

TR-1150 Transcription

Talk at HUC-JIR. 15 April 1981.

Marc Tanenbaum:

[We're?] (inaudible) -- [present here today?] (break in audio)  
I'm really very pleased to be with you here and to accept your kind invitation to share a few moments with you this afternoon in your busy schedules. I got up at 4:30 this morning after having spent yesterday in Mobile. There are all kinds of benefits in this ecumenical work, traveling all over the country, large cities, small cities. I came into Mobile yesterday afternoon for an evening address before civic and religious leaders. And the evening began with the mayor giving me the key to the city of Mobile, which I'll probably use on my double lock in New York City. (laughter) And then awarding me a plaque or certificate making me an honorary citizen [01:00] of the city. But the real virtue of that symbolic ceremony was that I have a year's supply of grits assured me. (laughter)

I know that our time is short, so I'm not going to spend too much of the brief moments we have together acknowledging some of the friends who are here from the American Jewish Committee as well as from HUC. But I don't want to leave here today without saying that -- both as a Conservative rabbi -- this is an

ecumenical session for me today. I thought that the -- if the session goes well here, we will organize the Cincinnati chapter of the National Conference of Jews and Jews. (laughter) That despite my [02:00] having begun, together with Herb Paper and Dr. [Mathali?] and others [and in?] Orthodox [*theder and mormor?*] -- also Herbert Zafren who was a classmate of mine in Baltimore. And then having studied at Yeshiva University and finally having been ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary, none of that has prevented me from acknowledging the deep indebtedness that I think the entire Jewish community -- indeed, I think the world of American scholarship -- owes to HUC (clears throat) for the extraordinary contributions that HUC, through its impressive faculty and graduates, have made to this whole area as well as to many other areas of work and study. I continue to use and read the works of Dr. Sandmel, Ellis Rifkin [03:00] -- [in fact, the work?] of Julian Morgenstern, [you know?], classic [liberal?] books of his, which have been a source of very great enrichment. So I really want to acknowledge with much appreciation that extraordinary intellectual and spiritual legacy, what HUC continues to give to the nation. (clears throat)

I want to spend a few minutes together with you talking about an issue that almost tragically in some ways has been distorted by

virtue of the way in which an American culture which is dominated -- overwhelmingly, as Daniel Boorstin has written in his study, American civilization -- *Its Discontents*, this society is dominated by the massive culture of formation -- impact of television, the mass media. [04:00] And as a result of that, frequently large, complex issues, which have the most profound meaning for the future of society, become reduced to 24 hour sensations or quick squibs on the 6:00 o'clock, the 11:00 o'clock news on the issue -- somehow one tastes them. One doesn't really grasp them. And my own sense is that there is a very real danger that the question of the Moral Majority and the rise of new right evangelicals may very well be going through that distortion process in much of the consciousness of the American people. One sees that, in fact, in the reality that this whole phenomenon of the rise of new right evangelicals has been reduced [05:00] to the code word of Moral Majority and to the person of Jerry Falwell, who has dominated the mass media since the period of the primaries of this last election. And if I do nothing else here today, what I would like to stake out in terms of your own consciousness is a recognition that Jerry Falwell, the Moral Majority, are but the tip of the iceberg of a very large, very complex religious, social, cultural, political phenomenon, which we had best pay a great deal of attention to and understand. Because left unattended, allowed to develop in

some of the forms of which it has taken, we may find one day in the not too distant future, like 1982, [06:00] that it will emerge as the nose in the camel's tent, turning over an awful lot of tents in terms of the values and the ideals and the objectives that we believe are central to the preservation of American democracy and a pluralist society.

Let me just back away from the phenomenon of Moral Majority and Jerry Falwell and say a few words about some of the broader issues that are at stake. This phenomenon which we have now experienced in relation to the election of President Reagan in point of fact owes its origins and cannot be understood unless one sees it against the background of what began to take place in the South at the end of World War II. In much of the imagery of America, [07:00] the image of Southerners, of Southern culture, Southern politics, were reduced to a series of stereotypes. Crackers, rednecks, Bible thumpers, illiterate ignoramuses. W.J. Cash in his great study, *The Mind of the South*, refers to Southerners as dirt eaters. His experience of going through the backwoods was seeing thousands upon thousands of Southern farmers too tired or lazy to work, digging in the sand for kernels of corn to maintain a subsistence level of existence. Since the end of World War II, as a result of the impact of the war needs, defense needs of America, the South

began to undergo a massive transformation. Namely that this society, which at one time was overwhelmingly given [08:00] to a -- agricultural, pastoral society with virtually no industry has now become one of the most economically developed segments of American life, so much so -- as a result of the impact of the air industries, the technology associated now with this thing that happened with Columbia, of the space industry -- not uninterestingly the centers in which the space industry have moved America into this watershed movement into the future of space shuttle travel -- finds their centers in Houston, Florida, Atlanta. And that has begun to take place and has been moving in a massive way since the end of World War II, so that today --the South is economically the fastest growing region in America today.

[09:00] Houston, for example, has the largest gross national product per capita of any city in the United States, now being quickly contested by Atlanta. When I was there these past couple days, the mayor of Atlanta -- talking about new development (inaudible) and what is happening in Houston is also happening in Dallas and San Antonio and Phoenix and Tucson, etc. So that economic development has led to what is now being referred to as the New South. And the New South has now become a major factor in the whole economic growth of American society. Side-by-side

with that, its impact, sociologically, has been transforming. There was a study done last year of all of the Southern Baptist churches, this -- Southern Baptist churches of these so-called traditionalists. Poor white farmers, red clay farmers, rednecks. Survey done of all the Southern Baptist churches in Atlanta last year [10:00] revealed that 70% of the membership of all the Southern Baptist churches were white collar workers, middle class, a minimum of high school education in the main, with growing numbers of college educated and post-graduate school degrees in many of the major churches there -- which is to say that there is now emerging a massive middle class, educated, economically solid, with large amount of funds available for it to take part in a meaningful way in the mainstream of American society. And that's begun to happen on many other levels. And I don't want to take the time to go into this now. I'm presently working on a book on patriotism and piety, where I've been overwhelmed myself as I've begun getting into the research on it of the mass of data of the transformation that has begun to take place on every level of society. If you look at the university system, the education level in the South, no [11:00] academic prior to the period of the past 15 years would be caught dead trying to build a career at the University of Texas or Vanderbilt or Rice. Today the level of salaries for university professors [and recruitment?] -- the brain drain in many cases

has begun to move towards Southern universities today. So that -  
- just as one symbolic representation, some of you may have  
heard how the Triangle -- Triangle is a research center between  
Duke University and the University of North Carolina. It is one  
of the major advanced research centers in science and technology  
and nuclear physics in the United States, used by the Defense  
Department and the Pentagon and major industry. So that there is  
this, now, new reality one has to contend with.

Now it is the fact -- the reality of that extraordinary  
transformation -- economically, sociologically, in terms of  
culture, [12:00] education, research capacity -- that in fact  
made possible the election of Jimmy Carter. In much of the  
discussion that took place in the primaries of 1976, people used  
to say Jimmy who? And then the discussion is what is a born-  
again Christian? I mean, what kind of [manuvel?] is that? I mean  
what -- how do you explain that? And the sense was that somehow  
Jimmy Carter was a kind of a sport, an innovation, sprung cap-à-  
pie out of that world and that he grabbed this sleepy, invalid  
South of crackers or rednecks and pulled them kicking and  
screaming into the twentieth century. As [Gomorrhah?] says,  
[icpamus, that was?] exactly the opposite in this case. Because  
in point of fact what happened was that enormous development  
since the end of World War II made it possible for a Jimmy

Carter, a born-again Christian, to go to [Buffer Hans?] and get several million dollars for his campaign kitty, to go to people like [13:00] Tom Phillips, who is the president of Raytheon Corporation, which manufactures Hawk missiles for the American government as well as for the state of Israel. A born-again evangelical Christian who was responsible for converting that secular saint, George Colson, to become an evangelical Christian. There are now hundreds of millionaires and multi-millionaires who are born-again evangelical Christians. They provided the economic basis for Jimmy Carter to put together a campaign as well as the political organization using now an educated Southern Baptist community, conscious of its new economic and political power -- they made possible his election. And the reason I make a point about this is that people think that Jimmy Carter [*all of a shalom?*] -- (laughter) left out of office, he's out of the picture, that's the end of that. The first evangelical Christian to become president of the United States since the Civil War. And that's the end of the cycle.

[14:00] We will prepare ourselves for a mighty illusion and fantasy if we don't recognize that this process, which is deep and pervasive and transforming, has laid the foundation now for hundreds of Jimmy Carters lining up to enter into the mainstream of American political life. Thus, the House Majority Leader of



the House of Representatives, Representative James Wright, evangelical Presbyterian, Fort Worth, Texas. We held a conference last year in Dallas on Soviet Jewry and human rights. He was one of our principle speakers with Mark Hatfield another evangelical Christian, Senator Mark Hatfield. And Jim Wright came there, delivered a magnificent speech on human rights, religious liberty, Soviet Jewry, human rights generally. He ended up quoting from the Bible by heart, 10 minutes. Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos. All appropriate [sukkum?]. I mean, he threw the conference into a fit. [I mean?], rabbis began looking around for the [15:00] Bible [to?] (laughter) make sure that it wasn't misrepresented. But there's James Wright, there are Dale Bumpers, there are Reubin Askews. There are Sam Nunn. Which is to say that the rest of America outside of the New South has got to begin to understand that there's emerging a whole new cast of characters in the center of the political and economic decision making of American life. And one must begin to know who are these people, what are their value systems, what is their faith, what is their relationship to politics, what is there relationship to the central issues of American democracy and religious and cultural ethnic pluralism?

Now, all of that has been part of the background of the emergence of evangelical Christians in America. Today, to say a

complex thing quite simply, there are 40 to 50 million evangelical Christians in this country. They are the fastest growing churches in the United States. One of my friends, Foy Valentine, [16:00] who's head of the division of Christian life of mission in the Southern Baptist convention, I saw him several months ago. They had completed a statistical study on the growth of Southern Baptists. Southern Baptists are 13 million people. And their estimates as a result of their evangelizing among their people is that on an average Sunday morning, the Southern Baptists alone convert 80,000 people to Southern Baptist churches. And Foy Valentine said, "We think we've got more Baptists than we've got people" (laughter) in his community. It is also because of this new access to money that allows the building of institutions, etc.

Now against that background emerges the Moral Majority and Jerry Falwell. And here I'll just briefly identify a few issues and maybe we'll still have a few minutes for some discussion.

Falwell is conscious of this New South. Falwell has gone beyond [17:00] the evangelical churches, which had been preoccupied in building churches and educational institutions and seminaries and has locked in to the electronic media as the most powerful way of reaching millions of Americans with his message. As of now, according to the National Religious Broadcasters

Association, the evangelical preachers, four major preachers and those associated with them, today own outright 1,337 radio stations devoted full-time to gospel messages. It is impossible to travel around America without finding one of these stations, two of these stations in every city, dominating -- their message 24 hours a day. Beyond that, they own 37 television stations outright and there's now talk in New York City that the Moral Majority, Religious Roundtable are negotiating for trying to buy one of the major networks [18:00] which is not doing as well as some of the others in order to have the evangelical message now catapulted into the mainstream of American consciousness. You can see Walter Cronkite doing a born-again program -- the 7:00 o'clock news.

Falwell also has done something which we don't give him adequate credit for. He came into the American scene speaking about the decline of the moral values of this society. And he has read the soul of America with perfect pitch. Last July, President Carter invited a group of 10 religious and academic leaders to Camp David -- you remember when he was preparing his great speech on energy, the moral equivalent of war. And he had a series of meetings with engineers and economists and energy [19:00] specialists. And I was invited as the Jewish representative to join people like Robert Bellah and others for a discussion with

the President at Camp David in the Laurel Lodge where the Israel-Egyptian agreement was hammered out. All that the President of the United States wanted to talk about for five and a half hours was the moral malaise of America. What's happening to the American people? Of course, he had a different agenda. The problem was what's wrong with the American people, not what's wrong with me. But for five and a half hours, he and Mrs. President, who was there, Rosalynn Carter and Amy, who had just come in from negotiating SALT III with Brezhnev (laughter) and the whole [hiyassda?], the whole top staff of the White House, Jody Powell. But that's all we discussed. What has happened? Crime, violence, corruption, pornography, divorce, family breakdown. Corruption in Congress, corruption in medicine, corruption in law. The sense of the [20:00] decline of the moral standards in society. Falwell and his people understand that. The moral restlessness among millions of Americans is profound and pervasive and they read that. The problem is, having got their attention, the medicine that he frequently suggests is worse than the disease that it's seeking to cure.

There are four things to consider, and I'll say these briefly and then I'll stop after that. The heart of the Moral Majority's approach to the American people in terms of how do we put an end to this moral decline of this great country -- first,

reestablish an evangelical Christian America. Recreate a kind of Christian republic and somehow magically that will restore America to its moral heights, its moral integrity. It's a large subject. One historian calls that a true falsehood, because anyone who knows anything about American history [21:00] knows that there never was an evangelical Christian republic. The closest thing that came to it was the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which did not last more than 50 to 60 years because it was a Puritan theocracy and simply did not allow for diversity of points of view. And Roger Williams left there to create another colony whose central affirmation was religious liberty and freedom of conscience.

Secondly, how do you bring about this Christian republic which will restore morality magically to America? You lay out a campaign all over the country for "vote for born-again Christians only," and in the last primary, that's what began to happen. I was in Alabama last night in Mobile as I indicated. There was a congressman in Alabama by the name of John Buchanan, a Southern Baptist pastor. He was in the United States Congress for 16 years. Not a wild-eyed radical. A moderate, a centrist. Somebody who really cared for the poor, the minorities, the deprived people here and overseas. [22:00] And John Buchanan made a mistake. There is a moral list which Moral Majority

religion roundtable had of the supreme issues that affect America domestically and in terms of foreign affairs. At the top of that list is Medicaid for abortion for welfare mothers. Secondly, tax credits for private schools. Third, prayer in the public schools. Fourth, ERA. Fifth, the Panama Canal. Oh, those are the primary issues that they set before the American people as being decisive. But John Buchanan voted wrong according to the Moral Majority, Religious Roundtable on two issues. He voted for ERA. He voted for Medicaid for abortion for indigent welfare mothers. And they organized campaigns in every evangelical church in Alabama in which they not only expressed differences with his point of view -- they attacked him as being un-American and as [23:00] being a bad Christian, not a good Christian. Which is one of the themes, the apocalyptic rhetoric. Part of the problem of dealing with this whole phenomenon of this alliance of evangelical preachers and ultra-conservative political organizers is that they're introducing something on the American scene which, if allowed to go uncontested, can weaken the social compact, the delicate, fragile social compact of America. Namely, every issue is seen in fundamentalist, millenarian terms that all of human struggle is a cosmic struggle between the children of light and the children of darkness. Between the forces of Christ and the antichrist. And that the ultimate conflict is that between these children of

light and the children of darkness who are in league with Satan. And you just don't defeat Satan. You demolish Satan. Satan is to be destroyed and unbelief is to be driven [from?] the world before the Second Coming can take place. And that [24:00] rhetoric is being introduced in political campaigns all over the country. You not only defeat a Frank Church, a Birch Bayh, a John Brademas. You demolish him so that he never can be resurrected and pollute the body politic.

Without going in too much detail, we began organizing a series of major efforts nationally. And interestingly, with the Southern Baptist Convention, there's an enormous diversity and pluralism in those churches. And we began a major effort which led the Reverend Jerry Falwell to call me in October to come to see me. And we had a very long discussion. He came into my office and introduced himself. He said, "Marc, I'm Jerry." And I said, "Jerry, I'm Marc. *Shalom* [alethem?], you all." (laughter) And we began talking and the first thing he volunteered was to say, "I want you to know that Bailey Smith is a friend of mine, but I don't share Bailey Smith's views. I believe God loves everyone. God listens to the prayers [25:00] of everyone who'll call upon Him in sincerity." I said, "[Dozoy?]" (laughter) [as we?] sat down and then we began talking. And I asked him about a Christian republic, "I'm opposed to that." "What about voting

for born-again Christians only?" "I'm opposed to that." "What about single politics issues?" "Well, I know those are not -- that's not everything." "What about the apocalyptic rhetoric?" "What do we have to do with that?" We went through a whole series of issues and I said, "You know, you're saying some things here that have never been attributed to you before. In fact, your messages have been going out to the American people in a way that have been a threat to American religious pluralism. Are you prepared to write these down and make a statement?" He said, "Yes, I am." So I pulled out a yellow pad, which I have handy for such circumstances. (laughter) I put it in his lap and he wrote out a page and a half statement in which he started off distancing himself from Bailey Smith, reaffirming what he said to me about God loving everybody, hearing everybody's prayers and explicitly repudiating that the Christian republic is part of the objective of their campaign, [26:00] rejecting the idea of voting for born-again Christians as a violation of Article VI of the Constitution, which says there must be no religious test. And so on down the line. And then he asked me to issue that statement to the press as a joint communiqué. The interesting thing for me is that Jerry Falwell's -- an hour and a half conversation in my office was probably the first time in his life that he ever talked to a Jew longer than 10 minutes. His experience with Jews or Catholics in Lynchburg,



Virginia consists of coming into a corner grocery store pharmacy and saying, "Good morning, how about a sack of flour?" "Nice to see you. Come back and visit, y'all." And his imagery of Jews is based on kind of a total ignorance -- with the life and experience of the Jewish people [and with?] Judaism. Spent an hour and a half going over highlights of Jewish historic experience and Jewish tradition.

Any case, what I want to conclude with [27:00] is that it is essential to deal with this phenomenon, which is basing its growth on this deep discontent in America. And people who are appealing and giving very simple answers with ideological solutions, that if allowed to go uncontested, in fact could begin not only to erode the consciousness and commitments to the things which have made possible the growth and the strength and the vitality of a pluralistic society -- but, in fact, if allowed to go on uncontested could create notions of first class citizens and second class citizens. And guess who they would be? And if you want to see how serious the movement is, between now and 1982, the most serious work that has to be done is on state legislative levels around the country. Coalition of 30 evangelical preachers and ultra-conservative political groups have organized massive campaigns with at least [28:00] five million dollars to take over the majority of the state

legislatures in the United States. And most of them are in such chaos and are in such a state of apathy and such a low level of political involvement, it will not take a great genius to dominate much of the state legislatures. And if the Moral Majority and those around them are able to dominate state legislatures, they will be naming the governors, they will be naming the next candidates for congressmen and senators. And that notion, which they began to repudiate last year, that we're not about to Christianize America, make a Christian republic, in fact could become a reality by virtue of naming born-again candidates in state legislative levels. So our work's cut out for us, and one must take it seriously and stay with it for a long period of time. The most heartening thing that has happened is that growing numbers of Southern Baptists, Southern Presbyterians who are responsible for giving America its great tradition of religious liberty, [29:00] separation of church and state and religious pluralism -- they struggled for that from the days of Roger Williams down through the Virginia statute for religious liberty. They provide the basis for Thomas Jefferson's First Amendment to the Constitution. They understand this, and we've been building coalitions with them all over the United States. And we [intend to stay at last?] and we'd love to have you join us in what is a major contribution to the upholding of

the essential democratic ethos in which we and many others thrive. Thanks. (applause) (break in audio) (applause)

MOD: I want to thank Rabbi Tanenbaum. We do have about six minutes left. So I think that -- [although this was?] a cafeteria, right now, I think [you -- certainly worth dessert?] (inaudible) (laughter) I'd like to open the floor to questions. [30:00] [Peter?], if you'd like to speak up so Rabbi Tanenbaum can answer.

PETER: Sure. Simply when you say (inaudible) I'd like to know [what the?] practical activities or in what way we can participate as student rabbis and as rabbis [finally to be ordained?]?

TANENBAUM: We have -- (clears throat) chapter in this city. Our chapter chairman Bob [Glass, Holly Lazarus?] (pause; electronic hum) [as a?] (inaudible) leader. Marilyn [Sloan?], who's our professional director here. We have been organizing dialogues, conferences, with major Roman Catholic, liberal Protestant, evangelical Christian and Jewish leadership, first to study this problem, to understand it, [31:00] then to take inventory in a given city and a given precinct of what the nature of the problems are and how to organize together to stand against the excesses -- both in terms of the ideology of the

propaganda that are coming out of those groups and then to find ways to work together as American citizens to make sure that state legislatures are not taken over by default. And we'd welcome the participation in the meetings of the AJC chapters that are dealing with these problems and those who have rabbinic background would be -- especially important resource in terms of dialogue with much of the Christian leadership with whom we meet literally all over the United States. Yes, David?

DAVID: I wanted to ask two questions about the national scene. One is how do you view the potential of a constitutional convention? And the other question, I think they're related, is in the event that [32:00] various pieces of legislation -- (coughs) excuse me, go through the different levels of government, how effective do you think the court system is and will be in the future to preserving what I think would be our view, at least, of what is and is not constitutional?

TANENBAUM: When do you serve dinner? (laughter) Those are very large issues which we would need a great deal of time for. Just say briefly -- the key to the containment of the excess of the radical right in terms of the constitutional conventions and constitutional amendments which have been proposed is the quality of leadership that Reagan and Bush

and others in the cabinet will give. Thus far, to [33:00] President Reagan's credit and that of George Bush and members of the cabinet, they have stalled most of the initiatives of the Moral Majority and the National Committee for the Survival of Free Congress and Religious Roundtable. The day after the election, they crowed, they trumpeted that they elected Ronald Reagan. And Reagan quietly but George Bush less quietly -- George Bush, in fact, called a press conference. When they announced that they were responsible for the election of Reagan and they wanted political payoffs on all of their issues -- they also said to Reagan that, "We want you to keep a reign on George Bush, because he's in favor of ERA and all these other crazy liberal issues, abortion, etc." George Bush called a press conference and he says, "You can tell them to go plain plumb to hell. I was elected by the American people, not by the Moral Majority."

Since that time, great pressure has come [34:00] from these groups to have the first legislation introduced in this session of Congress, those of the constitutional amendment on abortion, constitutional amendment on tax credits for private schools -- they mean evangelical Christian schools -- Reagan has systematically prevented that from being put

in the front burner, has kept postponing it and saying that, "The crucial questions on which I was elected have to do with the economy, with budget cutting, unemployment. And those are the priority issues." And he has continuously pushed those on the back burner. Now, how long he's going to be able to do that and get away with it is an open question still. But he has been successful thus far.

Now that has to do with the constitutional convention as well. He has sought to quiet down those radical right, far right ideologists who've been pressing for that. And at least for the meantime, he has been successful in containing that. Much will really [35:00] depend on the kind of leadership and the authority that he gives. What is really the counterbalancing force for us in this picture, which otherwise could be far more threatening, is the fact that Reagan and the Republican National Committee are now engaged in a massive effort to create a Middle American strategy. They are determined to become the majority party of America. And in order to do that, they have to bring together a coalition of all the ethnic groups, of the major parts of the religious groups and racial groups. It is -- was the Nixon strategy, the Middle American strategy. In order to do that, they cannot yield to extremes on either

end of the political agenda. Therefore, the movement is going to be increasingly toward creating a centrist, moderate position with some gestures towards the Moral Majority. The Moral Majority were given a position -- Robert Billings was given a position as someone in charge of education for Christian schools, and there was a certain sense of release of tension when that happened. They've got no cabinet positions [36:00] and no subcabinet positions thus far. So in terms of the questions you raised, I think that really (pause; electronic hum) for the clues as to what [they're talking about in?] terms of impact on (pause; electronic hum) yes, sir? (overlapping dialogue; inaudible)

M: I heard you say to the (pause; electronic hum) maybe (pause; electronic hum) [for the?] (break in audio) that this plan to vote for born-again Christians only is somehow a violation of the Constitution (inaudible) which prohibits a religious test. And I wonder if you wouldn't agree that while, of course, it would be a grossly undesirable and undemocratic thing to vote for someone solely on the basis of religion, if the constitutional amendment isn't rather directed at attempts to establish by law tests for holding office and not aimed at -- for somehow prohibiting the individual [37:00] prejudiced voter from voting on the basis of religious preference. It seems to me that (pause;

electronic hum) really not a legal [argument, so?] it's really something else.

TANENBAUM: Well, it is an important (long pause; electronic hum) (long pause; electronic hum) but in fact, the reality of what is being advocated is the spirit of (inaudible) the fact of you can have (inaudible) [38:00] (long pause; electronic hum) (inaudible) (long pause; electronic hum) (inaudible) (long pause; electronic hum) (inaudible) so the distinction is one to keep in mind, [the fact of the?] consequences that you -- the fact (pause; electronic hum) and [have?] [39:00] (inaudible)

MOD: (inaudible) of the remaining questions and we really enjoyed having you here. It was a very dynamic and stimulating address. We thank you very much. This concludes the formal part. I think Rabbi Tanenbaum could be here for another couple of minutes if a number of students would like to still buttonhole him. But we would like to close the program formally at this time with our thanks.  
(applause)

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