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Economic Demagoguery: The Limited Effects of Presidential Rhetoric

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Economic Demagoguery:
The Limited Effects of Presidential Rhetoric

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ABSTRACT

Economic Demagoguery: The Limited Effects of Presidential Rhetoric

Charles Damien Arthur

Given that there exists considerable disagreement about whether the president has a direct and measurable influence over the economy, I decided to research this divergence of views further (Edwards, 2003; Edwards, 2009; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005; Wood, 2007; Dolan, Frenreis, & Tatalovich, 2008; Cohen, 1995; Beck, 1982; Golden & Poterba, 1980). In my review of the literature, I found that there is research, improperly measured from my perspective, that claims the president is the most powerful economic leader in the United States and that his words have the power to move economic actors and indicators (Wood, 2007). To show these effects statistically, the literature measures the spending, borrowing, and investing of consumers and businesses—economic actors and their perceptions about the strength of the economy from 1981 through 2005. Consumers take cues from the president about their economic futures. If he is positive about the economy in his speeches, then consumers respond accordingly, thus reinforcing positive outcomes in the economic indicators. The literature claims that the optimism present in presidential speeches about the economy was able to influence consumer confidence, which affected macroeconomic performance (Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005). This literature and the data sources used raise more questions than answers and produce findings that require further inquiry. For instance, suggesting that optimism in the president's rhetoric is the impetus in the changes to the Consumer Confidence Index is the wrong approach. Given the disconnect between a president's optimism and this data source of the economy's health, I maintain that this approach does not withstand scrutiny (Wood, 2007; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006).

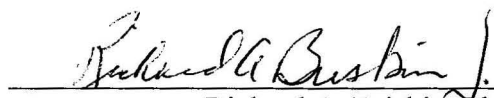
Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation was to utilize a better approach for analyzing the effectiveness of the president's rhetoric and then employ a statistical methodology that would allow me to measure its effect on the economy. Through this exercise, I determined that presidents have little direct influence over economic indicators. Their influence comes only from externalities, such as party coalitions, and the connections they are able to create with economic actors. Determining presidential influence over the behaviors of economic actors and using the correct data sources allows for a better research operationalization than arguing that the president's ability to change economic indicators comes from his position as the most important economic actor in the system (Wood, 2007; Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005; Zarefsky, 2004; Cavalli, 2006).

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, West Virginia University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

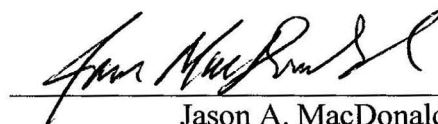
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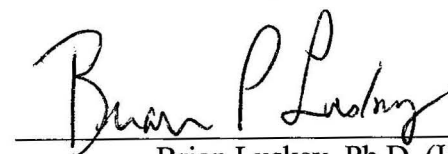
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February 2013

[W]ords are important, words matter, and the implication that they don't, I think, diminishes how important it is to speak to the American people directly about making America as good as its promise.

--- **Barack H. Obama**

Economic Demagoguery:
The Limited Effects of Presidential Rhetoric

CHARLES 'DAMIEN' ARTHUR

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To first-generation, low-income students everywhere ...

“In the midst of winter, I finally learned that there was in me [us] an
invincible summer.”

--- Albert Camus

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

How does a public leader find just the right word or the right way to say no more and no less than he means to say? Bearing in mind that anything he says may topple governments and may involve the lives of innocent men? How does that leader speak the right phrase, in the right way, under the right conditions, to suit the accuracies and contingencies of the moment when he is discussing questions of policy, so that he does not stir a thousand misinterpretations and leave the wrong connotation or impression? How does he reach the immediate audience and how does he communicate with the millions of others who are out there listening from afar? The President, who must call his people and summon them to meet their responsibilities as citizens..., often ponders these questions and searches for the right course.

--- **Lyndon B. Johnson**

Introduction to the Issue

There is considerable disagreement about whether or not the president has a direct influence over the economy (Edwards, 2003; Edwards, 2009; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005; Wood, 2007; Dolan, Frensdreis, & Tatalovich, 2008; Cohen, 1995; Beck, 1982; Golden & Poterba, 1980). I maintain that there exists an approach, unsubstantiated by quantifiable research, which asserts the president is the most powerful economic leader in the United States. Economic actors are looking to him for direction; his words have the power to move economic actors and indicators (Wood, 2007). The research claims that the president can make changes that directly affect the economy in a way that helps people; in fact, if he does not do so, he is typically voted out of office (Vavreck, 2009). The President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, along with many of his colleagues, believes that the stimulation needed to make the economy better occurs by changing the way the economy is discussed by elite economic policy-makers (Campbell, Evans, Fisher, & Justiniano, 2012). Given their position and the size of their constituencies, it seems to assert that the presidents would be able to influence the economy directly.

Those who argue that the president *does* have a direct connection to the economy fail to consider the subtleties of what transpires between the incidents of presidential rhetoric and the actions that substantiate the changes in the economy, the constraints of the separated system of American government, and the limitations of the president's ability to use rhetoric to achieve desired results (Edwards, 2003). Conversely, those who maintain that the president does *not* have a direct connection to the economy neglect to consider the influence of the following: the consistency and prevalence of aggregated speeches about the state of the economy, the president's institutional and legal mandates concerning the economy, and the president's policy plans for the economy on said economic indicators/conditions (Wood, 2007; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). Because of these divergent views, this matter should be addressed, particularly given the

amount of time presidents spend talking about the economy, the effect the government and the economy have on one another, and the important role the economy plays in political affairs.

I am, however, cautious about accepting the claims in the literature that the presidents have a direct influence on economic indicators such as unemployment or the *Consumer Confidence Sentiment Index*. I think that one cannot simply regress the tone (positive/negative) or optimistic outlook of the president's rhetoric on a list of economic indicators and claim that presidential positivity or negativity can make the economy better or worse (Wood, 2007; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). I am skeptical of this approach because the presidents do not have any authority over or legal connection to those indicators; they cannot issue an executive order that lowers the inflation rate or changes the price of oil. Correlating with or predicting the outcomes of presidential rhetoric on such variables does not withstand scrutiny.

Therefore, a better framework for an analysis of the president's influence over the economy should determine the type of connection and influence presidents have over particular economic actors who can bring change to economic indicators, instead of assuming that the presidents are the most important economic actor in the system (Wood, 2007; Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005). Ascertaining how and if the president can influence these actors to alter their behavior with regard to the economy provides a research operationalization that shows a more appropriate assessment of how and if the presidential rhetoric matters (Zarefsky, 2004; Cavalli, 2006). If the presence of presidential positivity and/or negativity can predict changes in the behaviors of economic actors, then one could more confidently state that the presidents have or do not have a direct influence over the economy.

Theoretical Framework

For the president to have a direct influence on the economy, certain conditions have to exist. The presidents rely on their speeches, written documents, and traveling schedules to get their messages across. Moreover, presidents utilize the “economic sub-presidency” to provide the various economic actors with economic messages (Anderson, 1993, p. 249). The president needs the most important economic actors to which he is connected to pay attention to his rhetoric and act accordingly. It is, however, important to note that, assuming that the president does reach these actors, the actors have to accept that what the president wants is, in fact, what they want for themselves. Neustadt (1991) states that the president’s requests have to be completely unambiguous. There has to be assurance that the presidents have spoken or signaled that they want something to be done. This is the challenge: signaling the appropriate audience for the appropriate economic action. Moreover, those to whom the presidents are signaling or speaking have to have an ability to carry out what the presidents desire, specifically changes to economic indicators. Therefore, the most appropriate economic actors that are signaled consist of the Federal Reserve¹, the public², and the Congress.³

¹ The Federal Reserve (Fed), an independent agency that deals with policies and procedures that influence the economy, is charged with regulating and participating in economic actions, particularly monetary policy. Presidents use their rhetoric to cue or signal the Fed to bring the agency in line with what they desire for the economy. For this to occur, presidents have to convince them to take actions that will create changes in the Federal Funds Rate (FFR) (Dolan, Frendreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). The Fed can make the money it loans expensive (raising interest rates) or cheap (lowering interest rates), which has a significant influence over the health of the economy.

² The public plays a vital role in the economy and in the decisions of the president. It is essential that the president have the support of the public in order to accomplish anything with regard to the economy. They have to listen to his rhetoric and agree with how he is handling the economy; members of the public have to think that what the president wants for the economy is what they want for the economy. If the president is able to accomplish this state of agreement, two events also have to transpire. The first is that the people have to believe that the economy is strong so that they are more likely to spend money and thus reinforce the robust economy. They have to think that it is acceptable to engage in economic risks, such as investing, spending, and loaning as well as buying and trading. The second element consists of the people responding to the president’s rhetoric with such conviction about the strength of the economy, based upon what the presidents have said, that they are willing to participate in some sort of advocacy.

³ Congress has to be able to accept what the presidents say about the economy as truthful, particularly that the economy is doing well or getting better from a previous economic downturn or that the economy will get worse without the implementation of the proposed policies from the president. Presidential rhetoric has to convince

For the president to have a direct effect upon economic indicators he needs to garner an acceptable response from each economic actor; to assume that this would happen is suspect. Even if all of the conditions⁴ explicated by Neustadt (1991) exist when the president is discussing the economy, the argument that presidential rhetoric influences the economy fails to factor in the possibility that the economic actors are not listening or have agendas of their own (Edwards, 2003; Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000; Fenno, 1973; Smith & Deering, 1990). The argument assumes that economic actors are waiting to hear from the president about what economic decisions they should make or that they can be persuaded to change their minds about how they had previously decided to act rather than acknowledging that they rarely if ever listen to and agree with the president (Edwards, 2003; Krehbiel, 1991; Light, 1999; Edwards, 1983; Lowi, 1985). Moreover, the assertion does not take into consideration that there are external controls imposing on the goals of the presidents, such as resources, political capital, and public approval as well as electoral margin and reputation (Light, 1999). In fact, Light (1999) maintains that all of the resources are incredibly scarce; resources are essential to presidential agendas, but yet they begin to decline immediately upon assuming the presidency, leaving the presidents less effective and less influential with regard to the economic actors. Therefore, I argue that the circumstances needed for presidents to affect the economy through rhetoric are not likely to happen because of the externalities involved in the political process, externalities over which the president has little control.

Congress that it is acceptable to alter or maintain existing economic policies, such as taxing and spending. And, they have to convince Congress that what they want Congress to enact is sellable to its constituents. Congress has to be convinced that the presidents are taking the country in the direction that it and its constituents want the economy to go, particularly in terms of policy. In fact, the presidents have to create, in the 'Washingtonians,' a mindset that, if they disagree with the presidents, there is a major price to pay (Neustadt, 1991).

⁴ There has to be assurance that the president has spoken or signaled that he wants something to be done. There has to be complete clarity of meaning in what he says. The public has to be aware of what he wants. Those to whom he is signaling have to have an ability to carry out what the president desires. There has to exist an understanding that what he wants to accomplish is his right to have done.

The president's ability to motivate the Fed to make monetary policy decisions that benefit the president is complicated (Brehm & Gates, 1997). Such policy decisions are not controlled by presidents, but are controlled inside the Fed. Historically, there is a desire for presidents to influence this agency and the various actors; however, this is usually not very effective. For instance, the discretion by the Fed, where their localities lie, and to whom they are accountable are all factors that keep the decisions within the organization and away from the presidents.

The decisions that the Fed makes can sabotage or undermine the policy goals of the presidents (Brehm & Gates, 1997). In addition, the structure of the relationship allows the Fed to achieve their own goals, which are purely self-interested (Downs, 1967). This means that the requests that come from the president are not precisely what will be pursued and implemented at the Fed. The president's influence is even further complicated by the fact that the Fed is an independent bureaucratic agency.⁵ Moreover, even though it features a seven-member board of Governors, appointed by the president, there is no guarantee that the appointees will remain loyal to the policies of the president (Edwards & Wayne, 1985). Many appointees in bureaucratic agencies 'go native' once they are immersed in the agency culture and begin advocating for the plans of the agency rather than those of the president who appointed them (DiClerico, 2000).

Using cues and signals, presidents offer their ideas about economic policy to the public as a way to garner support; it is a mechanism that presidents think will enable them to circumvent the Congress (Kernell, 2007). More importantly, however, when a president 'goes public' with a policy request, he keeps Congress from receiving credit for or the benefits of doing what is required. This imposes all negative political costs upon those who do not do what the president

⁵ Morris (2000) maintains that the Fed is a unique federal bureaucratic agency when compared to the other federal agencies. It does not request a budget from Congress; it is self-sustaining. In fact, the Fed returns billions of dollars every year to the Treasury Department, profit it does not need. This situation provides the Fed with an unparalleled advantage; it does not have to pander to the presidents or to the Congress.

requests (Kernell, 2007). This can, in fact, create direct opposition to the president's requests and create a contentious environment wherein the presidents are unsuccessful legislatively (Kernell, 2007; Canes-Wrone, 2001). The consequences of this strategy (a breakdown in the political bargaining necessary for policy development), according to Kernell (2007), are that the presidents have to appeal more and more to the public because other political actors will not bargain with them (Neustadt, 1991).

The cues and signals that presidents use do not shape the public's perceptions of the economy; nor do they influence them to make changes in behavior (Edwards, 2003). There is no systematic evidence or proof that the president is able to accomplish what he wants by 'going public.' In many cases, the majority of the people cannot remember a single point the president has discussed in any given speech (Edwards, 2003, p. 208). Therefore, presidents are not able to move the perceptions of the public from unfavorable to favorable with regard to economic policy. For instance, in the Gallup's "Most Important Problem" list, the economy or an economic issue such as unemployment tops the chart nearly every year ⁶ since 1936, which questions the president's ability to convince the public that the economy is doing well or getting better (Dolan, Frensdreis, & Tatalovich, 2008).

The cues and signals that presidents send to Congress do not influence them to make changes in economic policy. Congress has goals that may be different from or even contrary to those of the president; there is congressional competition for agenda space (Light, 1999). The Congress and possibly each of its members may have more important goals to which their constituents want them to attend. In fact, some members, particularly those of the opposing

⁶ It is important to note that there are a few exceptions when major wars topped the list for the year.

party, may have a primary goal of obstructing the president's objectives for the economy.⁷

Moreover, the major political parties are a weakened institution; the tension has increased to the point where 'bipartisanship' is a liability for political actors. This makes it difficult for presidents to build coalitions, which are necessary to accomplish any passage of legislation.

Therefore, this analysis contributes to the literature by pointing out the limitations of the president's ability to use rhetoric to influence economic actors to take actions that would benefit the president. This objective is accomplished by analyzing the president's public speeches on the economy, how the audiences respond to that rhetoric, and the externalities that must be considered when analyzing the effect of presidential rhetoric on the economy, none of which has been done with the proper data sets. There is no definitive argument in the literature explicating the limitations of presidential rhetoric influencing others to take actions on the economy (Whitford & Yates, 2009). There is an assumption that what presidents say matters rather than a proper empirical determination of whether such claims can be substantiated. Does the rhetoric engender substantive actions or are the presidents' decisions to address the economy so often a symbolic placation or institutional necessity intended to comfort constituencies or garner electoral advocacy? A correct empirical assessment that helps to obtain the probability that the control variables⁸ will create a change in the behavior of the economic actors as a result of presidential rhetoric will determine if the rhetoric matters in the way that some of the literature suggests.

⁷ For instance, the Senate Minority Leader, Mitch McConnell, said that his and the Republican Senators' number one goal was to make President Obama a one-term president. - Oct. 23, 2010 – The National Journal.

⁸ The tone, number of speeches, presidential party, divided government, Senate control, House control, the approval rating of the president, type of speech given, whether the speech was given in the first 100 days of the Administration, whether there was a recession, the mechanisms of influence, the economic frames, and whether the president proposed legislation.

Rhetorical Classifications

This research about presidential rhetoric is solely constrained by what type of classifications of rhetoric I can create. In this dissertation, I have engendered three primary ways of assessing presidential rhetoric: the tone (positivity, negativity, and neutrality), the mechanism of influence frameworks, and the economic frameworks. Using tone to determine how rhetoric influences the political process is common in political science literature; it is the foremost mechanism of assessment in this dissertation (Woods, 2007; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006; Baumgartner & Jones, 2009). In addition to the tone of the speeches, I have adapted Gormley's (1989) bureaucratic control frameworks to determine how presidents attempt to influence economic actors. Moreover, I have ascertained, from the speeches of presidents, economic frameworks that purposefully appeal to the deep-core beliefs of the audiences.

Classifying presidential rhetoric identifies the way in which the president expects his rhetoric to work and what he expects from those to whom it was directed (Windt, Jr., 1996). Smith (1983) has argued that not all presidential messages, cues, and/or signals are the same; particularly, there is a difference between the president's intentions for news conferences, town hall meetings, major speeches (televised), interviews, and off-the-cuff remarks with regard to effectiveness and intent. Similarly, even the State of the Union Addresses and Executive Orders can vary with regard to the clarity of the presidential message and the feasibility of the presidential request (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2005). These considerations lead me to question the action of placing them all together, especially if they are each expected, by the presidents, to have a different effect. Approaching the analysis this way is an appropriate response to the serious problem of aggregating the data. Simply counting words dealing with all economic matters is too rudimentary and engages in a fallacy of aggregation, which does not further the research. Rather, utilizing a typology of presidential rhetoric enables me to expand the extant literature.

The Tone of Presidential Rhetoric

Coding the speeches as ‘positive’ must be differentiated from ‘optimism’ wherein the president talks about what he thinks the economy is going to do in the future. Positivity refers specifically to the state of the economy at the time of mention. This includes any mention, direct or indirect, that associates the actions of the president with positive economic outcomes. If the president claims to have moved the economy towards positive economic growth, such as creating jobs for American workers, having better wages, lessening the burden to tax payers, growing real-estate values, economic expansion, it was coded as positive. The effect of ‘good’ economic policies that are supported by the presidents and their opposition may be described in clearly positive terms or actions that the president is trying to accomplish or did accomplish (credit claiming), a decision that moved the economy towards growth or keeping it from getting worse. Furthermore, this includes the president saying that the economy is doing well because of the type of economic policies he has implemented or for which he is advocating.

Negative coding includes any mention, direct or indirect, that associates the actions of other economic actors with negative economic outcomes or moving the economy away from positive economic growth; this includes mentions such as: taking away jobs from American workers, driving down wages, an added cost to tax payers, hurt real-estate values, or generally hurts the economy. The effect of ‘bad’ economic policies that are supported by the president’s opposition may be described in clearly negative terms or in less offensive ways such as opposing those policies of the president. Furthermore, this includes the president saying that the economy is doing badly because of the opposition he has received for the type of economic policies he has

implemented or is seeking to implement. This also includes mentions of the challenges that the American economy faces, whether domestically or internationally.⁹

Presidential Rhetoric as an Instrument of Influence

Choosing to classify presidential rhetoric as a instrument of influence, as Gormley (1989) did with the bureaucracy, provides a mechanism of ascertaining rhetoric's effect on economic actors and economy policy, particularly when a president pays attention to indicators of the economy's strength or weakness and the extent to which the Fed, Congress, and the public also pay attention to what he says about the economy. Moreover, it shows whether or not a president's rhetorical assessment of the economy shapes the assessment of how the Fed, the Congress, and the public react to his assessment of the economy and adjust their behavior to accommodate his requests (Cavalli, 2006).

Gormley (1989) maintains that government actors use specific types of influence to motivate changes or reforms in government entities; he is referring to the bureaucracy, particularly. He refers to these mechanisms, like Hood (1983), as "tools of government" (p. 11). The tools vary in their degree of influence and "discretion" over the institutions of delegated power. The influence has everything to do with coercion. As illustrated in Table 1, the coercion ranges from intensely restrictive (coercive), to less restrictive (hortatory), to the least restrictive (catalytic), wherein all levels rely on a different element of influence to be effective. The *coercive influences* rely specifically upon elements of "force" to secure compliance and change (Gormley, 1989). The *hortatory influences* utilize pressure on political figures and threats of coercive actions to effect changes. The *catalytic influences* rely on "complaints to induce

⁹ Neutral coding includes any mention, direct or indirect, that does not have negative or positive tones associated with it. The mentions would be general mentions of the term 'economy' that are not policy related or addressing the U.S. economy. For example, mentions that say, "a strong and vital economy are important" show the neutrality.

change” (p. 11). Gormley (1989) maintains that the different types of influence are there simply because there are different notions of what various roles and responsibilities political actors possess.

This *Presidential Influence Typology* is applicable for the Presidency and the rhetoric from each president simply because actions, threats, and promises are more effective and substantive when they come from one person (policy entrepreneur) as opposed to many persons (Gormley, 1989 p. 15). The discussion about the substance of the influence is as follows:

Coercive Influence: These are actions from the president that limit the ability of the other political actors to act, but they do not take away responsibility from those actors when mistakes or misdirections are made. These attempts are “solution-forcing” actions from the president (p. 12). Such actions consist of: vetoes, executive orders, and rule-making actions. These coercive controls do not leave the receiving political actors much room for response or opposition to the action.

Catalytic Influence: Presidential calls for action from various political actors without specification as to the details of that action. These controls function as “Going Public” actions of sorts (Kernell, 2007). They are intended to create excitement and actions that will further the policy goals of the president (Gormley, 1989). The catalytic rhetoric wants to control the agenda for political actions by taking “ideas, problems and interests seriously” (p. 12). These types allow the president to have a say in what is transpiring politically but also in the alternatives considered for political actions.

Hortatory Influence: These are the middle ground between the coercive and catalytic types (Gormley, 1989). Hortatory influence is similar to catalytic but provides elements of incentives and disincentives. Hortatory influence is also similar to coercive, but provides an “escape hatch” for the political actor (p. 13), mostly by using threats and promises. They are concerned with calls for legislation that deal with a problem, calls upon the courts to act in certain ways, and calls upon the public for action as well as calls upon the Governors to act. Paradigmatic examples of this type would be threats of coercive action or promises of catalytic influence compromises.

Creating a classification of presidential rhetoric’s intended mechanism of influence over specific economic actors is an opportunity to contribute to the scholarly discussion of presidential rhetoric studies. I have constructed, by adapting Gormley’s (1989) bureaucratic influence typology, a classification that states that presidential rhetoric addressing the economy is more of an attempt to influence economic policy in particular ways in order to produce

incremental changes rather than a serious or substantial attempt to cue or signal economic actors to motivate them to produce imminent changes in economic indicators.

Table 1. Presidential Mechanisms of Economic Policy Influence

	Catalytic Influence	Hortatory Influence	Coercive Influence
Impetus	Agendas	Incentives, Disincentives	Commands, Bans
Authority	Publicity	Threats, Promises	Position
Examples	Going Public, Agenda Setting	Veto Threats, Cues & Signals to FED Chairman, Treasury Secretary, Promises of Economic Actions	Vetos, Executive Orders, Rule-Making

*Adapted from Gormley’s (1989) Framework of Bureaucratic Control

Political Economic Frameworks

Zarefsky (2004) claims that rhetoricians use the context of their speeches to manipulate or shape the outcomes they desire. Paying attention to the context of the speech enables the rhetorician to use specifically chosen words and phrases that resonate with the audience. This frames the speech in a reality with which the audiences identify. The audiences, in turn, respond to the constructed reality engendered by the frame, which gives the president more political and social capital with which to accomplish his policy agenda. Zarefsky (2004) maintains that “presidential rhetoric ... defines political reality” in the way that best supports the goals of the president (p. 612). The president’s attempt to define the economic situation with a framework of his constructed political reality reveals the support he has for the concept behind the political frame.

I categorized presidential statements about the economy into particular frameworks that were repeatedly present in the speeches of H.S. Truman through B.H. Obama (Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000). As illustrated by Table 2, Presidents use their rhetoric to create policy statements that adhere to six broad political frameworks into which discussions about the economy fall. Moreover, the frameworks presidents use to discuss the economy have corresponding policy expectations for the economy, actions that they expect to follow the association of their economic rhetoric with the deep core beliefs of the intended audiences (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). Chong (1996) argues that political actors, such as the president, use the frameworks to associate the issue that they are advocating with “a frame of reference [that] activates beliefs that trigger one’s [specific] response to an issue” (p. 203). Such core beliefs have certain policy expectations that accompany them; the president thinks that appealing to these core beliefs will engender specific policy outcomes (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). Cohen and Hamman (2005) find that presidents use priming with their audiences to connect the public’s predilections (deep core beliefs) to the president’s policy goals. The priming brings those beliefs from deep within the individual to the surface and manifests them into political actions.¹⁰

The first framework deals with furthering democracy; it is a fundamental component of American thought, the deep core belief of many. This notion will not only conjure up ideas about the plight of economic democracy, it will contrast our economic system with Socialism and Communism (Kingdon, 1999). Presidents will claim that their economic plans further democracy and/or that the opposition’s plans and ideas are anti-democratic.

¹⁰ See Woods (2001) for a theoretical discussion about how the literature differentiates the concepts of framing and priming. He argues that framing and priming are the same thing and that the terms should be used interchangeably.

The second framework is that of American Exceptionalism (Kingdon, 1999). This political framework refers to the American economy and its actions as the greatest in the world, an economy that has certain rights and responsibilities. America can exercise these rights whenever necessary and, just as important, it has a responsibility to those economies and peoples around the world who are considered allies. The corresponding policy expectation is one wherein neglecting to act in the way that the president wants or suggests will somehow undermine American values and/or project a negative image of America to our allies.

Table 2. Economic Frameworks and Corresponding Expectations

	Framework	Corresponding Expectations	Level of Belief
Furthering Democracy	Patriotism, Americanism	Continuation of American Experiment	Deep Core
American Exceptionalism	Qualitative Differences	Maintaining Status in World	Deep Core
Supply Side Economics	Free Market	Tax-Cuts, Spending Cuts	Policy Core
Keynesian Economics	Government Intervention	Increase Spending, Investment	Policy Core
Economic Catastrophes	Fear	Acceptance of Presidential Suggestions	Deep Core, Programmatic
Sine Qua Non	Presidential Power	Specific Policy Action	Programmatic

The third framework is a discussion that fits under the supply-side economy ideology. This framework creates a perception of the economy in terms of how economic actors should best operate to make the economy better or stronger, a free-market economy (Edwards & Wayne, 1985). This is an ideology that strongly resonates with the core beliefs of those who assent to notions of *Trickle-down* and to *Reaganomics* (Stein, 1994). The policy implication is that the

economy will become or remain strong if economic actors do what the president asks of them, namely, lower taxes on the wealthy and remove regulations so that jobs can be created (Edwards & Wayne, 1985).

The fourth framework is the rhetoric that fits within the Keynesian Economy ideology. Presidents frame their economic rhetoric in a way that calls for the government to intervene in the economy when the economy is not doing well, a stimulus of sorts (Stein, 1994). The core beliefs of government intervention in private affairs are redolent of such actions that transpired during the New Deal, which inspires a particular constituency and invokes outrage by another (Dolan, Frensdreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Essentially, the expected policy outcome for this type of framework consists of dramatic government action in the market economy in the hopes that the intervention can stabilize certain economic indicators (Gordon, 1990).

The fifth framework is the rhetoric that is associated with economic catastrophes. Presidents construct their comments on the economy in a way that calls attention to economic disasters and the economic conditions that could result without the action for which they are calling (Trager & Vavreck, 2011). Such rhetoric has to do with the direction of the economy, particularly where it is going without action from the economic actors signaled in the rhetoric. Discussing the economy as a looming catastrophe appeals to the deep core belief of fear and how it influences actions (Maggio, 2007). The president expects that the rhetorical framework will foster changes in economic policy.

The last political framework used to discuss the economy has to do with the notion of *sine qua non* or an essential condition, something that is absolutely necessary for the economy. Presidents discuss their policy recommendations for the economy as absolutely necessary for economic policy. Such discussion resonates with the deep core belief that the president is the

most significant economic policy-maker in the system (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999; Wood, 2007). Moreover, it originates from the idea that the president's power is personal and cannot be crossed (Neustadt, 1991). The president's expectation is that the economic policy change will come as a result of the necessity of what he is proposing.

The political frameworks used to discuss the economy have to do with the policy changes for the economy that the respective president wants to see come to fruition. How the president expects his rhetoric to bring those changes about is a topic of much debate (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006; Edwards, 2003). Some scholars maintain that there is a disconnect between what the president says (rhetoric) and the actions (Constitutional powers) presidents utilize to engage in the political process (Howell, 2003; Corwin, 1958). I am arguing that presidents think the type or classification of rhetoric is important, particularly for the changes they want to see transpire within economic policy (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2005; Druckman & Holmes, 2004).

Parameters of the Analysis

The limitation of this study is that it is not a complete picture of presidential rhetoric on the economy, as such an undertaking would not be feasible. Presidential mentions of the economy and economy-related keywords number in the hundreds of thousands over the entire *Rhetorical Presidency* (1913 - 2012). Expecting a researcher to code and operationalize every instance where the president signals or cues an economic actor to do something about the economy is unreasonable.¹¹ Even using content analysis software would not mitigate the difficulties; one cannot ascertain each word the presidents use to discuss the economy to create a

¹¹ Even when considering employing Hopkins & King's (2010) work on *Automated Nonparametric Content Analysis* of blog posts, this undertaking is too complex. Hopkins & King (2010) use content analysis to ascertain the tone of digital texts (blog posts). Their created R program codes the entire text with a tone of either -2 (extremely negative), -1 (negative), 0 (neutral), 1 (positive), or 2 (extremely positive). This will not work for presidential speeches because each individual speech may contain *content* that is totally unrelated to the *economy*, the population parameter of the data gathering. Moreover, one cannot create a data file of key vocabulary words addressing the economy that transcends time and provides comprehensibility.

test file (Wood, 2007).¹² For instance, there are words and concepts affecting the economy that deal with trade, gross domestic product, and manufacturing as well as the international balance of payments position, commodities, and numerous other terms that are buried in presidential rhetoric—all too vast to ascertain and, subsequently, code appropriately. Therefore, the significant challenge to the dissertation is in the classification of presidential rhetoric. For this analysis, I chose the tone of the speeches, the mechanisms of influence frameworks, and the economic frameworks in order to determine how presidential economic rhetoric can motivate economic actors to change their economic behavior (Dolan, Frensdreis, & Tatalovich, 2008).

In order to reduce the impracticality of analyzing the entire population of presidential mentions of the economy, I employed a stratified random sample to obtain an appropriate database of presidential economic rhetoric (Lohr, 2010; Hopkins & King, 2010; Barrett & Eshbaugh-Soha, 2007; Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000; Spriggs, 1996; Barrett, 2004; Peterson, 1990). As illustrated by Figure 1, for each president, if there were 100 or fewer speeches, I coded all of them. If there were more than 100 speeches that met the population, I took 101 speeches from the sample of each presidential administration. Later presidents mentioned the economy more often than earlier presidents. To account for this, I took 10 percent, plus one, of their total speeches, if 100 speeches totaled less than 10 percent of the overall speeches (Lohr, 2010). I conducted the sample in this manner because the population is measured over 65 years (1946 -- 2012); this approach will keep the “population drift” from biasing the sample (Hopkins & King, 2010).¹³

¹² Even Eshbaugh-Soha and Peake’s (2011) analysis of presidential economic leadership of the media and public does not consider every term or issue that the presidents have mentioned that is associated with the economy. Suffice it to say, their analysis is quite extensive and yet, it is still not comprehensive.

¹³ The language presidents use to discuss the economy will change over time. Thus, taking a random sample of the entire population would have biased the results and discredited the analysis.

I chose to use presidential speeches that included the term “economy” as the population to be studied. The total population consists of 12,775 individual speeches or written documents that mention the term economy from January 1, 1946 through January 19, 2012. These dates fall within the Rhetorical Presidency, President H.S. Truman through President B.H. Obama (Tulis, 1987). This provided me with 1653 presidential speeches (units of analysis) that mention the term “economy” at least once. I handled more than one mention of the term “economy” in a speech by treating all mentions of the term as one unit of analysis and then, subsequently, coding the term based upon the overall tone of the entire portion of the speech that addressed the economy (Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000). If there were instances wherein two different ‘tones’ could be present, I simply took the ‘tone’ closest to the beginning (Woods & Arthur, 2013). Moreover, there is one economic frame¹⁴ and one mechanism of influence framework¹⁵ coded for each individual speech in the population (Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000; Woods & Arthur, 2013).

To accommodate each model for each economic actor in the dissertation, I had to code the speeches by day and then aggregate them into other units of analysis: month (Fed), four-year election cycle (public), and month¹⁶ (Congress). This provided me with 573 units of analysis for chapter 3 (Fed), 10,000 units of analysis for chapter 4 (public), and 610 units of analysis for chapter 5 (Congress). The coding was consistently treated in the same fashion: I coded each mention of the “economy” in the speech based upon the overall tone of the entire discussion of the portion of the speech that addressed the economy. Essentially, I treated each mention of the term “economy” as one recording unit.

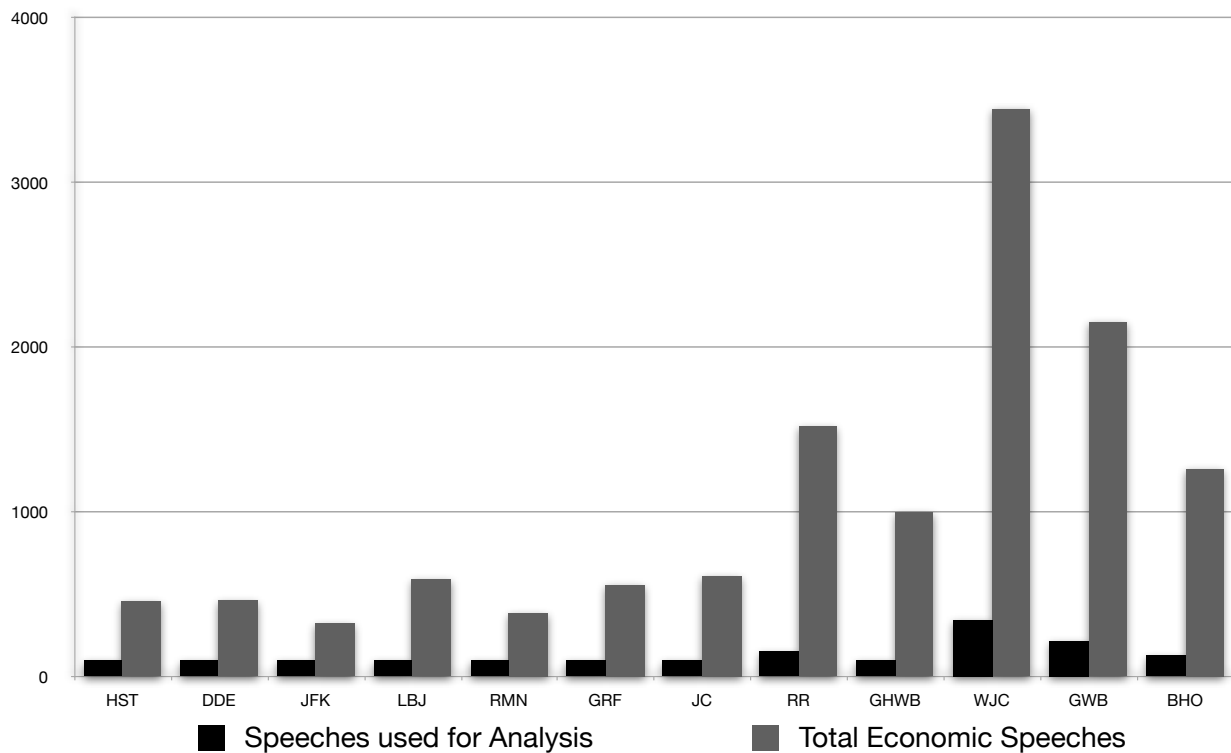
¹⁴ Furthering Democracy, American Exceptionalism, Supply-Side Economy, Keynesian Economy, Economic Catastrophes, Sine qua non

¹⁵ Catalytic, Hortatory, Coercive

¹⁶ The data in this chapter was aggregated by the month also because it made the most sense given the dependent variables that were taken from the *Policy Agendas Project*.

There are multiple instances wherein the presidents mention other economic terms or indicators without the use of the word “economy” in the discussion. For instance, the president may mention “inflation” or “unemployment” and not use the term “economy” in a speech. I chose to purposefully ignore those instances in order to focus on the population of speeches including the term “economy,” which still provides an important and significant inquiry into the study of presidential rhetoric. Conducting the analysis in this manner provides me with an accurate account of how the presidents talk about the economy.

Figure 1. Presidential Speeches on the Economy



As illustrated by Table 3, I employed a computer-assisted analysis in order to include many of the particular economic keywords or the cues and signals in this analysis.¹⁷ I was only concerned with these economic keywords if they were found in a speech that used the term “economy,” as in the population parameters of the dissertation data. I used this approach in order

¹⁷ The computer assisted analysis enabled me to determine which cues were in each speech (unit of analysis) and subsequently which speeches to use for each chapter analysis.

to ensure that the presidents are, in fact, trying to cue to the economic actors that they want action on these particular economic issues for the sake of the economy, and not for a discussion of those indicators on their own merits.¹⁸

Table 3. Economic Keywords Index for Economic Actors

	Federal Reserve	Public	Congress
Inflation	✓		
Interest Rates	✓		
Recession	✓	✓	
Monetary Policy	✓		✓
Taxes		✓	✓
Unemployment	✓	✓	✓
Jobs		✓	✓
Deficit		✓	✓
Spending		✓	✓
Savings		✓	✓
Budget		✓	✓

Determining which cues and signals the presidents send to the economic actors is of the utmost importance for ascertaining if, in fact, the president can motivate those actors to action. In order for this analysis to work, I had to differentiate the economic actors and the cues and

¹⁸ The initial research and data collection accounted for these terms. I coded their tone as I did with the population “economy” in the final analysis. I found, however, that there was high correlation between the overall tone of the speech and the tone of the specific economic keywords that presidents use to discuss the economy.

signals that the president would send to each, as I have done in separating the chapters of the dissertation (See *Outline of the Dissertation* below). Eshbaugh-Soha (2006) maintains that signals are, typically, verbal words or cues that presidents speak to the policy elites such as the specific economic actors studied in this dissertation. These signals can offer support for specific programs or they can be expressions of opposition to what the policy elites are actually doing. Moreover, the signals can be specific such as requests for changes to an existing policy. The terms used for this analysis are those rhetorical cues and signals that the presidents use to get the attention of the economic policy elites: the Fed, the public, and the Congress.

Independent Variable

I identified the presidential rhetoric aimed at the Federal Reserve, the public, and the Congress, particularly the tone of that rhetoric: positive and/or negative. This effort was accomplished by using the *Public Papers of the President* in the *American Presidency Project* to track the presidential speeches by keyword from July 1946 through January 19, 2012.¹⁹ This analysis enabled me to create a document of the compiled speeches wherein the president addresses the economy. As other scholars have done, I decided not to use a content analysis software to compile and categorize the language (negative and positive tones) (Cameron, 2000; Barrett, 2005; Barrett, 2004). The human coding approach is effective, with intercoder reliability, which I employed (Wood, 2007; Woods & Arthur, 2013). My research and analysis pertains to only the rhetoric that addresses the U.S. economy.

¹⁹ The *American Presidency Project* is the largest online database of presidential documentation. John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, at the University of California, Santa Barbara, used a National Science Foundation Grant to digitize the public statements and documents of every president. It is a searchable and coded online database.

Coding

Each presidential mention of the economy targeting or signaling the Federal Reserve, the public, or the Congress was coded into a dummy variable so that the regressions were specified correctly. The coding includes the tone of discussion (positive (1 = yes or 0 = no); negative (1 = yes or 0 = no); neutral (1 = yes or 0 = no)), the ratio of positive speeches to negative and neutral speeches (positive ratio ((positive speeches)/(positive speeches + negative speeches + neutral speeches))), the number of speeches each month (0 to ∞), presidential party (Democrat (1 = yes or 0 = no); Republican (1 = yes or 0 = no)), divided government (1 = president and Congress are a different party; 0 = president and Congress are same party), Chamber Control (House - Democrat (1 = yes or 0 = no); Republican (1 = yes or 0 = no)) & (Senate²⁰ - Democrat (1 = yes or 0 = no); Republican (1 = yes or 0 = no)), the average approval rating of the president for the month (expressed as a percentage = 0 to 100%), the number of each type of speech given (News Conference (1 = yes or 0 = no); Town Hall Meeting (1 = yes or 0 = no); Written (1 = yes or 0 = no); Major Speech (Televised) (1 = yes or 0 = no); Interview (1 = yes or 0 = no); Remarks (1 = yes or 0 = no); Radio Addresses (1 = yes or 0 = no)), whether the speech was given in the first 100 days of their Administration (1 = yes; 0 = no), if the president was a 'lame duck' president (1 = yes; 0 = no), whether there was a recession happening (1 = yes; 0 = no), the inflation rate each month averaged for election cycle (0 to ∞), the unemployment rate each month averaged for election cycle (0 to ∞), the vote-share of the president (0 to 100), the number of mechanisms of influence frameworks (Catalytic (1 = yes or 0 = no); Hortatory (1 = yes or 0 = no); Coercive (1 = yes or 0 = no)), the number of each economic frameworks used by presidents (Furthering Democracy (1 = yes or 0 = no); American Exceptionalism (1 = yes or 0 = no); Supply-Side

²⁰ If the Senate is tied, it is assumed that the Vice President will vote along with his Party to break the tie. Thus, whichever party the Vice President is, that Party is in the Majority.

Economy (1 = yes or 0 = no); Keynesian Economy (1 = yes or 0 = no); Economic Catastrophes (1 = yes or 0 = no); Sine qua non (1 = yes or 0 = no)), and whether he proposed legislation (1 = yes; 0 = no).

Coding Reliability

Testing the reliability of the data was a significant concern. I employed standard inter-coder agreement tests on all the variables using roughly 10 percent (160 speeches) of the total economic speeches of President H.S. Truman through President B.H. Obama's third year. The coder received only minimal training on how to code the content of presidential speeches according to the codebook and protocol. The coder read 160 presidential speeches, from a random sample, on the economic search terms for the Fed, the public, and the Congress and identified the tone, the mechanism of influence frameworks, and the economic frameworks for the discussion of the economy. As presented in Table 4, the percentages of agreement on the 12 variables ranged from 92.5 percent to 99.4 percent. I also used *Scott's Pi*, which corrects for chance agreement so that the reliability was not obtained by guessing or chance probability. According to Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005), this measure is a better method to determine reliability. The results ranged from .80 to .96 on every variable. Moreover, I used alpha levels of .80 or higher as the measure of significant reliability (Krippendorff, 1970).²¹

Only one of the 12 variables (the *Economic Catastrophe* framework) was significantly below the required .80 alpha standard; it measured .66 (See Table 4). Given the fact that coders had 98.8 percent agreement on the presence of the *Economic Catastrophe* framework variable, I think that it is still pertinent to discuss it and include it in the analysis as though it is an economic framework presidents use to appeal to the core beliefs of their audiences. The problem,

²¹ See Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005) for published research that employs the same standards.

however, is that this framework only showed up two different times in the random sample of inter-coder reliability that was given to the other coder. Between the two coders, there were only two disagreements. The coder thought that the variable was present on two other occasions, and I did not. We simply randomly chose which instances to include in the overall sample that was used for the dissertation analysis.

Table 4. Intercoder Reliability Statistics

Stratified Random Sample of Presidential Rhetoric N = 160				
	Measures of Reliability		Measures of Agreements	
	% Agreement	Scott's Pi	Agreements	Disagreements
Positive Statements	94.4	.85	151	9
Negative Statement	96.9	.91	155	5
Neutral Statements	.98.8	.80	158	2
Furthering Democracy	96.9	.91	155	5
American Exceptionalism	96.3	.91	154	6
Supply Side Economics	97.5	.86	156	4
Keynesian Economics	96.9	.81	155	5
Economic Catastrophes	98.8	.66	158	2
Sine Qua Non	99.4	.91	159	1
Catalytic Statements	92.5	.84	148	12
Hortatory Statements	98.1	.94	157	3
Coercive Statements	99.4	.96	159	1

Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter one of the dissertation explicates the theoretical framework underpinning this analysis of presidential rhetoric. The significant contribution, however, of this chapter consists of the detailed analysis that assesses the structural limitations of the president's ability to motivate economic actor behaviors; it discusses the mechanisms of influence frameworks presidents use to try to influence the economic actors as well as the various economic frameworks they use to appeal to the core beliefs (Cavalli, 2006). This chapter also addresses the parameters of the analysis, the coding protocols, and the reliability of the coding.

Chapter two of the dissertation reviews the pertinent literature on presidential rhetoric. It begins with discussing the notion of presidential power and how presidents use their rhetoric as a mechanism of that power. The review is categorized into two main elements of presidential rhetoric: (1) a summary of the principle findings of empirical studies and (2) how presidential rhetoric shapes economic policy. The chapter summarizes the current literature on presidential economic rhetoric and what is known about the effects of this rhetoric on the economy. The literature engenders questions about whether a president can frame economic conditions to shape the perceptions and actions of economic actors, the purpose of this dissertation.

Chapter three performs an analysis for every president from D.D. Eisenhower through B.H. Obama.²² I assess the Federal Reserve (Fed), an independent agency that dealing with policies and procedures that could influence economic indicators. I use the rhetorical cues and signals from each individual president to the Fed and determine if the agency's behavior modeled what the presidents wanted as a result of the rhetoric. This allowed me to predict the probability that presidential cues and signals will create changes in the Fed's behavior

²² I selected these administrations because they are representative of the *Rhetorical Presidency*. Moreover, the data from the Federal Reserve's Statistical Release website is only available from July 1954 onward.

(raising or lowering the Federal Funds Rate). This analysis enabled me to determine if the Fed responded to the presidents or simply ignored their rhetorical cues and signals.

In chapter four, I chose to perform an analysis of rhetoric for every president from H.S. Truman through G.W. Bush.²³ I analyzed whether presidential rhetoric could predict how the public perceived the president's handling of the economy. Can the public overlook economic concerns in spite of the actual economic conditions and take economic risks because of the optimistic rhetoric from the president? This chapter determines if, in fact, the president is able to shape the economic perceptions of the public with their rhetoric regarding the economy.

Chapter five of the dissertation looks at how effective the presidents are at influencing Congress in their economic behavior. I tracked presidential speeches, cues, and signals that are specific to Congress for every president from H.S. Truman (1946) through G.W. Bush (2008).²⁴ I analyzed the rhetoric to see how presidents signaled Congress about what they wanted for the economy. This exercise enabled me to ascertain the effectiveness of presidential economic rhetoric and the congressional response to it. I was then able to determine if economic rhetoric could predict congressional actions regarding the economy.

The final chapter of the dissertation addresses the conclusions and future research. The section on the conclusions discusses how the results of this analysis factor into the field of presidential rhetoric studies, the place of the study in the literature, and what the results mean for existing research, overall. The future research section outlines how I will use the findings of this dissertation to expand my research. I detail the questions that went unanswered in this dissertation and how I plan to address them in the future.

²³ I selected these administrations because the data for the National Election Services (NES) is only available from 1948 to 2008.

²⁴ I selected these administrations because the data for the *Policy Agendas Project* is only available from 1946 through 2008. As noted earlier, these presidents are still representative of the *Rhetorical Presidency* as in chapters three and four.

Chapter 2

Presidential Rhetoric and the Economy

“Did you ever think that making a speech on economics is a lot like pissing down your leg? It seems hot to you, but it never does to anyone else.”

--- **Lyndon B. Johnson**

Introduction

The expectations of the president were drastically different in the beginning of the Republic than they are in the modern Presidency (Corwin, 1958; Tulis, 1987). The Presidency was traditionally an institution that provided constitutional leadership, a statutory position; the president was merely a clerk who administrated. The institution, however, underwent a major change. The president is now chosen by the people, generally, and has to communicate with them. This happens by way of rhetoric. Presidents now are expected to use their rhetoric to foster support, if they want to be successful. Presidential power is now the power to persuade and/or bargain (Neustadt, 1991).

Before this transformation, convincing others to support policy positions or an agenda was not a part of the official functions. These actions are now fundamental to the office of the Presidency. To be effective, according to Tulis (1987), presidents have to appeal to large audiences of voters and political actors. Presidents are expected to seek out the favor of the American public (Whitford & Yates, 2009). Presidents now participate in a process of 'going public' in order to offer their ideas about policy (Kernell, 2007). It is now a democratic expectation, necessary for the democratic institution of the Presidency.

Presidential Power

Presidents are constantly trying to meet the expectations of their office. Light (1999) maintains that those expectations are increasing at such a dramatic pace that presidents are hard-pressed to meet the expectations. This is why they turn to every mechanism their position and institution afford to them (Howell, 2003). Therefore, a discussion of the effect of presidential rhetoric on the political process and political actors has to be accompanied by a discussion of presidential power.

Neustadt's (1991) explanation of presidential power and how that power can enable a president to meet the expectations set out for him, whether institutionally or from other political actors, is typically predominant. Neustadt (1991) defines presidential power as personal. The Presidency is a constitutionally weak institution and, therefore, must obtain its power from the person who occupies the office. Presidential power is personal rather than institutional; the person derives power from their ability to persuade and bargain with other actors and institutions. More people need favors from the president than from any other person; this gives the president bargaining power. Presidential rhetoric is an extension, or rather a mechanism, of a president's power. The rhetoric is one way that presidents try to assert their power and position over other political actors, the public, and institutions; it is their 'bully pulpit.'

Because America has a system of separated institutions sharing power, presidents must persuade/bargain, not command to accomplish the functions and expectations of their office. Neustadt (1991) maintains that there are rare instances wherein the president's words are taken as actions; he does not command anyone unless these five elements are present, which is rare. The first is that the request or command is completely unambiguous. There has to be assurance that the president has spoken or commanded that something be done. Secondly, there has to be complete clarity of meaning. Thirdly, the public has to be aware of what the president wants. The command has to be publicized. Fourthly, there has to exist an ability to carry out what was said or asked by the president. Lastly, there has to exist an understanding that what the president wants done is his right to have done. When these are present, it is as though the words are action.

Neustadt (1991) explains how the president bargains successfully by discussing his professional reputation. The 'Washingtonians' have to think that he is an effective politician. He

has to press the advantages and mitigate the disadvantages. He has to create, in the Washingtonians, a mindset that if they cross him, there is a major price to pay; there are consequences. They have to know if he can be pushed around. If he can be, they will not think highly of his professional reputation. If there is a pattern emerging of him letting them down, this will also damage his professional reputation.

Secondly, the president has to have public support to bargain successfully; he must have support outside of Washington. This is a case wherein presidents anticipate the reactions of the voters. The president must watch Congress and how they judge the mood of the public towards the president. The perception of a 'low prestige' conveys a message that it is ok to resist the president. Such an action limits his bargaining power. Therefore, he has to think proscriptively about his choices and how he manages the public.

The president must take measures to protect his power. Choices are the building-blocks of success. Every choice the president makes is laden with power prospects. He has to decide how each choice will affect his power and resources. Neustadt (1991) implies that a president should never make a decision that will deplete or diminish his power; power comes to those who sense of what power is made. Only the president can see the issue the way it impacts his future power prospects. He does this through his self-image of confidence and a sense of direction. He cannot let others make decisions that affect his power. Only this allows him to understand the implications of power. Knowing what power is, having a good professional reputation and public prestige, and knowing how to bargain will definitely help or paralyze a president's attempt to accomplish the expectations of his office.

Edwards (2009) proposes a robust question regarding presidential power and rhetoric, one that guides this research and literature review. He asks, in reference to Neustadt (1991), if

presidential power is the power to persuade, why is there such a lack of evidence that proves the president can persuade? In fact, through analyses of three of the greatest rhetorical presidents (Lincoln, FDR, Reagan), he shows that presidents do not/cannot use persuasion as a mechanism of changing the political environment. He argues that *events* are the impetus for changes in public opinion rather than the attempts of presidential persuasion (Edwards, 2009).

General Review of the Empirical Literature on Rhetoric and the Presidency

The scholarship on presidential rhetoric has traditionally been about the historical differences over time. *The Rhetorical Presidency* is the quintessential work on presidential rhetoric, wherein Tulis (1987) maintains that an institutional change transpired in the Presidency, one that came about through rhetoric. Presidents now try to use rhetoric to garner support, which was uncommon before President T. Roosevelt. Prior to this, trying to convince others was not part of the president's official functions; such actions are now essential.

Since then, there have been attempts to test the rhetorical power of presidents to affect behavior and public opinion on policy choices (Warber & Olsen, 2006). Canes-Wrone (2006) has determined that the president can move the mass public's ideas about policy closer to a majority opinion. This movement, however, does not last for long. In fact, Canes-Wrone (2001) maintains that presidential appeals to the public can decrease influence, particularly in issues wherein the majority of the public does not approve of the president's position. The president has no influence over such a public appeal (Canes-Wrone, 2006). In the areas of foreign policy, civil rights, and economic policy, Cohen (1995) found that policy decisions could be influenced by presidential appeals. He suggests that public opinion does not necessarily increase as a result of the president's rhetoric but notes that the policy issue or program in question does receive more attention from the public (Cohen, 1995).

Ragsdale (1987) conducted a leading study on the effects of rhetoric on presidential approval. The study showed that rhetoric did have an influence on presidential approval when controlling for the type of major speech. More importantly, she stated that presidents respond to their approval ratings and national events by offering more speeches in order to increase their image and their approval with the public. The assessment determined that the increase in presidential approval was greatest among those with high incomes. Lawrence (2004) shows that presidential rhetoric, more than foreign and domestic travel, is the most effective measure of approval-rating increases.

Druckman and Holmes (2004) found that presidents were able to influence how the public perceived them by priming important issues. Doing so affected approval ratings, which made the president more effective with the public and with Congress. The president cannot change public perceptions, but rather they focus their rhetoric on what the public finds important. The rhetoric reiterates to the public how good performance was in that area; the president can influence his image with the public, which creates an important strategic advantage.

Whitford and Yates (2009) determined presidential rhetoric could change the way agencies and states implement policy. They suggest that presidents use rhetoric to “fashion a social construction of a public problem” (p. 7). This construction then places the government bureaucrats in a position wherein they have to inquire how the president would fix the problem he has defined. They argue that the president does have power to set the agenda through rhetoric but that this power varies over time and context.²⁵

²⁵ Presidential rhetoric can have an influence on setting the public agenda, the congressional agenda, and on the mass media²⁵ (Lawrence, 2004). However, there is not a comprehensive expression of this effect in the literature (Whitford & Yates, 2009). Edwards and Wood (1999) determined that presidential rhetoric was able to influence the number of congressional hearings regarding certain issues. The same authors were able to demonstrate that presidential rhetoric influenced the media’s coverage of domestic policy issues, particularly in the areas of healthcare and education (Edwards & Wood, 1999). Peake (2001), unlike other authors, found that presidential rhetoric was able to influence the media coverage of foreign policy (Wood & Peake, 1998).

The question, however, that needs attention is *how* the President's rhetoric is important. There seems to be an assumption that his rhetoric is important. Can the president's use of rhetoric to positively influence certain areas be proven empirically? There is no consensus in the literature as to the general effectiveness of presidential rhetoric to accomplish this task (Whitford & Yates, 2009).

*Approval Ratings*²⁶

Brace and Hinckley (1992) suggest that the president's ability to manipulate public opinion is highly limited; this is profoundly important for understanding how the president's capacity for meeting expectations is decreasing. They talk about Kernell's (2007) 'Going Public' argument and say that presidents do this because of the declining party mechanisms. The president cannot form coalitions with Congress any longer. This may have been so in years past, but it is too difficult now, so presidents take their issues public and try to mobilize public opinion.

The problem, however, is that there is always an inevitable decline of public approval that every president experiences. A coalition of minorities gets upset and decreases their support; this is more pronounced in the second term of any president. In the second term, their approval ratings decline much more quickly than in the first.²⁷ Such externalities like the economy, health, crisis, use of force with major address can boost a president's approval ratings for a short term. The public expectations have been growing; the president has been promising more, even over-

²⁶ Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey (1987) and Page and Shapiro (1992) cover a range of 50 years of presidential rhetoric; their research suggests that rhetoric had an effect on policy preferences when the president possessed approval ratings of 50 percent or higher.

²⁷ President Clinton is the exception to this argument. Brace and Hinckley (1992) maintain that this anomaly is because of the economy.

promising in order to resonate with the public in hopes and anticipation of higher approval numbers (Brace & Hinckley, 1992).²⁸

More importantly, however, is their observation that popular presidents win more victories legislatively, but they generally ask for less legislation (Brace & Hinckley, 1992). The higher their public approval ratings are the more they get done in Congress. Also, success in the Congress means they get higher approval ratings; it is cyclical. Also, the larger the legislative program and the more positions a president takes, the lower his approval ratings. The importance of this cannot be overstated for the expectations of his office. It shows, undoubtedly, that the public wants him to achieve legislative success, but that they do not want him to do too much. He has to win to win, but if he wins too much, he loses. This reality completely affects his ability to meet expectations and how his ability to meet those expectations is diminishing with every win and loss.

Presidential Support

Scholarship has been focused more directly on determining how rhetoric matters for the president. Scholars can generalize from the data to estimate the effect that presidential rhetoric has on the public's policy preferences more than they can on the data on presidential approval ratings (Lawrence, 2004). A split-ballot study showed that respondents were more likely to support a policy they would otherwise disagree with if they were told that Nixon was in favor of the policy (Rosen, 1973). There are other studies that have been conducted that showed similar results but with different presidents (Thomas & Sigelman, 1985). Another study went a bit

²⁸ They maintain that what would help the president would be to keep the standards for support to the numbers that he obtained in the election. They say that the standards for popularity need to change. Citizens could expect presidents to behave more like statesmen instead of politicians if this changed. It might force changes in their behavior. The increasing attention to poll numbers has changed the dynamics of democratic accountability. President's used to have four years before they were evaluated, now they are evaluated monthly and it is a highly fickle process. Presidential approval should be based only on those persons who voted for the president; this would eliminate the downfalls of the *Public Relations Presidency*.

further, however, and found that fictitious policies that were supported by the public could lose that support if people were told that the policies were from a president of a different party (Mondak, 1993). Similarly, Hurwitz (1989) found that 30 percent of participants changed their positions, when given the chance, on a policy opinion on which they were told President Reagan differed with them.

Presidential Audience

Can the president effectively convey his message to a consistent audience (Welch, 2003)? Does the ‘bully pulpit’ dominate the discussion? Welch (2003) argues that there exists an assumption that the president has a large audience of persons who listen to what he says about any given topic. The truth, however, is that the president struggles to obtain the time, television networks, and audience necessary to sway the public. Moreover, he is not able to keep the attention of those who do actually listen. The problem is further complicated by the fact that those who do listen are not able to remember what the president said in any substantive capacity over time and across different speeches (Welch, 2003).

For decades presidents were able to take control of primetime television moments to convey their message. With the onset and rise of cable, however, the situation for presidents has changed, drastically. Cable television ended the domination of the airwaves (Baum & Kernell, 1999). This is consequentially important for the presidential strategy of ‘going public’ and/or trying to reach a national audience by which to cue or signal them. Presidential access to the large, national audiences is diminishing substantively (Baum & Kernell, 1999).

Public Opinion

Using case studies of Presidents Bill Clinton and Ronald Reagan, who were considered

two of the most effective communicators, insight into the president's ability to move the public can be seen. President Clinton always had rapport with the public, both from his supporters and enemies. Despite his rhetorical abilities, Clinton was unable to move public opinion on his economic program, healthcare reform, and the 1993 budget as well as NAFTA (Edwards, 2003). Despite the fact that he was considered to be the *Great Communicator*, Reagan could not persuade the public to change defense spending, aid to the Contras, and taxes as well as his strategic defense initiative (Edwards, 2003). If these presidents were unable to move the public, then no president, thus far, has been able to move the public (Edwards, 2003).

The president is unable to move the public towards a desired policy goal. The president's rhetorical abilities do not help his policy positions with the public, regardless of how the message was disseminated. Moreover, the president is not able to influence what the media covers; in fact, the media sets the agenda for what the president chooses to focus upon (Edwards, 2003). In many cases, the majority of the public could not remember a single point the president had discussed in any given speech (Edwards, 2003). The president is not able to move public opinion in any way; there is no systematic evidence or proof that the president is able to accomplish what he wants by going public (Edwards, 2003).

Going Public

Going public is an attempt to give the president more legislative power and to help him accomplish his goals. This strategy is common practice in modern presidential administrations (Kernell, 2007). This change in political strategy and presidential leadership transpired directly after World War I (Tulis, 1987). Going public is in direct contradiction to bargaining; it eradicates the "kinds of exchanges ... for the American political system to function properly" (Kernell, 2007, p. 3). There is rarely room for compromise. More importantly, however, when a

president goes public with a policy request, he keeps Congress from receiving credit; it imposes all negative political costs on those who do not do what the president requests (Kernell, 2007). This creates direct opposition to the president's requests and produces a contentious environment wherein the president gets less than he wants (Kernell, 2007; Canes-Wrone, 2001).

Kernell's (2007) theory maintains that for the 'going public' strategy to work, presidents need high levels of public approval. In order to accomplish this, presidents have increased many activities that enable them to 'go public' with their messages. For instance, even though major presidential addresses have maintained an equilibrium over the years, minor presidential addresses have increased since President D.D. Eisenhower. In addition, public appearances of presidents have steadily increased since President H.S. Truman. The yearly average for President F.D. Roosevelt was about 5 public appearances, which was common for those presidents who came before him. To give some perspective, Presidents G.H.W. Bush and W.J. Clinton averaged about 150 public appearances each year. Most of these appearances, however, are accompanied by a speech or remarks of some kind (King & Ragsdale, 1988; Kernell, 2007).

The problem, however, is that the audiences for presidential speeches have significantly declined over the years. For example, in 1969, the average households with televisions that viewed presidential speeches were about 50 percent. That number has dwindled to slightly fewer than 30 percent in 2006. Moreover, those watching the *State of the Union* address have gone from 60 to 75 percent in 1981 to about 25 to 40 percent in 2006. This is a serious concern for presidents who use 'going public' as a governing strategy (Kernell, 2007).

Cohen (2010) maintains that the 'going public' strategy is not effective and presidents have recognized this in recent years. He argues that there has been a steady change in presidential leadership strategies due to the circumstances in which presidents find themselves

governing; these circumstances have caused alterations in presidential behavior. Cohen (2010) suggests that there are two main transitions in presidential governance. The first transition consists of what he calls “institutional pluralism (1940s to 1970s) to individual pluralism (1970s-mid-1980s)” (p. 3). This transition is the movement from presidential appeals to the leaders (committee chairs) in Congress to appeals to the public. The president knew that those members of Congress could mobilize their members to accomplish what the president wanted. The problem, however, was that the institutional power of those committee members diminished tremendously so the president was forced to ‘go public’ with his proposals (Cohen, 2010).

The second transition goes from “individual pluralism to the current era of polarized parties and fragmented media (mid-1980s-present)” (Cohen, 2010, p. 3). During the 1980s, the president began losing his influence with the mass media. They were less likely to provide him with the airtime necessary to promote programs and policies to the public. Such actions seriously limited his ability to ‘go public’ in the same capacity. Moreover, during this time, there has been an increase in divided government and party polarization. The two major parties are becoming more partisan and less likely to work together on policy compromise (Cohen, 2010). The increasingly constraining circumstances imposed upon the president have forced him to change his ‘going public’ strategy to “going narrow” in local venues (Cohen, 2010, p. 4).²⁹ Presidents can influence the coverage of themselves in local newspapers, which helps their ability to lead the public through popular presidential leadership.³⁰

A case study of President G.W. Bush’s attempt to reform Social Security with localized populations further contributes to the argument on presidents ‘going local’ to secure policy goals

²⁹ Cohen (2010) maintains that the data show that presidents have simply adjusted their behavior to meet the demands/expectations of their office by appealing to their “party base, interest groups, and opinion in localities” (p. 4).

³⁰ Essentially, this analysis is a response to the arguments of Edwards (2003), wherein he questions why presidents spend so much time ‘going public’ when the empirical data show that it is ineffective.

and initiatives (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2006). Coding local newspapers for the tone of how the paper covered the president's visit measures the local mobilization. The local newspaper coverage of the president is mostly positive; it differs vastly from that of the coverage of the major national newspapers (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2006). Even the newspapers in the districts that did not support him were positive about his visit. However, while the 'going local' strategy is effective at producing favorable coverage of the president, but it does not work for getting the public to support policies. Leading the public and Congress through positive rhetoric is not a viable option, even though positive, local coverage can provide salience to an issue and set the agenda (Eshbaugh-Soha and Peake, 2006).

Presidential Signals/Cues

A new presidential strategy asserts that the president does not use his speeches as a mechanism of motivating the public, but rather as a way to cue or signal to members of Congress and administrative bureaucrats his policy preferences (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). The president wants to signal to the "policy elites" what he wants and for what he is willing to fight (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006; p. 7). The signals are, typically, verbal words or cues that presidents speak to the policy elites. These signals can offer support for specific programs or they can be expressions of their opposition to what the policy elites are actually doing. Moreover, the signals can be specific such as requests for changes or actions to an existing policy. As long as the president is informing the elites of his preferences, what he is doing is a signal (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). The caveat, however, is that presidential signaling only works when the policy is salient and not complex (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006).

Eshbaugh-Soha (2006) argues that there are a number of reasons why the president will use signals as a mechanism of successful leadership. Informing the Congress and the

bureaucracy of his policy preferences is the best, most effective way for the president to overcome the coalition-building challenges (DiClerico, 2000). Presidential signals provide reassurances to Congress and the bureaucracy how much commitment the president will have towards the policy in discussion.

The elite policy-makers are receptive to the president's signals because of cue taking (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). This theory is about "cognitive shortcuts" in relation to information (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006, p. 38). Elite policy-makers have limited information about most policy decisions. By listening to the president, the policy elites are able to make effective decisions about policy because the president can fill in information that is lacking. Moreover, they can gauge the extent of his commitment to said policy (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). Presidential rhetoric is a form of leadership signaling (Whitford & Yates (2009). It tells the audience what the president is willing to do about a policy. Moreover, it constructs a social framework of a public problem that bureaucrats can use to help them know where to allocate their resources (Whitford & Yates, 2009).

Transitions in Presidential Rhetoric Studies

Scholarship has been focused upon determining whether rhetoric produces the effects the presidents seek. The literature reveals that how the analysis of rhetoric is conducted is crucial to understanding if rhetoric actually produces those desired effects. There is a major difference between assessing the effect of individual speeches and that of aggregated speeches infused with cues and signals to elite policy-makers. Rhetorical strategies in individual, televised speeches are not worth the invested time and amounts of energy presidents expend; according to the data, the speeches do not offer positive returns for presidents (Edwards, 2003). The rhetoric does not institute the policy effects desired (Edwards, 1999). The president cannot move audiences

towards what he wants with rhetoric in any form. Therefore, no change transpires from the hearing a presidential speech (Edwards, 1983).

The literature has mostly accepted what Edwards (2003) argued and it responded by producing research that asserts presidential rhetoric's effect can be seen in the analysis of aggregated speeches, those speeches that were infused with signals and cues to elite policy-makers. Research now analyzes presidential rhetoric by aggregated speeches and cue/signaling methodologies. This research seeks to address whether the president's use of aggregated rhetoric and cues/signals can influence programs, positions, and policies. The claim is that the consistent, substantive, and symbolic messages in the president's speeches provide the necessary conditions that allow the president to affect the content of the speech directly (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006; Wood, 2007). The speeches, when aggregated and infused with cues/signals, can create responses and attention that major, individual, televised speeches cannot accomplish. However, this approach is in its infancy, and the effectiveness of such a strategy is yet to be determined (Edwards, 2003).

Review of the Empirical Literature on the Role of Rhetoric as it Relates Specifically to the Presidency and the Economy

Despite the gaps in empirical research about the length of time rhetorical influence lasts after speeches, the lack of comprehensive assessments of presidential administrations, and the narrow focus on policy issues, the literature does indicate that presidents are able to influence congressional and public agendas with rhetoric (Lawrence, 2004). Most important, however, is the fact that scholarship has not done much to ascertain how presidential rhetoric influences the subject of what presidents are discussing in their speeches (Hanson, 2004; Kalb, Peters, & Woolley, 2006; Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2008; Tackach, 2002). Therefore, the remainder of this literature review will attempt to determine how presidential rhetoric influences the economy and economic conditions.

The public expects the government to keep the economy improving (Dolan, Freundreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Despite particular events of national importance, the public regards the economy, specifically, unemployment and inflation, as the number one issue on their minds. This is important to the public; they have substantively linked the president and the economy together. Presidents often lose congressional seats and reelection in the event of an economic downturn (Dolan, Freundreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Therefore, the president has to be a good manager of the economic responsibilities given to him. He must be able to differentiate between the tools of economic policy: fiscal, monetary, and regulatory policy, which are essential to his role and his ability to shape both (Dolan, Freundreis, & Tatalovich, 2008).

Presidential Economic Policy

The differences between the president's role in the economy are essential to his ability to influence it (Dolan, Freundreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). There are typically three policy tools he uses to influence the economy: fiscal, monetary, and regulatory. Fiscal policy addresses the spending and taxing elements of the economy for which the government is in charge; this is crucial for economic policy-making. The levels of taxation and government spending are critical for the important economic indicators such as unemployment and inflation. As Dolan, Freundreis, and Tatalovich (2008) explain, the federal government has sought to influence the economy and manipulate its health by making changes to those economic indicators it can change, particularly taxing and spending. Monetary policy, however, is not under the federal government's purview per se (Dolan, Freundreis, & Tatalovich, 2008).

The Federal Reserve Board (Fed) mostly controls it; the president appoints its members. The Fed controls the supply of money and other mechanisms of influence over banks and financial institutions. This element of influence, however, is limited, which I discuss in chapter

three of the dissertation. Edwards and Wayne (1985) maintain that presidents, generally, are not able to influence monetary policy as much as fiscal policy. The Fed is independent and not subject to the same accountability as other bureaucratic agencies. Finally, regulatory policy is a broad-stroke of mechanisms used by various government agencies to control the outcomes and indicators of/within the economy (Dolan, Freundreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). There are two essential purposes of regulatory policy, despite all the controversy and differing opinions regarding its efficiency and effectiveness. The first consists of making conditions favorable for the marketplace to work. The second has to do with avoiding social outcomes that negatively impact the market from transpiring (Dolan, Freundreis, & Tatalovich, 2008).

Institutional Changes

Prior to 1929, however, the president's role in the economy was limited by institutional constraints, mainly the *Budget and Accountability Act* of 1921. This Act established the Bureau of the Budget and a system for preparing and submitting to the Congress a budget for the entire federal government. After the Great Depression, an institutional role for the president's actions on behalf of the economy became formalized by legislation and by public expectations (Edwards & Wayne, 1985). This role transpired through the enactment of the *Employment Act* of 1946, which gave the president the responsibility of participating in the creation of a macroeconomic policy for the U.S. government. Presidents now had to submit to Congress an economic plan ten days after submission of the budget. Included in the report was an economic prognosis for the year that covered employment, production, and purchasing power of the U.S. (Edwards & Wayne, 1985). In 1978, Congress furthered the president's role in reinforcing the economy by enacting the *Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act*. This legislation also created a unique institutional role for the president in the economy by requiring the president to set standards for

monetary policy, inflation, and unemployment rates.³¹ Presidents have mostly ignored this piece of legislation by refusing to articulate specific numbers and benchmarks (Wood, 2004).

The increasing pressures and responsibilities of presidential oversight for the economy have forced the president to devote more time and resources to the economy (Edwards & Wayne, 1985). Moreover, presidents have increased their promises about what they will accomplish economically (Dolan, Fren dreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). This has compelled presidents to increase their staff and institutional support for economic policy-making, particularly after the Great Depression (Fren dreis & Tatalovich, 1994).

Wood (2007) provides a concise summary of the different presidential approaches to economic policy starting with Truman. He states that Truman and Eisenhower only had one policy advisor for the economy, a chairman of the *Council for Economic Advisors*. This trend changed with Kennedy and Johnson, who funneled advice to the president from the *Council of Economic Advisors*, Treasury Department, and the Bureau of the Budget (Wood, 2004). Finally, there was some form of economic advisory process from Nixon's centralized Bureau of the Budget to Clinton's perdurable National Economic Council created by Executive Order (Stein, 1994).

Given the institutional requirements and mandates, as well as the public's expectations of the president's role in the economy, the president has to factor the economy into his agenda and attend to the needs of the economy (Hoffman & Howard, 2010). In fact, the president will promote the economic philosophies or approaches to problems that he knows he can fix over those of a specific political party (Dolan, Fren dreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Doing what is politically viable is his best economic strategy (Edwards & Wayne, 1985).

³¹ See Wood (2004) and Fren dreis and Tatalovich (1994) for a discussion of how presidents have mostly ignored this legislation's mandates.

Public Expectations

The public expects the economy to do well; when the economy does not do well, the public typically holds the president accountable for this, whether through approval ratings, midterm elections, and/or his reelection. The public expectations about the economy are tied to their expectations for the future (Cohen & Hamman, 2003). If the public thinks that the economy is getting worse, their expectations for the future become more grim, which makes the president's job of leading the public more difficult. When the economy is doing poorly, presidents are not typically reelected to office and their approval ratings suffer (Wood, 2004; Edwards & Wayne, 1985). The Gallup Poll of presidential approval ratings can be correlated to economic performance (Wood, 2007). When the economy is doing well, Americans say that the president is doing his job well. The inverse is also true; when the economy is doing poorly, Americans say that the president is doing his job poorly.

Because of this, presidents address the economy more often (Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005). Just how often presidents mention the economy varies over time (Wood, 2007). For instance, Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon did not discuss the economy as much as Presidents Kennedy, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and H.W. Bush. According to Wood, Owens, and Durham (2005), the difference in the number of times the economy is mentioned is not statistically significant from the average. However, Presidents Clinton and Bush II have greatly emphasized the economy in their rhetoric. The data for Obama's presidency were not complete, however, at the time of this project, he had mentioned the economy in nearly 41 percent of all speeches he had given.³²

³² 1677 out of 4121 speeches mentioned the economy. This data is from January 20, 2009, to December 4, 2012.

Presidential Economic Rhetoric

Presidents typically do whatever is within their power to set the economic policy agenda, which includes sending positive and negative signals to pertinent political economic actors; presidential speeches are the president's way of conveying his policy preferences to the actors (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2005; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). The speeches send necessary signals about what the president wants; these signals motivate the economic players to action, if and when they are exposed to the rhetoric (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). Presidential speeches are mechanisms of power, instruments of the modern presidency that facilitate the president's ability to get what he wants (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). If presidents did not think that their economic speeches would bring about their desired results for the economy, they would expend their energy in more productive, behind-the-scenes constituency building.

The economy responds to presidential speeches, signals, and cues about policy preferences and directions for the economy (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). One of the most significant is the president's legitimate position as the most visible economic leader in the free world (Wood, 2007; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). The expectation from the American public is that the president will lead the economy, particularly through downturns and prosperity (Wood, 2004). This position enables the promotion of policy preferences to economic actors; presidents send signals to economic groups and policy-makers about how their actions will be recompensed (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). Presidents are able to accomplish this through the submission of the budget, proposed legislation, and issue attention as well as through political appointments.

Many assume that the president would talk more about the economy during times of economic expansion in order to receive credit for the growth. Moreover, one would assume that presidents would discuss a failing economy in terms of how they are going to fix the situation.

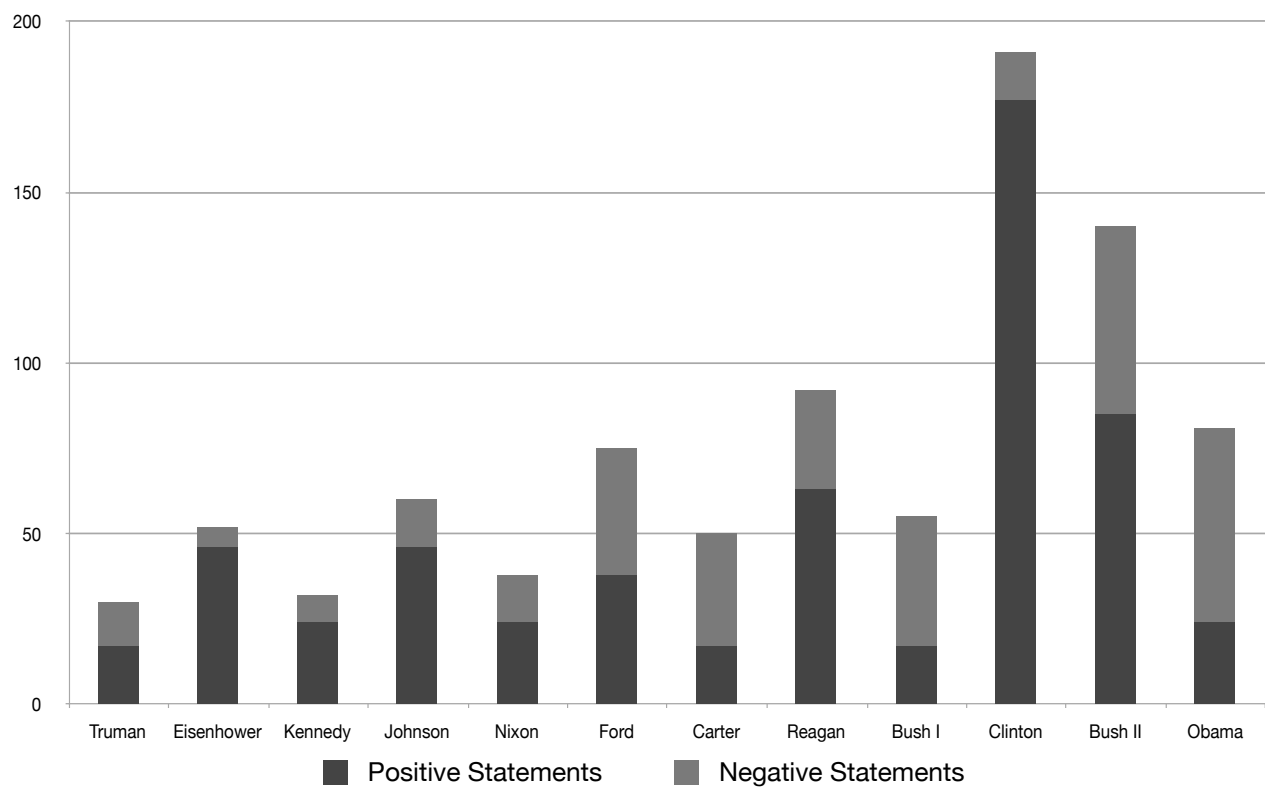
Presidential rhetoric on the economy, however, does not take into account the macroeconomic conditions (Wood, 2004). A president's rhetoric is consistently present when the economy is doing well and when the economy is doing poorly. This is just as true when presidents talk about unemployment. Presidents are just as likely to discuss unemployment when rates are high as when they are low. Presidents are more likely to talk about inflation when rates are high and do not really discuss inflation when rates are low. Moreover, when considering the deficit as a portion of the GDP, presidents are readily paying attention and adjust their rhetoric accordingly. For instance, a one percent increase in the deficit creates five more instances during that month wherein the president mentions the GDP (Wood, 2004).

How presidents discuss the economy is just as pertinent as when they discuss the economy. The tone of presidential rhetoric depends on the economic conditions during the speech (Wood, 2004). For instance, Presidents Truman through Carter were drastically more pessimistic about the economy. Reagan and Bush I were slightly more positive, and Clinton was dramatically positive about the economy. Bush II altered the upward trend and became more negative. President Obama, so far, offered a balance of negative rhetoric and optimistic rhetoric, depending upon the audience.

Presidents Truman through Bush II (first term), economic growth and unemployment did not affect the general tone of presidential rhetoric (Wood, 2004). When considering the deficit and inflation, however, the tone and optimism change in significant ways. When inflation goes up, the rhetoric of optimism goes down, and, when the deficit goes down, the optimistic rhetoric increases significantly. As illustrated by Figure 1, presidential rhetoric about the economy has become increasingly optimistic over time despite the differences in administrations and economic conditions (Wood, 2004).

Presidents have not addressed the economy in a major way in five of the last eleven recessions.³³ In fact, presidents speak more about non-economic-related issues during a recession than economic issues (Howard & Hoffman, 2010). Presidents offer fewer speeches during times of recession, inflation, and low employment (Ragsdale, 1984). There is a reason for this: constructing too dramatic a picture of the economy can have seriously negative effects. Moreover, presenting the economy as better than it actually is or ignoring the realities makes the president seem out of touch or incompetent, both of which can affect his interaction with important political actors or the electorate (Howard & Hoffman, 2010). They rarely, if ever, make major economic speeches to inform the public how well the economy is doing.

Figure 1. Presidential Economic Rhetoric



Presidents decrease their policy speeches when the economy is doing poorly (Eshbaugh-

³³ Presidents typically discuss the economy because the economy is doing poorly. The presidents use the speeches as a mechanism of power, a way to convey to the public what they are doing to steer the economy back towards prosperity (Cohen & Hamman, 2003).

Soha, 2010). In fact, presidents tend to ignore the worsening economic conditions rather than addressing them. This is a change from times past, when presidents reacted strongly to worsening economic conditions. Presidents do this to avoid drawing the media's attention to the bad economic conditions, over which they have limited influence. Presidents have a hard enough time controlling what the media covers in a good economy; it is worse with the negative economy (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2005).

Direct Influence of Presidential Rhetoric on the Economy

The argument that presidents have a direct influence on the economy by their use of rhetoric and aggregated speeches is prevalent (Wood, 2007; Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2002; Eshbaugh-Soha & Meier, 2002; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). The evolution of multiple policy institutions and legal mandates that deal with economic issues have altered presidential responsibilities with and towards the economy (Wood, 2007). The president's ability to affect economic indicators should be substantiated by the fact that the president is the foremost person with economic information, which makes him the most visible figure in economic discussions (Wood, 2007). The fact that he has the largest staff of economic actors³⁴ providing him with information and advice makes the president appear to be the preeminent economic policy-maker. The president is the figure to whom the public looks and holds most accountable for the state of the economy, particularly through elections (Wood, 2004). This unparalleled role gives the president a direct influence over the economy; those involved in determining the economy's variability, outcomes, and indicators look to the president for information, guidance, and leadership. In short, his policy rhetoric provides the direction and influence that affects economic indicators.

³⁴ National Economic Council, Council of Economic Advisors, Office of Management and Budget, Department of Treasury, Department of Commerce, Department of Labor, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Federal Reserve.

Signaling theory and impact assessment methodology suggest that presidential signals, consistent speeches about the state of the economy and the president's policy plans for the economy, inform the market of the president's positions and economic goals, which, in turn, affect the market (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). It is the consistent, substantive, and symbolic messages in the president's economic speeches that provide the necessary conditions allowing the president to affect the economy directly. The optimism of presidential speeches should affect the public perception of the economy, which is seen in how consumers perceive economic news and the consumer's attitude towards the economy (Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005). Presidential speeches addressing the economy can alter consumer behavior in terms of risks and spending.³⁵ Presidents are able to use their rhetoric to influence the confidence of economic actors. Using signals that consumers absorb, the president is able to influence the most important economic actors. The optimism in the speeches filters through the economic actors and consumers back into the economy, which creates a consistent message that can "establish a climate for economic perceptions" (Wood, 2007, p. 14). This climate is something that the president can then manipulate to his advantage.

Measuring the spending, borrowing, and investing of consumers and businesses shows rhetoric's effect statistically. The personal consumption data and business data from the Federal Reserve Bank from 1981 through 2005 show the economic actors and their perceptions about the strength of the economy (Wood, 2007). Using Vector Autoregression (VAR) and Grangers causal relationships, provides results that show that presidential optimism in rhetoric affects personal consumption (p-value = 0.02) and business investment (p-value = 0.06) (Wood, 2007).

³⁵ Presidential 'saber rattling' affects economic indicators and perceptions of those indicators (Wood, 2012; Wood, 2009). The constant discussion of war, Americans in harm's way, and conflict with other countries produces seriously negative outcomes for economic performance.

The optimism in presidential speeches about the economy was able to influence consumer confidence, which affected various elements of macroeconomic performance (Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005). Individual choices affect macroeconomic performance for aggregate economic outcomes, because two-thirds of all U.S. economic activity is driven by personal consumption. How individuals behave economically affects the economy considerably (Wood, Owens, and Durham, 2005).³⁶ When consumers decide not to spend, there are drastic and lasting reactions. For instance, limited consumer consumption can lead to unemployment, and liberal spending can lead to inflation, neither of which is particularly good for the economy. Consumers take cues from the president about their economic future. If he is positive about the economy in his speeches, then consumers respond accordingly, thus reinforcing the positive outcomes in the economic indicators, particularly economic growth (Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005).

Presidential Rhetoric's Limited Influence on the Economy

Presidents do not have the ability to simply change the inflation rate or the unemployment rate or any other economic indicator. These indicators are outside of their institutional and statutory authority. For instance, the Clinton Administration's signals to the bond market did not make a significant difference; there was no effect on the *Thirty-Year Treasury Bills* despite the rhetoric (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). President G.H.W. Bush's signals to the market about the money supply in his *State of the Union Addresses* were not effective. In fact, his signals brought the opposite outcomes. Such data and results suggest that the president has a limited influence over monetary policy (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). Moreover, studies show that in the pre-golden (1953-1962), golden (1963-1985), and the post-golden (1986-2002) age

³⁶ They maintain that dividing the average quarterly U.S. personal consumption expenditures by national income provides this description.

television eras, presidential rhetoric had no significant effect on how the public viewed economic policy (Young & Perkins, 2005). Some research suggests that the presidents, through their rhetorical actions, are limited in their ability to influence economic effects or economic indicators directly (Rockman, 1984).

Coda

The empirical research on presidential rhetoric is becoming more comprehensive and rooted in theory. It argues that presidential rhetoric is important and that it matters what presidents say. For instance, Wood (2007) states that the “debate should now end over whether presidents’ words matter...future research should turn to other important questions relating to presidential rhetoric and public opinion” (p. 168). However, a comprehensive and consistent argument of how the limitations presented by institutions and the political process influence presidential rhetoric has not been built completely. The theories and data usage in the literature about the president’s direct affect on the economy are weak and incomplete (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). The literature seems to ignore the limitations pressing against the argument that substantive effects can be obtained by rhetoric. Creating an analysis that contributes to the construction of a larger, workable scholarly literature on the limitations of presidential rhetoric’s ability to produce substantive effects in the economy would enhance the current literature.

Chapter 3

Presidential Rhetoric and the Federal Reserve

“I thought I was the president, but when it comes to these bureaucracies,
I can’t do a damn thing.”

--- **Harry S. Truman**

Introduction to the Issue

The president's capacity to influence monetary policy is a point of much contention in the literature on presidential relations with the Federal Reserve (Krause, 1994; Havrilesky, 1995; Beck, 1982; Morris, 2000; Nathan, 1983; Wood & Waterman, 1994; Weintraub, 1978; Maisel, 1973). Presidents constantly try to assert their influence over monetary policy.³⁷ Although, successfully doing so is more complicated because presidents have to rely on their ability to motivate other actors to make decisions that will affect monetary policy.³⁸ Some scholars argue that the Fed is more likely to make decisions about monetary policy based upon external pressures from Congress or economic indicators rather than pressure from the president (Saeki & Shull, 2003).

Because of its role in monetary policy, presidential administrations are highly concerned with the Federal Reserve System; they have, however, struggled to influence the Fed since its inception (Morris, 2000; Cohen & Hamman, 2003; Worsham, 1997).³⁹ Presidents have some influence over fiscal policy; it is a tool that they use to signal or cue the Fed about what actions in monetary policy they want.⁴⁰ The Fed's role and responsibility in the economy provides it with the opportunity to influence the economy in a more substantial way than the regulation and

³⁷ According to Dolan, Frenreis, and Tatalovich (2008), the Federal Reserve determines the amount of money available to banks and, in turn, the amount of money available as loans, and the rate at which money is lent.

³⁸ As stated in the *Federal Reserve Act* of 1913, the Fed is supposed to maximize employment, stabilize prices, and moderate long-term interest rates (Dolan, Frenreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Because the Fed acts as the central bank, it is able to loan out money to other banks, which fact allows it to regulate the price of the money it loans. The Fed can make that money expensive (raising interest rates) or cheap (lowering interest rates). All of which, allows the Fed to theoretically control inflation (Dolan, Frenreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Inflation, because it can make the achievement of other economic policy goals difficult, is a central preoccupation of presidents.

³⁹ There is research that maintains that the Fed can be used as an example of bureaucracy (Morris & Munger, 1998; Krause, 1994; Shull, 2005; Morris, 2000).

⁴⁰ Dolan, Frenreis, and Tatalovich (2008) state that understanding the differences between monetary and fiscal policy are essential to the president's role in the economy and his ability to shape both. Fiscal policy has to do with the taxing and spending policies that the government implements. These policies seriously affect the level of goods and services available to the public. Such actions can influence inflation and unemployment (Dolan, Frenreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Presidents try to influence these economic indicators by increasing or decreasing the government's role in the economy.

control of fiscal policy provides to the president. Presidents, however, attempt to use fiscal policies to either complement or combat the directions of monetary policy from the Fed in order to gain some influence over the direction of the economy (Beck, 1982). Therefore, the purpose of this analysis is to ascertain if the Fed makes changes to monetary policy, the Federal Funds Rate, as a result of the rhetorical cues in presidential speeches.

The President and the Federal Reserve

Presidents use cues and signals to the Fed in an effort to shape monetary policy, in combination with changes in fiscal policy and calls to Congress for legislation that addresses the worrisome economic indicators hindering their agenda. The literature indicates that the other institutional pressures the Fed encounters are more potent and influential in their decisions regarding monetary policy than those of the president.

Cues and Signals

Presidents use their speeches as mechanisms of power, cueing or signaling the Fed about monetary policy—for what they are willing to fight, such as a contractionary or expansionary monetary policy (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). These signals offer support for or opposition against the direction of monetary policy. There really is no disagreement about whether presidents use or send signals to the Fed. The discussion, however, is about whether or not the president is effective and if the Fed is responsive to the threats, and/or rewards in the signal.

There are many anecdotal instances where Fed Chairmen have stated that presidential requests and cues have changed the behavior of the Fed, particularly during the Johnson Administration. Such evidence has not been proven to be a systematic or statistical reality, but rather is “episodic” (Havrilesky, 1995, p. 37). There are also a few claims in the literature stating

that the Fed has manipulated the Federal Funds Rate during elections to either help or hurt the incumbent president (Beck, 1987; Rose, 1974; Maisel, 1973; Nordhaus, 1975; Tufte, 1978). These claims are from journalists as well as some Nixon Administration officials, with most unsubstantiated by empirical findings (Beck, 1982).⁴¹

In order to measure whether the Fed is responsive to the signals of the president, Havrilesky (1995) created a “SAFER index,” coding every mention in the *Wall Street Journal* that addressed monetary policy (expansionary or contractionary) and some action mentioned by other members of the president’s administration such as the Secretary of Treasury and the Council of Economic Advisors (p. 118). He found no statistically significant impact in the period 1964 – 1994, when controlling for the White House staff and the CEA.

When controlling for the president and the Fed Chairman, however, there is an effect (Havrilesky, 1995). The response of monetary policy to signals does not continue for all presidents and chairmen; it only exists for certain periods. For instance, the FFR changed when Arthur Burns was the chairman under Presidents Nixon and Ford, but not when it was William Martin. The same chairman with the Carter Administration shows no influence. When President Carter switched to Chairman Volcker, the monetary policy did react to the signals. This continued through the first Reagan Administration, but not the second. When Chairman Greenspan took over, monetary policy responded to the signals from President Reagan. This trend did not continue with President G.H.W. Bush and Chairman Greenspan. Interestingly,

⁴¹ The Federal Funds Rate did change. Beck (1982), however, states that the changes in the FFR were not statistically significant and could not be recognized from zero, which leads him to think that changes were instituted as a result of the Fed’s response to the foreseeable future of the economy, especially the unemployment rate. Moreover, when considering the Fed’s claim of independence from politics, it is unlikely that they would risk congressional intervention and changes to their organization. The Fed is unlikely to help a sitting president in an election year. The Fed’s intervention in an election may not benefit them as much as it could hurt them (Beck, 1982).

however, monetary policy did respond to President Clinton's signals when Chairman Greenspan was there. These anecdotal examples, however, do not withstand statistical scrutiny.⁴²

H1₀:

The positive economic rhetoric of the president will predict the probability that the Fed will alter its economic behavior and *change* the Federal Funds Rate (FFR)

H1_A:

The Fed will respond to the president's positive economic rhetoric either by leaving the Federal Funds Rate (FFR) where it is or the Fed will lower the (FFR).

H2₀:

The negative economic rhetoric of the president will predict the probability that the Fed will alter its economic behavior and *lower* the Federal Funds Rate (FFR).

H2_A:

The Fed will respond to the president's negative economic rhetoric either by leaving the Federal Funds Rate (FFR) where it is or the Fed will raise the (FFR).

Institutional Pressures on the FED 's Decision Making

The Federal Reserve pays attention to pressures from Congress, which often requires that members of the Board of Governors provide testimony before hearings and particular committees about the economy and future economic conditions (Saeki & Shull, 2003). More specifically, the preferences of the Senate play a significant role in the Fed's decision to adopt an expansionary or a restrictive monetary policy (Morris, 2000). The senators are going to have specific preferences based upon the preferences of their constituents (Saeki & Shull, 2003).

The Fed is less likely to choose a direction for monetary policy that would encounter opposition in Congress, which has asserted its authority and made transparency a major requirement due to the secrecy with which the Fed conducted its monetary policy decision-making (Havrilesky, 1995; Morris & Munger, 1997). The Fed is required to present, to Congress,

⁴² The study only looked at one, fairly conservative, economic newspaper, rather than presidential comments (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2006; Woods & Arthur, 2013). It is fair to assume that the *Wall Street Journal* is going to mention only those comments they find pertinent to the overall goals of their newspaper (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2008; Woods & Arthur, 2013). It makes more sense to assume, as did Beck (1982), that the supposed responses to signaling were the Fed's strategic response to the future or present economy.

its thoughts regarding the Federal Funds Rate and the direction it believes the economy is headed. The Fed acquiesced to these demands rather than fighting; it feared how aggressively Congress would assert its authority and how much autonomy they could potentially lose (Havrilesky, 1995).

The Fed is not likely to favor presidential cues and signals over those from Congress (Light, 1999; Havrilesky, 1995). In fact, the Fed responds to the policy preferences of Congress; they have the most influence in the Fed's role with U.S. monetary policy (Morris & Munger, 1997; Havrilesky, 1995).⁴³ Congress uses limitation riders to keep the Fed from spending funds on programs that are opposed by Congress (MacDonald, 2010). Congressional intervention in monetary policy mitigates the influence the president has over the Fed and monetary policy (Havrilesky, 1995).⁴⁴ Congress exercises a significant influence over the Federal Funds Rate when it communicates its policy preferences in the biannual *Congressional Oversight Hearings* on monetary policy (Havrilesky, 1995).

The Fed has other considerations⁴⁵ to deal with besides waiting for signals and cues from the president about what he wants with regard to monetary policy; it has goals it wants implemented such as low unemployment and low inflation, which makes it more likely to consider these rates when deciding whether to raise or lower the Federal Funds Rate (Beck,

⁴³ More specifically, the Fed is going to pay significant attention the Chairperson of the Senate Banking Committee when considering whether they will expand or contract monetary policy, given the power of this chairperson: autonomy, agenda-setting, and ability to call hearings, as well as the Chairperson's ability to withstand pressure to compromise on their ideological predilections, unlike the president who has a national constituency (Saeki & Shull, 2003). The Fed is more likely to make its decision about the economy based upon the preferences of the Senate Banking Committee Chairperson rather than the president (Saeki & Shull, 2003).

⁴⁴ There were six significant opportunities for the Congress to show the Fed and the president to whom the Fed should respond (1921, 1933, 1935, 1951, 1975, and 1994).

⁴⁵ The independent status and structure of the Fed was highly influenced by interest groups such as bankers (Jeong, Miller, & Sobel, 2008). The preferences of such interest groups can be seen in the roll call votes of the Senate during the Fed's creation and reform initiatives. One can logically assume that such lobbying transpires now when considerations of changes to the Fed happen in the Senate, which leads me to think that the Fed thinks about the agendas of such groups when changing the Federal Funds Rate (Saeki & Shull, 2003). Havrilesky (1995) also found that the banking industry signals the Fed and, in some cases, it responds by changing the Federal Funds Rate.

1982).⁴⁶ These indicators can better explain the monetary policy changes rather than the president's cues (Beck, 1982). Given the lack of previous research on these other influences, I investigated the influence of presidential rhetoric in the context of these factors and with the following research questions in mind:

Research Question 1: Does the make-up of who is in control of the government make a significant difference in the economic actions that the Federal Reserve employs?

Research Question 2: Does the president's approval rating make a significant difference in the economic actions that the Federal Reserve employs?

Research Question 3: Does the type of speech given by the president make a significant difference in the economic actions that the Federal Reserve employs?

Research Question 4: Does whether the speech was given in the first 100 days of the administration make a significant difference in the economic actions that the Federal Reserve employs?

Research Question 5: Does a recession make a significant difference in the economic actions that the Federal Reserve employs?

Research Question 6: Does the mechanism of economic policy influence make a significant difference in the economic actions that the Federal Reserve employs?

Research Question 7: Does the economic frame make a significant difference in the economic actions that the Federal Reserve employs?

Research Question 8: When the presidents propose legislation to address the economy, does it make a significant difference in the economic actions the Federal Reserve employs?

Empirical Design/Model

The analysis was for every president from D.D. Eisenhower through B.H. Obama, as illustrated by Figure 1.⁴⁷ I used the rhetorical cues and signals the presidents sent to the Fed to determine if the agency's behavior modeled what the president wanted. Therefore, the unit of analysis in this chapter is the month.⁴⁸ This allowed me to predict the probability that presidential cues and signals could create changes in the Fed's behavior (raising or lowering the Federal

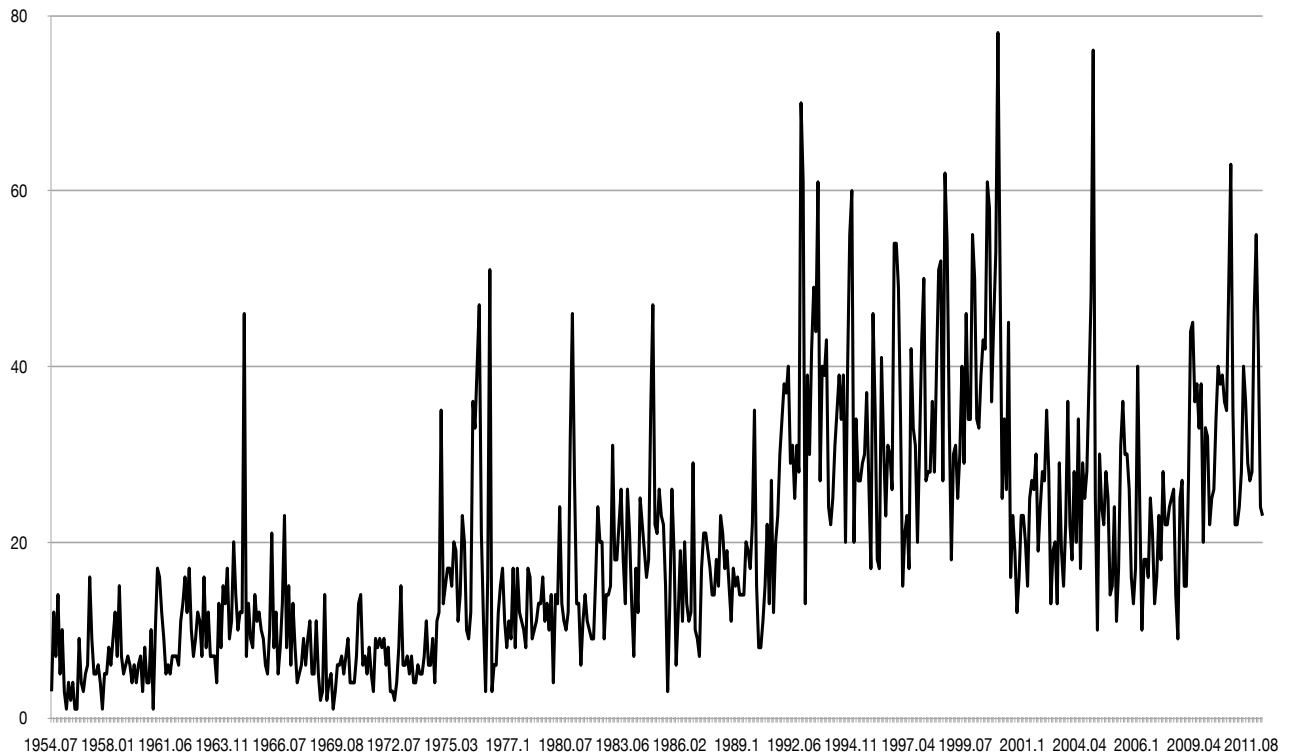
⁴⁶ Economic conditions are a pertinent motivator for the Fed's decisions to change the Federal Funds Rate (Saeki & Shull, 2003).

⁴⁷ I selected these administrations because they are representative of the rhetorical Presidency. Moreover, the data from the Federal Reserve's Statistical Release website is only available from July 1954 onward.

⁴⁸ I chose to use the time-span of a month because the economic indicator 'Federal Funds Rate (FFR)' is reported every month.

Funds Rate (FFR)).

Figure 1. Monthly Totals of Presidential Speeches July 1954 - January 2012



Dependent Variable

I ascertained the Federal Funds Rate (FFR) from July 1954 through January 2012.⁴⁹ The Federal Funds Rate (FFR) is conveyed in percentages from 0 percent to ∞ each month. The rate does not change every month. There are times when the FFR is the same from month to month.⁵⁰ I coded the FFR as a -1 if the Fed lowered the rate, a 0 if the Fed did nothing, or a 1 if the Fed raised the rate. Coding the dependent variable this way allows me to predict the probability that the positivity or negativity in the president's aggregated economic rhetoric (independent

⁴⁹ I gathered the data from the Federal Reserve's Statistical Release website. <http://www.Federalreserve.gov/releases/h15/data.htm>

⁵⁰ The Federal Reserve Board is under no obligation to change the FFR from month to month. Changing the interest rates or keeping those rates constant is their prerogative. Beck (1982) maintains that the changes in the Federal Funds Rate is indicative of changes in the overall economy.

variable) could influence the Fed to alter its economic behavior, namely, changing of the Federal Funds Rate (dependent variable).

I used a Multinomial⁵¹ Logistic Regression Analysis to determine the probability that the changes in the behavior of the Fed are a result of the presidential economic rhetoric. The primary independent variable consists of the tone of the aggregated presidential economic rhetoric and the dependent variable is the Federal Funds Rate (FFR), a measure of the Fed's behavior with regard to economic action.⁵² The results from the regression analysis are presented in the following section. The discussion of the variables has been categorized according to similarity. For instance, I discuss the tone of speeches, the type of speeches, and the economic frames as well as the mechanism of presidential influence, and the control variables.

Results/Discussion

To try to find the probability that presidential positivity, negativity, and other specified indicators could create changes in the Federal Funds Rate (FFR), a Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis was performed. Table 1 presents the coefficients, relative risk ratios, and standard errors as well as the p-values and the measures of fit. The model, overall, is in line with the hypotheses; the predictor variables in this analysis do not significantly affect whether the Federal Reserve changes its Federal Funds Rate (FFR) as a result of the positivity

⁵¹ Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis would be best for this analysis, particularly given the argument in the literature, namely, that aggregated rhetoric on the economy is able to motivate economic actors to engender a change in the behaviors that will have a direct effect on specific economic indicators (Cavalli, 2006). By using the Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis, I also determined the effect that the independent variables have on the Fed's decision to choose one economic action over the other.

⁵² The regression analysis uses a Maximum Likelihood Estimator, an iterative method that measures the effect of this aggregated economic rhetoric on the probability that the Fed will change the Federal Funds Interest Rate (FFR) to match the goals of the president.

and/or negativity in the president's economic rhetoric.⁵³ Moreover, neither the economic frames nor the mechanisms of influence have a substantive effect on the Federal Reserve's decisions about the FFR.

In hypothesis one, I found that the data require a rejection of the null hypothesis (See Table 1).⁵⁴ It is not significantly more likely that the positive economic rhetoric will predict the probability that the Fed will alter its economic behavior and *raise* the Federal Funds Rate (See Figure 2).⁵⁵ The data show that the Fed either responded to the president's positive economic rhetoric by leaving the Federal Funds Rate where it was or the Fed lowered the FFR, as the alternative hypothesis stated. Moreover, there were no substantive differences in the changes to the FFR and the ratio of positive to negative or negative to positive speeches. The changes to the FFR that did take place are most likely a result of the upcoming economic conditions rather than the tone of the president's rhetoric.

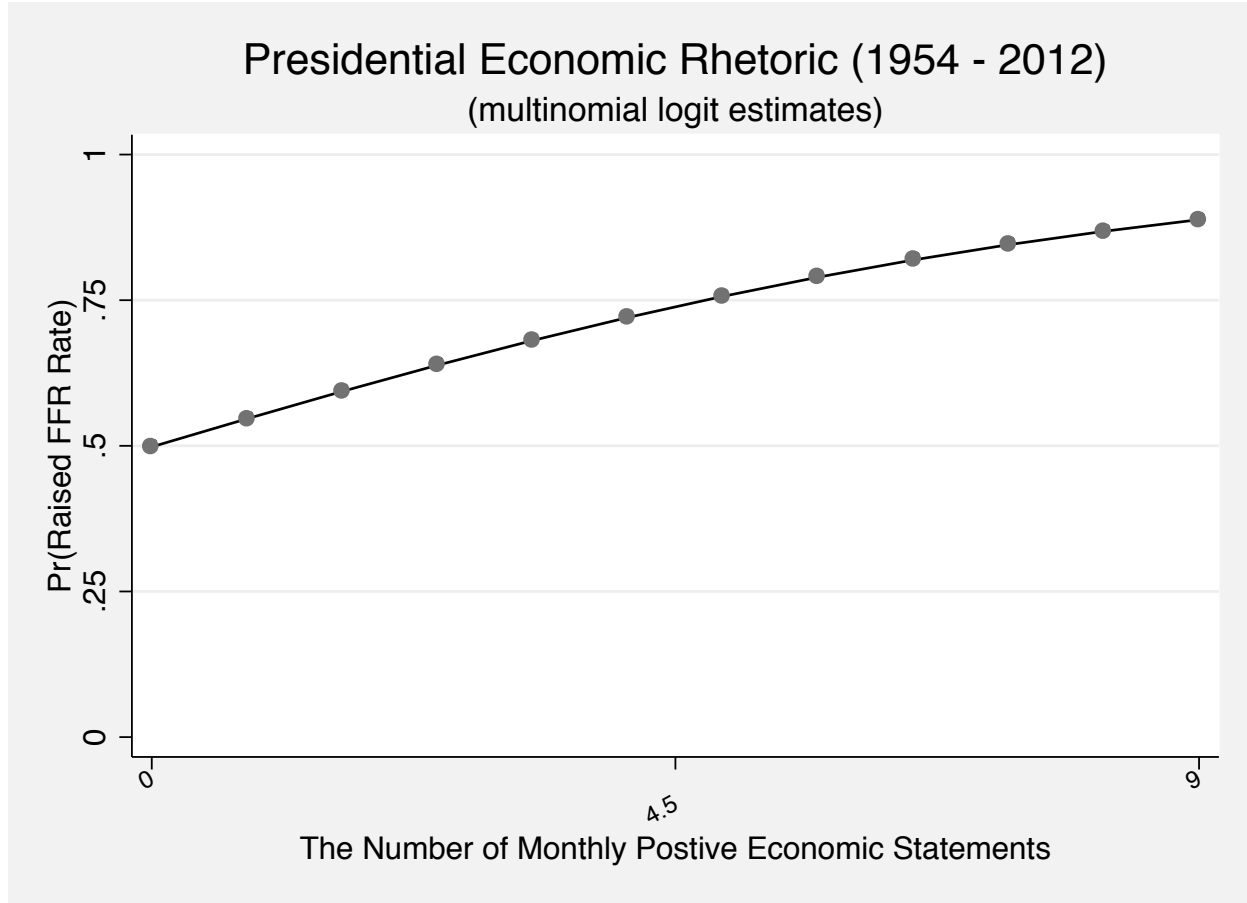
As illustrated by Figure 2, there is high probability that the FFR would raise with no positive presidential statements made in a particular month. As the president increases the

⁵³ The log likelihood chi-squared values prove that the model will allow for a rejection of the null and an acceptance of the alternative hypotheses; it is highly significant that the model I have created works better than one with no predictors.

⁵⁴ I must attach a word of caution about my hypothesis; it is the 'null hypothesis' approach. Therefore, if there is no effect, I am correct; there is no consideration of the magnitude by which rhetoric affects the FFR. I was not interested in magnitude, but rather the president's ability to influence the decision making of an economic actor with the tone present in the rhetoric. I assume that my alternative hypothesis is correct until I could find evidence that it was incorrect. No such evidence could be found in this instance. I set up the analysis this way on purpose. I know that it makes it easier to obtain and justify my results. I think that the analysis still warrants a contribution to the literature. I took multiple measures to ensure that I gave presidential rhetoric a chance to make an impact. I differentiated the rhetoric by the tone of the speech, the type of speech, the mechanism of influence, and the economic framework as well as the time-period; it was not a simple aggregation of words. However, one could still read the results with caution because the rhetoric used was a stratified random sample and not the complete analysis of every word every president spoke. I did not use a lagged variable in this analysis. Such a variable could alter the results. Moreover, the results indicate that the Fed might respond to the economic frameworks. More research needs to be undertaken to determine their effect.

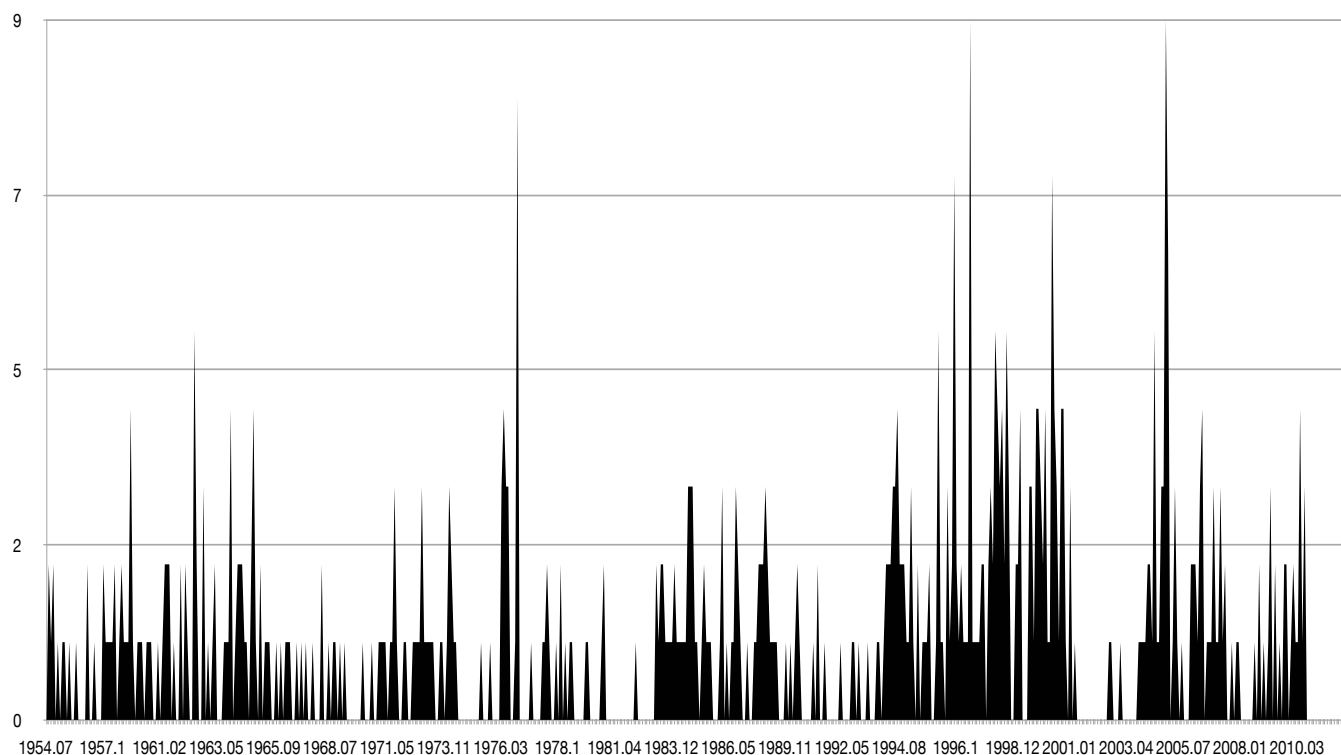
⁵⁵ As Table 1 shows, the independent variable, positive statements, is significant at the alpha level of .10, which is not as definitive as the .05 alpha level. Thus, I had to reject the null.

Figure 2. The Probability of the Fed Raising the FFR



number of positive statements made each month, the probability of a raised FFR does increase. As we inferred from the literature, the president is not likely to say that the economy is positive when it is not. Doing so makes him look seriously out of touch with the electorate. As the economy gets better, the president is more likely to talk about it. As illustrated by Figure 3, there are peaks of presidential positivity regarding the economy. These peaks typically correlate with times of economic prosperity, as measured by standard economic indicators of the economy's health (Dolan, Frenreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Therefore, one might assert that if the economy is getting better, the Fed is more likely to raise the FFR as a result of those indicators rather than the positive rhetoric from the president that is most likely a result of the positive economy.

Figure 3. Monthly Totals of Presidential Positivity July 1954 - January 2012

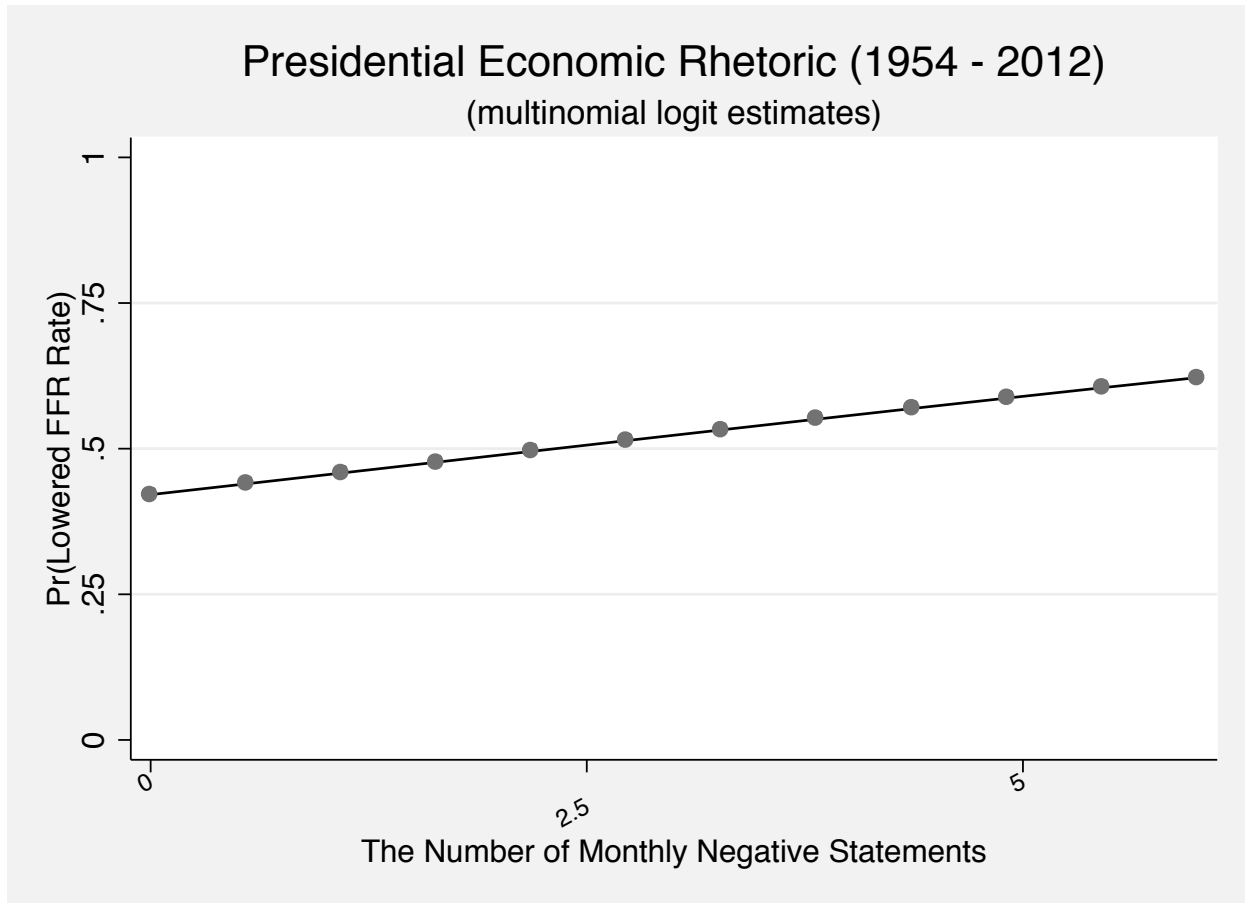


The results suggest that the tone, particularly a positive tone, is not the best measure of classification for presidential rhetoric and its effect on the economy. Tone does not adequately capture the entrepreneurial agenda of the president's rhetoric. The results suggest, rather, that presidents are responsive to the economic conditions more so than the notion that they are leading the economic actors with cues about where the economy should go in the future.

In hypothesis two, I found that the data require a rejection of the null hypothesis. It is not significantly more likely that the aggregated, negative economic rhetoric will predict the probability that the Fed will alter its economic behavior and *lower* the Federal Funds Rate (FFR). The changes that did transpire in the FFR are indecipherable statistically from no change. The data show that the Fed will either respond to the president's aggregated, negative economic

rhetoric by leaving the Federal Funds Rate (FFR) where it is or the Fed will raise the (FFR), as the alternative hypothesis stated.

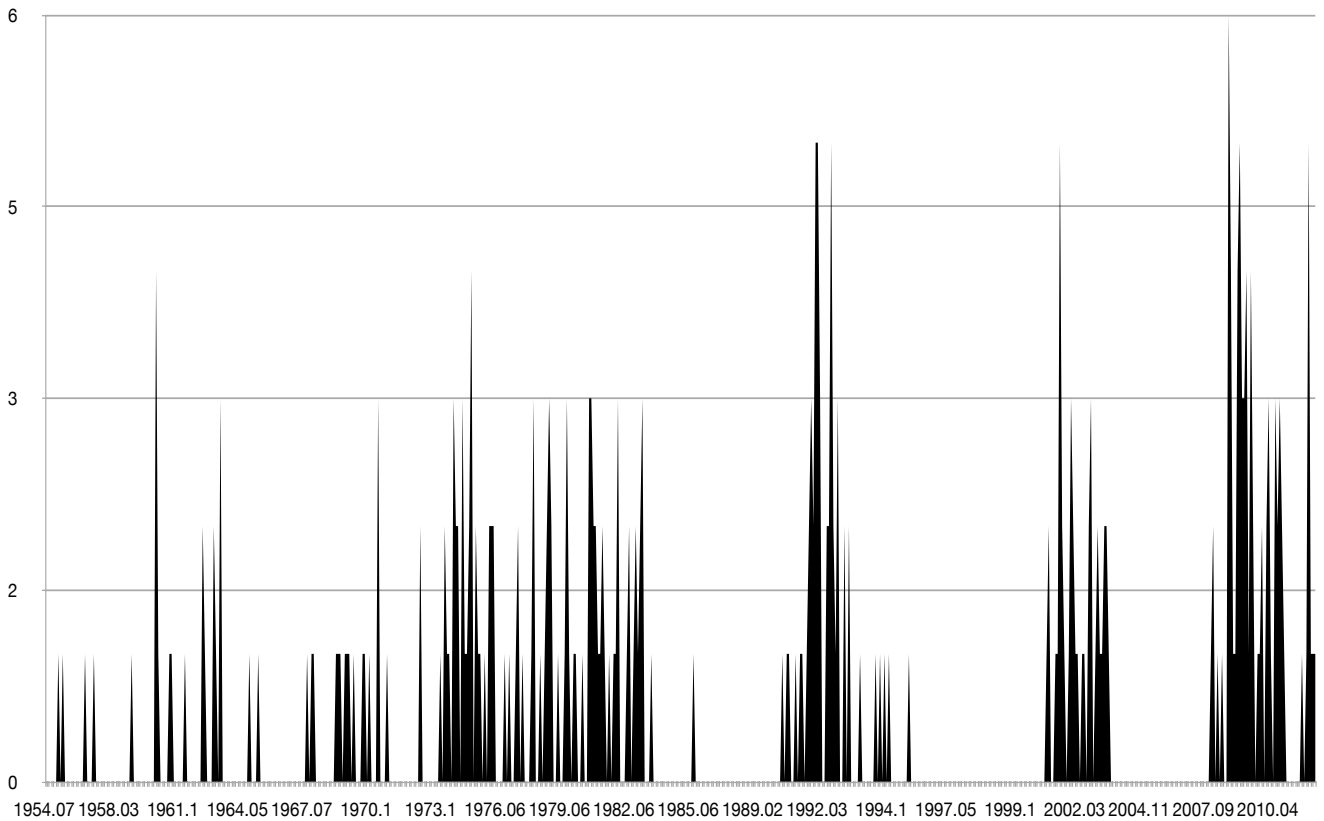
Figure 4. The Probability of the Fed Lowering the FFR



As Figure 4 presents, the probability of the Fed lowering the FFR is nearly 50/50 without any negative statements from the presidents. The probability only increases slightly as the presidents use more negative rhetoric about the economy. One could speculate that this outcome is a result of the fact that the presidents do not often speak negatively about the economy. As illustrated by Figure 5, the negative rhetoric encompasses only 30 percent of the total statements on the economy. The role the presidents play in the discussion of the economy is a difficult balancing act in which they participate; presidents do not want to bring too much attention to the flailing economy with their negative rhetoric. They run the risk of an electoral backlash wherein

the public blames them for the state of the economy. This reality might somewhat factor into the presidential strategy of discussing the economy positively most of the time; nearly 55 percent of their economic rhetoric is positive; it is a redirection of sorts.

Figure 5. Monthly Totals of Presidential Negativity July 1954 - January 2012



Classifying presidential economic rhetoric in terms of negativity is not the most effective approach for ascertaining the influence presidents have over economic actors; this type of rhetoric is used too infrequently to garner significant influence. The tone of the rhetoric seems to be governed by the economic conditions that are present rather than by an attempt to change the indicators by discussing them positively. The results indicate that classifying the rhetoric according to the frameworks that are constantly present in the rhetoric is a better way of assessing the influence of presidential economic rhetoric.

The research questions assessing the Fed's economic behavior helped to ensure the model was specified correctly and, more importantly, identified the other factors that influence the Fed. As illustrated by Table 1, the economic frames (Furthering Democracy, American Exceptionalism, Supply Side Economics, Keynesian Economics, Economic Catastrophes, and Sine Qua Non) were not very instrumental, overall, in the president's ability to change or motivate the Fed's behavior. The 1530 total speeches throughout the post WWII period used the economic frames regularly. In fact, they used a total of 590 economic frames from July 1954 through January 2012, which is 39 percent of the total economic rhetoric/speeches.

The *Furthering Democracy* economic frame appears to be one of the most prevalently used frames, and it was certainly the most significant frame in the analysis in terms of statistical significance. The 121 frames used are eight percent of the total economic rhetoric regarding ideas about the plight of economic democracy, contrasting our economic system with that of Socialism and Communism (Kingdon, 1999). Presidents claim that their economic plans further democracy and that the opposition plans and ideas are anti-democratic. When presidents use the *Furthering Democracy* economic frame, the Fed is less likely to raise the Federal Funds Rate. The positivity, negativity, the ratio of positivity to negativity, or the ratio of negativity to positivity have no substantive correlation with this economic frame.⁵⁶

The *American Exceptionalism* economic frame appears to be one of the most prevalently used frames; however, it was not statistically significant.⁵⁷ The 134 frames are nine percent of the president's total economic rhetoric being used to show that the American economy and its

⁵⁶ The data indicate that the Fed responded to this economic framework. More research and analysis would need to transpire in order to discuss the magnitude of this result. It is not clear whether or not the president is responding to economic indicators rather than entrepreneurially leading the Fed when he uses this frame. The Fed could also be responding to the same economic conditions.

⁵⁷ As Table 1 shows, the independent variable, American Exceptionalism frameworks, is significant at the alpha level of .10, which is not as definitive as the .05 alpha level. Thus, I had to reject the null.

actions are the greatest in the world, an economy that has certain rights and responsibilities around the world. It is supposed to exercise these rights whenever it needs and, just as important, it has a responsibility to those economies and peoples around the world considered allies.

Table 1. Predicting Changes in the Federal Funds Rate

Dependent Variable: Pr (Success = -1 Lowered FFR or 1 Raised FFR)				
N = 571				
Multinomial Logit Estimates				
	Increase FFR	Decrease FFR	Increase FFR	Decrease FFR
	Coefficients	Coefficients	Relative-Risk Ratios	Relative-Risk Ratios
Positive Statements	.6858* (.3925)	.4570 (.4005)	1.986* (.7793)	1.579 (.6326)
Negative Statement	.3205 (.4020)	.4548 (.4081)	1.378 (.5538)	1.576 (.6431)
Neutral Statements	.0854 (.3563)	.1349 (.3620)	1.089 (.3881)	1.144 (.4123)
Furthering Democracy	-.9067** (.4407)	-.2890 (.4368)	.4039** (.1780)	.7490 (.3272)
American Exceptionalism	-.7220* (.3830)	-.5531 (.3910)	.4858* (.1861)	.5752 (.2249)
Supply Side Economics	-.7691** (.3273)	-.5272 (.3282)	.4634** (.1517)	.5903 (.1937)
Keynesian Economics	-.5956 (.5376)	-.3211 (.5442)	.5512 (.2964)	.7253 (.3947)
Economic Catastrophes	-1.552* (.9413)	-.6828 (.8792)	.2118* (.1993)	.5052 (.4442)
Sine Qua Non	-.4651 (.6063)	.0326 (.6084)	.6281 (.3808)	1.033 (.6286)
Catalytic Statements	-.3671 (.2916)	-.5310* (.3041)	.6927 (.2020)	.5880* (.1788)
Hortatory Statements	.1711 (.5437)	-.3774 (.5515)	1.187 (.6451)	.6856 (.3781)
Coercive Statements	-.1487 (.6778)	-.2490 (.6909)	.8619 (.5841)	.7796 (.5386)
News Conferences	.2505 (.5498)	.0980 (.5670)	1.285 (.7062)	1.103 (.6253)
Written Documents	.4261 (.4556)	.4877 (.4622)	1.531 (.6975)	1.629 (.7527)
Major Speeches	1.822 (1.146)	2.112* (1.151)	6.182 (7.086)	8.268* (9.512)

Interviews	1.706 (1.273)	1.321 (1.284)	5.506 (7.007)	3.747 (4.810)
Weekly/Radio Addresses	-.5406 (.5537)	-.9139 (.5743)	.5824 (.3225)	.4010 (.2303)
Town Hall Meetings	.8210 (1.199)	-.8290 (1.520)	2.273 (2.726)	.4365 (.6633)
General Remarks	.4690 (.3739)	.4503 (.3812)	1.599 (.5976)	1.569 (.5981)
# Statements in 1st 100 Days	12.963 (849.539)	12.801 (849.539)	426198.0 (3.62e+08)	362473.3 (3.08e+08)
Party Control in Senate	.7625 (.8021)	.4614 (.8029)	2.144 (1.719)	1.586 (1.274)
Party Control in House	-.5132 (.8135)	-.1797 (.8161)	.5986 (.4869)	.8355 (.6819)
Divided Government	.5572 (.4293)	1.378*** (.4396)	1.746 (.7495)	3.967*** (1.744)
Average Approval Ratings	-.0207 (.0188)	-.0013 (.0192)	.9795 (.0184)	.9987 (.0191)
Presence of a Recession	.9503 (1.157)	2.367** (1.150)	2.586 (2.993)	10.661** (12.264)
Proposed Legislation	-.2982 (.3221)	-.3330 (.3304)	.7422 (.2391)	.7168 (.2369)
# of Speeches	-.0531** (.0219)	-.0276 (.0222)	.9483** (.0208)	.9728 (.0216)

Log Likelihood - 421.10763 $\chi^2 = 154.75$ (p < .0000)

*p < .1. **p < .05. ***p < .01. ****p < .001 *****p < .0000

#Lack of significance indicates my hypotheses and research assumptions were correct

The *Supply Side Economics* economic frame appears to be the most prevalently used frame and it was statistically significant. The 176 frames are 12 percent of the president's total economic rhetoric used to create a perception of how economic actors should best operate to make the economy better or stronger, in other words, a free-market economy and cutting taxes (Edwards & Wayne, 1985). The data suggest that the Fed responds to this framework. When using the frame, the Fed is significantly less likely to raise the FFR. One could speculate that the president discusses tax-cuts when the economy is doing poorly, which is a ripe environment to keep the Fed from making loaned money more expensive. The outcome the presidents hope to accomplish with their use of this frame, however, is not clear. Ascertaining the economic conditions

and other contexts surrounding the use of this frame could help in determining its true effect and magnitude.

The *Keynesian Economics* frame was used 86 times, which is five percent of the economic rhetoric being used in a way that calls for the government to intervene in the economy and invest in programs when the economy is not doing well, a stimulus of sorts (Stein, 1994). The *Sine Qua Non* economic frame is not statistically significant. The 60 frames are four percent of the president's total economic rhetoric being used to create a perception of the president's actions on the economy as something that is absolutely necessary for the economy (Neustadt, 1991).

The *Economic Catastrophes*⁵⁸ frame was used 13 times, which is less than one percent (0.008) of the economic rhetoric (Trager & Vavreck, 2011). With this frame, the presidents call attention to the economic disasters and the type of economy that could come about without the action for which they are calling. As illustrated by Table 1, this frame presents an interesting finding; the Fed seems to respond to it. The magnitude of the decrease in the FFR is noteworthy. The framework has an effect on the FFR. However, there is no correlation between the tone of the rhetoric and the use of this frame. Is the Fed responding to the rhetoric from the president or responding to the economic conditions that prompted the president to try this infrequently used framework?

The mechanisms of influence (Catalytic, Hortatory, and Coercive) were not instrumental in the president's ability to influence the Fed's behavior (See Table 1). There were 1530 total speeches throughout the post WWII period wherein presidents tried to influence the economic actors in charge of the economy. In fact, they used a total of 474 mechanisms from July 1954

⁵⁸ As Table 1 shows, the independent variable, Economic Catastrophes framework, is significant at the alpha level of .10, which is not as definitive as the .05 alpha level. Thus, I had to reject the null.

through January 2012, which is 31 percent of the total economic rhetoric. The *Catalytic* frame is the most prevalently used frame, yet it was not statistically significant.⁵⁹ The 293 frames are 19 percent of the president's total economic rhetoric. The *Hortatory* frame is the second most prevalently used frame. The 112 frames are seven percent of the president's total economic rhetoric. The *Coercive* rhetorical classifications frame is the least prevalently used; it was not statistically significant. The 69 frames are five percent of the president's total economic rhetoric.

The different types of speech (News Conferences, Town Hall Meetings, Written Documents, Major Speeches, Interviews, General Remarks, Weekly/Radio Addresses) were not instrumental in the president's ability to influence the Fed's behavior, as illustrated by Table 1. There were 1530 total speeches and presidents used many different ways of regularly discussing the economy from July 1954 through January 2012. Nearly every type of speech that the presidents use, however, is completely irrelevant when trying to influence the Fed. The one exception consists of when presidents use major speeches to discuss the economy.⁶⁰ The results suggest that the Fed responds to this rhetoric and decreases the FFR. I would speculate that presidents give nationally televised speeches on the economy when it is failing and action is needed from the important actors. Therefore, it is more likely that the Fed is responding to the economic indicators rather than the cues from the president (Edwards & Wood, 1999). The president is most likely responding to the economy as well.

The control variables (divided government, party control in Congress, average approval rating, first 100 days of the administration, presence of a recession, number of speeches, and

⁵⁹ As Table 1 shows, the independent variable, Catalytic Statements, is significant at the alpha level of .10, which is not as definitive as the .05 alpha level. Thus, I had to reject the null.

⁶⁰ As Table 1 shows, the independent variable, *Major Speech*, is significant at the alpha level of .10, which is not as definitive as the .05 alpha level, which was used for rejection of the null hypothesis earlier.

proposed legislation) were not instrumental, overall, in the Fed's decisions about what to do with the Federal Funds Rate, as illustrated in Table 1. The statements made in the first 100 days of any of the Administrations had no substantive effect upon the Fed's behavior. Neither the majority party in the Senate nor the majority party in the House of Representatives made a substantive difference in the Fed's raising or lowering the FFR. When the president made calls for legislation that would, according to him, make changes in the economy, there was no change in the FFR. The monthly average approval rating had no substantive influence either.

Divided government had a substantive influence upon the changes in the FFR, which is statistically significant at the .001 alpha level. The presence of a recession had a substantive influence upon the changes in the FFR, as one would rightfully expect. During a recession, the Fed lowered FFR, which is statistically significant at the .05 alpha level. The number of total speeches given wherein the president discussed the economy had a substantive influence upon the changes in the FFR, which is statistically significant at the .05 alpha level.

Conclusions

There is a literature that argues that presidential rhetoric is able to motivate economic actors to make changes to economic indicators (Wood, 2007; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). However, that literature, specifically, glosses over the subtleties of what transpires between the incidents of presidential rhetoric and the actions that substantiate the changes in the economy, the constraints of the separated system of American government, and the limitations of the president's ability to use rhetoric to achieve desired results. This analysis has further contributed to the extant literature by determining if the president, through the use of positive and negative economic rhetoric, was able to motivate the Fed to make changes in the Federal Funds Rate. My research confirms what others have stated, namely, that presidents have increased their rhetoric on the

economy significantly. However, my research suggests that the increased rhetoric and attention to the economy have not brought about the desired effects for which presidents advocate; it is more likely that the Federal Reserve is paying attention to other factors rather than paying attention to the rhetoric of the president.

The results provide two specific components that show when a president pays attention to indicators of the economy's strength or weakness and the extent to which the Federal Reserve pays attention. It suggests that a president's rhetorical assessment of the economy does not shape how the Federal Reserve reacts to his assessment of the economy. Conducting the analysis in this manner provided a picture of the how the presidents discuss the economy in their speeches, particularly with regard to the tone and the frameworks they use. Moreover, it provided a comparison chart of the Federal Reserve's attention to the cues sent by the president. The second provided an empirical analysis of how a president's assessment of the economy shaped the assessment of the Federal Reserve; it predicted the probability that the rhetoric is not able to motivate the Fed to make changes in their economic behavior.

The results suggest that the Fed did not respond to the rhetorical cues and signals. The presidential rhetoric did not predict the raising or lowering of the FFR because of the tone of presidential speeches (positive/negative). Such an understanding provides insight into presidential influence over economic actors and the economy; it is clear that the lack of significance in presidential rhetoric's ability to predict changes in the Federal Funds Rate is telling. Despite presidential attempts to tailor their rhetoric to meet specific needs, they are incredibly unsuccessful, in nearly every way.

Chapter 4

Presidential Rhetoric and the Public

“Economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncement. Economic wounds must be healed by the action of the cells of the economic body - the producers and consumers themselves.”

--- **Herbert C. Hoover**

Introduction to the Issue

Two-thirds of all U.S. economic activity is driven by personal consumption; how individuals behave economically affects the economy considerably, and presidents are aware of how important the public is to the economy.⁶¹ Ironically, the public expects the president to make sure the economy is sound (Wood, Owens, and Durham, 2005; Wood, 2007). Presenting an accurate image of the economy to the public is essential for a president. If he misconstrues the condition of the economy, it damages his image as an economic leader and the public will hold him accountable (Wood, 2007; Howard & Hoffman, 2010). This fact makes leading the public difficult for presidents, particularly during economic downturns (Cohen & Hamman, 2003). As illustrated by Figure 1, this fact has forced presidents to increasingly address the economy more often and more positively.⁶² Therefore, presidents often try to influence the public's perceptions of the economy with their rhetoric in order to secure their own goals.⁶³ Can the public be convinced, by presidential rhetoric, to overlook economic concerns in spite of the actual economic conditions and take economic risks? Is the president able to shape the public's perception of the economy and their behavior with positive economic rhetoric (Wood, 2007)?

Constructing an appropriate framework for ascertaining how the public responds to presidential rhetoric is crucial for understanding the influence presidents have over public perceptions of the economy (Wood, 2007; Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005).⁶⁴ Scholars have used the *Consumer Confidence Index* as a measure of how the public responds to the positive

⁶¹ Wood, Owens, and Durham (2005) maintain that dividing the average quarterly U.S. personal consumption expenditures by national income provides this description.

⁶² Typically, as the years progress, presidents increase the percentage of their economic rhetoric in relation to their overall rhetoric: HST = 13%, DDE = 17%, JFK = 17%, LBJ = 17%, RMN = 15%, GRF = 22%, JEC = 17%, RWR = 23%, GHWB = 24%, WJC = 32%, GWB = 26%, and BHO = 41%.

⁶³ Many scholars have operationalized studies of the relationship between the president and the public, particularly presidential attempts to influence the public (Zaller, 1992; Brody, 1991; Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2011; Lau & Redlawsk, 2006; Lockerbie, 2008; Wolf & Holian, 2006; Edwards, 2003; Cohen, 2008; Vavreck, 2009).

⁶⁴ The literature has not fully considered that the 'public' is going to view the economy differently from what is actually transpiring in economic indicators.

economic rhetoric (Wood, 2007; Wood, 2012).⁶⁵ Regressing the tone (positive/negative) of presidential rhetoric on the *Consumer Confidence Index* does not definitively prove that the rhetoric has an influence; it does not take into account the multiple reasons for the changes in the *Index* such as international events, whether or not they are economic in nature.⁶⁶ I am skeptical of regressing the tone of the president's rhetoric on economic indicators since presidents do not have any direct connection to them.⁶⁷ The justification for predicting the outcomes of their rhetoric on such variables does not withstand scrutiny.

How the public perceives the president and his handling of the economy would be a more appropriate measure of whether he can influence the public's economic perceptions and behavior. Therefore, using the *National Election Studies*⁶⁸ data would better assess the influence the presidents have over how the public perceives the handling of the economy.⁶⁹ Using these data enable me to better assess how the public views the economy in relation to the president's attempts to shape, with the use of positive statements, public perceptions of the economy. I performed a descriptive analysis of presidential economic rhetoric over time and differentiated it by party. Moreover, I provide a discussion of the percentages of the positivity and negativity, each economic frame, and each mechanism of influence. Statistically, I assess how the public processes political discourse, the extent to which they pay attention to political

⁶⁵ The argument maintains that the high consumer confidence levels are directly correlated with the positive rhetoric from the president and are evidence of the direct affect the presidents have upon the economy. There is a consequential problem with using these data; there is no empirical connection suggesting that politics or presidential rhetoric influences this *Index*. There is literature that shows a correlation between the *Index* and its effect/influence on political affairs, but that is not the argument presented by Wood (2007) and Eshbaugh-Soha (2005).

⁶⁶ Because the economic indicators are changing positively, does not necessarily translate to the public viewing the economy as better due to something that the president has done.

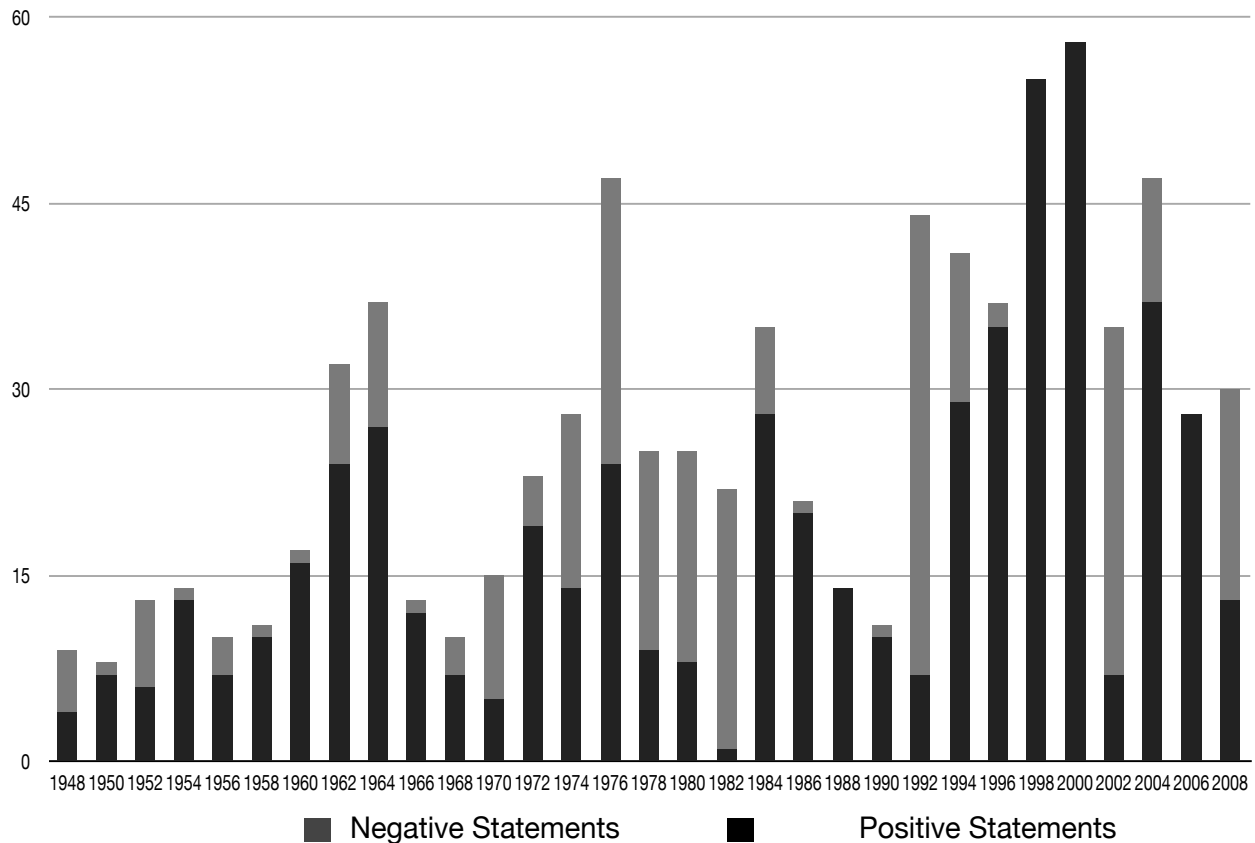
⁶⁷ Presidents cannot issue an Executive Order that lowers the inflation rate, changes the price of oil, or alters the *Consumer Price Index*.

⁶⁸ The NES data (1947 - 2008) source covers more of the *Rhetorical Presidency* (1913 - 2012) than the *Consumer Confidence Index* (1967 - 2011).

⁶⁹ It is reasonable to assume that those participating in the NES have, at the very least, a political connection between their ideas of the economy and those of the president, given the context of the survey and the specific questions asked about the president and the economy. One can easily infer that the context of a survey dealing with politics and the public forces the participant to cognitively associate the economy and the president.

issues, and their reactions to political rhetoric (Wood, 2007). This research framework is necessary to ascertain how the public perceives their own past, present, and future economic situations and whether the positive economic rhetoric of presidents could influence those perceptions.

Figure 1. Presidential Economic Rhetoric



The President and the Public

There exists an assumption that the president has a large audience of persons who listen to what he says about any given topic (Welch, 2003). The truth, however, is that the president struggles to obtain the time, television networks, and audience necessary to sway the public. Moreover, he is not able to keep the attention of those who do actually listen. In fact, “households that watched [the major news networks], ABC, CBS, and/or NBC, declined from

about 60 percent across the 1960s to 30 percent by the late 1990s” (Cohen, 2008, p. 14). There are fewer and fewer persons listening to what the presidents are saying via typical media outlets such as television and radio (Barabas, 2008).⁷⁰ Since the 1980s, presidents have struggled to gain audiences that even remotely approach 50 percent of viewers (Young & Perkins, 2005).⁷¹ The problem is further complicated by the fact that those who do listen are not able to remember what the president said in any substantive capacity over time and across different speeches (Welch, 2003). Presidents are not able to effectively convey their message to a stable audience consistently. Therefore, leading the public through positive rhetoric is not a viable option (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2006).

The News Media and the President

The media can significantly influence the public’s perception of the president; it is highly important to him, particularly because he needs them to convey his message (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2008).⁷² The problem, however, is that the public chooses its news outlets as a way to get information from those political elites who will confirm and reinforce their political predilections (Brody, 1991). The public then judges the president on those issues that their media makes important (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Page, Shapiro, & Dempsey, 1987).⁷³

⁷⁰ The audiences are more diverse in their ‘news’ consumption with the onset of the Internet and social media websites like Facebook and Twitter.

⁷¹ President Obama’s national healthcare policy speech is the paradigmatic example, wherein he was only able to garner about 35 percent of viewers.

⁷² The president is equipped with a highly functional, specialized staff that is devoted to propagandizing his message to the public. Moreover, the president has nearly unlimited resources to travel to across the country and the world to bring his message to various local constituencies (Cohen, 2010; Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2006). In addition, the president’s cabinet level officials, political appointees, and other various supporters are, essentially, an army of presidential propaganda that floods the ‘talking-heads’ shows and any other media outlet that will listen.

⁷³ The news coverage of presidents has grown increasingly negative over the years, despite presidential attempts to influence the media’s coverage of their actions (Cohen, 2008). In fact, from 1949 through the 1980s, the negative presidential news coverage went from 12 percent of stories to 28 percent of stories. For each individual president, the percentage of negative news increases every year the president is in office, especially after the 100-day honeymoon that most presidents enjoy (Cohen, 2008).

The talk shows, talk radio, and programming, which focus their coverage of political issues to coincide with the political ideologies of the audiences, has made the news more partisan (Cohen, 2008). Such media programming reinforces political ideologies and justifies resistance to political information that is contrary to held predilections (Groeling, 2008). Individuals are able to completely dismiss condemnatory information towards a president when they perceive that information as biased (Barabas, 2008; Baum & Groeling, forthcoming). However, when the political messages paint a propitious picture of the president whom they favor, they see the biased information as trustworthy. Individuals take information they receive and overly interpret it to fit that which supports or confirms the opinions they already hold (Chong, 1996).

Using different media outlets to obtain news fragments the audience; each media outlet provides its own commentary on presidential messages, thus removing the objectivity of the coverage and reinforcing the partisan approach to presidential messages (Cohen, 2004). In fact, Zaller (1996) argues that, “the overall effect of habitual news reception for a case in which the media carry a steady stream of ideologically balanced communication is to drive liberals and conservatives into increasingly polarized opposition to one another” (p. 54).

Research Question 1: When the respondent’s attention to politics increases, does it make a significant difference in the public’s perception of the president’s handling of the economy?

Political Persuasion

Political persuasion in the form of individual speeches is not highly effective at convincing the public to change their minds or to think a specific way about a politically salient issue (Zarefsky, 2004; Mutz, Sniderman, & Brody, 1996). Presidential rhetoric cannot convince

the public to think differently about political values (Doherty, 2008; Jarvis & Jones, 2005).⁷⁴ The messages of political elites do not change the minds of those who are not predisposed to the values within the message. The public has already constructed their ideas about politics according to their predispositions and their attentiveness, which have developed over time and through the consistent encounters with their trusted sources of political information (Wolf & Holian, 2006).⁷⁵

H1_O:

Positive economic rhetoric will create a significant difference in the public perceiving their own personal finances as good compared to last year.

H1_A:

Positive economic rhetoric does not create a perception for the public that their own personal finances are good.

H2_O:

Positive economic rhetoric will create a significant difference in the public's perception of the economy as good in the last year.

H2_A:

Positive economic rhetoric does not create a perception for the public that the economy was good last year.

H3_O:

Positive economic rhetoric will create a significant difference in the public's perception of the economy as good in the upcoming year.

H3_A:

Positive economic rhetoric does not create a perception for the public that the economy will be good in the upcoming year.

The Political Predilections and Predispositions of the Public

Individuals use party identification as a way to shorten and simplify the information they have to process; it enables them to easily figure out the trusted sources of information (Lau &

⁷⁴ Republican candidates for office use their rhetoric to promote the Republican Party values, as do the Democratic candidates, who use their rhetoric to advocate for Democratic Party values.

⁷⁵ The public's desire or motivation to seek out information contrary to that which they are given by the political elite is limited, which limits their political knowledge and political learning (Carpini & Keeter, 1996). If an individual is a Republican, that individual will typically vote Republican without any thought as to what the Democrats are saying, even if that individual would agree with the Democrat if it was known what that Democrat truly believed or advocated (Vavreck, 2009).

Redlawsk, 2006). Because of psychological predilections about the party identification, the public attributes to each party certain ‘brands’ that enable them to simplify decisions about which issues gain their assent (Brody, 1991).⁷⁶ In fact, party identification is the most important element in political decision-making (Vavreck, 2009).⁷⁷

Presidents appeal to the “party base, interest groups, and opinion in localities” as a mechanism of shaping public perceptions; they rally their base and neglect the moderates (Cohen, 2010, p. 4; Cohen, 2004). Such actions polarize political rhetoric; it is the very impetus that creates such “polarization in the political system” (Cohen, 2004, p. 493). The polarized rhetoric creates difficulty for the presidents to lead the public effectively; it reinforces the fact that the public receives its information from party elites and approves or disapproves based upon the ‘elite’ providing the message (DiClerico, 1993; Wolf & Holian, 2006).

Research Question 2: Does the party of the president, the respondent, or the extent to which these are the same make a significant difference in the public’s perception of the president’s handling of the economy?

Political Elites and the Public

Prominent ‘values’ are the key element to ascertaining why individuals resist certain political messages (Zaller, 1991). Individuals do not critically rationalize their values against the political messages they hear to make sure that both are compatible, but rather pay attention to those elites of particular ideologies who provide commentary on presidential actions or policies (Converse, 1964). An individual’s exposure to only one source of information, information that already coincides with one’s predispositions, confirms those predispositions and solidifies, in the individual’s mind, the validity of that source of information. The public trusts ‘politically

⁷⁶ Political information, over time, is consistent (Zaller, 1996). The messages from both sides of a political argument do not vary or change on major political issues. Republicans portray political issues as consistent with Republican Party ideology as do the Democrats, who portray political issues as consistent with Democratic Party ideology.

⁷⁷ Lockerbie (2008) argues that party identification is “highly correlated with vote choice” (p. 35).

sophisticated' elites and their ideas about presidents or their policies instead of processing the information or facts themselves.

The public attributes credibility to political experts as having experience by which they can assert their opinions and ideologies; and thus can use the elites as a source of 'facts' for their own political decision-making (Page, Shapiro, & Dempsey, 1987). The credibility that individuals attribute to elite political figures stems from the association that the individual feels with the political figure due to their shared "common interests" (Baum & Groeling, 2005, p. 54). Party partisanship is conspicuous when considering credibility, with Republicans favoring Republican messages from Republican elites and Democrats favoring Democratic messages from Democratic elites; individuals are more likely to accept a political message from the Party whose ideologies most closely align with their own values. This is true even for those who pay more attention to politics; despite the fact that they have more access to new political information, it is not likely that they will change their minds about an issue when encountering new information.⁷⁸

Research Question 3: Does how the respondent views the president's performance as president make a significant difference in the perception of the president's handling of the economy?

Research Question 4: Does whether or not the respondent voted for the incumbent president make a significant difference in the public's perception of the president's handling of the economy?

Research Question 5: Does the amount of the vote-share that the president received in the previous election make a significant difference in the public's perception of the president's handling of the economy?

⁷⁸ For instance, a split-ballot study showed that respondents were more likely to support a policy they would otherwise disagree with if they were told that Nixon was in favor of the policy (Rosen, 1973). There are other studies that have been conducted that showed similar results but with different presidents (Thomas & Sigelman, 1985). Another study went a bit further, however, and found that fictitious policies that were supported by the public could lose that support if people were told that the policies were from a president of a different party than they were (Mondak, 1993). Similarly, Hurwitz (1989) found that 30 percent of participants changed their positions, when given the chance, on a policy opinion which they were told President Reagan differed with them.

Empirical Design/Model

I analyzed the National Election System (NES)⁷⁹ data from H.S. Truman through B.H. Obama⁸⁰ to ascertain how the public thinks about the president and his handling of the economy; the analysis determined if presidential rhetoric was able to influence the public's economic perceptions.⁸¹ This provided a unique addition to the dissertation by comparing how the public views the economy with how the presidents have been talking about the economy. Connecting these data with the economic health of the U.S., offers insight into their ability to shape public perceptions of the economy.

NES Data -- Dependent Variables

I identified the most pertinent variables in the *cumulative NES data set*.⁸² I generated new variables that were more appropriate for ordered logistic regression analysis.⁸³ Each NES variable needed to be recoded in order for the analysis to work effectively: the voters' personal finances compared to last year (-1 = worse; 0 = same; 1 = better), the voters' perception of the overall economy in the last year (-1 = worse; 0 = same; 1 = better), the voters' perception of the overall economy in the upcoming year (-1 = worse; 0 = same; 1 = better), the party identification of the respondent (0 = strong Republican; 1 = weak Republican; 2 = independent leaning Republican; 3 = pure Independent; 4 = independent leaning Democrat; 5 = weak Democrat; 6 = strong Democrat); the degree to which the respondent shared their party identification with the incumbent president (-3 = strong Democrat; -2 = weak Democrat; -1 = independent leaning

⁷⁹ The National Election Studies (NES) survey uses a multi-variable survey that has a Likert-type scale to determine responses about people's opinions on political issues.

⁸⁰ I selected these administrations because they are representative of the rhetorical Presidency. Moreover, the data from the Federal Reserve's Statistical Release website is only available from July 1954 onward.

⁸¹ I aggregated the data into the *four-year election cycle* as the unit of analysis.

⁸² http://www.electionstudies.org/studypages/download/datacenter_all.htm

⁸³ The dependent variables in the analysis were chosen because of their theoretical significance to the analysis. This enabled me to create a set of variables that provide an original analysis of the presidents' influence upon voter perceptions of the economy.

Democrat; 0 = pure Independent; 1 = independent leaning Republican; 2 = weak Republican; 3 = strong Republican), whether or not the respondent voted for the incumbent president (1 = yes or 0 = no), the respondents' perception of the presidents' performance (1 = approve; 0 = disapprove), and the respondents' level of political information (1 = very low; 2 = fairly low; 3 = average; 4 = fairly high; 5 = very high).

Table 1. Ordered Logistic Regression Analysis Equation

Model: Standard Discussion for Presidential Rhetoric's effect on Public's Economic Behavior	
* (D) Dichotomous Variable	$y_i^* = x_i \beta + \varepsilon_i$ -1 \Rightarrow worse if $\tau_0 = -\infty \leq y_i^* < \tau_{-1}$ $y_i = 0 \Rightarrow$ same if $\tau_1 \leq y_i^* < \tau_0$
** (X) Independent Variable	+1 \Rightarrow better if $\tau_2 \leq y_i^* < \tau_3 = \infty$ $\Pr(y = m \mid x) = F(\tau_m - x\beta) - F(\tau_{m-1} - x\beta)$ $Y = \beta_0 + \beta^1 X_1 + \beta^2 X_2 + \beta^3 D_3 + \beta^4 X_4 + \beta^5 X_5 + \beta^6 D_6 + \beta^7 X_7 + \beta^8 X_8 + \beta^9 D_9 + \beta^{10} X_{10} + \beta^{11} D_{11} + \beta^{12} D_{12} + \beta^{13} X_{13} + \hat{\varepsilon}$
	NES Data = $\beta_0 + \beta^1$ Ratio of Positive Speeches + β^2 Political Party Identification of Respondent + β^3 Party of President + β^4 Inflation Rate + β^5 Unemployment Rate + β^6 Divided Government + β^7 Vote Share + β^8 Major Speech + β^9 Voted for Incumbent + β^{10} Respondent Shared Party ID w President + β^{11} Recession + β^{12} Presidential Performance + β^{13} Level of Political Information + $\hat{\varepsilon}$

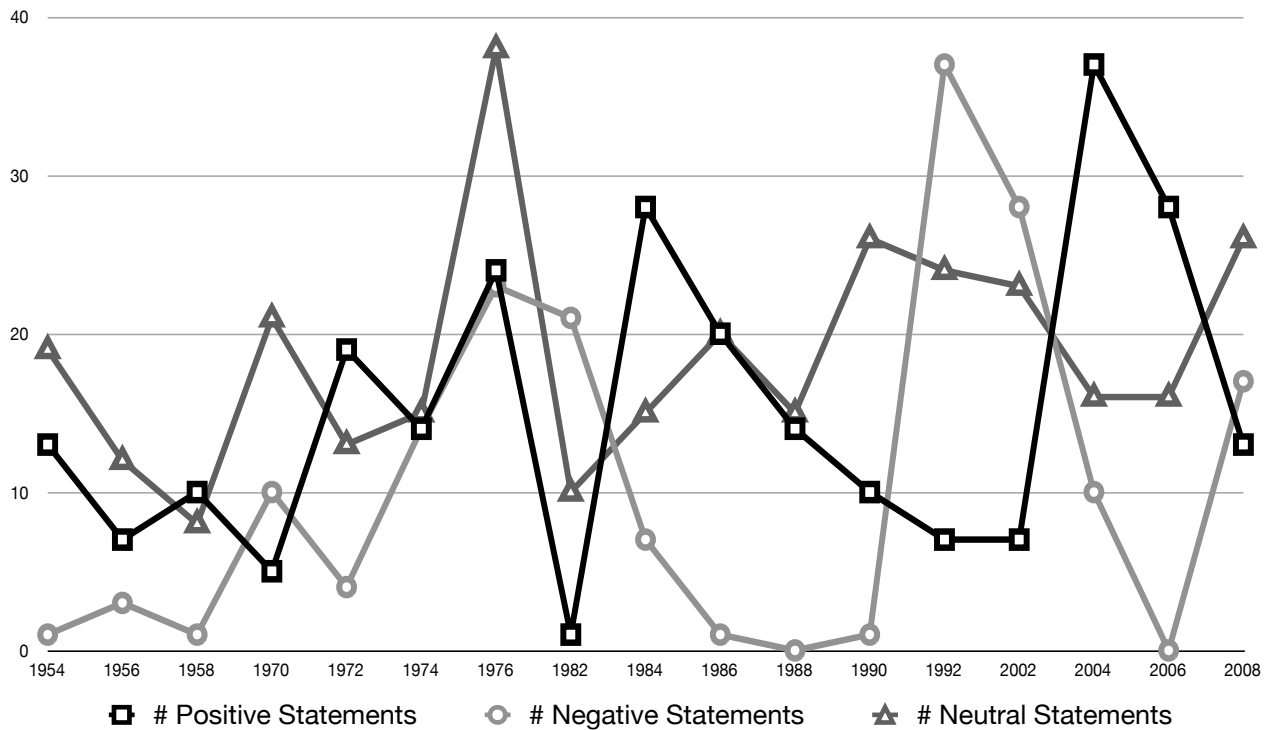
The analysis required an *Ordered Logistic Regression* to determine the effect that the independent variables can have on the predicted probability that the respondents will choose one Likert-type scale answer over the other, as illustrated by Table 1. These regression analyses use a *Maximum Likelihood Estimator*, an iterative method that measures the effect of the president's rhetoric on the public's perceptions of the economy. The results from the regression analysis are

presented in the following section. The discussion of the variables has been categorized according to similarity.⁸⁴

Results/Discussion

As illustrated by Figure 2, the Republican presidents, from 1948 through 2008, used 270 *Positive Economic Statements*, which is about 48 percent of the total positive economic statements. The Democratic presidents used 284 positive economic statements, 52 percent of the total statements. The Republican presidents used 186 *Negative Economic Statements*, which is

Figure 2. Republican Presidential Economic Statements

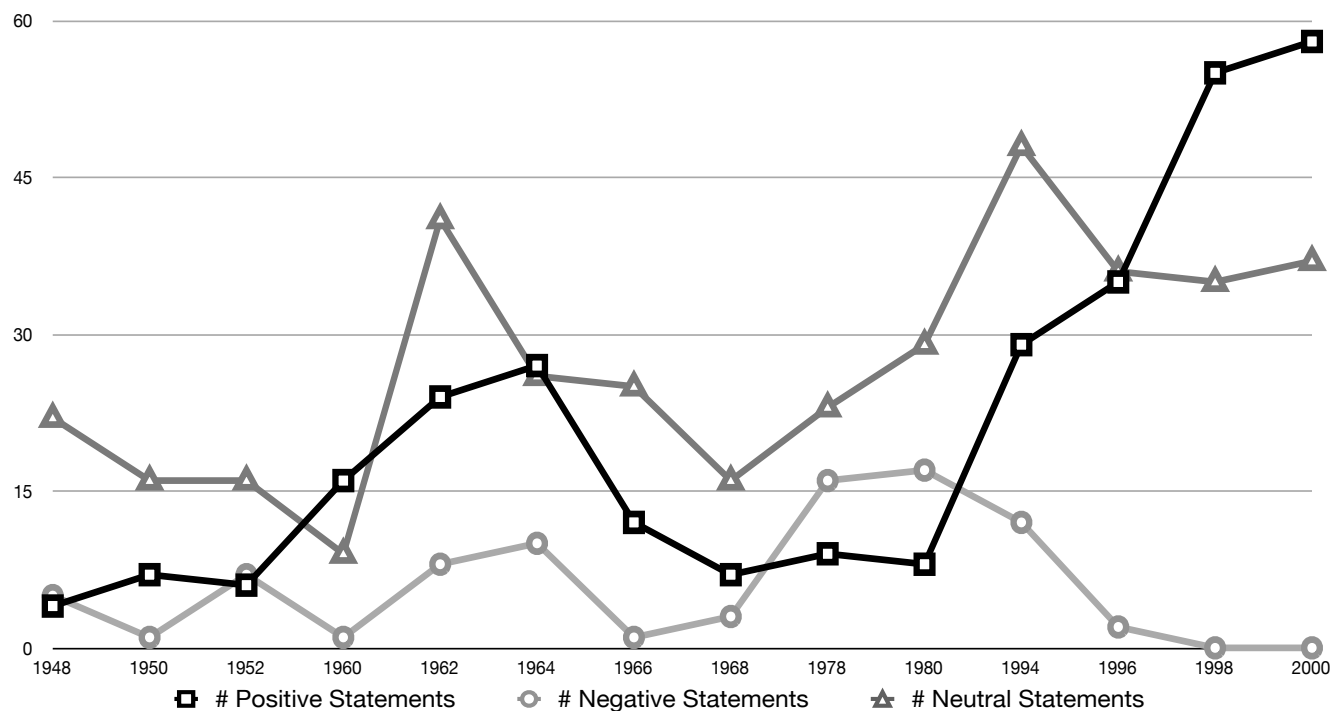


about 71 percent of the total negative economic statements. As illustrated by Figure 3, the Democratic presidents used 75 negative economic statements, 29 percent of the total statements. The substantial difference in presidential negative statements between Republican and

⁸⁴ For instance, I discuss the tone of speeches, the type of speeches, and the economic frames as well as the mechanism of presidential influence, and the control variables.

Democratic rhetoric is noteworthy.⁸⁵ The Republican presidents used 349 *Neutral Economic Statements*, which is about 50 percent of the total positive economic statements. The Democratic presidents used 347 negative economic statements, 50 percent of the total statements.

Figure 3. Democrat Presidential Economic Statements

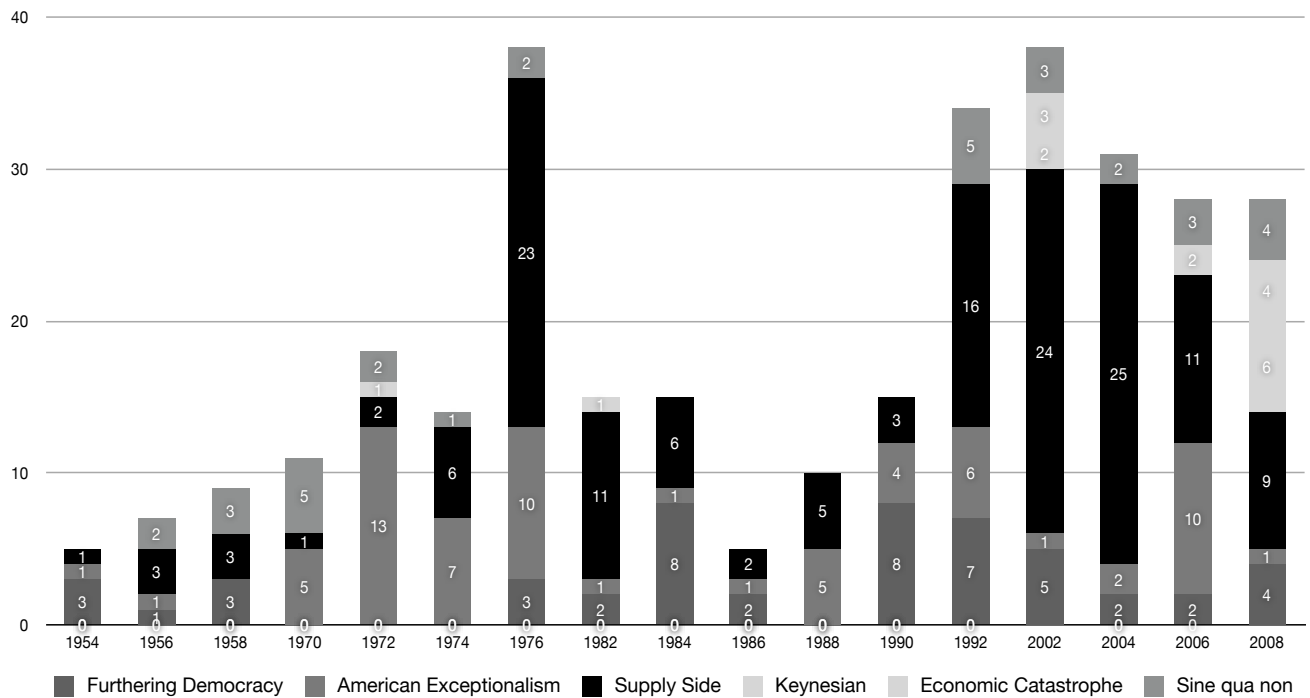


The economic frames (Furthering Democracy, American Exceptionalism, Supply Side Economics, Keynesian Economics, Economic Catastrophes, and Sine Qua Non) were often used in the president’s attempts to change the public’s perceptions of the economy (See Figures 4 and 5). There were 1515 total speeches in the sample used for this descriptive analysis. The presidents throughout the post WWII period used the economic frames regularly to discuss the economy. In fact, they used a total of 562 economic frames from 1947 through 2008, which is 37 percent of the total economic speeches used in this analysis. The total economic frames were broken down by 336 Republican president frames and 226 Democratic president frames.

⁸⁵ I would speculate that this major discrepancy could be attributed to the overwhelming fact that President Clinton spoke more often about the economy than any other president. His rhetoric was overwhelmingly positive, which, most likely, biases this percentage.

The *Furthering Democracy* economic frame appears to be one of the most prevalently used frames. As illustrated by Figures 4 and 5, the economic frames were broken down by 63 Republican president frames and 78 Democratic president frames. There were 141 total frames used in the 1515 units of analysis, which is nine percent of the president's total economic rhetoric being used to conjure up ideas about the plight of economic democracy, contrasting our economic system with that of Socialism and Communism (Kingdon, 1999). Presidents claim that their economic plans further democracy and the opposition plans and ideas are anti-democratic.

Figure 4. Republican Presidential Economic Frameworks

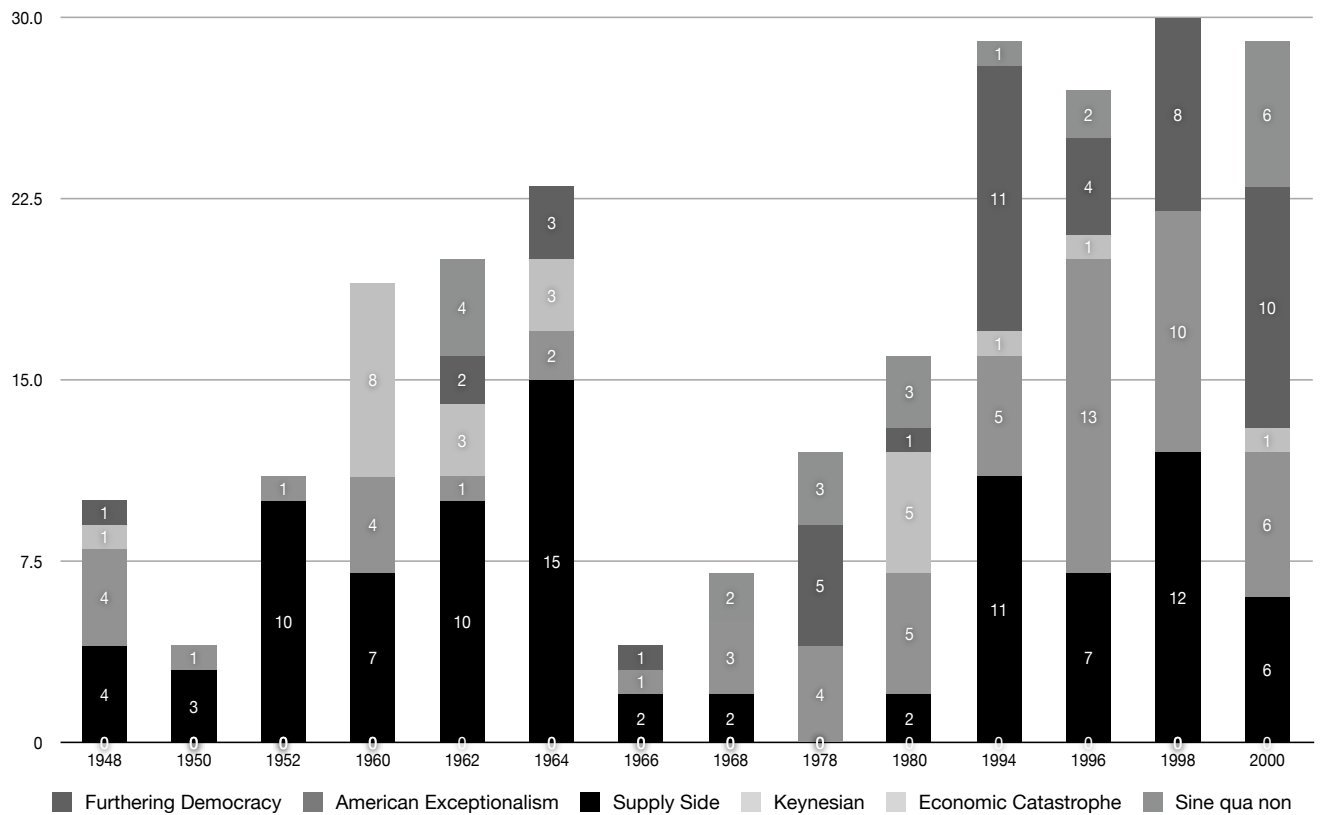


The *American Exceptionalism* economic frame also appears one of the most prevalently used frames. The Democrats used 58 of the frames and Republicans used 71. There were 129 total frames used in the 1515 units of analysis, which is nine percent of the president's economic rhetoric being used to show that the American economy and its actions are the greatest in the world, and an economy that has certain rights and responsibilities around the world. It is

supposed to exercise these rights whenever it needs and, just as important, it has a responsibility to those economies and peoples around the world that are considered allies.

The *Supply Side Economics* economic frame appears to be the most prevalently used frame and it was statistically significant. The Republicans used this frame 151 times and the Democrats used it 23 times. There were 174 frames used in the 1515 units of analysis, which is

Figure 5. Democratic Presidential Economic Frameworks



about 12 percent of the president’s total economic rhetoric being used to create a perception of how the government should approach its role in the economy. It advocates a free-market economy, wherein the government should cut taxes (Edwards & Wayne, 1985). Again, the vastly different usage in this frame between the Republicans and the Democrats is noteworthy; however, it was to be expected given ideological predilections of the two major parties.

The *Keynesian Economics* frame was used 54 times, which is four percent of the economic rhetoric being used in a way that calls for the government to intervene in the economy and invest in particular programs when the economy is not doing well, a stimulus of sorts (Stein, 1994). This frame was used 46 times by Democrats and 8 times by Republicans; again, it was to be expected given ideological predilections of the two major parties.

The *Economic Catastrophes* frame was the least used frame in the rhetoric. It was only used 11 times total. The Republicans are the only party to use the frame. This is less than one percent (0.007) of the economic rhetoric being used to call attention to economic disasters and the economy that would result (Trager & Vavreck, 2011).

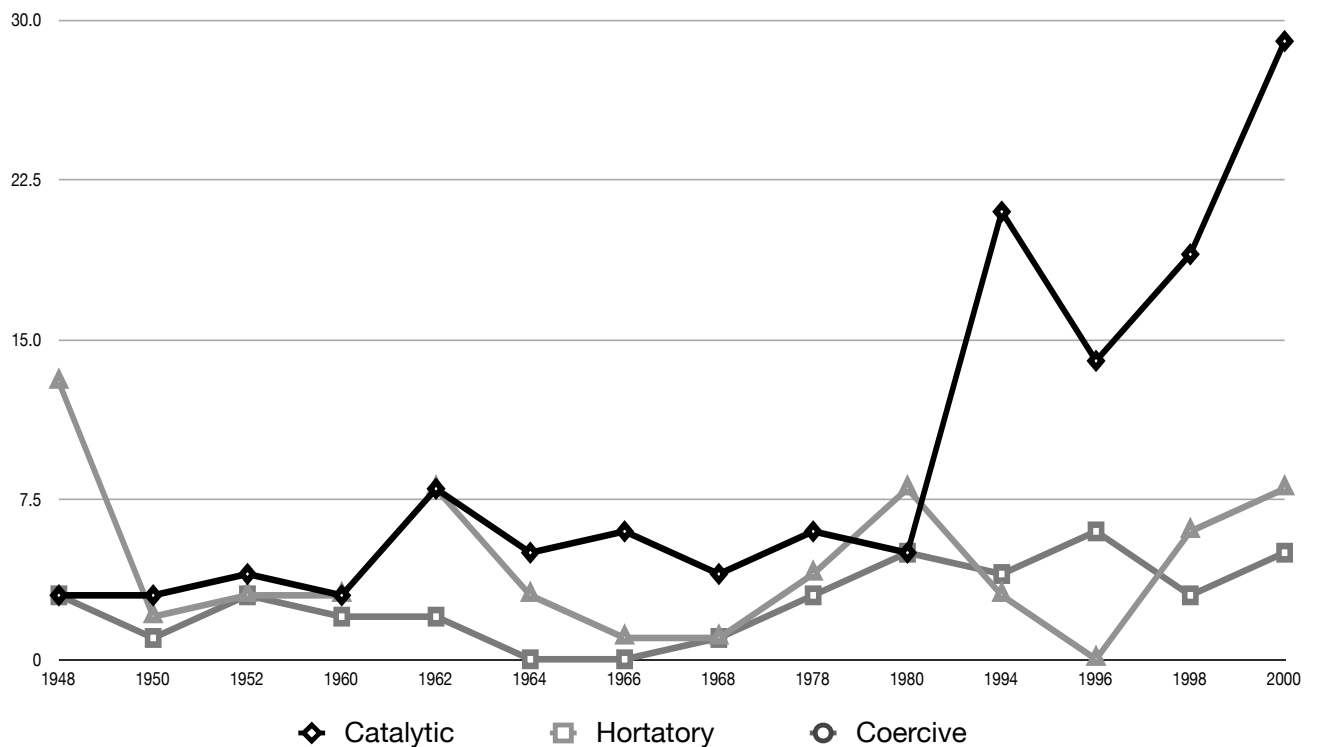
The *Sine Qua Non* economic frame was used 21 times by the Democrats and 32 times by the Republican presidents. There were 53 frames used in the 1515 units of analysis, which is four percent of the president's total economic rhetoric being used to create a perception of the president's actions on the economy as something that is absolutely necessary for the economy (Neustadt, 1991).

The mechanisms of influence (Catalytic, Hortatory, and Coercive) were prevalent in the president's economic rhetoric and the attempts to change the public's perceptions of the economy (See Figures 6 and 7). There were 1515 total speeches, in the sample, used for this analysis. The presidents used the control mechanisms a total of 462 times from 1948 through 2008, which is 31 percent of the total economic speeches. Showing how the different parties, Republican and Democrat, used the frames provides insight into how the presidents attempt to motivate the public and alter their perceptions.

The *Catalytic* rhetorical classifications frame appears to be the most prevalently used frame. As illustrated by Figures 6 and 7, there were 157 frames used by the Republicans and 123

used by the Democrats, which is a total of 280 catalytic statements in the 1515 units of analysis. That is about 19 percent of the president’s total economic rhetoric being used as calls for action from various political actors. These calls provide no details of what that action should consist. These controls function as a “Going Public” action of sorts (Kernell, 2007). They are intended to create excitement and actions that will further the policy goals of the president (Gormley, 1989).

Figure 6. Democratic Mechanisms of Presidential Influence

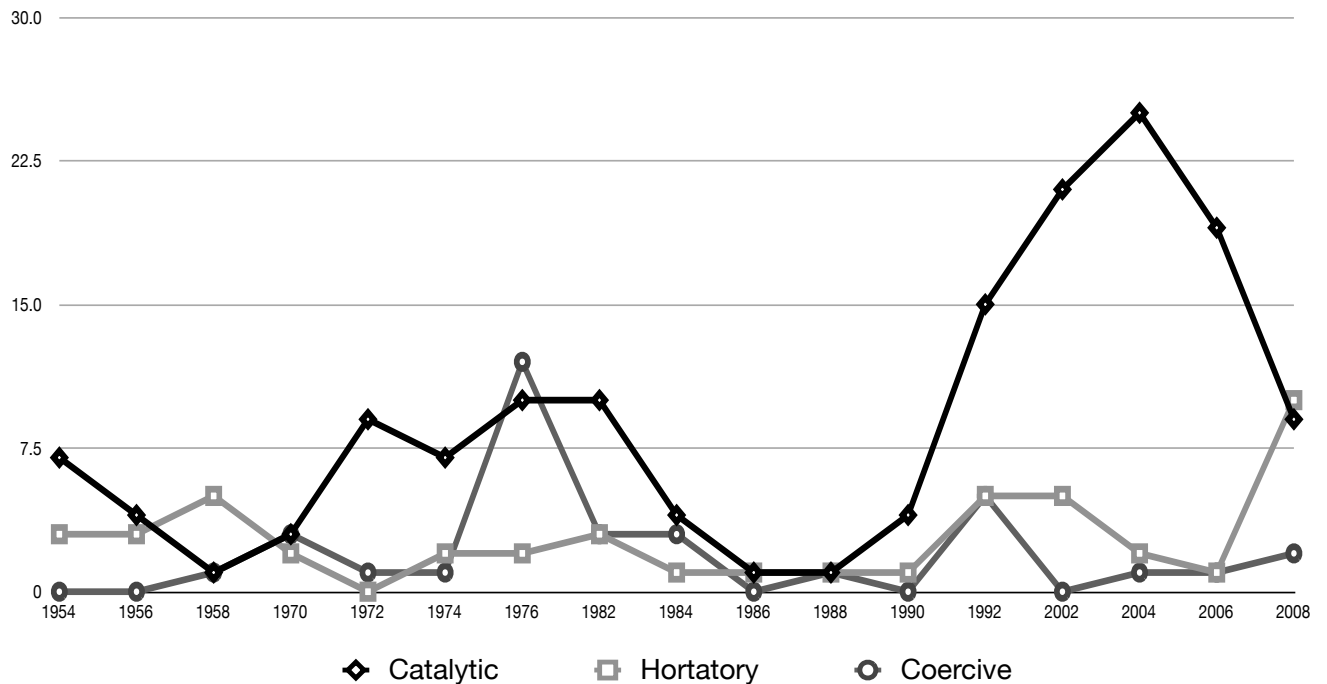


The *Hortatory* rhetorical classifications frame is the second most prevalently used frame. There were 52 frames used by the Republicans and 58 used by the Democrats, which is a total of 110 catalytic statements in the 1515 units of analysis. That is about seven percent of the president’s total economic rhetoric being used as statements that are the middle ground between the coercive and catalytic controls (Gormley, 1989). Hortatory controls are similar to catalytic controls, but provide elements of incentives and disincentives. They are also similar to coercive controls, but they provide an “escape hatch” for the political actor (p. 13). This is mostly

accomplished by using threats and promises. They are concerned with calls for legislation that deal with a problem and calls upon other economic actors to act in certain ways.

The *Coercive* rhetorical classifications frame is the least prevalently used control frame. The Republicans used 38 frames and the Democrats used 34 frames. There were 72 frames used in the 1515 units of analysis, which is five percent of the president’s total economic rhetoric being used as actions from the president that limit the ability of the other political actors to act,

Figure 7. Republican Mechanisms of Presidential Influence



but do not take away responsibility from those actors when mistakes or misdirections are made. These mechanisms of influence are “solution-forcing” actions from the president (Gormley, 1989, p. 12). Such actions consist of vetoes, executive orders, and rule-making actions. These coercive mechanisms do not leave the receiving political actors much room for response or opposition to the action.

The Public's Perception of the Economy as Predicted by Presidential Rhetoric

I provide multiple models to try to find the effect of the public's perceptions of the economy as a response to presidential rhetoric.⁸⁶ Tables 2 through 5 present the coefficients, odds ratios, and p-values as well as the percent changes in odds and the measures of fit.⁸⁷ The model, overall, is in line with the argument; the predictor variables, rather than the presidential rhetoric, significantly affect how the public perceives the economy.⁸⁸ Therefore, the substantive effects are as follows for the public's perceptions of the economy as a result of the president's use of positive economic rhetoric.

In hypothesis one, I found that the data requires a rejection of the null hypothesis.⁸⁹ As illustrated by Table 2, it is not significantly more likely that the positive economic rhetoric will predict the probability that the public will perceive their own personal finances as good despite the economic indicators. The odds that the public would perceive their personal finances as good over the last year because the president increased the number of positive statements did actually increase. However, the increase was indistinguishable from zero; the result was so insignificant that the alternative hypothesis must be accepted.

⁸⁶ The unit of analysis is voter responses to NES queries, differentiated by the election cycle.

⁸⁷ The ordered logistic regression provides the predicted probabilities of a one unit change in the presence of the dependent variables, *Voter Perception of the Economy in the Last Year*, the *Voter Perception of the Personal Finances in the Last Year*, and the *Voter Perception of the Economy in the Upcoming Year* (-1 = Worse, 0 = Same, 1 = Better), in this analysis of 8,829, 10,651, and 10,206 units of analysis, respectively.

⁸⁸ The log likelihood chi-squared values for the ordered logistic regression, *Voter Perception of the Economy in the Last Year* variable (5189.25), the *Voter Perception of the Personal Finances in the Last Year* variable (931.78), and the *Voter Perception of the Economy in the Upcoming Year* variable (249.12), were all significant at the .0000 alpha level (See Tables 3, 4, and 5). Additionally, the log likelihood chi-squared values prove that it is highly significant that the model I have created works better than one with no predictors.

⁸⁹ I must attach a word of caution about my hypothesis; it is the 'null hypothesis' approach. Therefore, if there is no effect, I am correct; there is no consideration of the magnitude by which rhetoric affects the NES responses. I was not interested in magnitude, but rather the president's ability to influence the decision making of an economic actor. I assume that my alternative hypothesis is correct until I could find evidence that it was incorrect. No such evidence could be found in this instance. I set up the analysis this way on purpose. I know that it makes it easier to obtain and justify my results. However, I think that the analysis still warrants a contribution to the literature. I took multiple measures to ensure that I gave presidential rhetoric a chance to make an impact. I differentiated the rhetoric by type of speech, mechanism of influence, and economic frameworks as well as time-period; it was not a simple aggregation of words. However, one could still read the results with caution because the rhetoric used was a stratified random sample and not the complete analysis of every word every president spoke. Moreover, I did not use a lagged variable in this analysis. Such a variable could have altered the results.

Table 2. Voter Perception of their Personal Finances in the Last Year

Dependent Variable: Pr (Success = -1 = Worse or 0 = Same or 1 = Better)				
N = 10,651				
Predicting Changes in NES Respondent Data				
	Coefficients	Odds Ratios	% Change in Odds	p Values
Positive Statements	.1832 (.2394)	1.201 (.2876)	20.1	.444
Respondent Party ID	-.0442 (.0092)	.9568 (.0088)	- 4.3	.0000*****
Presidential Party	.2083 (.0756)	1.232 (.0931)	23.2	.006***
Inflation Rate	.0798 (.0186)	1.083 (.0201)	8.3	.0000*****
Unemployment Rate	.0155 (.0192)	1.016 (.0195)	1.6	.418
Divided Government	.0872 (.0891)	1.091 (.0972)	9.1	.328
Major Speeches	-.0121 (.0168)	.9880 (.0166)	- 1.2	.473
Vote Share	-.0409 (.0076)	.9599 (.0072)	- 4.0	.0000*****
Voted for the Incumbent	.1325 (.0594)	1.142 (.0678)	14.2	.026**
Shared Party ID with President	.0417 (.0216)	1.043 (.0132)	4.3	.001***
Presidential Performance	.5544 (.0530)	1.741 (.0922)	74.1	.0000*****
Level of Political Information	.0833 (.0184)	1.087 (.0200)	8.7	.0000*****
Presence of a Recession	-.9049 (.1169)	.4046 (.0473)	-59.5	.0000*****
Log Likelihood		- 11184.88	$\chi^2 = 931.78$ (p < .0000)	

*p < .1. **p < .05. ***p < .01. ****p < .001 *****p < .0000

With regard to the research questions, the party of the president, the respondent, and the extent to which these are the same does make a significant difference in the public's perception of the president's handling of the economy. Most importantly, as the party identification of the respondent and the party identification of the president get closer together, the respondent is

more likely to claim that the president is doing a good job with the economy (See Table 2). Moreover, if the respondent views the performance of the president as good, it is more likely that the respondent thinks the president is handling the economy well. Inflation and recessions matter a great deal in the public's perceptions of the handling of the economy (See Table 2).⁹⁰ When the respondent voted for the incumbent president, it makes a significant difference in the public's perception of the president's handling of the economy.

In hypothesis two, I found that the data require a rejection of the null hypothesis. As illustrated by Table 3, it is significantly more likely that the positive economic rhetoric makes a difference to the public in how they perceive the economy, particularly in the last year. As presented by Figure 8, the odds of the public perceiving the economy as good in the last year occurring as a result of an increase in the number of positive statements made by the president is the result expected; the more positive statements made by the president, the more likely the respondent thought the economy was worse. These results strongly suggest that the president is not able to change the public's perceptions of the economy with positive rhetoric.

Table 3. Voter Perception of the Economy in the Last Year

Dependent Variable: Pr (Success = -1 = Worse or 0 = Same or 1 = Better)				
N = 8,829				
Predicting Changes in NES Respondent Data				
	Coefficients	Odds Ratios	% Change in Odds	p Values
Positive Statements	-21.899 (2.513)	3.09 (7.76)	- 100.0	.0000*****
Respondent Party ID	-.0533 (.0110)	.9480 (.0105)	- 5.2	.0000*****
Presidential Party	-4.713 (.2697)	.0089 (.0024)	- 99.1	.0000*****
Inflation Rate	-1.409 (.0971)	.2445 (.0237)	- 75.1	.0000*****

⁹⁰ It appears as though the unemployment rate does not matter to the respondents and their perceptions of their personal finances in the last year.

Unemployment Rate	1.277 (.2016)	.2790 (.0562)	- 72.1	.0000*****
Divided Government	4.203 (.5109)	66.908 (34.185)	6590.7	.0000*****
Major Speeches	1.233 (.1107)	3.430 (.3796)	243.0	.0000*****
Vote Share	.4758 (.0548)	1.609 (.0881)	60.9	.0000*****
Voted for the Incumbent	.3741 (.0548)	1.454 (.1131)	45.4	.0000*****
Shared Party ID with President	.1077 (.0162)	1.114 (.0180)	11.4	.0000*****
Presidential Performance	.9785 (.0684)	2.660 (.1817)	x	.0000*****
Level of Political Information	.1393 (.0238)	1.149 (.0274)	166.0	.0000*****

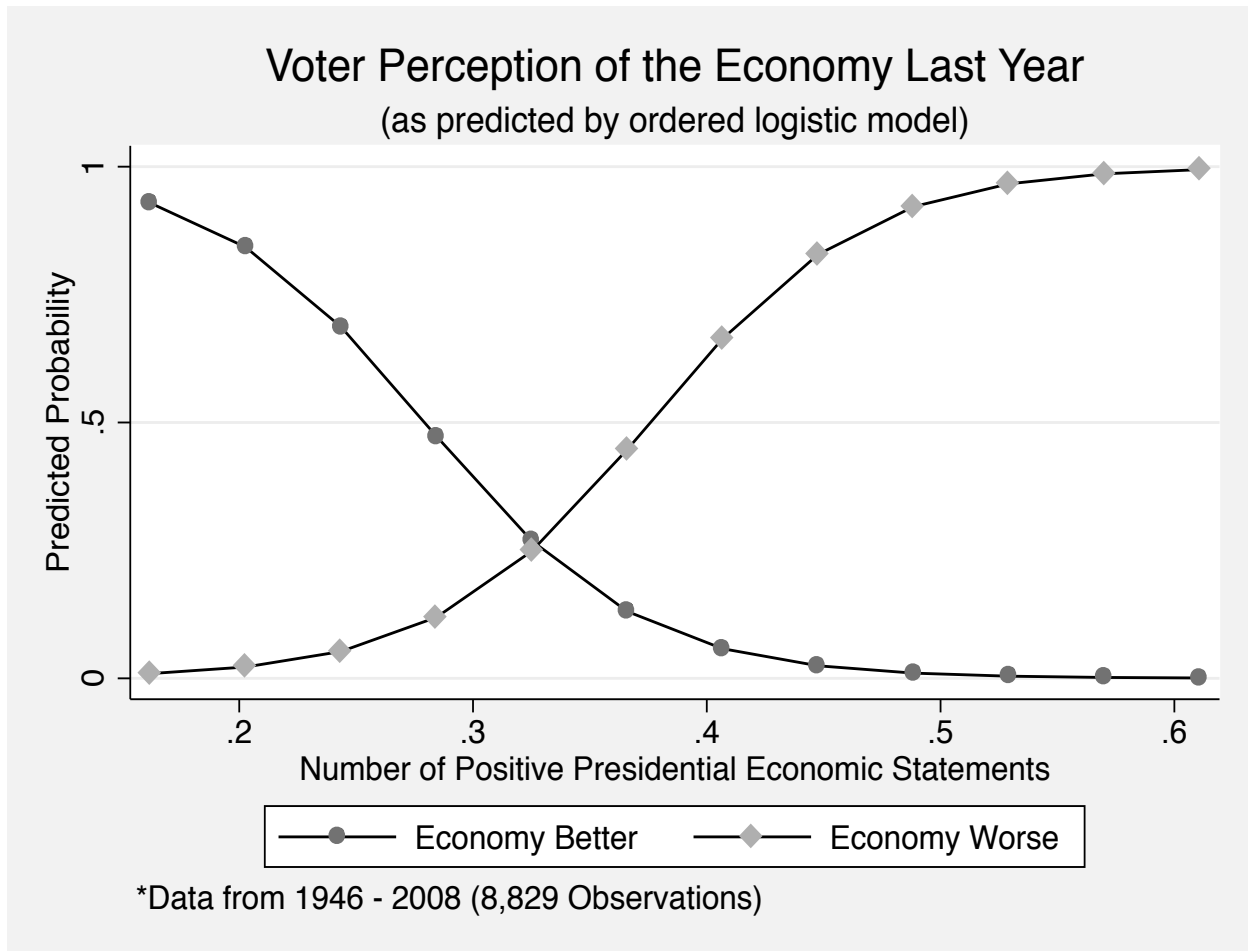
Log Likelihood - 6711.3949 $\chi^2 = 5189.25$ (p < .0000)

*p < .1. **p < .05. ***p < .01. ****p < .001 *****p < .0000

With regard to the research questions, the party of the president, the respondent, and the extent to which these are the same does make a difference in the public's perception of how the president handled the economy in the last year. As in the last model, the closer the party of the respondent and the party of the president get, the more likely the respondent will indicate the president has done a good job with regard to the economy (See Table 3). If the respondent views the president's performance as good, it is more likely that he or she thinks the president did a good job with the economy. Moreover, as the inflation rate decreased, respondents felt the same way about the economy in the last year.⁹¹ As the vote-share that the president received in the previous election increased, the more likely the public's perception of the president's handling of the economy increased. As one might expect, whether or not the respondent voted for the incumbent president made a significant difference in the public's perception of how the president handled the economy (See Table 3).

⁹¹ Again, unemployment did not matter in the way one might think it matters. The log odds of an increased unemployment rate (1.277) suggests that the public perceives the president as handling the economy well.

Figure 8. Probability of Respondents Perceiving the Economy as Better Last Year



In hypothesis three, the results required that I fail to reject the null hypothesis. As illustrated by Table 4, it is significantly more likely that the positive economic rhetoric predicts that the public, across all presidents and respondents, perceive the economy as good in the upcoming year. The odds of the public perceiving the economy as good in the upcoming year, as a result of an increase in the number of positive statements made by the president, were substantial. When the presidents increased their positive rhetoric, the probability that the public perceived the economy as doing well increased.⁹² There is no way to measure whether their

⁹² The problem with this conclusion, however, is its limitation to definitively state that the optimistic perception of the economy in the upcoming year is a direct result of the positive statements of the president. I think that this result should be viewed quite cautiously for a number of reasons. This analysis was not conducted on individual panel

optimism is a change from a pessimistic outlook about the economy prior to hearing the positive rhetoric from the president. These results simply tell us that, in general, the more positive presidents are about the current economy, the more likely the public reports that it is optimistic about the upcoming economy.

With regard to the research questions, the party of the respondent made a significant difference in the public's perception of the president's handling of the economy in the upcoming year; the more Republican the respondents were, the more likely they thought the economy would be better. I could speculate that it is a result of seven more years that Republicans were in the White House. Further, there were more Republican presidents in the time frame of the NES data; Republican respondents view Republican presidents as trusted sources of information wherein they accept what is told to them. Those persons with similar economic circumstances typically resonate with the ideas of those presidents who offer messages that impact their own economic predicaments; those affected by unemployment will respond positively to presidents who lower unemployment; those that are more concerned with inflation will respond to the messages and policies that attempt or succeed at lowering inflation (Brody, 1991).⁹³

In this regression, however, the closer the party of the respondent and the party of the president got, it was not more likely that the respondent would indicate the president had done a good job with regard to the economy. The residential party did not matter in the public's perception

data, which tells us nothing about how the respondents that viewed the upcoming year as positive viewed the economy last year. Such data would tell us specifically if presidents could use their positive rhetoric to change individuals' economic perceptions with positive rhetoric. Secondly, there is an assumption that the respondents have encountered the president's positive rhetoric. As the literature shows, this assumption is unfounded. In addition, this could simply mean that the economic indicators are getting better and that is why the president is talking about the economic expansion more often; the public notices the change in the economic indicators rather than trusting the president. Moreover, as a result of the simplicity and limitations of my hypothesis, there could be other conditions besides rhetoric that factor into the public's optimism. Maybe the public is inherently optimistic about the future? Maybe there has been a change in government leadership and this is the impetus for the optimism? There could be any number of factors that play a role.

⁹³ Individuals who are not directly affected by unemployment or inflation can still have preferences for how the government approaches economic indicators; the preferences for how government deals with economic indicators can influence which president a person will support (Brody, 1991).

either (See Table 4). These results are noteworthy when compared to the previous analysis. The outcomes suggest that the public pays greater attention to other factors besides the president and their party when contemplating their economic futures.

Table 4. Voter Perception of the Economy in the Upcoming Year

Dependent Variable: Pr (Success = -1 = Worse or 0 = Same or 1 = Better)				
N = 10,206				
Predicting Changes in NES Respondent Data				
	Coefficients	Odds Ratios	% Change in Odds	p Values
Positive Statements	.7818 (.2592)	2.185 (.5666)	118.5	.003***
Respondent Party ID	-.0197 (.0099)	.9805 (.0097)	- 1.9	.046**
Presidential Party	-.0653 (.0817)	.9366 (.0765)	- 6.3	.424
Inflation Rate	-.1050 (.0197)	.9004 (.0178)	- 10.0	.0000*****
Unemployment Rate	.0421 (.0207)	1.043 (.0215)	4.3	.042**
Divided Government	-.0952 (.0932)	.9092 (.0847)	- 9.1	.307
Major Speeches	.0248 (.0180)	1.025 (.0185)	2.5	.169
Vote Share	.0204 (.0080)	1.021 (.0082)	2.1	.011**
Voted for the Incumbent	.0848 (.0632)	1.089 (.0688)	8.8	.180
Shared Party ID with President	-.0140 (.0135)	.9861 (.0133)	- 1.4	.301
Presidential Performance	.4172 (.0568)	1.518 (.0862)	51.8	.0000*****
Level of Political Information	.1086 (.0197)	1.115 (.0220)	11.5	.0000*****
Presence of a Recession	.4804 (.1226)	1.617 (.1982)	61.7	.0000*****
Log Likelihood		- 9382.9397	$\chi^2 = 249.12$ (p < .0000)	

*p < .1. **p < .05. ***p < .01. ****p < .001 *****p < .0000

Table 5 presents the coefficients and odds ratios of a thought-provoking contribution to the dissertation. The analyses were conducted by presidential party and the party of the respondents: all

respondents and all presidents, Republican respondents and Republican presidents, Republican respondents and Democratic presidents, Democratic respondents and Democratic presidents, Independent respondents and Democratic presidents, and Independent respondents and Republican presidents. Differentiating the analysis in this way enabled me to find the effect of the president’s positive economic rhetoric on the public’s perceptions of the economy in a way that highlights the partisanship of the public and the president.

Table 5. Positive Presidential Statements on the Economy

Dependent Variables: Pr (Success = -1 = Worse or 0 = Same or 1 = Better)			
Predicting Changes in the NES Respondent Data – Differentiated by Political Party			
	Personal Finances	Economy Last Year	Economy Next Year
	β^{\wedge} / Odds Ratios	β^{\wedge} / Odds Ratios	β^{\wedge} / Odds Ratios
All Respondents	.1832 / 1.201 (.2394) / (.2876)	-21.90 / 3.09 ***** (2.513) / 7.76	.7818 / 2.185 *** (.2592) / (.5666)
Rep Respondents Rep President	2.194 / 8.973 *** (.8128) / (7.294)	-5.906 / .0027 ***** (.8910) / .0024	-1.559 / .2103 * (.8557) / (.1800)
Rep Respondents Dem President	.5071 / 1.660 (.6409) / (1.064)	-1.273 / .2800 * (.6727) / (.1883)	1.478 / 4.383** (.6786) / (2.975)
Dem Respondents Dem President	-.7579 / .4687 (.5969) / (.2797)	-2.592 / .0749 ***** (.6335) / (.0474)	.4870 / 1.627 (.6201) / (1.009)
Dem Respondents Rep President	3.897 / 49.257***** (.7287) / (35.893)	-2.801 / .0608 ***** (.8192) / (.0500)	-1.626 / .1968** (.7759) / (.1527)
Independent Respondents Dem President	1.172 / 3.229 (.8036) / (2.594)	-1.653 / .1915 ** (.8269) / (.1584)	1.212 / 3.360 (.8325) / (2.797)
Independent Respondents Rep President	2.900 / 18.114*** (.9526) / (17.255)	-2.480 / .0838 ** (.9948) / (.0833)	-2.503 / .0819 ** (1.008) / (.0825)

*p < .1. **p < .05. ***p < .01. ****p < .001 *****p < .0000

The differentiated analyses provide mixed results about how the party of the president factors into the perceptions of the respondents and their party affiliation. With regard to

Republican respondents, the positive rhetoric from Republican presidents made a highly significant difference in how voters perceived their own personal finances; Republican respondents were 8.97 times more likely to think that their personal finances were better as a result of the positive rhetoric from Republican presidents. Similarly, Democratic respondents were significantly more likely (increased by a factor of 49.26) to think that their personal finances were good as a result of the positive economic rhetoric from Republican presidents. However, despite the positive rhetoric from Republican presidents, the Republican respondents were not more likely to view the economy last year as better or the upcoming economy as better.

The analysis does not produce the same type of results for Republican respondents and Democratic Presidents or Democratic respondents and Democratic presidents. However, Republican respondents were significantly more likely (increased by a factor of 4.38) to think that the economy was going to be good in the next year as a result of the positive economic rhetoric from the Democratic presidents. Democratic respondents were significantly less likely to think that the economy will be better next year as a result of the positive economic rhetoric from Republican presidents.⁹⁴

Conclusions

This chapter counters many arguments in presidential economic rhetoric literature, namely, that the president can use positive, optimistic rhetoric to shape how the public perceives their economic conditions (Wood, 2007; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006; Wood, 2012; Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005). More specifically, this analysis provided two specific components. The first showed the extent and the manner in which presidents pay attention to indicators of the

⁹⁴ The analysis also shows that Independent respondents were less likely to believe Democratic presidents than they were to believe Republican presidents about the prospects of the future economy and the past economy. The exception, however, consists of Independent respondents thinking that the economy next year will be worse by a factor of .082 as a result of the positive economic rhetoric of the Republican presidents (See Table 5).

economy's strength or weakness. Secondly, it assessed how the public perceives the economy as presented by the president.

The president's relationship with the public is constrained by the limitations of audience, political predilections, and political party values. The economic rhetoric from the president is unable to influence or shape the public's perceptions regarding the economy. The results suggest that the way the public perceives economic conditions cannot fully be determined by the tone of presidential economic rhetoric; the rhetoric is not able to predict, with statistical significance, the probability that the public will perceive a good economy as result of positive presidential rhetoric.⁹⁵ Party identification makes more of a difference in how the public views the economy than the tone of presidential rhetoric; personal preferences and predilections have more to do with economic perceptions than the tone of speeches. The predispositions persons have about which party is better able to offer them economic security in the future most likely determines which candidate (Republican or Democrat) that person will support (Lockerbie, 2008). These data reinforce the notion that the public receives its information from party elites and approves or disapproves of it based upon the 'elite' providing the message, complicating the president's ability to lead the public (DiClerico, 1993; Wolf & Holian, 2006).

My research suggests that presidents have increased their rhetoric about the economy. However, the increase has not brought about the desired effects. The public's perceptions regarding the economy do not reflect the tone of presidential rhetoric, despite many instances of positive or negative economic speeches; there is a higher probability that the public perceives

⁹⁵ Individuals react analytically to the information they receive based on their knowledge and exposure to political activities. In other words, *if* people are paying attention to the presidential rhetoric about the economy, they are reacting to rhetoric based upon their political predilections, which have been highly influenced by how the political elites they pay attention to have framed the issue (Zaller, 1992). The public can only react to what the president is saying based upon what they have learned from the other political elites to whom they pay attention. If the political discourse coming from those political elites differs from what the president is saying, the public will react according to the knowledge that they possess; they will not change their minds and participate in risk in order to stimulate the economy (Zaller, 1992; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005; Wood, 2007; Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005).

their economic situation from other externalities, such as respondent party affiliation and economic conditions, rather than from the tone of the president's economic rhetoric. It is clear from multiple models and significance tests that the individuals do not, overall, think about the economy in the way that the presidents would like, whether it is their current economic situation, their perception of the future economy, or their own personal finances. Regardless of presidential attempts to tailor their rhetoric to meet specific needs, they are incredibly unsuccessful, in nearly every way; the public does not change their perceptions about the economy when the president tries to convince them (Edwards, 2003; Cohen, 2008; Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2006 & 2011).⁹⁶

⁹⁶ The president's messages are not getting to the public from the president in the way that presidents want. The changed media, the disconnected and truly uninformed public, and the negativity, all contribute to the president's diminished capacity to lead the public.

Chapter 5

Presidential Rhetoric and Congress

“It is the duty of the President to propose and it is the privilege of the Congress to dispose.”

--- **Franklin D. Roosevelt**

Introduction to the Issue

The influence Congress has over the economy is vast; it is a substantial creator of fiscal policy and also affects monetary policy (Kiewiet & McCubbins, 1985; Kiewiet, 1983).⁹⁷ Congressional action on the economy can transform the president's economic agenda (Leuchtenburg, 1996).⁹⁸ The president understands this reality and often seeks to mitigate intrusion of Congress and how they influence the direction of economic policy. To influence economic policy, the president needs to be able to persuade or bargain with Congress, which is essential to building coalitions that will offer opportunities for policy development (Neustadt, 1991). Therefore, the president needs to have congressional support; his persuasive task is to convince Congress that what the White House wants to do economically is what Congress ought to do as a whole and for each individual member's constituents.

Presidents try to influence the Congress by 'going public' with the direction they want for economic policy (Canes-Wrone, 2001; Edwards, 1985).⁹⁹ They use rhetorical cues and signals to the Congress that address the economic changes they want and what they are willing to do to get Congress to address the worrisome economic indicators hindering their agenda (Eshbaugh-Soha,

⁹⁷ Congress has been a significant contributor to the overall U.S. economy since the ratification of the Constitution (Thurber, 1991). In fact, the Constitution (Article I, Section 8, Clause 3) mandates that Congress regulate commerce, which is essential to the economy. The *Commerce Clause* has been at the forefront of American politics and intergovernmental relations for centuries.

⁹⁸ According to Wildavsky and Caiden (2003), the congressional budget process had changed substantially in recent decades. The *Congressional Budget Act of 1974* established the top-down budget process, which created an exhaustive budget resolution. This was created by a new budget committee in each House, and supported by the new Congressional Budget Office. According to Niskanen (1971), the *Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985* created the statutory deficit reduction schedule and procedures for implementation. In 1990, the Congress passed the *Budget Enforcement Act*, which categorized budgeting: defense, nondefense discretionary, and entitlements (Dolan, Frensdreis, & Tatalovich, 2008). Wildavsky and Caiden (2003) argue that the new process comes from a fundamental change in thought about the role of the federal government and intergovernmental relationships, namely, a disagreement about which institution should be in charge of fiscal policy. These changes create tension and a struggle for power between the Congress and the president.

⁹⁹ The purpose of going public is not simply to offer policies and programs to the public to garner support from the people, but to motivate the public to contact their members of Congress about the policy. This activity is intended to make the economic agenda of the president the agenda of Congress, via its constituencies. Going public is an attempt to give the president more legislative influence and to help him accomplish his economic goals by pressuring Congress (Kernell, 2007).

2005; Edwards, 2003).¹⁰⁰ The problem, however, is that Congress creates its own mechanisms of policy information distribution that enable individual members, who are less informed, to garner policy expertise, thereby, bypassing the president's signals (Krehbiel, 1991). This suggests that Congress is not passively waiting for the president to provide leadership on economic policy. Members of Congress are concerned with making their own versions of good policy and their own reelection, which may take them in a different direction from the president (Miroff, 2003; Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000; Fenno, 1978; Mayhew, 1989). Therefore, the rationale for this study was to ascertain if presidential rhetoric could motivate Congress to action with regard to the economy or if their rhetoric is too constrained by the externalities and the powers Congress possesses.

The President and the Congress

Understanding that presidential power is externally controlled is crucial to determining the president's relationships with the Congress and the economy (Light, 1999). There are many elements to consider when deciphering how limited the presidents are in using rhetoric to influence their externally controlled circumstances. First, Congress has goals that may be different or even contrary to those of the president; there is congressional competition for agenda space. The Congress, and possibly each of its members, may have more important matters to which their constituents want them to attend. In fact, some members, particularly those of the opposing party, may have a primary goal of obstructing the president's goals for the economy.

¹⁰⁰ There are political realities that decrease the president's influence in Congress. Changes in economic indicators such as unemployment, inflation, and the deficit create serious conflict between the president and the Congress (Peterson, 1990). Presidents, however employ specific tactics that they think will help them be more successful at increasing their influence with Congress. They make veto threats about legislation that they do not want to see become law. They go public with their own requests for legislation. They try to build coalitions of policy elites. They even try to make their approval ratings higher.

Secondly, the policy process is more fragmented; there are more steps in the process with the onslaught of subsystems. It is more difficult to get economic legislation to become law. Moreover, presidential influence in Congress has rapidly declined, particularly with regard to political parties (Light, 1999). The parties are a weakened institution now that divided government is such a common occurrence (Bond & Fleisher, 2000). The conflict has increased to the point where ‘bipartisanship’ is a liability for political actors. Building coalitions has become a difficult endeavor for presidents. Without the coalitions, legislative influence is nearly impossible for a president. Presidents are not as powerful, legislatively, as they once were.

Cues and Signals

Congress has a vast agenda with which the president must compete; it is more likely to ignore requests from the presidents, despite rhetorical cues and signals (Edwards & Barrett, 2000; Edwards & Wood, 1999; Light, 1999).¹⁰¹ Congress has limits as to what it can even consider, given the time constraints of the legislative session and the institutional and constituency responsibilities to which it must attend. Moreover, each request has a number of steps it must pass through, committees and hearings, before it can receive full consideration (Cox & McCubbins, 2007; Krehbiel, 1991). Presidents have to limit their requests from Congress in order to strategically maximize their legislative accomplishments (Light, 1999). Therefore, in order to be effective, presidents have to try to use their rhetorical cues and signals to focus

¹⁰¹ There are instances wherein it appears that rhetorical cues and signals presidents send to the Congress worked. It is anecdotal evidence, however, which shows how presidents use their rhetorical cues and signals to convince or motivate Congress to support their policy goals. For instance, President Roosevelt took to the radio waves with ‘Fire-Side Chats’ about economic policy to garner support for his programs. On the surface, it seems that his plan was successful. Furthermore, President Johnson ‘went public’ with Civil Rights rhetoric in the hopes of convincing the public as well as the Congress that changes were necessary. Again, it seemed to have worked. However, the same cannot be said with President Carter and his attempt to ‘go public’ with the energy package. It is difficult to find data or systematic studies that prove presidential rhetoric can be used consistently to garner support. The research is not comprehensive. The rhetorical cues and signals that presidents send to Congress have only been successful in small, isolated examples that should not be considered the standard by which to judge presidential rhetoric’s influence over the economy (Tulis, 1987).

attention on a few specific policies, or else their priorities are nearly forgotten in the agenda of Congress (Edwards & Wood, 1999; Light, 1999).

H1₀:

The tone of the economic rhetoric will compel congressional action in the form of hearings on the economy.

H1_A:

The tone of the economic rhetoric will not create more economic hearings on the state of the economy.

H2₀:

The tone of the economic rhetoric will compel congressional action in the form of legislation addressing economic issues.

H2_A:

The tone of the economic rhetoric will not create more economic legislation addressing the economic indicators presidents discuss.

H3₀:

The tone of the economic rhetoric will compel congressional action in the form of legislation reported out of committee.

H3_A:

The tone of the economic rhetoric will not create more economic legislation reported out of committee.

Going Public

The practice of ‘going public’ is in direct contradiction to the notion of persuading or bargaining; it eradicates the “kinds of exchanges ... for the American political system to function properly” (Kernell, 2007, p. 3). This approach leaves no room for compromise; it keeps Congress from receiving the credit and the benefits from doing what was required. Moreover, it imposes all negative political costs on those who do not do what the president requests (Kernell, 2007). This creates direct opposition to the president’s requests and engenders a contentious environment wherein the he gets less than he wants legislatively (Kernell, 2007; Canes-Wrone, 2001).

Presidents have recognized, however, that this strategy is not effective, particularly the national element (Cohen, 2010; Kernell, 2007). To accommodate, presidents have started ‘going local’ to garner support for their policies (Cohen, 2010). The idea is that the local newspapers will portray them and their message in a more positive narrative, which will influence their constituencies. The positive narrative, however, does not translate to more policy victories (Cohen, 2010). In recent years, presidents have not ‘gone public’ as often as one might expect (Barrett, 2005).¹⁰² They tend to do so only for existing legislative proposals that they support and for those that have a chance of getting through both Houses of Congress (Barrett, 2004). Leading Congress through positive rhetoric is not a viable option for the presidents (Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2006).¹⁰³

Research Question 1: Does the number of requests for legislation from the president make a significant difference in the number of congressional hearings on the economy, bills sent to the president, and economic legislation reported out of committee from Congress?

Research Question 2: Does the type of speech given by the president make a significant difference in the number of congressional hearings on the economy, bills sent to the president, and economic legislation reported out of committee from Congress?

Research Question 3: Does the type of mechanism of influence make a significant difference in the number of congressional hearings on the economy, bills sent to the president, and economic legislation reported out of committee from Congress?

Research Question 4: Does the type of economic frame make a significant difference in the number of congressional hearings on the economy, bills sent to the president, and economic legislation reported out of committee from Congress?

Build Coalitions in Congress

Congress restricts the president’s legislative policy development abilities (DiClerico, 2000). The interaction with Congress is one of the most complicated relationships that presidents have to maintain. They have to convince both houses of Congress to support their economic

¹⁰² Barrett (2004) does, however, qualify his research by stating that it only covers three recent presidential administrations.

¹⁰³ Presidents, at best, are able to use cues and signals to influence how the policy-elites talk about items on the agenda (Canes-Wrone, 2001).

programs. To further complicate the relationship, the committee system of Congress has the potential to seriously impede the president. Without favorable committee chairpersons, their legislation could potentially remain in committee indefinitely (DiClerico, 2000). And, if it does leave the committee, it still has to overcome the filibuster threat. Presidents need party loyalists in order to build coalitions that will support their economic policies. Building coalitions is the only effective way to accomplish anything (Barrett & Eshbaugh-Soha, 2007; Canes-Wrone, 2006; Neustadt, 1991; Arnold, 1990; Jones, 1994; Edwards, 1980). Despite the relationship that exists, the president needs to work with the Congress because of its vital role in the economy.

Party affiliation is a strong predictor of presidential success in the legislature; as unified government increases, the presidents are more successful legislatively (Bond & Fleisher, 2000).¹⁰⁴ Unified government provides the president with more opportunity to gain legislation that advances his agenda (Barrett & Eshbaugh-Soha, 2007; Conley, 2002).¹⁰⁵ Presidents have, recently, had a difficult time motivating their own party to support their policies, however (Bond & Fleisher, 2000).¹⁰⁶ The declining party mechanisms¹⁰⁷ are the reason the president cannot form coalitions with Congress (Brace & Hinckley, 1992). Party politics has become more contentious

¹⁰⁴ Divided government engenders problems for the legislative process. Even though Mayhew (1989) argues that there is really no difference in the amount of legislation produced under divided government, there is an argument to be made that the substance of the legislation is different or even compromised during divided government (Kernell, 2007; Barrett and Eshbaugh-Soha, 2007).

¹⁰⁵ Bond and Fleisher (1990) find that presidents are not more successful on issues that are considered important, however. They argue that presidents should be more successful on such votes since the presidents spend more time and effort trying to convince Congress to reach a certain outcome on an issue that is considered important (Arnold, 1990; Edwards, 1980).

¹⁰⁶ They analyzed the roll call votes from 1953 to 1984 to ascertain how presidents succeeded legislatively. The results were mixed. Presidential success varies over many different measures.

¹⁰⁷ The presence or absence of divided government or unified government can significantly influence particular legislative outcomes (Canes-Wrone, 2006). This is even more pronounced when the president and the Congress are dealing with the budget or specific appropriations bills (Krehbiel, 1998; Brady & Volden, 1998). Pfiffner (1991), however, states that unified government does not matter when considering policy development. In fact, Mayhew (1989) looked at 'important' legislation from 1947 through 1988 and concluded that unified government mattered; however, divided government does not matter (Pfiffner, 1991).

and presents a challenge to the president (Bond & Fleisher, 2000). Party cohesion, based upon ideology, is not an circumstance upon which the presidents can depend (Bond & Fleisher, 1990). The strength of parties varies over time, which limits the president's ability to use them to his advantage (Jacobson, 2000). The problem is that *party* is no longer the "gold standard of presidential influence;" even though presidents still need their party to do anything; it is no guarantee that the party will help (Light, 1999, p. 12).

H4₀:

The number of the president's party seats in Congress has no effect on the president's ability to convince Congress to act on the economy.

H4_A:

The number of the president's party seats in Congress determines the president's ability to convince Congress to act on the economy.

Time

Timing influences the success of legislative accomplishment (Barrett & Eshbaugh-Soha, 2007). The presidents are able to obtain more legislative victories during the "honeymoon" period of their administration. This honeymoon period begins with the election of their first term in office and typically continues throughout the first one hundred days (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005; Light, 1999). Presidents are at the height of their approval during this time; they should be able to advance their agenda more significantly than any other time (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2010). As their time in office continues, their ability to successfully bargain with Congress is depreciated (Light, 1999; Barrett & Eshbaugh-Soha, 2007).

Presidential influence and resources begin to decline immediately upon assuming the presidency (Light, 1999).¹⁰⁸ The president has to select policy actions early as possible; the

¹⁰⁸ Light (1999) states that presidents, typically, have 1,460 days in office. In order to get a better understanding of how their time is spent, he subtracts 365 days for the reelection campaign, 183 days for midterm elections, 183 days to get his administration up and running, another 183 days to end the administration, and about 60 days for vacations. Therefore, presidents have about 486 days to do their jobs; that is less than 2 years. Furthermore, if

president is only effective with Congress in the first months of his presidency. Therefore, the president has to push for congressional actions on the economy early in order to be successful. Light (1999) provides a quote from Harry McPherson, an aid to President Johnson, which is paradigmatic of the difficulty and importance of time for the presidents. It is worth repeating. Johnson supposedly said the following to his staff after becoming president:

You've got to give it all you can that first year. Doesn't matter what kind of majority you come in with. You've got just one year when they treat you right and before they start worrying about themselves. The third year, you lose votes ... The fourth year's all politics. You can't put anything through when half of the Congress is thinking about how to beat you. So you've got one year (McPherson, 1972, p. 268 as quoted in Light, 1999, p. 13).

H5_O:

The time (years in office) in which the president petitions Congress will not determine their ability to convince Congress to act on the economy

H5_A:

The presidents are only able to convince Congress to act on the economy in the first years of their administration. Presidents who are considered a 'lame duck' are not able to effectively convince Congress to act on the economy.

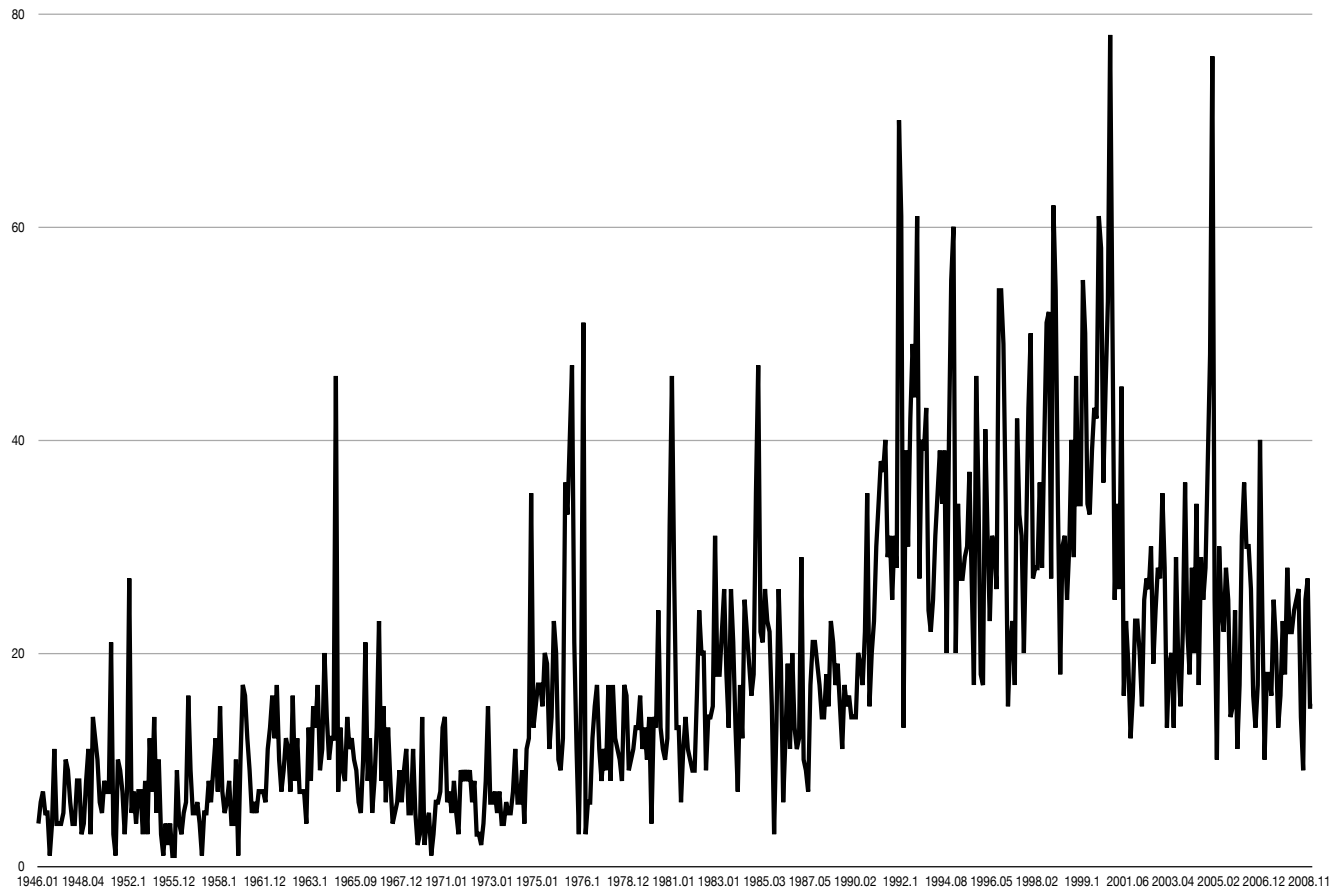
Empirical Design/Model

I analyzed the congressional data at the *Policy Agendas Project* from Presidents H.S. Truman through G.W. Bush¹⁰⁹ to estimate the relationship between economic rhetoric and congressional behavior during that period. As illustrated by Figure 1, I tracked presidential speeches, cues, and signals that dealt with the economy that are particular to Congress. This exercise enabled me to ascertain the effectiveness of presidential economic rhetoric and the congressional response. I was then able to determine if economic rhetoric could predict congressional actions regarding the economy.

presidents are reelected to a second term, Light (1999) maintains that time moves faster in the second term than in the first. In fact, the president is considered a "lame duck by the end of the second year" (p. 17).

¹⁰⁹ I selected these administrations because they are representative of the Rhetorical Presidency.

Figure 1. Monthly Presidential Speeches (1946 - 2008)



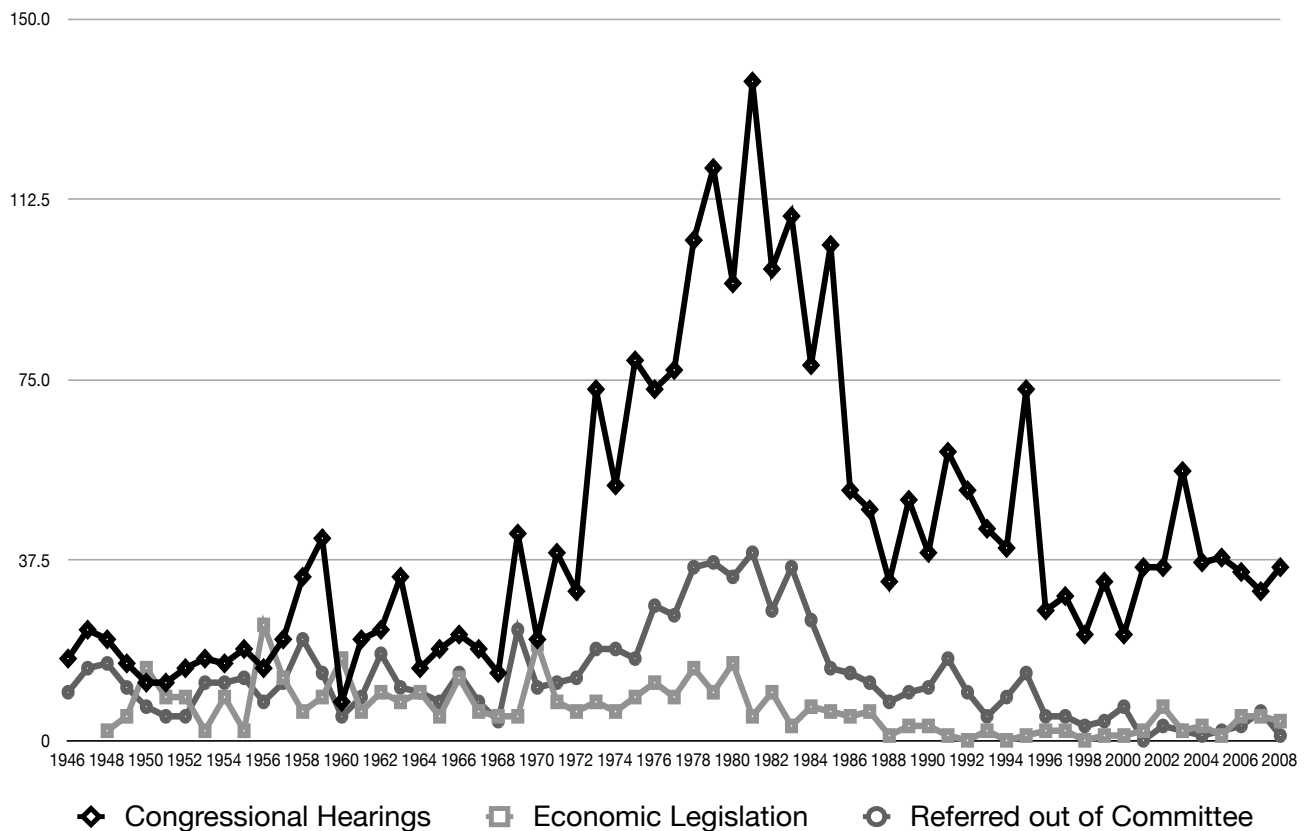
Policy Agendas Project Data -- Dependent Variables

I created three dependent variables from the *Policy Agendas Project* data. The outcome variable is dichotomous, wherein “1” represents either a congressional hearing in the first model, a public law in the second model, or a piece of economic legislation reported out of committee in the third model. The “0” will represent no congressional hearings during the time frame measured in the first model, no public laws in the second model, and no economic legislation reported out of committee in the third model.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ I excluded those hearings on the economy that had to do with appropriations and reauthorizations. Edwards and Wood (1999) argue that including such elements will confuse the data and the results (p. 329).

I created three different models for this analysis, as illustrated by Figure 2. One model will predict the number of congressional hearings (dependent variable) on the economy; the other will predict the number of public laws ¹¹¹ (dependent variable) sent to the president; and the other model will predict the number of pieces of legislation dealing with the economy that are reported out of committee (dependent variable).

Figure 2. Yearly Totals of the Dependent Variables (1946 - 2008)



The analysis required a *Count Data Regression Analysis (Zero-inflated and Negative Binomial)* to determine the effect of the presidential attention on congressional attention. I modeled the number of congressional hearings (dependent variable) on the economy, public laws

¹¹¹ The *Policy Agendas Project* data for public laws is presented by the number of public laws each year, which is misspecified for the above analysis. Their data do not present the public laws by month or when they were signed into law until 1973. Therefore, I had to eliminate the data for the independent variables from 1946 through 1972, which was 241 observations. Nevertheless, for this analysis, I still have a sample of 370 units of observation.

(dependent variable), and economic legislation reported out of committee (dependent variable) from Congress as a result of presidential economic rhetoric.¹¹² The zero-inflated negative binomial and the negative binomial regression models predicted the number of congressional hearings, public laws, and legislation reported out of committee from the independent variables.¹¹³

Results/Discussion

To try to find the probability that the presidential tone could create changes in congressional hearings, legislation reported out of committee, and public laws, I performed a zero inflated negative binomial and a negative binomial regression. Table 1 presents the coefficients, incident rate ratios, and p-values, as well as the statistical significance and the measures of fit for the regression analyses. The model, overall, is in line with the hypotheses; the predictor variables in this analysis do not significantly affect whether the Congress responds to the president as a result of the positivity in economic rhetoric. Moreover, neither the economic frames nor the mechanisms of policy influence have a substantive influence on congressional decisions about economic legislation.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the substantive effects are as follows for the presidential tone of economic rhetoric and its influence on the Congress.

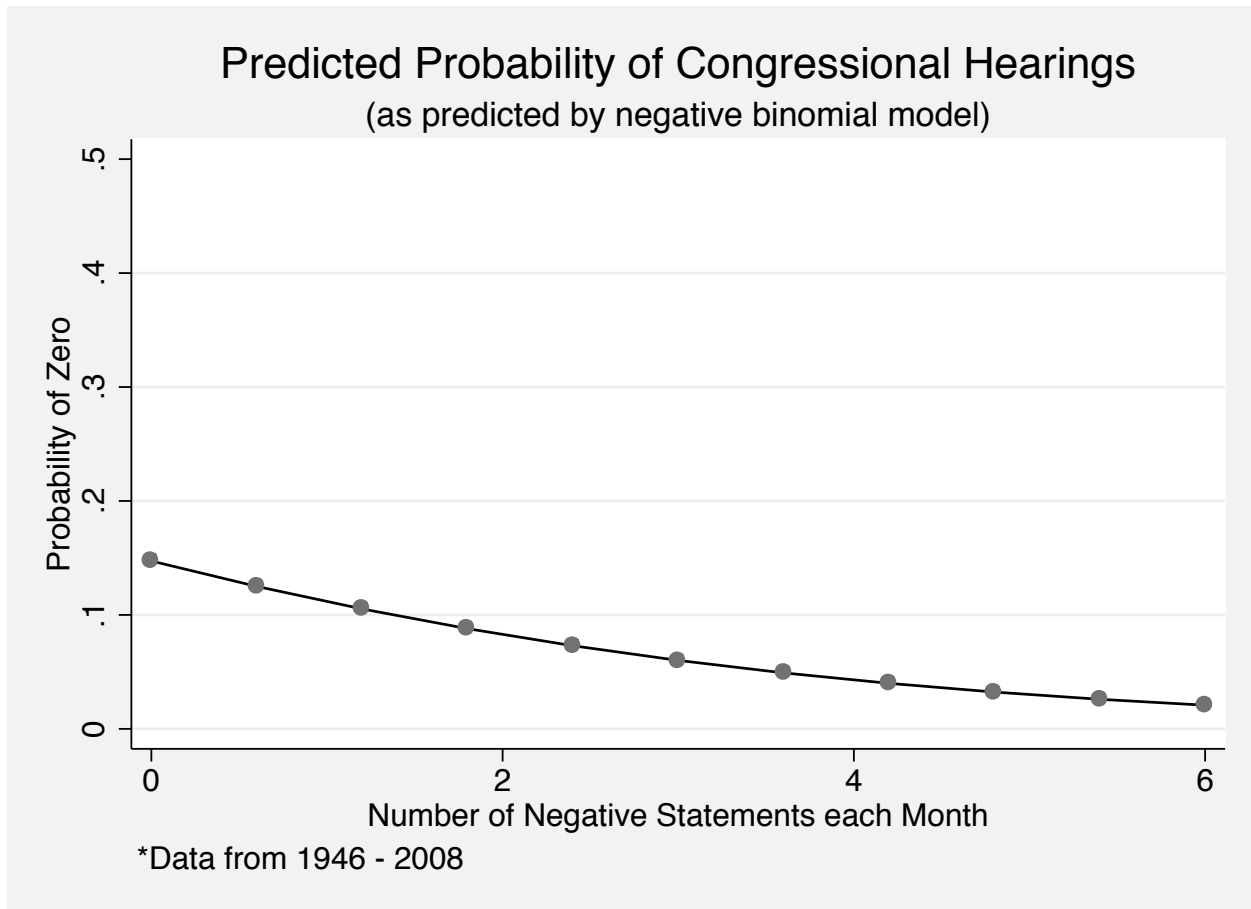
¹¹² The primary independent variable consists of the tone of aggregated presidential economic rhetoric and the three dependent variables are congressional hearings, public laws, and economic legislation reported out of committee.

¹¹³ This regression analysis allowed me to have a *Vuong test*, which gave me a useful comparison of this model with a negative binomial regression. Such a statistical method showed me the best methodology to use for measuring the effect of aggregated economic rhetoric on the likelihood that Congress will respond to the cues, signals, and threats in the presidents' rhetoric. The model's dispersion parameter "alpha" is significantly different from zero. The data were over-dispersed, which means that using a negative binomial model provided better results than using a regular Poisson model. I have chosen to use the Zero-inflated regression for the dependent variable legislation reported out of committee because there were more zeros due to non-action. The Vuong test showed that the zero-inflated model is better than a typical negative binomial model ($z = 1.91$ $p = 0.0280$) for this variable.

¹¹⁴ The log likelihood chi-squared values prove that the model will allow for a rejection of the null and an acceptance of the alternative hypotheses; it is significant that the model I have created works better than one with no predictors.

In hypothesis one, the data require a rejection of the null hypothesis (See Table 1).¹¹⁵ The results suggest that the positivity of the economic rhetoric cannot predict the number of hearings on the economy; this is also true for the neutral statements regarding the economy. As illustrated by Figure 3, however, the more negative statements made each month by the president increases the likelihood that Congress will have more hearings regarding the economy. In fact, there is a

Figure 3. Congressional Hearings as a Result of Negative Statements



¹¹⁵ I must attach a word of caution about my hypothesis; it is the ‘null hypothesis’ approach. Therefore, if there is no effect, I am correct; there is no consideration of the magnitude by which rhetoric affects the decisions of Congress. I was not interested in magnitude, but rather the president’s ability to influence the decision making of an economic actor. I assume that my alternative hypothesis is correct until I could find evidence that it was incorrect. No such evidence could be found in this instance. I set up the analysis this way on purpose. I know that it makes it easier to obtain and justify my results. I think that the analysis still warrants a contribution to the literature. I took multiple measures to ensure that I gave presidential rhetoric a chance to make an impact. I differentiated the rhetoric by type of speech, mechanism of influence, and economic frameworks as well as time-period; it was not a simple aggregation of words. However, one could still read the results with caution because the rhetoric used was a stratified random sample and not the complete analysis of every word every president spoke. Moreover, I did not use a lagged variable in this analysis. Such a variable could potentially alter the results.

23.5 percent increase in the number of hearings for each increase in the number of negative statements. The data suggest that the Congress responds to the negative rhetoric from presidents about the economy. This result makes sense given the arguments in the literature; presidents rarely talk about the negative economy (Howard & Hoffman, 2010; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2010; Eshbaugh-Soha & Peake, 2005). Therefore, if the president is discussing a negative economy, the economy has reached a tipping-point. Congress is without a doubt aware of a souring economy; their constituents require a response. They do not need signals from the president to understand the situation.¹¹⁶ I could speculate that this result suggests the Congress is paying more attention to the worrisome economic indicators than to the negative rhetoric of the president.

In hypothesis two, the data require a rejection of the null hypothesis. As illustrated by Table 1, it is not more likely that the tone of the economic rhetoric will predict the changes in congressional economic behavior. Congress does not send more bills that address the economy to the president to become public law as a result of the rhetoric. This was the result for positive, negative, and neutral rhetoric. Assessing whether the tone of a president's rhetoric can motivate Congress appears to be the wrong approach. The data suggest that Congress responds to the *coercive* statements the presidents made.¹¹⁷ The presidents used this frame 74 times, which is five percent of the total rhetoric. There is a 76 percent increase in the number of public laws when presidents threaten Congress with coercive action.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Although not the purpose of this dissertation, one could measure the extent to which Congress is paying attention to the economic indicators rather than the president's rhetoric. Using Vector Autoregression would properly measure which is moving first and would best determine the impetus for changes in economic behavior.

¹¹⁷ These are actions from the president that limit the ability of the other political actors to act, but do not take away responsibility from those actors when mistakes or misdirections are made. These controls are "solution-forcing" actions from the president (Gormley, 1989, p. 12). Such actions consist of vetoes and executive orders. These coercive controls do not leave the receiving political actors much room for response or opposition to the action.

¹¹⁸ As Table 1 shows, this independent variable is statistically significant at the alpha level of .05.

Table 1. Predicting Changes in Congressional Attention to the Economy

Presidential Statements on the Economy			
	Congressional Hearings	Public Laws	Reported out of Committee
	β^{\wedge} / Incident Rate Ratios	β^{\wedge} / Incident Rate Ratios	β^{\wedge} / Incident Rate Ratios
Positive Statements	.0997/1.105 (.0869)/(.0960)	-.1785/.8365 (.2550)/(.2133)	.1187/1.126 (.1302)/(.1466)
Negative Statements	.2111/1.235** (.0922)/(.1139)	.1716/.8423 (.2672)/(.2251)	.1332 /1.423 (.1404)/(.1604)
Neutral Statements	.1021/1.108 (.0841)/(.0931)	.3809/.6833 (.2459)/(.1680)	.1085/1.115 (.1288)/(.1435)
# Statements in 1 st 100 Days	.0922/.7896 (.0707)/(.0711)	-.0521/.9493 (.2673)/(.2537)	-.1199/.8871 (.1195)/(.1060)
Party Control in Senate	.4406/1.554***** (.1135)/(.1764)	.3802/1.463 (.2849)/(.4167)	.6233/1.865***** (.1657)/(.3090)
Party Control in House	-.5883/.5553***** (.1313)/(.0729)	-1.212/.2976**** (.3550)/(.1057)	-1.488/.2258***** (.2196)/(.0496)
Presidential Party	-.2362/.7896*** (.0901)/(.0711)	.0254/1.026 (.2546)/(.2608)	.4608/1.585*** (.1579)/(.2503)
Lame Duck	-.4627/.6296***** (.1160)/(.0730)	.4872/1.628 (.3233)/(.5262)	x
Furthering Democracy	-.0352/.9654 (.0777)/(.0750)	-.0072/.9929 (.2368)/(.2351)	.0488/1.050 (.1196)/(.1256)
American Exceptionalism	.0247/1.025 (.0822)/(.0842)	.0377/1.038 (.2158)/(.2241)	.1629/1.177 (.1282)/(.1508)
Supply Side Economics	.0760/1.079 (.0643)/(.0694)	.2405/1.272 (.1523)/(.1938)	.1914/1.211* (.0989)/(.1198)
Keynesian Economics	.0692/1.071 (.1210)/(.1297)	-.5647/.5686 (.3875)/(.2203)	-.0367/.9640 (.2201)/(.2122)
Economic Catastrophes	-.0777/.9253 (.2302)/(.2130)	-.0327/.9678 (.6698)/(.6482)	-.0731/.9295 (.5758)/(.5352)
Sine Qua Non	-.0989/.9058* (.1270)/(.1150)	.0414/1.042 (.3648)/(.3802)	-.2503/.7785 (.2037)/(.1586)
Catalytic Statements	-.1396/.8697** (.0591)/(.0514)	-.1995/.8191 (.1616)/(.1324)	-.2387/.7877 (.0956)/(.0753)
Hortatory Statements	-.0702/.9322 (.0890)/(.0829)	-.2112/.8096 (.2680)/(.2170)	-.0402/.9606 (.1301)/(.1250)
Coercive Statements	-.0599/.9419 (.1073)/(.1011)	.5653/1.760** (.2387)/(.4201)	.0254/1.026** (.1678)/(.8761)
News Conferences	-.0114/.9887 (.1135)/(.1124)	.1805/1.198 (.3493)/(.4185)	.0746/1.078 (.1694)/(.1825)

Written Documents	-.1737/.8406* (.0903)/(.0759)	.3283/1.480 (.2840)/(.3943)	-.0230/.9773 (.1365)/(.1334)
Major Speeches	-.0401/.9607 (.1195)/(.1148)	.8621/2.368** (.3374)/(.7989)	-.2303/.7943 (.1914)/(.1521)
Interviews	.2818/1.325* (.1539)/(.2040)	.3258/1.385 (.3850)/(.5332)	.4101/1.507* (.2288)/(.3448)
Weekly/Radio Addresses	-.1749/.8395 (.1326)/(.1113)	.0466/1.048 (.3661)/(.3836)	.1072/.8984 (.2076)/(.1865)
Town Hall Meetings	.2253/1.253 (.3582)/(.4487)	.7624/2.143 (.6024)/(1.291)	.7612/2.141* (.4259)/(.9119)
General Remarks	-.1632/.8494* (.0853)/(.0725)	.2663/1.305 (.2466)/(.3219)	-.1601/.8520 (.1309)/(.1115)
Divided Government	.1361/1.146 (.0902)/(.1033)	-.7838/.4567*** (.2659)/(.1214)	.4733/1.605*** (.1557)/(.2499)
Average Approval Ratings	-.0122/.9879***** (.0032)/(.0031)	.0059/1.006 (.0090)/(.0091)	-.0086/.9914* (.0048)/(.0047)
Presence of a Recession	-1300/.8781 (.1039)/(.0913)	.3699/1.448 (.2704)/(.3914)	-.0274/.9730 (.1570)/(.1528)
Proposed Legislation	.1501/1.162** (.0661)/(.0768)	-.0834/.9200 (.1903)/(.1751)	.1867/1.205* (.1042)/(.1256)
# of Speeches	.0103/1.010** (.0045)/(.0046)	-.0179/.9822 (.0119)/(.0117)	-.0100/.9900 (.0069)/(.0068)

N	610	369	610
N = non zero / zero			306/304
LR chi squared	136.03*****	65.36****	103.51 *****
Log Likelihood ZIP			- 830.13532
Log Likelihood	- 1412.3714	- 304.4112	- 815.3842

*p < .1. **p < .05. ***p < .01. ****p < .001 *****p < .0000

In hypothesis four¹¹⁹ the data dictate a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis (See Table 1). It is significantly more likely that the party of the president, the Senate, and the House will increase the probability that Congress will hold more hearings on the economy, report more legislation that addresses the economy out of committee, and send more bills to the president to become public law. As illustrated by Table 1, there is a 55.4 percent increase in the number of hearings that deal with the economy when there is an

¹¹⁹ For hypothesis three, the data govern a rejection of the null hypothesis (See Table 1). It is not more likely that the tone of the economic rhetoric will cause Congress to alter its economic behavior and report more legislation out of Committee. This was the result for positive, negative, and neutral rhetoric.

increase in the number of Republican Senators. There is an 86.5 percent increase in the number of bills about the economy that are reported out of committee when there is an increase in the number of Republican Senators. Interestingly, there is a 44.5 percent decrease in the number of hearings that deal with the economy; there is a 77.4 percent decrease in the number of bills about the economy that are reported out of committee; and there is a 70.2 percent decrease in the number of bills sent to the president when there is an increase in the number of Republican Representatives. Moreover, there is a 21 percent decrease in the number of hearings that deal with the economy, and there is a 58.5 percent increase in the number of bills about the economy that are reported out of committee when there is a Republican president.

For hypothesis five, the data suggest a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis (See Table 1). It is more likely that ‘lame duck’ presidents will have less influence over congressional behavior regarding the economy. Moreover, the president’s ‘honeymoon period’ (first 100 days of the administration) does not increase the probability that Congress will pay more attention to the economy in the way that the president desires. There is a 37 percent decrease in the number of hearings that deal with the economy during a ‘lame duck’ presidency.

I also needed to consider how other potential correlates play into congressional behavior with regard to the economy in order to make sure the model was specified correctly and, more importantly, to identify other factors that influence the Congress. The economic frames (Furthering Democracy, American Exceptionalism, Supply Side Economics, Keynesian Economics, Economic Catastrophes, and *Sine Qua Non*¹²⁰) were not very instrumental in

¹²⁰ The *Sine Qua Non* economic frame was used 54 times, which is four percent of the presidents’ total economic rhetoric being used to create a perception of the presidents’ actions on the economy as something that is absolutely necessary for the economy (Neustadt, 1991). The incident rate ratio shows that there is a 9.4 percent decrease in the number of hearings that deal with the economy, a 22.1 percent decrease in the number of economic bills that are

influencing congressional behavior. The different types of speeches (News Conferences, Town Hall Meetings, Written documents, Major Speeches¹²¹, Interviews, General Remarks, and Weekly/Radio Addresses) were not particularly significant in garnering congressional attention to the economy. Every type of speech, overall, that the presidents use is completely irrelevant when trying to influence this economic actor.¹²²

The results suggest that Congress pays attention to the president when he uses the *Catalytic* frame. There were 281 frames used, which is 18 percent of the total economic rhetoric. These controls function as a “going public” action of sorts (Kernell, 2007). They are intended to create excitement and actions that will further the policy goals of the president (Gormley, 1989). There is a 13 percent decrease in the number of hearings that deal with the economy when this frame is used.

The specific control variables that accompany the presidency and congressional research (divided government, president’s average approval ratings, presence of a recession, number of speeches, and proposed legislation) were not very instrumental. The exceptions consist of the president’s average approval ratings, proposed legislation, and the number of total speeches. There is a 1.2 percent decrease in the number of hearings about the economy when there is an increase in the average approval rating of the president. There is a 16.2 percent increase in the number of hearings about the economy when there is an increase in the number of calls for proposed legislation about the economy. There is a 1 percent increase in the number of hearings about the economy when there is an increase in the number of speeches about the economy.

reported out of committee, and a 4.2 percent increase in the number of public laws. As Table 1 shows, this independent variable is significant at the alpha level of .10 for the number of hearings about the economy, which is not as definitive as the .05 alpha level.

¹²¹ The one exception consists of presidents using major speeches to discuss the economy; there is a 136.8 percent increase in the number of public laws when a major speech is used by the president.

¹²² As Table 1 shows, there are a few independent variables that are significant at the alpha level of .10 for the number of hearings about the economy and for the number of bills reported out of committee, which is not as definitive as the .05 alpha level.

There is a 60.5 percent increase in the number of bills about the economy that are reported out of committee when there is divided government. Most interestingly, there is a 54.3 percent decrease in the number of public laws about the economy when there is divided government.

Conclusions

The results from these hypotheses suggest that rhetoric is not capable of influencing Congress to take actions that would change the economic indicators over which they have control. Presidential success seems to come from external elements such as party coalitions, unified government, and existing economic indicators rather than positive or negative rhetoric. The president's economic agenda (fiscal and monetary policy) faces substantial external limitations. The research suggests that the president is not the most important or central actor in economic policy (Pack, 1988), despite Wood's (2007) assertion otherwise. Presidents are less effective with Congress on the economy the longer they are in office. Rather, the rhetoric mostly serves as a mechanism of placation and a facade of leadership.

The lack of significance in predicting changes to congressional behavior is telling from a 'rhetoric as a mechanism of influence' perspective. Presidents have increased their rhetoric on the economy significantly. However, the increased rhetoric and attention to the economy has not brought about the desired effects they have sought. Despite attempts to tailor their rhetoric to meet specific needs and massive amounts of time, presidents are incredibly unsuccessful, in nearly every way. It is more likely that members of Congress are paying attention to the economy, its indicators, and their own reelection prospects (via their constituency demands) than it is that they are paying attention to the rhetoric of presidents. The economic rhetoric does not create an impetus for action, but rather it is too constrained by the externalities of Congress and the powers it possesses.

Chapter 6
Conclusions and Future Research

“It is true that you may fool all of the people some of the time;
you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't
fool all of the people all the time.”

--- Abraham Lincoln

Introduction

Given that there exists considerable disagreement about whether the president has a direct and measurable influence over the economy, I decided to research this divergence of views further (Edwards, 2003; Edwards, 2009; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005; Wood, 2007; Dolan, Frensdreis, & Tatalovich, 2008; Cohen, 1995; Beck, 1982; Golden & Poterba, 1980). In my review of the literature, I found that there is research, improperly measured from my perspective, that claims the president is the most powerful economic leader in the United States and that his words have the power to move economic actors and indicators (Wood, 2007).

Much of the literature argues that presidents have a direct influence on economic indicators, such as unemployment or the *Consumer Confidence Sentiment Index* (Wood, 2007; Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2002; Eshbaugh-Soha & Meier, 2002; and Eshbaugh-Soha, 2005). The literature states that the evolution of multiple policy institutions and legal mandates dealing with economic issues have altered presidential responsibilities related to the economy (Wood, 2007). The literature also asserts that the president's ability to affect the economy should be substantiated by the fact that the president is the foremost person with economic information, which makes him the most visible figure present in economic discussions (Wood, 2007). The fact that the president has the largest staff of economic actors¹²³ providing him with information and advice makes him appear to be the preeminent economic policy-maker. Moreover, the president is the figure the public holds most accountable for the state of the economy (Wood, 2004). This unparalleled role gives him a profound and direct influence over the economy; those involved in determining the economy's variability, outcomes, and indicators look to the president for information, guidance, and leadership. In short, his policy rhetoric provides the direction and

¹²³ National Economic Council, Council of Economic Advisors, Office of Management and Budget, Department of Treasury, Department of Commerce, Department of Labor, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Federal Reserve

guidance that affect economic indicators.

To show these effects statistically, the literature measures the spending, borrowing, and investing of consumers and businesses—economic actors and their perceptions about the strength of the economy from 1981 through 2005. Consumers take cues from the president about their economic futures. If he is positive about the economy in his speeches, then consumers respond accordingly, thus reinforcing positive outcomes in the economic indicators. Using vector autoregression (VAR) and Grangers causal relationships, results show that presidential optimism in rhetoric affects personal consumption (p-value = 0.02) and business investment (p-value = 0.06). The literature claims that the optimism present in presidential speeches about the economy was able to influence consumer confidence, which affected macroeconomic performance (Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005). Because two-thirds of all U.S. economic activity is driven by personal consumption, how individuals behave economically affects the economy considerably.¹²⁴ Therefore, when consumers decide not to spend, there is higher unemployment, and liberal spending leads to inflation, neither of which is particularly good for the economy.

This literature and the data sources used raise more questions than answers and produced findings that require further inquiry. For instance, suggesting that optimism in the president's rhetoric is the impetus in the changes to the *Consumer Confidence Index* is the wrong approach. Given the disconnect between a president's optimism and this data source of the economy's health, I maintain that this approach does not withstand scrutiny (Wood, 2007; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2006). The way scholars demonstrate that the president uses rhetoric to exemplify effectiveness as an economic leader is theoretically suspect.

Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation was to utilize a better approach for analyzing

¹²⁴ Wood, Owens, and Durham maintain that dividing the average quarterly U.S. personal consumption expenditures by national income provides this description.

the effectiveness of the president's rhetoric and then employ a statistical methodology that would allow me to measure its effect on the economy. Through this exercise, I determined that presidents have little direct power over the economy. Their influence comes only from externalities, such as party coalitions, and the connections they are able to create with economic actors, who are able to effect changes to the economy. I determined that the best method for presidents to use to influence the economy is to motivate or influence the behaviors of the actors with power over economic indicators. Assessing the effect of the president's relationship with economic actors reveals the actual nature of the influence the president has over the economy. Determining presidential influence over the behaviors of economic actors and using the correct data sources allow for a better research operationalization than arguing that the president's ability to change economic indicators comes from his position as the most important economic actor in the system (Wood, 2007; Wood, Owens, & Durham, 2005; Zarefsky, 2004; Cavalli, 2006).

This analysis determined if the presence of presidential rhetoric, aggregated expressions of positivity and negativity, could predict significant changes in economic actor behaviors.¹²⁵ I researched presidential statements on the economy from H.S. Truman through B.H. Obama (1946–2012). I then analyzed the Fed's decision to change the Federal Funds Rate in response to presidential rhetoric in chapter 3. In chapter 4, I determined the public's perceptions of the economy in response to presidential rhetoric. Then, I ascertained the congressional response to presidential rhetoric in chapter 5. This research allowed me to assess the president's relationships with the most salient economic actors. I found that presidents are not effective, overall, in

¹²⁵ Coding the rhetoric with this rubric of tone is different than using the qualifier of 'optimism' as presented in Wood's analysis (2007). Optimism is how the president talks about the direction he thinks the economy is going to take in the future. Discussing rhetoric in terms of 'tone' refers specifically to the state of the economy at the time of the president's speech.

influencing or motivating economic actors to respond to their rhetoric. The economic actors have their own goals and perspectives, and, even though presidents have increased their rhetoric on the economy significantly, this increased rhetoric and attention to the economy have not created the desired effects presidents have sought, according to multiple models and significance tests.

I believe that, with this research on the effect of presidential rhetoric, I have made a contribution to the field of presidential rhetoric studies. The findings of this dissertation are in direct contradiction to the outcomes in the analysis of Wood (2007) wherein he states that the “debate should now end over whether presidents’ words matter [and] future research should turn to other important questions relating to presidential rhetoric and public opinion” (p. 168). The lack of significance in my results calls into question the definitiveness of his statement about the power and the effectiveness of presidential rhetoric. These results suggest that the debate within the field of presidential studies should continue as scholarship attempts to better understand the president’s use of the ‘bully pulpit’ to influence externalities.

Conclusions

This research contributes to the discussion about the expectations of the Office of the Presidency and presidential intentions for using rhetoric. These expectations have been rising even as the president’s capacity to meet them has been declining, and the increased expectations have created difficulties for presidents in terms of policy accomplishment, reelection, and historical legacy. It must be said, however, that presidents are partly to blame for the heightened expectations. They recognize what is expected of them and know that they need to meet the expectations. Most modern presidents attempt to increase their power beyond traditional modes of constitutional authority, which they think will help them meet the greater demands of their

office. Presidents have an incentive to meet these expectations because they are considered great presidents if history deems that they have done so and marginal if they are unsuccessful.

Presidential expectations have evolved gradually over time. According to Corwin (1958) and Tulis (1987), the expectations of the president were drastically different prior to the New Deal than they are for modern presidents. Tulis (1987) argues that the Presidency was traditionally an institution that provided constitutional leadership. The president was merely an administrative clerk. Tulis (1987) claims that, since that time, the Presidency has undergone a major institutional change, with this shift occurring because of how presidents use rhetoric. They now utilize their rhetoric to foster support for their agendas. Convincing others to support policy positions or agendas was not previously a part of the president's official functions, but these actions are now fundamental, especially if the president wants to be successful. Because the Presidency is a statutorily weak institution, presidents have to constantly assert themselves and 'bargain' for any power they obtain (Neustadt, 1990; Corwin, 1958).

Neustadt (1991) explains presidential power and how that power can enable a president to meet the expectations set out for him, whether institutionally or from other political actors, as personal. Presidential power is the power to persuade and/or bargain, and presidential rhetoric is an extension, or rather a mechanism, of it. Rhetoric is one way that presidents try to assert their power and position over other political actors, the public, and institutions. Light (1999) maintains that presidents turn to every mechanism their office and institution afford them (Howell, 2003).

To be effective, according to Tulis (1987), presidents have to appeal to large audiences of voters and policy-makers. Presidents are expected to seek out the favor of the American people (Whitford & Yates, 2009). Kernell (1997) says that presidents now participate in a process of

‘going public’ in order to offer their ideas about policies, hopefully by way of the people, to make the agenda of the president the agenda of other policy-makers. Presidents promise more to the people because expectations of what the president can do for the public are high. The public’s refusal to understand the limitations of what the president is able to do compels presidents to increase their promises. It is a cyclical activity in which presidents engage.

Neustadt (1991) said that the public expects the president to do something about everything, but the public has different expectations for each president. These expectations are conditioned by the current ‘sitz im leben’ or the context in which they live (Mondak, Mutz, & Huckfeldt, 1996). Each president is judged according to his ability to meet those expectations before he leaves office. Moreover, the expectations can change depending on a number of factors.

The president’s responsibilities regarding the economy have increased, but his ability to meet those demands has decreased (Edwards & Wayne, 1985). The expectations for the economy increase with every new president because of the previous president and the promises he made. The problem, however, is that the president is quite limited in terms of what he can do about the economy. These limited capabilities create a serious predicament for the president. The support from his constituencies dwindles unless he can meet their expectations.

Presidents use the ‘bully pulpit’ to make promises and garner favor from various constituencies. They have promised to do more and more for the economy to appear more effective and powerful as economic leaders; yet, those promises create an opportunity for their constituencies to hold them accountable. If they are unable to meet the expectations they established, they look ineffectual. Thus, presidents weaken the Office of the Presidency by their increased promises and by their inability to achieve results. Now the public expects more from

presidents with regard to the economy, creating impetus for the cycle of increasing expectations and decreasing influence (Light, 1999).

Presidents want to shape monetary policy, the regulation of the supply of money, the unemployment rate, and the inflation rate. Doing so enables them to look effective as a leader, shape U.S. policy for decades, and secure a place in history with a lasting legacy as well as solidify their reelection, in most cases. However, the president's capacity to control monetary policy is a point of much contention. The political realities of the president's relationship with the Fed and the limitations the relationship imposes on the president make it difficult for him to fulfill his promises. This dissertation has presented data and analyses suggesting that neither positive nor negative economic rhetoric from the president is able to predict, with statistical significance, the probability that the Fed will change the Federal Funds Rate (FFR) to meet the requests of the president.

Scholars argue that presidents have been trying to influence the public since the inception of the modern presidency (Tulis, 1987; Edwards, 2003; Wood, 2007). My findings suggest that voters' perceptions of the economy come from their party ideologies and from their personal experiences with the economy rather than from the positive speeches of the president. This element of the dissertation counters the main argument in the literature on presidential economic rhetoric, namely, that the economic actors respond to the president because of his position and because he is able to convince the public that he is a strong economic leader, one who is taking the country in the right direction.

Presidents typically try to influence Congress by going public with their fiscal policy goals (Canes-Wrone, 2001; Edwards, 1985). This dissertation, however, provides statistical results that suggest members of Congress are not passively waiting for the president to lead them

on economic policy, be it fiscal or monetary. My results indicate that members of Congress are concerned with their own versions of ‘good policy’ and their own reelection, which often leads them in a different direction, economically, from the president (Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000; Fenno, 1978; Mayhew, 1989). This analysis confirms Light’s (1999) study wherein he argues that presidential power is externally controlled. More specifically, presidential success comes from external elements, such as party coalitions, unified government, and existing economic indicators as well as historical context and luck. Despite presidential attempts to tailor rhetoric to effect results, they are unsuccessful on this front, in nearly every way. In short, the statistical results of this study suggest that Neustadt (1990) might have overstated his claims about presidential power as internally based. Alternatively, Light’s (1999) study provides a more realistic assessment of presidential power.

Presidents can attempt to use their rhetoric to effect changes; however, they are not going to be successful if the policy window is closed, the external resources are unavailable, and the economic actors have no self-interested reason to accommodate the president’s requests (Kingdon, 1995; Light, 1999). Additionally, different presidents face vastly different environments wherein they are trying to persuade economic actors (Mondak, Mutz, & Huckfeldt, 1996). The economic situations and the political environments that presidents find themselves in are not equal to one another (Sigelman & Rosenblatt, 1996). Therefore, attempting to determine the ‘success’ of direct influence of presidential rhetoric over the economy is the wrong approach to studying presidential rhetoric.

Most importantly, scholarship has to address why presidents spend so much of their time giving speeches when research suggests that presidential rhetoric is not an effective mechanism of presidential power. Maybe presidents have to engage in rhetorical activity to maintain some

semblance of strength so that they do not look weak or ineffectual. It is possible that presidents think they could be effective with their rhetoric if they were able to provide a narrative to which the public could relate and identify. Nevertheless, these queries need to be answered or at least represent an area that requires further inquiry and discussion.

Scholarship on presidential rhetoric needs to substantially modify its approach if it is to continue as a legitimate approach within presidential rhetoric studies. It needs to find a better way of classifying presidential rhetoric or clearly differentiating between the various classifications of rhetoric, such as crisis rhetoric, agenda-setting rhetoric, and symbolic rhetoric, and might perhaps also consider rhetoric as it was classified in this dissertation, through the lens of mechanisms of policy influence and frameworks that appeal to the core beliefs of the audiences.

Future Research

Given the findings presented here, I would like to extend the basic theories of this research to further contribute to the literature and the discipline. I believe there are many different justifiable directions that research could take. Most importantly, I think it could be accomplished by including more variations of presidential rhetoric in the model. The prevalence of the permanent presidential campaign and the governing-by-campaigning approach necessitate study of the environment that the permanent campaign creates. Presidents govern as though they are campaigning, which enables them to have an entourage of staff members who saturate the talking-heads shows and the Sunday talk shows and respond to and speak about the president's economic messages. Therefore, the messages that presidents are trying to convey to economic actors¹²⁶ are mostly consistent and often are presented by actors other than the

¹²⁶ Press Secretary, Treasury Secretary, and the Federal Reserve Chairman

presidents. It would be worth considering whether this extension of the definition of presidential rhetoric makes a substantive difference in the behaviors of economic actors. Extending the definition of presidential rhetoric to include other presidential actors would expand the audiences that the president is able to reach. As Wood (2007) and Eshbaugh-Soha (2006) argue, the president should be able to saturate the conversation with his economic perspective, and increasing the number of people that the president's rhetoric reaches would potentially create more opportunity for the rhetoric to work.

Such research would have to include a substantive theoretical justification for considering rhetoric that comes from a governmental actor who is not the president and then treating that rhetoric as though it is 'presidential rhetoric' for the analysis. I am aware that this extension could be considered a change to the very definition of 'presidential rhetoric.' Essentially, I would be asking 'what is presidential rhetoric?' Would it be considered only instances where the president talks, or does it extend to cases where the public hears rhetoric from the most trusted presidential economic advisors and administrators? This rhetoric is presented by trusted economic actors at the president's direction and seeks to advance the president's message. However, if rhetoric is everything, then rhetoric is nothing.

Nevertheless, I think that there exists a rational justification for extending the definition of rhetoric. We know, from many facets of research, that the president's individual speeches are not able to change public opinion or motivate other government players to action. The surrogates have access, in many cases, to the economic actors the president is trying to reach. If their rhetoric matches the rhetoric of the president, it is worth determining whether or not the economic actors respond to this rhetoric differently than they respond to the president's rhetoric. In other words, are the trusted presidential surrogates able to more definitively narrativize the

president's messages? Extending the definition of rhetoric to include presidential surrogates, particularly the Council of Economic Advisors (CEA), the Department of the Treasury, and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) as well as the president's Senior Policy Advisors, may offer insights into how the bureaucracy, the public, and the Congress respond to the presidents and their economic plans.

Understanding this *economic subpresidency*'s effect is crucial for the larger picture of the study of presidential rhetoric (Anderson, 1999). It will help ascertain if presidents are able to influence the actions of some of the actors closest to them by determining if the rhetoric from trusted economic officials, appointed by the president, matches the tone of the president's rhetoric. Including those actors who are nearly a direct extension of the president and his rhetoric in the *economic subpresidency* would provide a better model of presidential rhetoric addressing the economy and economic policy, particularly because it expands the president's audience.

In addition, an analysis that incorporates the use of social media like Facebook and Twitter would be important to understanding presidential rhetoric. Future presidents are going to use social media more often, largely because of the precedent set by Barack Obama. Social media outlets seem to be more effective mechanisms for presenting their messages.¹²⁷ They are able to control the content and tone of the message, completely bypassing the biases of the print media and television. Moreover, social media allow for an expansion of their constituencies. For instance, President Obama has nearly 25,000,000 Twitter followers and nearly 35,000,000 Facebook friends. This totaling of his massive following and unhindered direct connection to the public does not even include the 9,000,000 Facebook friends and nearly 2,500,000 Twitter

¹²⁷ See the work of James Fowler and others on how activities on Facebook can increase voter turnout - <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v489/n7415/abs/nature11421.html>

followers his wife has or those of the countless other supporters who can and do communicate with the public at his specific direction.

Furthermore, he has daily contact with these individuals, which is drastically different from trying to utilize television to connect with the public. The president can garner about 40,000,000 million viewers during his *State of the Union* Addresses, but he can only do so once a year. President Obama can reach nearly double that number of people every day with the use of social media. Even assuming some overlap between social media users and television viewers, he still has tremendous access to a massive audience.

It is noteworthy to mention, as Edwards (2003) points out, that the majority of the public cannot remember a single point the president has discussed in any given speech (p. 208). Therefore, research that addresses how effective the president is in using Twitter and Facebook to communicate his message and motivate the public through social media is essential for the future of presidential rhetoric studies. Are social media a more effective method of ‘going public’ for presidents? Moreover, is it materially the same as the more traditional forms of ‘rhetoric’ that have been studied in the existing literature?

This research could be conducted using Hopkins & King’s (2010) work on *Automated Nonparametric Content Analysis* of blog posts. This methodological approach could be employed to determine the tone of the tweets and the Facebook posts. Hopkins & King (2010) use content analysis to ascertain the tone of digital texts (blog posts). Their created *R* program codes the entire text with a tone of either -2 (extremely negative), -1 (negative), 0 (neutral), 1 (positive), or 2 (extremely positive). However, such research, while valuable, would be a formidable undertaking and quite complex in nature.

Coda

Considering this research, it seems that the president's decision to address the economy so often must stem from a symbolic placation or institutional necessity that is intended to comfort constituencies or somehow garner electoral advocacy from the party's base. No other viable explanation really exists given the lack of results presidents obtain from discussing the economy and, on the other hand, their persistent determination to do so. This discrepancy leads me to believe that presidential rhetoric on the economy is, at best, a tool presidents use to appear concerned about the economy and to present the facade, to their constituents, that they are in control of an important facet of American life, the state of the country's economy. The truth is that we need a strong economy to maintain our Democracy; not many would deny this reality. Thus, presidents naturally want to present themselves as participants in the perpetuation of American Democracy because if they fail to do so, they risk being judged harshly by the public and, more importantly, by history.

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Appendices

Appendix A Code Sheet and Protocol

“Economy” in Presidential Speeches

V1. Economic Search Terms

I chose to use presidential speeches that included the term “economy” as the population to be studied. I handled more than one mention of the term “economy” in a speech by treating all mentions of the term as one unit of analysis and then, subsequently, coded the term based upon the overall tone of the entire portion of the speech that addressed the economy. I must clearly indicate this so that each economic search term, economic framework, and each rhetorical classification of control rhetoric can be coded for each speech (unit of analysis).

I employed a computer-assisted analysis in order to include many of the particular economic keywords or the cues and signals in this analysis. I was only concerned with each of these economic keywords if they were found in a speech that used the term “economy,” as in the population parameters of the dissertation data. I did this to ensure that the presidents are, in fact, trying to cue to the economic actor that they want action on these issues for the sake of the economy, not for a discussion of those indicators on their own merits.

I treat each mention of the term “economy” as one recording unit.

V2. Date (MM/DD/YYYY) the speech was given

V3. First 100 Days of the Administration

0 = No 1 = Yes

V4. Type of speech

The action of placing them all together, especially if they are each expected, by the presidents, to have a different effect. Not all presidential messages, cues, and/or signals are the same, particularly there is a difference between the presidents’ intentions for news conferences, town hall meetings, major speeches (televised), interviews, and off the cuff remarks with regard to effectiveness and intent. Even the State of the Union Addresses and Executive Orders can vary with regard to the clarity of the presidential message and the feasibility of the presidential request.

Each variable was coded according to the following rubric. However, during the analysis, each variable was recoded into a dummy variable so that the regressions were specified correctly.

- 1 = News Conference
- 2 = Town Hall Meeting
- 3 = Written – proclamations, Executive Orders, Special Messages, etc.
- 4 = Major Speech (Televised)
- 5 = Interview
- 6 = Remarks
- 7 = Radio Address

V5. Tone

Each variable was coded according to the following rubric. However, during the analysis, each variable was recoded into a dummy variable so that the regressions were specified correctly.

(0 = Negative; 1 = Positive; 2 = Neutral)

I coded the speech based upon the overall tone of the entire portion of the speech that addressed the economy.

Positive Coding:

This is differentiated from ‘optimism’ wherein the president talks about what he thinks the economy is going to do. This refers specifically to the state of the economy at the time of mention. This includes any mention, direct or indirect, that associates the actions of the president with positive economic outcomes or having moved the economy towards positive economic growth, such as: creating jobs for American workers, having better wages, lessening the burden to tax payers, growing real-estate values, economic expansion, or generally making the economy better. The effect of ‘good’ economic policies that are supported by the presidents and their opposition may be described in clearly positive terms or actions that the president is trying to accomplish or did accomplish (credit claiming) that moved the economy towards growth or maintaining it from getting worse. Furthermore, this includes the president saying that the economy is doing well because of the type of economic policies he has implemented or for which he is advocating, which keep or have kept the public spending on goods and services and the government spending on programs and services that help all of his constituencies -- which grows the economy.

Negative Coding:

This includes any mention, direct or indirect, that associates the actions of other economic actors with negative economic outcomes or moving the economy away from positive economic growth, such as: taking away jobs from American workers, driving down wages, an added cost to tax payers, hurt real-estate values, or generally hurt the economy. The effect of ‘bad’ economic policies that are supported by the presidents’ opposition may be described in clearly negative terms or in less offensive ways such as opposing those policies of the presidents. Furthermore, this includes the president saying that the economy is doing badly because of the opposition he has received for the type of economic policies he has implemented or for which he is advocating to be implemented, which keep or have kept the public spending on goods and services and the government spending on programs and services that help all of his constituencies -- which grows the economy. This also includes mentions of the challenges that the American economy faces, whether domestically or internationally. Moreover, it includes mentions wherein the president says that the ‘economy’ is going to turn around or improve.

Neutral Coding:

This includes any mention, direct or indirect, that does not have negative or positive tones associated with it. The mentions would be general mentions of the term ‘economy’ that are not policy related or addressing the U.S. economy. For example, mentions that say, “a strong and vital economy are important” show the neutrality.

V6. Policy Statement

0 = No 1 = Yes

V7. Number of Speeches

(Expressed as a Continuous Variable = 0 to ∞)

V8. Presidential Party

Democrat (1 = Democrat and 0 = not Democrat)

Republican (1 = Republican and 0 = not Republican)

V9. Political Economic Frameworks

Each variable was coded according to the following rubric. However, during the analysis, each variable was recoded into a dummy variable so that the regressions were specified correctly.

1 = Furthering Democracy, 2 = American Exceptionalism, 3 = Supply-Side Economy, 4 = Keynesian Economy, 5 = Economic Catastrophes, 6 = Sine qua non

For V9, I identified which type of rhetoric the president is using to try to control the economy. I categorized presidential statements about the economy into particular frameworks that were repeatedly present in their speeches. Within each unit of analysis (Presidential speech mentioning the word “economy”), an economic framework is coded to account for the ideology presidents espouse for that particular population. They use these political economic frameworks to appeal to specific deep core beliefs of advocacy coalitions. Such deep core beliefs have certain policy expectations that accompany them; the president thinks that appealing to these deep core beliefs will engender specific policy outcomes. I coded the economic framework that was closest to the beginning of the speech.

Furthering Democracy

This framework will contrast our economic system with that of Socialism and Communism. Presidents will claim that their economic plans further democracy and the opposition plans and ideas are anti-democratic. Moreover, this will include mentions of the economy as a microcosm of American principles. The mentions could include mentions about how the Americans need to sacrifice for the greater good of the economic system and country as a whole. The mentions include discussion of the greater good for the citizenry and unity of purpose. In fact, it includes mentions of the economy as a measure of keeping America safe or secure from other threats or resisting those threats or promoting or expanding freedom.

American Exceptionalism

This framework refers to the American economy and its actions as the greatest in the world or leading the world, an economy that has certain rights and responsibilities around the world. It can exercise these rights whenever it needs and, just as important, it has a responsibility to those economies and peoples around the world that are considered allies. It includes mentions of the economy as part of the American character or spirit. Also, it includes mentions of maintaining the strength of America’s economy, particularly the American dollar in relation to other world economies.

Supply-Side Economy

This includes mentions of policies and programs that assent to the supply-side economic ideology. I will gather the number of mentions of this framework in presidential rhetoric that show the presidents’ support for such an approach to the economy. This framework creates a perception of the economy in terms of how economic actors should best operate to make the economy better or stronger, in other words, a free-market economy. This is an ideology that strongly resonates with the deep core beliefs of those who assent to notions such as the *Trickle-down*, *Reaganomics* constituencies. This includes mentions of tax-cuts, free-enterprise/free market economies, and reducing regulation.

Keynesian Economy

This includes mentions of policies and programs that assent to the Keynesian economic ideology. I will gather the number of mentions of this framework in presidential rhetoric that show the presidents' support for such an approach to the economy. This framework shows how presidents frame their economic rhetoric in a way that calls for the government to intervene in the economy when the economy is not doing well, a stimulus of sorts. The mentions will discuss the government's 'investment' in such things as jobs, education, and/or technology. The deep core beliefs of government intervention in private affairs is redolent of such actions that transpired during the New Deal, which inspires a particular constituency and invokes outrage by another.

Economic Catastrophes

This framework shows how presidents construct their comments on the economy in a way that calls attention to economic disasters and the economy that could come about without the action for which they are calling. Such rhetoric has to do with the direction of the economy, particularly where it is going without action from the economic actors signaled in the presidents' rhetoric. This includes mention of actions that the president is trying to prevent, which he thinks will destroy the economy. Discussing the economy as a looming catastrophe appeals to the deep-core belief of fear and how it influences actions. The president expects that the rhetorical framework will foster changes in economic policy.

Sine qua non

This framework shows how presidents discuss their policy recommendations for the economy as absolutely necessary for economic policy, making the economy better or opponent's making it worse. Such action resonates with the deep core belief that the president is the most significant economic policy-maker in the system. Moreover, it originates from the idea that the president's power is personal and cannot be crossed.

V10. Rhetoric Classification

Each variable was coded according to the following rubric. However, during the analysis, each variable was recoded into a dummy variable so that the regressions were specified correctly.

Control Attempts: 1 = Catalytic, 2 = Hortatory, 3 = Coercive.

For V10, I identified which type of rhetoric the president is using to try to control the economy. Remember, I want to link these particular rhetorical controls to his ability to influence the economy in the three particular ways below. I coded the rhetoric classification that was closest to the beginning of the speech.

Catalytic Control

Presidential calls for action from various political actors without specification as to of what the details of that action consist. These controls function as a "Going Public" action of sorts. They are intended to create excitement and actions that will further the policy goals of the president. The catalytic rhetoric wants to control the agenda for political actions by taking "ideas, problems and interests seriously." These types of controls allow the president to have a say in what is transpiring politically but also in the alternatives considered for political actions.

Hortatory Control

These are the middle ground between the coercive and catalytic controls. Hortatory controls are similar to catalytic controls, but provide elements of incentives and disincentives. Hortatory controls are also similar to coercive controls, but they provide an "escape hatch" for the political actor. This is mostly accomplished by using threats and promises. They are concerned with calls for legislation that deal with a problem, calls upon the courts to act in certain ways, and calls upon the public for action as well as calls

upon the Governors to act. The paradigmatic example of this type of control would be threats of coercive action or promises of catalytic control type compromises.

Coercive Control

Are actions from the president that limit the ability of the other political actors to act, but they do not take away responsibility from those actors when mistakes or misdirections are made. These controls are “solution-forcing” actions from the president. Such actions consist of: vetoes, executive orders, and rule-making actions. These coercive controls do not leave the receiving political actors much room for response or opposition to the action.

V11. Geographic region wherein the speech was given

Each variable was coded according to the following rubric. However, during the analysis, each variable was recoded into a dummy variable so that the regressions were specified correctly.

- 1 – Northeast¹²⁸
- 2 – South¹²⁹
- 3 – Midwest¹³⁰
- 4 – West¹³¹
- 5 – DC
- 6 – Outside of US

For V12 to V14, I identified the make-up of the Congressional government. If the Congressional Chamber is tied, it is assumed that the Vice President will vote along with his Party to break the tie. Thus, whichever party the Vice President is, that Party is in the Majority.

V12. Congressional Control (Senate)

Democrat (1 = Democrat and 0 = not Democrat)
Republican (1 = Republican and 0 = not Republican)

V13. Congressional Control (House)

Democrat (1 = Democrat and 0 = not Democrat)
Republican (1 = Republican and 0 = not Republican)

V14. Congressional Control (Divided Government)

0 = No 1 = Yes

¹²⁸ Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Delaware

¹²⁹ Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Arizona, Oklahoma, Texas

¹³⁰ Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska

¹³¹ Washington, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Wyoming, California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii

V15. Approval Rating
(Expressed as a Continuous Variable = 0 to 100 percent)

I had to code by day and then aggregate into other units of analysis: month (Fed), two-year election cycle (Public), and year (Congress). Therefore, the approval ratings were taken as the average of the unit of analysis. In other words, I took the percentage on the day the speech was given and added each approval rating for the unit of analysis and took the average for the respective unit of analysis.

V16. Whether a Recession was happening when the speech was given
0 = No 1 = Yes

V17. Proposed Economic Legislation
This includes any mention, by the presidents, for Congress to enact legislation that would move economic policy towards the presidents' goals.

0 = No 1 = Yes

V18. Lame Duck status as president¹³²
0 = No 1 = Yes

V19. Vote share the president received in the election
(Expressed as a Continuous Variable = 0 to 100 percent)

V20. Gallup's Most Important Problem – The majority said it was an economic problem
0 = No 1 = Yes

V21. U.S. is engaged in a Major Foreign Conflict
0 = No 1 = Yes

V22. Audience – To whom the speech was given
(Expressed as nominal data)

¹³² Light (1999) defines this as a president who has two years left in his second elected term of office

Appendix B Presidential Economic Speeches Used for Coding

<u>Date</u>	<u>President</u>	<u>Speech Title</u>
01/21/1946	Harry S. Truman	18 - Message to the Congress on the State of the Union and on the Budget for 1947.
02/07/1946	Harry S. Truman	30 - The President's News Conference
02/20/1946	Harry S. Truman	39 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Employment Act.
05/16/1946	Harry S. Truman	117 - Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1946.
05/25/1946	Harry S. Truman	125 - Special Message to the Congress Urging Legislation for Industrial Peace.
06/11/1946	Harry S. Truman	133 - Special Message to the Senate Urging Ratification of the International Convention on Civil Aviation.
06/26/1946	Harry S. Truman	142 - Statement by the President Upon Appointing the Committee for Financing Foreign Trade.
08/02/1946	Harry S. Truman	192 - The President's News Conference on the Review of the 1947 Budget
09/03/1946	Harry S. Truman	Proclamation 2700 - Fire Prevention Week, 1946
10/14/1946	Harry S. Truman	232 - Radio Report to the Nation Announcing the Lifting of Major Price Controls.
12/18/1946	Harry S. Truman	265 - Statement by the President: United States Policy Toward China.
12/31/1946	Harry S. Truman	272 - The President's News Conference on the Termination of Hostilities of World War II
01/31/1947	Harry S. Truman	18 - Special Message to the Congress on Extension of the Second War Powers Act.
03/12/1947	Harry S. Truman	56 - Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine
05/22/1947	Harry S. Truman	99 - Special Message to the Congress Recommending Extension of the Second War Powers Act.
06/07/1947	Harry S. Truman	110 - Address in Kansas City at the 35th Division Reunion Memorial Service.
06/26/1947	Harry S. Truman	128 - Veto of the Wool Act.
06/26/1947	Harry S. Truman	127 - The President's News Conference
07/14/1947	Harry S. Truman	142 - Statement by the President on the Wage Increase of the Coal Miners.
07/26/1947	Harry S. Truman	159 - Executive Order 9877 - Functions of the Armed Forces
08/20/1947	Harry S. Truman	181 - Statement by the President on the Review of the 1948 Budget.
10/18/1947	Harry S. Truman	212 - Statement by the President on Receiving Secretary Krug's Report National Resources and Foreign Aid.

11/01/1947	Harry S. Truman	217 - Statement by the President Making Public a Report The Impact of the Foreign Aid Program Upon the Domestic Economy.
02/18/1948	Harry S. Truman	31 - Special Message to the Congress on the Need for Assistance to China.
02/22/1948	Harry S. Truman	36 - Remarks in St. Thomas on a Visit to the Virgin Islands.
02/23/1948	Harry S. Truman	38 - Remarks at Government House, St. Croix, Virgin Islands.
03/01/1948	Harry S. Truman	42 - Special Message to the Congress Requesting Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act.
03/17/1948	Harry S. Truman	52 - Special Message to the Congress on the Threat to the Freedom of Europe
04/17/1948	Harry S. Truman	80 - Address Before the American Society of Newspaper Editors.
04/29/1948	Harry S. Truman	88 - The President's News Conference
05/10/1948	Harry S. Truman	94 - Letter Accepting Resignation of Clinton P. Anderson as Secretary of Agriculture.
05/26/1948	Harry S. Truman	108 - Letter to the Speaker on Federal Aid to Education.
06/04/1948	Harry S. Truman	114 - Rear Platform Remarks in Ohio and Indiana.
06/15/1948	Harry S. Truman	136 - Rear Platform Remarks in Arizona and New Mexico.
06/18/1948	Harry S. Truman	140 - Special Message to the Congress on the Labor Dispute at Oak Ridge.
06/26/1948	Harry S. Truman	143 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Trade Agreements Extension Act.
08/16/1948	Harry S. Truman	176 - Statement by the President Upon Signing Resolution To Aid in Protecting the Nation's Economy Against Inflationary Pressures.
09/30/1948	Harry S. Truman	218 - Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky.
10/07/1948	Harry S. Truman	227 - Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.
10/25/1948	Harry S. Truman	256 - Address in the Chicago Stadium.
01/08/1949	Harry S. Truman	7 - The President's News Conference on the Budget
03/05/1949	Harry S. Truman	50 - Special Message to the Congress on Reorganization of the National Military Establishment
04/28/1949	Harry S. Truman	88 - Special Message to the Congress Transmitting the Charter for the International Trade Organization.
06/16/1949	Harry S. Truman	122 - The President's News Conference
06/23/1949	Harry S. Truman	137 - Special Message to the Congress on the Need for Raising the Salaries of Federal Executives.
07/02/1949	Harry S. Truman	145 - Letter to Agency Heads on Implementation of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949.
07/19/1949	Harry S. Truman	159 - Address in Chicago Before the Imperial Council Session of the Shrine of North America.

08/09/1949	Harry S. Truman	175 - Veto of Bill To Provide Without Charge Certain Information From the Census Records.
08/12/1949	Harry S. Truman	181 - Letter to the Vice President on Reorganization Plans 1 and 2 of 1949.
09/01/1949	Harry S. Truman	199 - Statement by the President: Labor Day.
10/06/1949	Harry S. Truman	226 - The President's News Conference
10/26/1949	Harry S. Truman	239 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Fair Labor Standards Amendments.
10/29/1949	Harry S. Truman	245 - Memorandum of Disapproval of Bill Relating to the San Luis Valley Project, Colorado.
01/03/1950	Harry S. Truman	1 - Letter to the Chairman of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission.
03/13/1950	Harry S. Truman	54 - Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plans 1 Through 13 of 1950.
03/13/1950	Harry S. Truman	75 - Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 20 of 1950.
05/06/1950	Harry S. Truman	Proclamation 2887 - World Trade Week, 1950
05/09/1950	Harry S. Truman	118 - Address in Cheyenne, Wyoming.
05/10/1950	Harry S. Truman	121 - Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.
05/12/1950	Harry S. Truman	127 - Rear Platform Remarks in Montana.
08/21/1950	Harry S. Truman	216 - Veto of Bill To Amend the War Contractors Relief Act.
10/11/1950	Harry S. Truman	265 - Letter Concerning the Establishment of an Interagency Committee To Study the Resources and Development of New England and New York.
12/15/1950	Harry S. Truman	303 - Radio and Television Report to the American People on the National Emergency.
01/17/1951	Harry S. Truman	15 - Memorandum Establishing a National Manpower Mobilization Policy.
02/26/1951	Harry S. Truman	44 - Memorandum Requesting a Study of the Problems of Debt Management and Credit Controls.
04/02/1951	Harry S. Truman	66 - Statement by the President on the Third Anniversary of the European Recovery Program.
04/26/1951	Harry S. Truman	91 - Special Message to the Congress Recommending Extension and Broadening of the Defense Production Act.
05/09/1951	Harry S. Truman	98 - Remarks at a Conference of the Industry Advisory Councils of the Department of the Interior.
05/12/1951	Harry S. Truman	Proclamation 2928 - National Maritime Day, 1951
06/14/1951	Harry S. Truman	123 - Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Need for Extending Inflation Controls.
07/19/1951	Harry S. Truman	163 - Letter to the Director, Office of Defense Mobilization, on Federal Activities in the Flood Disaster Areas.

07/23/1951	Harry S. Truman	167 - Special Message to the Congress: The President's Midyear Economic Report.
07/25/1951	Harry S. Truman	Executive Order 10275 - Inspection of Income, Excess-Profits, Declared Value Excess-Profits, Capital Stock, Estate, and Gift Tax Returns by the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments
07/28/1951	Harry S. Truman	174 - Address in Detroit at the Celebration of the City's 250th Anniversary.
08/28/1951	Harry S. Truman	206 - Letter to the President, National Farmers Union, on the Taxation of Cooperatives.
09/25/1951	Harry S. Truman	Executive Order 10292 - Amending the Selective Service Regulations
01/19/1952	Harry S. Truman	17 - The President's News Conference on the Budget
02/11/1952	Harry S. Truman	33 - Special Message to the Congress Urging Extension and Strengthening of the Defense Production Act
03/13/1952	Harry S. Truman	62 - Message to the Convention of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association on Federal Power Policy.
04/05/1952	Harry S. Truman	Executive Order 10339 - Extensions of Time Relating to the Disposition of Certain Housing
04/08/1952	Harry S. Truman	82 - Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Need for Government Operation of the Steel Mills.
05/15/1952	Harry S. Truman	127 - The President's News Conference
05/21/1952	Harry S. Truman	135 - Remarks to Members of the National Advisory Committee of the Veterans Administration Voluntary Services.
07/15/1952	Harry S. Truman	205 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Supplemental Appropriation Act.
08/13/1952	Harry S. Truman	226 - Letter to the Secretary of Commerce on the Tax Benefits of the Shipping Industry.
09/18/1952	Harry S. Truman	Executive Order 10395 - Extension of Time Relating to the Disposition of Certain Temporary Housing
10/02/1952	Harry S. Truman	276 - Address in Tacoma at a Rally in the Armory.
10/03/1952	Harry S. Truman	277 - Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Oregon and California.
10/11/1952	Harry S. Truman	291 - Address at a Columbus Day Dinner in New York City.
10/17/1952	Harry S. Truman	295 - Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in New Hampshire and Massachusetts.
10/31/1952	Harry S. Truman	319 - Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Ohio.
12/04/1952	Harry S. Truman	341 - Letter to the Administrator, Economic Stabilization Agency, on the New Wage Agreement in the Coal Industry.

01/14/1953	Harry S. Truman	376	- Annual Message to the Congress: The President's Economic Report.
02/02/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	6	- Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
03/05/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	23	- Remarks to the American Retail Federation.
04/02/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	40	- Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 3 of 1953 Concerning the Organization of the Executive Office of the President.
04/30/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	61	- Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 6 of 1953 Concerning the Department of Defense.
05/14/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	77	- The President's News Conference
06/01/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	93	- Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 9 of 1953 Concerning the Council of Economic Advisers.
07/15/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	136	- Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Transmitting a Proposed Supplemental Appropriation for the Department of Agriculture.
08/04/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	156	- Remarks at the Governors Conference, Seattle, Washington.
09/22/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	189	- Remarks at the American Bankers Association Convention.
10/06/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	205	- Address at the Sixth National Assembly of the United Church Women, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
10/15/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	215	- Remarks at the Cornerstone-Laying Ceremony for the Anthony Wayne Library of American Study, Defiance College, Defiance, Ohio
10/24/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	227	- Statement by the President on the Work of the National Agricultural Advisory Commission.
12/17/1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	266	- Statements by the President on the First Day of the Republican Legislative Conference in the Cabinet Room.
01/14/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	10	- Special Message to the Congress on Old Age and Survivors Insurance and on Federal Grants-in-Aid for Public Assistance Programs
01/25/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	17	- Special Message to the Congress on Housing.
01/27/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	18	- The President's News Conference
03/15/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	54	- Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Tax Program.
03/31/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	68	- The President's News Conference

04/05/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	72 - Radio and Television Address to the American People on the State of the Nation.
05/19/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	116 - Special Message to the Congress on Contributory Group Life Insurance for Federal Employees.
06/02/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	129 - The President's News Conference
06/16/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	144 - Remarks at the Convention of the National Association of Retail Grocers
07/07/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	161 - The President's News Conference
08/02/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	179 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1954.
08/30/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	226 - Address at the Iowa State Fair at Des Moines.
09/23/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	271 - Address at the Dedication of McNary Dam, Walla Walla, Washington.
10/15/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	291 - Address at Butler University, Indianapolis, Before the National Institute of Animal Agriculture.
10/15/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	290 - Remarks in Indianapolis at the Columbia Republican Club.
10/21/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	301 - Address at the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Dinner, New York City.
10/29/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	319 - Remarks at Standiford Airport, Louisville, Kentucky.
11/22/1954	Dwight D. Eisenhower	340 - Message to the Conference of Ministers of Finance and Economy Meeting in Rio de Janeiro.
01/01/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	1 - Memorandum Concerning the Government Employees Incentive Awards Program.
01/06/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	4 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
04/20/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	76 - Special Message to the Congress on the Mutual Security Program.
05/02/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	86 - Special Message to the Congress on United States Participation in the International Finance Corporation.
06/21/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	127 - Remarks to the National Association of Television and Radio Farm Directors.
06/28/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	145 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Final Report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.
07/27/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	176 - The President's News Conference
08/02/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	181 - Remarks to Members of the Bull Elephants Club.
08/14/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	205 - Memorandum of Disapproval of Bill Extending the Domestic Minerals Purchase Programs.

10/17/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	221 - Statement by the President on Observance of Farm-City Week.
12/05/1955	Dwight D. Eisenhower	245 - Telephone Broadcast to the AFL-CIO Merger Meeting in New York City.
01/17/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	13 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Transmitting Report of the President's Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy.
01/24/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	19 - Annual Message Transmitting the Economic Report to the Congress
02/29/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	48 - Radio and Television Address to the American People Following Decision on a Second Term.
03/01/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	49 - Joint Statement Following Second Meeting With President Gronchi of Italy.
03/07/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	53 - The President's News Conference
04/25/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	88 - The President's News Conference
09/12/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	206 - Remarks at the Republican Campaign Picnic at the President's Gettysburg Farm.
10/01/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	226 - Address at the University of Kentucky Coliseum in Lexington.
10/18/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	252 - Letter to Albert M. Cole, Administrator of Housing and Home Finance Agency, Authorizing Mortgage Purchases Under Special Housing Program for the Elderly.
10/24/1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	268 - Radio and Television Broadcast: The Women Ask the President.
01/10/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	8 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
01/23/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	16 - Annual Message Transmitting the Economic Report to the Congress
03/05/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	41 - Special Message to the Congress on Drought and Other Natural Disasters.
03/27/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	56 - The President's News Conference
04/03/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	63 - Remarks at Fifth Annual Republican Women's National Conference.
05/21/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	90 - Special Message to the Congress on the Mutual Security Programs.
06/07/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	108 - Address to the Republican National Conference.
06/26/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	119 - The President's News Conference
08/14/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	152 - The President's News Conference
10/02/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	206 - Letter Accepting Resignation of Charles E. Wilson as Secretary of Defense.

10/22/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	223 - Address at the Dinner of the National Fund for Medical Education.
11/13/1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	234 - Radio and Television Address to the American People on Our Future Security.
01/13/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	5 - Annual Budget Message to the Congress-Fiscal Year 1959.
02/26/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	37 - The President's News Conference
03/08/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	43 - Letter to the Minority Leaders of the Senate and the House of Representatives Concerning Measures To Aid Economic Growth.
04/01/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	62 - Special Message to the Congress Upon Signing Act To Stimulate Residential Construction.
04/15/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	73 - Veto of Bill Authorizing Appropriations for Rivers, Harbors, and Flood Control Projects.
04/16/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	75 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Transmitting Draft Bill on Defense Reorganization.
04/30/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	88 - The President's News Conference
08/29/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	234 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Social Security Amendments.
10/22/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	295 - Radio and Newsreel Panel Discussion Sponsored by the National Republican Committee in Chicago.
10/28/1958	Dwight D. Eisenhower	305 - Remarks to Republican Campaign Workers, New York City.
01/14/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	7 - Remarks and Discussion at the National Press Club.
01/21/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	17 - The President's News Conference
02/18/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	36 - The President's News Conference
02/25/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	43 - Remarks at the U.S. Savings Bond Conference.
03/04/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	48 - The President's News Conference
03/13/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	55 - Special Message to the Congress on the Mutual Security Program.
03/16/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	57 - Radio and Television Report to the American People: Security in the Free World
04/23/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	84 - Remarks at the 40th Anniversary Meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce.
06/04/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	124 - Remarks to a Group of Business Magazine Editors in the Conference Room.
06/08/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	127 - Remarks and Address at Testimonial Dinner Honoring Republicans in Congress.

06/08/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	126 - Special Message to the Congress on the Management of the Public Debt.
06/09/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	129 - Address at the Annual Meeting of the American Medical Association, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
08/25/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	187 - Special Message to the Congress Urging Timely Action on FHA Mortgage Loan Insurance and on the Interstate Highway Program
10/09/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	253 - Statement by the President Upon Signing Executive Order Creating a Board of Inquiry To Report on the Steel Strike.
12/21/1959	Dwight D. Eisenhower	335 - Joint Statement Concerning the Economic Agreements Reached at the Western Summit Conference.
01/18/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	13 - Annual Budget Message to the Congress: Fiscal Year 1961.
02/07/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	30 - Memorandum Concerning the Commission on National Goals.
02/16/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	36 - Special Message to the Congress on the Mutual Security Program.
02/27/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	63 - Toast to President Frondizi at a Dinner Given in His Honor by the President in San Carlos de Bariloche.
03/01/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	73 - Address Before a Joint Session of the National Congress of Chile.
06/12/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	177 - Statement by the President Recorded Before Leaving for the Far East.
06/15/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	183 - Address Before a Joint Session of the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives.
09/26/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	304 - Address in Philadelphia Before the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants.
10/20/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	332 - Address in San Francisco to the Commonwealth Club of California.
11/03/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	349 - Letter to Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower on the Occasion of His Resignation From Two Advisory Committees.
12/24/1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower	382 - Memorandum to the Secretary of the Army on the Operation of Steamships by the Panama Canal Company.
01/12/1961	Dwight D. Eisenhower	410 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
01/24/1961	John F. Kennedy	Executive Order 10915
02/02/1961	John F. Kennedy	17 - Special Message to the Congress: Program for Economic Recovery and Growth

02/06/1961	John F. Kennedy	23 - Special Message to the Congress on Gold and the Balance of Payments Deficit.
02/10/1961	John F. Kennedy	Proclamation 3393 - National Defense Transportation Day, 1961
02/13/1961	John F. Kennedy	33 - Address at a Luncheon Meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board.
02/16/1961	John F. Kennedy	40 - Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Establishing the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy.
02/23/1961	John F. Kennedy	49 - Special Message to the Congress on Natural Resources
02/28/1961	John F. Kennedy	58 - Special Message to the Congress on the Federal Highway Program.
03/01/1961	John F. Kennedy	62 - The President's News Conference
03/16/1961	John F. Kennedy	84 - Remarks on the Occasion of the Celebration of the Centennial of Italian Unification.
03/23/1961	John F. Kennedy	92 - The President's News Conference
03/24/1961	John F. Kennedy	Executive Order 10929
04/05/1961	John F. Kennedy	Proclamation 3403 - National Maritime Day, 1961
04/12/1961	John F. Kennedy	119 - The President's News Conference
04/13/1961	John F. Kennedy	121 - Special Message to the Congress on the Regulatory Agencies.
04/17/1961	John F. Kennedy	127 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Farm Bill.
04/20/1961	John F. Kennedy	136 - Special Message to the Congress on Taxation.
05/02/1961	John F. Kennedy	161 - Statement by the President Announcing a Program of Assistance to the Textile Industry.
05/05/1961	John F. Kennedy	171 - The President's News Conference
05/16/1961	John F. Kennedy	185 - Letter to Mrs. Alicia Patterson, Editor and Publisher of Newsday, Concerning the Nation's Response to the Cold War.
05/24/1961	John F. Kennedy	202 - Statement by the President Following a Meeting With Roberto T. Alemann, Minister of Economy of Argentina.
05/24/1961	John F. Kennedy	Executive Order 10945
05/25/1961	John F. Kennedy	205 - Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs
06/12/1961	John F. Kennedy	Executive Order 10948
06/28/1961	John F. Kennedy	258 - The President's News Conference
07/21/1961	John F. Kennedy	297 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Proposing Reorganization and Reenactment of Refugee Aid Legislation
08/17/1961	John F. Kennedy	323 - Letter to Secretary Goldberg Concerning the 25th Anniversary of the First Unemployment Insurance Payment.
08/30/1961	John F. Kennedy	334 - The President's News Conference

09/14/1961	John F. Kennedy	366 - Letter to the President, United Steelworkers of America, on the Importance of Price Stability.
09/21/1961	John F. Kennedy	376 - Joint Statement Following Discussions With the President of Peru.
10/03/1961	John F. Kennedy	398 - Statement by the President Upon Signing an Education Bill.
10/06/1961	John F. Kennedy	409 - Message to President Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia Concerning U.S. Disposal of Tin.
10/10/1961	John F. Kennedy	Executive Order 10966
10/12/1961	John F. Kennedy	416 - Remarks Recorded at the Raleigh-Durham Airport for the Opening of the North Carolina Trade Fair at Charlotte.
11/02/1961	John F. Kennedy	447 - Statement by the President in Support of the Reelection of Robert F. Wagner as Mayor of New York City.
11/07/1961	John F. Kennedy	454 - Remarks by Telephone to the First White House Regional Conference Meeting in Chicago.
11/13/1961	John F. Kennedy	463 - Remarks to the Trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
12/07/1961	John F. Kennedy	498 - Remarks in Miami at the Young Democrats Convention.
01/11/1962	John F. Kennedy	7 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
01/19/1962	John F. Kennedy	14 - Remarks at the Conference Opening the 1962 Savings Bond Campaign.
02/01/1962	John F. Kennedy	28 - Special Message to the Congress on Public Welfare Programs.
02/02/1962	John F. Kennedy	31 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Bill To Authorize U.S. Loans to the International Monetary Fund
02/14/1962	John F. Kennedy	47 - Remarks to the Policy Committee of the Communications Workers of America.
02/26/1962	John F. Kennedy	64 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Bill To Continue and Expand the Peace_ Corps
03/10/1962	John F. Kennedy	77 - Address at Miami Beach at a fundraising Dinner in Honor of Senator Smathers.
03/15/1962	John F. Kennedy	93 - Special Message to the Congress on Protecting the Consumer Interest.
03/20/1962	John F. Kennedy	100 - Letter to the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, on the Development of Civilian Nuclear Power.
03/20/1962	John F. Kennedy	102 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Bill To Stimulate Construction of Coal Pipelines

04/22/1962	John F. Kennedy	156 - Transcript of Interview With Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt Recorded for National Educational Television.
05/01/1962	John F. Kennedy	164 - Statement by the President Upon Receiving a Report on Collective Bargaining and Industrial Peace.
05/02/1962	John F. Kennedy	Proclamation 3472 - United State Department of Labor Fiftieth Anniversary Year
05/04/1962	John F. Kennedy	170 - Address in New Orleans at the Opening of the New Dockside Terminal.
05/07/1962	John F. Kennedy	Proclamation 3473 - National Apprenticeship Month
05/08/1962	John F. Kennedy	174 - Address in Atlantic City at the Convention of the United Auto Workers.
05/17/1962	John F. Kennedy	198 - The President's News Conference
05/17/1962	John F. Kennedy	199 - Address Before the Conference on Trade Policy.
05/23/1962	John F. Kennedy	209 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Concerning Research Grants to Colleges and Universities.
05/23/1962	John F. Kennedy	210 - The President's News Conference
06/07/1962	John F. Kennedy	230 - Remarks to Members of the Brookings Institution's Public Policy Conference for Business Executives.
06/11/1962	John F. Kennedy	234 - Commencement Address at Yale University.
06/14/1962	John F. Kennedy	245 - The President's News Conference
06/27/1962	John F. Kennedy	259 - The President's News Conference
07/05/1962	John F. Kennedy	279 - The President's News Conference
07/06/1962	John F. Kennedy	280 - Letter to David Rockefeller on the Balance of Payments Question.
07/09/1962	John F. Kennedy	Executive Order 11035
08/01/1962	John F. Kennedy	313 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Report of the U.S. Study Commission-Texas.
09/17/1962	John F. Kennedy	385 - Remarks With David McDonald Recorded for the United Steelworkers Convention at Miami Beach.
09/26/1962	John F. Kennedy	410 - The President's Special News Conference With Business Editors and Publishers
09/27/1962	John F. Kennedy	413 - Remarks Upon Signing the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962.
10/11/1962	John F. Kennedy	448 - Memorandum on Manpower Controls and Utilization in the Executive Branch.
10/19/1962	John F. Kennedy	478 - Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Relating to the World Food Congress.
01/14/1963	John F. Kennedy	12 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
01/17/1963	John F. Kennedy	21 - Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1964.
01/24/1963	John F. Kennedy	34 - Special Message to the Congress on Tax Reduction and Reform.
02/07/1963	John F. Kennedy	54 - The President's News Conference

02/14/1963	John F. Kennedy	65 - The President's News Conference
02/21/1963	John F. Kennedy	75 - The President's News Conference
03/05/1963	John F. Kennedy	87 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Transportation Policy.
03/18/1963	John F. Kennedy	99 - Address at the Teatro Nacional in San Jose Upon Opening the Presidents Conference.
03/19/1963	John F. Kennedy	102 - Toasts of the President and President Somoza of Nicaragua at a Luncheon at the Ambassador's Residence in San Jose, Costa Rica.
03/23/1963	John F. Kennedy	110 - Remarks at a Civic Luncheon in Chicago.
04/06/1963	John F. Kennedy	123 - Statement by the President Concerning the Accelerated Public Works Program.
04/20/1963	John F. Kennedy	136 - Address at the Boston College Centennial Ceremonies.
04/26/1963	John F. Kennedy	146 - Remarks to a Group of Young Democrats.
05/09/1963	John F. Kennedy	175 - Address and Question and Answer Period at the 20th Anniversary Meeting of the Committee for Economic Development.
05/16/1963	John F. Kennedy	187 - Remarks to Members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.
05/22/1963	John F. Kennedy	202 - The President's News Conference
06/04/1963	John F. Kennedy	220 - Statement by the President on Equal Employment Opportunity in Federal Apprenticeship and Construction Programs.
06/08/1963	John F. Kennedy	228 - Remarks in Hollywood at a Breakfast With Democratic State Committeewomen of California.
07/22/1963	John F. Kennedy	310 - Special Message to the Congress on the Railroad Rules Dispute.
08/20/1963	John F. Kennedy	328 - The President's News Conference
09/18/1963	John F. Kennedy	363 - Radio and Television Address to the Nation on the Test Ban Treaty and the Tax Reduction Bill.
09/24/1963	John F. Kennedy	378 - Address in Duluth to Delegates to the Northern Great Lakes Region Land and People Conference.
09/24/1963	John F. Kennedy	377 - Remarks Upon Arrival at the Airport, Ashland, Wisconsin.
09/25/1963	John F. Kennedy	382 - Remarks at the Yellowstone County Fairgrounds, Billings, Montana.
09/25/1963	John F. Kennedy	379 - Address at the University of North Dakota.
10/02/1963	John F. Kennedy	396 - Remarks Upon Signing the Uniformed Services Pay Raise Bill.
10/03/1963	John F. Kennedy	400 - Remarks in Heber Springs, Arkansas, at the Dedication of Greers Ferry Dam.
11/08/1963	John F. Kennedy	455 - Remarks at the Dinner of the Protestant Council of the City of New York.
11/13/1963	John F. Kennedy	458 - Statement by the President Announcing a "Crash Program" To Assist Eastern Kentucky.

11/22/1963	John F. Kennedy	477 - Remarks Prepared for Delivery at the Trade Mart in Dallas.
11/27/1963	Lyndon B. Johnson	11 - Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress.
12/05/1963	Lyndon B. Johnson	26 - Remarks to Employees of the Department of State.
12/11/1963	Lyndon B. Johnson	37 - Remarks to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and to Officials of the Department of Defense.
12/16/1963	Lyndon B. Johnson	47 - Remarks Upon Signing the Higher Education Facilities Act.
01/20/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	124 - Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President
01/28/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	160 - Statement by the President Upon Making Public a Report family Breadwinners - Their Special Training Needs.
02/07/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	176 - Statement by the President Following Senate Approval of the Tax Bill
02/22/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	193 - Joint Statement following Discussions With the President of Mexico at Palm Springs, California.
02/26/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	197 - Radio and Television Remarks Upon Signing the Tax Bill.
03/09/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	213 - Annual Message to the Congress: The Manpower Report of the President.
03/24/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	235 - Remarks to the Legislative Conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO.
04/11/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	255 - Remarks Upon Signing the Wheat-Cotton Bill.
04/15/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	265 - Joint Statement following Discussions With the King of Jordan.
04/16/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	266 - The President's News Conference
04/30/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	Proclamation 3586 - Small Business Week
05/02/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	307 - Remarks to the Press Following a Cabinet Meeting on Management of the Executive Branch.
05/29/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	374 - Remarks in Texas to the Graduating Class of the Johnson City High School.
07/29/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	484 - Remarks to the Members of the National Agricultural Advisory Commission.
08/18/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	521 - The President's News Conference
09/01/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	548 - Remarks to the General Board of the AFL-CIO.
09/22/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	Executive Order 11179--Providing for the National Defense Executive Reserve
09/28/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	606 - Remarks in Portland, Maine, on the Steps of the City Hall.
10/06/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	630 - Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Businessmen.
10/07/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	634 - Remarks at the State Capitol in Des Moines.
10/21/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	694 - Remarks in Belleville, Illinois.

10/25/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	707 - Statement by the President Announcing a Series of Statements on Economic Issues.
10/26/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	717 - Statement by the President on the Textile Industry.
10/26/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	714 - Presidential Statement No. 2 on Economic Issues: Monetary Policy for Stability and Growth.
10/27/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	723 - Presidential Statement No. 4 on Economic Issues: Responsible and Effective Fiscal Policy.
10/27/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	728 - Remarks at the Civic Center Arena in Pittsburgh.
10/28/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	734 - Remarks at the Riverside, California, County Courthouse.
10/30/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	745 - Remarks at an Airport Rally in Detroit.
10/30/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	743 - Presidential Statement No. 10 on Economic Issues: Achieving Full Employment.
11/16/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	771 - Remarks at the Swearing In of Gardner Ackley as Chairman and Arthur Okun as Member of the Council of Economic Advisers
11/19/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	775 - Remarks at a Luncheon of the Committee for Economic Development
11/28/1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	780 - The President's News Conference at the LBJ Ranch
02/15/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	70 - Special Message to the Congress on the Needs of the Nation's Capital.
03/05/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	100 - Annual Message to the Congress: The Manpower Report of the President.
03/31/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	146 - Letter Accepting Resignation of Douglas Dillon as Secretary of the Treasury.
04/18/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	196 - Letter to the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, in Response to Reports on Activities During 1964.
05/13/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	246 - Address to Members of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists: The Challenge of Human Need in Viet-Nam.
05/18/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	258 - Special Message to the Congress on Labor.
05/26/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	279 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Bills To Improve Highway Beauty.
06/01/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	293 - Statement by the President on the Distribution of Food and Medical Supplies in the Dominican Republic.
06/18/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	321 - The President's Statement to the Cabinet Following Passage of the Excise Tax Reductions
06/27/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	332 - Memorandum Directing Full Use by Federal Agencies of the ZIP Code System.
07/12/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	351 - Memorandum Following Release of the Labor Department's Employment Figures for June.
07/20/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	371 - Remarks at the Swearing In of Rear Adm. John Harllee and James V. Day as Chairman and Vice Chairman, Federal Maritime Commission

07/28/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	388 - The President's News Conference
08/11/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	417 - Remarks at the Signing of the Saline Water Conversion Act.
08/25/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	448 - The President's News Conference
09/01/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	473 - Statement by the President on the Contributions Made by the Organization of American States to the Dominican Agreement.
10/22/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	582 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Service Contract Act of 1965.
12/05/1965	Lyndon B. Johnson	638 - Letter to Secretary Fowler Approving the Recommendations of the Cabinet Committee on Balance of Payments.
01/12/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	6 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
01/15/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	10 - Letter to the Postmaster General Approving Recommendations for Improving Postal Services.
03/12/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	121 - The President's News Conference Following a Meeting With the Executive Committee of the Governors Conference
03/31/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	158 - The President's News Conference
04/22/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	189 - Remarks in Baltimore at the Celebration of the Bicentennial of American Methodism.
05/03/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	200 - Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating Poland's National and Christian Millennium.
05/20/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	233 - Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Requesting Increased Borrowing Authority for TVA.
06/01/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	247 - The President's News Conference
07/26/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	355 - Message to the Congress Transmitting the Commodity Credit Corporation's Report for Fiscal Year 1965.
08/03/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	368 - Remarks at the Swearing In of William S. Gaud as Administrator, Agency for International Development.
08/05/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	371 - Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Authorizing Appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
08/09/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	373 - The President's News Conference
08/24/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	403 - Remarks at a Luncheon for State Chairmen of the Dollars for Democrats Drive.
09/23/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	479 - Remarks at the Signing of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966.
09/27/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	487 - Remarks to the Delegates to the Second National Conference of United States Marshals.
10/15/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	523 - Remarks Upon Signing Bill Creating a Department of Transportation.

10/21/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	543 - Remarks at a Reception at Government House, Melbourne, Australia.
11/13/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	612 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Foreign Investors Tax Act and the Presidential Election Fund Act
11/13/1966	Lyndon B. Johnson	610 - The President's News Conference
01/26/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	16 - Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President
03/03/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	85 - Statement by the President Announcing the Appointment of a Commission To Study the Federal Budget.
03/17/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	120 - Statement by the President Announcing the Release of Deferred Funds for Federal Programs.
03/17/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	121 - Special Message to the Congress: The Quality of American Government
04/27/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	193 - Remarks at the Dedication of the Crossland Vocational Center, Camp Springs, Maryland.
07/18/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	312 - The President's News Conference
09/22/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	393 - Remarks to Representatives of National Voluntary Organizations Concerned With Consumer Interests.
10/05/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	417 - The President's News Conference
10/12/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	430 - Remarks at a Meeting With the President's Committee on Consumer Interests.
11/24/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	506 - Statement by the President Upon Signing Bills Authorizing Sale of Surplus Bismuth, Molybdenum, and Rare Earths.
12/19/1967	Lyndon B. Johnson	556 - Statement by the President After Signing Joint Resolution Providing for Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1968.
01/01/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	2 - Statement by the President Outlining a Program of Action To Deal With the Balance of Payments Problem.
01/09/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	10 - Statement by the President on the United States Savings Bond Program.
01/17/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	14 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
01/23/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	24 - Special Message to the Congress - To Earn a Living: The Right of Every American.
01/24/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	26 - Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights.
01/25/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	29 - Message to the Senate Submitting for Advice and Consent the International Grains Arrangement of 1967.
01/26/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	34 - Remarks Upon Presenting the Distinguished Service Medal to Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., USMC.

02/02/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	50 - Filmed Conversation of the President and George Meany, AFL-CIO President and Chairman of COPE.
02/14/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	72 - Remarks Upon Signing the Savings and Loan Holding Company Amendments of 1967.
02/27/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	94 - Special Message to the Congress: Prosperity and Progress for the Farmer and Rural America.
03/01/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	106 - Telegram Requesting the Parties in the Copper Strike To Resume Negotiations at the White House.
03/12/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	132 - Remarks at a Dinner of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.
03/18/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	142 - Remarks to Delegates to the National Farmers Union Convention in Minneapolis.
06/20/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	322 - Letter to the Speaker of the House Urging Passage of the Tax Bill.
07/31/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	Executive Order 11420--Establishing the Export Expansion Advisory Committee
08/01/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	427 - Letter to the Speaker of the House and to the Majority Leader of the Senate on the Steel Price Increases.
11/19/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	596 - Remarks in New York City at the Annual Equal Opportunity Awards Dinner of the National Urban League
12/03/1968	Lyndon B. Johnson	Executive Order 11438--Prescribing procedures governing interdepartmental cash awards to the members of the Armed Forces
01/06/1969	Lyndon B. Johnson	654 - Remarks to Reporters Following a Congressional Leadership Breakfast
01/20/1969	Richard Nixon	1 - Inaugural Address
02/05/1969	Richard Nixon	30 - Statement Announcing Continuation of Advance Payments to Participants in the Feed Grain Program for 1969
03/05/1969	Richard Nixon	100 - Statement About a National Program for Minority Business Enterprise
03/26/1969	Richard Nixon	132 - Special Message to the Congress on Fiscal Policy.
04/04/1969	Richard Nixon	141 - Statement on the Balance of Payments.
05/15/1969	Richard Nixon	198 - Statement on the Control of Inflation.
07/18/1969	Richard Nixon	271 - Special Message to the Congress on Problems of Population Growth.
08/26/1969	Richard Nixon	342 - Statement About Labor Day, 1969
10/17/1969	Richard Nixon	395 - Address to the Nation on the Rising Cost of Living.
10/17/1969	Richard Nixon	394 - Statement Announcing the Nomination of Dr. Arthur F. Burns as a Member of the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System
11/07/1969	Richard Nixon	432 - Letter to Congressional Leaders Recommending Additional Air Traffic Controller Positions.

11/14/1969	Richard Nixon	443 - Memorandum on Expenditures by Government Departments and Agencies.
11/19/1969	Richard Nixon	447 - Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Prime Minister Eisaku Sato of Japan.
11/21/1969	Richard Nixon	455 - Remarks at the Briefing for Businessmen Meeting.
11/21/1969	Richard Nixon	453 - Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Sato of Japan.
01/27/1970	Richard Nixon	14 - Veto Message on the Labor-HEW-OEO Appropriations Bill.
02/02/1970	Richard Nixon	23 - Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President
02/18/1970	Richard Nixon	45 - First Annual Report to the Congress on United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's.
02/20/1970	Richard Nixon	50 - Statement About the Report of the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control
02/26/1970	Richard Nixon	61 - Remarks About the Proposed Federal Economy Act of 1970.
03/04/1970	Richard Nixon	68 - Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on the Foreign Assistance Program.
03/19/1970	Richard Nixon	84 - Special Message to the Congress on Higher Education.
04/09/1970	Richard Nixon	106 - Statement on Establishing the National Industrial Pollution Control Council.
04/24/1970	Richard Nixon	134 - Statement About Pledges by Private Commercial Institutions To Provide for an Increase in Housing Credit
06/17/1970	Richard Nixon	192 - Address to the Nation on Economic Policy and Productivity.
06/30/1970	Richard Nixon	205 - Report on the Cambodian Operation.
07/18/1970	Richard Nixon	225 - Statement About Congressional Actions Affecting the Federal Budget
07/30/1970	Richard Nixon	240 - The President's News Conference
08/10/1970	Richard Nixon	254 - Message to the Congress Transmitting the First Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality.
08/11/1970	Richard Nixon	258 - Vetoes of Appropriations Bills for the Office of Education and for Independent Offices and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.
08/25/1970	Richard Nixon	276 - Labor Day Statement.
10/29/1970	Richard Nixon	403 - Remarks at Rockford, Illinois.
10/29/1970	Richard Nixon	410 - Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in California.
12/05/1970	Richard Nixon	448 - Statement Urging Reversal of the Senate's Disapproval of the Supersonic Transport Program.

12/07/1970	Richard Nixon	449 - Special Message to the Congress Requesting 45-Day Extension of No-Strike Period in Railway Labor-Management Dispute
12/13/1970	Richard Nixon	459 - Remarks at the Opening Session of the White House Conference on Children.
12/30/1970	Richard Nixon	481 - Statement on Signing the Securities Investor Protection Act of 1970.
01/22/1971	Richard Nixon	26 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
02/17/1971	Richard Nixon	61 - The President's News Conference
02/23/1971	Richard Nixon	70 - Statement on Suspending Davis-Bacon Act Provisions for Federal Construction Projects.
04/26/1971	Richard Nixon	151 - Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce: The Right To Be Confident.
05/07/1971	Richard Nixon	161 - Remarks to Farm Leaders Participating in the Salute to Agriculture.
05/18/1971	Richard Nixon	171 - Statement on Signing Bill Extending Negotiation Period in the Railway Labor Dispute.
05/25/1971	Richard Nixon	182 - Remarks to Southern News Media Representatives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Birmingham, Alabama.
05/26/1971	Richard Nixon	183 - Remarks at the Annual Conference of the Associated Councils of the Arts.
06/04/1971	Richard Nixon	195 - Special Message to the Congress on Energy Resources.
06/30/1971	Richard Nixon	216 - Statement About the Turkish Government's Ban on Cultivation of Opium Poppies
07/06/1971	Richard Nixon	222 - Remarks to Midwestern News Media Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Kansas City, Missouri.
07/31/1971	Richard Nixon	245 - Remarks at the Dedication of the Rathbun Dam Near Centerville, Iowa.
08/02/1971	Richard Nixon	246 - Statement About Senate Approval of the Emergency Loan Guarantee Act
08/15/1971	Richard Nixon	264 - Address to the Nation Outlining a New Economic Policy: The Challenge of Peace.
08/18/1971	Richard Nixon	269 - Remarks on Signing Bill Establishing the Lincoln Home National Historic Site in Springfield, Illinois.
09/06/1971	Richard Nixon	285 - Address to the Nation on Labor Day.
09/09/1971	Richard Nixon	287 - Address to the Congress on Stabilization of the Economy
09/16/1971	Richard Nixon	292 - The President's News Conference
09/23/1971	Richard Nixon	297 - Remarks at a Question-and-Answer Session With a 10-Member Panel of the Economic Club of Detroit.

10/12/1971	Richard Nixon	329 - Remarks About the AFL-CIO Decision To Participate on the Pay Board.
12/10/1971	Richard Nixon	390 - Statement About the Revenue Act of 1971
01/19/1972	Richard Nixon	13 - Statement Announcing United States Policy on Economic Assistance and Investment Security in Developing Nations
01/27/1972	Richard Nixon	24 - Letter Accepting the Resignation of Maurice H. Stans as Secretary of Commerce.
02/07/1972	Richard Nixon	49 - Remarks to the White House Conference on the Industrial World Ahead: A Look at Business in 1990.
03/23/1972	Richard Nixon	100 - Special Message to the Congress on Older Americans.
04/13/1972	Richard Nixon	118 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Science Board.
06/01/1972	Richard Nixon	188 - Address to a Joint Session of the Congress on Return From Austria, the Soviet Union, Iran, and Poland.
07/26/1972	Richard Nixon	238 - Special Message to the Congress on Federal Government Spending.
08/12/1972	Richard Nixon	254 - Introduction to a Report by the Council of Economic Advisers on the New Economic Policy.
09/21/1972	Richard Nixon	308 - Statement About Establishment of an Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women
09/28/1972	Richard Nixon	330 - Statement About the Nation's Economy
10/12/1972	Richard Nixon	345 - Statement About the Proposed Federal Spending Ceiling and the Economy
10/23/1972	Richard Nixon	363 - Campaign Statement About Federal Spending.
10/27/1972	Richard Nixon	377 - Radio Address on the American Farmer.
10/29/1972	Richard Nixon	388 - Radio Address on Defense Policy.
11/03/1972	Richard Nixon	401 - Campaign Statement in Oklahoma.
01/05/1973	Richard Nixon	3 - Statement About the Redirection of Executive Branch Management
01/11/1973	Richard Nixon	6 - Special Message to the Congress Announcing Phase III of the Economic Stabilization Program and Requesting Extension of Authorizing Legislation
02/26/1973	Richard Nixon	59 - Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program.
03/02/1973	Richard Nixon	63 - The President's News Conference
04/16/1973	Richard Nixon	123 - Special Message to the Congress Proposing Stockpile Disposal Legislation
05/01/1973	Richard Nixon	136 - Toasts of the President and Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany.
05/02/1973	Richard Nixon	137 - Statement About Signing a Bill Extending the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970

05/19/1973	Richard Nixon	160 - Remarks at Armed Forces Day Ceremonies, Norfolk Naval Base, Virginia.
06/29/1973	Richard Nixon	190 - Statement Announcing Additional Energy Policy Measures
08/10/1973	Richard Nixon	231 - Statement on Signing the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973.
10/12/1973	Richard Nixon	294 - Remarks Announcing Intention To Nominate Gerald R. Ford To Be Vice President.
11/25/1973	Richard Nixon	339 - Address to the Nation About National Energy Policy.
01/22/1974	Richard Nixon	16 - Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program.
02/01/1974	Richard Nixon	29 - Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President
02/09/1974	Richard Nixon	42 - Radio Address About Proposed Transportation Legislation.
02/18/1974	Richard Nixon	48 - Remarks at Honor America Day Ceremonies in Huntsville, Alabama.
02/25/1974	Richard Nixon	61 - The President's News Conference
03/06/1974	Richard Nixon	69 - Veto of the Energy Emergency Bill.
03/06/1974	Richard Nixon	70 - The President's News Conference
03/26/1974	Richard Nixon	87 - Remarks to Members of the American Agricultural Editors Association.
03/27/1974	Richard Nixon	90 - Remarks at the Annual Republican Fund-raising Dinner.
04/30/1974	Richard Nixon	123 - Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce.
05/08/1974	Richard Nixon	133 - Remarks at the Swearing In of William E. Simon as Secretary of the Treasury.
05/25/1974	Richard Nixon	153 - Radio Address About the Nation's Economy.
05/28/1974	Richard Nixon	157 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Report of the Council of Economic Advisers.
05/29/1974	Richard Nixon	158 - Remarks at the Swearing In of Kenneth Rush as Counsellor to the President for Economic Policy.
05/31/1974	Richard Nixon	162 - Statement on Signing Two Bills Providing for Improvement of Veterans Benefits.
07/25/1974	Richard Nixon	229 - Address to the Nation About Inflation and the Economy.
08/12/1974	Gerald R. Ford	5 - Statement on a General Motors Price Increase for 1975 Automobiles and Trucks.
08/24/1974	Gerald R. Ford	33 - Statement on the Council on Wage and Price Stability Act.
08/28/1974	Gerald R. Ford	39 - The President's News Conference
09/06/1974	Gerald R. Ford	58 - Remarks at a Dinner Concluding the Reconvening of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

10/01/1974	Gerald R. Ford	115 - Statement Announcing Federal Civilian and Military Pay Increases
10/09/1974	Gerald R. Ford	131 - Remarks at a Dinner Honoring William W. Scranton in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
10/16/1974	Gerald R. Ford	152 - Remarks in Sioux Falls, South Dakota
10/18/1974	Gerald R. Ford	163 - Remarks at the Dedication of the New Department of Labor Building.
10/19/1974	Gerald R. Ford	171 - Remarks at the Dedication of the Anderson Independent and Anderson Daily Mail Building in Anderson, South Carolina.
10/19/1974	Gerald R. Ford	175 - Remarks in Louisville, Kentucky.
10/24/1974	Gerald R. Ford	191 - Remarks at the United Republican Fund Dinner in Chicago, Illinois.
10/29/1974	Gerald R. Ford	209 - Remarks at Calvin College in Grand Rapids.
11/01/1974	Gerald R. Ford	214 - Remarks to the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Portland, Oregon.
11/01/1974	Gerald R. Ford	215 - Remarks at a Reception for Republican Candidates in Portland.
12/03/1974	Gerald R. Ford	274 - Remarks to the American Conference on Trade.
12/05/1974	Gerald R. Ford	279 - Remarks of Welcome to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany.
01/03/1975	Gerald R. Ford	4 - Memorandum of Disapproval of a Milk Price Support Bill.
02/03/1975	Gerald R. Ford	64 - Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1976.
02/11/1975	Gerald R. Ford	85 - The President's News Conference
02/13/1975	Gerald R. Ford	90 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Meeting of the New York Society of Security Analysts in New York City.
02/28/1975	Gerald R. Ford	116 - Remarks at the Young Republican Leadership Conference.
03/12/1975	Gerald R. Ford	133 - Memorandum on Budget Rescissions and Deferrals.
03/20/1975	Gerald R. Ford	147 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual International Economic Report of the President.
04/04/1975	Gerald R. Ford	169 - Address in San Francisco Before the Annual Dinner Meeting of the Bay Area Council.
04/07/1975	Gerald R. Ford	171 - Address in Las Vegas at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Broadcasters.
05/01/1975	Gerald R. Ford	232 - Veto of the Emergency Agricultural Bill.
05/01/1975	Gerald R. Ford	226 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program.
05/05/1975	Gerald R. Ford	240 - Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring Former Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz.
05/06/1975	Gerald R. Ford	243 - The President's News Conference

05/10/1975	Gerald R. Ford	251 - Remarks at a Reception for Chiefs of Delegation to the General Assembly of the Organization of American States.
05/18/1975	Gerald R. Ford	266 - Remarks by Telephone to a Dinner in Manchester, New Hampshire, Honoring Former Senators George Aiken and Norris Cotton.
05/22/1975	Gerald R. Ford	273 - Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on Development Coordination.
06/05/1975	Gerald R. Ford	308 - Statement on Signing the Securities Acts Amendments of 1975.
06/06/1975	Gerald R. Ford	312 - Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposed Legislation for United States Participation in the Financial Support Fund of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
06/26/1975	Gerald R. Ford	357 - Remarks About Proposed Legislation To Increase Enriched Uranium Production
06/26/1975	Gerald R. Ford	358 - Special Message to the Congress Proposing Legislation To Increase Enriched Uranium Production
06/27/1975	Gerald R. Ford	364 - Statement Urging Extension of Automobile Emission Standards Deadline.
08/19/1975	Gerald R. Ford	496 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Peoria, Illinois.
08/30/1975	Gerald R. Ford	509 - Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Luncheon in Portland, Maine.
09/04/1975	Gerald R. Ford	527 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Seattle.
09/13/1975	Gerald R. Ford	559 - Remarks in Dallas at the Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women.
09/20/1975	Gerald R. Ford	573 - Interview in Los Angeles With Television Reporters.
09/29/1975	Gerald R. Ford	594 - Remarks Upon Signing the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act of 1975.
10/04/1975	Gerald R. Ford	611 - Remarks at Elkins, West Virginia.
10/06/1975	Gerald R. Ford	613 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports on Highway, Traffic, and Motor Vehicle Safety Programs.
10/10/1975	Gerald R. Ford	623 - Remarks in Detroit at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner.
10/17/1975	Gerald R. Ford	633 - Remarks at the Swearing In of Thomas S. Kleppe as Secretary of the Interior.
10/30/1975	Gerald R. Ford	652 - Remarks at a Republican Party Rally in Milwaukee.
10/30/1975	Gerald R. Ford	648 - Interview in Los Angeles With Metromedia Reporters.

11/10/1975	Gerald R. Ford	667 - Remarks at Ceremonies Commemorating the Bicentennial of the United States Marine Corps in Arlington, Virginia.
11/14/1975	Gerald R. Ford	679 - Remarks in Atlanta at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner.
12/07/1975	Gerald R. Ford	716 - Address at the University of Hawaii.
12/22/1975	Gerald R. Ford	742 - Statement on the Energy Policy and Conservation Act.
01/30/1976	Gerald R. Ford	48 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Members of the Radio-Television News Directors Association.
02/08/1976	Gerald R. Ford	68 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the University of New Hampshire in Durham.
02/13/1976	Gerald R. Ford	86 - The President's News Conference
02/13/1976	Gerald R. Ford	89 - Remarks at a Briefing on the Budget in Ft. Lauderdale.
03/05/1976	Gerald R. Ford	181 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Farm Forum in Springfield.
03/11/1976	Gerald R. Ford	205 - Remarks in Rockford, Illinois.
03/12/1976	Gerald R. Ford	210 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in Buffalo Grove, Illinois.
03/17/1976	Gerald R. Ford	223 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual International Economic Report of the President.
03/20/1976	Gerald R. Ford	237 - Exchange With Reporters on Arrival at Asheville, North Carolina.
03/26/1976	Gerald R. Ford	262 - Remarks at a President Ford Committee Fundraising Dinner in Los Angeles, California.
04/02/1976	Gerald R. Ford	285 - Remarks to President Ford Committee Volunteers in Milwaukee.
04/08/1976	Gerald R. Ford	310 - Remarks Upon Signing a Special Message to the Congress and a Memorandum on the Federal Summer Employment Program for Youth
04/10/1976	Gerald R. Ford	330 - Remarks on Arrival at Amarillo, Texas.
04/10/1976	Gerald R. Ford	333 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Public Forum at West Texas State University in Canyon, Texas.
04/13/1976	Gerald R. Ford	Proclamation 4429 - Small Business Week, 1976
04/13/1976	Gerald R. Ford	Executive Order 11912--Delegation of authorities relating to energy policy and conservation
04/23/1976	Gerald R. Ford	362 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Public Forum in Atlanta.
04/29/1976	Gerald R. Ford	389 - Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies for the Montgomery County War Memorial Park in Conroe, Texas.
05/03/1976	Gerald R. Ford	422 - Remarks at a President Ford Committee Volunteers Reception in Birmingham.

05/07/1976	Gerald R. Ford	441 - Remarks at a President Ford Committee Reception in Omaha.
05/12/1976	Gerald R. Ford	461 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Members of the Economic Club of Detroit.
05/13/1976	Gerald R. Ford	473 - Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee.
05/23/1976	Gerald R. Ford	512 - Remarks in Laguna Hills, California.
05/23/1976	Gerald R. Ford	511 - Remarks on the 10th Anniversary of Mission Viejo, California
05/25/1976	Gerald R. Ford	529 - Remarks in Walnut Creek, California.
06/06/1976	Gerald R. Ford	566 - Exchange With Reporters on Arrival at Cleveland, Ohio.
06/11/1976	Gerald R. Ford	588 - Exchange With Reporters on Arrival at Springfield, Missouri.
06/11/1976	Gerald R. Ford	589 - Remarks to Delegates Attending the Missouri Republican Convention in Springfield.
06/28/1976	Gerald R. Ford	621 - Joint Declaration Following the International Summit Conference in Puerto Rico.
07/13/1976	Gerald R. Ford	665 - Remarks to Participants in the 1975-76 American Field Service International Scholarships Program.
09/08/1976	Gerald R. Ford	763 - The President's News Conference
09/26/1976	Gerald R. Ford	814 - Remarks in Gulfport, Mississippi.
09/30/1976	Gerald R. Ford	Executive Order 11940 - Continuing the Regulation of Exports
10/05/1976	Gerald R. Ford	850 - Message to the Congress Reporting on Administration Efforts To Settle the Cyprus Conflict.
10/12/1976	Gerald R. Ford	887 - Remarks at a Republican National Committee Dinner in New York City.
10/20/1976	Gerald R. Ford	925 - The President's News Conference
10/21/1976	Gerald R. Ford	926 - Statement on Signing Amendments to the Bretton Woods Agreements Act.
10/21/1976	Gerald R. Ford	930 - Statement on the Interim Report of the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization.
10/22/1976	Gerald R. Ford	947 - Presidential Campaign Debate
10/23/1976	Gerald R. Ford	948 - Remarks in Richmond, Virginia.
10/23/1976	Gerald R. Ford	950 - Remarks at the South Carolina State Fair in Columbia.
10/24/1976	Gerald R. Ford	953 - Remarks at a President Ford Committee Reception in Pasadena.
10/25/1976	Gerald R. Ford	965 - Exchange With Reporters on Departure From Portland, Oregon.
10/26/1976	Gerald R. Ford	969 - Remarks in Northbrook, Illinois.
10/27/1976	Gerald R. Ford	975 - Remarks at Villanova University in Villanova, Pennsylvania.

10/27/1976	Gerald R. Ford	978 - Remarks in Devon, Pennsylvania.
10/28/1976	Gerald R. Ford	981 - Remarks at a Rally in Cincinnati, Ohio.
11/05/1976	Gerald R. Ford	1016 - Remarks at a Meeting With Members of the Cabinet.
01/31/1977	Jimmy Carter	Economic Recovery Program - Message to the Congress.
02/21/1977	Jimmy Carter	Visit of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada - Remarks of the President and the Prime Minister at the Welcoming Ceremony
03/04/1977	Jimmy Carter	Interview With the President Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With a Group of Publishers, Editors, and Broadcasters.
03/17/1977	Jimmy Carter	Charleston, West Virginia Remarks in a Panel Discussion and Question-and-Answer Session on Energy.
04/08/1977	Jimmy Carter	Dobbins Air Force Base, Georgia Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters on Arrival.
04/15/1977	Jimmy Carter	The President's News Conference
04/27/1977	Jimmy Carter	Nuclear Non-Proliferation - Message to the Congress.
05/04/1977	Jimmy Carter	American Sugar Industry Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate Transmitting a Report.
05/06/1977	Jimmy Carter	London, England - Exchange With Reporters Following a Dinner Hosted by Prime Minister James Callaghan
05/13/1977	Jimmy Carter	Public Works Employment and Economic Stimulus Appropriations Bills Remarks on Signing H.R. 11 and H.R. 4876 Into Law.
05/26/1977	Jimmy Carter	The President's News Conference
07/07/1977	Jimmy Carter	Executive Order 12002 - Export Administration Act of 1969
07/15/1977	Jimmy Carter	Executive Office of the President Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan No. I of 1977.
07/15/1977	Jimmy Carter	Interview With the President Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With a Group of Editors and News Directors.
08/10/1977	Jimmy Carter	ABC News Interview Interview With Correspondents Harry Reasoner and Sam Donaldson in Plains, Georgia.
08/30/1977	Jimmy Carter	Northern Ireland Statement on U.S. Policy.
10/04/1977	Jimmy Carter	UNITED NATIONS Address Before the General Assembly.
11/11/1977	Jimmy Carter	Interview With the President Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With a Group of Editors and News Directors.
01/02/1978	Jimmy Carter	New Delhi, India Remarks Before the Indian Parliament.
01/06/1978	Jimmy Carter	Brussels, Belgium Text of Remarks at a Meeting of the Commission of the European Communities.
01/19/1978	Jimmy Carter	Proclamation 4546 - American Heart Month, 1978

01/26/1978	Jimmy Carter	Highway and Transit Programs Message to the Congress Proposing Legislation.
02/17/1978	Jimmy Carter	The President's News Conference
02/22/1978	Jimmy Carter	Comprehensive Employment and Training Act Extension Message to the Congress.
04/02/1978	Jimmy Carter	Lagos, Nigeria Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following Meetings Between the President and General Obasanjo.
04/03/1978	Jimmy Carter	Monrovia, Liberia Remarks of President Carter and President William R. Tolbert, Jr., at the Welcoming Ceremony.
04/05/1978	Jimmy Carter	White House Conference on Small Business Letter to Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin Concerning the Conference.
04/05/1978	Jimmy Carter	Communications Workers of America Remarks at a White House Reception.
04/06/1978	Jimmy Carter	Farm Legislation Letter to Congressional Leaders Concerning the Administration's Position on H.R. 6782.
04/11/1978	Jimmy Carter	Anti-Inflation Policy Remarks to Members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors Announcing the Administration's Policy.
04/25/1978	Jimmy Carter	The President's News Conference
05/04/1978	Jimmy Carter	The President's News Conference
05/05/1978	Jimmy Carter	Spokane, Washington Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Town Meeting.
05/26/1978	Jimmy Carter	Charleston, West Virginia Remarks Announcing the Establishment of the President's Commission on the Coal Industry.
05/31/1978	Jimmy Carter	North Atlantic Alliance Summit Remarks Following the Conclusion of the Final Session.
06/07/1978	Jimmy Carter	Hospital Cost Containment Legislation Statement by the President.
08/16/1978	Jimmy Carter	Executive Order 12073 - Federal Procurement in Labor Surplus Areas
09/22/1978	Jimmy Carter	Interview With the President Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Editors and News Directors.
09/27/1978	Jimmy Carter	Democratic National Committee Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner.
10/23/1978	Jimmy Carter	Statement on Signing Executive Order 12089 - National Productivity Council
11/01/1978	Jimmy Carter	Value of the Dollar in Domestic and International Markets Remarks Announcing Measures To Strengthen the Dollar.

11/03/1978	Jimmy Carter	Sacramento, California Remarks at a "Get Out the Vote" Rally.
11/09/1978	Jimmy Carter	Kansas City, Missouri Remarks at the National Convention of the Future Farmers of America.
11/17/1978	Jimmy Carter	Interview With the President Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Editors and News Directors.
12/08/1978	Jimmy Carter	Memphis, Tennessee Remarks at the Opening Session of the 1978 National Democratic Party Conference.
12/12/1978	Jimmy Carter	The President's News Conference
12/20/1978	Jimmy Carter	Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities Statement Following a Meeting With the Organization.
01/17/1979	Jimmy Carter	The President's News Conference
01/22/1979	Jimmy Carter	Budget Message Message to the Congress Transmitting the Fiscal Year 1980 Budget.
01/25/1979	Jimmy Carter	The State of the Union Annual Message to the Congress
02/16/1979	Jimmy Carter	Mexico City, Mexico Joint Communiqu_ Issued at the Conclusion of Meetings Between President Carter and President Lopez Portillo.
03/06/1979	Jimmy Carter	Hospital Cost Containment Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation.
04/05/1979	Jimmy Carter	Energy Address to the Nation.
04/07/1979	Jimmy Carter	Richmond, Virginia Remarks at the State Democratic Party's Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner.
04/16/1979	Jimmy Carter	National Forest System Lands Statement Announcing Decisions on Wilderness Designations.
06/02/1979	Jimmy Carter	Indianapolis, Indiana Remarks at the State Democratic Party's Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner.
06/29/1979	Jimmy Carter	Tokyo Economic Summit Conference Remarks to Reporters at the Conclusion of the Conference
07/16/1979	Jimmy Carter	Kansas City, Missouri Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Counties.
07/20/1979	Jimmy Carter	Department of Energy Exchange of Letters on the Resignation of James R. Schlesinger as Secretary.
08/06/1979	Jimmy Carter	Department of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System Remarks at the Swearing In of G. William Miller as Secretary of the Treasury and Paul A. Volcker as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.
08/20/1979	Jimmy Carter	Proclamation 4675 - Fifteenth Anniversary of the Signing of the Economic Opportunity Act
09/25/1979	Jimmy Carter	New York City, New York Remarks at the Annual Convention of the American Public Transit Association

09/25/1979	Jimmy Carter	New York City, New York Question-and-Answer Session at a Town Meeting With Residents of the Borough of Queens.
09/26/1979	Jimmy Carter	Democratic National Committee Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner.
09/28/1979	Jimmy Carter	Anti-Inflation Program Remarks Announcing a National Accord Between the Administration and the American Labor Leadership.
10/15/1979	Jimmy Carter	Chicago, Illinois Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Mayor Jane Byrne.
12/20/1979	Jimmy Carter	Small Community and Rural Development Policy Remarks Announcing the Policy.
01/09/1980	Jimmy Carter	Department of Commerce Remarks at the Swearing In of Philip M. Klutznick as Secretary and Luther H. Hodges, Jr., as Deputy Secretary.
01/21/1980	Jimmy Carter	The State of the Union Annual Message to the Congress
01/28/1980	Jimmy Carter	Budget Message Message to the Congress Transmitting the Fiscal Year 1981 Budget.
03/11/1980	Jimmy Carter	Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 5235 Without Approval
03/14/1980	Jimmy Carter	Anti-Inflation Program Remarks Announcing the Administration's Program.
04/07/1980	Jimmy Carter	Executive Order 12205 - Economic Sanctions Against Iran
04/17/1980	Jimmy Carter	Executive Order 12211 - Sanctions Against Iran
04/28/1980	Jimmy Carter	Proclamation 4753 - National Energy Conservation Days, National Transportation Week, 1980
04/29/1980	Jimmy Carter	Energy Conservation in Transportation Remarks at a White House Briefing.
05/15/1980	Jimmy Carter	Equal Rights Amendment Remarks at a White House Briefing
06/23/1980	Jimmy Carter	Venice Economic Summit Conference Declaration Issued at the Conclusion of the Conference.
07/18/1980	Jimmy Carter	Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System Statement by the President.
07/31/1980	Jimmy Carter	President's Award for Energy Efficiency Remarks on Presenting the Award to the Future Farmers of America
08/06/1980	Jimmy Carter	New York City, New York Remarks at the Annual Conference of the National Urban League.
08/29/1980	Jimmy Carter	Federal Civilian Pay Increases Message to the Congress Transmitting the Federal Pay Comparability Alternative Plan.
09/09/1980	Jimmy Carter	1980 Presidential Rank Awards for the Senior Executive Service Remarks at the Awards Ceremony
09/09/1980	Jimmy Carter	Perth Amboy, New Jersey Question-and-Answer Session With New Jersey News Editors.

09/09/1980	Jimmy Carter	United States Export Promotion Policies Message to the Congress Reporting on the Administration Policies.
09/09/1980	Jimmy Carter	United States Competition in World Markets Message to the Congress Transmitting a Study.
09/13/1980	Jimmy Carter	National Italian-American Foundation Remarks at the Foundation's Third Biennial Tribute Dinner.
09/15/1980	Jimmy Carter	Houston, Texas Remarks at a Rally for Carter/Mondale Volunteer Workers.
09/16/1980	Jimmy Carter	Atlanta, Georgia Remarks at a Meeting With Southern Black Leaders.
09/19/1980	Jimmy Carter	Regulatory Flexibility Act Remarks on Signing S. 299 Into Law.
09/22/1980	Jimmy Carter	Torrance, California Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Town Meeting
09/26/1980	Jimmy Carter	Libraries and Information Services Message to the Congress.
09/30/1980	Jimmy Carter	World Bank Group and International Monetary Fund Remarks at the Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors.
09/30/1980	Jimmy Carter	American Steel Industry Remarks Announcing the Revitalization Program.
10/07/1980	Jimmy Carter	International Monetary Fund Quota Increase Statement on Signing S. 2271 Into Law.
10/14/1980	Jimmy Carter	The Nation's Economy Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the National Press Club.
10/15/1980	Jimmy Carter	Yatesville, Pennsylvania Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Town Meeting.
10/29/1980	Jimmy Carter	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Town Meeting.
10/30/1980	Jimmy Carter	Saginaw, Michigan Remarks at a Rally With Area Residents.
10/31/1980	Jimmy Carter	Jackson, Mississippi Remarks at a Rally With Area Residents.
01/16/1981	Jimmy Carter	The State of the Union Annual Message to the Congress
01/20/1981	Ronald Reagan	Inaugural Address
02/05/1981	Ronald Reagan	Address to the Nation on the Economy
02/18/1981	Ronald Reagan	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Program for Economic Recovery
03/23/1981	Ronald Reagan	Proclamation 4829 - Small Business Week, 1981
04/06/1981	Ronald Reagan	Statement on Assistance for the Domestic Automobile Industry
06/04/1981	Ronald Reagan	Remarks on Federal Tax Reductions Following Meetings With Members of Congress
06/24/1981	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Annual Convention of the United States Jaycees in San Antonio, Texas

07/23/1981	Ronald Reagan	Remarks About Federal Tax Reduction Legislation at a Meeting With State Legislators and Local Government Officials
07/27/1981	Ronald Reagan	Remarks About Federal Tax Reduction Legislation at a Meeting With Trade Association Representatives
09/18/1981	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Dedication of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum in Grand Rapids, Michigan
11/06/1981	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Reception in New York, New York
12/22/1981	Ronald Reagan	Statement on Signing the Agriculture and Food Act of 1981
01/28/1982	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to the European Management Forum Symposium in Davos, Switzerland
02/09/1982	Ronald Reagan	Address Before a Joint Session of the Indiana State Legislature in Indianapolis
03/10/1982	Ronald Reagan	Proclamation 4909 - National Energy Education Day, 1982
03/15/1982	Ronald Reagan	Address Before a Joint Session of the Alabama State Legislature in Montgomery
03/16/1982	Ronald Reagan	Interview in Oklahoma City With Reporters From the Daily Oklahoman
03/16/1982	Ronald Reagan	Address Before a Joint Session of the Oklahoma State Legislature in Oklahoma City
03/17/1982	Ronald Reagan	Statement on St. Patrick's Day
04/05/1982	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the National Legislative Conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO
04/15/1982	Ronald Reagan	Question-and-Answer Session With Students at St. Peter's Catholic Elementary School in Geneva, Illinois
04/16/1982	Ronald Reagan	Question-and-Answer Session Following a White House Luncheon for Editors and Broadcasters from Southeastern States
05/24/1982	Ronald Reagan	Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Federal Energy Reorganization Legislation
06/08/1982	Ronald Reagan	Address to Members of the British Parliament
07/17/1982	Ronald Reagan	Letter to the Senate Majority Leader and the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee on Proposed Tax Legislation
08/13/1982	Ronald Reagan	Interview with Jeremiah OLeary of the Washington Times on Federal Tax and Budget Reconciliation Legislation
08/18/1982	Ronald Reagan	Remarks Following a Meeting With the House of Representatives Bipartisan Leadership on Federal Tax and Budget Reconciliation Legislation
09/04/1982	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Observance of Labor Day
10/06/1982	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Meeting With Republican Congressional Candidates

10/12/1982	Ronald Reagan	Proclamation 4984 - National Port Week, 1982
10/26/1982	Ronald Reagan	Remarks About the Congressional Elections
11/12/1982	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a White House Reception for Participants in the Youth Volunteer Conference
11/19/1982	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session During a United States Chamber of Commerce Teleconference on Job Training Programs
01/25/1983	Ronald Reagan	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
03/02/1983	Ronald Reagan	Statement on the Economic Recovery
03/18/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks on Signing the Annual Report on the State of Small Business
03/19/1983	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on a House Budget Proposal
03/23/1983	Ronald Reagan	Statement on the Consumer Price Index
05/06/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Annual Members Banquet of the National Rifle Association in Phoenix, Arizona
05/09/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Fund-raising Dinner Honoring Former Representative John M. Ashbrook in Ashland, Ohio
05/16/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Meeting of the National Association of Home Builders
05/28/1983	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Williamsburg Economic Summit Conference in Virginia
06/03/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to Participants in the Republican Women's Leadership Forum
06/29/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Participants in the National Conference of the National Association of Student Councils in Shawnee Mission, Kansas
08/05/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Hispanic Leaders
08/06/1983	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on International Trade
09/04/1983	Ronald Reagan	Message on the Observance of Labor Day
09/15/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Antonio dos Santos Ramalho Eanes of Portugal
10/01/1983	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Economic Recovery and Employment
10/04/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Karl Carstens of the Federal Republic of Germany
10/20/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks of the President and Prime Minister Bettino Craxi of Italy Following Their Meetings
10/24/1983	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Regional Editors and Broadcasters on the Situation in Lebanon
11/04/1983	Ronald Reagan	Notice of the Continuation of the Iran Emergency

11/07/1983	Ronald Reagan	Interview With Jung-suk Lee of the Korean Broadcasting System on the President's Trip to the Republic of Korea
12/20/1983	Ronald Reagan	The President's News Conference
01/03/1984	Ronald Reagan	Proclamation 5144 - National Consumers Week, 1984
01/06/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and an Informal Exchange With Reporters on Foreign and Domestic Issues
02/20/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at an Iowa Caucus Rally in Des Moines
03/17/1984	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Economic Recovery Program
03/19/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks on Signing the Annual Report on the State of Small Business
03/21/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to the House Republican Caucus on the Budget Deficit
05/09/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks on Presenting the Small Business Person of the Year Award
05/10/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Midyear Meeting of the National Association of Realtors
05/22/1984	Ronald Reagan	The President's News Conference
06/09/1984	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Trip to Europe
06/21/1984	Ronald Reagan	Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Reports on Highway Safety, Traffic, and Motor Vehicle Safety Programs
06/30/1984	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Drug Abuse
07/10/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to State and Local Officials in Tilghman Island, Maryland
07/19/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Summit Conference of Caribbean Heads of State at the University of South Carolina in Columbia
08/04/1984	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Deficit Reduction and Taxation
08/18/1984	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Administration Policies
08/19/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Missouri State Fair in Sedalia
09/12/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Reagan-Bush Rally in Endicott, New York
09/13/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Birthday Celebration for Roy Acuff in Nashville, Tennessee
09/20/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Community Picnic in Fairfax, Iowa
09/20/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Farmers in Norway, Iowa
10/01/1984	Ronald Reagan	Informal Exchange With Students From Bayou View Elementary School in Gulfport, Mississippi
10/02/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Reagan-Bush Rally in Corpus Christi, Texas
10/05/1984	Ronald Reagan	Proclamation 5250 - National High-Tech Week, 1984
10/10/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to the Heritage Council in Warren, Michigan
10/16/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at Bolingbrook High School in Bolingbrook, Illinois

11/01/1984	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Reagan-Bush Rally in Detroit, Michigan
02/07/1985	Ronald Reagan	Interview With a Group of Senior Executives and Staff Members From the Wall Street Journal
02/13/1985	Ronald Reagan	Interview With Jerry Rankin of the Santa Barbara News-Press
03/06/1985	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to Private Sector Leaders During a White House Briefing on the MX Missile
03/15/1985	Ronald Reagan	Letter Accepting the Resignation of Raymond J. Donovan as Secretary of Labor
04/02/1985	Ronald Reagan	Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Turgut Ozal of Turkey
04/15/1985	Ronald Reagan	Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate on the Export-Import Bank of the United States
05/08/1985	Ronald Reagan	Address to a Special Session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France
05/28/1985	Ronald Reagan	Address to the Nation on Tax Reform
05/31/1985	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Great Valley Corporate Center in Malvern, Pennsylvania
06/04/1985	Ronald Reagan	Remarks on Tax Reform at a Meeting With Corporate Leaders
07/06/1985	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Federal Budget
07/27/1985	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Economic Growth and Minorities
08/05/1985	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters
08/22/1985	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a California Republican Party Fund-raising Dinner in Los Angeles
09/30/1985	Ronald Reagan	Letter Accepting the Resignation of Edward J. Rollins, Jr., as Assistant to the President for Political and Governmental Affairs
10/26/1985	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on International Stability
11/14/1985	Ronald Reagan	Written Responses to Questions Submitted by Japanese Journalists on the Upcoming Soviet-United States Summit Meeting in Geneva
01/11/1986	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Economic Growth
02/04/1986	Ronald Reagan	Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the State of the Union
02/11/1986	Ronald Reagan	The President's News Conference
02/19/1986	Ronald Reagan	Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality
03/12/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the National Medals of Science and Technology
04/18/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Fund-raising Luncheon for Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato in New York, New York

05/21/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With High School Students From the Close Up Foundation
06/10/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a White House Briefing for Supporters of Tax Reform
07/08/1986	Ronald Reagan	Interview With Bruce Drake of the New York Daily News
07/25/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Members of the American Legion Boys Nation
07/26/1986	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Economic Growth
09/19/1986	Ronald Reagan	Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and President of the Senate on Federal Management of Renewable Forest and Rangeland Resources
09/25/1986	Ronald Reagan	Message to the Congress Reporting on the Economic Sanctions Against South Africa
09/26/1986	Ronald Reagan	Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval a Bill Concerning Apartheid in South Africa
09/29/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Senate Campaign Rally for James Abdnor in Sioux Falls, South Dakota
10/17/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Senator Mark N. Andrews in Grand Forks, North Dakota
10/22/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks on Signing the Tax Reform Act of 1986
10/24/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Senator Don Nickles in Norman, Oklahoma
10/25/1986	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Economic Growth
10/28/1986	Ronald Reagan	Memorandum of Disapproval of the Department of Transportation and Federal Maritime Commission Appropriations Bill for Fiscal Year 1987
10/29/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Richard McIntyre in Evansville, Indiana
10/31/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Senator Slade Gorton in Spokane, Washington
11/03/1986	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Party Rally in Costa Mesa, California
11/13/1986	Ronald Reagan	Address to the Nation on the Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy
02/21/1987	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Economic Competitiveness
05/16/1987	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Free and Fair Trade and the Budget Deficit
06/16/1987	Ronald Reagan	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Economic Reporters
06/17/1987	Ronald Reagan	Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on International Activities in Science and Technology
06/17/1987	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Fundraising Reception for Senator Orrin G. Hatch of Utah

06/19/1987	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to Reporters on the Proposed International Trade Bill
06/19/1987	Ronald Reagan	Remarks Following Meetings With President Hissein Habre of Chad
07/03/1987	Ronald Reagan	America's Economic Bill of Rights
07/06/1987	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Annual Convention of Kiwanis International
07/28/1987	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Federal Conference on Commercial Applications of Superconductivity
10/08/1987	Ronald Reagan	Proclamation 5724 - National Job Skills Week, 1987
11/20/1987	Ronald Reagan	Remarks Announcing a Bipartisan Plan to Reduce the Federal Budget Deficit and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters
11/21/1987	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Economy and Deficit Reduction
02/20/1988	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Federal Budget
04/09/1988	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Economic Growth and the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty
04/13/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Annual Convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors
04/21/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at the Annual White House Correspondents Association Dinner
05/06/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks on the Unemployment Rate and an Informal Exchange With Reporters
05/19/1988	Ronald Reagan	Interview With Foreign Television Journalists
05/19/1988	Ronald Reagan	Written Responses to Questions Submitted by the Soviet Magazine Ogonek
09/22/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Party Rally in Waco, Texas
09/30/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraiser in Chicago, Illinois
10/06/1988	Ronald Reagan	Toasts at the State Dinner for President Moussa Traore of Mali
10/12/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Columbus Day Dinner in West Orange, New Jersey
10/19/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senatorial Candidate George Voinovich in Cincinnati, Ohio
10/21/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Campaign Rally in Raleigh, North Carolina
11/01/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Campaign Rally in San Bernardino, California
11/17/1988	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to the National Chamber Foundation
11/26/1988	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Canadian Elections and Free Trade
01/11/1989	Ronald Reagan	Farewell Address to the Nation
02/06/1989	George Bush	Remarks at the Swearing-in Ceremony for Carla A. Hills as United States Trade Representative

02/10/1989	George Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following a Luncheon With Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Ottawa, Canada
03/09/1989	George Bush	Remarks at the Swearing-in Ceremony for James D. Watkins as Secretary of Energy
03/16/1989	George Bush	Remarks at the Junior Achievement National Business Hall of Fame Dinner in Colorado Springs, Colorado
03/29/1989	George Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With High School Students From the Close Up Foundation
05/02/1989	George Bush	Remarks to the Council of the Americas
05/13/1989	George Bush	Remarks at a Fundraising Reception for Senator Mitch McConnell in Lexington, Kentucky
07/06/1989	George Bush	Interview With Hungarian Journalists
07/07/1989	George Bush	Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposed Legislation To Increase Federal Senior Executive Salaries
07/31/1989	George Bush	Message to the Senate Returning Without Approval the Bill Prohibiting the Export of Technology for the Joint Japan-United States Development of FS-X Aircraft
09/25/1989	George Bush	Address to the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, New York
10/19/1989	George Bush	Proclamation 6051 - National Forest Products Week, 1989
11/13/1989	George Bush	Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Lech Walesa and the Presidential Citizen's Medal to Lane Kirkland
11/29/1989	George Bush	Interview With Members of the White House Press Corps
01/18/1990	George Bush	Remarks at the Bush Administration Executive Forum
01/24/1990	George Bush	The President's News Conference
01/25/1990	George Bush	The President's News Conference
01/25/1990	George Bush	Statement on Economic Assistance to Panama
01/31/1990	George Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
02/28/1990	George Bush	Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Congressional Candidate Susan Molinari in Staten Island, New York
03/05/1990	George Bush	Remarks to Members of the National PTA Legislative Conference
03/08/1990	George Bush	Remarks at the National Transportation Policy Meeting
04/20/1990	George Bush	Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Senatorial Candidate Bill Cabaniss in Birmingham, Alabama
04/30/1990	George Bush	Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce
06/05/1990	George Bush	Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring the GI Bill

06/08/1990	George Bush	Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany
06/12/1990	George Bush	Remarks at the Annual Republican Congressional Fundraising Dinner
06/29/1990	George Bush	The President's News Conference
09/07/1990	George Bush	Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters on the Federal Budget Negotiations
09/18/1990	George Bush	Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Luncheon in Denver, Colorado
10/02/1990	George Bush	Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Awards for Excellence in Science and Mathematics Teaching
10/10/1990	George Bush	Remarks at a Rally for Governor Bob Martinez in St. Petersburg, Florida
10/16/1990	George Bush	Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Breakfast in Des Moines, Iowa
12/05/1990	George Bush	Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Buenos Aires, Argentina
12/06/1990	George Bush	Toast at a State Dinner in Santiago, Chile
01/29/1991	George Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
02/12/1991	George Bush	Message to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the 1991 Economic Report
03/07/1991	George Bush	Remarks Upon Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Margaret Thatcher
04/18/1991	George Bush	Message to the Congress Reporting on Environmental Quality
04/29/1991	George Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With the National Association of Farm Broadcasters
05/06/1991	George Bush	Letter to Congressional Leaders on Banking Reform Legislation
05/27/1991	George Bush	Remarks at the Yale University Commencement Ceremony in New Haven, Connecticut
05/31/1991	George Bush	Exchange With Reporters on Soviet-United States Relations
06/20/1991	George Bush	Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Boris Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia
07/19/1991	George Bush	Remarks at the Greek-American Chamber of Commerce Breakfast in Athens, Greece
07/20/1991	George Bush	The President's News Conference With Turkish President Turgut Ozal in Ankara, Turkey
08/01/1991	George Bush	Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Kiev, Soviet Union

08/29/1991	George Bush	The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom in Kennebunkport, Maine
09/25/1991	George Bush	Remarks at the Minority Business Development Week Awards Ceremony
09/28/1991	George Bush	Radio Address to the Nation on the Daily Points of Light Program
10/22/1991	George Bush	Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia
10/22/1991	George Bush	Joint Declaration of the United States and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic
10/25/1991	George Bush	The President's News Conference
10/25/1991	George Bush	Remarks at the Announcement of Agreement Between the Department of Energy and the Advanced-Battery Consortium
11/12/1991	George Bush	Notice on Continuation of the Iran Emergency
11/12/1991	George Bush	Remarks to The Asia Society in New York City
11/13/1991	George Bush	Interview With Don Marsh of KTVI - TV in St. Louis, Missouri
12/06/1991	George Bush	Remarks to the Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs in Ontario, California
12/18/1991	George Bush	Remarks to American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials in Dallas, Texas
12/20/1991	George Bush	Statement on the Federal Reserve Interest Rate Reduction
12/25/1991	George Bush	Address to the Nation on the Commonwealth of Independent States
01/17/1992	George Bush	Remarks Announcing the Job Training 2000 Initiative in Atlanta
01/23/1992	George Bush	Remarks to the National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors
01/28/1992	George Bush	Memorandum on Reducing the Burden of Government Regulation
02/12/1992	George Bush	Remarks to the State Legislature in Concord, New Hampshire
02/16/1992	George Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in Hollis, New Hampshire
02/22/1992	George Bush	Radio Address to the Nation on the Economy
02/27/1992	George Bush	Statement on House of Representatives Action on Tax Legislation
02/28/1992	George Bush	Exchange With Reporters in Houston
03/04/1992	George Bush	Remarks at a Bush-Quayle Fundraising Dinner in Miami, Florida
03/04/1992	George Bush	Remarks at a Bush-Quayle Fundraising Luncheon in Tampa, Florida
03/05/1992	George Bush	Remarks to Federal Express Employees in Memphis, Tennessee

03/24/1992	George Bush	Remarks to the National American Wholesale Grocers Association
03/25/1992	George Bush	Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Republican Congressional Leaders
04/07/1992	George Bush	Message to the Congress Reporting on Economic Sanctions Against Haiti
04/09/1992	George Bush	Remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors
04/27/1992	George Bush	Remarks on Legislative Goals and an Exchange With Reporters
04/28/1992	George Bush	Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation on Job Training 2000
04/29/1992	George Bush	Remarks on Regulatory Reform
05/05/1992	George Bush	Remarks at a Cinco de Mayo Celebration
05/12/1992	George Bush	Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring Small Business Administration Award Winners
06/12/1992	George Bush	Address to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
07/27/1992	George Bush	Remarks to Outlook Graphics Employees in Neenah, Wisconsin
07/30/1992	George Bush	Remarks at the Superconducting Super Collider Laboratory in Waxahachie, Texas
08/19/1992	George Bush	Remarks at the Republican National Committee Gala Luncheon in Houston
08/22/1992	George Bush	Remarks at the Pride in Alabama Rally in Hoover, Alabama
09/04/1992	George Bush	Statement on Signing the Small Business Credit and Business Opportunity Enhancement Act of 1992
09/07/1992	George Bush	Remarks at the Labor Day Mackinac Bridge Walk in Michigan
09/18/1992	George Bush	Remarks to AT&T Employees in Basking Ridge, New Jersey
09/25/1992	George Bush	Remarks to Motorola Employees in Schaumburg, Illinois
09/25/1992	George Bush	Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Export Control Regulations
09/27/1992	George Bush	Remarks to the Community in Holly, Michigan
09/30/1992	George Bush	Remarks to Construction Workers in Newark
09/30/1992	George Bush	Remarks at the National Salute to the President and His Black Appointees
10/03/1992	George Bush	Remarks to the Community in Clearwater, Florida
10/07/1992	George Bush	Remarks at the Initialing Ceremony for the North American Free Trade Agreement in San Antonio, Texas
10/24/1992	George Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in Lafayette, Louisiana
10/29/1992	George Bush	Question-and-Answer Session in Grand Rapids
10/31/1992	George Bush	Remarks to the Community in Stevens Point, Wisconsin

01/13/1993	George Bush	Message to Congress Transmitting the Economic Report of the President
01/15/1993	George Bush	Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Federal Regulatory Policy
02/01/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Democratic Governors Association Dinner
02/04/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Dinner Honoring the New Jersey Congressional Delegation
02/17/1993	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on Administration Goals
02/20/1993	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
03/05/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Mayoral Support for the Economic Program and an Exchange With Reporters
03/11/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Westinghouse Employees in Linthicum, Maryland
03/23/1993	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference
03/26/1993	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference With Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany
04/06/1993	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference With President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt
04/23/1993	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference
05/06/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Export-Import Bank Conference
05/10/1993	William J. Clinton	Question-and-Answer Session With the Cleveland City Club
05/14/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks Honoring Blue Ribbon Schools
05/25/1993	William J. Clinton	Message to the Congress Reporting on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)
05/25/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Signing the Older Americans Month Proclamation
05/27/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks on House of Representatives Action on the Budget
05/27/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks in the CBS This Morning Town Meeting
05/28/1993	William J. Clinton	Teleconference Remarks With Veterans in VA Medical Centers
06/05/1993	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
06/11/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks Announcing the Nomination of Walter Mondale To Be Ambassador to Japan and an Exchange With Reporters
06/15/1993	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference
06/29/1993	William J. Clinton	Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Carlos Saul Menem of Argentina
07/01/1993	William J. Clinton	Statement on Germany's Reduction of Interest Rates
07/10/1993	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
07/12/1993	William J. Clinton	Letter to Congressional Leaders on Economic Sanctions Against Haiti
07/14/1993	William J. Clinton	Interview With Wolf Blitzer of CNN in Des Moines, Iowa

07/20/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Democratic Members of the House of Representatives
07/28/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks Following a Luncheon With Business Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters
07/31/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Economic Program
08/13/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in Alameda, California
08/30/1993	William J. Clinton	Exchange With Reporters on Cuba
09/03/1993	William J. Clinton	Message on the Observance of Labor Day, 1993
10/21/1993	William J. Clinton	Exchange With Reporters on Health Care Reform
10/22/1993	William J. Clinton	Interview With Stephen Clark of KGTV, San Diego, California
10/28/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Rally for Mayor David Dinkins in New York City
10/29/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Dedication of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Museum in Boston, Massachusetts
11/03/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in Ambridge, Pennsylvania
11/16/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Governors Endorsements of NAFTA and an Exchange With Reporters
11/18/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Departure for Seattle, Washington
11/20/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With APEC Leaders in Seattle
12/04/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Creative Artists Agency Reception in Beverly Hills, California
12/04/1993	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Employees at Rockwell International in Canoga Park
12/15/1993	William J. Clinton	Letter to Congressional Leaders on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
01/17/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Observance of the Birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr.
01/25/1994	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
02/05/1994	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
02/14/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Signing the Economic Report of the President and an Exchange With Reporters
02/23/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Business Council
03/07/1994	William J. Clinton	Joint Declaration on Relations Between the United States and the Republic of Georgia
03/20/1994	William J. Clinton	Exchange With Reporters in Miami, Florida
03/21/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Health Care Forum in Deerfield Beach
03/22/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Health Care Roundtable With Small Business Leaders
03/23/1994	William J. Clinton	Teleconference With the California Medical Association
03/30/1994	William J. Clinton	Statement on Signing the Federal Workforce Restructuring Act of 1994
04/11/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Law Enforcement Officers

04/18/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Ameritech Employees in Milwaukee, Wisconsin
05/04/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks Honoring the Small Business Person of the Year
05/16/1994	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 6689 - National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1994
05/16/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Video Conference Call on Health Care Reform
05/20/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in San Bernardino, California
06/22/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Democratic National Committee Dinner
06/24/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Summer of Safety Program Participants in St. Louis
06/28/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Fundraiser for Senators Jim Sasser and Paul Sarbanes
07/05/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Upcoming Economic Summit
07/09/1994	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference in Naples
07/18/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Executive Committee of the Summit of the Americas in Miami, Florida
07/21/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the American Legion Girls Nation
07/27/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Fourth Anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act
07/30/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Arrival in Cleveland, Ohio
08/01/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Health Care Rally in Jersey City, New Jersey
08/03/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Health Security Express Participants
09/16/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Meeting of the Multinational Coalition on Haiti
09/17/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Dinner
09/23/1994	William J. Clinton	Message to the Senate Transmitting the Belarus-United States Investment Treaty
09/23/1994	William J. Clinton	Statement on the Nomination of Philip Lader To Be Administrator of the Small Business Administration
09/29/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Signing the Riegle-Neal Interstate Banking and Branching Efficiency Act of 1994
09/29/1994	William J. Clinton	Executive Order 12930 - Measures To Restrict the Participation by United States Persons in Weapons Proliferation Activities
09/30/1994	William J. Clinton	Interview With Alan Colmes
10/05/1994	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference With President Nelson Mandela of South Africa
10/20/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Signing the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 in Framingham, Massachusetts
10/24/1994	William J. Clinton	Interview With Chuck Meyer of WWWE Radio in Cleveland, Ohio
11/05/1994	William J. Clinton	Interview With Cynthia Louie and Fred Wayne of KCBS Radio, San Francisco, California

11/06/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Rally for Democratic Candidates in Seattle, Washington
11/14/1994	William J. Clinton	Executive Order 12938 - Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction
11/22/1994	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference With President Kuchma of Ukraine
12/19/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Middle Class Bill of Rights and North Korea
12/11/1994	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Economy
01/24/1995	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
01/30/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Democratic Governors Association Dinner
01/30/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the National Association of Home Builders
01/31/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the National Governors Association Conference
02/14/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at San Bernardino Valley College in San Bernardino, California
02/18/1995	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
02/22/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks Following a Meeting With Congressional Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters
02/24/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Breakfast With Business Leaders in Ottawa
03/30/1995	William J. Clinton	Statement on Senate Action Confirming Dan Glickman as Secretary of Agriculture
04/18/1995	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference
04/25/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the National Rural Conference Opening Session in Ames, Iowa
05/12/1995	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 6799 - National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1995
05/16/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Budget Proposals and an Exchange With Reporters
06/01/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion With Farmers and Agricultural Leaders in Broadview, Montana
06/05/1995	William J. Clinton	Interview With Larry King
06/12/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the White House Conference on Small Business
06/27/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Opening Session of the Pacific Rim Economic Conference in Portland, Oregon
07/14/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Central Intelligence Agency in Langley, Virginia
07/25/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the 30th Anniversary of the Passage of Medicare
08/01/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Congressional Action on Appropriations Legislation and an Exchange With Reporters
08/09/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Black Enterprise Magazine 25th Anniversary Gala
08/10/1995	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference

09/19/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion With Senior Citizens in North Miami Beach, Florida
09/21/1995	William J. Clinton	Interview With Larry King in Culver City, California
09/21/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Exploratorium in San Francisco, California
09/22/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Los Angeles County Fiscal Relief Plan and an Exchange With Reporters in Santa Monica, California
09/25/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Question-and-Answer Session at the Godfrey Sperling Luncheon
09/26/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Saxophone Club
09/29/1995	William J. Clinton	Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on the Lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979
10/04/1995	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 6830 - Energy Awareness Month, 1995
10/07/1995	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
10/09/1995	William J. Clinton	Statement on Senator Sam Nunn's Decision Not To Seek Reelection
10/10/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a State Dinner for President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico
10/15/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the University of Connecticut in Storrs
10/17/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community at Kelly Air Force Base in San Antonio
12/08/1995	William J. Clinton	Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Jose dos Santos of Angola and an Exchange With Reporters
01/11/1996	William J. Clinton	Teleconference Remarks to Ohio Democratic Caucuses
02/01/1996	William J. Clinton	Statement on Congressional Action on Telecommunications Reform Legislation
02/02/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on the School-to-Work Program in Nashua, New Hampshire
02/02/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in Salem, New Hampshire
02/03/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Small Business in Merrimack, New Hampshire
02/03/1996	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
02/09/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Louisiana Economic Development Brunch
02/10/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in Iowa City, Iowa
02/17/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in Manchester, New Hampshire
03/18/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community at Fort Polk, Louisiana
04/21/1996	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference With President Boris Yeltsin of Russia in Moscow
04/23/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the National Teacher of the Year Award Ceremony
05/31/1996	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 6902 - Small Business Week, 1996
06/21/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Houston, Texas
06/24/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Family Re-Union V Conference in Nashville, Tennessee

06/27/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Citizens of Perouges, France
07/04/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Independence Day at Patuxent River Naval Air Station, Maryland
07/10/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the NAACP Convention in Charlotte, North Carolina
07/15/1996	William J. Clinton	Interview With Tom Brokaw of MSNBC's InterNight
08/01/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Economy and an Exchange With Reporters
08/31/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in Mayfield, Kentucky
08/31/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in Covington, Tennessee
09/05/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in Sunrise, Florida
09/10/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Welfare Reform in Kansas City, Missouri
09/10/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in St. Louis
09/17/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in Westland, Michigan
09/19/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in Longview, Washington
09/25/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks at Robert Morris College in Coraopolis, Pennsylvania
09/27/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in Houston
10/07/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Business Leaders in Stamford, Connecticut
10/09/1996	William J. Clinton	Statement on Signing the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Amendments Act of 1996
10/11/1996	William J. Clinton	Statement on Signing the Economic Espionage Act of 1996
10/22/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Miami
11/03/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks at Saint Paul's A.M.E. Church in Tampa, Florida
11/04/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks in Lexington, Kentucky
11/20/1996	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Australian Parliament in Canberra
11/30/1996	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
01/21/1997	William J. Clinton	Inaugural Address
01/22/1997	William J. Clinton	Interview With Al Hunt of WBIS in Chicago, Illinois
02/22/1997	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
02/26/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Eduardo Frei of Chile and an Exchange With Reporters
03/13/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Saxophone Club in Miami, Florida
04/02/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Education
04/30/1997	William J. Clinton	Statement on Economic Expansion and Job Creation
05/01/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner
05/02/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the National Economy
05/03/1997	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address and an Exchange With Reporters
05/09/1997	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7002 - National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1997
05/19/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic Business Council and Women's Leadership Forum Dinner

05/19/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks to Young Presidents and World Presidents Organizations
05/27/1997	William J. Clinton	Statement on the National Economy
05/28/1997	William J. Clinton	Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Bosnian Serbs
05/28/1997	William J. Clinton	Notice_ Continuation of Emergency With Respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Bosnian Serbs
05/29/1997	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom in London
05/31/1997	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
06/05/1997	William J. Clinton	Memorandum on Use of Project Labor Agreements for Federal Construction Projects
06/06/1997	William J. Clinton	Statement on the National Economy
06/14/1997	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
06/26/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the United Nations Special Session on Environment and Development in New York City
07/01/1997	William J. Clinton	Statement on the Proclamation Implementing the Information Technology Agreement
07/01/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks Announcing the Electronic Commerce Initiative
07/11/1997	William J. Clinton	Excerpts From an Exchange With Reporters Aboard Air Force One
07/23/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Childhood Immunization Initiative
08/15/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the National Archives and Records Administration Announcing the White House Millennium Program
09/26/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Houston
10/08/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Reception in Florham Park, New Jersey
10/08/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Metropolitan Baptist Church in Newark, New Jersey
10/24/1997	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7045 - National Consumers Week, 1997
11/08/1997	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
11/12/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner
11/26/1997	William J. Clinton	Statement on Signing the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1998
12/01/1997	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Dinner Honoring Evan Bayh
01/05/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Federal Budget and an Exchange With Reporters
01/10/1998	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address

01/12/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks in an Outreach Meeting on the President's Initiative on Race
01/27/1998	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
02/12/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Joint Democratic Caucus
02/13/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
02/18/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Representative James P. Moran
03/12/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Senator Ernest F. Hollings
03/19/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Dinner
03/25/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Entebbe Summit for Peace and Prosperity
03/26/1998	William J. Clinton	Address to the Parliament of South Africa in Cape Town
04/07/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks to a National Forum on Social Security in Kansas City, Missouri
04/09/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception Honoring Senator Barbara A. Mikulski
04/22/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Earth Day in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia
04/23/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Child Care Initiative and an Exchange With Reporters
04/23/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Supporters of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993
04/26/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner
05/04/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a California Labor Initiative Breakfast in Los Angeles, California
05/04/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks Announcing the Partnership for Advancing Technology in Housing in San Fernando, California
05/04/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Dinner in Chicago, Illinois
05/15/1998	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7097 - World Trade Week, 1998
05/15/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan and an Exchange With Reporters in Birmingham, United Kingdom
05/27/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Welfare to Work Partnership Board
06/01/1998	William J. Clinton	Joint Statement on the Visit of His Highness Shaikh Essa Bin Salman Al-Khalifa, the Amir of the State of Bahrain
06/02/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Dallas, Texas
06/09/1998	William J. Clinton	Statement on Signing the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century
06/12/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the National Oceans Conference in Monterey, California
06/17/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the 21st Century Community Learning Center Initiative and an Exchange With Reporters

07/09/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Luncheon in Atlanta
07/14/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Year 2000 Conversion Computer Problem
07/16/1998	William J. Clinton	Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Bosnian Serbs
07/18/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at an Arkansas Victory 98 Dinner in Little Rock
07/20/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in New Orleans
07/26/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Brunch in Aspen
07/27/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Gubernatorial Candidate Martin J. Chavez in Albuquerque
08/11/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Luncheon for Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis of California in San Francisco
08/14/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Labor Luncheon
08/15/1998	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
09/01/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at First Day of School Festivities in Moscow, Russia
09/03/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Groundbreaking Ceremony for Springvale Educational Village in Belfast
09/08/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks on National School Modernization Day in Silver Spring, Maryland
09/09/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at Hillcrest Elementary School in Orlando, Florida
09/23/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute Dinner
09/25/1998	William J. Clinton	Statement on the National Economy
09/27/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Gubernatorial Candidate Garry Mauro in San Antonio, Texas
10/01/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Unity 98 Dinner
10/08/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Impeachment Inquiry Vote and an Exchange With Reporters
10/15/1998	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7140 - White Cane Safety Day, 1998
10/22/1998	William J. Clinton	Statement on the National Rate of Homeownership
10/24/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Congressional Candidate Janice Hahn in Los Angeles, California
11/30/1998	William J. Clinton	Joint Statement From Australia and the United States on Electronic Commerce
12/10/1998	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Unveiling of a Portrait of Former Secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy
01/04/1999	William J. Clinton	Statement on the National Economy
01/19/1999	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the State of the Union

02/02/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Luncheon in Boston, Massachusetts
02/10/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the AmeriCorps Call to Service in College Park, Maryland
02/19/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the NAACP 90th Anniversary Celebration
03/03/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Unity Meeting With Democratic Congressional Leaders
03/03/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Senator Robert G. Torricelli in Newark, New Jersey
03/10/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Peace Efforts in Guatemala City
03/17/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to George J. Mitchell
03/18/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Radio and Television Correspondents Association Dinner
04/27/1999	William J. Clinton	Memorandum on Renewing the Federal Government-University Research Partnership for the 21 st Century
04/30/1999	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7189 - Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month, 1999
05/13/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Dinner for Representative John Conyers, Jr.
06/02/1999	William J. Clinton	Commencement Address at the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs
07/01/1999	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference With President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt
07/06/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Investment in the Mississippi Delta Region in Clarksdale, Mississippi
07/07/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation
07/22/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks in a Conversation on Medicare in Lansing, Michigan
08/04/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Reducing the National Debt and an Exchange With Reporters
08/05/1999	William J. Clinton	Statement on Administration Action on Steel Imports
08/07/1999	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
08/09/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Ceremony Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Former President Jimmy Carter and Rosalynn Carter in Atlanta
08/25/1999	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7216 - Minority Enterprise Development Week, 1999
08/28/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Saxophone Club Reception in East Hampton
08/30/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the State Comptroller's Luncheon in Skaneateles, New York
09/03/1999	William J. Clinton	Message on the Observance of Labor Day, 1999
09/23/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a National Democratic Institute for International Affairs Dinner

10/07/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Reception in New York City
10/08/1999	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7239 - Columbus Day, 1999
10/18/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a New Jersey Democratic Assembly Dinner in Elizabeth, New Jersey
10/27/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Debt Reduction and an Exchange With Reporters
10/29/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Atlanta, Georgia
11/05/1999	William J. Clinton	Statement on Senate Ratification of the Child Labor Convention
11/09/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Women's Leadership Forum Reception
11/10/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a National Coalition of Minority Business Award Dinner
11/16/1999	William J. Clinton	Statement on Environmental Review of Trade Agreements
11/17/1999	William J. Clinton	Statement on the Federal Communications Commission's E-Rate
11/18/1999	William J. Clinton	Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Aeronautics and Space Activities
11/30/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks on a Parental Leave Initiative and an Exchange With Reporters
12/10/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Chamber of Commerce in Little Rock, Arkansas
12/11/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Florida State Democratic Convention in Orlando, Florida
12/15/1999	William J. Clinton	Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on the National Emergency With Respect to the Lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979
12/21/1999	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Emissions Standards for Cars and Sport Utility Vehicles
01/13/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Wall Street Project Conference Reception in New York City
01/18/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the National Firearms Enforcement Initiative in Boston, Massachusetts
01/27/2000	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
02/07/2000	William J. Clinton	The Budget Message of the President
02/14/2000	William J. Clinton	Interview With Wolf Blitzer on CNN.com
02/17/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Opening of the National Summit on Africa
02/24/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in New York City
02/28/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Democratic Governors Association Dinner
03/18/2000	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
04/02/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Arrival in San Jose, California, and an Exchange With Reporters

04/15/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Beverly Hills, California
05/05/2000	William J. Clinton	Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori of Japan
05/18/2000	William J. Clinton	Statement on the Budget Surplus and Debt Reduction
05/19/2000	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7310 - World Trade Week, 2000
05/19/2000	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7311 - Small Business Week, 2000
05/21/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Democratic Leadership Council in Hyde Park, New York
05/23/2000	William J. Clinton	Message to the Senate Transmitting the El Salvador-United States Investment Treaty With Documentation
05/23/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the New Markets Legislation Agreement
05/23/2000	William J. Clinton	Message to the Senate Transmitting the Bahrain-United States Investment Treaty With Documentation
05/23/2000	William J. Clinton	Message to the Senate Transmitting the Mozambique- United States Investment Treaty With Documentation
05/23/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner
05/31/2000	William J. Clinton	The President's News Conference With European Union Leaders in Lisbon
06/04/2000	William J. Clinton	Interview With Aleksei Venediktov of Ekho Moskvyy Radio in Moscow
06/10/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a New Leadership Network Reception in Minneapolis
06/10/2000	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
06/27/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Unveiling of a Portrait of Former Secretary of the Treasury Robert E. Rubin
07/05/2000	William J. Clinton	Interview With Joe Klein of the New Yorker in New York City
07/22/2000	William J. Clinton	Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori of Japan in Okinawa
07/28/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Dinner in Cambridge, Massachusetts
07/28/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the National Economy and an Exchange With Reporters in Providence, Rhode Island
07/31/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Luncheon in Tampa
08/09/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Dinner for Hillary Clinton
09/02/2000	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
09/12/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Congressional Candidate Mike Ross
09/15/2000	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7341 - National Farm Safety And Health Week, 2000
09/20/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Governor Jeanne Shaheen
09/25/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a New Mexico Coordinated Campaign Victory 2000 Reception in Santa Fe

09/29/2000	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7347 - National Disability Employment Awareness Month, 2000
10/03/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Luncheon for Hillary Clinton in Miami, Florida
10/11/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for the Pennsylvania Democratic Coordinated Campaign in Philadelphia
10/14/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Colorado Coordinated and State Senate Democratic Fund in Denver
10/22/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Hillary Clinton in Alexandria Bay, New York
10/23/2000	William J. Clinton	Statement on Signing the Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2001
10/27/2000	William J. Clinton	Statement on Signing the Executive Order Establishing the Commission on Workers, Communities, and Economic Change in the New Economy
11/02/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Get Out the Vote Rally in Los Angeles
11/02/2000	William J. Clinton	Interview With Jann Wenner of Rolling Stone Magazine
11/05/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in Pine Bluff, Arkansas
11/09/2000	William J. Clinton	Notice--Continuation of Emergency Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction
11/09/2000	William J. Clinton	Statement on Signing the Energy Act of 2000
11/28/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks at an Invitation to the White House Reception
12/14/2000	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7387 - Wright Brothers Day, 2000
12/28/2000	William J. Clinton	Remarks Announcing the Global Food for Education Initiative
01/08/2001	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Rededication of the AFL-CIO Building
01/16/2001	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the United States Conference of Mayors
01/16/2001	William J. Clinton	Statement on the Final Report of the E-Commerce Working Group
01/18/2001	William J. Clinton	Farewell Address to the Nation
01/20/2001	George W. Bush	Inaugural Address
02/05/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for Donald L. Evans as Secretary of Commerce
02/27/2001	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on Administration Goals
03/01/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks at Fernbank Museum of Natural History in Atlanta, Georgia
03/13/2001	George W. Bush	Letter to Members of the Senate on the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change
03/17/2001	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
03/27/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan
03/28/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks in a Meeting With Technology Industry Leaders
04/06/2001	George W. Bush	Statement on Senate Action on Federal Budget Legislation
05/01/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks on the Bipartisan Congressional Tax Relief Agreement and an Exchange With Reporters

05/26/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks on Congressional Action on Tax Relief Legislation
06/20/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks to the Business Roundtable
07/17/2001	George W. Bush	Interview With Foreign Journalists
08/15/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Senator Pete V. Domenici in Albuquerque
08/21/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks at Truman High School in Independence, Missouri
08/23/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Students at Crawford Elementary School and an Exchange With Reporters in Crawford, Texas
08/24/2001	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference in Crawford
08/26/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Steelworkers Picnic in West Mifflin, Pennsylvania
09/11/2001	George W. Bush	Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks
09/20/2001	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the United States Response to the Terrorist Attacks of September 11
09/22/2001	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
10/26/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks to Business, Trade, and Agricultural Leaders
11/09/2001	George W. Bush	Memorandum on China's Accession to the World Trade Organization
12/12/2001	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Meeting With the Economic Team
12/20/2001	George W. Bush	Statement on House of Representatives Action on the Economic Stimulus Package
12/21/2001	George W. Bush	Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and President Nursultan Nazarbayev on the New Kazakhstan-American Relationship
01/05/2002	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
01/28/2002	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With Chairman Hamid Karzai of the Afghan Interim Authority
01/30/2002	George W. Bush	Statement on the National Economy
02/20/2002	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With President Kim Dae-jung of South Korea in Seoul, South Korea
02/28/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks to the National Summit on Retirement Savings
03/05/2002	George W. Bush	Statement on the Decision To Impose Temporary Safeguards To Help the Domestic Steel Industry
05/23/2002	George W. Bush	Statement on Senate Action on Trade Legislation
06/04/2002	George W. Bush	Exchange With Reporters at Fort Meade, Maryland
06/24/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks on the Middle East
07/18/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks to the Polish American Community in Rochester, Michigan
07/24/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Meeting With Congressional Leaders
07/29/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Luncheon for Gubernatorial Candidate Mark Sanford in Charleston
08/06/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks on Signing the Trade Act of 2002

08/14/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks at the Iowa State Fair in Des Moines, Iowa
08/29/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Luncheon for Gubernatorial Candidate Steve Largent and Senator James M. Inhofe in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
09/20/2002	George W. Bush	Proclamation 7596 - Minority Enterprise Development Week, 2002
09/23/2002	George W. Bush	Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and President Askar Akayev on the Relationship Between the United States of America and the Kyrgyz Republic
09/27/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Rally for Congressional Candidate Rick Renzi in Flagstaff, Arizona
10/08/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Luncheon for Gubernatorial Candidate Van Hilleary in Knoxville, Tennessee
10/22/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks in Downingtown, Pennsylvania
10/24/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks in Auburn, Alabama
11/03/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks in St. Paul, Minnesota
11/04/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks in Dallas, Texas
11/04/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks in Cedar Rapids, Iowa
11/06/2002	George W. Bush	Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction
12/03/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks in Shreveport, Louisiana
12/10/2002	George W. Bush	Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and President Emomali Rahmonov on the Relationship Between the United States of America and the Republic of Tajikistan
12/10/2002	George W. Bush	Remarks Announcing the Nomination of William Donaldson To Be Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission
01/28/2003	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
02/03/2003	George W. Bush	The Budget Message of the President
02/26/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks to the Latino Coalition
02/28/2003	George W. Bush	Executive Order 13286 - Amendment of Executive Orders, and Other Actions, in Connection With the Transfer of Certain Functions to the Secretary of Homeland Security
04/15/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Discussion With Business Leaders
05/13/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks in Indianapolis, Indiana
05/19/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks at a State Dinner Honoring President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo of the Philippines
05/28/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks on Signing the Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003
06/19/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks in Fridley, Minnesota

06/25/2003	George W. Bush	Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and European Council President Konstandinos Simitis and European Commission President Romano Prodi on Transatlantic Aviation Negotiations
06/30/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Bush-Cheney Luncheon in Miami
07/10/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by President Mogae in Gaborone
07/24/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks in Livonia, Michigan
07/25/2003	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority
07/30/2003	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference
09/09/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Bush-Cheney Reception in Fort Lauderdale, Florida
09/12/2003	George W. Bush	Proclamation 7704 - Small Business Week, 2003
09/25/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Meeting With the Congressional Conferees on Medicare Modernization and an Exchange With Reporters
09/26/2003	George W. Bush	Proclamation 7710 - Minority Enterprise Development Week, 2003
10/09/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks at Pease Air National Guard Base in Portsmouth, New Hampshire
10/11/2003	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
11/01/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks in Gulfport, Mississippi
12/01/2003	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Bush-Cheney Luncheon in Dearborn, Michigan
01/20/2004	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
02/02/2004	George W. Bush	The Budget Message of the President
02/19/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Discussion on the National Economy
03/15/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in a Discussion on Homeownership in Ardmore, Pennsylvania
03/20/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Orlando, Florida
04/15/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Des Moines, Iowa
05/04/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in Dayton, Ohio
05/05/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Republican National Committee Dinner
05/07/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin
05/22/2004	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
05/28/2004	George W. Bush	Statement on the National Economy
06/04/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks to Reporters in Rome, Italy
06/08/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks Prior to Discussions With Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany at Sea Island
07/14/2004	George W. Bush	Exchange With Reporters in West Bend, Wisconsin
07/16/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Beckley, West Virginia

08/06/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks to the UNITY: Journalists of Color Convention and a Question-and-Answer Session
08/18/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in a Discussion in Hudson, Wisconsin
08/26/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Las Cruces, New Mexico
09/04/2004	George W. Bush	Proclamation 7807 - Minority Enterprise Development Week, 2004
09/04/2004	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
09/09/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Colmar, Pennsylvania
09/10/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Huntington, West Virginia
10/02/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks to the National Association of Home Builders in Columbus, Ohio
10/09/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Chanhassen, Minnesota
10/13/2004	George W. Bush	Presidential Debate in Tempe, Arizona
10/16/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Sunrise, Florida
10/16/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in West Palm Beach, Florida
10/28/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Yardley, Pennsylvania
10/29/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Manchester, New Hampshire
10/30/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Ashwaubenon, Wisconsin
10/30/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Grand Rapids, Michigan
11/01/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Albuquerque, New Mexico
11/01/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Des Moines, Iowa
11/01/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in Dallas, Texas
11/03/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks in a Victory Celebration
11/06/2004	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
11/09/2004	George W. Bush	Notice--Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran
11/20/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan and an Exchange With Reporters in Santiago
11/27/2004	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
12/02/2004	George W. Bush	Remarks on the Nomination of Governor Mike Johanns To Be Secretary of Agriculture
02/02/2005	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
03/04/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks in a Discussion on Strengthening Social Security in Westfield, New Jersey
03/18/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks on Strengthening Social Security in Orlando, Florida
03/21/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks in a Discussion on Strengthening Social Security in Denver, Colorado
03/23/2005	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With President Vicente Fox of Mexico and Prime Minister Paul Martin of Canada in Waco, Texas
03/30/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks in a Discussion on Strengthening Social Security in Cedar Rapids

04/04/2005	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine
04/14/2005	George W. Bush	Proclamation 7886 - Small Business Week, 2005
04/18/2005	George W. Bush	Interview With the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation
05/05/2005	George W. Bush	Interview With NTV of Russia
06/02/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Dinner for Senator James M. Talent in St. Louis, Missouri
07/11/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks at the FBI National Academy in Quantico, Virginia
07/12/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of Singapore and an Exchange With Reporters
10/22/2005	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
11/16/2005	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan in Kyoto, Japan
11/17/2005	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With President Roh Moo-hyun of South Korea in Gyeongju, South Korea
11/20/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters in Beijing
12/09/2005	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Reception for Senatorial Candidate Mark Kennedy in Minneapolis, Minnesota
12/31/2005	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
01/01/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks to Reporters Following a Visit With United States Troops and an Exchange With Reporters in San Antonio, Texas
01/31/2006	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the State of the Union
02/06/2006	George W. Bush	The Budget Message of the President
02/08/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks on Signing the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005
03/23/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks on Signing a Bill To Authorize the Extension of Nondiscriminatory Treatment to the Products of Ukraine
03/27/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Reception for Senatorial Candidate Conrad Burns
03/28/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks Announcing the Resignation of Andrew H. Card, Jr., as White House Chief of Staff and the Appointment of Joshua B. Bolten as White House Chief of Staff
04/07/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks on the Economy
04/15/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at the Small Business Week Conference
04/22/2006	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
05/04/2006	George W. Bush	Interview With Sabine Christiansen of ARD German Television
05/17/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Republican National Committee Gala
05/19/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks on American Competitiveness in Highland Heights, Kentucky

05/22/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks on the War on Terror and a Question-and-Answer Session in Chicago, Illinois
06/09/2006	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen of Denmark at Camp David, Maryland
07/11/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Reception for Gubernatorial Candidate Mark Green in Milwaukee, Wisconsin
08/10/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy in Green Bay
08/30/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Dinner for Senatorial Candidate Robert Corker and the Tennessee Republican Party in Nashville, Tennessee
09/07/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Reception for Congressional Candidate Max Burns in Pooler, Georgia
10/04/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Breakfast for Congressional Candidate Richard G. Renzi in Scottsdale, Arizona
10/10/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Reception for Congressional Candidate Michael A. Mac Collins in Macon, Georgia
10/25/2006	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference
10/26/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Reception for Senatorial Candidate Michael Bouchard in Warren, Michigan
11/05/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Nebraska Victory 2006 Rally in Grand Island, Nebraska
11/16/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks at the National Singapore University in Singapore
12/20/2006	George W. Bush	Remarks on Signing the Tax Relief and Health Care Act of 2006
01/03/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Cabinet Meeting
01/04/2007	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany
01/23/2007	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
01/31/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy in New York City
02/12/2007	George W. Bush	Message to Congress Transmitting the Economic Report of the President
02/14/2007	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference
02/26/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks at the Republican Governors Association Gala
02/27/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Meeting With President Elias Antonio Saca Gonzalez of El Salvador
03/01/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks at Samuel J. Green Charter School in New Orleans
03/02/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Dinner for Senatorial Candidate Mitch McConnell and the National Republican Senatorial Committee in Louisville, Kentucky
03/08/2007	George W. Bush	Notice - Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran
03/10/2007	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference With President Tabare Vazquez of Uruguay in Anchorena Park, Uruguay

03/28/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks to the National Cattlemen's Beef Association
05/10/2007	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference in Arlington, Virginia
05/12/2007	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
05/14/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks on Fuel Economy and Alternative Fuel Standards
05/24/2007	George W. Bush	The President's News Conference
06/06/2007	George W. Bush	Interview With Members of the White House Press Pool in Heiligendamm, Germany
07/27/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Meeting With Economic Advisers on the National Economy
09/25/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks to the United Nations General Assembly in New York City
10/15/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks on the Federal Budget and a Question-and-Answer Session in Rogers
10/18/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Meeting With President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia
11/16/2007	George W. Bush	Proclamation 8205 - National Farm-City Week, 2007
11/16/2007	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Meeting With Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda of Japan
01/07/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy in Chicago
02/13/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on Signing the Economic Stimulus Act of 2008
02/28/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Briefing on the National Economy
03/27/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks at the National Museum of the United States Air Force in Dayton, Ohio
04/10/2008	George W. Bush	Statement on House of Representatives Action on Colombia Free Trade Agreement Legislation
04/12/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
04/18/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks at the America's Small Business Summit
05/17/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
05/18/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks to the World Economic Forum in Sharm el-Sheikh
06/02/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks During a Meeting on the National Economy
06/14/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
06/26/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on Congressional Action on the Legislative Agenda
07/12/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
07/19/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
08/15/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on the Situation in Georgia
09/06/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
09/18/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy
09/19/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy
09/20/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
09/22/2008	George W. Bush	Statement on the National Economy
09/28/2008	George W. Bush	Statement on Congressional Action on Economic Stabilization Legislation
09/29/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on Economic Stabilization Legislation

10/01/2008	George W. Bush	Statement on Senate Action on Economic Stabilization Legislation
10/14/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy
10/15/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks Prior to a Cabinet Meeting
10/25/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
11/15/2008	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
12/05/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy
12/15/2008	George W. Bush	Remarks to Military Personnel at Bagram Air Base, Afghanistan
01/15/2008	George W. Bush	Farewell Address to the Nation
01/16/2009	George W. Bush	Message to Congress Transmitting the Economic Report of the President
01/20/2009	Barack Obama	Inaugural Address
01/29/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks on Signing the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009
02/03/2009	Barack Obama	Interview with Charles Gibson of ABC News
02/06/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks on the Establishment of the President's Economic Recovery Advisory Board
02/19/2009	Barack Obama	The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Stephen Harper of Canada in Ottawa, Canada
02/24/2009	Barack Obama	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress
02/26/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks on the Federal Budget
03/07/2009	Barack Obama	The President's Weekly Address
03/16/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks to Small-Business Owners and Community Lenders
03/25/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser
04/04/2009	Barack Obama	The President's Weekly Address
04/14/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks on the National Economy
04/15/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks on Tax Reform
04/22/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks at Trinity Structural Towers Manufacturing Plant in Newton, Iowa
05/07/2009	Barack Obama	Message to the Congress Transmitting the Budget of the United States Government for Fiscal Year 2010
05/08/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks on the National Economy and Job Training
05/11/2009	Barack Obama	Proclamation 8377 - National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 2009
05/11/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks on Health Care Reform
05/12/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring the National Association of Police Organizations TOP COPS
05/20/2009	Barack Obama	Proclamation 8384 - National Maritime Day, 2009
05/26/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks at a Fundraiser for Senator Harry Reid in Las Vegas, Nevada
05/28/2009	Barack Obama	Remarks Following a Meeting With President Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority and an Exchange With Reporters
06/20/2009	Barack Obama	The President's Weekly Address

06/27/2009	Barack Obama	The President's Weekly Address
07/12/2009	Barack Obama	Op-ed by President Barack Obama: "Rebuilding Something Better"
07/16/2009	Barack Obama	572 - Remarks at a Fundraiser for Governor Jon S. Corzine in Holmdel, New Jersey
07/16/2009	Barack Obama	575 - Remarks Celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the NAACP in New York City
07/24/2009	Barack Obama	595 - Remarks on Education Reform
08/08/2009	Barack Obama	633 - The President's Weekly Address
08/15/2009	Barack Obama	649 - Remarks at a Town Hall Meeting and a Question-and-Session in Grand Junction, Colorado
09/15/2009	Barack Obama	711 - Remarks at the AFL-CIO National Convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
09/20/2009	Barack Obama	Interview with John King on CNN's State of the Union
09/21/2009	Barack Obama	735 - Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Persons Who Commit, Threaten to Commit, or Support Terrorism
11/17/2009	Barack Obama	905 - Remarks on the National Economy
11/26/2009	Barack Obama	957 - The President's Weekly Address
12/12/2009	Barack Obama	990 - The President's Weekly Address
01/17/2010	Barack Obama	31 - Remarks at a Church Service Honoring Martin Luther King, Jr.
01/21/2010	Barack Obama	43 - Remarks on Financial Regulatory Reform
01/23/2010	Barack Obama	50 - Statement on Legislation Creating a Statutory Fiscal Commission
02/04/2010	Barack Obama	80 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser
02/04/2010	Barack Obama	79 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser and a Question-and-Answer Session
02/19/2010	Barack Obama	109 - Remarks at a Town Hall Meeting and a Question-and-Answer Session in Henderson, Nevada
03/11/2010	Barack Obama	170 - Remarks at the Export-Import Bank's Annual Conference
03/11/2010	Barack Obama	171 - Executive Order 13534 - National Export Initiative
03/22/2010	Barack Obama	195 - Statement on Financial Regulatory Reform Legislation
04/01/2010	Barack Obama	Interview With Harry Smith on CBS's Early Show
04/15/2010	Barack Obama	263 - Remarks at the John F. Kennedy Space Center in Merritt Island, Florida
04/16/2010	Barack Obama	272 - Remarks During a Meeting of the President's Economic Recovery Advisory Board and an Exchange With Reporters
04/27/2010	Barack Obama	305 - Remarks at Siemens Energy, Inc., in Fort Madison, Iowa

04/27/2010	Barack Obama	309 - Remarks at a Town Hall Meeting and a Question-and-Answer Session in Ottumwa, Iowa
04/28/2010	Barack Obama	315 - Remarks to the White House Press Pool and an Exchange With Reporters
04/28/2010	Barack Obama	312 - Remarks in Quincy, Illinois
05/13/2010	Barack Obama	374 - Remarks at Industrial Support Inc., and a Question-and-Answer Session in Buffalo, New York
05/14/2010	Barack Obama	387 - Proclamation 8520 - National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 2010
05/14/2010	Barack Obama	384 - Remarks on the Oil Spill in the Gulf of Mexico
06/03/2010	Barack Obama	Interview With Larry King on CNN's Larry King Live
06/19/2010	Barack Obama	519 - Statement on China's Exchange Rate
06/19/2010	Barack Obama	517 - The President's Weekly Address
06/24/2010	Barack Obama	527 - The President's News Conference With President Dmitry A. Medvedev of Russia
07/02/2010	Barack Obama	570 - Remarks on the National Economy at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland
07/21/2010	Barack Obama	617 - Remarks on Signing the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act
07/23/2010	Barack Obama	626 - Remarks on the National Economy
08/03/2010	Barack Obama	649 - Telephone Remarks to a Town Hall Meeting Hosted by Senator Michael F. Bennet
08/09/2010	Barack Obama	667 - Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Fundraiser in Highland Park, Texas
08/16/2010	Barack Obama	685 - Remarks at a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Fundraiser in Los Angeles, California
08/18/2010	Barack Obama	690 - Remarks on the Economy and a Question-and-Answer Session in Columbus, Ohio
08/23/2010	Barack Obama	700 - Statement on Consumer Financial Protection
08/31/2010	Barack Obama	716 - Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq
09/03/2010	Barack Obama	722 - Remarks on the National Economy and an Exchange With Reporters
09/04/2010	Barack Obama	726 - The President's Weekly Address
09/22/2010	Barack Obama	782 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in Falls Church, Virginia
09/22/2010	Barack Obama	785 - Remarks at a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Dinner in New York City
09/27/2010	Barack Obama	804 - Remarks on Signing the Small Business Jobs Act of 2010
09/28/2010	Barack Obama	806 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in Albuquerque, New Mexico
10/02/2010	Barack Obama	830 - The President's Weekly Address

10/05/2010	Barack Obama	836 - Remarks at the White House Summit on Community Colleges
10/13/2010	Barack Obama	872 - Remarks on the American Opportunity Tax Credit
10/25/2010	Barack Obama	912 - Remarks at a Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Reception in Providence, Rhode Island
11/29/2010	Barack Obama	1018 - Remarks on Fiscal Responsibility
12/02/2010	Barack Obama	1031 - Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Newly Elected Governors
01/01/2011	Barack Obama	1 - The President's Weekly Address
01/21/2011	Barack Obama	43 - Remarks at the General Electric Plant in Schenectady, New York
01/25/2011	Barack Obama	47 - Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
02/24/2011	Barack Obama	107 - Remarks During a Meeting With the President's Council on Jobs and Competitiveness
03/04/2011	Barack Obama	135 - Proclamation 8634 - National Consumer Protection Week, 2011
03/11/2011	Barack Obama	167 - Memorandum on Government Reform for Competitiveness and Innovation
03/11/2011	Barack Obama	168 - The President's News Conference
04/01/2011	Barack Obama	218 - Remarks at a UPS Customer Center in Landover, Maryland
04/05/2011	Barack Obama	225 - Remarks on the Federal Budget and an Exchange With Reporters
04/07/2011	Barack Obama	239 - Remarks on the Federal Budget
04/13/2011	Barack Obama	252 - Remarks at George Washington University
04/20/2011	Barack Obama	272 - Remarks at a Town Hall Meeting and a Question-and-Answer Session in Palo Alto, California
05/18/2011	Barack Obama	366 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser in Boston, Massachusetts
05/24/2011	Barack Obama	Joint Op-ed by President Obama and Prime Minister Cameron
06/13/2011	Barack Obama	440 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser in Miami Beach, Florida
06/13/2011	Barack Obama	436 - Remarks During a Meeting With the President's Council on Jobs and Competitiveness in Durham, North Carolina
06/25/2011	Barack Obama	474 - The President's Weekly Address
06/30/2011	Barack Obama	484 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
07/09/2011	Barack Obama	496 - The President's Weekly Address
07/29/2011	Barack Obama	535 - Remarks on Fuel Efficiency Standards
08/16/2011	Barack Obama	571 - Remarks at the Opening Session of the White House Rural Economic Forum in Peosta, Iowa
08/29/2011	Barack Obama	591 - Remarks on the Nomination of Alan B. Krueger To Be Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers

09/08/2011	Barack Obama	614 - Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on Job Growth
09/15/2011	Barack Obama	642 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser
09/19/2011	Barack Obama	650 - Remarks on the Federal Budget and Jobs Growth Legislation
09/27/2011	Barack Obama	691 - Remarks at Abraham Lincoln High School in Denver, Colorado
10/03/2011	Barack Obama	707 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Legislation To Implement the United States-South Korea Free Trade Agreement
10/03/2011	Barack Obama	705 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Legislation To Implement the United States-Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement
10/04/2011	Barack Obama	717 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser in Dallas, Texas
10/06/2011	Barack Obama	729 - Proclamation 8730 - National Energy Action Month, 2011
10/08/2011	Barack Obama	741 - The President's Weekly Address
10/11/2011	Barack Obama	744 - Statement on Job Growth Legislation
10/14/2011	Barack Obama	755 - Remarks at General Motors Orion Assembly Plant in Lake Orion, Michigan
10/16/2011	Barack Obama	760 - Remarks at a Dedication Ceremony for the Martin Luther King, Jr., National Memorial
10/17/2011	Barack Obama	762 - Remarks in Fletcher, North Carolina
10/18/2011	Barack Obama	765 - Remarks at Guilford Technical Community College in Jamestown, North Carolina
10/20/2011	Barack Obama	777 - Statement on Senate Action on Job Growth Legislation
10/21/2011	Barack Obama	779 - Remarks on Presenting the National Medal of Science and the National Medal of Technology and Innovation
11/17/2011	Barack Obama	873 - Remarks to the Parliament in Canberra, Australia
11/30/2011	Barack Obama	914 - Remarks at an Obama Victory Fund 2012 Fundraiser in New York City
12/06/2011	Barack Obama	929 - Remarks at Osawatomie High School in Osawatomie, Kansas
12/15/2011	Barack Obama	947 - Remarks on Ensuring Fair Pay for Homecare Workers
12/16/2011	Barack Obama	951 - Remarks to the General Assembly of the Union for Reform Judaism at National Harbor, Maryland
12/17/2011	Barack Obama	953 - Remarks on Congressional Action on Tax Cut Legislation
12/20/2011	Barack Obama	960 - Remarks During White House Press Secretary James Jay Carney's Briefing

12/22/2011	Barack Obama	962 - Remarks on Payroll Tax Cuts and Unemployment Insurance
01/11/2012	Barack Obama	15 - Remarks at a White House Forum on Insourcing American Jobs
01/13/2012	Barack Obama	20 - Remarks on Government Reform
01/19/2012	Barack Obama	39 - Remarks at an Obama Victory Fund 2012 Fundraiser in New York City

Appendix C Presidential Economic Speeches Used for Inter-coder Reliability

<u>Date</u>	<u>President</u>	<u>Speech Title</u>
4/17/48	Harry S. Truman	80 - Address Before the American Society of Newspaper Editors.
5/26/48	Harry S. Truman	108 - Letter to the Speaker on Federal Aid to Education.
10/25/48	Harry S. Truman	256 - Address in the Chicago Stadium.
7/11/49	Harry S. Truman	151 - Special Message to the Congress: The President's Midyear Economic Report.
7/19/49	Harry S. Truman	159 - Address in Chicago Before the Imperial Council Session of the Shrine of North America.
5/9/50	Harry S. Truman	118 - Address in Cheyenne, Wyoming.
7/28/51	Harry S. Truman	174 - Address in Detroit at the Celebration of the City's 250th Anniversary.
10/31/52	Harry S. Truman	319 - Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Ohio.
1/14/53	Harry S. Truman	376 - Annual Message to the Congress: The President's Economic Report.
6/1/53	Dwight D. Eisenhower	93 - Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 9 of 1953 Concerning the Council of Economic Advisers.
3/15/54	Dwight D. Eisenhower	54 - Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Tax Program.
1/6/55	Dwight D. Eisenhower	4 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
1/23/57	Dwight D. Eisenhower	16 - Annual Message Transmitting the Economic Report to the Congress
10/22/57	Dwight D. Eisenhower	223 - Address at the Dinner of the National Fund for Medical Education.
11/13/57	Dwight D. Eisenhower	234 - Radio and Television Address to the American People on Our Future Security.
6/4/59	Dwight D. Eisenhower	124 - Remarks to a Group of Business Magazine Editors in the Conference Room.
6/8/59	Dwight D. Eisenhower	126 - Special Message to the Congress on the Management of the Public Debt.
1/18/60	Dwight D. Eisenhower	13 - Annual Budget Message to the Congress: Fiscal Year 1961.
10/20/60	Dwight D. Eisenhower	332 - Address in San Francisco to the Commonwealth Club of California.
1/12/61	Dwight D. Eisenhower	410 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
4/20/61	John F. Kennedy	136 - Special Message to the Congress on Taxation.

5/16/61	John F. Kennedy	185 - Letter to Mrs. Alicia Patterson, Editor and Publisher of Newsday, Concerning the Nation's Response to the Cold War.
5/25/61	John F. Kennedy	205 - Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs
6/28/61	John F. Kennedy	258 - The President's News Conference
1/11/62	John F. Kennedy	7 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
5/4/62	John F. Kennedy	170 - Address in New Orleans at the Opening of the New Dockside Terminal.
5/8/62	John F. Kennedy	174 - Address in Atlantic City at the Convention of the United Auto Workers.
5/23/62	John F. Kennedy	210 - The President's News Conference
9/17/62	John F. Kennedy	385 - Remarks With David McDonald Recorded for the United Steelworkers Convention at Miami Beach.
9/26/62	John F. Kennedy	410 - The President's Special News Conference With Business Editors and Publishers
9/27/62	John F. Kennedy	413 - Remarks Upon Signing the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962.
1/14/63	John F. Kennedy	12 - Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.
1/24/63	John F. Kennedy	34 - Special Message to the Congress on Tax Reduction and Reform.
4/6/63	John F. Kennedy	123 - Statement by the President Concerning the Accelerated Public Works Program.
9/18/63	John F. Kennedy	363 - Radio and Television Address to the Nation on the Test Ban Treaty and the Tax Reduction Bill.
9/25/63	John F. Kennedy	382 - Remarks at the Yellowstone County Fairgrounds, Billings, Montana.
9/25/63	John F. Kennedy	379 - Address at the University of North Dakota.
2/7/64	Lyndon B. Johnson	176 - Statement by the President Following Senate Approval of the Tax Bill
2/26/64	Lyndon B. Johnson	197 - Radio and Television Remarks Upon Signing the Tax Bill.
3/9/64	Lyndon B. Johnson	213 - Annual Message to the Congress: The Manpower Report of the President.
4/30/64	Lyndon B. Johnson	Proclamation 3586 - Small Business Week
10/28/64	Lyndon B. Johnson	734 - Remarks at the Riverside, California, County Courthouse.
5/18/65	Lyndon B. Johnson	258 - Special Message to the Congress on Labor.
1/26/67	Lyndon B. Johnson	16 - Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President
3/17/67	Lyndon B. Johnson	121 - Special Message to the Congress: The Quality of American Government

1/1/68	Lyndon B. Johnson	2 - Statement by the President Outlining a Program of Action To Deal With the Balance of Payments Problem.
6/20/68	Lyndon B. Johnson	322 - Letter to the Speaker of the House Urging Passage of the Tax Bill.
8/1/68	Lyndon B. Johnson	427 - Letter to the Speaker of the House and to the Majority Leader of the Senate on the Steel Price Increases.
2/18/70	Richard Nixon	45 - First Annual Report to the Congress on United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's.
6/17/70	Richard Nixon	192 - Address to the Nation on Economic Policy and Productivity.
4/26/71	Richard Nixon	151 - Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce: The Right To Be Confident.
8/15/71	Richard Nixon	264 - Address to the Nation Outlining a New Economic Policy: The Challenge of Peace.
9/9/71	Richard Nixon	287 - Address to the Congress on Stabilization of the Economy
6/1/72	Richard Nixon	188 - Address to a Joint Session of the Congress on Return From Austria, the Soviet Union, Iran, and Poland.
9/28/72	Richard Nixon	330 - Statement About the Nation's Economy
2/26/73	Richard Nixon	59 - Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report on the Economic Stabilization Program.
4/16/73	Richard Nixon	123 - Special Message to the Congress Proposing Stockpile Disposal Legislation
12/3/74	Gerald R. Ford	274 - Remarks to the American Conference on Trade.
2/3/75	Gerald R. Ford	64 - Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1976.
3/20/75	Gerald R. Ford	147 - Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual International Economic Report of the President.
5/22/75	Gerald R. Ford	273 - Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on Development Coordination.
8/19/75	Gerald R. Ford	496 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Peoria, Illinois.
5/12/76	Gerald R. Ford	461 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Members of the Economic Club of Detroit.
1/31/77	Jimmy Carter	Economic Recovery Program - Message to the Congress.
4/2/78	Jimmy Carter	Lagos, Nigeria Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following Meetings Between the President and General Obasanjo.
11/1/78	Jimmy Carter	Value of the Dollar in Domestic and International Markets Remarks Announcing Measures To Strengthen the Dollar.

1/22/79	Jimmy Carter	Budget Message Message to the Congress Transmitting the Fiscal Year 1980 Budget.
1/25/79	Jimmy Carter	The State of the Union Annual Message to the Congress
9/25/79	Jimmy Carter	New York City, New York Remarks at the Annual Convention of the American Public Transit Association
1/21/80	Jimmy Carter	The State of the Union Annual Message to the Congress
9/22/80	Jimmy Carter	Torrance, California Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Town Meeting
7/23/81	Ronald Reagan	Remarks About Federal Tax Reduction Legislation at a Meeting With State Legislators and Local Government Officials
3/19/83	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on a House Budget Proposal
5/28/83	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on the Williamsburg Economic Summit Conference in Virginia
8/5/83	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Hispanic Leaders
6/30/84	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Drug Abuse
7/19/84	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Summit Conference of Caribbean Heads of State at the University of South Carolina in Columbia
8/4/84	Ronald Reagan	Radio Address to the Nation on Deficit Reduction and Taxation
10/2/84	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Reagan-Bush Rally in Corpus Christi, Texas
2/4/86	Ronald Reagan	Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the State of the Union
9/30/88	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraiser in Chicago, Illinois
10/12/88	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Columbus Day Dinner in West Orange, New Jersey
10/19/88	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senatorial Candidate George Voinovich in Cincinnati, Ohio
10/21/88	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Campaign Rally in Raleigh, North Carolina
11/1/88	Ronald Reagan	Remarks at a Republican Campaign Rally in San Bernardino, California
11/17/88	Ronald Reagan	Remarks to the National Chamber Foundation
1/11/89	Ronald Reagan	Farewell Address to the Nation
2/10/89	George Bush	Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following a Luncheon With Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Ottawa, Canada
5/13/89	George Bush	Remarks at a Fundraising Reception for Senator Mitch McConnell in Lexington, Kentucky
1/29/91	George Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
2/12/91	George Bush	Message to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the 1991 Economic Report

5/6/91	George Bush	Letter to Congressional Leaders on Banking Reform Legislation
8/29/91	George Bush	The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom in Kennebunkport, Maine
12/25/91	George Bush	Address to the Nation on the Commonwealth of Independent States
4/9/92	George Bush	Remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors
7/27/92	George Bush	Remarks to Outlook Graphics Employees in Neenah, Wisconsin
1/13/93	George Bush	Message to Congress Transmitting the Economic Report of the President
2/17/93	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on Administration Goals
1/25/94	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
7/5/94	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Upcoming Economic Summit
9/29/94	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Signing the Riegle-Neal Interstate Banking and Branching Efficiency Act of 1994
2/14/95	William J. Clinton	Remarks at San Bernardino Valley College in San Bernardino, California
8/1/95	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Congressional Action on Appropriations Legislation and an Exchange With Reporters
2/3/96	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
9/5/96	William J. Clinton	Remarks in Sunrise, Florida
9/25/96	William J. Clinton	Remarks at Robert Morris College in Coraopolis, Pennsylvania
1/21/97	William J. Clinton	Inaugural Address
2/22/97	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
5/9/97	William J. Clinton	Proclamation 7002 - National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1997
5/27/97	William J. Clinton	Statement on the National Economy
5/31/97	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
6/6/97	William J. Clinton	Statement on the National Economy
7/23/97	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the Childhood Immunization Initiative
9/26/97	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Houston
1/27/98	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
2/13/98	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
9/8/98	William J. Clinton	Remarks on National School Modernization Day in Silver Spring, Maryland
1/4/99	William J. Clinton	Statement on the National Economy
1/19/99	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the State of the Union

10/27/99	William J. Clinton	Remarks on Debt Reduction and an Exchange With Reporters
11/16/99	William J. Clinton	Statement on Environmental Review of Trade Agreements
1/27/00	William J. Clinton	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
4/15/00	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Beverly Hills, California
5/23/00	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the New Markets Legislation Agreement
7/28/00	William J. Clinton	Remarks on the National Economy and an Exchange With Reporters in Providence, Rhode Island
9/2/00	William J. Clinton	The President's Radio Address
9/12/00	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Reception for Congressional Candidate Mike Ross
11/2/00	William J. Clinton	Remarks at a Get Out the Vote Rally in Los Angeles
11/5/00	William J. Clinton	Remarks to the Community in Pine Bluff, Arkansas
1/8/01	William J. Clinton	Remarks at the Rededication of the AFL-CIO Building
1/18/01	William J. Clinton	Farewell Address to the Nation
1/20/04	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
2/2/04	George W. Bush	The Budget Message of the President
2/19/04	George W. Bush	Remarks Following a Discussion on the National Economy
5/22/04	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
5/28/04	George W. Bush	Statement on the National Economy
2/2/05	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
12/31/05	George W. Bush	The President's Radio Address
1/31/06	George W. Bush	Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the State of the Union
2/8/06	George W. Bush	Remarks on Signing the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005
3/27/06	George W. Bush	Remarks at a Reception for Senatorial Candidate Conrad Burns
4/7/06	George W. Bush	Remarks on the Economy
5/19/06	George W. Bush	Remarks on American Competitiveness in Highland Heights, Kentucky
1/31/07	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy in New York City
2/12/07	George W. Bush	Message to Congress Transmitting the Economic Report of the President
10/15/07	George W. Bush	Remarks on the Federal Budget and a Question-and-Answer Session in Rogers
9/18/08	George W. Bush	Remarks on the National Economy
1/20/09	Barack Obama	Inaugural Address
2/26/09	Barack Obama	Remarks on the Federal Budget
9/15/09	Barack Obama	711 - Remarks at the AFL-CIO National Convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
2/4/10	Barack Obama	80 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser

2/4/10	Barack Obama	79 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser and a Question-and-Answer Session
9/28/10	Barack Obama	806 - Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session in Albuquerque, New Mexico
1/1/11	Barack Obama	1 - The President's Weekly Address
1/25/11	Barack Obama	47 - Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union
2/24/11	Barack Obama	107 - Remarks During a Meeting With the President's Council on Jobs and Competitiveness
3/11/11	Barack Obama	168 - The President's News Conference
4/13/11	Barack Obama	252 - Remarks at George Washington University
6/13/11	Barack Obama	440 - Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Fundraiser in Miami Beach, Florida
9/27/11	Barack Obama	691 - Remarks at Abraham Lincoln High School in Denver, Colorado