Peter Robinson: Welcome to Uncommon Knowledge. I'm Peter Robinson. Tom Wolfe grew up in Richmond, Virginia, received his undergraduate degree from Washington and Lee in 1951, tried out, alas, unsuccessfully for the pitching staff of the then New York Giants, then received a Doctorate in American Studies from Yale University in 1957. His impact on American journalism and letters since leaving Yale has proven so immense that his current editor at Little Brown said that publishing Tom Wolfe is "like publishing Mark Twain". He is the author of among many other works "The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby". It is impossible to read that title without smiling, "The Right Stuff", "The Bonfire of the Vanities" and "I am Charlotte Simmons." Tom Wolfe, you are currently completing a novel to be published in 2009 entitled "Back to Blood". Back to Blood, he once proclaimed that the new journalism, the application of literary techniques to nonfiction would, I quote you, "wipe out the novel as literature's main event". Tom Wolfe, why are you working on your fourth novel?

Tom Wolfe: Well, what you've just said is actually true as we speak right here. As we speak, the novel is dying a horrible death. It really is. It’s always had it, and soon it'll be in the same position as epic poetry was in the early 19th century. You know, that is always the great genre, but nonfiction will continue and the memoir and autobiography will never die, it never has died, and they're interesting these memoirs and autobiographies because they're like Wikipedia. Some of it may be true yet—

Peter Robinson: If only inadvertently.

Tom Wolfe: Yeah.

Peter Robinson: But why then have you--Let's see, "Bonfire of the Vanities" was published in 1979, if I recall.

Tom Wolfe: No. That was--"The Right Stuff" was published then. It was published in 1987.

Peter Robinson: '87. "A Man in Full" is Atlanta in the New South in the 1990. But of course, "Bonfire of the Vanities" is New York in the '80s. "A Man in Full", Atlanta, the rise of the South in the '90s. "I am Charlotte Simmons", student life in America in the 21st century, "Back to Blood" is what?

Tom Wolfe: Oh, it's a novel and it's set in Miami. My real interest is immigration.

Peter Robinson: Immigration, alright.

Tom Wolfe: And a couple of years ago when I first got the idea I would tell people what I was doing. They'd say, "Oh, that's so interesting". Their heads would fall over. They go to sleep like a horse, you know, standing up. But since then, the subject has picked up a little momentum and I'm just curious. My real curiosity is that how immigrants actually feel, what their own social structure is like for such a thing does
exist. And in general, to me the immigrants have been a mystery. I assume to a lot of people and to one another.

>> Peter Robinson: Little Brown's press release announcing that they had acquired the book is about 2 months ago, as I recall.

>> Tom Wolfe: Yes. Same as early January.

>> Peter Robinson: Alright, early January. But I suspect, given the way you approach a novel that you've been at work at it for some time.

>> Tom Wolfe: Not really all that long.

>> Peter Robinson: Oh really?

>> Tom Wolfe: I'm at the stage now I make rash predictions that this will be out next fall, and I mean the fall of 2009.

>> Peter Robinson: Alright.

>> Tom Wolfe: Go ahead.

>> Peter Robinson: Immigration, 2 quotations. Quotation 1, Harvard Political Scientist, Samuel Huntington. "Unlike past immigrant groups, Mexicans and other Latinos have not assimilated into mainstream US culture forming instead their own political and linguistic enclaves from Los Angeles to Miami. The persistent inflow of Hispanic immigrants threatens to divide the United States into 2 peoples, 2 cultures, and 2 languages." Quotation number 2, former governor of Florida, Jeb Bush. "Samuel Huntington needs to get a life."

[Laughter] Whose side are you on on that one?

>> Tom Wolfe: Well, this is not a policy book, you understand?

>> Peter Robinson: I understand that. I understand that.

>> Tom Wolfe: Just to what little I know from working on this book and I stressed a little. I think bilingualism is gonna solve itself. Now, a lot of Latins who don't wanna believe that, who don't believe that and they want to hang on to the Spanish language with great pride, but it's a very, I think it's gonna be pretty soon that the succeeding generations of Latin immigrants really is gonna go more and more weary of preserving the old language because obviously the--[inaudible] all the movie star in English.

>> Peter Robinson: That does it.

>> Tom Wolfe: The television that they might wanna watch is usually in English. They go to schools, like the public schools everyone's talking. I think it's no problem at all.
Peter Robinson: So you have plunged yourself into this red hot issue of immigration. You've done research, I'm supposing in Miami. That's the way you go about your work and the Samuel Huntingtons of this world you say, "Oh, tat, tat, calm down. It will all take care of itself." That's roughly your position? You come away from your own word unworried.

Tom Wolfe: Yeah. Well from what I've seen, I'm more interested in what's going on that I am worried. I haven't seen anything yet that worries me. And Miami, you have to understand, is an example why America is a wonderful country. Here's a people from a foreign country, a foreign language, a foreign culture and within slightly more than one generation, if you figure a generation would be 30 years.

Peter Robinson: Right.

Tom Wolfe: They had taken over a huge metropolitan area politically. I'm talking about the Cubans.

Peter Robinson: Right.

Tom Wolfe: And the mayors is Cuban, the officer of the police force, every part of government. This is something unique in history because Miami is already the only city of--and I'll say in the world that I know of that has more immigrants, recent immigrants than it has been the 50 percent recent immigrants. And we--by reason that means in the last 50 years.

Peter Robinson: Right.

Tom Wolfe: And not only that. The one group, the Cubans runs the place and others are moving up fairly swiftly beside them. This is only in America where it could happen because here if you got the votes, if you have a [inaudible] of organization, you win at the ballot box.

Peter Robinson: Right.

Tom Wolfe: It's a—

Peter Robinson: Ronald Reagan's most sustained applause line that I can recall was in a speech in Miami. Fidel Castro said he would create the greatest Hispanic city in the world and he did, only it was Miami and not Havana.

[ Laughter ] How does Tom Wolfe do what Tom Wolfe does? A moment ago, I quoted you or you referred to the notion that when you got the idea for doing a book on immigration and people would fall asleep until immigration became a hot topic. How did you get the idea? Where do these things come from?

Tom Wolfe: Honestly in that case, I really don't remember but I always prefer subjects that I'm hearing about only in conversation, that haven't been in print yet.
>> Peter Robinson: And you're hearing about them in conversation because the conversation beats the journalists or because conversation can take up topics that remain politically incorrect?

>> Tom Wolfe: No, I don't think it has--[inaudible] anyway has nothing to do with political correctness. I have a feeling it was just seen immigrant mostly Mexican work as in Long Island at 6 o'clock in the morning standing on the corner waiting to be- for a day's work, [simultaneous talking] literally a day's work.

>> Peter Robinson: Right.

>> Tom Wolfe: That as I recall was the first that I was aware of all this.

>> Peter Robinson: Let me just quote to you from your famous 1989 Harper's essay, "Stalking the Billion-Footed Beast". There's a question at the end of this. "Publishers had their noses pressed against their thermopane glass walls scanning the billion-footed city for the approach of the young novelist who surely would bring them the big novels of the racial clashes, the hippy movement, the new left and the Wall Street boom, the sexual revolution, the war in Vietnam, but such creatures it seem no longer existed. The strange fact of the matter was that young people with serious literary ambitions were no longer interested in big rich slices of contemporary life." Now that's your manifesto for writing the kind of novels that you write. When did it happen that in this country that who--the formative novelist, the great novelist is Mark Twain? When did it happen that American letters became possessed of precious little stories instead of big boisterous stories that fit the temper of the country itself?

>> Tom Wolfe: It happened soon after the Second World War and there was a key essay by Lionel Trilling who was at Columbia. He was a professor, but he also had a huge following among, but let us call--I'll explain it later if you want, the charming aristocracy.

>> Peter Robinson: Charming aristocracy, alright.

>> Tom Wolfe: And he said the day of the realistic novel is over. It's been done, it's been done to death, and besides, we live in a fractured society now and you cannot do a slice of life and pretend that this slice of life is giving you all the life in the country. The future of the novel is on the novel of ideas. But it so happened you had one in his desk. [ Laughter ] Which he duly produced.

>> Peter Robinson: Which novel is that?

>> Tom Wolfe: I mean nobody remembers it. I certainly don't. [ Laughter ]

>> Peter Robinson: Alright.
Tom Wolfe: And it was duly published and duly praised by the charming aristocracy and then it sank like a stone on a pond but the idea was out there, that the realistic novel has been done and the novel of ideas was next. That's why immediately somebody like, well, Norman Mailer who had made a big name for himself with a war novel, realistic war novel, "The Naked and the Dead."

Peter Robinson: The Naked and the Dead. Sure.

Tom Wolfe: He follows that up with a novel called "Barbary Coast" which is unfortunately not about the Barbary Coast. It's about a group of people in a boarding house in Brooklyn and they're having long conversations about life and politics and a lot of ideas. Exactly what Lionel Trilling was calling for and Mailer has many unreadable novels but that was among the most unreadable.

Peter Robinson: I'm happy to see that the mere accident of his death has not changed the way you speak about him.

Tom Wolfe: Well I know that Norman would want me to speak truthfully about it. [Laughter]

Peter Robinson: Alright. Actually that leads to another question. So your novels speak for themselves because they've sold hundreds of thousands of copies. It is manifest that American readers want what you are producing. On the other hand, in reviewing "A Man in Full," John Updike, Norman Mailer, blessed memory, John Irving all accused you of being a journalist, that this is not literature. It's not really fiction and you reply how? I ask the question knowing that you did reply in the essay called "My Three Stooges" but the point here is well Wolfe is on to something but really when it comes down to it, if you read that stuff, it's journalism.

Tom Wolfe: This was to me a sign of the charming aristocracy at work. Let me—

Peter Robinson: Sort of explain the term, yes, yes, yes. You're teasing me with it, I'll give. Go ahead. Explain.

Tom Wolfe: We're still little colonials of the French when it comes to theory. In the 1880s, a man named Catulle Mendez who was the minor--turned out to be a minor poet in France.

Peter Robinson: We now know him to have been minor.

Tom Wolfe: said that real writers no longer expect to be read by multitudes of people and people like Zola and Flaubert and Maupassant are in the past, those three happen--well not Flaubert so much, but Zola and Maupassant, probably two most popular writers in the world in the 1880s. Naturalism which was their genre, it's finished. Now people want to write for a charming aristocracy. He was speaking of writers like Baudelaire, Mallarme and Rimbaud and he said, in effect he said, they're not gonna put their hands
down in the mock of so called naturalism. They send off whiffs of sensibility and of course the charming aristocracy is an aristocracy of taste and in order to prove that you are an aristocrat of taste, you have to like things that great mass of humanity can't understand and hence something like journalism, which is written precisely shows the great masses of humanity can't understand it, is--would be looked down upon by the charming aristocracy. In fact in American literature essentially journalistic approach has been behind—

>> Peter Robinson: Twain for goodness sake, Hemingway, right.

>> Tom Wolfe: --every success. Hemingway went about writing novels that way but even more to the point, Sinclair Lewis, our first Nobel Prize winner in Literature, to do a novel about his hometown. It's off the center of Minnesota. He didn't just draw on his memories, he went back with 5 by 8 cards that was when he end up with graduate school taking notes on every area of life. John Steinbeck, in case of the "Grapes of Wrath" which is really the book that won him the Nobel Prize, went to the San Francisco News that was such a paper at that time and volunteered to go ahead and write a series on these migrant workers who were pouring in from the Dust Bowl into California in the mid-to-late '30s. He didn't know anything about them except for the fact that they were living under apparently deplorable circumstances. He went out as a reporter really and he was actually with a newspaper to give himself credentials and just immersed himself in the lives of these—

>> Peter Robinson: So you refuge on Updike by saying Twain, Hemingway, Sinclair Lewis, Steinbeck, they were good enough for me.

>> Tom Wolfe: Well they're probably good enough for anybody even—

>> Peter Robinson: Even Updike.

>> Tom Wolfe: --Updike.

>> Peter Robinson: As you complete "Back to Blood," you were working on or perhaps it's the next item on your desk. Let's put it this way. You've talk about it in the press a book called "The Human Beast."

>> Tom Wolfe: Yes.

>> Peter Robinson: And the last time you appeared on this program, a decade ago I'm very to say, you had just written an essay in Forbes Magazine called "Sorry, but Your Soul Just Died."

>> Tom Wolfe: Yes, that was--go ahead.

>> Peter Robinson: That was a very big essay. It got noticed absolutely everywhere and that you have continued your interest in neuroscience, it was about neuroscience, right?
Tom Wolfe: Yes.

Peter Robinson: Okay. Now you've written about figures in science who have had profound effects on popular culture notwithstanding that the scientists have moved on. Could you please comment on the following list: Darwin, Marx, Freud, E. O. Wilson.

Tom Wolfe: The common thread there is the power of the word and the--Darwin was really an obscure man. He had a famous grandfather and famous in academic sense and he came up with a theory that by itself and incidentally stole it from a poor young man named Wallace, but it was the most outrageous act of plagiarism in the history of academic pursuit. Anyway, that's--alright. Marx, same way. Here's the unpleasant man, a loner and he is working away in the British museum writing "Das Kapital" but the idea is something that changes human history in large and obvious ways, also Darwin. Freud, exactly the same, Freud introduced the idea that the human being is like a steam boiler and the steam is sexual drive and that if you don't equip the steam boiler with a means of releasing the pressure—

Peter Robinson: Safety valve.

Tom Wolfe: --safety valve. It will blow up just as humans would. And so he put forth the idea that you really have to have sex steadily and frequently--he himself was a better proof of that so to speak. And that idea has never died back at this moment. Another thing that's going on—

Peter Robinson: As the novel is dying.

Tom Wolfe: As the novel is dying, maybe it needs a little sexual impetus, I don't know. There's probably, let's take a guess, 7 to 8 million orgasms at this moment that would not have occurred had Sigmund Freud never lived.

Peter Robinson: You're making me smile and I don't want my children to see me smiling at that tone.

Tom Wolfe: And Edward O. Wilson is the most interesting apparently. He's a zoologist. He's specialty is ants and he's really done some marvelous things on the study of ants. He's won two Pulitzer Prizes. He puts forth now the genetic theory that practically every side of life and everyone's life is genetically predetermined and in fact he has said summary of the whole thing in a sentence. He said, every human brain is born not as a blank slate waiting to be filled in by experience but as a piece of film that's from a camera waiting to be slipped into developer fluid by which he means you can develop it well, you can develop it poorly but all you're gonna get is what was on that piece of film at birth. The over arching theory is that we are after all machines and we are programeed by genes and there's no way we can change decisions. We have no free will. We're just—
Peter Robinson: We have no free will. Now when you appeared on this program last time, two quotations both Tom Wolfe, I asked you are you persuaded by this science that we're all in effect machines. No free will. No moral capacity and Tom Wolfe replied, "I'm afraid that the science is true." Tom Wolfe in an interview earlier this year, "The genetic theorists know in their hearts that their reasoning is bogus." Would you please explain the development on your thinking Mr. Wolfe?

Tom Wolfe: I made a--when I wrote "Sorry, but Your Soul Just Died. I made a mistake of which now I freely admit of conflating, I think that's the word, neuroscience and genetic theory, they have, it turns out almost nothing to do with one another. Neuroscience is a science of how the brain actually operates. One of the leading figures in that science today is a Spaniard named Jose Delgado. His father was perhaps the greatest brain physiologist of the 20th century and he says all the rest is literature. That turns out this is what genetic theory is. The leading proponents, E. O Wilson, I mean God bless him. He was a wonderful zoologist.

Peter Robinson: Pretty good writer too.

Tom Wolfe: He's a good writer, excellent writer. He knows--I doubt he knows the matter of the brain as a second year neuro--student in neuropsychology, graduate student in neuropsychology. Daniel Dennett, this philosopher at Tufts knows--doesn't even pretend to know anything about the human brain. Richard Dawkins, the other great name in this area. He originally taught Ethology, which is the social life of animals, at Oxford. They're writing literature. The thing they do not understand and this is what will be if I ever get "The Human Beast" written is that they don't understand what speech is.

Peter Robinson: If I may, the being who speaks. Your 2006 Jefferson lecture, "Have illusion came to an end when the human beast developed speech," and you argue that Homo sapiens was at that moment replaced by Homo loquax.

Tom Wolfe: Man speaking.

Peter Robinson: Man speaking.

Tom Wolfe: Man talking and there are people like Chomsky and others who are wonderful in speculating about the language as to communication, speeches, communication but they don't know the properties of it. Language is in fact an artifact just as much as an ancient ax found in an archeological—

Peter Robinson: By artifact do you mean human construct?

Tom Wolfe: Yes.

Peter Robinson: Alright.
>> Tom Wolfe: In any artifact humans, we don't know of any other animals that can do it. Humans will take things from nature and use them to create something that never existed before. That was a point which speech is a matter of taking sounds and using them in code to represent ideas, things, it doesn't matter. When it's turned into print or for that matter a blue print, it's obviously an artifact.

>> Peter Robinson: Right.

>> Tom Wolfe: But we don't see that there's obviously an artifact in speech.

>> Peter Robinson: Now. So your position now having reflected on this matter for another decade. I intend to check in with you once a decade just to track your thinking as it evolves. Is that evolution may explain the sheer physical fact of you and me but speech, the human mind explains status, music, art, commerce, virtually everything we value. That's a fair summary.

>> Tom Wolfe: Oh exactly and it's using this artifact because if you look at the beasts of the field as Darwin referred to and for that matter the smallest little fish, status is determined by aggressiveness and power to get to sexual objects that you want.

>> Peter Robinson: Right.

>> Tom Wolfe: The female of the species and whereas today now that we have language to play with, this artifact to play with, there was innumerable ways of gaining status and those love objects that you want. I mean when you think of this—

>> Peter Robinson: If he has a honey tongue even an ugly man can win the woman.

>> Tom Wolfe: That's—well, it's quite true. I think of Elvis Presley is better known to most Americans than the 10 Presidents preceding Bill Clinton.

[ Laughter ]

>> Peter Robinson: That's true. Now this brings us back to go back to that discussion we had about a decade ago to free will, the moral capacity, the religious sense. The last time we spoke in the program, I ask you point blank, does Tom Wolfe believe in God? And the answer was no but Tom Wolfe did believe in "the crucible of self" and to quote you again, "the inviolable self." Is that about where your thinking stands now?

>> Tom Wolfe: Gosh, I was poetic, wasn't I?

>> Peter Robinson: You're good

[ Laughter ]

>> Tom Wolfe: Believing in--no [inaudible] and other marvelous line about believing in yourself. He said, "My God, what a splendor read to believe in." [Laughter] That's all
you've got? I quite agree with him. I don't know what this crucible was but I do believe that it's something—

>> Peter Robinson: The concept was, you said Steven, this was just even after you wrote Sorry, but Your Soul Just Died and at that point you could not elaborate. You didn't go into this distinction between genetic theory and neuroscience but you felt, you said on the program you just felt that they were wrong. We're not machines. Each of us is possessed of somehow or rather a consciousness of self. That's what you were talking about at that time.

>> Tom Wolfe: But I think it's a product of language. Alright, let's say for the sake of argument, we will argue with that. We are machines and you'll notice that in each era the scientists who speculate about such things usually prevailing technology as their point of reference. Mechanical physics had just come to its peak when Freud was writing [inaudible] and steam.

>> Peter Robinson: Hence were all steam boilers.

>> Tom Wolfe: They were all steam boilers. Today, it's all computers and—

>> Peter Robinson: Yes, hence we're all hardwired?

>> Tom Wolfe: Yes. Hardwire exactly and there's--the entire vocabulary of computers is used. If we are computers, we are chemical analog computers and I don't know of a single person who can't operate a chemical analog. [ Laughter ]

>> Peter Robinson: Tell me what you make of the following statement, "What makes man like God is the fact that unlike the whole world of other living creatures including those endowed with senses, man is also a rational being." I'm hoping you'll go for that, to be rational, to think is to manipulate words. What do you think of that statement?

>> Tom Wolfe: Well, we get back to in the beginning was the word and the word was with God and the word was God.

>> Peter Robinson: So you tend to approve of the statement?

>> Tom Wolfe: That would be what we call rationales that wouldn't exist without—

>> Peter Robinson: What I've done is edge you on to the same bookshelf as John Paul II who is the author of that statement. I've just keep pushing at you. [ Laughter ]

>> Tom Wolfe: But I don't think he was going at it quite in terms of the properties of speech. There would be no, because rational thought depends upon the ability to ask why. Without words, there's no--have you ever seen an animal shrug?
Peter Robinson: Tom Wolfe and America. You mentioned in the New York Times interview that you admire President Bush "for his great decisiveness and willingness to fight." You later said that the reaction to that Times interview in literary circles was as if you had said, "Oh I forgot to tell you I'm a child molester." [Laughter] You sometimes wear an American flag pin in your lapel. You've liken the response to that in the City of New York to holding up a cross to werewolves.

Tom Wolfe: That's right.

Peter Robinson: My question is why should this be? You live 80, 90 blocks as does all of the charming aristocracy from that what is still a hole in the ground, the Twin Towers. This is only 6 years later, 7 years later. Why should it be that they should be so hostile that you of all people, why? Why? Why?

Tom Wolfe: This also goes back to the charming aristocracy. For a long, long time now, it's been very unpopular for anyone of intellectual pretensions to approve of whatever government they have.

Peter Robinson: Right.

Tom Wolfe: That it's very much a fashion. Bush has attracted unbelievable--nah, I take that back it's believable because the same thing happened to Eisenhower. Same thing happened to Reagan. They were considered stupid.

Peter Robinson: Right.

Tom Wolfe: They were thought to be just these benighted creatures who obviously were operated by someone else and they were always looking for the puppeteer behind Reagan.

Peter Robinson: Right.

Tom Wolfe: I mean they couldn't believe that and the same with Eisenhower because Eisenhower could never complete a sentence in a press conference. He would start off with a relative clause like "whereas people in China believe--which reminds me." He could not get to a predicate but all he had done--he was considered very stupid by those same people. People forget this. So is Reagan. And if it--well, all that Eisenhower did was win World War II. All that Reagan did was win the Cold War and so far, we don't know how much Bush accomplished but it's very striking to me that the aggressiveness of which he attacked the training grounds of Al-Qaeda at the very out set did something profound to that movement. It knocked out—

Peter Robinson: We've not been attacked since.

Tom Wolfe: It knocked out some large apparatus in the mean time.
Peter Robinson: Right.

Tom Wolfe: We don't know what the verdict will be on Iraq in the long run because think of Vietnam and the raucous was over Vietnam. And now if you ask people who were much against that war at the time, what was wrong with that war? They can't remember.

Peter Robinson: They can't remember.

Tom Wolfe: They can't remember what it was, was and then but I ask the question do you think the war was a success? Oh no, it couldn't have been. I said, look, what was the purpose of it? It was to stop communism in Asia. Did it do it? Well, yes, it did, it did.

Peter Robinson: Now, last question but this is going to require a little bit of a setup. Henry Luce famously called the 20th century the American Century. Listen to a quotation from another acute observer, Tony Soprano. "It's good to be in something from the ground floor. I came too late for that, I know but lately I'm getting the feeling that I came in at the end. The best is over." Is the best over for America or is there some chance that the 21st century will be a second American century?

Tom Wolfe: Well, Tony Soprano is also going to a psychiatrist. Nobody does that anymore. [Laughter] I mean talk about the past. That's the most unreal thing about the—

Peter Robinson: The Sopranos?

Tom Wolfe: --about the Sopranos but give me the punch line--I mean the question then—

Peter Robinson: Well, the question is, is the 20th--is there some prospect that the 21st century can be a second American century or has this--or are we breaking at the end of the 19th? Are we about to lose our dominance?

Tom Wolfe: I think we are on the edge of about 800 more years of American centuries frankly. We--the biggest problem is all the people who see a problem. It's very fashionable to see that--to think that the end is near. After the end of the 20th century which was unquestionably the American century, American ascendancy and everything except thought, we were still colonials of Europe—

Peter Robinson: To the charming aristocracies.

Tom Wolfe: --to the charming aristocracies. But in every other area, we were supreme in a way that no country has ever been before. If you can just review the television specials at the end of the century, there are many of them that said well, this is a country that has brought great freedom to so many people but we have people out there
like Dr. Death who wants to have euthanasia be legal. We have the problem of militant trainees on the far right, up in the Rockies. Everything was hedged by these tremendous threats. I've covered Neo-Nazi as a newspaper reporter, Neo-Nazi demonstrations. You also have 9 poor benighted people watching around in a circle hoping for television cameras. But in actual fact, there's absolutely nothing to prevent the next 8 centuries, next 9 centuries. There is no reason why we shouldn't--after all, Rome had century after century and there's no reason why we should have more. If--I don't--maybe I'd just start giving moral advice which is be happy with what you have.

[ Laughter ]

>> Peter Robinson: Tom Wolf, thank you very much. For Uncommon Knowledge and the Hoover Institution, I'm Peter Robinson. Thanks for joining us.