

Questions for Dr. Christopher Phelan, to be Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Executive Office of the President, from Ranking Member Eliabeth Warren:

Loyalty to President Trump

1. During or leading up to the selection of your nomination, did anyone on the Trump campaign, transition team, or other closely related entity approach you about your loyalty to President-elect Trump? Did you sign a loyalty pledge or other similar oath?

Answer: No.

2. President Trump has, during his second term, stated the following, either verbally or via social media. For each statement below, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the President's statement and why.
 - a. "I'm winning a War, BY A LOT, things are going very well..."¹
 - b. "The word 'affordability' is a Democrat scam."²
 - c. "America's Elections are Rigged, Stolen, and a Laughingstock all over the World."³
 - d. "The word 'affordability' is a fake word made up by the Democrats."⁴
 - e. "I love the inflation"⁵
 - f. Trump said he "defeated" inflation⁶
 - g. Prices are "plummeting downward"⁷

¹ Truth Social Post by President Donald Trump, April 20, 2026, <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/116438577686057718>.

² C-SPAN, "President Trump Holds a Cabinet Meeting," December 2, 2025, <https://www.c-span.org/program/white-house-event/president-trump-holds-a-cabinet-meeting/669774>.

³ Truth Social Post by President Donald Trump, May 2, 2026, <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/116162644396687602>.

⁴ Post on X by Aaron Rupar, June 17, 2026, <https://x.com/atrupar/status/2067291775866220880?s=20>.

⁵ Reuters, "'I love the inflation,' Trump says as prices rise amid Iran war," Bo Erickson and Susan Heavey, June 10, 2026, <https://www.reuters.com/world/i-love-inflation-trump-says-prices-rise-amid-iran-war-2026-06-10/>.

⁶ CNBC, "Trump says inflation was 'defeated.' Some economists disagree," Greg Iacuri and Jessica Dickler, January 21, 2026, <https://www.cnbc.com/2026/01/21/trump-inflation-defeated.html>.

⁷ Wall Street Journal, "Trump Says Prices Are Falling," Jeanne Whalen, February 24, 2026, <https://www.wsj.com/livecoverage/trump-state-of-the-union-2026/card/trump-says-prices-are-falling-PpBm1rDUZl98Q5FJ60WL>.

- h. “I don’t think about Americans’ financial situation”⁸
- i. “Right now we’re much less...our energy costs are way down, our groceries are way down, [and] everything is way down.”⁹
- j. “TRUMP’S MAKING FOOD AFFORDABLE”¹⁰
- k. “BEST ECONOMY EVER...WINNING LIKE NEVER BEFORE”¹¹ // “Strongest economy we’ve ever had”¹²
- l. “I’ve won affordability.”¹³

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions. It is not the role of the CEA Chair to serve as a political commentator on statements made in public forums.

Inflation

- 3. The President promised to lower costs “on day one.”¹⁴ If confirmed as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, you would be responsible for making recommendations to the President on how to lower costs for American families. Please list at least five recommendations you would make to the President to lower costs.

Answer: If confirmed, I will advise the President on policies designed to improve the supply side of the economy, including policies to expand energy production, reduce regulatory barriers, promote competition, streamline permitting, and support workforce development. These are the types of structural reforms that can durably reduce costs for American families.

⁸ PBS News, “WATCH: ‘I don’t think about Americans’ financial situation’ when negotiating with Iran, Trump says,” Maria Ramirez Uribe, May 12, 2026, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/watch-i-dont-think-about-americans-financial-situation-when-negotiating-with-iran-trump-says>.

⁹ C-SPAN, “President Trump Hosts White House Dinner for Central Asian Countries,” November 6, 2025, <https://www.c-span.org/program/white-house-event/president-trump-hosts-white-house-dinner-for-central-asian-countries/668620>.

¹⁰ Truth Social Post by President Donald Trump, May 27, 2026, <https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/116647792196617911>.

¹¹ Instagram Post by President Donald Trump, June 21, 2026, <https://www.instagram.com/p/DZ3IZiTzU8Z/>.

¹² Forbes, “Trump Says Affordability Is ‘Fake Word’ As Inflation Hits 3-Year High,” Mary Whitfill Roeloffs, June 17, 2026, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/maryroeloffs/2026/06/17/trump-says-affordability-is-fake-word-as-inflation-hits-3-year-high/>.

¹³ Politico, “‘I’ve won affordability’: Trump previews SOTU in Georgia rally,” Aaron Pellish, February 19, 2026, <https://www.politico.com/news/2026/02/19/trump-sotu-georgia-rally-00790155>

¹⁴ CNN, “Candidate Trump vowed to make America affordable again. President Trump says it’s a ‘scam’,” Matt Egan, December 5, 2025, <https://www.cnn.com/2025/12/05/business/prices-trump-affordable-jobs>.

4. Year-over-year PCE was 2.5% in January 2025¹⁵ and 4.1% in May 2026.¹⁶ What factors have contributed to the increase in PCE inflation since January 2025?
- a. What categories have experienced the fastest acceleration in inflation since January 2025?

Answer: If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing the CEA's analytical resources to provide rigorous analysis of inflation dynamics.

5. Year-over-year core PCE was 2.6% in January 2025¹⁷ and 3.4% in May 2026.¹⁸ What factors have contributed to the increase in core PCE inflation since January 2025?

Answer: If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing the CEA's analytical resources to provide rigorous analysis of inflation dynamics.

6. Annual core goods inflation for items like clothes, furniture, and new and used cars has been elevated under President Trump. Annual core goods inflation was 1% in May 2026.¹⁹ In January 2025, that same measure was -0.07%²⁰ In fact, throughout 2024, year-over-year core goods inflation was negative; from January 2025 to March 2025, it hovered around 0; and starting in April 2025, it accelerated.²¹
- a. What factors have contributed to the increase in core goods inflation since January 2025?

Answer: If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing the CEA's analytical resources to provide rigorous analysis of inflation dynamics.

¹⁵ U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, "Personal Income and Outlays, January 2025," news release, <https://www.bea.gov/news/2025/personal-income-and-outlays-january-2025>.

¹⁶ U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, "Personal Income and Outlays, May 2026," news release, <https://www.bea.gov/news/2026/personal-income-and-outlays-may-2026>.

¹⁷ U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, "Personal Income and Outlays, January 2025," news release, <https://www.bea.gov/news/2025/personal-income-and-outlays-january-2025>.

¹⁸ U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, "Personal Income and Outlays, May 2026," news release, <https://www.bea.gov/news/2026/personal-income-and-outlays-may-2026>.

¹⁹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers: Commodities Less Food and Energy Commodities in U.S. City Average [CUSR0000SACL1E], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/CUSR0000SACL1E>.

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

7. Former CEA Chair Stephen Miran has claimed that he sees no evidence of tariffs in the inflation data.²² But he did acknowledge that core goods inflation had increased in 2025.²³ Why do you think core goods inflation is increasing?

Answer: goods prices reflect a complex interaction of factors, including global supply chain dynamics, global commodity markets, global policy decisions, and exchange rate movements. If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing the CEA's analytical resources to provide rigorous analysis of inflation dynamics.

8. Residential electricity prices have increased by more than 18% since January 2025.²⁴

- a. What factors have contributed to this increase?
- b. What recommendations would you make to the President, if confirmed, on how to bring electricity costs down?

Answer: Electricity prices reflect a complex combination of supply and demand factors. If confirmed, I will advise the President on policies to expand energy supply and improve the resilience of the nation's electrical infrastructure.

9. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, grocery inflation was 1.2% in 2024 and 2.3% in 2025.²⁵ Why did food-at-home inflation nearly double in 2025 from 2024?

- a. Did President Trump's trade policies increase food inflation? Explain.

Answer: Food prices reflect global agricultural commodity markets, weather events, and various other complex factors. If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing the CEA's analytical resources to provide rigorous analysis of this topic.

10. In late 2025, President Trump signed an executive order exempting coffee, tea, tropical fruits, beef, and other agricultural products from reciprocal tariffs.²⁶ President Trump

²² CNBC, "Miran says he doesn't see tariffs causing inflation, putting him in minority on Fed committee," Sean Conlon, September 19, 2025, <https://www.cnbc.com/2025/09/19/miran-says-he-doesnt-see-tariffs-causing-inflation-putting-him-in-minority-on-fed-committee.html>

²³ Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, "The Inflation Outlook," speech by Governor Stephen I. Miran, December 15, 2025, <https://www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/speech/miran20251215a.htm>; <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2026-03-25/fed-s-miran-says-he-raised-rate-projection-due-to-inflation-data>

²⁴ Staff calculations of EIA's Electricity Monthly Update, <https://www.eia.gov/electricity/monthly/update/end-use.php>

²⁵ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, "Food Price Outlook - Summary Findings," January 23, 2026, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/food-price-outlook/summary-findings>.

²⁶ Executive Order 14360, "Modifying the Scope of the Reciprocal Tariffs With Respect to Certain Agricultural Products," November 14, 2025, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/11/25/2025-21203/modifying-the-scope-of-the-reciprocal-tariffs-with-respect-to-certain-agricultural-products>.

indicated that the exemptions should cause prices to go down and noted that the products in question are “not competitive in this country.”²⁷ And Secretary Bessent said the tariff exemptions would “bring prices down very quickly.”²⁸

- a. Did the Trump Administration exempt agriculture products from reciprocal tariffs to lower costs for American families?
- b. Does the Trump Administration exempting agriculture products from reciprocal tariffs suggest that reciprocal tariffs prior to the exemptions were raising prices?

Answer: The President has broad authority over trade policy. Questions regarding the specific rationale for trade policy decisions should be directed to the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

11. Do you agree with each of the following statements, which are based on the federal government’s own data?²⁹

- a. Between May 2025 and May 2026, tomato prices rose 32.0%.
- b. Between May 2025 and May 2026, lettuce prices rose 24.9%.
- c. Between May 2025 and May 2026, coffee prices rose 17.5%.
- d. Between May 2025 and May 2026, ground beef prices rose 12.1%.
- e. Between May 2025 and May 2026, fish prices rose 6.5%.
- f. Between May 2025 and May 2026, citrus fruit prices rose 6.1%.
- g. Between May 2025 and May 2026, apple prices rose 5.6%.
- h. Between May 2025 and May 2026, canned fruits and vegetable prices rose 5.2%.
- i. Between May 2025 and May 2026, bread prices rose 3.5%.

²⁷ CBS News, “Trump cuts tariffs on beef, coffee, bananas and other food imports,” Joe Walsh, November 14, 2025, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/trump-cuts-tariffs-beef-coffee-bananas-and-other-food-imports/>.

²⁸ NBC News, “Bessent says 'substantial' tariff relief on coffee and bananas is coming soon,” Steve Kopack, November 12, 2025, <https://www.nbcnews.com/business/business-news/trump-bessent-coffee-tariffs-rcna243425>.

²⁹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Economic News Release, Consumer Price Index, “Table 2. Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U): U. S. city average, by detailed expenditure category,” May 2026, <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/cpi.t02.htm>.

Answer: I have no reason to dispute data published by federal statistical agencies. If confirmed, I look forward to using the CEA’s analytical resources to study and evaluate all available economic data, including data provided by the federal statistical agencies.

12. Please explain what recommendations you would make to the President, if confirmed, on how to reduce grocery costs.

Answer: If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing the CEA’s analytical resources to provide the President with rigorous analysis of this topic.

13. The administration has repeatedly blamed the Biden administration for inflation. But President Trump said in February 2026 that this is his economy now.³⁰

- a. Who is responsible for current inflation levels?
- b. At what point does this administration own the inflation numbers?

Answer: Inflation is influenced by monetary policy, fiscal policy, supply-side conditions, and global factors, many of which operate with significant lags. The inflationary episode that began in spring 2021 reflected the interaction of unprecedented fiscal expansion with the actions of the Federal Reserve. If confirmed, my role is to provide rigorous economic analysis, not political attribution.

14. Federal Reserve Chair Warsh has said he prefers to look at trimmed mean inflation.³¹

- a. Do you agree? Why or why not?
- b. What is your preferred measure of inflation?

Answer: There are merits to multiple measures of inflation, including headline PCE, core PCE, trimmed mean, and median measures. Each provides useful information about different aspects of price dynamics. If confirmed, I will examine the full suite of available data.

15. President Trump said in April 2025 that China would “probably eat the tariffs.”³² More than one year later, do you believe that President Trump’s prediction that China would “eat the tariffs” was right? Please explain.

³⁰ NBC, “Trump accepts ownership of the current economy: 'I'm very proud of it,’” Jonathan Allen, February 8, 2026, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-accepts-ownership-economy-proud-rcna257544>.

³¹ Reuters, “Fed Chair Warsh's preferred inflation measure is cooling. A big pinch of salt is advised,” Ann Saphir, May 28, 2026, <https://www.reuters.com/markets/us/fed-chair-warshs-preferred-inflation-measure-is-cooling-big-pinch-salt-is-2026-05-28/>.

³² The Hill, “Trump says China ‘probably will eat those tariffs,’” Tara Suter, April 29, 2025, <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/5273940-trump-china-tariff-policies/>.

- a. If not, who's paying for the tariffs?

Answer: The economic incidence of tariffs depends on various factors, including the relative elasticities of supply and demand. These factors vary across products and trading partners. If confirmed, I will provide the President with rigorous analysis of tariff incidence.

16. Several studies have concluded that Trump's chaotic tariffs have contributed to higher prices for consumers. Goldman Sachs found that U.S. consumers are absorbing roughly 55% of costs from the President's tariffs.³³ Research from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York concluded that American businesses and consumers have paid for 90% of Trump's tariffs.³⁴ The Congressional Budget Office published estimates that only 5% of Trump's tariffs was absorbed by foreign exporters—and that, of the share absorbed in the United States, 70% would be passed on to American consumers in the near term.³⁵ And the non-partisan Tax Foundation estimated that Trump's tariffs cost the average American household \$1,000 in 2025 alone.³⁶

- a. Do you agree with the overwhelming number of studies that show families are paying for the tariffs? Explain.

Answer: Academic literature on tariff incidence is evolving and the results vary depending on methodology, time horizon, and the specific tariff in question. If confirmed, I commit to examining all available evidence rigorously and providing the President with my best analysis. Recent research by my former colleagues at the Minneapolis Fed indicates that the tariffs are not significantly contributing to goods inflation.

17. Has President Trump's war in Iran increased inflation?

Answer: Geopolitical events can affect energy markets and through them broader price levels. If confirmed, I look forward to providing rigorous analysis of these dynamics to the President.

18. Has President Trump's war in Iran increased gas prices?

³³ NBC News, "U.S. consumers bearing more than half the cost of tariffs so far, Goldman Sachs says," Rob Wile, October 13, 2025, <https://www.nbcnews.com/business/consumer/us-consumers-bearing-half-cost-tariffs-far-goldman-sachs-says-rcna237283>.

³⁴ Federal Reserve Bank of New York, "Who Is Paying for the 2025 U.S. Tariffs?," Mary Amiti, Chris Flanagan, Sebastian Heise, and David E. Weinstein, February 12, 2026, <https://libertystreeteconomics.newyorkfed.org/2026/02/who-is-paying-for-the-2025-u-s-tariffs/>; Bloomberg, "Hassett Attacks NY Fed for Study on Tariff Burden Hitting US," Jonnelle Marte, February 18, 2026, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2026-02-18/hassett-attacks-ny-fed-for-study-on-tariffs-hurting-us-companies-mls3r5yi>.

³⁵ Congressional Budget Office, "The Budget and Economic Outlook: 2026 to 2036," February 2026, <https://www.cbo.gov/publication/62105>.

³⁶ Tax Foundation, "Tariff Tracker: Impact of Trump Tariffs & Trade War by the Numbers," Erica York and Alex Durante, February 23, 2026, <https://taxfoundation.org/research/all/federal/trump-tariffs-trade-war/>.

Answer: The price of barrel of oil is currently below the level it was when the President took office (January 2025). If confirmed I look forward to providing rigorous analysis of energy market dynamics to the President.

19. Gas prices increased more than 21% in the first month after Trump began his war in Iran—the highest one-month increase on record.³⁷ And that sent energy prices rising nearly 11% in March, the highest monthly increase since 2005.³⁸ In response to that data, President Trump said, “we’re having some fake inflation because of the fuel, the energy prices.”³⁹ Do you agree with President Trump that the increase in energy prices is “fake inflation”?

Answer: The price of barrel of oil is currently below the level it was when the President took office (January 2025). If confirmed I look forward to providing rigorous analysis of energy market dynamics to the President.

20. About one-third of the world’s fertilizer inputs transit through the Strait of Hormuz.⁴⁰ What are the consequences of that amount of fertilizer being taken off the global market?
- a. Does it raise fertilizer costs?
 - b. Does it reduce fertilizer supply?
 - c. Does it increase grocery costs?

Answer: Disruptions to global commodity flows can affect input costs in agriculture. If confirmed, I look forward to reviewing the full range of factors affecting food prices and supply chain dynamics.

21. NEC Director Kevin Hassett recently said, “You’ve got gas in a truck moving stuff to Walmart, and the gas is more expensive. So the stuff at Walmart has to be more expensive, too.”⁴¹ Do you agree with Director Hassett that the war is raising costs on consumer goods that are transported by freight?

³⁷ CNN, “US inflation tripled last month on record spike in gas prices,” April 10, 2026, <https://www.cnn.com/2026/04/10/business/live-news/us-cpi-march-inflation-iran>

³⁸ Forbes, “Iran War’s Inflation Impact: Energy Prices Surged In Largest Gain Since 2005,” Ty Roush, April 10, 2026, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/tylerroush/2026/04/10/iran-wars-inflation-impact-consumer-prices-skyrocketedlast-month-as-fuel-costs-surged/>.

³⁹ New York Times, “In Las Vegas, Trump Brushes Off Rising Fuel Prices,” Chris Cameron, April 16, 2026, <https://www.nytimes.com/2026/04/16/us/politics/trump-taxes-fuel-las-vegas.html>.

⁴⁰ NBC News, “The Iran war’s looming economic threat: Higher food prices,” Allie Canal, March 13, 2026, <https://www.nbcnews.com/business/consumer/iran-war-fertilizer-prices-food-rcna263336>.

⁴¹ CNBC, Squawk Box, “Watch CNBC’s full interview with White House National Economic Council Director Kevin Hassett,” June 29, 2026, <https://www.cnbc.com/video/2026/06/29/watch-cnbc-full-interview-with-white-house-national-economic-council-director-kevin-hassett.html>.

Answer: Energy costs are an input to transportation, which is an input to the cost of consumer goods. This can impact relative prices. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Director Hassett and the President's economic team to study these issues.

22. Mortgage rates had fallen below 6% in February 2026.⁴² Today they are nearly 6.5%.⁴³ What has caused mortgage rates to increase by nearly a half percentage point since February 2026?

Answer: Mortgage rates reflect expectations about future monetary policy, inflation, economic growth, and the supply and demand for Treasury securities. If confirmed, I look forward to advising the President on housing market conditions.

23. The Producer Price Index rose to 6.5% in May 2026—a three and a half year high.⁴⁴ What's contributing to the surge in wholesale prices?

a. Do you believe that will spill over into consumer prices and inflation? Explain.

Answer: Producer prices reflect the prices received by domestic producers. The degree to which wholesale price changes pass through to consumer prices depends on competitive dynamics, demand conditions, and business margins. If confirmed, I will monitor these dynamics closely.

Labor Market

24. Annual job growth in 2025 was the weakest since 2003, outside of recessions.⁴⁵ What policies contributed to the labor market's weakened growth in 2025?

Answer: Labor market dynamics reflect multiple factors including demographic and immigration trends. If confirmed, I will provide the President with thorough analysis of labor market conditions.

25. Federal Reserve Chair Jerome Powell said that “if you adjust what has been the trend job creation over the past...six months...effectively there's zero net job creation in the private sector.”⁴⁶ Do you agree? Explain.

⁴² Wall Street Journal, “Mortgage Rates Today, February 26, 2026: Rates Fall Under 6%,” Miranda Marquit, February 26, 2026, <https://www.wsj.com/buyside/personal-finance/mortgage/mortgage-rates-today-2-26-2026>

⁴³ Freddie Mac, “Mortgage Rates,” June 25, 2026, <https://www.freddiemac.com/pmms>

⁴⁴ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Economic News Release, Producer Price Index, “Table A. Monthly and 12-month percent changes in selected final demand price indexes, seasonally adjusted,” May 2026, https://www.bls.gov/news.release/archives/ppi_06112026.htm.

⁴⁵ Bloomberg, “US Wraps Up Worst Non-Recession Year for Hiring Since 2003,” Molly Smith and Chris Anstey, February 11, 2026, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2026-02-11/us-wraps-up-worst-non-recession-year-for-hiring-since-2003>.

⁴⁶ Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, “Transcript of Chair Powell’s Press Conference,” March 18, 2026, <https://www.federalreserve.gov/mediacenter/files/FOMCpresconf20260318.pdf>

Answer: According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, over the past 6 months, private sector payrolls have risen by 530K jobs.

26. Experts have warned that the breakeven employment growth rate may be closer to zero as a result of Trump's immigration policies and aging population.⁴⁷

a. What do you think the breakeven rate is?

b. Do you think a lower breakeven rate affects wage growth and job mobility?

Answer: The breakeven employment rate reflects the number of jobs required to keep the unemployment rate steady and is affected by both immigration and demographic factors. The status of the breakeven rate is the subject of ongoing research. The Dallas Federal Reserve has published estimates that indicate the current breakeven employment rate may be lower than it has been in the past. I am not aware of evidence that the breakeven rate directly affects wage growth and job mobility. If confirmed I look forward to providing the President with rigorous analysis of labor market dynamics.

27. The President's immigration policies are reducing labor supply.⁴⁸ If confirmed as CEA Chair, how would you evaluate the effect of the President's immigration policies on labor market dynamics and employment outcomes?

Answer: If confirmed, I will use rigorous economic analysis to evaluate the effects of all policies on the labor market, including immigration policy. My role is to advise the President on the economic impact of proposed and enacted policies.

28. In a speech last year, Federal Reserve Governor Waller said, "Tariff effects on households and businesses also will weigh on employment. All of this is consistent with what my business contacts are telling me, which is that they are postponing investment and hiring because of the uncertainty about how tariffs will affect their input costs and demand for their products."⁴⁹ And research from the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City estimates that job growth may have been 19,000 higher per month if not for Trump's sweeping tariffs.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, "Declining Immigration and an Aging Population Are Reducing Breakeven Employment Growth," Yusuf Mercan, October 15, 2025, <https://www.kansascityfed.org/research/economic-bulletin/declining-immigration-and-an-aging-population-are-reducing-breakeven-employment-growth/>.

⁴⁸ National Bureau of Economic Research, NBER Working Paper Series, "Labor Market Impacts of ICE Activity in Trump 2.0," Elizabeth Cox and Chloe N. East, April 2026, <https://doi.org/10.3386/w35129>.

⁴⁹ Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, "Let's Get On With It," Speech by Governor Waller, August 28, 2025, <https://www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/speech/waller20250828a.htm>.

⁵⁰ Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, "Higher Tariffs Might Have Created Headwinds to Employment Growth in 2025," Johannes Matschke and Mariia Dzholos, December 12, 2025, <https://www.kansascityfed.org/research/economic-bulletin/higher-tariffs-might-have-created-headwinds-to-employment-growth-in-2025/>.

- a. Do you agree that Trump's chaotic tariffs deterred businesses from hiring? Please provide empirical evidence to support your claim.

Answer: Policy uncertainty from any source can affect business investment and hiring decisions. The President's trade agenda addresses both economic and national security concerns that should be taken into account when evaluating the long-term strength and stability of the American economy. If confirmed, I will provide the President with thorough analysis of these labor market and trade dynamics.

29. The President recently said that quote, "African American unemployment is now doing better than it's ever done."⁵¹ Do you agree with him? Explain.

Answer: If confirmed, I will rely on data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to assess labor market conditions across all demographic groups.

30. Compared to January 2025, 315,000 fewer Black Americans are employed.⁵² What policies have contributed to fewer Black Americans being employed under President Trump? Explain.

Answer: If confirmed, my team will rely on data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to assess labor market conditions across all demographic groups.

31. Youth unemployment is surging. Workers ages 16–19 saw their unemployment rate jump 2.9 percentage points under President Trump—from 11.8% in January 2025 to 14.7% in April 2026.⁵³ For Black teens, the picture is even grimmer: unemployment has more than doubled since Trump took office, from 9.8% to a staggering 23.9%.⁵⁴ Job openings remain low,⁵⁵ and young workers—often the first casualties of weakening labor demand⁵⁶—are bearing the brunt.

⁵¹ CNN, "Even Trump says he doesn't know 'where the hell' his own false claim about Black unemployment came from," Daniel Dale, June 6, 2026, <https://www.cnn.com/2026/06/06/politics/fact-check-trump-black-unemployment>.

⁵² U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment Level - Black or African American [LNS12000006], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LNS12000006>.

⁵³ Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Unemployment Rate - 16-19 Yrs.," <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LNS14000012>.

⁵⁴ Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Unemployment Rate - 16-19 Yrs., Black or African American," <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LNS14000018>

⁵⁵ AP News, "US job openings fall to 6.5 million, fewest since 2020, as labor market remains sluggish," Paul Wiseman, February 5, 2026, <https://apnews.com/article/jobs-labor-economy-ai-layoffs-1304701fb238015de750a931c4175579>.

⁵⁶ Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, "Young Adults and the Softening U.S. Labor Market: A Warning Sign?", William M. Rodgers III and Alice L. Kassens, December 15, 2025, <https://www.stlouisfed.org/on-the-economy/2025/dec/young-adults-softening-us-labor-market-warning-sign>

- a. What are the macroeconomic impacts of higher youth unemployment?
- b. How does higher youth unemployment affect an individual's long-term economic outcomes, including education and employment?

Answer: If confirmed, my team will rely on data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to assess labor market conditions across all demographic groups.

Household Debt and Consumer Spending

32. NEC Director Hassett said, “[t]he consumer is really, really firing on all cylinders...Credit card spending is through the roof, [they’re] spending more on gasoline.”⁵⁷

- a. Do you agree with Director Hassett that the mark of a strong economy includes credit card spending being “through the roof” and people “spending more on gasoline.” Explain.

Answer: Consumer spending is one of many indicators of economic conditions. If confirmed, I will examine the full range of indicators including savings rates, real income growth, and balance sheet health to provide a comprehensive assessment for the President.

33. Secretary Bessent—in response to record low consumer sentiment—claimed that, “the consumer, while they may be sounding grim, is actually quite buoyant” and that Americans “in their heart of hearts, they feel good.”⁵⁸

- a. Do you agree with Secretary Bessent that consumers “in their heart of hearts, they feel good”? Explain.

Answer: “Hard” data, such as consumer spending data reflects the revealed preferences and forward-looking assessments of consumers. Strong consumer spending indicates that consumers have confidence in the present and future state of the economy. “Hard” and “soft” economic data (such as surveys) sometimes diverge. I prefer using “hard” data to assess households. Consumers have dealt with scarring from historically high levels of inflation under President Biden which may be impacting this “soft” data. If confirmed I will examine the full range of available data to assess household economic conditions.

⁵⁷ Yahoo! Finance, “Hassett brags that credit card spending is ‘through the roof’ — as delinquencies climb and farm bankruptcies jump 46%,” Laura Boast, May 12, 2026,

<https://finance.yahoo.com/economy/articles/hassett-brags-credit-card-spending-141500850.html>

⁵⁸ Post on X by FactPost, April 16, 2026, <https://x.com/factpostnews/status/2044855692721377418?s=20>.

34. Household debt is at record highs.⁵⁹ Delinquency rates for credit card loans, auto loans, and student loans are near their highest levels since 2010.⁶⁰

- a. Why are delinquencies on the rise?
- b. If confirmed, what recommendations would you make to the President to address rising delinquencies.

Answer: the delinquency rate on credit card loans and all consumer loans broadly at commercial banks are (as of the most recently available data) below the level they were throughout 2024 (the final year under President Biden) and one year prior (2025 Q1).

35. According to data from Moody's Analytics, the top 20% of American earners account for nearly 60% of all personal spending, up from 54% before the COVID-19 pandemic.⁶¹

- a. What are the macroeconomic implications of concentrated consumer spending?
- b. If confirmed, will you commit the CEA to conducting an analysis on the growing concentration of consumer spending among the wealthiest households and evaluate its implications for economic growth and the financial well-being of American families?

Answer: The Moody's data shows that the share of personal spending accounted for by the top 20% of American earners declined substantially under the first Trump Administration and then increased under the Biden Administration. The 2025 consumer expenditure survey has not yet been published by the BLS, so it is too early to make an assessment as to trends in the second Trump administration so far, though strong wage growth in nonsupervisory occupations and a similar policy mix to the first Trump administration is likely to again lift workers at the lower end of the distribution. If confirmed, I will examine the full range of indicators to present a comprehensive picture of the financial well-being of American families.

36. For each of the following policies, please provide an analysis of their impact on wealth and income inequality:

- a. Tax cuts enacted by the *One Big Beautiful Bill Act*.
- b. Tariff policies and their effects on consumer prices and wages.
- c. Cuts to Medicaid and SNAP (food stamps) enacted by the *One Big Beautiful Bill Act*.

⁵⁹ Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Center for Microeconomic Studies, "HOUSEHOLD DEBT AND CREDIT REPORT (Q1 2026)," <https://www.newyorkfed.org/microeconomics/hhdc>.

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ CNBC, "Wealth inequality and the 'K-shaped' economy are more striking than ever, data shows," Alex Haring, January 30, 2026, <https://www.cnbc.com/2026/01/30/wealth-inequality-k-shaped-economy-united-states-consumer-spending-trump.html>.

- d. Changes to labor and employee protections, including overtime pay requirements.
- e. Rollbacks of consumer protection regulations.
- f. Healthcare policy changes, including efforts to repeal or weaken the Affordable Care Act.
- g. Housing policy, including any changes to housing development inputs, affordable housing programs, rental assistance, or federally related mortgages.
- h. Changes to federal student loan repayment and cancellation programs, as enacted by the *One Big Beautiful Bill Act*.

Answer: The President's economic agenda is designed to promote broad-based economic growth, increase opportunity, and improve the standard of living for all Americans. If confirmed, I will provide rigorous economic analysis of policies within the CEA's purview.

Gross Domestic Product

37. The Tax Foundation projects the OBBBA will increase long-run GDP by 0.7% but increase federal deficits by \$3.3 trillion on a dynamic basis over the decade.⁶² Is 0.7% GDP growth worth \$3.3 trillion in additional debt?

Answer: CEA analysis suggests that the Working Families Tax Cuts will increase long-run GDP by 2.4 to 2.7%. CEA analysis also suggests that the full package of Trump Administration policies – including OBBBA along with deregulatory, energy, and tariff policies – will reduce primary federal deficits by \$5.5 trillion over a decade.

38. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the One Big Beautiful Bill will add \$4.7 trillion to the national debt through 2035.⁶³ You have suggested that the US shouldn't run deficits during periods of economic strength.⁶⁴ What are the risks of passing tax legislation that adds \$4.7 trillion to the national debt?

Answer: CEA analysis suggests that the full package of Trump Administration policies – including the Working Families Tax Cuts along with deregulatory, energy, and tariff policies – will reduce the extent to which the U.S. is running deficits.

⁶² Tax Foundation, "One Big Beautiful Bill Act Tax Policies: Details and Analysis," Garrett Watson et al., February 10, 2026, <https://taxfoundation.org/research/all/federal/big-beautiful-bill-senate-gop-tax-plan/>.

⁶³ Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, "OBBA Dynamic Score Comes In at \$4.7 Trillion," March 11, 2026, <https://www.crfb.org/blogs/obbba-dynamic-score-comes-47-trillion>

⁶⁴ Barron's, "Trump Names His Next Chief Economist. Who is Christopher Phelan?," Emily Russell, April 24, 2026, <https://www.barrons.com/articles/trump-christopher-phelan-council-economic-advisers-miran-2804cbb6>

39. GDP growth in this administration has been uneven, with some quarters being negative. Why has GDP growth been volatile under this Administration? Explain.

Answer: Quarterly GDP growth can be affected by temporary factors including inventory dynamics, trade flows, and statistical noise. Further, Q4 2025 GDP was impacted by the longest government shutdown on record which mechanically decreased the quarterly reading by ~1.0 p.p. directly from government payrolls with further effects from government contracts and other spillovers. If confirmed, I will focus on the trajectory of underlying economic fundamentals and look forward to utilizing CEA's analytical resources to provide rigorous analysis of the economy.

40. Administration officials have regularly said that GDP growth will soon exceed 5 or 6%.⁶⁵ GDP growth was 1.2% in Q1 of this year. Do you think GDP growth will soon reach 5 or 6%? What has to change from Q1 for that to happen?

Answer: the latest (third estimate) of GDP growth by the Bureau of Economic analysis shows that the economy expanded at a 2.1% annual rate in 2026 Q1 not 1.2%. The President's pro-growth policies, including tax reform, deregulation, and expansion energy production, are designed to lift America's economic potential. If confirmed, I will provide the President with forecasts grounded in rigorous economic analysis.

One Big Beautiful Bill and Tax Policy

41. OBBBA will reduce SNAP participation by 2.4 million people per month over the decade.⁶⁶ Those figures represent people losing food assistance. Meanwhile, the NY Fed has found that food insecurity is increasing.⁶⁷

- a. What are the economic consequences of increases to food insecurity?
- b. If confirmed, what recommendation would you make to the President to address growing food insecurity?
- c. Do you think that SNAP can help alleviate food insecurity?

Answer: Economic growth and employment are the most durable paths to food security for American families. Work requirements help connect able-bodied adults with the labor market,

⁶⁵ Reuters, "Lutnick expects US first quarter growth above 5%, warns EU against retaliation," January 20, 2026, <https://www.reuters.com/business/davos/lutnick-expects-us-first-quarter-growth-above-5-warns-eu-against-retaliation-2026-01-20/>

⁶⁶ Center for American Progress, "The Big 'Beautiful' Bill's Historic SNAP Cuts Could Lead To 70,000 Avoidable Deaths," press release, <https://www.americanprogress.org/press/release-the-big-beautiful-bills-historic-snap-cuts-could-lead-to-70000-avoidable-deaths/>.

⁶⁷ CNBC, "Low-income households face 'remarkable' rise in food insecurity in K-shaped economy: New York Fed," Jessica Dickler, May 27, 2026, <https://www.cnbc.com/2026/05/27/new-york-fed-food-insecurity-worsens-amid-k-shaped-economic-divide.html>.

improving long-term outcomes. If confirmed, I will advise the President on policies that promote both economic growth and the well-being of American families

42. Congressional Republicans are discussing a third reconciliation bill this Congress. If confirmed, what tax policy priorities would you recommend the President advocate for in such a bill?

Answer: If confirmed, I will advise the President on tax policies that promote economic growth, increase investment, and improve the standard of living for American families. I defer to the President on the specifics of his legislative agenda.

Health Care

43. Between May 2025 and May 2026, medical care service costs rose 3.6%.⁶⁸ The 154 million people with employer-sponsored health insurance faced the largest premium increase in over a decade, with costs for family coverage reaching nearly \$27,000 in 2025—up six percent from 2024—and no relief in sight.⁶⁹ After Congressional Republicans failed to extend the *Affordable Care Act's* (ACA's) enhanced premium tax credits, health insurance premiums more than doubled, on average, for the 24 million Americans who get their health insurance through the ACA marketplaces.⁷⁰ As a result, health insurance premiums are now more expensive than the mortgage for many families.⁷¹ And the monthly Medicare Part B premium jumped 9.7% from 2025 to 2026, sending monthly premiums above \$200 for the first time.⁷²

⁶⁸ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Economic News Release, Consumer Price Index, “Table 2. Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U): U. S. city average, by detailed expenditure category,” January 2026, <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/cpi.t02.htm>.

⁶⁹ The Century Foundation, “It’s Official: Americans Will Pay Much More for All Types of Health Coverage in 2026—Including Medicare,” Jeanne Lambrew, November 19, 2025, <https://tcf.org/content/commentary/its-official-americans-will-pay-much-more-for-all-types-of-health-coverage-in-2026-including-medicare/>; Kaiser Family Foundation, “Annual Family Premiums for Employer Coverage Rise 6% in 2025, Nearing \$27,000, with Workers Paying \$6,850 Toward Premiums Out of Their Paychecks,” news release, October 22, 2025, <https://www.kff.org/health-costs/annual-family-premiums-for-employer-coverage-rise-6-in-2025-nearing-27000-with-workers-paying-6850-toward-premiums-out-of-their-paychecks/>.

⁷⁰ Kaiser Family Foundation, “ACA Marketplace Premium Payments Would More than Double on Average Next Year if Enhanced Premium Tax Credits Expire,” Justin Lo, Larry Levitt, Jared Ortaliza, and Cynthia Cox, September 30, 2025, <https://www.kff.org/health-costs/2025-employer-health-benefits-survey/https://www.kff.org/affordable-care-act/aca-marketplace-premium-payments-would-more-than-double-on-average-next-year-if-enhanced-premium-tax-credits-expire/>.

⁷¹ Wall Street Journal, “Health Insurance Is Now More Expensive Than the Mortgage for These Americans,” Rachel Louise Ensign, January 26, 2026, <https://www.wsj.com/health/healthcare/aca-health-insurance-cost-subsidies-expire-37a595a9>.

⁷² The Century Foundation, “It’s Official: Americans Will Pay Much More for All Types of Health Coverage in 2026—Including Medicare,” Jeanne Lambrew, November 19, 2025, <https://tcf.org/content/commentary/its-official-americans-will-pay-much-more-for-all-types-of-health-coverage-in-2026-including-medicare/>.

- a. If confirmed, what recommendations would you make to the President to lower health care costs?

Answer: Healthcare costs reflect systemic inefficiencies including regulatory complexity, lack of price transparency, and insufficient competition. The president has taken several steps to lower prices, increase transparency in the cost of medication and treatment, and increase competition. If confirmed, I will advise the President on further market-based reforms to promote competition, transparency, and innovation in health care delivery.

Education

44. The nation is currently experiencing an unprecedented wave of student loan defaults and delinquencies, which has resulted in widespread credit score declines and corresponding losses of access to credit for affected borrowers.⁷³

- a. What are the macroeconomic effects of rising student loan defaults and delinquencies? Explain.
- b. What are the downstream consequences of credit score declines, including reduced access to credit, for affected borrowers? Explain.
- c. If confirmed, how would you recommend to the President to mitigate these economic impacts? Explain.

Answer: The Working Families Tax Cuts imposed various reforms meant to improve the sustainability of the federal student loan program, borrower debt loads, and to reduce the likelihood of default.

45. Student loan debt makes it harder for people to qualify for mortgages, to buy homes, to start small businesses.⁷⁴ Do you agree that Americans with student loan debt are unable to participate in the economy to the full extent that they might be able to—and that that creates a drag on the economy?

Answer: Debt obligations of any kind can affect household economic decisions. If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing the analytical resources at CEA to evaluate the effects of debt on broader economic participation.

Child Care

⁷³ New York Times, “Record Number of Student Loan Borrowers Are in Delinquency and Default,” Stacy Cowley, March 20, 2026, <https://www.nytimes.com/2026/03/20/business/student-loan-delinquency-default.html>.

⁷⁴ Education Data Initiative, “Student Loan Debt & Homeownership,” Melanie Hanson, June 5, 2026, <https://educationdata.org/student-loan-debt-homeownership>

46. Do you agree that child care shortages and the inability of working families to afford adequate child care represent a hardship for families and a barrier to economic growth?

Answer: If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing the analytical resources at CEA to evaluate the effects of debt on broader economic participation.

47. Do you agree that increasing access to child care increases labor market participation?

Answer: If confirmed, I look forward to leveraging CEA's analytical resources to investigate this topic and to provide the President with advice that balances the costs and benefits of both formal and informal access to childcare options and its implications for the broader economy.

48. Do you agree that the private sector on its own under-provides high quality child care?

Answer: If confirmed, I look forward to leveraging CEA's analytical resources to investigate this topic.

49. What do you think is the best way the government can help families afford high quality child care and ensure equitable investment in all children?

Answer: If confirmed, I look forward to leveraging CEA's analytical resources to investigate this topic.

Social Security

50. The annual Economic Reports of the President have regularly commented on the demographic challenges facing Social Security.⁷⁵ Though recent reports have stopped short of calling for specific reforms to address the slated shortfalls, the recent Trustees report predicting insolvency for the OASI Trust Fund in 2032 have added new pressure to address these concerns.⁷⁶ Additionally, Republicans have floated a variety of cuts to Social Security including raising the retirement age,⁷⁷ means testing benefits,⁷⁸ or privatizing the program.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Economic Report of the President, Chapter 3, White House Council of Economic Advisers, March 2024 <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/ERP-2024/pdf/ERP-2024-chapter3.pdf>; Economic Report of the President, Chapter 9, White House Council of Economic Advisers, April 2026, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2026/04/ERP-2026-9.-Work-Means-More-Than-Making-a-Living_Labor-Challenges-and-Opportunity.pdf.

⁷⁶ Social Security Administration, "A Summary of the 2026 Annual Reports," <https://www.ssa.gov/oact/trsum/>.

⁷⁷ Republican Study Committee FY 2025 Budget Proposal, "Fiscal Sanity to Save America," March 20, 2024, p. 108, https://hern.house.gov/uploadedfiles/final_budget_including_letter_word_doc-final_as_of_march_25.pdf.

⁷⁸ *Id.*, p. 36.

⁷⁹ Morningstar, "Republicans are 'secretly' using 'Trump accounts' to privatize Social Security. It's a lousy idea," Brett Arends, May 16, 2026, <https://www.morningstar.com/news/marketwatch/20260516161/republicans-are-secretly-using-trump-accounts-to-privatize-social-security-its-a-lousy-idea>.

- a. What role should Social Security play in American's retirement plans?
- b. If confirmed, would you recommend any of the following actions to address the solvency of Social Security: raising the retirement age, means testing benefits, or limiting access to auxiliary benefits?

Answer: Social Security is a vital program that provides a foundation of income security for American retirees. The President has been clear about his commitment to protecting Social Security.

51. You have previously written about the role that health care played in an individual's decision of when to retire.⁸⁰ Do you support raising the Medicare age to address social security's solvency issues?

Answer: The President has committed to protecting Social Security and Medicare. If confirmed, I will follow the President's direction on these matters.

52. Americans who retire are facing high costs for medications, medical care, long term care, food, and energy. These costs come as 40% of Americans do not have a retirement account and 69% of nonretirees worry they have insufficient funds to retire.⁸¹ These fears are not unfounded as the number of seniors living in poverty, under the supplemental poverty rate, has increased to 14.2% (or about one in seven) following a decrease during COVID.⁸²

- a. If confirmed, what would you recommend to the President for how he should address American's concerns about being able to afford to retire.

Answer: Economic growth is the most effective means of improving retirement security for all Americans. If confirmed, I will advise the President on policies that promote growth, reduce the cost of living, and strengthen the foundations of retirement security.

Artificial Intelligence

⁸⁰ Econometrica, "How Social Security and Medicare Affect Retirement Behavior In a World of Incomplete

Markets," John Rust and Christopher Phelan, July 1997,
https://editorialexpress.com/jrust/crest_lectures/rust_phelan.pdf

⁸¹ Gallup, "What Percentage of Americans Have a Retirement Savings Account?" June 2, 2025,
<https://news.gallup.com/poll/691202/percentage-americans-retirement-savings-account.aspx>; Gallup, "Nonretirees' Worry Remains High," Megan Brenan, May 6, 2026,
<https://news.gallup.com/poll/709319/nonretirees-worry-remains-high.aspx>.

⁸² KFF, "How Many Older Adults Live in Poverty?" Nancy Ochieng et al., May 21, 2024,
<https://www.kff.org/medicare/how-many-older-adults-live-in-poverty/>.

53. How is Artificial Intelligence (AI) impacting the labor market currently?

- a. In your opinion, how will AI impact the labor market in the long-term?

Answer: AI is in the early stages of integration across the economy. Its effects on the labor market are evolving and merit ongoing study. If confirmed, I will ensure the CEA monitors these dynamics closely.

54. There are signs of weakening performance in the private credit market. These private credit lenders are significant sources of financing for the boom in the build out of hyperscalers in communities across the country. But if AI companies are unable to increase revenues they may risk default on the debt they owe to these private credit lenders, who in turn borrowed from banks and insurers.

- a. What is your understanding of the potential risk to the economy and the financial system if or when this data center boom goes bust?

Answer: Private credit consists primarily of closed-end funds which by design is not runnable. Financial stability has long been a research interest of mine. If confirmed, I look forward to utilizing CEA's analytical resources to investigate this topic.

55. Further causing concern about the use of private credit fueling data center build out is that these private credit investors aren't just using their own money to fuel these data center deals. These private credit investors are also holding people's hard earned money, like their pensions, or insurance premiums—and soon, given the President's executive order and Department of Labor rule, their retirement accounts. Hardworking Americans may end up footing the bill for these risky investments.

- a. What will you do to ensure everyday Americans are not financially harmed if or when these data center companies and the private credit investors go bust?
- b. How will you monitor the flow of institutional capital, including pensions, retirement accounts, and insurance, into alternative assets like private credit to assess the financial risks of Americans' exposure to the data center investment boom?

Answer: Monitoring systemic financial risks is primarily the responsibility of the financial regulatory agencies and FSOC. If confirmed, I will ensure that the CEA contributes economic analysis to inform these assessments when appropriate.

56. By some estimates, AI investment accounted for roughly half of overall GDP growth in the first quarter of 2026.⁸³ Do you think there are risks associated with GDP growth being highly concentrated in one sector?

Answer: There has been a notable pick up in investment since President Trump took office, and especially following the passage of the Working Families Tax Cuts. While AI is certainly a benefit it is not the only source of growth. Per the most recent (third estimate) of Q1 GDP, we are also seeing strong gains in productivity growth broadly, durable goods manufacturing and construction, along with other sectors of the economy. Recent retail sales, which have been exceeding expectations also point to a healthy consumer. Wage growth has been strong and broad based across sectors, and is up in real terms for all private sector workers since President Trump took office (when measured by average weekly earnings).

57. Do you agree that AI is driving up both investment and consumer demand? Does increasing investment and consumer demand put upward pressure or downward pressure on inflation?

Answer: Investment can expand productive capacity and thereby reduce inflationary pressure over time, even as it adds to demand in the short run. The net effect depends on the nature and timeline of the investment. If confirmed, I will provide rigorous analysis of these dynamics.

58. Administration officials and Fed Chair Kevin Warsh have argued that AI will be disinflationary and thus boost the case for interest rate cuts.⁸⁴ Do you agree with Fed Chair Warsh that AI is disinflationary? Please explain.

Answer: Investment can expand productive capacity and thereby reduce inflationary pressure over time, even as it adds to demand in the short run. The net effect depends on the nature and timeline of the investment. If confirmed, I will provide rigorous analysis of these dynamics.

Federal Reserve

59. Your predecessor served as a Fed Governor and CEA Chair simultaneously. What do you think the appropriate relationship is between the White House and Fed?

Answer: The Federal Reserve's operational independence on monetary policy is important for achieving price stability. The CEA's role is to provide economic analysis to the President. If confirmed, I will respect the distinct roles of these institutions.

60. How do you view the Fed's progress toward its 2% inflation target?

⁸³ Wall Street Journal, "AI Investment Boosted Economic Growth, While Consumers Tapped the Brakes," Harriet Torry, April 30, 2026, <https://www.wsj.com/economy/central-banking/u-s-economy-grew-at-2-rate-in-first-quarter-6e0c18cc>

⁸⁴ Forbes, "Kevin Warsh's New Playbook: AI, Productivity, And A Deflation Bet," Jon Markman, February 2, 2026, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jonmarkman/2026/02/02/kevin-warshs-new-playbook-ai-productivity-and-a-deflation-bet/>.

- a. You have argued that inflation is the responsibility of the Fed.⁸⁵ Do you believe that the Fed should raise interest rates to tame inflation?

Answer: The Federal Reserve's operational independence on monetary policy is important for achieving price stability. The CEA's role is to provide economic analysis to the President. If confirmed, I will respect the distinct roles of these institutions.

Financial Regulation

61. What do you believe are the top risks to the stability of the U.S. financial system?

Answer: Monitoring systemic financial risks is primarily the responsibility of the financial regulatory agencies and FSOC. If confirmed, I will ensure that the CEA contributes economic analysis to inform these assessments when appropriate.

62. What is CEA's role in interacting with the federal banking regulators?

Answer: Monitoring systemic financial risks is primarily the responsibility of the financial regulatory agencies and FSOC. At times, the CEA may be asked to evaluate policy proposals under consideration by the federal banking regulators to the extent that they have consequences/impacts on the broader economy. If confirmed, I will ensure that the CEA contributes economic analysis to inform these assessments when appropriate.

Social Media

63. You posted on X about child care subsidies.⁸⁶ Do you believe that child care is too expensive in America? Explain.

Answer: I posted an academic question about the rationale behind child care subsidies. The entire question of optimal child care regulation is deserving of further careful study.

64. You posted on X a thread about regulations.⁸⁷ Do you believe that employers should stop providing health insurance?

⁸⁵ U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, "Nomination Hearing," June 25, 2026, <https://www.banking.senate.gov/hearings/06/18/2026/nomination-hearing>.

⁸⁶ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, January 2, 2026, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/2007123607353426275>.

⁸⁷ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, November 17, 2025, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1990425581318471879>.

a. If so, what do you suggest to replace the current system?

Answer: That post was about the effect of a specific health insurance regulation regarding part time vs. full time workers. The entire question of optimal provision of health insurance is deserving of further careful study.

65. You posted on X about the filibuster.⁸⁸ To enact economic policies, would you provide advice on the filibuster?

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions. It is not the role of the CEA Chair to advise on politics or Senate procedures.

66. You posted on X about the killing of Charlie Kirk.⁸⁹ Do you stand by your tweet that said, “Too many on left wan[t] to kill those they disagree with”?

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions.

67. You posted on X about crime stating that “The single biggest way to help low income people in the US would be a massive crackdown on crime, including nuisance crime.”⁹⁰ Is this your current policy solution to “help low-income people”? What other ideas would you recommend to President Trump?

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions.

68. You posted on X that tariffs would only lead to a one-time increase in prices.⁹¹ Has that increase already fully taken place? How much additional inflation should we anticipate from tariffs?

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions.

⁸⁸ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, November 5, 2025, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1986099400897429937>.

⁸⁹ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, September 10, 2025, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1965888899621831140>.

⁹⁰ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, August 12, 2025, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1955261162083225777>.

⁹¹ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, July 28, 2025, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1949800129084395963>.

69. You posted on X about restricting EBT card consumption.⁹² Why do you believe that the government should continue to restrict access to prepared foods for SNAP recipients?

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions.

70. You posted on X that the civil service is unconstitutional.⁹³ Do you believe that the civil service should be abolished? What economic impacts do you anticipate as a result?

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions. It is not the role of the CEA Chair to advise on politics or constitutional law.

71. You posted a thread on X about government student loans.⁹⁴ Do you believe that the government should continue to provide student loans?

a. If not, how do you propose students finance their education?

Answer: The entire question of optimal financing of higher education is deserving of further careful study.

72. You posted on X several threads⁹⁵ about⁹⁶ Fed interest bearing accounts,⁹⁷ but that the U.S. should not adopt a CBDC. Do you still believe that everyone should have an interest bearing account at the Fed?

a. If not, what has changed?

Answer: Monitoring systemic financial risks is primarily the responsibility of the financial regulatory agencies and FSOC. If confirmed, I will ensure that the CEA contributes economic analysis to inform these assessments when appropriate.

⁹² Post on X by Christopher Phelan, March 22, 2025, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1903559479213629864>.

⁹³ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, January 24, 2025, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1882801877739610256>.

⁹⁴ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, June 27, 2023, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1673807022746116097>.

⁹⁵ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, March 21, 2023, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1638188367576809476>.

⁹⁶ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, March 12, 2023, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1634971494873964544>.

⁹⁷ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, March 16, 2023, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1636389926177767427>.

73. You posted on X about voters and cutting Medicare and Social Security.⁹⁸ Do you support cuts to Medicare or Social Security?

Answer: The President has committed to protecting Social Security and Medicare. If confirmed, I will follow the President's direction on these matters.

74. You posted several threads on X about student loan forgiveness.⁹⁹ Do you still support making universities be the loan providers to its students?

a. If not, what has changed?

Answer: The entire question of optimal financing of higher education is deserving of further careful study.

Stablecoins

75. In 2012, you argued bank deposits were inherently inflationary because an interest-bearing payments medium boosts the demand for money in circulation.¹⁰⁰ If you still believe this, do you also oppose the payment of interest on stablecoins as similarly inflationary?

Answer: the CEA has previously conducted analysis on stablecoin yield. If confirmed I look forward to utilizing the CEA's analytical resources to look further into this issue and provide economic analysis when appropriate.

Election Results

Results of Past U.S. Presidential Elections

76. During the 1796 presidential election, John Adams received 71 electoral votes.¹⁰¹ Additional candidates included Thomas Jefferson, who received 68 electoral votes; Thomas Pinckney, who received 59 electoral votes; Aaron Burr, who received 30 electoral votes; Samuel Adams, who received 15 electoral votes; Oliver Ellsworth, who received 11 electoral votes; George Clinton, who received 7 electoral votes; John Jay, who received 5 electoral votes; James Iredell, who received 3 electoral votes; Samuel Johnston, who received 2 electoral

⁹⁸ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, February 8, 2023, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1623326619052957696>.

⁹⁹ Post on X by Christopher Phelan, August 24, 2022, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1562510374963781632>; Post on X by Christopher Phelan, August 23, 2022, <https://x.com/ChrisPhelanEcon/status/1562147857557295105>.

¹⁰⁰ V.V. Chari and Christopher Phelan, "On the Social Usefulness of Fractional Reserve Banking," Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, November 10, 2013, https://www.stern.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/assets/documents/con_045214.pdf.

¹⁰¹ National Archives, "1796 Electoral College Results," <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1796>.

votes; George Washington, who received 2 electoral votes; John Henry, who received 2 electoral votes; and Charles C. Pinckney, who received 1 electoral vote.¹⁰²

- a. Did John Adams win the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did John Adams lose the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified John Adams President on February 8, 1797.

77. During the 1800 presidential election, Thomas Jefferson received 73 electoral votes.¹⁰³

Additional candidates included Aaron Burr, who received 73 electoral votes; John Adams, who received 65 electoral votes; Charles C. Pinckney, who received 64 electoral votes; and John Jay, who received 1 electoral vote.¹⁰⁴ Since Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr tied with the highest number of electoral votes, the election was decided by the House of Representatives, where 10 state delegations voted for Mr. Jefferson, 4 voted for Mr. Burr, and 2 made no choice.¹⁰⁵

- a. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Aaron Burr win the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Aaron Burr lose the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: On February 11, 1801, Congress certified the electoral vote totals and declared that no candidate had a majority. The House of Representatives then conducted a contingent election and elected Thomas Jefferson President on February 17, 1801.

¹⁰² *Id.*

¹⁰³ National Archives, “1800 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1800>.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

78. During the 1804 presidential election, Thomas Jefferson received 162 electoral votes.¹⁰⁶ His main opponent, Charles C. Pinckney, received 14.¹⁰⁷

- a. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Charles C. Pinckney win the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Charles C. Pinckney lose the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- e.

Answer: Congress certified Thomas Jefferson President on February 12, 1805.

79. During the 1808 presidential election, James Madison received 122 electoral votes.¹⁰⁸ Additional candidates included Charles C. Pinckney, who received 47 electoral votes, and George Clinton, who received 6 electoral votes.¹⁰⁹

- a. Did James Madison win the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did James Madison lose the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Charles C. Pinckney win the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Charles C. Pinckney lose the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified James Madison President on February 13, 1809.

¹⁰⁶ National Archives, “1804 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1804>.

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ National Archives, “1808 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1808>.

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

80. During the 1812 presidential election, James Madison received 128 electoral votes.¹¹⁰ His main opponent, DeWitt Clinton, received 89.¹¹¹

- a. Did James Madison win the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did James Madison lose the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did De Witt Clinton win the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did De Witt Clinton lose the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified James Madison President on February 10, 1813.

81. During the 1816 presidential election, James Monroe received 183 electoral votes.¹¹² His main opponent, Rufus King, received 34.¹¹³

- a. Did James Monroe win the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did James Monroe lose the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Rufus King win the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Rufus King lose the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- e.

Answer: Congress certified James Monroe President on February 12, 1817.

82. During the 1820 presidential election, Mr. James Monroe received 231 electoral votes.¹¹⁴ His main opponent, John Quincy Adams, received 1.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ National Archives, “1812 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1812>.

¹¹¹ *Id.*

¹¹² National Archives, “1816 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1816>.

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ National Archives, “1820 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1820>.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

- a. Did James Monroe win the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did James Monroe lose the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified James Monroe President on February 14, 1821.

83. During the 1824 presidential election, John Quincy Adams received 84 electoral votes.¹¹⁶ Additional candidates included Andrew Jackson, who received 99 electoral votes; William H. Crawford, who received 41 electoral votes; and Henry Clay, who received 37 electoral votes.¹¹⁷ Since Mr. Jackson received only a plurality of electoral votes, the election was decided by the House of Representatives, where Mr. Adams received 13 votes, Mr. Jackson received 7 votes, and Mr. Crawford received 4 votes.

- a. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: On February 9, 1825, Congress certified the electoral vote totals and declared that no candidate had a majority. The House of Representatives then conducted a contingent election and elected John Quincy Adams President.

¹¹⁶ National Archives, “1824 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1824>.

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

84. During the 1828 presidential election Andrew Jackson received 178 electoral votes.¹¹⁸ His main opponent, John Quincy Adams, received 83.¹¹⁹

- a. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Andrew Jackson President on February 11, 1829.

85. During the 1832 presidential election, Andrew Jackson received 219 electoral votes.¹²⁰ Additional candidates included Henry Clay, who received 49 electoral votes; John Floyd, who received 11 electoral votes; and William Wirt, who received 7 electoral votes.¹²¹

- a. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Henry Clay win the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Henry Clay lose the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Andrew Jackson President on February 13, 1833.

¹¹⁸ National Archives, “1828 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1828>.

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ National Archives, “1832 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1832>.

¹²¹ *Id.*

86. During the 1836 presidential election, Martin Van Buren received 170 electoral votes.¹²² Additional candidates included William H. Harrison, who received 73 electoral votes; Hugh L. White, who received 26 electoral votes; Daniel Webster, who received 14 electoral votes; and Willie P. Mangum, who received 11 electoral votes.¹²³

- a. Did Martin Van Buren win the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Martin Van Buren lose the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did William H. Harrison win the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did William H. Harrison lose the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Martin Van Buren President on February 8, 1837.

87. During the 1840 presidential election, William H. Harrison received 234 electoral votes.¹²⁴ His main opponent, Martin Van Buren, received 60.¹²⁵

- a. Did William H. Harrison win the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did William H. Harrison lose the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Martin Van Buren win the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Martin Van Buren lose the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified William Henry Harrison President on February 10, 1841.

¹²² National Archives, “1836 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1836>.

¹²³ *Id.*

¹²⁴ National Archives, “1840 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1840>.

¹²⁵ *Id.*

88. During the 1844 presidential election, James K. Polk received 170 electoral votes.¹²⁶ His main opponent, Henry Clay, received 105.¹²⁷

- a. Did James K. Polk win the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did James K. Polk lose the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Henry Clay win the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Henry Clay lose the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified James Polk President on February 11, 1845.

89. During the 1848 presidential election, Zachary Taylor received 163 electoral votes.¹²⁸ His main opponent, Lewis Cass, received 127.¹²⁹

- a. Did Zachary Taylor win the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Zachary Taylor lose the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Lewis Cass win the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Lewis Cass lose the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Zachary Taylor President on February 13, 1849.

90. During the 1852 presidential election, Franklin Pierce received 254 electoral votes.¹³⁰ His main opponent, Winfield Scott, received 42.¹³¹

¹²⁶ National Archives, “1844 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1844>.

¹²⁷ *Id.*

¹²⁸ National Archives, “1848 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1848>.

¹²⁹ *Id.*

¹³⁰ National Archives, “1852 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1852>.

¹³¹ *Id.*

- a. Did Franklin Pierce win the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Franklin Pierce lose the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Winfield Scott win the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Winfield Scott lose the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Franklin Pierce President on February 9, 1853.

91. During the 1856 presidential election, James Buchanan received 174 electoral votes.¹³² Additional candidates included John C. Frémont, who received 114 electoral votes, and Millard Fillmore, who received 8 electoral votes.¹³³

- a. Did James Buchanan win the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did James Buchanan lose the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did John C. Frémont win the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did John C. Frémont lose the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified James Buchanan President on February 11, 1857.

92. During the 1860 presidential election, Abraham Lincoln received 180 electoral votes.¹³⁴ Additional candidates included John C. Breckinridge, who received 72 electoral votes; John Bell, who received 39 electoral votes; and Stephen A. Douglas, who received 12 electoral votes.¹³⁵

- a. Did Abraham Lincoln win the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹³² National Archives, “1856 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1856>.

¹³³ *Id.*

¹³⁴ National Archives, “1860 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1860>.

¹³⁵ *Id.*

- b. Did Abraham Lincoln lose the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did John C. Breckinridge win the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did John C. Breckinridge lose the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Abraham Lincoln President on February 13, 1861.

93. During the 1864 presidential election, Abraham Lincoln received 212 electoral votes.¹³⁶ His main opponent, George B. McClellan, received 21.¹³⁷

- a. Did Abraham Lincoln win the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Abraham Lincoln lose the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did George B. McClellan win the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did George B. McClellan lose the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Abraham Lincoln President on February 8, 1865.

94. During the 1868 presidential election, Ulysses S. Grant received 214 electoral votes.¹³⁸ His main opponent, Horatio Seymour, received 80.¹³⁹

- a. Did Ulysses S. Grant win the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹³⁶ National Archives, “1864 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1864>.

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ National Archives, “1868 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1868>.

¹³⁹ *Id.* Notably, per the National Archives, “The electoral votes of Georgia were contested and the Senate and the House of Representatives could not agree whether to accept—and count—them or not.” Including Georgia, Horatio Seymour received 80 electoral votes; excluding Georgia, he received 71. Regardless, Ulysses S. Grant “was the clear winner in either case.”

- b. Did Ulysses S. Grant lose the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Horatio Seymour win the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Horatio Seymour lose the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Ulysses S. Grant President on February 10, 1869.

95. During the 1872 presidential election, Ulysses S. Grant received 286 electoral votes.¹⁴⁰ His main opponent, Horace Greeley, initially received 3 electoral votes, but they were not counted after he died on November 28, 1872, before the Electoral College could officially meet.¹⁴¹ Other candidates included Benjamin Gratz Brown, who received 18 electoral votes; Thomas A. Hendricks, who received 42 votes; Charles J. Jenkins, who received 2 votes; and David Davis, who received 1 vote.¹⁴²

- a. Did Ulysses S. Grant win the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Ulysses S. Grant lose the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Horace Greeley win the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Horace Greeley lose the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Ulysses S. Grant President on February 12, 1873.

96. During the 1876 presidential election, Rutherford B. Hayes received 185 electoral votes.¹⁴³ His main opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, received 184.¹⁴⁴

- a. Did Rutherford B. Hayes win the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁴⁰ National Archives, “1872 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1872>.

¹⁴¹ *Id.*

¹⁴² *Id.*

¹⁴³ National Archives, “1876 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1876>.

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

- b. Did Rutherford B. Hayes lose the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Samuel J. Tilden win the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Samuel J. Tilden lose the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: On March 2, 1877, Congress certified Rutherford B. Hayes President.

97. During the 1880 presidential election, James A. Garfield received 214 electoral votes.¹⁴⁵ His main opponent, Winfield S. Hancock, received 155.¹⁴⁶

- a. Did James A. Garfield win the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did James A. Garfield lose the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Winfield S. Hancock win the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Winfield S. Hancock lose the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified James A. Garfield President on February 9, 1881.

98. During the 1884 presidential election, Grover Cleveland received 219 electoral votes.¹⁴⁷ His main opponent, James G. Blane, received 182.¹⁴⁸

- a. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁴⁵ National Archives, “1880 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1880>.

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ National Archives, “1884 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1884>.

¹⁴⁸ *Id.*

- c. Did James G. Blane win the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did James G. Blane lose the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Grover Cleveland President on February 11, 1885.

99. During the 1888 presidential election, Benjamin Harrison received 233 electoral votes.¹⁴⁹ His main opponent, Grover Cleveland, received 168.¹⁵⁰

- a. Did Benjamin Harrison win the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Benjamin Harrison lose the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Benjamin Harrison President on February 13, 1889.

100. During the 1892 presidential election, Grover Cleveland received 277 electoral votes.¹⁵¹ His main opponent, Benjamin Harrison, received 145.¹⁵²

- a. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Benjamin Harrison win the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁴⁹ National Archives, “1888 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1888>.

¹⁵⁰ *Id.*

¹⁵¹ National Archives, “1892 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1892>.

¹⁵² *Id.*

- d. Did Benjamin Harrison lose the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Grover Cleveland President on February 8, 1893.

101. During the 1896 presidential election, William McKinley received 271 electoral votes.¹⁵³ His main opponent, William J. Bryan, received 176.¹⁵⁴

- a. Did William McKinley win the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did William McKinley lose the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified William McKinley President on February 10, 1897.

102. During the 1900 presidential election, William McKinley received 292 electoral votes.¹⁵⁵ His main opponent, Williams J. Bryan, received 155.¹⁵⁶

- a. Did William McKinley win the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did William McKinley lose the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁵³ National Archives, “1896 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1896>.

¹⁵⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵⁵ National Archives, “1900 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1900>.

¹⁵⁶ *Id.*

Answer: Congress certified William McKinley President on February 13, 1901.

103. During the 1904 presidential election, Theodore Roosevelt received 336 electoral votes.¹⁵⁷ His main opponent, Alton B. Parker, received 140.¹⁵⁸

- a. Did Theodore Roosevelt win the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Theodore Roosevelt lose the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Alton B. Parker win the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Alton B. Parker lose the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Theodore Roosevelt President on February 8, 1905.

104. During the 1908 presidential election, William H. Taft received 321 electoral votes.¹⁵⁹ His main opponent, William J. Bryan, received 162.¹⁶⁰

- a. Did William H. Taft win the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did William H. Taft lose the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified William H. Taft President on February 10, 1909.

¹⁵⁷ National Archives, “1904 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1904>.

¹⁵⁸ *Id.*

¹⁵⁹ National Archives, “1908 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1908>.

¹⁶⁰ *Id.*

105. During the 1912 presidential election, Woodrow Wilson received 435 electoral votes.¹⁶¹ His main opponent, Theodore Roosevelt, received 88.¹⁶²

- a. Did Woodrow Wilson win the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Woodrow Wilson lose the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Theodore Roosevelt win the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Theodore Roosevelt lose the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Woodrow Wilson President on February 12, 1913.

106. During the 1916 presidential election, Woodrow Wilson received 277 electoral votes.¹⁶³ His main opponent, Charles E. Hughes, received 254.¹⁶⁴

- a. Did Woodrow Wilson win the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Woodrow Wilson lose the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Charles E. Hughes win the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Charles E. Hughes lose the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Woodrow Wilson President on February 14, 1917.

¹⁶¹ National Archives, “1912 Electoral Vote Tally, February 12, 1913,” <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/1912-election>.

¹⁶² *Id.*

¹⁶³ National Archives, “1916 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1916>.

¹⁶⁴ *Id.*

107. During the 1920 presidential election, Warren G. Harding received 404 electoral votes.¹⁶⁵ His main opponent, James M. Cox, received 127.¹⁶⁶

- a. Did Warren G. Harding win the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Warren G. Harding lose the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did James M. Cox win the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did James M. Cox lose the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Warren G. Harding President on February 9, 1921.

108. During the 1924 presidential election, Calvin Coolidge received 382 electoral votes.¹⁶⁷ His main opponent, John W. Davis, received 136.¹⁶⁸

- a. Did Calvin Coolidge win the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Calvin Coolidge lose the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did John W. Davis win the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did John W. Davis lose the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Calvin Coolidge President on February 11, 1925.

¹⁶⁵ National Archives, “1920 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1920>.

¹⁶⁶ *Id.*

¹⁶⁷ National Archives, “1924 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1924>.

¹⁶⁸ *Id.*

109. During the 1928 presidential election, Herbert C. Hoover received 444 electoral votes.¹⁶⁹ His main opponent, Alfred E. Smith, received 87.¹⁷⁰

- a. Did Herbert C. Hoover win the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Herbert C. Hoover lose the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Alfred E. Smith win the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Alfred E. Smith lose the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Herbert Hoover President on February 13, 1929

110. During the 1932 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 472 electoral votes.¹⁷¹ His main opponent, Herbert C. Hoover, received 59.¹⁷²

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Herbert C. Hoover win the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Herbert C. Hoover lose the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Franklin D. Roosevelt President on February 8, 1933

¹⁶⁹ National Archives, “1928 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1928>.

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

¹⁷¹ National Archives, “1932 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1932>.

¹⁷² *Id.*

111. During the 1936 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 523 electoral votes.¹⁷³ His main opponent, Alfred M. Landon, received 8.¹⁷⁴

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Alfred M. Landon win the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Alfred M. Landon lose the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Franklin D. Roosevelt President on February 10, 1937

112. During the 1940 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 449 electoral votes.¹⁷⁵ His main opponent, Wendell L. Willkie, received 82.¹⁷⁶

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Wendell L. Willkie win the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Wendell L. Willkie lose the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Franklin D. Roosevelt President on January 6, 1941

¹⁷³ National Archives, “1936 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1936>.

¹⁷⁴ *Id.*

¹⁷⁵ National Archives, “1940 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1940>.

¹⁷⁶ *Id.*

113. During the 1944 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 432 electoral votes.¹⁷⁷ His main opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, received 99.¹⁷⁸

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Thomas E. Dewey win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Thomas E. Dewey lose the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Franklin D. Roosevelt President on January 6, 1945.

114. During the 1948 presidential election, Harry S. Truman received 303 electoral votes.¹⁷⁹ His main opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, received 189.¹⁸⁰

- a. Did Harry S. Truman win the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Harry S. Truman lose the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Thomas E. Dewey win the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Thomas E. Dewey lose the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Harry S. Truman President on January 6, 1949.

¹⁷⁷ National Archives, “1944 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1944>.

¹⁷⁸ *Id.*

¹⁷⁹ National Archives, “1948 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1948>.

¹⁸⁰ *Id.*

115. During the 1952 presidential election, Dwight D. Eisenhower received 442 electoral votes.¹⁸¹ His main opponent, Adlai Stevenson, received 89.¹⁸²

- a. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower win the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower lose the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Adlai Stevenson win the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Adlai Stevenson lose the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Dwight D. Eisenhower President on January 6, 1953.

116. During the 1956 presidential election, Dwight D. Eisenhower received 457 electoral votes.¹⁸³ His main opponent, Adlai Stevenson, received 73.¹⁸⁴

- a. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower win the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower lose the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Adlai Stevenson win the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Adlai Stevenson lose the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Dwight D. Eisenhower President on January 6, 1957.

¹⁸¹ National Archives, “1952 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1952>.

¹⁸² *Id.*

¹⁸³ National Archives, “1956 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1956>.

¹⁸⁴ *Id.*

117. During the 1960 presidential election, John F. Kennedy received 303 electoral votes.¹⁸⁵
His main opponent, Richard M. Nixon, received 219.¹⁸⁶

- a. Did John F. Kennedy win the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did John F. Kennedy lose the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified John F. Kennedy President on January 6, 1961.

118. During the 1964 presidential election, Lyndon B. Johnson received 486 electoral votes.¹⁸⁷
His main opponent, Barry M. Goldwater, received 52.¹⁸⁸

- a. Did Lyndon B. Johnson win the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Lyndon B. Johnson lose the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Barry M. Goldwater win the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Barry M. Goldwater lose the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Lyndon B. Johnson President on January 6, 1965.

¹⁸⁵ National Archives, “1960 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1960>.

¹⁸⁶ *Id.*

¹⁸⁷ National Archives, “1964 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1964>.

¹⁸⁸ *Id.*

119. During the 1968 presidential election, Richard M. Nixon received 301 electoral votes.¹⁸⁹
His main opponent, Hubert H. Humphrey, received 191.¹⁹⁰

- a. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Hubert H. Humphrey win the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Hubert H. Humphrey lose the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Richard M. Nixon President on January 6, 1969.

120. During the 1972 presidential election, Richard M. Nixon received 520 electoral votes.¹⁹¹
His main opponent, George S. McGovern, received 17.¹⁹²

- a. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did George S. McGovern win the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did George S. McGovern lose the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Richard M. Nixon President on January 6, 1973.

¹⁸⁹ National Archives, “1968 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1968>.

¹⁹⁰ *Id.*

¹⁹¹ National Archives, “1972 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1972>.

¹⁹² *Id.*

121. During the 1976 presidential election, Jimmy Carter received 297 electoral votes.¹⁹³ His main opponent, Gerald R. Ford, received 240.¹⁹⁴

- a. Did Jimmy Carter win the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Jimmy Carter lose the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Gerald R. Ford win the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Gerald R. Ford lose the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Jimmy Carter President on January 6, 1977.

122. During the 1980 presidential election, Ronald Reagan received 489 electoral votes.¹⁹⁵ His main opponent, Jimmy Carter, received 49.¹⁹⁶

- a. Did Ronald Reagan win the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Ronald Reagan lose the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Jimmy Carter win the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Jimmy Carter lose the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Ronald Reagan President on January 6, 1981.

123. During the 1984 presidential election, Ronald Reagan received 525 electoral votes.¹⁹⁷ His main opponent, Walter F. Mondale, received 13.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ National Archives, “1976 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1976>.

¹⁹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁹⁵ National Archives, “1980 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1980>.

¹⁹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁹⁷ National Archives, “1984 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1984>.

¹⁹⁸ *Id.*

- a. Did Ronald Reagan win the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Ronald Reagan lose the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Walter F. Mondale win the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Walter F. Mondale lose the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Ronald Reagan President on January 6, 1985.

124. During the 1988 presidential election, George Bush received 426 electoral votes.¹⁹⁹ His main opponent, Michael S. Dukakis, received 111.²⁰⁰

- a. Did George Bush win the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did George Bush lose the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Michael S. Dukakis win the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Michael S. Dukakis lose the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified George Bush President on January 6, 1979.

125. During the 1992 presidential election, Bill Clinton received 370 electoral votes.²⁰¹ His main opponent, George Bush, received 168.²⁰²

- a. Did Bill Clinton win the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁹⁹ National Archives, “1988 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1988>.

²⁰⁰ *Id.*

²⁰¹ National Archives, “1992 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1992>.

²⁰² *Id.*

- b. Did Bill Clinton lose the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did George Bush win the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did George Bush lose the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Bill Clinton President on January 6, 1993.

126. During the 1996 presidential election, Bill Clinton received 379 electoral votes.²⁰³ His main opponent, Bob Dole, received 159.²⁰⁴

- a. Did Bill Clinton win the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Bill Clinton lose the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Bob Dole win the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Bob Dole lose the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Bill Clinton President on January 6, 1997.

127. During the 2000 presidential election, George W. Bush received 271 electoral votes.²⁰⁵ His main opponent, Al Gore, received 266.²⁰⁶

- a. Did George W. Bush win the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did George W. Bush lose the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Al Gore win the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

²⁰³ National Archives, “1996 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1996>.

²⁰⁴ *Id.*

²⁰⁵ National Archives, “2000 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2000>.

²⁰⁶ *Id.*

- d. Did Al Gore lose the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified George W. Bush President on January 6, 2001.

128. During the 2004 presidential election, George W. Bush 286 electoral vote.²⁰⁷ His main opponent, John F. Kerry, received 251.²⁰⁸

- a. Did George W. Bush win the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did George W. Bush lose the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did John F. Kerry win the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did John F. Kerry lose the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified George W. Bush President on January 6, 2005.

129. During the 2008 presidential election, Barack Obama received 365 electoral votes.²⁰⁹ His main opponent, John McCain, received 173.²¹⁰

- a. Did Barack Obama win the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Barack Obama lose the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did John McCain win the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did John McCain lose the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Barack Obama President on January 6, 2009.

²⁰⁷ National Archives, “2004 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2004>.

²⁰⁸ *Id.*

²⁰⁹ National Archives, “2008 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2008>.

²¹⁰ *Id.*

130. During the 2012 presidential election, Barack Obama received 332 electoral votes.²¹¹ His main opponent, Mitt Romney, received 206.²¹²

- a. Did Barack Obama win the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Barack Obama lose the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Mitt Romney win the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Mitt Romney lose the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Barack Obama President on January 6, 2013.

131. During the 2016 presidential election, Donald J. Trump received 304 electoral votes.²¹³ His main opponent, Hillary Clinton, received 227.²¹⁴

- a. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Hillary Clinton win the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Hillary Clinton lose the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Donald J. Trump President on January 6, 2017.

132. During the 2020 presidential election, Joseph R. Biden received 306 electoral votes.²¹⁵ His main opponent, Donald J. Trump, received 232.²¹⁶

²¹¹ National Archives, “2012 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2012>.

²¹² *Id.*

²¹³ National Archives, “2016 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2016>.

²¹⁴ *Id.*

²¹⁵ National Archives, “2020 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2020>.

²¹⁶ *Id.*

- a. Did Joseph R. Biden win the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Joseph R. Biden lose the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Joseph R. Biden President on January 7, 2021.

133. During the 2024 presidential election, Donald J. Trump received 312 electoral votes.²¹⁷ His main opponent, Kamala Harris, received 226.²¹⁸

- a. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- b. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- c. Did Kamala D. Harris win the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.
- d. Did Kamala D. Harris lose the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Donald J. Trump President on January 6, 2025.

General Questions

134. President Trump has stated that he “had a great election in 2020. We won the election by a lot.”²¹⁹ Did President Trump “win the election by a lot” in 2020? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: Congress certified Donald J. Trump President on January 6, 2025.

²¹⁷ National Archives, “2024 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2024>.

²¹⁸ *Id.*

²¹⁹ New York Times, “Five Years On, Trump Keeps Pushing Jan. 6 Conspiracies,” Luke Broadwater and Dylan Freedman, January 6, 2026, <https://www.nytimes.com/2026/01/06/us/trump-impeachment-election-conspiracies.html>.

135. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a presidential election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions. It is not the role of the CEA Chairman to comment on politics.

136. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a U.S. House of Representatives election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions. It is not the role of the CEA Chairman to comment on politics.

137. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a U.S. Senate election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

Answer: The role of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors is to advise the administration on economic policy. If confirmed, I will focus on providing the President with rigorous, independent economic analysis to inform policy decisions. It is not the role of the CEA Chairman to comment on politics.

138. Does a candidate “win” a presidential election because Congress certifies them as the winner, or does Congress certify presidential election results because a candidate has already won?

Answer: The Constitution, as amended, specifies the process for determining the President of the United States.

139. Over the course of your nomination process:
- a. Did any employee of the White House, including but not limited to employees of the Presidential Personnel Office, ask you versions of any of the following questions, or questions invoking similar themes? If so, describe the question you were asked and your answer. If not, say “No.”

- i. Who won the 2020 presidential election?

Answer: No.

- ii. Did Donald Trump win the 2020 presidential election?

Answer: No.

iii. Did Joe Biden win the 2020 presidential election?

Answer: No.

iv. Did Joe Biden lose the 2020 presidential election?

Answer: No.

b. Did any employee of the White House, including but not limited to employees of the Presidential Personnel Office:

i. Show or provide you copies or examples of how other nominees have answered questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

Answer: I have followed customary practices of recent Administrations for review of my responses to these questions.

ii. Suggest how you could or should answer questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

Answer: I have followed customary practices of recent Administrations for review of my responses to these questions.

c. Did any employee of the agency to which you have been nominated ask you versions of any of the following questions, or questions invoking similar themes? If so, describe the question you were asked and your answer. If not, say "No."

i. Who won the 2020 presidential election?

Answer: No.

ii. Did Donald Trump win the 2020 presidential election?

Answer: No.

iii. Did Joe Biden win the 2020 presidential election?

Answer: No.

iv. Did Joe Biden lose the 2020 presidential election?

Answer: No.

d. Did any employee of the agency to which you have been nominated:

i. Show or provide you copies or examples of how other nominees have answered questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

Answer: I have followed customary practices of recent Administrations for review of my responses to these questions.

ii. Suggest how you could or should answer questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

Answer: I have followed customary practices of recent Administrations for review of my responses to these questions.

Committee Questionnaire

140. Under Committee rules, you are required to provide true and correct responses to all questions in the Committee's questionnaire. Can you confirm that you have provided complete, true, and correct answers to all of the Committee's questions in the questionnaire?

Answer: Yes.

141. The Committee questionnaire requires you to list all of the formal speeches, presentations (e.g., PowerPoint), and public statements you have delivered during the past ten years which are on topics relevant to the position for which you have been nominated, including dates and name of the forum you delivered the speech, presentation, or public statement. The questionnaire also requires you, if available, to provide the Committee with one digital copy of each formal speech, presentation, and public statement, and if text is no longer available, list the date, place, and organization or group to whom you made the speech or presentation. Can you confirm that you have provided complete, true, and correct disclosures in response to the Committee's requirements?

Answer: To the best of my knowledge, yes.

Nomination

142. During or leading up to the selection of your nomination, did you discuss Project 2025 with any officials directly or associated with the Heritage Foundation? If so, please explain.

Answer: No.

143. Please provide a comprehensive list of the people who approached you about joining the administration.

Answer: Pierre Yared. Stephen Miran.

144. Did any person provide advice to you, oral or written, on your responses to these questions? If so, please provide a comprehensive list of the individuals or organizations that provided assistance.

Answer: The answers are my own, but my responses to these questions were reviewed under the customary practices of recent administrations, both Republican and Democratic.

Congressional Oversight and Whistleblower Protection

145. If confirmed, will you commit to making yourself available to provide testimony (including but not limited to briefings, hearings, and transcribed interviews) to the

Committee on any matter within its jurisdiction, upon the request of either the Chair or Ranking Member?

Answer: If confirmed, I will work with the Committee to make myself available as appropriate.

146. If confirmed, will you commit to fully complying with all information requests from me and responding to those requests in a timely manner?

Answer: If confirmed, I will respond to requests for information as appropriate.

147. If confirmed, do you intend to respond to congressional information requests differently depending on who is making the request?

Answer: If confirmed, I will respond to requests for information as appropriate.

148. If confirmed, will you commit to complying with any federal protections for whistleblowers?

Answer: If confirmed, I will comply with all applicable federal laws.

Public Integrity

149. Will you commit to recuse yourself from any matters involving your former employers or clients for 4 years while serving as a Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers?

Answer: I commit to following the law as it pertains to government ethics and complying with the agreement I have signed with the Office of Government Ethics.

150. For at least 4 years after leaving the CEA, will you not seek employment or compensation from (1) any entity that you personally and substantially interacted with in your role at the CEA and (2) from any entity that lobbies the CEA?

Answer: I commit to following the law as it pertains to government ethics and complying with the agreement I have signed with the Office of Government Ethics.