

# An Insider's Take on the Capitol Riot Probe

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## SUMMARY KEYWORDS

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## SPEAKERS

Tricia Johnson, Liz Cheney, support message, Eric Schmidt, audience member

### support message 00:00

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### Tricia Johnson 00:38

It's Aspen Ideas to go from the Aspen Institute. I'm Tricia Johnson. Nine lawmakers are investigating the attack on the US Capitol on January 6. Representative Liz Cheney from Wyoming is one of them. The House select committee held its first hearing on July 27 where police officers described a horrific scene. One said rioters took his gun and threatened to shoot him with it. Cheney, a Republican, says the House investigation is crucial so that such an attack never happens again.

### Liz Cheney 01:06

All of us have a duty and a responsibility not to look away from the reality of that day, and the reality of how we got to that day. And to make sure that the American people understand exactly what happened.

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Tricia Johnson 01:20

She challenges Americans to think about what if the attack had succeeded. Today she talks about the importance of a national discussion around history, civics, the Constitution and the rule of law. Aspen Ideas to Go brings you compelling conversations hosted by the Aspen Institute. Today's discussion was held by Aspen Community Programs. The House select committee formed after Republicans in the Senate blocked an attempt to create an independent commission to investigate the riot. Now it's up to the committee members to uncover what happened in the lead up to January 6, and what happened that day. Cheney wants to know why it took so long for the National Guard to get to the Capitol, and who was involved in the planning, among other things. She speaks with former Google CEO Eric Schmidt about her personal experience in the Capitol on January 6, and why Americans should be worried about the unraveling of democracy. She also talks about national security issues and COVID-19. Their conversation was held in Aspen, Colorado on August 4, here's Schmidt.

E

Eric Schmidt 02:22

So it's it's fantastic to be back in this tent. I've been here a number of times, and it's always a great use of my time and everybody's time. Representative Cheney four years ago became the representative of Wyoming occupying her father's seat that he had for 15 years or so in the 1980s. She has five children, and was a lawyer that worked in the Bush administration, and a number of very, very significant now security and foreign policy roles. As a representative. Many people are confused now, she is generally viewed as a strong traditional conservative, she voted in her votes with President Trump 90% of the time. So I sit next to somebody who is, in my view, a traditional conservative, but I don't think that's the story. I think this is a woman of principle. You said this on May 10: "You will remember God has blessed America, Mr. Speaker, but our freedom only survives if we protect it. If we honor our oath taken before God in this chamber to support and defend the Constitution, if we recognize threats to freedom when they arise. Today we face a threat America has never seen before. A former president who provoked a violent attack on his Capitol, in an effort to steal the election, has resumed his aggressive effort to convince Americans that the election was stolen from him. He risks inciting further violence. Millions of Americans have been misled by the former president. And they have heard only his words, but not the truth. As he continues to undermine our democratic process, sowing seeds of doubt about whether democracy really works at all. I am a

conservative Republican. And the most conservative of conservative principles is reverence for the rule of law." How did you get to this point?



Liz Cheney 04:27

You know, I look at this moment that we have arrived at and I think in many ways, you know, we need to have a very serious, sustained national discussion about American history, about civics, about the Constitution, and about the rule of law. And when you look at what happened in the lead up to January 6, and you look at what happened on January 6, and then you look at the response of my party And the days and weeks and now months afterwards, it's very clear that there are some people who are willing to accept what I think was aligned that can can never be crossed. And I think as Americans, for us, it's a moment where we really have to put politics aside. And we have to say, you know, this isn't about a policy debate, this isn't about where you are on taxes or on government regulation, or national security issues. You know, this is about the fundamental underpinnings of our society. And I think that in some ways, we really have lost, we certainly don't teach in schools anymore, the kinds of detailed and specific recognition and understanding of the constitution that we need to, but but we also, I think, have become accustomed as Americans to thinking, you know, these institutions held on January 6, our institutions will protect us. But if you if you look at what happened on January 6, you realize that the only reason the institutions held was because there were some very brave people at really key points in the administration, and local officials across the country who would not succumb to pressure that they were under. And I think that that has got to be a lesson for us as well.



Eric Schmidt 06:27

You were in the hearing this past week, where you heard what I thought was extraordinary testimony. Can you talk about what you heard, what you learned, you work in the building, right? What was it like to be there and hear their stories?



Liz Cheney 06:44

You know, one of the things that we heard at the hearing, which I also heard, the night of the sixth was the the nature of of the combat. And on the night of the sixth once we had gotten back into the chamber, was about nine o'clock at night, maybe a little bit earlier. And I wanted to walk, I wanted to see what Statuary Hall looked like. And I wanted to see what the rotunda looked like. We walked into Statuary Hall and I was stunned, because you had members of the SWAT team members, the Capitol Police in uniform and riot gear, lying against the statues and against the walls. And it was the same in the rotunda. And

just total exhaustion because of what they had been through. And one of the people I talked to said to me, I fought in Iraq and I have never seen anything like the the level of just violent hand to hand combat that we faced that they faced on the sixth. And it was it was a mob and you've seen the video now attempting to tear people limb from limb. And so when I hear my colleagues say that it was a group of tourists, when I hear them say, this was nothing to be afraid of when I hear Donald Trump say the crowd was full of love. I think it is reprehensible and indefensible. And I think that all of us have a duty and a responsibility not to look away from the reality of that day, and the reality of how we got to that day, and to make sure that the American people understand exactly what happened and that we don't allow people to whitewash what happened.

E

Eric Schmidt 08:34

If it's okay with you, I'll quote you a bit more.

L

Liz Cheney 08:38

Feels a little bit odd.

E

Eric Schmidt 08:42

You said, "The President of United States summoned this mob, assembled the mob and lit the flame of this attack. Everything that followed was his doing. None of this would have happened without the president. The president could have immediately and forcefully intervened to stop the violence. He did not. There was never been a greater betrayal by a president of the United States of his office and his oath to the Constitution." You put the blame on the president. There were people who who saved the situation. Were there other people who were guilty in your judgment?

L

Liz Cheney 09:18

Well, I think that is certainly something that the select committee will be looking at. I think that there are things that we know now. And when I issued that statement, before I voted to impeach, one of the things I said was, you know, we will know more but what we know right now is enough. And what we knew then, in terms of what we had seen publicly happen, what we had seen on January 5 when the President called up officials in Georgia and was asking them just to find him a certain number of votes. What we know without a doubt that he didn't send help. All of those things we already know. But I think that the American people have to know the details. They have to understand how we got where we got. And people also need to think about what if it had succeeded? And I think that

that question is really important, because you will find people who say, listen, it was a horrible thing. But but the country, you know, we made it through, and we did. But but it was a close run thing. And it was a close run thing for a number of reasons, you know, when you think about what was going on in the efforts to delay the count. And it wasn't just the efforts that we saw from the administration, I would say, even, for example, Senator Ted Cruz's proposal that we have some kind of a commission to review the results, completely extra constitutional, totally outside the bounds of the Constitution. And and imagine where we would be. So we have some sort of a commission that's going to review the results in states where the electors have already been certified by the governors of those states, in accordance with the law and the Constitution. And we're now going to enter this period where we don't actually count the votes on January 6, you know, what happens if that runs beyond the 20th? Then what happens? You know, we were in territory we've never been in before. And one of the things that people will say is, well, the Supreme Court would have taken care of it. Now, imagine, you know, maybe they would have, but if you think about, for example, the fact that President Eisenhower had to call out the National Guard to enforce Brown v board, you have to ask yourself, well, let's say the Supreme Court had, you know, ruled quickly, and had ruled in the right way, who's going to enforce that ruling in a situation where the country has now gone past January 6, I mean, it, people were playing with fire. Some were doing it intentionally, some were doing it, because perhaps they didn't understand how dangerous the moment was. But we can't ever be at that place again. And so that's why I think it's so important to get to the bottom of exactly what happened. And and to, you know, go back to this national conversation about why we have to revere the rule of law, why you have to obey the rulings of courts, you know, you can appeal them, you can say you disagree, but you can't ignore them. And the President, the United States, certainly cannot fail to fulfill his duty to enforce the law to protect the other branches of government. And people really, we need a national sort of education and discussion around that.

E

Eric Schmidt 12:52

Take us through your thinking of what will go, what will happen next, the House Committee is doing its work. Do you have a sense of the next six months? Do we move on? Do we continue to fight over this? How does it play out in your view?

L

Liz Cheney 13:09

Well, several things, I think, first of all, it would have been preferable to have a bipartisan outside commission, which was, you know, negotiated, actually, in the House between the Republicans and the Democrats. 35 Republicans voted for it but Kevin McCarthy, the Republican leader in the House, fought against it, lobbied against it, went over to the

Senate lobbied senators against it. So it was defeated in the Senate. So we did not get this bipartisan commission. So we have now the select committee, and the committee must be nonpartisan. I am absolutely committed to that. And I would urge people to watch how the committee operates and watch what we do and tune out some of the partisan attacks and rhetoric that we're hearing about it. I think the committee has to move expeditiously. I think we need to issue subpoenas quickly. I think we need to ensure that we are prepared to enforce those subpoenas. And I can assure people that there will be a very full investigation and patriotic Americans ought to step forward. They ought to come for people who know what happened that day in the White House. People who know what happened in the days leading up to that. They should come forward to the committee for the good of the country to talk about what happened and make sure it doesn't happen again.

E

Eric Schmidt 14:31

Without saying what the specifics would be, which I'm sure you can't, what would be an example of what a subpoena might be looking for that we don't already know.

L

Liz Cheney 14:40

Well, I think there's a lot we don't already know, we we don't know, minute by minute, what was going on that day. We don't know, for example, what were the discussions that were going on with the Pentagon. We don't know, and you've seen some documents begin to leak out, some have been made public by other committees in the House. And you've seen some of the books that have come out. You know, when you have on the record, apparently interviews from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs expressing concern about a coup. Sometimes you think that, you know, we've sort of become numb to some of these things. But I think people need to really take a step back and think about that. And we need to understand why it took so long for the National Guard to get to the Capitol. why the President didn't take any other action? And we need to know who was involved in the planning, who and what are the connections between this legal theory that people seem to have, which is wrong, that somehow we could change things on the sixth. And by the way, Vice President Pence is a hero for what he did that day, there is no question, no matter what you think about policy, if he had succumbed to the pressure he was under, it would have been a very different outcome. And he did not. But we need to know more about how that unfolded, so that there are many areas that we need to understand and a lot of information that that needs to be become public for the American people.

S**support message 16:26**

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E**Eric Schmidt 17:32**

I'd like to move to some broader societal and political questions. I think that everyone in this room would like a bipartisan solution to our government. And it seems like it's splintering now. Right. Your party is splintering, Democrats have their own set of issues, to the degree that you're not a proclaimed leader. But let's say you're leading a movement within the Republican Party along the lines of, follow the law. What happens? Does it come back together at some future point, do things further splinter? How do you view the political and moral judgments of all the players, including the democrats?

L**Liz Cheney 18:15**

Well, I think that on both sides of the aisle, both elected officials but also everybody has to think through the seriousness of the issues we're dealing with. And those are national security set of issues, the threats we're facing from China and Russia, and North Korea and Iran. The threats we're facing that we've been discussing, you know, sort of unraveling of our democratic process, face really serious issues, and we need to make sure that we are supporting and electing people who are serious people to deal with those issues. And that really comes down to who people support. It comes down to demanding substance and seriousness from your elected officials. And we're we're at a moment where you know, there are so many incentives to do the best you can to get the most possible likes on Twitter or Facebook, to say the most outrageous things to be in a perpetual campaign cycle. And we can't afford to continue to operate like that. And there's not I don't have a silver bullet of a solution. But I do think that demanding and requiring substance and incivility. When I was first elected, I spent a lot of time my first several months on the floor of the House just going to sit next to members I had never met on both sides. And what I found was without exception, the people that I sat down next to had a fascinating

personal story and a really interesting set of reasons, you know, how they arrived at the House and why they decided to run and what they cared about and what their districts were like. Now, you know, I'm not minimizing policy disputes, because we have big ones, and we ought to fight those out. But we have to be able to do it in a way where we can have really vigorous policy debates and not tear people down. And also recognize when you know, that level of partisan debate has to be put aside for the bigger good of the country.

E

Eric Schmidt 20:31

You mentioned China. When you were an administration official, you worked very diligently on foreign policy and the threats we face. As you know, you and I work together on this AI commission that you appointed me to where we looked a lot at the threats from China. And you can read our report and see what we said. I know you have strong opinions. Why don't you lay out why the China threat is important, what Americans here don't understand. And as a footnote, I can tell you in our research about China, China views our political instability as chronic and a huge weakness. So whether we may not like it, but trust me, they view it as a weakness that they might at some point in the future exploit.

L

Liz Cheney 21:20

Well, first of all, the AI report I recommend to everyone. And I was telling Eric, that one of the points in the report that I think really helps people to understand the nature of the threat we face, is the extent to which, you know, we have to be engaged now, in an effort to make sure for example, that the Chinese don't launch nuclear weapons without a human decision. In the in the process. Just think about that for a second. So on China, I think that that both parties got China wrong for about 20 years. And and we thought both Republicans and Democrats that if we help the Chinese government to have access to our markets, we help to encourage their opening economically, and we helped them become part of the WTO, that political openness would follow. And instead, what happened was, simultaneous to their openness, economically, the technology became available to conduct what really is a massive surveillance state. And so they didn't have to open up politically. And they had no intention, I don't believe have ever opening up politically and certainly not under under G. And so they've been engaged, in my view, in a very methodical, very effective, very aggressive campaign effort against us for many years, across every domain. And we sort of haven't recognized it, I think we're now beginning to recognize the challenge and the threat. And it is one that that, you know, you can talk about the challenge in space, what the Chinese are doing in space in cyberspace, what they're doing with our data, the extent to which they have really exploited our openness.



And, you know, these are two worldviews. The question ultimately is going to be who sets the rules of the road, globally. And then this also goes back to America's role in the world, why I think it's so important for America to continue to lead. But if you know, if China is able to become so dominant, that they set the rules of the road, that's not a world that anybody I can imagine wants to live in. And, and I think we have to, as a government, recognize the urgency, you know, we have repeatedly every month, sometimes multiple times a month briefings at the Armed Services Committee, public briefings from the combatant commanders, and the Joint Chiefs. We had the commander of stratcom, recently in front of the Armed Services Committee publicly, and he described the efforts that the Chinese are making to modernize their nuclear forces as breathtaking. So they are pushing ahead Full speed ahead in many instances where we are not. And and it is going to take a very difficult decisions, economic decisions, military decisions, and the military piece of this is deterrence. You know, we want to make sure that, that the Chinese never think that they are so significantly ahead of us, that they can threaten us, they need to recognize that that our capabilities and our will are there to prevent them from using their military to take action against us.

E

Eric Schmidt 24:53

The Delta variant is a real disaster globally. The Delta variant is now something like nine 90% of the infections, something like 97 to 98% of the people who go to the hospital are unvaccinated. They're seeing much younger people in the hospital and they're collapsing sooner, they're more sick. I'm extraordinarily worried about our children, for whom we don't have vaccinations below 12. We've normalized 300 deaths per day. We consider that good. Now, last time I checked, that's 100,000 deaths a year, which is twice the number of us deaths in all Vietnam. What's it going to take to get the public health? Right? And how, how do we fix the politics here so that people are not sick and dying?

L

Liz Cheney 25:40

I think part of this goes back to the question about China, first of all, and, you know, one, one fact that that I think people should understand is, is we, you know, have these discussions about did it escape from the lab, which looks increasingly likely? Did it come from wet markets? How did the virus originate? One thing we know. And that is that the government of China shut down travel from Wuhan province to the rest of China. But they allowed travel from Wu Han to the rest of the world. So that one fact tells you, you know, why are they protecting the rest of China yet, knowingly, apparently allowing this to spread globally. So I support a bipartisan commission to understand what happened, I think that the Chinese need to be held responsible and accountable for the the just absolute economic devastation that we've seen, and the devastation to human

life that we've seen around the world, here in the United States. I think it is, it's a tragedy that it's become political. And, and it shouldn't be, you know, we have these battles Now, on the floor of the house representatives. And, and you have situations where you have career staff of the House of Representatives, people who have dedicated their lives in a nonpartisan way to work in for the House of Representatives, whose job it is now, for example, to tell members to put their masks on on the floor of the house. And nobody should be subject to harassment because they're doing their job. So the issue about, you know, what are the rules, people should get vaccinated. Vaccines should not be political people should get vaccinated. We know that the vaccines prevent people from being hospitalized when they get COVID not prevent completely, completely, but reduce the the numbers of people who are hospitalized. And what you mentioned, Eric is really important. You know, we're now seeing stories all around the country of children in ice use. And that is something that is new and really concerning. And we have an obligation to do everything we can. The huge positive that we've talked about is Warp Speed, really important positive thing, coordination between the government and the private sector during the Trump administration. And, and that has made a huge difference in having vaccines available.



Eric Schmidt 28:14

It's why we're all here in the tent. Right. So we should thank thank the Operation Warp Speed people. Thank you for that. Let's take a take some questions from the audience.



28:23

Thank you. And let me say that I salute your courage, your character, and your integrity. But I would suggest that the apple didn't fall far from the tree. What advice has your father given you? Or examples that you were were called?



Liz Cheney 28:44

Well thank you for that. I talked to both my parents probably just about every day. And, you know, when when Mary and I were growing up, we grew up in a house where both my parents were very much focused on and interested in American history, and taught us to love American history. And and I think that the other lesson from my dad is having the courage of your convictions. I think that, you know, when when you think about what we're dealing with now, and what we were dealing with in the last months of the Trump presidency, and you you sort of think about fidelity to the Constitution. And you go back and you look at sort of every previous president, you know, there are presidents that you

can disagree with on policy. But one of the memories that I have that is very vivid, that I thought about a lot between January 6 and January 20, in particular, was being on the inaugural platform in January of 2001. So, you know, we went through this very hard fought campaign the 37 days recount and flow At a back and forth, you know, ultimately the margin of victory was less than 600 votes. And I am confident that, you know, Vice President Gore, and the people who worked on that campaign, didn't believe that they had lost. But I remember sitting on the platform on the day of the swearing in watching Vice President Gore, and this is somebody I don't I don't agree with him on very much. But But being so proud that as Americans, when you lose an election, then the person who's lost concedes, and if you don't like it, you go fight the next one. But but that peaceful transfer of power is so sacred and important. And and I would just say, you know, my, my dad is deeply troubled about where our party is deeply troubled about where the country is. And just a tremendous source of advice and guidance and wisdom for me.



31:02

I'm really curious to hear your thoughts on this gerrymandering, conversation and redistricting. And as it relates to the John Lewis Voting Rights Act, right Voting Rights Act, excuse me. What do you think it's there's such a large discussion about this voter restriction, and I'm curious to hear your thoughts as to what's going to happen on the Senate floor?



Liz Cheney 31:25

Yeah, thank you for the question. It's, it's very important. So you have across the country, state laws that are being changed. And there is sort of a criticism of those laws that comes from the left that I think is not true, and is unfair. And sometimes I hear my colleagues on the left saying this is all racist, you know, the Republicans are trying to prevent people of color from voting. I do not believe that that is true. And I don't believe that is justified or that, you know, that is supported in the language of these laws. However, there are very there are things in the language of some of these laws that are concerning. We know when you start to see efforts to take authority away from election officials, when you start to see legislatures suggest that they might, in fact, award electors in a way that's not consistent with the popular vote in their state. Now, that is constitutional. The Constitution doesn't require a popular vote for the wording of electors, and it says the state legislators get to decide. But I think it's very dangerous. You know, in today's world, we are really risking peril if we go down the path of state legislators of one party deciding that they're going to ignore the popular vote for president in their state and, or that they're going to, you know, retract electoral slates. And I think I think people need to be very focused on that. I also would say, I think people need to be very focused on local officials. And one of

the things that you do see happening from former President Trump is an effort to try to put people into some of these really critically important local offices. And I'll give you an example in Georgia, where you've got a colleague of mine, running for Secretary of State, a colleague who supported the President's efforts to attempt to overturn the election. And and people need to pay attention at the local level, because as I, you know, as we talked about those local officials really made a huge difference. And were very courageous in the last round, and we need to make sure we're supporting people who will continue in that vein, we have a question over here.



33:41

Thank you very much. I want to know if you're planning to run for president. But my my, my other deeper question has to do with whether there's some change in the constitution that you think that we need to look at, in light of all the things that we see our problems? Can we nip this in the bud by changing something in the constitution? You know, Will Hurd was here recently and former Republican Congressman, and he talked about the you have the people on the left, and then the people on the right, and that it doesn't work? The people in the middle don't have a voice? And do you have something to say about that, please?



Liz Cheney 34:26

Well, I'm a big fan of Will Hurd's and we miss having people like Will in Congress, I think, where I would start and this goes back to the question about the John Lewis Voting Rights Act, or and the other piece of legislation, HR one that we've seen put forward, I would start with supporting the Constitution. I know I think that those two pieces of legislation, actually, especially HR one, raise real constitutional issues. And so I don't think that we ought to be federalizing our lives. I don't think that we should go down the path. You know, HR one, for example, requires taxpayer funding for congressional races, changes the makeup of the Federal Election Commission. So it is not strictly nonpartisan. So I would be hesitant to look at amending the constitution simply because, you know, then you begin to think about what you know, are you going to have a constitutional convention or you're going to go the ratification route and constitutional convention opens up everything. But I think fidelity to the Constitution matters, and is something that that, you know, people really just going back to January 6, for a minute, on January 6, as as we had been evacuated, one of the young women who works on my staff texted me, Lincoln's Lyceum address. And that speech is known, mostly for a number of things, but you know, because he talks about mob rule, and he talks about the extent to which threats to the Republic will arise from within the Republic, but but he also talks about

reverence for the rule of law. And, and the magnificence of that speech, he was 28 or 29 years old when he delivered it. And the resonance still today. You know, I think, you know, we really do need to focus on being faithful to the Constitution, it could be that there are changes that we need, for example, the electoral count Act, which many of us read and say, it's very clear, it says, if a governor has certified a slate of electors, Congress counts those electoral votes, it's essentially ministerial. You know, we don't object we don't reject, we count if a governor is certified the slate. But, you know, people say that that is an unconstitutional law. And I do think that I do think that we can look at some of the the legislation that we've seen around the electoral college count. And clearly that's a place where, where there could be important work to do.

E

Eric Schmidt 37:14

Now, another question over here.

A

audience member 37:15

Thank you. Two quick questions. Do you think that getting rid of the electoral college would make our elections less fragile? And you think that the leaders of the House and Senate, they're the power that they have now is too much?

L

Liz Cheney 37:33

Yeah, those are good questions. I don't favor getting rid of the Electoral College. You know, especially as somebody who represents Wyoming represents a small states. We like the Electoral College. But But you know, so I don't think that its elimination is the solution. I do think that, you know, one of the real challenges of what we saw the legal arguments around the six was those people who were arguing, Congress should objects to the electoral votes or Vice President Pence should throw slates out? He doesn't like, you know, they were creating a tyranny of Congress, basically, and and saying, Well, you know, what, you don't have to listen to the people in the States, Congress can just decide who the President is, which is obviously unconstitutional. I think one of the challenges we have, and this is a much, much bigger discussion, but the Congress is really broken. And and I think actually, Congress has ceded too much of its authority to the executive, I believe in a strong executive when it comes to national security in particular, but the Congress doesn't work the way it's supposed to work. And I'll I know, we're running short on time. But I'll give you one example of many, you know, when we passed the \$1.9 trillion dollar COVID package, people hear well, you know, you pass that package, you must assume there was a certain level of debate about it. There was maybe an hour of debate on the floor of the house, and maybe a little bit more, but not much. It wasn't any markup in any committee

wasn't debates in the end. So when you just you start to think about how we appropriate money, how we legislate. The system is not working. I think, actually, we need to give committee chairs more power. And we need to, we need to actually get back to legislating so that the people hear and see the debates and you got to stand up for your perspective, not be in a position where so many things are being rammed through as we've seen. Now, in particular,

E

Eric Schmidt 39:37

I want to embarrass you by reading one more thing you wrote. "This is not about policy. This is not about party partisanship. This is about our duty as Americans, remaining silent and ignoring the law emboldens the liar. I will not participate in that. I will not sit back and watch and silence while others lead our party down a path that abandons the rule of law and joins the former president's crusade to undermine our democracy." That is the definition of courage. Thank you very much.

T

Tricia Johnson 40:19

Representative Liz Cheney is Wyoming's sole member of Congress in the House of Representatives. She was first elected in 2016. She serves on the select committee investigating the January 6 attack on the Capitol and the House Armed Services Committee. Eric Schmidt is a technologist, entrepreneur and philanthropist. He was Google CEO and Chairman from 2001 to 2011. Their conversation was held in Aspen, Colorado on August 4 by Aspen Community Programs at the Aspen Institute. Make sure to subscribe to Aspen Ideas to go wherever you listen to podcast. Follow Aspen Ideas year round on social media at Aspen Ideas. today's conversation was programmed by the Aspen Community Programs team, Zoe Brown, Katie Carlsen, Cristal Logan and Jillian Scott. Our music is by Wonderly I'm Trisha Johnson. Thanks for joining me.

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support message 41:27

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