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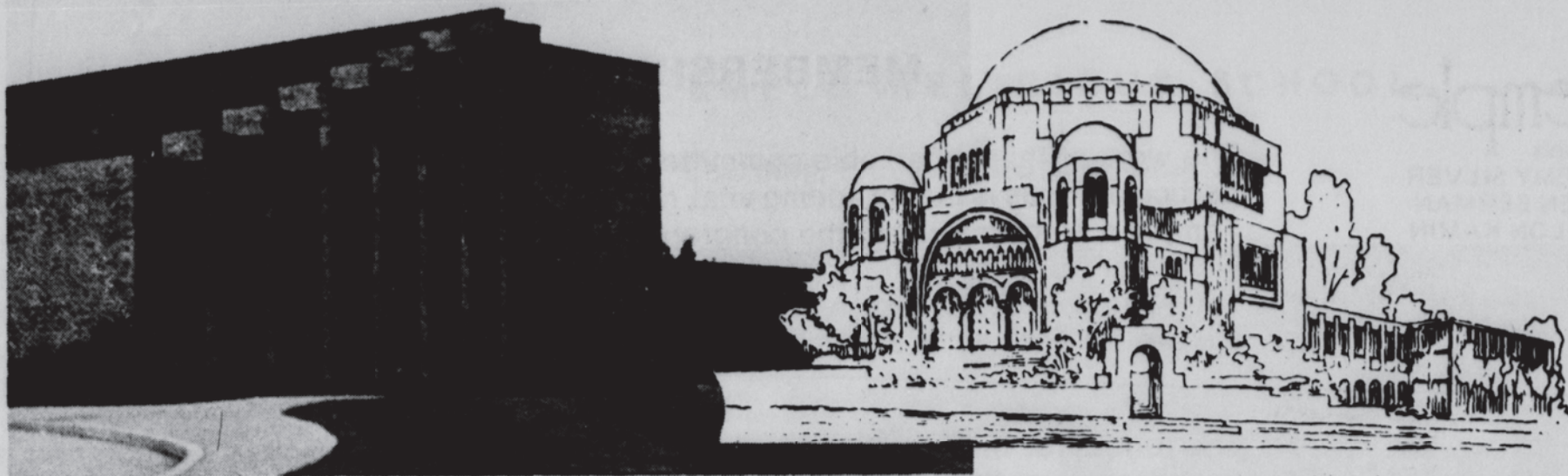
Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

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Terrorism, 1985.



Vol. LXXI, No. 9
December 22, 1985

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: **TERRORISM** The Sermon of November 17, 1985

Try for a moment to imagine yourselves in Jerusalem twenty-two hundred years ago. You have been the head master of a well thought of private school for the better part of your professional life. As your career begins to draw to a close, you decide to collect and publish the insights and truths which you have tried to convey to your young charges so that their sons and their sons' sons will be able to benefit from all you have tried to teach. You also decide to conclude your book with a series of thumb nail sketches of the heroes of the past in order to provide your young readers with a series of appropriate role models. Given what you know of the Torah, whom would you choose?

We know whom Ben Sirach chose; Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, but not Joseph. Apparently, the self-centeredness and egotism of the young Joseph who managed to turn his whole family against him because of his self-importance led Ben Sirach to strike Joseph from the best of role models. To the patriarchs, he added Moses, Aaron and Joshua. There is one name in his list, and the only one, that I haven't mentioned and that, I suspect, none of you thought of - Phineas. I can hear some of you say, "Phineas who?"

Phineas was a grandson of Aaron who is praised for his militant zeal in behalf of the Lord. Phineas stands for those who are totally committed, those who cannot see the grays in life, those who believe that there is only one way, their way, and that everyone should be forced to go that way.

It took forty years for the tribes to reach the Promised Land. Much of this time was spent in aimless wandering. God wanted the generation which had been born into slavery to die out. Much of this time was spent in the area of a people known as the Moabites. The Moabites apparently had a reputation for comely and compliant women. A number of illicit liaisons were established. The Bible puts it bluntly, "the Israelites went whoring after the Moabite women." Even worse, according to the Bible, the Moabite women induced their paramours to join them in the worship of their god, Baal Peor. God becomes fiercely angry and orders

the death of all who have participated in these illicit relationships. Israel's leaders, Moses and Aaron, hesitate. Phineas does not. He picks up a spear, follows one of the Israelite men into his tent and strikes down the man and his paramour. God, according to this text, blesses Phineas for his zeal with the seal of the priesthood, the promise that all Israel's priests will descend from him.

Such zeal sends shivers up most of our spines, and this text is never extolled from a pulpit such as this one. But, if you review Jewish history you will find that Phineas is often praised and his militant zeal held up as a compelling example. You find that when Mattathias rallies those who will fight the Syrian Greeks for the sake of the faith in the story of Hanukkah as told in the Book of Maccabees, he cites Phineas as their model. Was not Phineas willing to strike with the sword those who profaned the worship of God? Two centuries later Phineas served as an exemplar to those who precipitated the revolt against Rome.

Augustus secured the Roman Empire in the early years of the first century. Roman policy was carefully conceived. Their plan was aimed to the conquered provinces, to transform them into colonies which would provide Rome the raw materials and would enrich her life. Judea was bled for Rome's benefit. Taxes were high. Justice was arbitrary. Roman procurators enriched themselves at the people's expense. It was an unhappy time. Predictably, these measures created bitterness and opposition.

These political pressures broke on Judea at a time of inner turmoil. This was an age full of apocalyptic and millenarian passion. To many the triumph of Rome represented the last stage in a long cycle of world history. The idea was current in many cultures that there had been five one-thousand year periods, each millenium worse than the one before, and that the fifth millenium was now ending, as had been predicted, in a time of terrible troubles. For many End Time had come and with it extravagant messianic hopes. Messianic pre-

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

December 22 1985
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

EDUCATION: IS IT WORTH IT?

December 29, 1985
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

THE YEAR IN REVIEW

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel
Shabbat Celebration — 9:30 a.m. — The Branch

TERRORISM (continued)

tenders appeared throughout West Asia of whom Jesus is simply the best-known.

The early decades of the first century also saw the emergence in Judea and the Galilee of groups who insisted that Jews could not tolerate any sovereignty save God's. Jews were to be the servants of God, but of no one else. Some of these groups were people who looked back longingly on the brief period of independence which Israel had enjoyed in the second century B.C.E. under the Hasmoneans. Others were embittered by Roman actions. Most were convinced that they knew that God had proclaimed End Time and that Israel must purify itself to merit God's protection in the future. Purification meant that Israel must be free. Josephus called those who espoused these ideas the Zealots. Some Zealots were simply talkers and grumblers. Others were activists who banded together into what we would call cells and began a program of terrorism designed to promote the desired revolt. These terrorists were called Sicarii.

Sicarii is a Latin name for a sharp, bow-shaped knife which they carried under their cloaks and used to assassinate people in a crowd.

In Jerusalem, when throngs were in the streets during the pilgrimage festival, the sicarii would mingle in the crowd and strike those leaders they accused of cooperating with the Roman authorities. At other times, they would throw rocks at Roman soldiers to precipitate repression. Modern terrorists would call these actions "propaganda by the deed." The sicarii were determined to precipitate a revolt they were convinced couldn't be lost.

Like many modern terrorists, the Sicarii mostly attacked their own people, particularly those who recognized the futility of rebellion. Their attacks over several decades did polarize the society and the terror did silence many moderates. Sweet reason rarely holds its own against those who are willing to use weapons instead of words.

The Sicarii had their revolution and, as reasonable people had predicted, it was an unmitigated disaster. A million Jews were killed. Jerusalem was razed. The Temple was destroyed. This defeat forever changed the nature of Jewish life. Before the revolt, Jews represented some twenty percent of the population of the Eastern Roman Empire and Judaism was an expanding tradition which had great appeal to all classes within the Roman community. After the revolt Judaism was seen as an alien and subversive cult, something to be avoided.

Before the revolt there was some realistic hope that out of Zion will go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, that Judaism would be a major religious tradition. After 70 C.E. Judaism was relegated to a minority and defensive status. The revolt did not end in 70 C.E. As with volcanic eruptions, there were disastrous aftershocks. The diaspora rose in 115-117 and was decimated. Judea rose again in 132-135 under Bar Kochba and another one million were killed. Judaism developed a survival discipline, Rabbinic Judaism emerged, and there was wisdom in this new tradition; but it was an inward-looking approach. Jews were consigned to a politically impotent future.

I begin this way because in recent years Israel and Jews have so often been the object of terrorist attack, that many of us have begun to think of terrorism as their problem, that we are simply the victims. In point of fact, terrorism represents an elemental force in the social order. There are always people like Phineas who are eager to strike for the truth, whose passion overwhelms their compassion. There are always those who live for adventure, dare-devils who get their high by putting their lives on the line. There are always those who, feeling their impotence, achieve a sense of power by striking down a Kennedy or a Martin Luther King and basking in the publicity which attends an assassination, the feeling that they have or will affect the course of history. There are always those who feel compelled to take up a sword or a gun to correct what they perceive to be intolerable wrongs, to protect what they believe to be sacred privileges or to defend what they consider divine truth.

One section in the Bible extols Phineas. Others suggest another approach to commitment. We are warned "do not be righteous overmuch." The Torah also offers us the example of Moses. When Moses goes up to the mountain to receive the law, the tribes feel deserted and begin to build and worship a Golden Calf. God is livid and orders Moses to destroy this ungrateful people. "I will raise a new nation out of your seed." Instead of picking up a sword and beginning the slaughter, Moses intercedes with God: "forgive." There must be some sensitivity to the needs and failings of human beings as well as zeal for the truth.

Terrorism is a complex phenomenon to which, unfortunately, a great deal of romantic nonsense has been attached. Many tend to "understand" their violence out of the belief that the terrorist would not act as he or she does were it not for insufferable repression. The assumption here is that were it not for oppression, there would be no terrorism.

Social scientists will tell you that terrorism is one of the signs that a tyranny is beginning to be less repressive, more tolerant of criticism, and more accessible to change. Real repression effectively suppresses the terrorist. There is no terrorism in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, there was terrorism in late nineteenth century Czarist Russia. There is a terrorism in Northern Ireland where the British are unwilling to impose their will with an iron hand. In Russia a terrorist would be shot. Dissidents are sent to the Gulag. In Ireland, an IRA provisional who is caught faces little more than a jail sentence in a comfortable cell and an early pardon.

Terrorism appears in countries where there is a good deal of freedom and opportunity. The Bader Meinhof Gang which terrorized western Europe, particularly West Germany, in the late 60's and early 70's, operated in a democracy. There were inequities in German politics, there are in every state, but there were available political remedies. Terrorism is not always the only response available.

Moreover, the wrongs which motivate terrorists are not always wrongs. Few in this room would argue that the terrorist activities of the Ku Klux Klan in the 30's were nobly motivated or that the activities of the Klan's modern clone, the Order, are not praiseworthy ends.

We can say the same about the German Freikorps which practiced kidnapping and assassination during the years of the Weimar Republic in order to undermine nascent democracy. Do you remember the Symbionese Liberation Army? What was their cause? Did Pat Hearst have a cause? Many terrorist groups are simply nihilist or communal.

Increasingly, in our times the connection between proclaimed cause and terrorist act and strategy is increasingly uncertain. The terrorists who machine-gunned passengers at the Lod Airport in the early 1970's were not Palestinians or Arabs but Japanese, members of the so-called Japanese Red Brigade. Last Yom Kippur when three Jews were held captive and then assassinated on a yacht in Cyprus by the PLO, the soldiers who carried out this mission were not Palestinians. Two were Arabs, neither Palestinian, and the third was an Englishman.

Terrorism today is something of an international brotherhood. In the 1960's the Beider Meinhof Gang trained its soldiers in PLO military camps in the Lebanon. Those who trained them had themselves been trained in commando camps in the Soviet Union. Many of the arms used by the Beider Meinhof Gang were smuggled to them in diplomatic pouches of Algerian and Libyan diplomats. Where is the cause and the intolerable suppression in all of this?

The prototype modern terrorists like to hold on. The Narodnaya Volya, the Freedom Brigade, a group of perhaps 200 young people who lived in Czarist Russia in the 1870's and bound themselves together into cells begin a process of assassination of the leaders of abated and hateful regimes. Ultimately, they arranged to assassinate the Czar himself. Many of these young people were children of noble and wealthy families and many in Russia ascribed a certain nobility to their acts since Czarist rule was heavy-handed, venal and oppressive. Moreover, these young folk risked their lives. If they were caught they were tortured and hung. They also had a few scruples. One terrorist who had access to the Winter Palace went there to assassinate the head of the Department of Interior which controlled the Secret Police. On his first mission, he found that a man he was to assassinate came out accompanied by his wife and a child. He abandoned his attack for a later time when he found the man alone.

Despite the admitted repression, not all found the Narodnaya Volya noble. Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed* presents the description of the terrorist as a man possessed by zeal and a need for blood, who give little thought to the cause he supposedly supports. But the men and women of the Narodnaya Volya at least had a cause and put their lives on the line. That is not the case with terrorism today.

Terrorism always involves two kinds of activity: attacks on people they oppose and acts of robbery and kidnapping designed to provide the money needed to continue their operation.

Often the major profit motive becomes the element in their activity. The Narodnaya Volya attacked banks and mail trains. Today it is estimated that terrorists in Latin and South America earn something on the order of 40 million dollars a year from kidnapping Ameri-

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TERRORISM (continued)

can and European businessmen and perhaps three times that amount from drugs. Today terrorists also often enjoy direct support from nation-states. The Palestinian Liberation Organization, it is reported, has an annual income of half a billion dollars in direct remittances from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, ultimately from the gas that we buy at the pumps. With half a billion dollars there is little you cannot buy in the way of sophisticated arms. Once you enjoy governmental support, you can keep, as the PLO does, 15,000 men under arms and enjoy permanent barracks, training camps and rest camps. You can buy political support, politicians and media people and you can organize even more extravagant kinds of terrorist activity.

Your problem is that you cannot always, or even usually, translate terror into political success. The PLO has not been able to translate its half a billion dollar annual budget into the destruction of Israel. Indeed, historically, terrorism is more often counter-productive than effective.

Those who study the subject report that terrorism has become part of an increasingly important element in the ugly world of power politics. Their argument runs this way. Nuclear war is unthinkable. Governments are deterred using their highly sophisticated weapons, and power which is never used is not power. They are also deterred from using more conventional forces. Previous wars were fought by massed armies striving to control territory. The United States, NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union have such armies but cannot send them into the field. Why not? Because the great powers are convinced that where they do so such a war would quickly escalate into a nuclear conflict.

If you can't use nuclear weapons on massed armies, what can you use to effect your aggressive political purposes? You use those shadowy advisers we sometimes send into Nicaragua or the East Germans and Cubans Russia regularly send into Angola and Ethiopia. Beyond this, terrorist groups are increasingly being used at this third level of political-military action to gain advantage by destabilizing a government or promoting a so-called popular revolt or simply dispatching the enemies of those in power. Terrorism in the 1980's is for hire.

Two weeks ago a terrorist group known as M-19 attacked the Supreme Court building in Bogota. Why did they attack the Supreme Court? The answer has little to do with the supposed evils of the Betan court government, a democratic government by the way, and much to do with drugs. The drug lords of Colombia have long had a close relationship with the terrorists. Their planes which bring drugs into the United States stop in Cuba on the way back to pick up arms to groups like M-19. Recently, the United States signed a treaty with Colombia in which the Colombian government agreed to extradite drug lords to the United States for trial. Colombian courts were enforcing these rules. The Supreme Court attack was M-19's way of saying thanks.

There is no reason to be romantic about terrorism. The PLO buys mercenaries. Many terrorists are simply hired guns. Some Latin American terrorists deal in drugs. In Cambodia, the Pot Pol, once they took over the government, killed two million of their own people.

We tend to assume that human beings act rationally and reasonably and when there is violence we look for ways to remove the supposed causes of the violence. Why is there violence in our center cities? We answer violence erupts out of the frustration of poverty and illiteracy and all the elements for social disadvantage. True, but it is also true that most people who live in such conditions are not moved to violence. Violence exists because of human nature. There is something in the human breast which, under the right set of circumstances, explodes into violence and the need to vent may have psychological or pathological origins as well as political ones. Most urban terrorists in the west are children of affluence. Human nature includes the saint who withdraws lest he be contaminated by the world and men like Phineas who try to destroy those he labels evil in order to purify the world.

How shall we respond to terrorism? The Soviets have the best response - never give it a chance, nip it in the bud. If you find somebody with a knife on the street, he disappears into the Gulag. But, obviously, we don't want to turn our society into a tyranny, so the Russian model is not one we can copy.

The Israelis do the best they can. Their philosophy is to protect themselves at all cost and to make the terrorist pay for each and every attack. When three Israelis are killed by the Fatah in Cyprus, Israeli planes raid Fatah headquarters in Tunis. Revenge doesn't end terrorism, but it does restrain it to a certain degree and given the size and political support the PLO enjoys, there is little more Israel can do.

The United States has taken a number of small steps to protect our citizens against terrorism. Our baggage is examined at an airport and we are put through an x-ray machine. Entering a public building, our purses and satchels are opened. Government officials are protected by increasing numbers of secret service type people and corporate leaders hire bodyguards as protection. But so far, we have not found a way to respond effectively to international terrorists, in part because we are caught by our own sense of what's proper and right. In the United States a person is innocent until proven guilty. To be proven guilty, a crime must have already taken place, someone must have been hurt. Now, if we wait for the terrorist to act, he will have achieved his purpose. He will have created his "propaganda by the deed." The media will guarantee him the publicity he desires, and he will have achieved his goal at little risk to himself.

Terrorism has become a comfortable way of life. It is almost impossible to punish a terrorist in our modern world. How long do you think the four Arabs who ship-jacked the Achille Lauro and murdered a crippled passenger three weeks ago will remain in Italian jails? It is almost impossible for any country to jail terrorists for any length of time. As long as there are terrorists in their jails, their citizens are at risk. Why is a representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Lebanon today? Americans and Europeans have been kidnapped and are being held. Why? To force Kuwait to free seventeen Islamic fundamentalists, colleagues of the kidnapped, who have been sentenced for attempting to assassinate the leaders of Kuwait. And what do we read in our papers? The families of the survivors argue that it doesn't matter if a few more murderers

are let loose in the Arab world, there are so many there anyway, let's get our own home.

Two days ago I watched the T.V. news as it reported on the Archbishop's envoy arrival in Beirut. The Commentator remarked in passing and without irony that he was being escorted into the airport by a group of Amal soldiers including two of the men who had sky-jacked the TWA plane last summer and murdered an American sailor. In this crazy world of ours murderers become members of a greeting committee, sent to give in to terrorist demands.

Why was Abbas let go by the Italian government? It was not because of the political nicety raised by Prime Minister that Abbas was on an Egyptian plane. Italy was simply scared stiff that if Abbas was put in one of their jails, none of their ambassadors or their embassies or citizens would be safe and many of their economic arrangements with the Arab world would be at risk. Many of the leaders of larger terrorist groups who claim to be speaking for the poor, the downtrodden, the refugees of the world have sizeable bank accounts in Switzerland.

Terrorism is not a noble undertaking, which is not to say that some of the terrorists do not have loose ties to understandable causes. Terrorism seeks, not always successfully, for publicity for their cause. Palestinian independence gets reams of publicity, South Moluegan or Bengali independence little or none. The world selects certain causes for reasons that have nothing to do with the cause itself but with the power of supporting groups which suggests that politics rather than the gun would advance their cause more effectively.

Terrorism seeks publicity and television has increased its ability to gain that goal. Terrorists will sky-jack a plane and a hundred television cameras will wait for the plane at every airport in the Mediterranean. Terrorists' demands will be publicized. Pundits will discuss their "cause". Someone will say that it is imperative to solve the Israeli-Palestinian problem, but the imperative there lies not in the cause but in the world's desire to travel safely.

Why was the ship taken? Because sky-jacking is old hat. Terrorists require that their leaders be first-rate dramatists because they have to create highly visible happenings. When terrorism becomes repetitive, stenciled, it loses its TV appeal. Remember when a plane a week was sky-jacked to Cuba? After the first few no one paid attention. Terrorists assume naively that publicity and the deed will create frustration, anger, urgency and help them achieve their ends. It rarely does and that's the ultimate tragedy of terrorism. Political change takes place for political reasons, rarely at the point of a gun. Terrorism breeds suppression, not freedom.

Do you remember the Tupamarros? The Tupamarros were a group of young, mostly upper middle-class and university educated, activists who appeared in the early 1960's in Uruguay. At the time Uruguay had the longest-lived democracy in South America. There were problems. Uruguay was going through an economic recession. There was unemployment and, as always, some corruption. The Tupamarros demanded instant change and began to attack what they called govern-

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TERRORISM (continued)

ment repression - every government is oppressive to a certain sense. Assassinations took place and kidnappings and confrontation. The result? The army took over from the police and the generals took over from the elected officials. The Tupamarros were either hunted down or fled into exile. Uruguay emerged as a military dictatorship and the average Uruguayan was less well off than he was or she was before.

We need to take a hard look at terrorism. It is a problem which cannot be wished away. To defeat terrorism some lives, I am afraid, will have to be sacrificed. If we want to suppress terrorism, we can't give in to every kidnapper's demands. I have long felt that every American traveling or living abroad should be asked to sign a statement that he or she understands that they go at their own risk. Life is sacred, but until the terrorist realizes the risk and personal cost, he has no reason to have second thoughts.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

THIRD SABBATH JANUARY 17, 1986

The Temple's Kindergarten, 1st and 2nd graders would like to invite the entire congregation to attend a Third Sabbath service in which they will actively participate.

Please join us for a delightful Shabbat experience, to begin at 7:30 p.m. at The Temple Branch. An Oneg Shabbat will follow.

Merle Schwartz



THE TEMPLE SENIORS GROUP January Meeting at The Temple Branch Wednesday, January 15, 1986 at 11:00 a.m.

PROGRAM

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 Noon

Rabbi Susan Berman will speak on "God - Talking" - an exploration of prayer language and images we use.

12:00 Noon - 1:00 p.m.

Lunch and conversation

1:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.

The "Shir Pasa Quartet", composed of Shirley Kursh, Irene Rosenberg, Sarah Wolfe, and led by Pauline Bushman. They play a wide selection of classical, folk, pop and ethnic melodies arranged for three mandolins and a guitar.

COST: \$4.00 for Temple members, \$5.00 for Guests of Temple members
Call Dorothy Cohen at The Temple Branch at 831-3233 for reservations.



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Kaddish

Friday

Sunday NOVEMBER 17, 1985

Those who passed away this week

TILLIE KATOWITZ

ALVIN KOHN

EDITH SIEGEL

Hahrzeits

JOSEPH BINKOVITZ

JOANNE RAPPAPORT HOLTZER

HARRIET L. WIEDDER

BIRDIE A. MESHORER

SOPHIA KABER

PAUL E. MELDON

JENNIE G. BERGER

DR. WILLIAM V. GROSS, JR.

ISOBEL H. SCHIFFER

ISADORE SABLOVITZ

EVALIN STARK

PEGGY PEARL LOVEMAN

ROSE KRICHMAN

JULIAN L. WOLF

HYMAN C. BELLIN

MIRTA CAMPOS CARRETERO

LAURA NEUMAN

JULIUS B. COHN

ETTA S. GOLDSMITH

HATTIE KOPERLIK

DR. SAMUEL L. ROBBINS

BEATRICE FUHRER GOODMAN

NICHOLAS CHAIKIN

MILTON ASCHERMAN

DR. LOUIS H. BACHRACH

BETTY JO REICH