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MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 66, Folder 5, Kahane, Meir, 1985.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** July 30, 1985

**to** Sonya Kaufer

**from** George Gruen

**subject** Sprinzak papers

Since the Kahane-Kach paper will be appearing in abridged form in Patterns of Prejudice in September, I suggest we look at that first, before deciding whether we want to put out the longer version. As you will note from the attached FAX, we have permission to reprint the article. Query, is this sufficient or do we need permission from Patterns of Prejudice? If so could you contact them to obtain clearance and possibly also advance copies of the pageproofs.

Please begin editing the article on Gush Emunim-Zionist Fundamentalism for style. Let us know if you believe it poses any ideological or methodological problems. Please send it on to me for review once the preliminary editing is done.

✓ cc: Marc Tanenbaum  
Harry Milkman (Ken Bandler's successor)



VIA FAX

TO: George Gruen  
FROM: Sylvia Hantman  
Israel Office  
SUBJECT: Ehud Sprinzak

DATE: July 28, 1985

In Dr. Resnikoff's absence:

1. The paper on Kahane and Kach will appear first as an article in the London publication "Patterns of Prejudice" in late September. Its appearance as a chapter in the book is scheduled for the end of the year. Citations will follow. Both are considerably shorter than the original version and are in English. Professor Sprinzak says he has no objection to reprinting the chapter.

I read the questions raised by you and Bob Rosenbaum and he was not prepared to deal with them on the spot. He will contact you directly.

2. Dr. Sprinzak verbally granted permission to publish the article on Zionist fundamentalism, with whatever editing you see fit. The price of \$750.00, mentioned in your later memo of July 25, was acceptable.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** August 16, 1985  
**to** Area Directors  
**from** Sonya F. Kaufer  
**subject** KAHANE vs. DEMOCRACY

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Please time this op-ed to coincide with  
Kahane's planned visit to your area.

Regards.

sfk/dr  
att.  
85-965-43



# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE VIEWPOINT

INFORMATION AND OPINION TO PONDER AND SHARE  
PUBLICATIONS SERVICE

SONYA KAUFER, Director

## KAHANE vs. DEMOCRACY

Meir Kahane's visit to the United States to personally publicize and raise funds for his openly racist anti-Arab policies should be a cause of concern to all who support democracy and pluralism in the Middle East. Despite recent reports that Kahane's ideology is gaining support in Israel, it is reassuring to know that the overwhelming majority of Jewish Israelis continue to repudiate his ideas.

On July 31, the Knesset passed a bill banning from parliamentary elections any party that incites people to racism or negates Israel's democratic character. The law was designed specifically with Kahane's party in mind. In response to Kahane's efforts to intimidate Arabs, the Knesset had earlier moved to bar him from entering Arab villages, and the police have seen to it that the ban is enforced.

At the same time, Israel's Ministry of Education has instructed the nation's schools to emphasize the principles of democracy, and to promote tolerance and understanding between Israel's Arab and Jewish communities, and Prime Minister Shimon Peres has appointed Ezer Weizman -- a long-standing advocate of improving relations between the government and the Arabs of Israel -- to coordinate the government's policies on Israeli Arabs.

Mr. Kahane evidently hopes his ideas will win a better reception here than in his adopted country. Let's hope he is quickly disabused of this notion.



## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** August 8, 1985  
**to** Area Directors & Executive Assistant  
**from** George E. Gruen, Director, Israel & Middle East Affairs, IRD  
**subject** Meir Kahane's U.S. Speaking Tour

We understand that Knesset Member Meir Kahane will be arriving in the middle of August for a month long speaking tour. His supporters have been busy seeking maximum media exposure for him. As you know Rabbi Kahane has been much in the news lately, including disturbing reports that his appeal has been growing because of incidents of Arab-Jewish violence, and popular frustration over the failure of the government to prevent terrorist attacks or to solve the increasingly serious economic problems. The absence of a charismatic leader like Menachem Begin has also enabled Kahane to draw supporters from the Likud and Tehiya right-wing nationalists, especially among the teen-agers.

These developments have led some political analysts to predict that if new elections were held today, Kahane might attract as many as four or five seats in the 120 member Knesset. It should be noted, however, that similar predictions were made in the past about various momentarily popular figures and when the voters were actually faced with the decision of who should lead the country, the results bore little relation to the predictions. While one should not minimize the potentially serious problems that Kahane's views represent for Israel's democracy and for peaceful relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors, one should keep the Kahane "threat" in perspective.

I believe that there are several significant recent developments that should be stressed if you are asked for media comment and which underscore the fact that Israel remains a democratic society and has within it the strength to resist and counteract the anti-democratic tendencies of a Kahane:

1. The policy advocated by Rabbi Meir Kahane and his Kach political party to expel Israeli Arabs, as well as Palestinian Arabs living in the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) and the Gaza District, is a racist policy that is rejected by the overwhelming majority of Israelis and by Jews around the world. Indeed, the Knesset, Israel's Parliament, on July 31 passed by a vote of 66 to 0 a bill banning from parliamentary elections any party that incites people to racism or negates Israel's democratic character. The law was designed specifically with Kahane's Kach party in mind. (The Knesset also passed another bill requiring anyone running for the Knesset in the future to give up any second citizenship. This too was designed with Kahane in mind, since he has stated that he intended to maintain his United States citizenship. The reason he has given is to facilitate his frequent visits back to the United States.)

2. It should be noted that Kahane failed in several previous attempts to run for office in Israel and that in the last Knesset election, in July 1984, Kahane received only 26,000 votes, or little more than one percent of the national vote. As The Economist (London) noted in its special survey of Israel (July 20, 1985), Kahane received "barely one Israeli vote in a hundred; much fewer than racist parties regularly get in West European elections. He is not representative of Israelis."
3. President Chaim Herzog, while meeting with the leaders of each of the numerous political parties that won Knesset seats in the 1984 elections, pointedly refused to meet with Kahane, whose ideology he considered repugnant to the democratic principles upon which Israel is based.
4. Israel's Declaration of Independence proclaims equal rights to all of Israel's citizens. Israel's Arab citizens, now about 17 percent of the country's population, on the whole live peaceably with the Jewish majority and actively participate in Israeli social, economic and political life, including elections for the Knesset.
5. Israeli Arabs and Jews joined together to protest against Kahane's attempt to visit the Arab town of Umm el-Fahm shortly after he gained a Knesset seat in July 1984.
6. On December 25, 1984, the Knesset passed a resolution to limit the parliamentary immunity of Kahane. The bill specifically curtails his freedom of movement around the country. Israel's police, therefore, can legally bar Kahane from entering Arab villages, and they have already enforced the measure more than once to prevent him from seeking open confrontations with Arabs.
7. Concerned over the implications of Kahane's election, liberal Israelis have redoubled their efforts to promote better relations between Arabs and Jews. On the government level, Prime Minister Shimon Peres appointed Ezer Weizman last September to coordinate the government's policies on Israeli Arabs. Weizman has worked tirelessly to encourage better relations between the government and Arab citizens. In addition, the Ministry of Education has begun to introduce curriculum materials, designed to reinforce the concepts of democracy and cultural pluralism, and to promote tolerance and understanding between Israel's Arab and Jewish communities.
8. On the non-governmental level, a number of organizations have continued their important contributions in terms of working to improve Arab-Jewish relations in Israel. Such organizations include Neve Shalom, the Givat Haviva Center, Interns for Peace, the Van Leer Institute, and the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee.

9. Ironically, it was Israel's deeply rooted tradition of democracy that enabled Kahane to run for his current seat in the Knesset. Last year Israel's Election Commission decided to disqualify two parties -- Kahane's Kach party and the Progressive List for Peace, a leftist party calling for creation of an independent Palestinian state. However, the Israeli Supreme Court overturned that decision and both parties ran and won representation in the Knesset, with the far left party obtaining two seats, or twice as many as Kahane. The new legislation passed without opposition at the end of July banning racist parties, noted above, specifically empowers the Election Commission to strike parties such as Kahane's from the list in the next elections. These are scheduled for 1988 but may take place sooner if the present National Unity Government is dissolved and new elections are called before then.

C078-IRD-3  
August 8, 1985/el





Memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

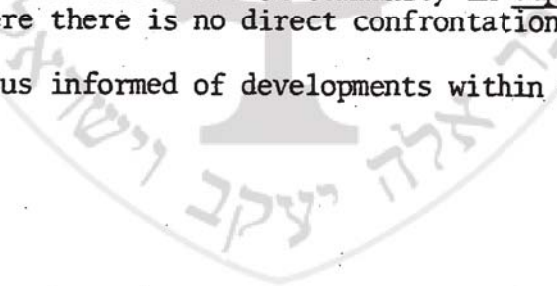
**date** August 9, 1985  
**to** Area Directors & Executive Assistants  
**from** George E. Gruen, Director, Israel & Middle East Affairs  
**subject** AJC Policy on Public Debates with Meir Kahane

Following up on my memorandum of August 8 concerning the forthcoming speaking tour of Rabbi Meir Kahane in the United States, this is to advise you that the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith and other constituent member organizations of the NJCRAC have decided not to engage in public debates with Kahane either in the media or other fora. This decision follows the example of President Haim Herzog of Israel, who refused to meet with Kahane after his election to the Knesset because his views are contrary to the democratic principles which Israel is pledged to uphold.

We also believe that the policies Kahane advocates violate fundamental principles of human rights. For American Jewish organizations to appear on the same platform as Kahane might be construed as bestowing a measure of legitimacy to such views.

We are prepared, however, to express our views on Kahane and the implications for Israel and the American Jewish community in separate media or other public discussions where there is no direct confrontation with Kahane.

Please keep us informed of developments within your community.



August 7, 1985

David Gordis

Mort Yarmon

We understand that Meir Kahane is due in this country within a few days, and will stay about a month, in what we gather is a fund-raising effort. His representatives here are approaching the radio/TV people and seem to be getting some acceptance. Given the nature of radio/TV, this means that representatives of the American Jewish Community will be invited to debate publicly with him. Accordingly, I asked Ken Bandler to prepare the attached "Talking Points," for use in the event some of our people get such invitations and want to accept.

As for print media -- newspapers and magazines -- it is conceivable that we will be asked for comment on Kahane and some of the things he may be stating when he is here. Do you want to have the International Affairs people prepare something for use in that event?

I also asked Sonya to have an Op-Ed prepared in the event that we want to send such out to our area offices.

And I gave a copy of this memo to Harold Applebaum, for use in the event he wants to send it to the area offices for possible use with the media or any other purpose.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum  
Hyman Bookbinder  
Harold Applebaum  
Sonya Kaufer

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** Aug. 2, 1985  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** Mort Yarmon  
**subject**

In the attached, Harsch has another attack on Jews, this time for being responsible for the breakdown of detante. Again, do you want to think of an AJC letter response?



# He sink' rev' sited: gro'p'ing fo' wo'ld stab' i' y

*N.Y. P.M. 8-2-85*  
By Joseph C. Harsch

It is of more than passing interest that 10 years after East-West détente reached its high-water mark at Helsinki the same countries were back there again this week and were again groping for stability and mutual security.

The optimists at Helsinki in 1975 thought, or at least hoped, that they had worked out a formula that would provide those two much-desired conditions in East-West relations: stability and mutual security.

The Final Act signed at Helsinki on Aug. 1, 1975, was made up of two parts. The West agreed that there should be no attempt by force to alter the frontiers of Europe which had emerged from World War II. The Soviets, in return, agreed to recognize those human rights which, if observed, could have made life tolerable for the peoples of Eastern Europe.

It was a trade-off. Russia's imperial frontiers would be recognized if those living behind those frontiers were to be allowed to travel freely, think freely, and speak and write freely.

It was a framework within which East-West relations could have become easier. The conscience of the West would be soothed. The Western governments would no longer have to feel guilty over allowing the continued imprisonment of the Eastern European peoples in the Soviet empire.

But all that depended on the terms of the Helsinki accords being honored by the Soviet Union. And the sad thing is that any chance for the accords to work had been undermined even before President Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed the papers at Helsinki 10 years ago this week.

Far more important to stability and mutual security in Europe were the trade arrangements President Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev had sketched out three years earlier in Moscow. Those agreements, paralleling the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, had collapsed six months earlier.

On Dec. 30, 1974, Congress passed a foreign-trade bill

*CSA. 9*  
which specifically and overtly tied United States trade with Russia to Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. The Soviets were to get easier access to US technology and easy and long-term credit for their American purchases in return for more exit visas for Jews.

The Soviets repeatedly warned in advance of the vote in Congress that they would not accept such overt and formalized interference (as they saw it) in their internal affairs. They had been granting a steadily rising number of exit visas to Jews. The number had risen from fewer than 5,000 in 1967 to 32,500 in 1973. But the Soviets refused to accept any public document telling them how many should be granted in any one year.

On Jan. 10, 1975, Moscow formally canceled the trade agreements with the US. It had already cut well down on Jewish exit visas. The number has been low ever since, down to 896 in 1984.

And, some time during 1975, Moscow deployed the first of its super SS-18 intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of carrying eight warheads and with an accuracy rating (circular-error probable) of 450 meters.

So Helsinki was the high-water mark, but the ebb tide had already set in. There was to be no deal in which the Soviet Union would allow outsiders to determine either its policy on Jewish emigration or its treatment of people in satellite countries. The human-rights terms of Helsinki were soon eroded by the proconsuls of the subordinate provinces of the Soviet empire.

This week we are back to a point where the allies (and prisoners) of the two superpowers are pushing their principals toward another attempt at finding that elusive stability and mutual security that was the aim of Helsinki. And the superpowers themselves are responding at least to the point of meeting this week at Helsinki at the ministerial level. It

Please see HEL next page.

## PATTERN OF DIPLOMACY

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## HELSINKI

from preceding page

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could pave the way for something more substantial at Geneva in November.

Meanwhile, the news of the week provides more of the same evidence the original Helsinki provided, evidence that influencing the internal affairs of other countries, even of clients, allies, and friends, can be extremely difficult.

South Africa recalled for consultations its ambassador-designate to Washington after the Reagan administration scolded South African President Pieter W. Botha for refusing to receive Bishop Desmond Tutu. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra denounced US interference in his country's internal affairs more stridently than ever. President Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines allowed hints to be dropped that US military bases may cost more in the future if Washington continues to nag him about civil and human rights.

South Africa assumes that its treatment of its own blacks is not the business of the United States. Nicaragua contends that it is entitled to treat its own people as it pleases. President Marcos feels the same. And so do the Soviets.

It is merely a fact that Richard Nixon's détente with the Soviet Union took a downward turn from the day the US Congress tried to tell Moscow how many exit visas it should grant to Jews each year. There were other reasons, including the Soviet arms buildup. But the stumbling block that soured détente was Soviet treatment of its Jews.