

# In Conversation with Paul Ryan

Underwriter: [inaudible].

Underwriter: All right. All right. How's ass been doing tonight?

Underwriter: Everyone? Good? Hey, a Amarna Ghoshal on with southern company. Uh, we're very honored to be an underwriter at such a wonderful festival. Uh, at southern company. We, uh, deliver clean, reliable, efficient, affordable, and resilient energy to 9 million customers. Um, and with that I'm going to kick it over to the main event here. We got a Judy Woodruff of PBS and a former speaker of the house, Paul Ryan. So y'all give it up.

Underwriter: Yep.

Judy Woodruff: Thank you. Thank you. Mr. Former. Mister speaker. Uh, it looks like you're doing a draw. Look at this crowd who showed I came to see free Solo. So, uh, we are here in Aspen. Uh, uh, first thing though I want to ask you about it is physical exercise routine. Everybody knows that Paul Ryan does something. I had to look it up. Extreme workout, p 90 x. Are you still doing that or are you,

Paul Ryan: you can see my hand, but I am doing that. I've, I've gotten addicted to this thing called Peloton, which is really, yeah, every heard Scott Tracy thing. Um, so, but my question, I'm planning on taking my 16 year old, the grand, uh, with the Xm guys and I'm doing, I'm doing the, the bells in, in September, and my wife's giving me this look. So I see something, I see a lot of people who are inspirations to be in this audience. So I tried to get in shape to do the things I like to do in life.

Judy Woodruff: But the thing I really want to ask you about is your father in law. He's 76 years old. His name is Dan little, he's a lawyer in Oklahoma. Yeah. In February, he became the oldest person ever to complete the world marathon challenge, right. He ran seven marathons on seven continents in seven days. That's right. Is this, is this 76 years old? Hey, is this, this is your wife Jan? His Dad is my wife's dad yet. So this is real. He went from continents or nut.

Paul Ryan: He started it in Antarctica, uh, went to South Africa and then went around the world. He slept on the plane, uh, in between runs and ran seven marathons in seven days. So seven content.

Judy Woodruff: He's leaving you behind in the dust. Oh, absolutely. Yeah, yeah, yeah. Um, so let's, let's start, um, uh, talking about where we think the country is politically right now, where, where you like fluffy stuff, gold mining claim. We did the fluffy with it, but where, where are Americans, Paul Ryan? Where are Americans right now in terms of how they think about politics and how they think about government?

Paul Ryan: Extremely polarized. Uh, you and I have known each other for a long time. Uh, when I first got elected to Congress in 1998, uh, the Internet really wasn't anything like it is now. Uh, there wasn't a big cable system like we have now. And so I think the polarization of the country as has gotten to a, a level that I don't, I've never seen before in my adult life. We've had polarized politics before. No two ways about it. You know, we've had big time elections, but I think we are at a hyper polarized time. But I hope in this course of this conversation, I can convey to you that the system still works, that the founders created this beautiful system of checks and balances, and it actually does really still function. So if you turn on the TV or if you especially look at Twitter, you're going to pull your hair out.

Paul Ryan: Um, but if you look underneath that, or what I always try to tell our members is don't pay attention all the white noise, do your work. Things for the most part, still get done. The system still works, the checks and balances do work. The, the, the, the three branches of government are vibrant branches of government that, that are always in healthy tension with one another and they work. So I would say our politics still does actually work. Things still get done, but we're at a hyper, hyper polarized time. And when you get into a presidential election like this, it's going to get worse before it gets better. But I'm hoping it gets better. So you're saying it's not just Washington and polarized, you're saying that the country anymore? Yeah, absolutely. Absolutely. Let's, and let's talk about economically and where do you see us right now as a country?

Judy Woodruff: How, how strong is that? I feel good about why you didn't mean to cut you off. Sorry. That's what I feel very good about. So look at our growth rates. Wages are the fastest growth, right? They've been in 10 years and we've got great productivity. We have more job openings in America than people looking for jobs in America. People are getting out of college and getting good jobs. So we've got low inflation, fast economic growth and, and the kind of growth we were looking for when we did tax reform gets us the kind of productivity increases we wanted. We have amazing capital expenditures, which ends up saying that you're going to have higher living standards and higher wages and we're seeing faster wage growth that we've seen in a long, long time. So by the way, we're also the best economy in the world in the developed world.

Paul Ryan: So our economy is doing actually quite remarkably well. I would argue that's because of policy. That's not by accident. It's because of the regulatory relief that has occurred over the last couple of years and because of the tax reform that we put in place for the first time in 31 years, we had the worst tax system in the industrialized world until about a year ago, and now we're in the top three arguably in the industrialized world with respect a competitive tax systems, so that actually unlocks a lot of growth and we're seeing a lot of that growth in the economy right now as a result of it. But some people are looking at the same statistics, they're looking at the same thing you are, and they're worried about a slow down next year. Jp Morgan just came out with it and they said the probability of a recession next year is 45% what are the implications?

Judy Woodruff: What are the implications of that? What are the implications of even a serious slogan?

Paul Ryan: We still have some business cycles. We haven't gotten rid of business cycles, but we haven't had a recession a long, long time, so I am not going to predict those things other than we're going to have recessions. We're going to have business cycles, but we have elongated this recovery, uh, and made it a much stronger, robust recovery, I would argue because of the last policies. Um, the Fed is a good question. What's the Fed going to do? I think they're in a pretty accommodating posture for now. Uh, I do worry about trade and I think trade could be one of those what we call exotic Venus factor's that could, um, produce uncertainty economy that could give us that kind of a recession if we don't watch ourselves. But the fundamentals are very, very strong. But it's been a long time since we've had a recession. So clearly business cycles where we assert themselves, but I think we're going to be in this 3% growth, um, posture for, for some time. Yeah.

Judy Woodruff: But if, if we were, but if there were a recession, do you worry at all that we, whether we have the tools as a country, the fiscal tools, the monetary tools to deal with,

Paul Ryan: we do. I think that's important for the Fed to get ready for the next problem that could occur. I think they're doing that. They're there. They've been taking away their accommodated monetary policy. They're running off their balance sheet. Uh, so I think the Fed is getting itself into position so that can help. Um, the biggest concern in my mind, which has been one of my big issues is in the future as the debt levels that we have and that is unsustainable and that's a whole nother conversation, but right where we've had running room to absorb economic blows, um, we will lose some running room in the near future because of our debt levels. Right now we're fine or debt to GDP ratio is okay, but if we stay on the path we are on and it's really demographics and health inflation, um, we wrote, we will not have that kind of wiggle room. We need to deal with, um, and recessions when we have them.

Judy Woodruff: And I want to come back to trade and to the debt in just a second. But, but in terms of the economy for president Trump, for the republicans up for reelection, how important is it that growth, I mean, what's the, what difference does it make whether gross growth is 3% as you said, or what if it were 1% right.

Paul Ryan: It's huge. It's, Eh, I look, look, I mean, look at the presidential cycles. We've had, look at Bill Clinton got in peached the year I got elected. He got impeached in 1998 and then he won reelection, uh, in 2000. So, uh, all right. Excuse me. Got It. I really liked it in the last election before that. So Bill Clinton shows you a president, even with tough approval ratings with, with scandals, with a really good economy can get reelected. George Bush didn't have any scandal, had just won the first Gulf War. I had a bad economy, was something like 1% and didn't get reelected. So I think the economy has a great, great deal, uh, to, to

determine whether or not a person gets reelected as president. I'd say that's why I actually think it's Trump's to lose because of the economy, because of how good the economy is doing and more importantly, it's the economy in, in sectors or in parts of our society that haven't seen growth. The wealth effect did very well for wealthy people during the Obama time when the Fed was pushing on a string, but we are now seeing the kind of wage growth and employment growth among middle income Americans in lower middle income Americans that we have not seen in a long time. And that is, that is to the, to the, I think to the testament of these policies we put in place that's going to help the president greatly. If a recession occurs before then, then I think he's got a real problem. Of course,

Judy Woodruff: you mentioned the debt. Let's talk about the deficit. You were a deficit Hawk for years and up through the Obama administration, we can now see the deficit. It is going through the roof again. Uh, it, it was five, I looked it up, 587 billion in Barack Obama's last year in office. It is now the double that. Do you expect that to just keep on going?

Paul Ryan: Yeah, we knew this was coming. This is not like a surprise anybody, uh, from what we call the caps deal we did with Obama a number of years ago. And then that's a question questions that occurred be between now and then. And then we've done three budget deals. I did two of them. I didn't want to Patty Murray, I did one with Barack Obama and in John Bayner might, my predecessor did one with a Barack Obama. Those cap deals, uh, cut. Um, I'm doing off the top of my head about \$800 billion in discretionary spending out of the baseline. So on what we call discretionary spending is about a third of the budget that's government agencies budgets, their annual spending. We put a cap on that spending and by putting the cap on that spending that we've done for a number of years now, that's saved a lot of money. But that is not where the money is in our budget.

Paul Ryan: It, the two thirds of the budget is what we call entitlements. You automatically qualify for a benefit. You get it. You're a farmer, you get for farm program payments, you turn 65 you get Medicare and social security, you're a veteran, you get VA healthcare. What's driving this, this debt and these deficits is, is a demographic function of the boomers going into retirement now. So we had this great baby boom generation that is now retiring and so we're going from 40 million retirees to 77 million retirees within one generation and fewer people behind them paying the taxes to pay for those programs. And those programs cost, they go up in cost about six to 8% per year, primarily because of healthcare. And so that is sort of a stubborn thing. It's not a Democrat's folder Republican's fault, it's just what it is. That's what's driving the deficits. So you cannot get this debt and deficit under control until and unless you deal with the entitlement programs and how they work

Judy Woodruff: and that is something Medicare and social security, president Trump has said these are things that he doesn't want to tell them.

Paul Ryan: Yeah. Yes. He has a, I, you and I have worn disagreed on these issues. Uh, I've walked them through as many power points on this is that could, um, how many was you can just slide three or four and you know, um, uh, the healthcare bill, we man to the House that we actually pass. So if you think, um, just to do this on the back of the envelope, there's three health care entitlements or what you would know as Obamacare, Medicaid and Medicare are healthcare bill that we passed in the house that failed by a single vote in the Senate, um, dealt with the two first two of those and would've put them on a path to sustainability and would have been, it was the biggest debt reduction bill ever passed by Congress. Uh, it failed by a single vote. So that would've put us on a pretty darn good trajectory toward patient centered healthcare, which I think would've gotten health care inflation down while still protecting preexisting condition in the uninsured.

Paul Ryan: But it would have dealt with two of the three biggest drivers of our debts. And then you would have had social security, medicare as which are the, the age based senior based programs that are extremely important, the most important programs in the federal government. But they're going bankrupt. You had to do something to deal with these programs so that they're there for the next generation when they retire. That is something that is, that is just evaded us politically for a long time. Um, I used to hate commissions. I was actually on one of them because I thought it was congress sort of ducking it's responsibility, not doing its job. I've come around to the conclusion that it's probably the only way to fix these things is to create a, I was on both Simpson. That didn't work because it wasn't a fast track. The president then Obama could just disavow it and it doesn't go anywhere.

Paul Ryan: The Old Greenspan commission in the 80s and social security was the best form of commission, in my opinion, because that commission, we call it fast track. You cannot filibustered it has to be voted on. So the commissioners produced the report. How do you make social security solvent? Uh, and then Congress must vote on it. Now they have the final say so, but it can't be delayed or filibustered it has to be voted on. But none of this, I think that's the smartest way to go in the future. None of this is on the horizon. That's not an art that's, no, it's not. And I think it should be. So what does that mean? I mean for our country? Well, there's two things you gotta do to get this dinner and control. You got to grow the economy. We are doing that. We've put pro growth measures in place and you've got to deal with entitlements.

Paul Ryan: Um, the key entitlement reform, as I just mentioned, failed by a single vote in the Senate. And so now we don't see entitlement reform on the horizon. How much did I think you're on to get through this election? Before you get to that, how much did the tax cuts and the increase in defense spending, the Pentagon spending and contribute to the, well, the increase in defense spending is because it's a question cut defense. So much. So if we were at defense spending, if we never use this, the question I had, the budget caps, defense spending would be much higher than where it is today. So defense spending is

actually lower than where it was thought to be, where it would be in the, in the middle of Obama years. So we actually cut defense a great deal. We cut it so much that we had a serious problem in the military.

Paul Ryan: We were losing more people in training accidents and equipment failures because of, of, of a hollowing out of our fore structure in the military than we were in combat. And we had people in Iraq and Afghanistan, so we had to do rapid surgery to rebuild our military. And we're now, we're in year three of that military rebuild. But even with all that money being restored in the military, it's still saved a bunch of money from where we were going in the early Obama years. It's really not discretionary spending. Judy is entitlements and taxes. Look, I, I would, I am obviously I was the primary architect of this. Um, I believe it till the cows come home, which is, that's the thing we say in Wisconsin. Um, uh, I think it was extremely important to do it is getting us the wage growth we were looking for.

Paul Ryan: It's getting small businesses going again, but most importantly we saw, I chaired the ways and means committee before I was speaker and that's where I spent most of my policy time. We saw on the horizon, um, after 2017 a rash of what we call inversions and we were seeing this, the inversions or I want a US company becomes a foreign based company. They call it red diamond siling. They go from being an American company to a foreign company because of taxes. We saw a sector by sector of companies is going in over becoming foreign companies and saving the tax difference by being a foreign company. But what happens is when these companies, when they leave America and have no longer their headquarters in America, they're there. Their alliance there, their jobs, the social capital that comes from having these headquarters goes away. And we were seeing a rash of these things.

Paul Ryan: So we believed tax reform is absolutely critical to stopping the bleeding from an versions. It's reversed the day it passed. The guy who made my watch, guy named Tim Cook, he's this guy who runs this some device company. Um, he said that days that I am bringing back \$350 billion into America, I'm going to hire 20,000 Americans in new campuses. I'm going to build because of this tax law and that \$350 billion, I could not bring back into this country until this tax reform passed. Those are the kinds of things that are happening as a result of tax reform. And you can't get your handle around the debt and the devastated unless you get the spending and the internal massage control. But also you need economic growth. And so the tax reform was the key thing for us to get the economic growth we got. Let's talk about trade for a minute.

Judy Woodruff: Uh, president Trump's signature issue, this has become, I mean, is, is now the Republican Party. Uh, the protection is part of that. I hope not. I, you know, my background, I am an old Jack Kemp Guy. Um, I wrote the law called trade promotion authority to give to Barack Obama the ability to go get trade agreements. So he and I, he, the guy just beat me in the 2012 elections. So, you know, we, we were always on opposite sides of many issues, but when I saw

that he wanted to lean in and go get trade agreements, um, which he wanted to do in his second term, we gave him the tools to go do that. So I'm a believer in trade. I think if you stand still and trade, you'll fall behind because other countries will go out and get better trade agreements between themselves and we'll lose markets.

Paul Ryan: So I've, I still hold that view. Um, the president and I have not agreed on a lot of these issues, like two, three, two, which is the steel and aluminum tariff thing. Um, I didn't want to pick fights with our allies like, like North America and Canada, but I absolutely agree with his, his decision on China. That is one where I always believed that's a fight we need to fight because they're not playing by the rules. I voted to have China enter the WTO and the early two thousands hoping and thinking that they would rise in the rule based system where they would play by the rules, not steal intellectual property, not forced tech transfers, not fun state on enterprises to unfairly compete against international competition. Um, but they didn't do that. And I think if you believe in free and fair trade, you've got a prosecuted.

Paul Ryan: So I think the president is exactly right. The deal with China, I would just do it a little differently. I think the rest of the industrialized world is also a victim of what China's trade practices are and only America could lead the industrialized world into a unified front to confronting China globally. And I think that's the right strategy, I think. I think the presidents getting to that strategy, I think he's kind of making his way to there, but he's doing it through, you know, some fights with allies that I personally probably would have avoided a lot of fights with allies have. How many Republicans agree with you on this? Why did we publish agree with me on that? Yeah. Um, so I mean were the Republican, is the Republican party becoming the protectionist party? You're saying that I don't there are some, well you remember back in the days when we knew each other when I was this young guy, I'm working for Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett.

Paul Ryan: I was a foot soldier in then we called sort of a proxy war inside the conservative movement. Um, that's occurring right now as well. It's kind of a sub. Matthew continuity wrote a pretty good piece on this about a month ago on the free beacon. The Democrats have their own internet facing issues, so do um, conservatives. And so there is definitely a debate within the conservative movement about what it is. And trade is a big part of that debate. I'm on the side of, of of free and fair trade. I think you got to hold countries accountable like China, but you need to open markets up and I think that's extremely important for us. We're less than 5% of the world's population. So we've got to, if we want to keep a good, strong growing economy, open market's up getting trade agreements do that. Uh, but holding people accountable also as a part of that.

Paul Ryan: But there are, there are protectionists in our party, the Democrats are typ. Typically the production is party. That the, the reason I was excited to help Obama with tpa was because he all of a sudden wanted to start doing trade

agreements for the first six years of his administration. He didn't want to do that because that there are traditionally a protectionist party. So when I saw a Democrat stepping outside of that, I was eager to embrace that. But, but that is, um, something that is definitely seeping throughout the conservative movement now as well. Farewell address in January

Judy Woodruff: as you were leaving Congress, um, and you talked about some things that were really important to you going forward and you said at one point you said helping people lift themselves out of poverty is a personal mission for you and then you challenge your own party not to let this issue drift from your consciousness. My question is, is there a way to do that? And at the same time allow what is now a very successful private sector in this country that is growing like gangbusters. You just described it and that growth continue. Can people continue to get, you know, at the high end of the income level, just crazy, a wealthier and do something about those at the bottom?

Paul Ryan: Absolutely. That's basically what I'm focused on now in my private life. So how does that work? So they're there. One in particular. There are three laws that I help, right? Uh, in the last session that are focused on doing just this, uh, how do you create more upper mobility? How do you fight poverty at its core? A, so that everyone can enjoy this thing? I call the American idea. Well everybody, my foundation is called the American idea foundation. The conditioning of your birth doesn't determine the outcome of your life. You can make it in this country. It's what made this country, it's why my Irish and German ancestors came to this country. And it's a beautiful idea. But, but we've seen lately, um, uh, classification of America, we've seen a stubborn, uh, part of our country where you don't have that sense of upper mobility.

Paul Ryan: You see intergenerational poverty. So what can you do about that and how do we focus on it? There's three laws in particular and I hate saying pass a law and you fix this cause that's really not the answer, but there are things you can do to help them. Things you can do to hurt. We passed something called opportunities zones. It's something I worked on a young 20, something worked for Jack Camp and we call them enterprise zones. We think opportunities zones have a great potential of tapping, um, among the \$8 trillion of unrealized capital gains and pushing it into the poorest, um, census tracts in America. We had something called a social impact bonds, private sector capital, private sector ideas for public sector goods, like solving homelessness in a certain geographical area. And we just passed a new law on evidence based policy. We can now use data and analytics and best practices to focus on fighting poverty more effectively.

Paul Ryan: The long and the short of all of this is for, what is it now? 53 years on the war on poverty, trillions spent, we basically measured success in the war on poverty, based on effort input. How many programs are we creating? How many people run those programs? Because that's really kind of all we had. We spent \$800 billion a year to the federal government on 95 different poverty programs, but

we don't actually measure whether they work or not. We now have the ability to do that, so we should do that. These are more than pilot program. Yeah. Yeah. These are, I'm talking about just lots of different federal right now, but most of these programs are not evidenced based programs that are measured in whether they achieve their outcome or not. So we now are at a time where we can, we can measure our, our war on poverty, our fight on poverty, on on results or outcomes.

Paul Ryan: Are we actually getting people out of poverty or not? This is what basically I'm focusing most of my time on these days because I, we've been stuck in this ideological fight. We've been stuck in a partisan fight on these issues. Um, it's, it's, it's, you know, it's the question set up kind of the way you just described it and I just, let's get out. Let's get away from audiology. Let's get away from partisan politics. So let's just go with what works and now we can do this. We now have the ability, I'm on the board of the laboratory for economic opportunity at Notre Dame. It's Warren teaching now and, and they can measure the effectiveness of poverty programs and go with what works and what doesn't work and, and you can track people and actually fundamentally change a person's trajectory in their lives through better effective poverty programs.

Paul Ryan: So I really believe we are in a cutting edge area in fighting poverty in America because of the capital that we can put to it, the private sector knowhow and technology data and analytics to really do a better job of fighting poverty more effectively so that we are not talking about redistributing or the rich versus poor, but we're talking about opportunity, upper mobility and clearing barriers so people can make it in life and having effective programs that help them do that. I don't hear the president talking about that. I don't hear, that's why I talked to my, my farewell address. I don't hear other Republicans talking about that right now. What, why not? You hear Tim's got talking about it a lot. Uh, Tim Scott from South Carolina. Senator from South Carolina. So you do, what I learned in politics lately, uh, is the stuff that has us at each other throats at each other's throat is what sells.

Paul Ryan: This stuff that's controversial is what sells the stuff that produces an angst and anger and emotion is what sells. And just talking about things where we actually get along and agree doesn't sell. You probably don't know this, but this last session of Congress, we passed 1,175 bills in the house. About six or 700 of them, made it into law. We usually pass about four or 500 bills. Uh, we, so we basically had, we had the most productive house session in since Reagan's first term I think. And 80% of the more than 80% of those bills were bipartisan. Uh, but nobody knows this. I mean, you probably know more about Donald Trump's tweets on the seven 87 Dreamliner. Um, then you knew that we overhauled the FAA system to build more airports and go to a gps air traffic control system. We pass criminal justice reform, which we've been trying to do for 20 years and more people know about just the consternation, the angst on TV.

Paul Ryan: So my point is politics these days underneath all the controversy, all the bitterness, all the polarization, there are still men and women of goodwill who don't necessarily agree with each other, who are finding ways of working together to get things done in this last two years actually showed that. But I'm curious to know why we don't hear about it. I mean the news hour I, I'd asked you, you tell them, we try to cover the, you know, the most important things that are going on in Washington and if these things are not, we don't hear people talking about him, but uh, we'll say, look, I think some of our, I mean obviously I think to actually is important. We, we shut down the human trafficking websites. So there's about 87% reduction in human traffic and websites. We passed the 21st century cures bill where we have a real real shot at getting cures for cancer.

Paul Ryan: Things like Alzheimer's. We had the single greatest offense on the opioid epidemic that Congress has passed. We overhauled our air traffic system, we overhauled our water infrastructure system and I can go on and on and on about all the various things that we've just done in Congress recently. Um, but I think are making a big difference in people's lives. But frankly that stuff doesn't, doesn't sell quite as well as, as, as, as hitting each other and yelling at each other. Does these days, well let me ask you about one of the hot button issues that you may be referring to. The president is focused a massive amount of attention on immigration is the GOP. Now, the anti immigration was not, you know, it's not, um, this is the other thing I said at my farewell rest, right? You probably type team you up there. This is the one issue that this an entitlement reform of the two things that I think if we get, if we solve those two problems, we're going to have a great 21st century American Century.

Paul Ryan: We get our debt and entitlements under control. We're going to be in really good shape fiscally and we solve our immigration challenges. We're going to be in great shape. This one, uh, I've been, I spent 25 years on this issue. It's the most vexing issue because politics always gets in the way at the end of the day on this. Um, I think there are a lot of people from the right and the left who could, you know, on the back of a cocktail napkin probably write an immigration deal, but politics always seems to get the best of it. My worry is identity politics gets played far too often on, on these issues and that it's going to take a break through and you're gonna have to get past the presidential election if you're going to fix this issue. I brought a bill to the floor in July, which would have solved the problem for the dreamers, would have secured the border and it would have, um, converted toward more of a, of a economic merit based because we have labor shortages in many areas, so you need to have visas.

Paul Ryan: Um, and I think we should have a guest worker program. I think that takes a lot of pressure off the border. There's a legitimate problem on the southern border. No two ways about it. Absolutely a serious problem. But we also have utterly broken system. Uh, you know, we have these per country caps, you know, Indians are waiting for like 30 years to get green cards and it just doesn't really make a whole lot of sense. So if we can get this immigration issue fixed, then I

think we're going to be in really, really good shape. But politics is what gets in the way of this. Mitch McConnell opened the floor up last year, opened the floor up and let anybody bring anything they want and they couldn't pass it thing and just gives you a sense of how tough this issue is. Well, we saw, I mean it, it came close to her of

Judy Woodruff: Obama. At least they tried during the Obama administration. The perception was that Republicans, yeah,

Paul Ryan: stopped it. Right now I could say the same thing about Barack Obama and George Bush did it. He will support the poison pill that stopped immigration reform in the Bush administration. Yeah.

Judy Woodruff: You now have, I mean you now have what families coming across the border in record numbers. We are reading these heartbreaking stories every day practically about children separated from their parents, some of them in terrible conditions. I mean how, how can this be happening in the United States?

Paul Ryan: We need to change our asylum laws. They, they give him kind of perverse incentive that if you can just come over and say the right thing, then you can come into the country. So there really isn't an effectual border. So we need to tighten up these asylum laws. By the way, I mean in a nutshell, what would that, well, we, I can't remember exactly how we worded, but you need to tighten up their asylum laws so that look, somebody fleeing persecution, somebody fleeing political persecution should be able to come in to claim asylum. Somebody just immigrating from economic reasons is not an Asylee, but the laws are so loose that it's easy to do that. And so you have a basic of massive incentive for human trafficking. You have people putting their kids on trains, setting them up here or having them be trafficked up through Latin America and them into America because of our lax asylum laws.

Paul Ryan: That's, that's, that's a danger to the kids themselves are being trafficked up into this country because of our loose asylum laws. We want to have political asylum, uh, asylum for people who are fleeing persecution. But you, that's not the way the system works right now. And if you want to take pressure off of the border, if you want to give people a chance to have a better life for themselves and have a guest worker program and it also helps solve some of our labor shortage problems. So I think there's, there's some common sense solutions here, but I gotta tell Ya, it's both parties are, I'm not going to say this is the Democrats' fault, it's both parties are at fault for this. But I can, if you want to go through the last 20 years and say, you know, who's to blame for this, I'd say that blame falls on both sides.

Judy Woodruff: Is, is the president's leadership right now helping on this. And the way he,

Paul Ryan: well I think he's, he's, he's, he's clearly this, I'd love you to come around and just do a town hall tour with a bunch of members of Congress on this issue. This is

the issue you'll get the most from your constituents, at least in Republican districts. I can't speak for democratic districts. And it's because people see lawlessness. They see a porous border, they see heroin coming into their school districts because of a, of a bunch of drugs coming over from the border. And so the sense of lawlessness is what he's trying to point out and he's not going to get any cooperation from the other of the aisle on this issue. Um, I think there's some absolutely common sense things you could do, confidence building measures to fix this problem. But we put a bill on the floor that I thought it was eminently reasonable in July in the Democrats didn't want have anything to do with it because do you know Donald Trump was involved?

Paul Ryan: So I think the president is pointing out the real fall faults in the law. He's pointing out the problem with our asylum laws. And he's pointing out the fact that we have a porous border that we do need to secure. On the flip side of it, there are a lot of young people in this country who are brought here by their parents through no fault of their own that are kind of in this legal limbo. So there's a lot of people who are really stressed about this issue. I've always believed in an incremental approach on this particular issue. Take a few things at a time in bite size proportions and you can have confidence building immigration measures like in ultimately solve the problem. That's what we attempted to do last summer, but we, we, we failed to get the votes to do it

Judy Woodruff: because in, in your farewell address you were talking about poverty is this point, but you, you said you had said this line, every life matters and every person deserves the chance to succeed. I mean, are you, are you saying that's not necessarily

Paul Ryan: true, but that's not saying I want open borders and just anybody come that means you gotta be yet it should be a country that borders yet to secure borders. You have to be able to know who comes and goes in your countries. I mean that's, any country should be able to do that. Right? So that's, but yes, I believe when for people here, that's why I focused on poverty. That's why I think,

Judy Woodruff: but the fact that we can't come up with some compromise on this some,

Paul Ryan: yeah. The politics isn't just destroyed. This issue, I want to ask you about the [inaudible]

Judy Woodruff: Republican Party some more. You were on the 10th anniversary of Jack Camp Staff. You tweeted, you praise the man who was your, who was your mentor, but a quarter century ago when you were getting into politics, there was this, as you, and you've alluded to this, this really fierce debate going on in the Republican Party between being inclusive and not being inclusive, has the not inclusive side one, I mean

Paul Ryan: was looking at was different labels you can throw around here. But I, yeah, aspirational. Inclusive politics is not winning the day these days. Um, but I'd say this is happening on both sides of the aisle. So I come from the Jack Ham school. I believe in aspirational, inclusive politics and I've always believed just cause I think it's the right thing to do, that you try to motivate people to vote for you based on hope and optimism and growth and things like that. I learned that from camp. I think he probably got it from Reagan and that is not the kind of politics we're playing today. It's, it's one of the, it's actually one of the courses I'm teaching at Notre Dame is the polarization of our politics. And I think you're getting the same thing on the other side of the island. What I, I fear is occurring here is we have what I call these entertainment wings of our parties and the energy and I just want to be talking about, so you have the entertainment wings, which um, you can make a lot of money.

Paul Ryan: A person can make a lot of money, um, on polarization, whether it's through, you know, the Internet through, through whatever cable. And in the old days, like 10 years ago, it used to be a meritocracy in politics. You used to have to like work your way up, prove your worth, get things done, compromise, negotiate, pass reforms and prove yourself. And then maybe you could, you know, run for president or, or be a governor or something like that. You can leap frog that whole thing these days because, um, the entertainment wings of the Democrats at the same thing, you can leap frog, um, what I call the old meritocracy and, and just have a really good digital following, be very good on television and radio and do extremely well. And the incentive structure in that ecosystem is not hope, optimism inclusiveness. It is, it is. It is an angst.

Paul Ryan: It is emotion. It's fear, it's envy, it's whatever you think. But there are people make millions of dollars on both sides. Frustrating. All of this polarizing, all of this, and I think this is this, this sort of system has really polarized our politics. So we're not, you know, I don't see this on the left, no offense, but I don't see this on the left either. I don't see hopeful inclusive politics. I see people can I angry running for office. And that to me is, is something that we're going to have to try and hopefully change. Well, I was going to ask you about this later, but does that explain my Joe Biden is leading in the polls? I mean, is that what you're I think, I think I, it's not what you actually kind of feel sorry for them because they're all, he's got 23 guns pointed at him right now.

Paul Ryan: Um, you know, Joe, is that what, there's 24 people in the race? I can, I kind of lost count at somebody else jumped in the race today. Oh, who? Former congressman from Pennsylvania named genesis stack. Oh, I know. Justice. Like, yeah, he was an animal. Yeah, I know. Um, okay. Let's 25 people running for Congress. I think Joe is the one exception in the field on this point. And he's the one exception, I think the other, but yeah, Joe Biden, sorry. Yeah. Yeah. I've known a long time. I think he is the one exception in all the rest of them are running. Um, you know, basically they're going to ease in what I call the Jeb Bush slot. You know, no fad, like a lot. He's a friend of mine, but they're all going to shoot at him. He's the front runner. He is the only one who is kind of running

what I'd call a centrist type of campaign and all the other ones are running hard to the left. And that just shows you where the space look. You're asking conservatives to handicap or criticize the other side of the party, but they're all running pretty hard left. And I think that's going to help the president frankly, and Joe is going to get hit from both sides and whether he can endure and stick onto that for a year and a half. Is Anybody's guess. I mean, there are a few other candidates who would call themselves [inaudible] job. I don't know. Um, Michael Bennett, Colorado.

Judy Woodruff: Um, but I mean, what is it? Can the Republican Party be as it's presently constituted permanently a majority? I mean, what is it going to take? A majority. Okay. No part. It can be a permanent, this is never going to happen. Can't, but that you're acknowledging the Republican Party needs to do more right now to reach out. I come from a certain wing of the party in America, Americans. So yeah, but you know, I mean, you know, I mean, we know each other, but I've always believed this, but the kind of politics I've always believed in is not ascendant these days. And, uh, the president obviously is the head of the party because he's the president. And when your party has a president, that person's out of the party underneath this. And if it's in one and a half years or in five and a half years, there'll be a big fight for the soul of the party, just like the Democrats have been having.

Judy Woodruff: We had this when Clinton was president and that is a big sort of intellectual fight that's, that's ongoing or it's just kind of starting to just murmur right now. Protectionism versus in all of these issues is Joe Biden. I mean, just to pick up on that as Joe Biden, the toughest, potentially toughest opponent for branding. So, uh, if you look at, um, the rust belt states, like my state of Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, that's sort of the secret to the electoral college. Um, I spent a lot of time studying the Electoral College in 2012 and you know, you've got, you've got the blue states that you bank on. If you're a Democrat, you got the red states, you bank on it as a Republican and then you can kind of play with what's in the middle for this current electoral college makeup and strategy. It's those rust belt states and in those states, let's just take Wisconsin for example, which obviously I know the best, um, for, for us, we have to have a fusion of two kinds of groups of voters.

Paul Ryan: There is what you would now think of as the Trump base voter, which is the old Reagan Democrat voter, a blue collar, um, um, more rural voter that is very, very a very strong Trump. Very, he, that's, that's a lockdown base. Then you had that suburban, um, college educated Republican type voter that we've typically relied on as our base supporters. About half my districts. I represent a bunch of counties around Milwaukee and those two groups together give you, um, as a Republican, a plurality to win a state like Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania. And the question for the Democrats will be who best can, you know, deny that coalition? I don't see the hard progressive being able to do that. I think we can beat, um, um, the hard progressive Sanders. Yeah. I think we can beat them, uh, in, in our kinds of states, Joe, because of his history.

Paul Ryan: Um, and just, I think the lane he's trying to, you know, he's trying to hang on to this lane probably has the better chance, but I have a hard time seeing them getting of the primary, frankly. But who am I, you know, I'm a Republican, so who knows. What did you make of his statement the other day that he, um, reminiscing about how he was able to work with conservative Democrats who were segregationists. Yeah. I didn't even know who those guys were. It shows you how young I am, I guess. Um, I mean, I know he was trying to say, but they got viciously, he got viciously attacked by his primary opponents. That's why you just have our time seeing them going the distance and lasting the primary. I did notice John Lewis, who's a friend of mine, came to his defense. I think Cliburn did tune Hakeem Jeffries.

Paul Ryan: Yeah. So which was, which was good for them to do that, but that's just that, just that little chapter of last week just shows you he's, I think he's just going to suffer a death of a thousand cuts over the next number of months. You said in a, in a speech not too long ago, that the race, he said, if this raises about president Trump's personality than Republicans lose this. What if I were the Democrats? What I would, what I would try to do? What do you mean by that? Here's what, here's what I meant by that. They're going to say, here's what I think they're going to do. I mean, look, um, I've been around this a bit. Whoever gets the nomination is going to go hard left to get the nomination. Whoever of the Democrats they're going to be are going to go hard left so they can win the heart and the mind of of the, of the, of the primary vote of the caucus voter and get the nomination and they're going to scare people.

Paul Ryan: Medicare for all you know, abolishing ice. These are scary ideas to people in the center, in this country, in all the Republicans and their pulsars going to come to them in September or October. When is the convention in Milwaukee is at the end of July. There post is going to come to them then and say, you can't run on these things. This is, you will lose. This is, this is McGovern. You know, you're not going to win this. You got to go after Donald Trump after his personality. That's what I think. Whoever comes out of the Democratic primary who had just, whether it's a Joe Biden who moves left to get the primary or probably a progressive who just wins the thing, they're going to have to try and pivot and it'll be too late for them to effectively pivot their brand or the policies that are known for, and they're just gonna go attack the president, the president.

Paul Ryan: This is why I think it's his to lose. He's got this great economy. He's got this great record of accomplishment underneath him. People don't like the tweeting and believe me, I was speaker of the house, you know, uh, people in like the tweeting and they don't like, you know, some of the, some of the noise that comes with it. But they liked the performance of the economy. They liked the fact that their neighbor has a job. They like the fact that their kid graduated college and has two job offers that they're sitting on. So he has a great record to run on. Are you better off today than you were four years ago? He will when that equation, that test. So that's why I say they're going to have to make an a personality contest and try and get the the country to not focus on the

substance, the policy, what's going on right now in the economy and that's how they're going to try and win this thing by going after his personality.

Judy Woodruff: You mentioned Medicare for all people like Medicare as it is, can republicans run on healthcare? I mean the Republicans have a great record on a medicare for all we will. We w w but what about the Republican's record on health care? Well, wee wee pad. We've, we lost by a vote. We would've, we would've been able to pass a healthcare bill. Yeah, this is the bill. But it we repealed and replaced in that bill. Most people don't know that. I think the better way we can go, I want to tell him we don't have enough time, but we can have, we can have a system in this country where you can lower the cost of healthcare and people who are uninsured get insurance. We put more focused on the poor and the sick than, than the healthy and the wealthy. And people with preexisting conditions can get total full coverage without going bankrupt.

Paul Ryan: We can have a system like that in this country and oh, by the way, I think the best way to do that is to have a decentralized system. We have more choice and more competition. Lots of choices. Not a monopoly, not a government. Napoli, not an insurance monopoly. That's what we attended to pass. And that's what failed by a vote. Medicare for all bands, private insurance, medicare for all says the hundred 80 million Americans who have their insurance through their employer. Don't get it anymore. Get it through the government, care of her all. Most of the front, most of the people running for president, for Medicare, for all. But just so you know, medicare for all basically means Medicare for none. It will bankrupt Medicare. Medicare is already more than 50% on borrowed money. Medicare, it goes bankrupt in the next decade. You do this, you accelerate the bankruptcy of Medicare jeopardizing medicare for senior citizens while taking away the private insurance that people already right now have.

Paul Ryan: So this should be a great thing for our side of the aisle to run against. And that is why I say you can't run for Medicare for all in the, in the Democratic Party. He turn around and run on that in the general election. That's why I think they're gonna try and turn this into a personality contest. If you make it sound understandable, why hasn't your party been able to come up with good questions? Well, we didn't come up with a health care proposal. Why can't we sell it as well? Our specific problem in this issue is we had to write a bill through Senate reconciliation rules, which was really frustrating to us even stop there. Exactly. So I see you get wanting you to get into the, into the, in the minutia. Um, but I think if we can crack the code on healthcare, if he can get the audiology out of healthcare and just say, look, we're not trying to do some big experiment and have this all run by government.

Paul Ryan: I mean the last thing you want to do in this 21st century where we're used to customizing things in our lives where we used to disruption and choice and competition is stop all of that in healthcare. You want more of that in healthcare, we spent so much money on healthcare, let's spend it more effectively through the person and give more to the poor and the sick to help

them get healthcare and have a system of competition and choice. That to me is the best possible solution for health care. But in order to do that, you have to drop this idea that this is, this is going to be run by the government. And so right now, audiology I would argue is the biggest stumbling block for us getting help. Ron Wyden and I had a hell had a medicare reform proposal. Alice Rivlin rest in peace, one of the, one of the most wonderful human beings I've ever known.

Judy Woodruff: Center left person. She and I had a medicare medicaid proposal. Uh, so people from the left and the right can compromise on this issue. But you get to get off the audiology and think that we're going to have socialized medicine. And that's unfortunately the dialog we're having right now. Okay. We've got 13 minutes left, so I'm, I'm, I want to ask you just a couple of questions about Russia. Okay. And what happened in 2016? Um, the Mueller report, uh, whether you've read it or not, what do you make of what it says about president Trump's actions and the actions of his campaign? She's talking about part two, um, in the, so obviously I oversaw all of our intelligence investigations. Um, we did our own investigation in the house, the Senate did theirs, and we all came down to the same conclusion. There was no evidence of collusion, I think.

Judy Woodruff: So Mueller did exactly what I expected him to do. And by the way, we gave him the time and the space to do what he did. Um, and he came up with a conclusion. I more or less expected, um, on the Inter actions within the White House. Uh, he put that up for the, for the country to see. There's obviously, I don't think anything that's impeachable in there. I think that's, they'd make a big mistake if they go down that road. Um, they would just help the president. So frankly, the Mueller report was, um, not a surprise to me. It basically came up with the conclusions I expected to come up with. Right now, Democrats are trying to get legislation passed to strengthen election security in 2020. So far Republican's have blocked at leader Mcconnell. There's a federalism issue here. So obviously I've had lots of conversations about this.

Paul Ryan: Um, let's back up for a second. What people, I hope if you look at, if you go read and look in this, what we keep forgetting is Russia is trying to meddle with us. So let's not forget here. Russia is trying to screw up our democracy and others they, there, they did a Moldova, they did it in Poland, they did it in France. So let's just remember our democracy is under attack from illegal illiberal regimes like Russia. So 0.1 there, point to how do you, um, buttress the integrity of elections. There are things you can do at the federal level to do that that are being done. But where Mitch I think is correct is you have to remember this, we have a federalism system. States run their elections. So do you want to go to a point where you're nationalizing the conduct of elections or not?

Paul Ryan: We believe in the constitution and the federalism and we don't want to have, um, a anything to be used as a proxy to nationalize it. Federalize elections. That's where image is coming from. A state's rights system where the state decide how elections are conducted in their states is to be preserved. We can help on the back and with the technology, meaning we, I'm not in government

anymore, but the federal government and homeland security can do a lot of things to help the states make sure that they're getting not getting hacked. And we didn't have a real hacking problem from the Russians. We had more of a, of a bots and misinformation campaign problem with, uh, with the Russians. That is where the federal government can make a big difference but there doesn't seem to be any urgency on the part of the Republican leadership. My question and we know the president is very reluctant, he was reluctant to even acknowledge that this, yeah, I can't speak to that.

Judy Woodruff: All I would say is, let me just say this administration, there is a lot that is being done. I know this just from having left six months ago, there was a lot that our intelligence community does do to try and prevent the Russians from doing what they've done before. What we assess should assume they're going to try and do again. There is a lot that is happening there and that there was more that has been done, um, at the state level to help guarantee the security of our election systems. That is happening. One thread hanging from the Obama administration is when the Obama administration officials came to the leadership of Congress. Uh, you as then speaker and, and Mitch McConnell to say, let's come up with a joint statement to the country. You know, this was, this was in October of 2016. Please say Russian. The Russians are creating problems and we want all the states to know this.

Judy Woodruff: You and leader McConnell said, no, we're not gonna. It's not true. We signed that letter because they, the Democrats say, no, we send that letter up. Go Google it. You can find it. We sent the letter up. Okay. Mitch water. Did it make some edits to the letter because he was a little concerned about the points I just raised. But we sent that letter out. And what is that was a letter from Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer. Paul Ryan [inaudible]. What was the thrust to the states warning them of this threat that was on, that was coming. That letter went out. And why is that still? I don't know. You tell me controversy. Okay. All right. That letter went out. All right. I'm going to go check that out because I was told that a letter went out. Um, why? Why haven't more Republican stood up to president Trump when they disagreed with them?

Paul Ryan: We did, frankly, if you go back, do you remember? He and I didn't have the best of relationships in 16 during the campaign. You know, I ended up this inviting them to come to Wisconsin, you know, in October 16th or something like that. What I learned was you're far more effective, far better, keeping it private. You'll have far more success, uh, on things, keeping it private than having a public spat. Cause if you go out and you just fight in public, then then you're not going to actually accomplish what you're trying to accomplish, which is to change policy or, or to, to, to get an acknowledgment that we should do something differently. So my practice evolved into let's keep these things private and let's have vibrant, strong conversations. He and I had plenty of arguments over the phone in person over at lots of issues. And I found, actually I think, I think he approached and then when he didn't read about it in the paper the next day, I think he appreciated it and I think it was more successful.

Paul Ryan: So I think a lot of problems have kind of learned air your grievances personally and privately and you'll have a better success in achieving what you're trying to achieve. That's 0.1 0.2. Um, a lot of our congressional districts, he has, you know, 90 something approval ratings in. So a lot of Republicans, this, particularly the house statewide races are a little different. A lot of a lot of house members, he is extremely popular in their districts. So if you're going to go after the head of the party that is more popular than you are in your congressional district, you may not want to think about doing that. So I think, I think a lot of benches, politics, a lot of people, yeah, yeah, yeah. But, but, but frankly, I just think what he appreciates is when you have a problem, you have to take it to them directly and you don't do it out on TV and you're actually going to be more successful with your, with your, your persuasion skills.

Judy Woodruff: How much more disagreement is there with him or with his policies and what we see on a cert more than you think and what, what I'm just saying on an any given basis on just various things and I cash appropriation rails and trade. Yeah. I too, I mean, I'm kind of known for not liking the two 32 aluminum and steel tariffs that we passed. Um, that the, that the, the executive ranks, there's a lot of authority and tariffs. They can just do it. Um, it's not something that I, I actually think Congress should do that, but, but that's not the way the law works. So I don't like those terrorists. I think it's bad for manufacturing states like Wisconsin. Um, and, and those are prominent areas of disagreement. So every now and then you'll have a prominent area of disagreement because you can't fix it on the inside.

Paul Ryan: But there are a lot of issues that you want to try and change administration policy that you're more successful doing if you keep, if you keep it private and air your grievances privately, then going publicly. Nepal's are now showing that this president, president Trump is more popular with the Republican rank and file than any president in modern history, including Ronald Reagan. So my question is, is the GOP now clearly the party, he's, he's the head of Donald Trump in the g and the Democrats were the party of the ruck Obama when he was the president and they're are the party of Bill Clinton when he was the president. He is the Republican president. So just, I mean, that's the way it works. Your president, is that ahead of your party now, I would say what I think people get excited about is he's taking off. He's not taking any crap.

Paul Ryan: I mean, he's, he's taking on political correctness. He's taking fights that a lot of people want to see fought. Uh, the forgotten man that he speaks to is a person that finally feels like they're being taken seriously. They're being paid attention to and he's concerned about their issues. That is the guttural core of what I would call the the party base. Now, the Trump base, I cannot tell you how many times just running around America, particularly in Wisconsin, where people who really didn't participate in politics much at all before said, that guy speaks to me. That guy actually is doing something that's making a difference in my life. So it's guttural. And I know people see, oh my God, this Twitter and the things he said about this person or that person just drives people nuts. What that that base

Republican voters sees, this guy's not backing down and he's fighting for me. That's what, that's why he has those numbers you just described

Judy Woodruff: and, and setting a good example for our children for the next Gen

Speaker 4: [inaudible] good question.

Judy Woodruff: I'm sorry, I said I answered your question, but I mean the Ronald Reagan, you said you're, you're the, it's the party of the president while he's the president of the party, the Republican Party was the party of Ronald Reagan for long after he was an office. Is that, is that going to be the case with the Republican Party and Trumpism or whatever? I think it depends on, yes.

Paul Ryan: I mean, I think it's his to lose, like I said, but if, if it's, if he's a president for eight years, yeah, that's probably likely the case. Uh, I think what I'm, what I don't know is how is all this churning gonna sort itself out in politics? I really think democracy around the world's being stress test right now we're seeing a stress test on democracy from countries like China and Russia meddling in democracy. Worsting stress tests on democracy from, um, digital and cable and the Internet, which is these entertainment wings up talking about, you're seeing a stress test of populism running through Europe that is making it impossible for them to even inform governments. I mean, look at, look at Theresa May's out in, I don't know Boris is in or maybe not. I mean, you're having a hard time seeing democracy get through, um, the ugliness and the messiness of free societies in the 21st century.

Paul Ryan: I think we're going to pass this test, but I think we've got to do more to make sure that we do. So this isn't just Donald Trump, this is democracy in the 21st century. And frankly, the challenge that I worry about more isn't about, you know, what's, what's gonna happen next week or next year. What I worry about is our system of self determination, liberty, freedom of constitutional government going to be able to persist against, you know, a country of 1.4 billion people run by one guy or maybe seven people at best that is leaner and meaner and can make quicker decisions, is democracy. You're going to be able to survive in the test that is going to have with these are liberal dictatorships. That to me is the far more important question for the 21st century. Not The populist politics of the moment, but can democracy itself, we determine our own lives for our elected representatives and our government.

Paul Ryan: Can that succeed going into the future or not? That to me, frankly, is the bigger challenge for us. And it's not just America, it's, it's, it's all of the Western world. It's the democracies of the world. That's the question. And so you're, you're talking about symptoms when underneath that is a bigger test of, of, of our type of government and, and what's your gut and telling you? I think we're going to do fine. I think we're going to get through it, but I think it's going to be a bumpy ride between now and then. And I think free people will always come out on top because that's where you get creativity and innovation. It's what Churchill said.

Democracy is the worst possible form of government except for all the other forms of government, you know? Right. And he also said the Americans, um, we'll get it right after they've exhausted all the other possibilities.

Paul Ryan: Yeah. So I, I'm just a classic optimist. I think we'll get it right. But I think we're, we're in during new types of tests. So on the policy front, it's things like immigration and health care and entitlements. But on the democracy front, it's, it's how do we have a civil society in a civil debate and how do we address people's needs and concerns without the temptation of having, you know, um, these are liberal regimes coming through and cleaning our clocks. Last question, Paul Ryan, a future in public service. I'm enjoying, I'm starting teaching at Notre Dame this fall. I've got the poverty things I'm working on. I'm spending a ton more time with my family. Um, Jan and I have, you know, we had three teenagers. I was home by about a day a week for the last four years. It was just, it just got to me. I just couldn't keep doing that.

Paul Ryan: So I'm really loving just the fact that I get a lot of family time and I'm working on things that I really care about. So for the, now I'm going to a d aging process right now. I hope, I don't know if you could tell this. I mean the grays leading my hair. This is the most formal I've dressed in a long time. It's very, I, there's this lady at the grocery store I always go to, she's 92 years old and I always would pass on the island. One of these routine people goes to the store at the same time. And she just grabbed me about a month ago and she said, you just look so different. You know your face, you're less stressed, you know? So frankly, I'm just really enjoying, um, life after I did 20 years in Congress. So I'm really enjoying life. But you told me you're on the phone with some of your friends in Congress yet every day. So not everyday, but every week. Yeah. Okay. Paul Ryan, thank you very much.

Speaker 4: All right. All good.