to their holocaust but with different actors.

Key Words: US-Jewish community, Albanians, altruism, Holocaust, international humanitarian intervention, Kosovo peace-building.

1. Introduction

The first Jews settled in the land of North America in the middle of 17th century, to become the most influential and best organized community in USA today. Almost every major American city has its local "Jewish Federation" or other forms of organizations and many have sophisticated community centres which provide services, mainly health-care related, raising sums of money in order to use them for philanthropic and humanitarian causes in the world, especially in North America and Israel. Politically, most of Jewish community was leftist and pro-democratic party oriented. Currently, in 2014, there were 27 Representative and 12 Senators at American legislature.

The history of the American Jewish Community's involvement in American politics started in the aftermath of Civil War, with Simon Wolf, a Washington lawyer who became one of Ulysses S. Grant's closest advisers and others at state administration. This period, the late 19th century, was indicator of needed reforms into Jewish community in order to face the challenges and political engagements in a more centralized American

government.² Most distributed around the world, Jewish community recognized how it is to survive in Diasporas. The same fate they cannot wish to others. "Generosity and dedication to the welfare of others" is the definition³ of altruism as a social phenomenon. Altruism is a form of own sacrifice or even welfare risk in favour of those who suffer. According to Allison, "an act is altruistic if it increases the reproductive fitness of the recipient while reducing the reproductive fitness of the donor,...".⁴ Altruism has its roots in Jewish "biblical Jewish history, Holocaust, Jewish community everyday"⁵ and in the three pillars on which the Judaism is based: Torah (study), Avodah (service) and Chesed (altruism, courtesy). The altruistic behaviour is as a meter depth structured in Koran and Bible and other holly books of other religions in the world. Altruistic behaviour is explained by kinship theory (Hamilton 1964) and reciprocity theory (Trivers 1971). Others studied the role of culture and individual learning on altruistic behaviour of humans (Axelrod, 1984).

Contrary to the altruism, xenophobia or other forms of ethnocentrism are broadly treated by psychologists, sociologists and other analysts. Bashkurti recently published a book⁶ on xenophobia's "which invisibly erode the world every day", treating the phenomenon among European people, with accent on Albanofobia. According to Rydgreen, "xenophobic beliefs may arise out of invalid inductive inferences and by stereotyped categorization processes, i.e. the drawing of inferences about individuals on the basis of the image of the social group or category of which the individual is a part."⁷ Xenophobia and racism, two forms of oppression,

² See more at Adams, P. (2014), *Politics, Faith, and the Making of American Judaism*, University of Michigan Press.

³ Merriam-Webster Dictionary.

<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/altruism> [Accessed: 22 march 2014], "unselfish regard for or devotion to the welfare of others".

⁴ Allison, P.D. (1992), *How Culture Induces Altruistic Behavior*, University of Pennsylvania. Available from <http://www.statisticalhorizons.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/AltruCult.pdf>, [Accessed: 2 may 2014.]. p.(2).

⁵ Linenberger, S.J. (2010) *Sources of Altruistic Calling in Orthodox Jewish Communities: A Grounded Theory Ethnography*, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Dissertation for the Doctor Degree of Philosophy, 2010. p. 5. Jewish biblical history, the Holocaust, and everyday life in the Jewish community.

⁶ Bashkurti, L. (2014), *Ksenofobitë, mure midis popujve, frikë, urrejtje, armiqësi*, GEER Tiranë, p. 41.

⁷ Rydgreen, J. (2004), *The Logic of Xenophobia, Rationality and Society* Copyright & Sage Publications. Vol. 16(2): p.p. (123-148).

highly interrelated as well as roots and consequences of immigrants in USA, were analyzed by Yakushko.⁸ "Understanding xenophobia can be a critical step in the direction of reducing and even someday eliminating prejudice against immigrants in the United States", stated Yakushko.

2. Jewish and Albanians

Research on the situation in the Balkans requires further study and verification, especially after the Cold War. The impact of U.S. foreign policy in the matter of stopping the violence between Albanians and Serbs before, during and after the war and humanitarian intervention by the international community, led by the U.S. is a marvellous phenomenon. Americans with a Jewish origin had a great impact. At the time of the tragic events of Albanians, when more than half of them experienced expulsion from their land as a result of selfishness and short-sightedness of Serbian politics, freedom-loving Western world led by the U.S., came to the aid of suffering Albanian people in the Balkans.

Historically, among the first intellectuals that raised and protested on the issue of Albanian suffering from Serbian tendencies on expanding their territory was Hebraic writer Leo Freundlich,(1875-1953), whom in 1913 wrote the book "Accusation Records". In German publication, *Albaniens Golgotha: Anklageakten gegen die Vernichter des Albanervolkes: Gesammelt und Herausgegeben*, (Albanian Golgotha: Albania's Golgotha: Indictment of the Exterminators of the Albanian People (Collected and edited), Leo Freundlich, presented the Albanian Golgotha during 1912-15, when Serbs massacred and expelled around five hundred thousand (500.000) Albanians from Albanian settled territories.⁹ The writing is a protest on a genocide exercised by the Serbian chauvinist policy against the oldest people in the Balkans.¹⁰ According to pro-Serbian daily politics,

⁸ Yakushko, O. (2009), "Xenophobia: Understanding the Roots and Consequences of Negative Attitudes toward Immigrants" Educational Psychology Papers and Publications. Paper 90.

⁹ The book was founded at Harvard University Library, in 1982. Now is published in Albanian, Leo Freundlich, *Golgota Shqiptare, Shtëpia Botuese LILO, Tiranë, 1995.* Available from:

http://www.albanianhistory.net/texts20_1/AH1913_1.html [Accessed: 20 August, 2014.].

¹⁰ Freundlich, L. (1995), *Golgota Shqiptare, Shtëpia Botuese LILO, Tiranë*, pp. 26-49.

Freundlich writings were taken as Austro-Hungarian propaganda pamphlets against Serbia.¹¹

Leaders of different levels of the most powerful country in the world, the USA, were personalities of the people who had suffered greatly, especially during World War II, the Jews. They did not humiliate by the voices that NATO intervention gave the opportunity to Milosevic and pretext "to drive the Kosovars from their homeland"¹², but they never questioned themselves "why people from other parts of Serbia proper and Monte Negro, also bombed at the same time, did not expel from their homes? I do not claim that this article gives an absolute conclusion on pro intervention policy or pro Albanian sentiments by all Jews, because I am aware that there are cases of dissenting opposite or neutral."¹³ By analyzing the actions and commitment of Jewish individuals who had held high positions in the U.S. administration, individuals and political academics, there is a special dedication of this category of people against Serbian policies that practiced against the vulnerable population in Kosovo, especially the ethnic cleansing of Albanians from Kosovo. These leaders, in support of the people of Kosovo, are guided by the principle of American liberal democracy but also the basics of Judaism in general. "The servant leader satisfies this motivation by listening and understanding, practicing acceptance and empathy, and focusing on being aware and perceptive of others needs, wants, and desires."¹⁴

Efforts of Diaspora to support the country of origin is known in the world and is natural occurrence, but when a Diaspora community (Jewish)

¹¹ See at Carter, G. Korteni, (2014), *Antisrpska propaganda i njen utemeljivac*, Leo Froundlich, (1875-1954), Available from:

<http://theremustbejustice.wordpress.com/2013/03/14/koreni-antisrpske-propagande-leo-freundlich/>, [Accessed: 21 August, 2014].

Carl Savich, *Leo Freundlich and the Roots of Anti-Serbian Propaganda*. Available from: <http://serbianna.com/blogs/savich/archives/415>, [Accessed: 21 August, 2014].

¹² Herring, G. C. (2000), *Analogies at War: The United States, the Conflict in Kosovo and the Uses of History*, In: Schnabel A. & Thakur, R. (eds.) *KOSOVO AND THE CHALLENGE OF HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION*, Selective Indignation, Collective Intervention, and International Citizenship, UNU Press 2000. Available from:

http://archive.unu.edu/p&g/kosovo_full.htm#21, [Accessed: 21 May, 2014].

¹³ Kissinger H., Jewish by origin, was sceptic about possible intervention in Kosovo without a clear objectives and withdrawal policy. See at:

www.c-spanvideo.org/program/policyink, [Accessed: 20 march, 2014].

¹⁴ Linenberger, *ibid.* taken from Greenleaf, R. K. (1970). *The servant as leader*. Indianapolis, IN: The Greenleaf Center.

from another country (USA) react on injustice treatment towards another nationality (Kosovo Albanians) in facing difficult moments of its existence, it is not a frequent case. This made the U.S. Jewish community altruistic in support of Kosovo Albanians. What made this perfectly organized community in the U.S., with different culture and other religious affiliations from the people of Kosovo to support them in tendencies of extermination? What were the factors and drivers that made them influence the policy of most powerful state in the world in support of Albanians? These are some of the answers that this article aims to illuminate.

My approach will be based on various observations, especially how the community had great influence on decision making in American foreign policy in regards to their Jewish state, Israel? This issue has a special explanation and is associated with policies and strategies that prevail in relations between the countries of the western Mediterranean region and globally.

3. Decade of protection of the local Kosovo people and ethnic cleansing by Serbian regime

In the period when the United Nations had declared¹⁵ The International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992) were at their culmination. Kosovo was attempting to postpone as much as possible its involvement in an unbalanced war with Serbian (Yugoslav) Army and police forces. The Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova's strategy, of combination of international sensibilisation of Kosovo case, organizing the Kosovo institutions apart from Serbian ones, and maturing conditions for war helped in preservation of human substance in Kosovo. Further, behaviour of Serbian police in Croatia and Bosnia served to internationals as a reference. In those circumstances and challenges created by Serbian hegemonistic policy, the international diplomatic community (still in favour of united Yugoslavia) had not positioned the Kosovo issue high on the agenda, treating it as violation of human rights.

¹⁵ The International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, launched on 9 December 1994, was proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 48/163 of 21 December 1993, under the theme "Indigenous People: Partnership in Action". Available from: <http://www.un.org/rights/50/people.htm> [Accessed: 3 February, 2014].

In Kosovo, the Albanians as indigenous¹⁶ or at least a nation that populated the territory before the arrival of the Serbs in these lands (7th century)¹⁷, experienced all kinds of violence by the Belgrade regime, structural and physical, expulsion from their lands, eventhough the Albanians had shown a decade of peaceful engagement,¹⁸ and were aimed at equality with other nations in ex Yugoslavia, as third most numerous community after the Serbs and Croats.

To the action of the state of Serbia against Kosovo Albanians, Jewish community had special access and anti tendencies, as were those by the U.S. According to principle of Tikkun Olam, the obligation to repair the world...it is an identifiable cause for Jewish political behaviour.¹⁹ This community is known as one of the most active and best represented in decision-making in American domestic and foreign policy. They are involved in shaping the foreign policy of the United States, primarily related to policies oriented towards the Arab-Israeli issue. A large number of high-profile Jewish intellectuals compared the current situation in Kosovo to the Holocaust. Elie Wiesel, supporting the NATO bombing, says "... if the world would react (during WWII) as we are now, many tragedies could be prevented." The most common reasons supporting humanitarian intervention by any organization was comparison of Holocaust with Milosevic behaviour against Kosovo Albanians.²⁰

¹⁶ *The New York Times*, (2012), Tracing the Origins of Indo-European Languages. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/08/24/science/0824-origins.html?ref=science>, [Accessed: 25 August, 2014].

¹⁷ The Serb theses try to explain that territory is integral part of Serb Medieval Kingdom and that the Albanian hood came lately in the XVII century from Albania, at A. et J Sellier, 'Atlas des peuples d'Europe centrale', (Paris; La Decouverte 1998), p. 164. The Albanian theses based on Austrian historians, the Serbs came into the Balkans in VII century and Kosova has been inhabited from Illyrian population and the Albanians of Kosova are with Illyrian origin and consequently Albanian. See at Chauprade, Aymeric 'Géopolitique; constantes et changements dans l'histoire', (Paris; Ellipses 2007), p. (247).

¹⁸ On 23 December, 1989, the founder of State of Kosovo, dr. Ibrahim Rugova, created the first political party, The Democratic League of Kosovo, LDK, aiming on peacefully creation of Republic of Kosovo, first within ex Yugoslav state if can survived, if not, as an Kosovo should be independent state.

¹⁹ Feingold, H. L. (2013), *American Jewish Political Culture and the Liberal Persuasion*, Syracuse University Press, P.(91).

²⁰ Pauline Dubkin Yearwood, Another side to the story of Kosovo. Available from: <http://www.jewishworldreview.com/0499/serbjews1.asp>, [Accessed: 30 December 2013].

What prompted this community, besides humanism, which other nations also possess but not the same as they did on the issue of Kosovo, to react almost with accorded voice? Before analyzing the nature of this reaction, I will testify the activity of the Hebrews, those who held senior positions in the U.S. administration, former officials, writers, publicists, diplomats, military officers, politicians...I am aware that many other names will be left outside the paper. Jews were the main spokesmen in the involvement of the U.S. and NATO in the Balkan conflict as voice of concern about developments in the region.²¹

4. Senior U.S. Jewish statesmen and Kosovo

During the war in Kosovo, the highest ranked official in the U.S. administration was Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State, responsible for U.S. foreign policy, nominated by President William Clinton in 1996, passed by the Senate without a dissenting vote. She was born to Jewish parents, her father was a diplomat from the former Czechoslovakia. Her father, serving as Ambassador in Belgrade, did not allow his daughter to study in a communist school and sends her to Switzerland. Once the world entered into the Cold War and their country fell under Soviet influence, her father was forced to resign from the position of ambassador and was appointed in an office at the United Nations, which opened an opportunity to seek a political asylum and begins work as a professor at the University of Denver in Colorado.

With background of education at Georgetown, Johns Hopkins and Columbia University, M. Albright started her diplomatic career as U.S. Ambassador to the UN. She was very critical on the work of UN, especially with the case of Rwanda²², and sometimes her own cabinet, and Colin Powell 's reluctance regarding the use of arms, saying "what serves army for when it cannot be used."²³

She used to be the first female Secretary of State. On a trip to London with the Contact Group, to get support for action in Kosovo, analyzing the figure of Albright by Wilson, he finds that "the British foreign secretary, the late Robin Cook, was willing, but the French dithered, the Italians

²¹ Maisel L. S. and Forman, I. N., (2001), *Jews in American Politics*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. P.(280).

²² Albright, M. (2003), *Madam Secretary*, Hyperion, P. (207).

²³ *Ibid.* P.(182).

postured, and the Russians filibustered while Albright fumed". Finally, her chief spokesman, Jamie Rubin, suggested that she move things along by offering a compromise. Albright glared at him and snapped: "Jamie, do you think we're in Munich?"²⁴, comparing the situation of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic to that what did Hitler in Czechoslovakia when he initially occupied the Sudetenland/Sudety, later occupied the whole country. Similarly, in the name of protecting the Serbs in Kosovo, Milosevic abolished Kosovo's autonomy, later trying to dislodge the Albanians, finally, to release in unprecedented prey on them. Albright continuously stands beside the powerful actions taken in Kosovo by NATO humanitarian intervention, saying "what we did was illegal but fair".²⁵

In this period, during military intervention in Kosovo, William Cohen was Secretary of Defence. His parent was Jewish (his mother Irish) who had emigrated from Russia. A precious personality and political life serving as a member of Senate of the U.S. Congress, President Clinton appointed him to his cabinet, although coming from the Republican Party. He had developed important activity in the Iraq war and in the Kosovo case.

Another senior official in the U.S. administration in this period was Wesley Clark, with the rank of General of the U.S. Army and Supreme Commander of Operation Allied NATO, 1996-2000. He originates from a Jewish family from Belarus which experienced Russian pogrom. He was the person who was sitting at the same table where General Dwight Eisenhower was sitting when NATO founded fifty years ago, dedicated to achieve the goal, winning a modern war, but not the type of Eisenhower's. He resisted diplomatic pressures from countries that had started to hesitate and then over the legitimacy of the effects of the campaign. This reluctance first came from the Pentagon, which would change the attitude in favour of intensifying the campaign as Clark insisted.²⁶

James Rubin, was spokesman for the State Department in the Bill Clinton administration and one of the personalities involved in the Kosovo

²⁴ Wilson, P. (2012), *The Dilemma of Madeleine Albright*. Available from: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/jun/07/dilemma-madeleine-albright/?pagination=false> [Accessed: 11 December, 2013].

²⁵ Albright: U.N. Needs To Show Its Relevance on Syrian Issue <http://www.npr.org/2013/09/26/226375391/albright-u-n-needs-to-show-its-relevance-on-syrian-issue>, [Accessed 11 December, 2013].

²⁶ Clark, W. K. (2003), *Të bësh Luftë Moderne, Zëri, Prishtinë*, P.(273).

issue at the brink, during and after the war. Regarding the wars in former Yugoslavia, Rubin blamed Serbian leader considering it "not as a problem but as part of problem,"²⁷ adding that "the humanitarian intervention in Kosovo presents his proudest moment in the U.S. government, and that Kosovo is the only case where the international community succeeded in preventing genocide".²⁸

Samuel Berger was national security adviser to President Clinton in the period 1997-2001, among others he connected with the bombing campaign in the former Yugoslavia. He was determined pressuring the Serb forces to accept NATO's terms. In an interview three days after the bombing starts, he talks to expand the space and targets that will be attacked, "we are not just targeting defence system and command..., but the Serbian security forces and the so-called MUP police forces which were an instrument of repression in Kosovo".²⁹ Although at first was sceptical about the bombing, Berger insisted on "the development of a sustainable campaign and the intent to convince Milosevic that the total cost to continue his fight is not worth the price he is paying and that it is growing every night."³⁰

Robert Gelbard, another U.S. diplomat of a Jewish origin, who served as ambassador to Bolivia and Indonesia. In between these duties he was appointed as a special envoy for the Balkans by President Clinton. He had numerous meetings with the leadership of Kosovo and Serbia in periods of dramatic developments on the brink of war. He was known for his position on Kosovo Liberation Army, KLA³¹ as terrorist organization, such attitude of the administration changed with time, to partner in the victory against Milosevic. His views regarding the completion and settlement of the Kosovo issue within the former Yugoslavia, but it would be democratic and

²⁷ U.S. Department of Daily Press Briefing (2002), # 146, 99-12-01, available from: <http://www.hri.org/news/usa/std/1999/99-12-01.std.html>, [Accessed: 12 January, 2013]. More at Louis Sell, Slobodan Milosevic and the Destruction of Yugoslavia, Duke Univ.Press.

²⁸ Rubin, J. (2013), Intervention in Kosovo, my proudest moment in the U. S. government, available from: <http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,4,1962>, [Accessed: 28 December 2013].

²⁹ National Security Adviser Samuel Berger discusses day there of the strikes against Yugoslavia with Jim Lehrer, available from: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/europe/jan-june99/berger_3-26.html, [Accessed: 12 December, 2013].

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ BBC, World: Europe, The KLA - terrorists or freedom fighters? Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/121818.stm>, [Accessed: 12 January 2013].

Serbia could rule on the methods of "a nightstick clutched in an iron fist. There is no battlefield solution for either side tightening the iron ... the battlefield is not a solution to any party, open dialogue and honest negotiations could resolve the current impasse."³²

Tom Lantos has been a member of the U.S. Congress since 1981 and has consistently been a supporter of the Albanian cause in support of full independence from Serbia since the establishment of its international protectorate in 1999.³³ He was the only member of the U.S. Congress who had survived the Holocaust. In 1990, along with Joseph DioGuardi, he had visited Kosovo to closely follow the situation of severe deprivation of 1974 autonomy. Shortly before his death he states that "Kosovo will soon be independent and that it is unrealistic to remain part of Serbia"³⁴. Unfortunately, a week before the Kosovo declaration of independence, he dies on February 11, 2008.

Eliot Engel, is among the members of the U.S. Congress who had paid attention to Kosovo during the 90's, dedicated to the issue of independence and building democracy in Kosovo. He continues to be involved with organized civil society in the U.S. to support the further steps regarding Kosovo. He comes from a Jewish family emigrated from Russia.

Benjamin Gilman was one of the pioneers of the movement for respect of human rights in the world, by trying to ban the violations of repressive regimes³⁵. In opening testimony before the House International Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress, in the wake of the NATO intervention, Gilman introduced the denial of basic rights of Kosovars as "employment, education and even health care ", which eventually prompted some to

³² House of Representatives, hearing before the Committee on International Relations, Kosovo: Current Situation and future Options, July 23, 1998, Benjamin A. Gilman, New York, Chairman, available from:

http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intlrel/hfa50674.000/hfa50674_of.htm, | [Accessed 14 December, 2013].

³³ Walter Ruby, Jewish Support For Kosovars Sought, The Jewish Week, available from: <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1760063/posts>, accessed 17 November, 2013.

³⁴ Lantos: Kosovo will be independent in very near future (2005), Available from: <http://kosovareport.blogspot.com/2005/03/lantos-kosovo-will-be-independent-in.html>, [Accessed: 17 November 2013].

³⁵ Jewish Virtual Library, Benjamin Gilman, Available from: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/gilman.html>, [Accessed: 19 November 2013].

"grasp weapons and fight against oppression and die for their rights rather than live under the yoke of tyranny." ³⁶

Eliot Cohen, a member of the Project for the New American Century, was a signatory of the letter to President Clinton, published in *The New York Times* in order to advocate for intervention in Kosovo. Cohen is a professor at John Hopkins University and has served as advisor to the State Department at the time of Secretary Rice. Morton Halperin, is a supporter and signatory of the above-mentioned letter addressed to President Clinton. He is one of the prominent American experts on foreign policy and had served in the administrations of Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Clinton, at Harvard University and now advisor to the Open Society Institute founded by George Soros.

Morton Abramowitz, in his analysis regarding Kosovo had a clear perception on its future, especially after Kosovo entered the period of the tragic events of violence against Albanians. He was the first in the list of participants who addressed the letter to Clinton sensibilising the difficult situation in Kosovo. He was occasionally critical of the government's work in Kosovo, especially the corruption phenomena. According to him, Kosovo " seems to be an independent pro-Western, but its government is riddled with corruption and consumed by people and moral support from the West."³⁷ He is a career diplomat, served as ambassador to Thailand and Turkey. He studied at Harvard University.

Paul Wolfowitz, was among those who signed the letter to President Clinton. He has served as President of the World Bank, Deputy State Secretary of Defence, Ambassador to Indonesia, and dean professor at John Hopkins University.

Elliott Abrams is a senior fellow of foreign policy and has served as a diplomat in the administrations of Presidents Reagan and George W. Bush. He works as a professor of foreign policy at Georgetown University. Also, he was supportive of the letter stated.

³⁶ Gilman, Opening Statement at HIRC Hearing on Kosovo, February 10, 1999. Available from: <http://usembassy-israel.org.il/publish/press/congress/archive/1999/february/uc1212.htm> [Accessed: 29 November, 2013].

³⁷ Abramowitz, M and Hooper's, J. (2010), "Settling the Balkans" Published in the *National Interest*, Available from: <http://publicinternationalallawandpolicygroup.org/pilpg-update-morton-abramowitz-and-james-hooper%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%9Csettling-the-balkans%E2%80%9D-published-in-the-national-interest/> [Accessed: 11 January 2013].

Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel, Auschwitz 's survivors, did visit the concentration camps of fled Kosovo Albanians in Macedonia and Albania. He transmits to President Clinton all the experiences Albanians suffered by Serbian forces, "I no longer know what hurt us more: the children's laughter or their parents' tears. As for their tormentors, you try to understand: how could human beings cause such agony to other human beings? Is this the lesson of our outgoing century: that it is humane to be inhumane?"³⁸ He strongly supported the NATO intervention saying that "if we see governments that are doing something, we as individuals do something"³⁹ in terms of stopping the horrors of Milosevic.

Hyman Bookbinder, Deborah Dwork, Anna Cohen,... and a large number of Jewish personalities have reacted against the systematic violation of human rights in Kosovo and have opposed the inhumane policy of the Serb leadership in the late twentieth century exerted against Albanians in Kosovo. This list of people with such behaviour could be even longer, and even someone who has not supported the same attitude⁴⁰ of the community towards Kosovo.

5. Sources of such American Jewish approach on Kosovo emergency

This community followed the trends of change in the new order of a unipolar world. The rules in the new world order were defined by the United States, to which loyal and influential Jewish community took part in framing the, and not only, US foreign policy.

Support by the American Jewish to NATO intervention in Kosovo has nothing to do with any particular perception of sympathy or hate for the Albanians, respectively Serbs. At first, they were against the domestic

³⁸ The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Text of a Report from Elie Wiesel to the President of the United States, June 7, 1999, available from: http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/Kosovo/Kosovo-Current_News230.htm [Accessed: 12 December, 2013].

³⁹ Conklin, M. (1999), Wiesel Cites Holocaust In Warning About Kosovo, available from: http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1999-04-22/features/9904220425_1_elie-wiesel-holocaust-survivor-ethnic-cleansing, [Accessed: 22 December 2013].

⁴⁰ Betsy Lalich, a serbian-hebraic, manager of Chicago Serbian-Hebraic brunch, was against the humanitarian intervention.

Pauline Dubkin Yearwood, Another side to the story of Kosovo, Available from: <http://www.jewishworldreview.com/0499/serb.jews1.asp> [Accessed: 30 December, 2013].

politics of the Serbian regime chosen for resolving the issue of Kosovo, the policy of refusal of everything Albanian except land where they live, and which they had experienced during rejection of their Jewish identity during World War II.

Second, Jews considered identification of the expulsion of Albanians from their lands, as similar with anti-Semitism, of course, smaller but similar to Jewish exodus.

Third, although in a few articles, mainly publications after the fall of communism in Albania regarding the rescue of Jews in Albania, the data on this sympathy and gratitude for the sacrifice shown by the community for their protection during WW II in Albania has a significant effect on to imposing of this policy. Johanna Jutta Neumann shows best when she says: "we survived due to the courage, friendship and hospitality of the Albanian people"⁴¹. "Albanians were fantastic, after the war there were even more Jews than before it"⁴². Neumann wrote a book, "Via Albania, a personal account" which describes her family's departure from Germany to Albania then occupied by Italy. Salvation from Nazi persecution of Jews in Albania was conducted by the dedication of Albanians who "treated us like their brothers and sisters" says dr. Anna Cohen⁴³. She explained the reason why she is alive: "...because Albanians rescued my parents in Albania...Kosovo issue was our dream, which is realized"⁴⁴. In her book, *Escape Through the Balkans*, Irene Braunbaum pays homage to people of Albania, nostalgically recalls and writes: *Farewell Albania*, "... one day I will tell the world how brave, fearless, strong and faithful your sons are, how death cannot frighten feeble-minded and say ... we thank you".

"Albania was the only European country after the war, which had more Jews than at the beginning of the war,"⁴⁵ said the former project director of

⁴¹ Sarver, H. (1997), *Rescue in Albania, one hundred percent of Jews in Albania Rescued from Holocaust*, Brunswick Press, California, 1997. P. (59).

⁴² Cama, A. (2012), *Albanians saved Jews from deportation in WWII*, available from: <http://www.dw.de/albanians-saved-jews-from-deportation-in-wwii/a-16481404>, [Accessed: 24 December, 2013].

⁴³ *Escape Through the Balkans: autobiography of Irene Brunbaum*, University of Nebraska Press, 1996, p.139, taken from Harvey Sarver, *Rescue in Albania, one hundred percent pf Jews in Albania Rescued from Holocaust*, Brunswick Press, California, 1997. p. 59.

⁴⁴ Krasniqi, M. Audio interview with Anna Cohen in New York, Nil Production, 2013.

⁴⁵ To other states as in Poland 90% of 3.3 million Jewish were killed, in Germany 88% of 0.24 millions, in Greece 77% of 70 hundred Jewish... see at Joseph Berger, (2013), *Casting Light*

the Holocaust Memorial Museum United States, Michael Berenbaum. The essence of the protection of Jews during the Holocaust stands in the tradition of Albanians to protect the visitor, based on the Albanian code of faith.⁴⁶

That no trace of ill-treatment of Jews in Albania occurred, shows U.S. Ambassador to Albania in 1934, Herman Bernstein, "because Albania happened to be one of the rare countries in Europe today where religious prejudice and hatred do not exist, though Albanians are divided into three faiths ... Jews throughout Europe were massacred in mass Nazi final solution, a European country which had no population decline, Albania, had a Muslim majority".⁴⁷

A Jewish cosmopolitanism presents this behaviour as an expression of rejection of repeated similarities with the Holocaust of the Jewish people in the world? Is this the reaction of a nation which is shaped by the suffering of millions of its members and which did not want anyone else suffering? Is this the then U.S. policy adjustments related to the Balkan region? Is such behaviour as a reflection of the Albanian civilized/altruist behaviour towards the Jews during World War II...? Such questions could be more in number and I will conclude that all these questions/answers complement the final answer. A response to the attitude of the Jewish community in the U.S. and which is not only a reaction to the Albanian question, is Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre of Los Angeles, who says that "if Jews remain silent in the face of atrocities committed against other ethnic or religious populations, we will lose all our credibility. Otherwise, people will say Jews only cry when Jewish blood is spilled."⁴⁸ Jewish people were accused of displaying their cosmopolitanism at

on Little-Known Story of Albania Rescuing Jews From Nazis, The New York Times, Published: November 18, 2013,

http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/19/world/europe/casting-light-on-little-known-story-of-albania-rescuing-jews-from-nazis.html?_r=0, [Accessed: 29 December, 2013].

⁴⁶ At the core of this effort was a concept called "besa," an Albanian code of honour that holds a person's oath as sacred. Documentary seeks to explain why Albanians saved Jews in Holocaust. See more at Laura Koran, CNN, August 3rd, 2012, available from: <http://religion.blogs.cnn.com/2012/08/03/documentary-seeks-to-explain-why-albanians-saved-jews-in-holocaust/>, [Accessed: 22 December: 2013].

⁴⁷ *United with Israel*, Albanian Muslims Rescued Jewish Lives From Nazis, available from: <http://unitedwithisrael.org/albanian-muslims-rescued-jewish-lives-from-nazis/> [Accessed: 24 December, 2013].

⁴⁸ Daniel Kurtzman, *ibid*.

different periods and for their vision to certain processes in the world. Because of the pro-Western stance of Jews in the Soviet Union after World War II, they were labelled as "un-rooted cosmopolitans" (Rootless Cosmopolitans). As a nation which until recently had its state (and therefore experienced the Holocaust), they were living beyond the borders of cosmopolitan epithet, cannot be reconciled with the fact that the other people, Kosovo Albanians, experience the same fate of being stateless. This is one of the main international supports for intervention to prevent the expulsion of Albanians from their country, Kosovo. This view was expressed by perennial Jewish activist in Washington, Hyman Bookbinder, when he says, "As Jews we dare not swear indifference to mass torture like we've been seeing here."

This altruism motivated in support of a group, is based on the moral principle of justice, it's free enterprise encouraged by others to support the suffering people in Europe, where they had also suffered in the first half-century. Not recognition of the state of Kosovo by the State of Israel is a result of combination of geostrategic position and policy of great powers in the Middle East region. Changes will occur when the transformation of the attitude toward Kosovo by the most Arab countries becomes necessity, after they become democratic states, outside of Russian influence. Jewish community will have important impact on the state of Israel policies towards Kosovo in the future.

How altruistic behaviour has the Israeli regimes toward Palestinians is a matter of further research.

6. Conclusion

U.S. population is a complex structure, of various origins, races and religions that exist in the world. Freedom of action and constitutionally guaranteed entrepreneurship has enabled this country to prosper and emerge as hegemony in the international system in the post-Cold War. In this country, lobbying activity is heterogeneous. On the issue of Kosovo, the U.S. leadership and public opinion was outstanding, as were the Albanian and Jewish pro-Kosovar lobbies. Jewish community features do not identify with either national or trust with Albanian or those of regional affiliation but it was in support of stopping the sufferings caused by the Serbian regime against Albanians in Kosovo. Reasons of such support are heterogeneous. Mainly, it is the psychological impact, which is present in

this population from past experiences of the Holocaust, whom they did not want to happen to other people. Close ties between origin country, Israel, and Jewish community with the U.S. strategic orientation was also an additional element of the reasoning behaviour of the community. The third element of explaining standing in defence of Albanians by the Jewish is the emancipation with high culture against irresponsible behaviours by autocratic leaders who seek to achieve their goals or policy of not avoiding expulsion or even genocide against a specific group of population. And last but not least, is the element of knowledge that the community has about the dignified behaviour and protective attitude toward Jews by the Albanians during World War II.

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