

Battle Lines:

Reconsidering Power Within the White House by Tracking Prose

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Abstract

The presidency is generally viewed as a single institution united behind a shared perspective and focused on a single mission. However, the stoic exterior of the White House conceals a variety of political, personal, and institutional cleavages. While these internal divisions usually can not be observed, it may be possible to reveal them through an examination of changes to drafts of presidential speeches.

This study uses DICTION software produce a quantitative analysis of changes in presidential speeches as they move through the drafting and vetting process. Drafts of presidential addresses from the archives of the Roosevelt and Reagan presidential libraries are used to illustrate the different perspectives within the White House.

Battle Lines*

“This is where my heart was plucked from my breast and dragged along West Exec, hauled along every pebble and pothole. This was my Heartbreak Hill, my Hanoi Hilton, this was... the staffing process.”¹

Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan

Viewed from the outside, the presidency often appears to be a monolithic organization clearly focused around the views and wishes of the president. Occasionally we get a glimpse of the factions, battling behind the scenes through memoirs or leaks to the media. Generally, scholars study the presidency as a single institution, occasionally acknowledging the political and personal differences within the institution but dismissing these battles as aberrations caused by personal ambition or political incompetence rather than features of the basic institution.

The study of the writing of presidential speeches allows us to look inside the gates of the White House to see conflicts developed and resolved. Jeff Tulis has described the speechwriting office as “an institutional locus of policy making in the White House, not merely annex to policymaking,”² and Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan confirmed this view, saying “speechwriting in the Reagan White House was where the philosophical, ideological, and political tensions of the administration got worked out.”³ While most speechwriters are not directly involved in developing public policy (although speechwriters Ted Sorensen and Mike Gerson served as key policy advisors) and political strategy, they work with those offices through the process. This makes the speechwriting and revision process a unique opportunity to watch a broad range of political forces at work inside the White House. Few people in government witness the interaction of so many forces as the ideas behind public policy are fleshed out. The speech clearance process has given many political and institutional interests places at the editing table and can teach us a great deal about the differences between these interests.

While the speechwriting process is well-placed to teach us about White House politics, the paper trail it leaves makes it a unique opportunity for scholars. The policy debates and political strategy sessions in the White House are most often meetings in which little may be written down, the speech writing and

drafting process requires that ideas be put to paper at different points in time. This trail of drafts traces the intellectual and political evolution of the administration's thinking and allows us to see differences between individuals and offices often not reported.

This paper is part of a larger study of presidential speechwriting from FDR to the present. This study use changes to speech drafts from the Roosevelt and Reagan administrations to construct a crude rhetorical seismograph to detect and measure institutional conflict within the White House. While results from every administration studied are not complete, the results presented here demonstrate that the White House is not of one mind, supporting Terry Moe's description of the presidency as "a maze of supporting expectations and relations."⁴ It appears that the modern presidency is composed of many offices with similar, but not identical perspectives and goals. While the differences within the White House walls may be relatively subtle, the lessons learned from these struggles are valuable in forming a more realistic view of the presidency.

The importance of speechwriting and clearance

Presidential communication has become the central focus of media coverage and scholarly treatments of the presidency. Whether described as the "bully pulpit" or "going public" citizens, reporters, and scholars increasingly evaluate presidents based on their public performances. Presidential speech has been the focus of some of the most influential books on the presidency. Jeff Tulis argues in The Rhetorical Presidency that presidential appeals for public support have fundamentally transformed the presidency and undone the intention of the authors of the Constitution.⁵ In Going Public, Sam Kernell makes a similar claim that presidential appeals to the public for support have undermined the compromise and bargaining needed to make representative democracy work well.⁶ Lawrence Jacobs and Robert Shapiro have argued that presidents have increasingly engaged in a strategy that they label "crafted speech" that has subtly undermined representation.⁷ Despite George Edwards' recent book that argued that the impact of presidential speech is often overstated⁸ interest in presidential rhetoric remains high.

While presidential speeches are one of the most visible elements of president power, surprisingly little study has focused on the process behind the president's words. Even the White House press corps that hangs on every presidential phrase shows little interest in writers who helped draft those phrases. While the connection between presidential rhetoric and presidential power makes the crafting of presidential speech significant on its own, we can also examine the speechwriting process as a window studying power within in the modern White House. As William Muir, a speechwriter for Vice President Bush noted, "Within the quiet and the unity of the presidency, the circulation of a draft speech aroused strong-willed individuals. Those who knew what mattered in government converged on speeches."⁹

Speechwriting presents a unique opportunity to the White House for several reasons. As Karen Hult and Charles Walcott point out, "presidential speeches can be catalysts for the formulation of public policy and political strategy, compelling presidents and their advisers to make policy decisions in order to be able to articulate them."¹⁰ Often there is nothing to fight over until a speech is produced. Drafts of presidential addresses are often the first time specific positions are committed to paper and circulated throughout the administration. George W. Bush's communications director Karen Hughes noted that speechwriting "forces the policy decisions to be finalized."¹¹ Ideas may be tossed around by individuals and offices within the White House, but it is not until those ideas are prepared for presidential utterance that they become the position of the White House. This often makes speechwriters witnesses to the differences within the administration because of their role in reconciling different versions of proposed speeches.

Speechwriting sometimes becomes an intense battlefield because the president will be spelling out broad principals that once publicly stated, cannot be easily reversed. It is for this reason that speechwriters often become, in the words of one Reagan speechwriter, "the referee among warring factions."¹²

In addition, the speechwriting process itself can generate policy ideas as the need for inspiring language alters policy. Franklin Roosevelt once took a pencil and raised the number of planes that he was calling for in a speech draft. When Harry Hopkins questioned why the President was now calling for

production beyond what military and production advisors had given, Roosevelt remarked: “Oh, the production people can do it if they really try.”¹³ The significance of presidential phrasing goes beyond the response of the public because presidential speech plays an important role in the policy process as offices throughout the government pour over presidential comments searching for an endorsement of their office’s priorities. As Bradley Patterson eloquently puts it, “A slight verbal nuance could set hundreds of thousands applauding but may commit hundreds of millions in resources.”¹⁴

The battles over lines in presidential speech may be the best place to study White House politics because they draw out the full array of distinct personal, bureaucratic, interest group, and even geographic perspectives. While they often present a unified front to the outside world, within the walls of the White House, these forces feel free to debate among themselves. While generally out of sight, these battles can be unearthed in the changes to drafts of presidential speeches stored in the archives.

The Speechwriting Process in the White House

Calvin Coolidge noted that: “Everything that the President does potentially at least is of such great importance that he must be constantly on guard.”¹⁵ One presidential speechwriter recoiled at the objections to the scripting of presidents. “Why can’t he just wing it? The answer is that everything the president says is engraved eternally in stone.”¹⁶ By the time Franklin Roosevelt took office the worry over the choice of presidential words led to a process designed to both maximize their impact while minimizing mistakes. By the time of the Johnson and Nixon administrations this would take the form of full-time specialized speechwriters, eventually having an office dedicated specifically to speechwriting during the Nixon administration. The speechwriting process in the White House today involves seven steps: (1) scheduling, (2) assignment, (3) drafting and editing, (4) circulation and comment, (5) staff revisions, (6) presidential revision, and (7) presidential ad-libbing.¹⁷ While each of these steps deserves some consideration, steps four and five are the primary focus here since they best inform us about the functioning of the White House in general.

Circulation and comment

While some elements of presidential speechwriting have been relatively consistent over time, the circulation of speech drafts throughout the Executive Office of the President has become more expansive and standardized since the 1970s. For example, during the Kennedy Administration, the circulation of speech drafts would vary from speech to speech with Kennedy deliberately avoiding those departments where he expected to encounter resistance. In a draft of his remarks for the annual Gridiron Club Dinner, Kennedy pointedly joked, “This speech has not been submitted to the State Department for clearance... so I have been asked to announce that these views are not necessarily theirs -- which is all right, since their views are not always mine.”¹⁸

While there was a legitimate need for a systematic process, staffing would grow, according to Hult and Walcott, “out of control.”¹⁹ When a reporter asked how many speechwriters worked in the Ford White House, Robert Orben turned to another speechwriter and said, “I don’t know Milt [Freeman], how many are there now? Is it five or six hundred?”²⁰

The modern speech review process should not be dismissed as a routine clerical matter left to minor administration officials. While cabinet secretaries often leave the initial review of most speech drafts to assistants, the process often involves many of the top people in the administration. Major speeches often involved significant disagreements. Ronald Reagan’s famous June 1987 speech at the Brandenburg Gate generated a great deal of debate within the administration with both Deputy National Security Advisor Colin Powell and Secretary of State George Shultz strongly objecting to versions of the draft in part because of the language behind urging “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!” Reagan would eventually approve the strong language he acknowledged the conflict in the process by telling his speechwriters with a smile, “The boys at State are going to kill me but it’s the right thing to do.”²¹

In addition, we should not assume that the process is only inclusive in a few cases. An excellent example is the seemingly innocuous process of finding the right words to light the National Christmas Tree. After drafting the remarks for George H.W. Bush’s 1989 tree lighting ceremony, the speechwriters

circulated their draft to 17 key officials in and around the White House. The memorandum asked for “action” by eight individuals including Brent Scowcroft (National Security Council), Boyden Gray (White House Counsel), Fred McClure (head of Congressional Relations), and Roger Porter (Director of Policy Development). Nine others were given copies “FYI.” Those who were informed without their advice being sought included Chief of Staff John Sununu, Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, presidential image-maker Sig Rogich, Deputy Assistant to the President for Communications Chriss Winston, and Vice President Dan Quayle.²² National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft suggested deleting the phrase “From the Atlantic to the Urals” from the speech’s claim of a “far better Christmas than Europe has ever known.” As Scowcroft noted in the margins, the phrase “Echoes Soviet contention regarding a ‘Common European house.’” Scowcroft also circles a reference to “Unconquerable people” and notes, “In fact, the Czechs have a history of yielding without a fight.”²³

The debate in the staffing process can rise from many different types of concerns. A good example of geographic concerns is a memo from a member of Gerald Ford’s NSC staff who complained “the fact remains that if we do not break the continued absence of any reference to Africa in the President’s speeches, the adverse impact this creates in Africa will only increase.”²⁴ Horan, as a representative of the National Security Council, was not simply narrowly representing the interests of the agency. He was instead trying to find presidential language that would dissuade the perception on that continent that Africa is unimportant to the United States. The language of George W. Bush’s speech to a joint session of Congress after the September 11 attacks was edited due to similar concerns. In the original draft Islamic extremists were compared to the Nazis and Communists who had disappeared “History’s graveyard of discarded lies.” However, the word “communist” was changed to “totalitarianism” to avoid offending China whose vote would be needed in the U. N. Security Council.²⁵ International constituencies even found their way into Reagan’s famous address at Pointe du Hoc on the anniversary of the Normandy invasion. After being lobbied by the State department, Peggy Noonan added a reference to the Soviet Union’s role in defeating the Germans to the speech that honored the Rangers from U.S. forces. As she

complained at the time, the added reference interfered with the flow of the speech: “It sounds like we stopped the speech dead to throw a fish to the bear.”²⁶

The president’s annual “state of the union” speech is the premier battleground for presidential rhetoric as department’s angle for a place in the speech to give them a foothold in the policy and budget battles to come. As Aram Bakshian, a veteran of three administrations, points out, everyone wants to get into this speech: “Every little crappy agency wants their stuff, their agenda, included.”²⁷ Clark Clifford suggested that, “Every department, of course, would want the State of the Union message devoted practically exclusively to their problems.”²⁸

Some of the battles are more political than institutional. John Ehrlichman complained that in the writing of one of Nixon’s speech on Vietnam as “all the ideological factions of the White House staff—came creeping out of the bushes.”²⁹ The Reagan speechwriters generally considered themselves the ideological heart of the White House and often battled with the policy advisors they considered too moderate.

Interest groups also come into play during the review process. During the Reagan administration, Elizabeth Dole, who as head of the Office of Public Liaison, asked to see a draft of the 1982 State of the Union address so that she could see how well the draft reached key constituencies. Dole wrote head speechwriter Aram Bakshian: “Since you are well aware of our mandate, I am sure you can appreciate my interest in having the opportunity to see one of our SOTUA drafts. From a constituency standpoint, it is critical that we have a solid acknowledgement of the importance of women, Hispanics, Blacks, and ethnics.”³⁰

Rounding out the conflict in the White House is personal ambition. As one veteran of the White House observed, personal conflicts overlay the complex politics of the executive branch: “Amidst the vortex of controversy, personal ambitions would swirl.”³¹ Putting it more colorfully, Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan complained about, “cheap jockeying” and “sleazy backstabbing in the White house.”³²

Staff revisions

By the end of the review process, speeches have been reviewed by many officials, all with their own motives. The task of reassembling the drafts then returns to the speechwriters whose desks are covered by marked-up speech drafts from all over the executive branch. Incorporating the feedback that comes from around the White House is a unique combination of literary art and diplomacy as speechwriters try to incorporate conflicting advice from a large number of administration officials—most of whom outrank them. Michael Gerson, who was head speechwriter during George W. Bush's first term, commented, "I tell new writers that I hire that the job is half-writing and half-diplomacy." ³³

The position of the speechwriters in the process and the conflicting advice of others in the Administration allow speechwriters to maintain some control over the prose. As one Carter speechwriter noted, if they used all the input the speech would become "hodgepodge."³⁴ Reagan speechwriter Peter Robinson recounted, "Officials marking up a foreign policy speech at the State Department and Pentagon, for instance, might insert contradictory comments forcing the speechwriter to spend a lot of time on the telephone persuading the officials to sort out their differences." ³⁵

Speechwriters in some administrations sometimes find themselves unable to reject enough suggestions to put together a cohesive speech. In these cases the fate of the speech ultimately goes to the president, allowing them the opportunity to regain control over the content and put the speech back together. However, this might be difficult if the speechwriters have not laid a solid foundation. In his attempt to placate both sides of the battle over the 1976 State of the Union, Ford took bits and pieces of the competing drafts and, according to head speechwriter Robert Hartmann, "strung them together like a string of beads. He thought that was pretty dandy. Nobody was willing to tell him how terrible it was."³⁶

By the end of this process, any claim of authorship is greatly clouded. As the writers and the analysts square off, all sides jealously guard their turf--with good cause. The speechwriters produce better speeches, but the policy makers know the policy. While the President serves as editor in chief, it is

generally hard for them to find time to do more than choose from among competing drafts. Presidents will occasionally completely redraft speeches. However, this kind of effort is rare given the pressing time demands of the office. Almost inevitably, speeches become a product of the institution of the presidency rather than the president alone.

Data and Measures

To examine the development of the speechwriting process and to compare its impact over time, speech drafts from administrations of Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan were examined.³⁷ A few speeches from each administration were selected for detailed analysis. The cases do not reflect a random sample of speeches for several reasons. First, while having a random sample of all speeches from each administration might be desirable for the study of some hypotheses, such a sampling is not possible. Because the retention of drafts was often inconsistent, drafts of some speeches have disappeared. Some of these speech drafts were physically sacrificed to the process, their pages cut and pasted into a new version of the speech. The speeches that received more staff attention were more likely to be chosen for in study since they produced the multiple speech drafts required for comparison. Secondly, even if a random sample was possible, the time and expense required to gather, copy, and code multiple drafts of enough speeches to be a representative sample is not practical for a multi-administration study.

Finally, a representative sample is not sought here because this study attempts to detect differences within the EOP by focusing on the cases most likely to elicit significant disagreement. The argument is not that differences manifests themselves on all speeches. Demonstrating the presence of different approaches to speeches like the National Christmas Tree lighting statement is not the standard sought here, even though an earlier study has found an active editing process and some lively debate on that speech as well.³⁸ Instead, this study identified and studied especially significant presidential speeches because those cases were of more general interest and more likely to produce evidence of the internal tensions we are looking to study. Even then, the presidential libraries did not always yield enough drafts

for analysis. For example, Ford's brief statement upon being sworn in could not be included in the broader data set because sufficient drafts were not available.

Drafts of the inaugural addresses for every president studied were sought because these were important addresses. The initial inaugural address can serve as a case of presidential speech constructed before the formal White House staff structure was in place.³⁹ At least one State of the Union address was utilized as well because it represented the only other major policy address common to all presidents. Partisan speeches were deliberately avoided because they often sometimes different sets of speechwriters and reviewers.

Multiple drafts of each of these speeches were either photocopied or digitally photographed from the respective presidential libraries. The drafts were then put into machine-readable form for analysis using content analysis software. Because the drafts were often hand-written or included hand-written revisions, automated scanning was not sufficient and most passages had to be manually typed. In some cases a single draft produced two separate drafts for analysis, in one form to reflect the original typed version with a second version that includes handwritten revisions and additions by the president or others in the White House.

The DICTION software used to analyze these drafts was initially developed by Rod Hart for his 1984 book, Verbal Style and the Presidency,⁴⁰ and has been refined in the 20 years since. The prominence of Hart's study made DICTION a logical choice because its results will be familiar to some scholars in the field and comparable to other studies in political communication. The DICTION software evaluates the use of language by looking for the frequency of words from thirty-one different sets of words or "dictionaries." Each dictionary (described briefly in Appendix A) yields a semantic score based on the frequency of words from that dictionary.

While other software might be used in future studies, the precise nature of the variables measured is not a central issue here because *change* is the primary concern. In some regards, this is an attempt to create a seismograph for presidential rhetoric, a device to study the movement of rhetoric. Rhetorical

seismology, like its geological counterpart uses the measurement of motion to detect broader forces buried from direct observation. In this case, the instrument is designed to detect the fault lines within the White House and uncover the stress points in the organization.

The scores from the 31 individual dictionaries were selected for the current study because the master variables appear to overestimate differences in texts as individual scores are multiplied by each other.⁴¹ While the five “master variables” that summarize the tone of speeches in more general terms might be desirable because individually they reflect the broader characteristics of the speech, using the narrower dictionary scores are less likely to produce differences that are purely an artifact of the software’s algorithms.

Because reporting scores for all 31 dictionary scores is prohibitively cumbersome in this paper a few scores have been selected because they represent the differences in language most likely to distinguish between the language of the political world of the some of the White House and the bureaucratic language of other offices. For example, “ambivalence” which tracks language expressing hesitation or uncertainty, might help us detect the differences between the dramatic language often ascribed to speechwriters from the more cautious language associated with more bureaucratic concerns like those attributed to the State Department. Similarly, “aggression” identifies forceful language. “Familiarity” identifies the frequency of common language

One advantage of the DICTION software is that it incorporates results from a database that allows the user to compare their texts to a variety of speech types. The basis for comparison utilized here is “public policy speeches,” a normative profile that the DICTION software calculated based on 615 policy speeches delivered by presidents from Harry Truman to Bill Clinton. These policy speeches closely match the kind of presidential addresses studied here. The software reports a “normal range” that spans scores within ± 1 standard deviation of the mean of the scores from these 615 presidential speeches.

Although Hart originally used the normal range to compare types of speeches and presidents, the normal range is used in this study to provide a standard for evaluating changes across drafts of the same

speech. For example, based upon the 615 presidential speeches in Hart's database, the normal range for the "inspiration" (which measures "abstract virtues deserving of universal respect") score ranges from 4.91 to 10.90.⁴² The difference between these two (5.99) can be interpreted as the amount of variation normally found across different presidential speeches by different presidents. This variable, in this study labeled "*normal variation*," is used to focus on the degree of *change* in rhetoric, so that shifts in rhetorical characteristics can be more easily compared.

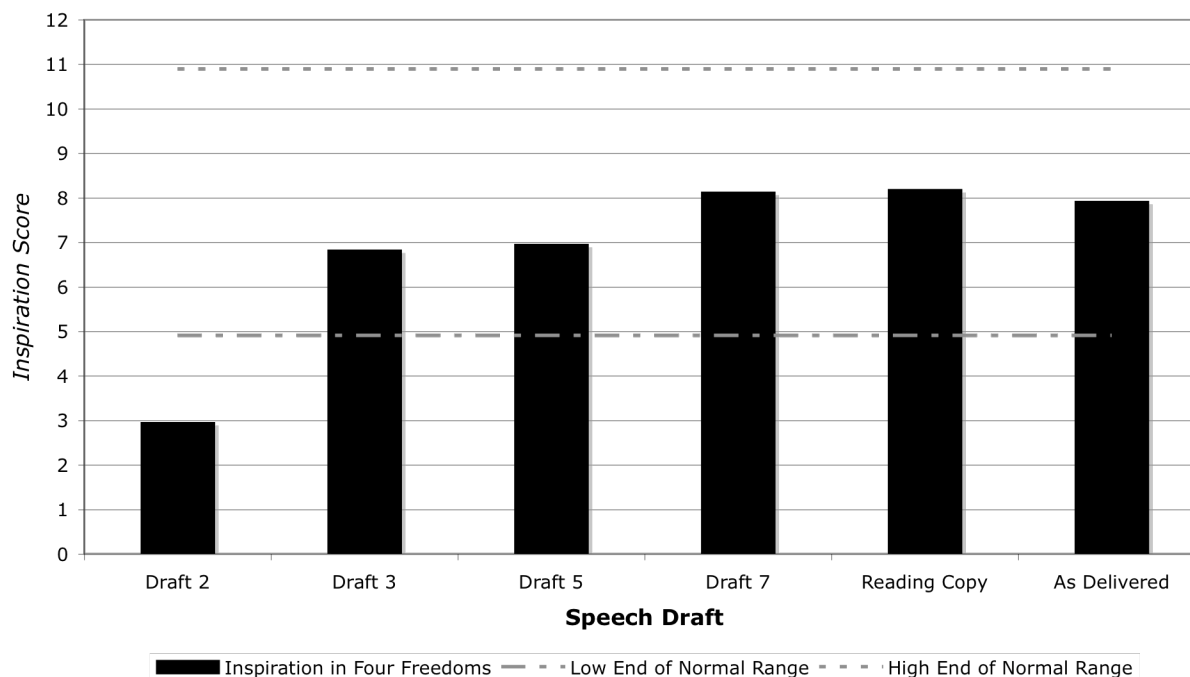
This use of the *normal variation* measure is similar to ANOVA analysis that compares variation across groups to variation within groups. In some regards, the decision to measure change between drafts of the same speech to differences between policy speeches from these presidents sets a very high standard. The idea that the different versions of a single speech might vary more than speeches on a variety of policies promoted by different presidents speaking to different generations might seem remote. However, we need some means of assessing the differences between speech drafts.

The basic shape of the data and the need for revisions of the data is illustrated in Figure 1 which reports the scores of the inspiration score for six different versions of Franklin Roosevelt's famous "four freedoms" speech. In general, the evolution of FDR's Four Freedom speech resembles a stable and relatively orderly process in which there is change, but in a consistent direction that reflects the evolution of the central argument of the speech.

Figure 1 also charts the shift in inspiration scores for FDR's Four Freedoms address compared to the "normal" range for presidential policy speeches, putting the change in drafts of FDR's speech next to the range of scores for presidential speeches in general. The "normal variation" described earlier in this paper is illustrated by the distance between the two horizontal dotted lines in Figure 1 with the top line reflected the high end of the normal range (10.90) and the lower line reflected the low end of the normal range (4.91)

Figure 1

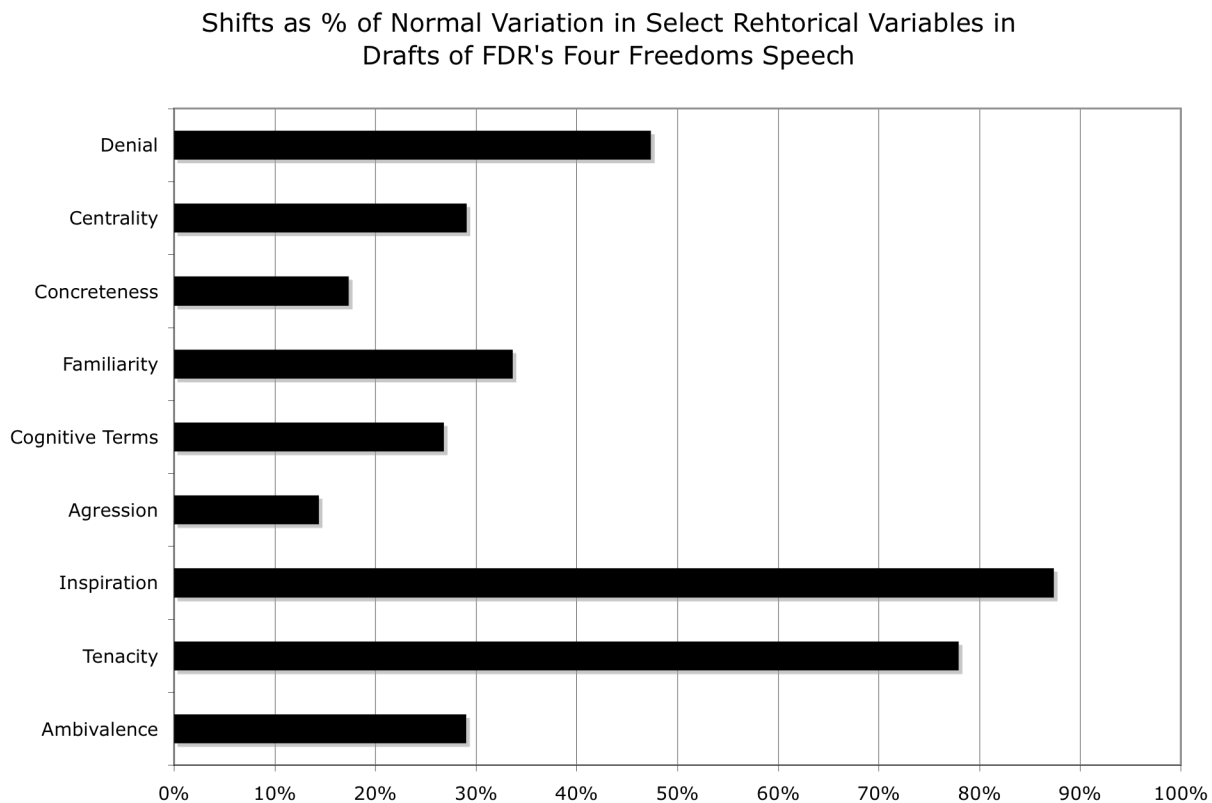
Changes in "Inspiration" in Drafts
of FDR's Four Freedoms Speech
Compared to Normal Range



While the “normal variation” measure helps us create a standard across speeches, one further refinement is needed to facilitate easy comparisons across different variables complicated by the fact that each of these scores have different means and standard deviations. For example, while the *inspiration* score for presidential speeches normally ranges about 6 points (from 4.91 to 10.90), the *ambivalence* score varies by 14.21 (from 3.84 to 18.05).

To standardize our measure of the changes in these scores we need to control for the differences between the variations of these score specific to each variable. Thus, the variation found in different drafts of a speech is divided by the *normal variation* for that variable. This created a *percentage of normal variation* measure that compares the changes on this specific characteristic for a speech to the degree to which that rhetorical score varies across all presidential speeches. These measures for Roosevelt “Four Freedoms” speech are charted in Figure 2.

Figure 2



As Figure 2 shows there is considerable difference between the behaviors of the variables. The inspirational variable varies by 87% revealing that the differences between the drafts of FDR's Four Freedoms speech were almost as great as the differences between different speeches by different presidents. At the same time, other variables are quite stable. These results demonstrate that even if we use the more stable individual measures rather than the more volatile "master variables" there are enough differences in the performance of the rhetorical variables to discriminate between stable variables and more volatile elements of rhetoric in a speech.

Results

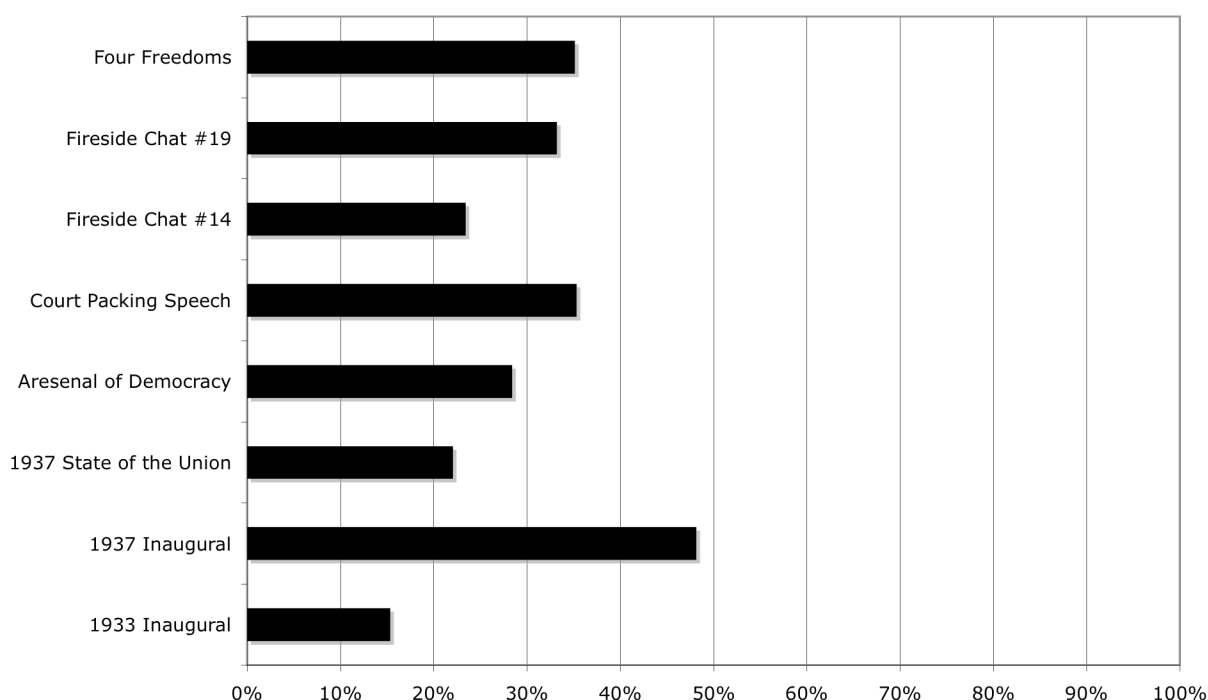
As the first presidency studied here, the Roosevelt administration makes an obvious starting point for our comparisons. As Figure 3 shows, the amount of change in rhetoric in the drafting of a speech differs noticeably from speech to speech. While some of the speeches may produce more change than expected, the shifts make more sense in light of some specific circumstances. For example, Franklin Roosevelt's

1937 Inaugural went through larger shifts in rhetoric than any other Roosevelt speech studied. While the 1933 Inaugural reveals the least change an analysis of these drafts may be misleading because, according to speechwriter Raymond Moley, Roosevelt and his speechwriters went to great lengths to conceal the contribution of others to the address, including having the President-elect hand-copy a speech draft written by Moley to make it appear that Roosevelt himself had written the first draft himself.⁴³

In contrast to the first inaugural, the 1937 Inaugural Address was much more volatile. The variations in the 1937 Inaugural addresses may come from a variety of sources. First, there are important differences in book keeping. Whereas speech drafts for the first inaugural were not systematically retained and organized (making it easier to rid the files of drafts that might reveal Roosevelt's use of ghostwriters), the organization of the White House helped insure that more drafts survived.

Figure 3

Average Shift in Dictionary Scores
For FDR Speeches



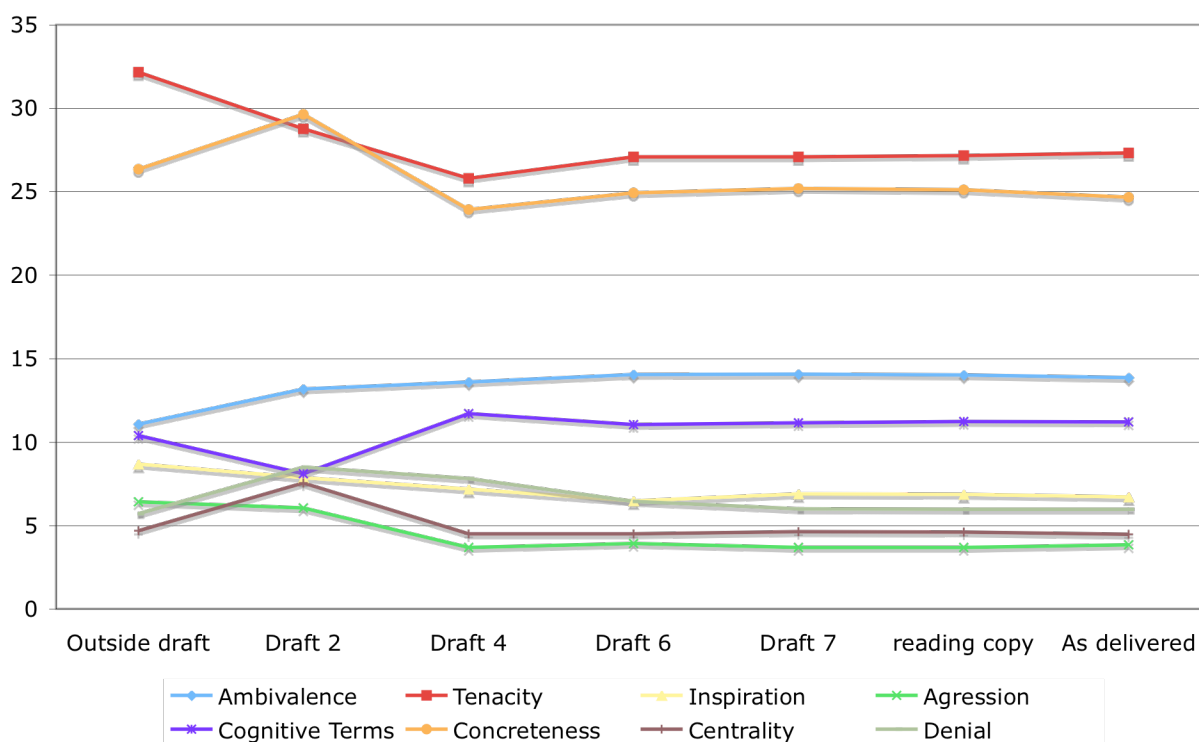
Inaugural addresses in particular invite suggested material, solicited and unsolicited, from a wide variety of sources. Also, the importance of inaugural addresses lead presidents to experiment more as they

attempt to write something of historical significance and consider a broader range of materials for inclusion.

Figure 3 also indicates that Roosevelt's speech defending his court packing plan went through extensive changes during drafting. This is not surprising since some of Roosevelt's assistants doubted the wisdom of the plan and resisted the President's attempt to defend it.

Figure 4

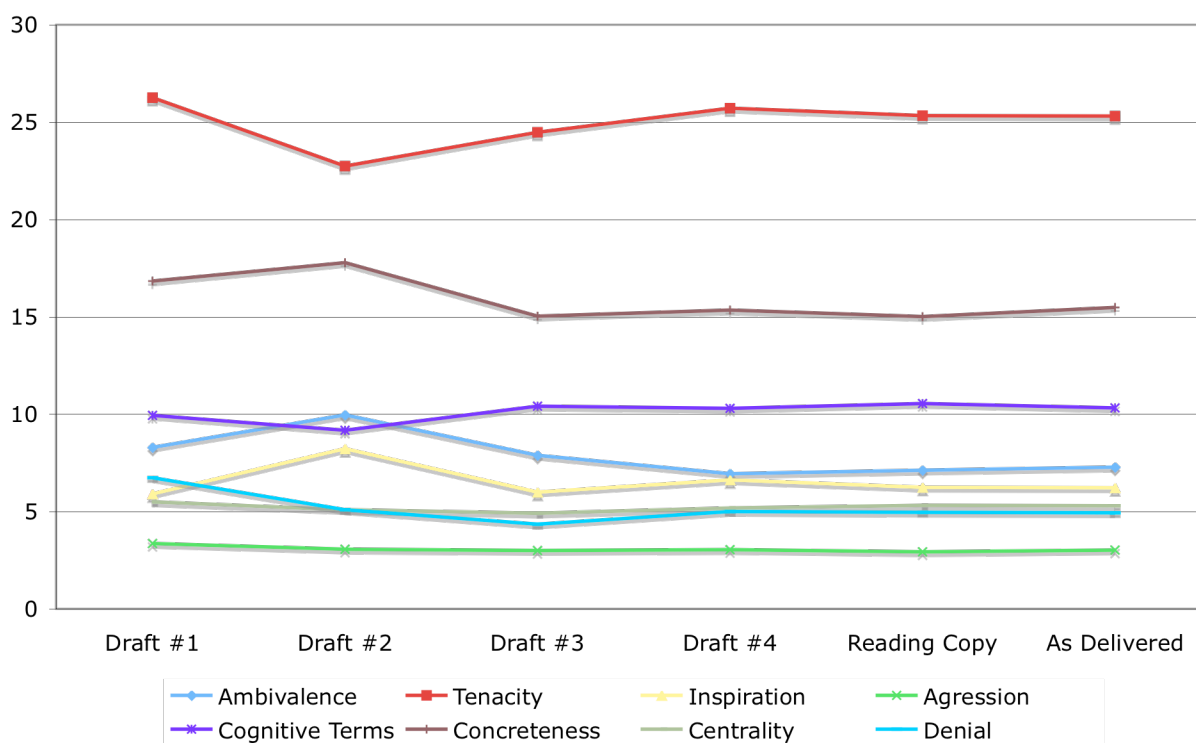
The Development of FDR's Court Packing Speech



However, as Figure 4 indicates, most of the changes to Roosevelt's speech were made early with only minor changes in tone being made after the second draft. Similarly, Figure 6 reveals that while the 1937 State of the Union Address was changed, most of the differences were ironed out in the early drafts leaving the final drafts for more minor changes.

Figure 6

Development of the 1937 State of the Union Address

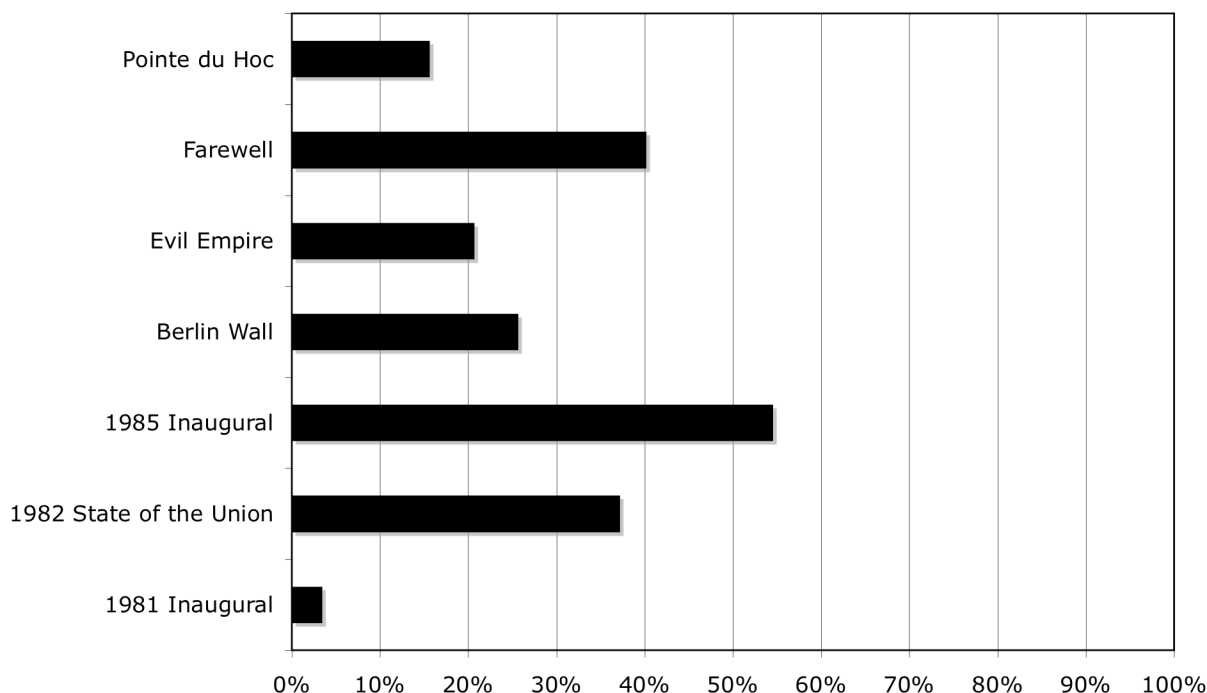


We generally expect the close-knit Roosevelt Brain Trust to work together and resolve their internal conflicts quickly. However, as Figure 7 points out, the rhetoric in Reagan speeches was also relatively stable, revealing levels of variation almost identical to those found in Roosevelt speeches. In fact, the average percentage of normal variation across the 31 basic diction variables is 30.0% for Roosevelt and 30.7% for Reagan.

As with the Roosevelt data, the variation in the second inaugural is much larger than the first inaugural address. Reagan left the initial drafting of his first inaugural address to Ken Khachigian who had been in charge of speechwriting during the 1980 campaign but had no interest in serving on the White House staff, and left Washington after helping with the speech that Reagan gave to a joint session of Congress after his recovery from the assassination attempt.⁴⁴

Figure 7

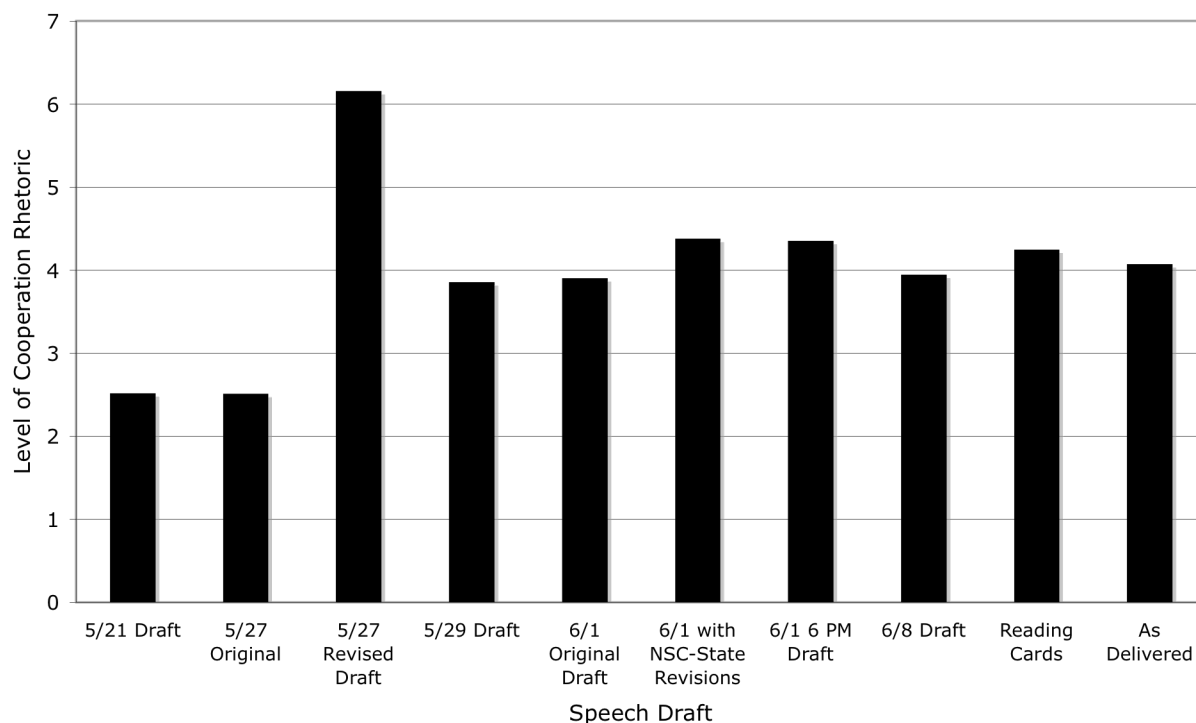
Average Shift in Dictionary Scores Reagan Administration



While the overall pattern of the rhetoric in Reagan's speech is steady, there is some variation. Of course, we should not expect that staff will battle over all aspects of presidential rhetoric. For example, accounts from within the Reagan administration suggest that the internal debates over Reagan's Berlin Wall speech were the most intense of the administration. A sample of the extensive revisions offered up by the National Security Council is included in Appendix B. As Figure 7 shows, the overall rhetoric of the speech shifted relatively little (26% of the normal range) during the development of that speech. However, the average of the shift in all the variables conceals large shifts in "rapport," (58%) "cooperation" (68%) and "liberation" (59%) where the battle over the speech was fought. Figure 8 tracks the shift in cooperative rhetoric was initially scarce in the speech, but appeared as the concerns of the National Security Council and the State Department prevailed as the speech moved through the process. While the changes in the rhetoric after the first set of drafts are small, it is clear that noticeable changes in rhetoric were occurring throughout the process.

Figure 8

Cooperation Rhetoric in Ronald Reagan's Berlin Wall Speech



However, while the speechwriters may have lost on the general tone, they won on the retention of the speech's most memorable line urging the Soviets to tear down the wall:

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity
for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here
to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

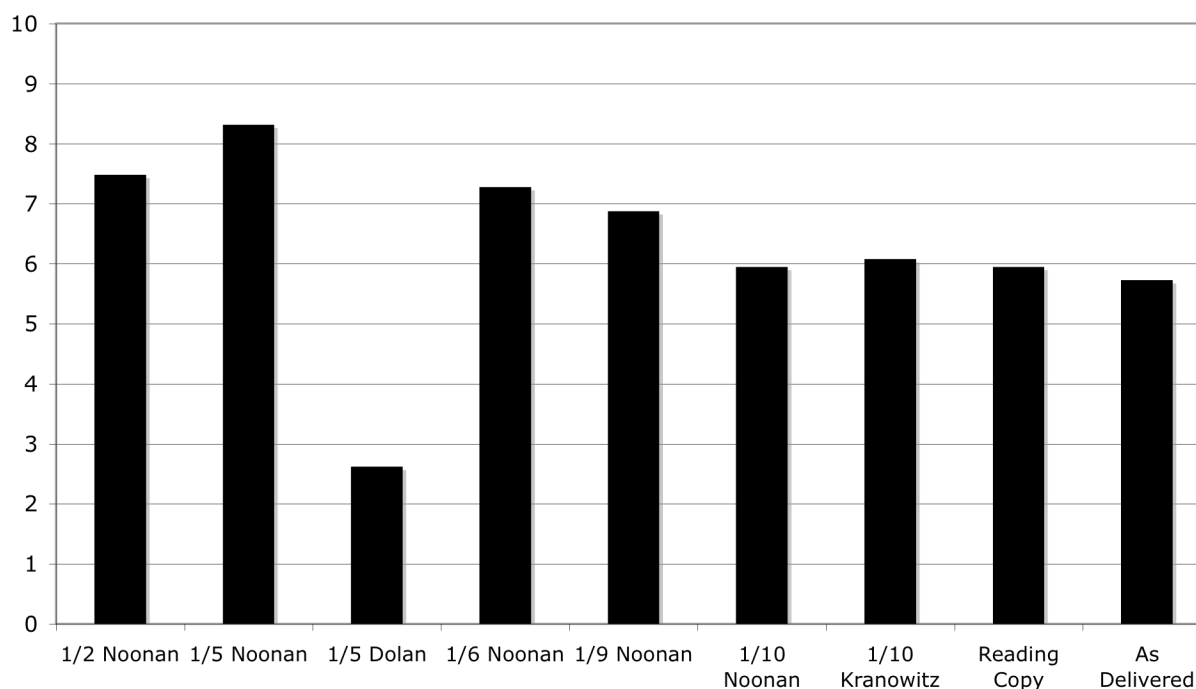
The Berlin Wall speech points to several challenges for the use of broad analysis used to introduce the methods here. First, the concerns of State and the NSC centered on the confrontational tone of the speech and not other elements of the rhetoric. Looking at the average of all the changes in rhetoric obscures out view of the issues under debate in the White House.

Second, the single sentence urging the destruction of the wall far outweighed the rest of the speech, at least in the eyes of many. In the age of soundbites, it is difficult to tell how much to weigh the impact one line in a speech.

Closer examination of another speech reveals that differences between speechwriters can be significant. Most of the development of Reagan's "Farewell" address was given to Peggy Noonan, even though she was no longer on the White House staff. Noonan would bill the administration \$6,479 for her efforts (27 days at \$277 per day). Her drafts became the heart of Reagan's final address to the nation on January 9, 1989. Other speechwriters wanted to write the speech and Tony Dolan, who served as head speechwriter for much of the administration submitted his own draft. As Figure 9 shows, the Dolan draft differed significantly from the rest of the drafts on denial rhetoric (similar differences are evident on several other measures).

Figure 9

Shifts in "Denial" Rhetorics in Reagan's Farewell Address



While this use of such rhetorical variables is difficult and needs further fine-tuning, the results indicate that shifts in rhetoric between drafts can be detected and analyzed. At the same time, the analysis presented here points to the need for a flexible approach that acknowledges the differences in speeches since no one dimension of rhetoric may be at the heart of a speech.

Conclusion

The data analyzed so far can only begin to explore the differences between the perspectives found within the White House. As Kennedy speechwriter Sorensen himself noted that as White House offices continue to grow, each possesses the potential to take a life of its own and “become only another department, another level of clearances and concurrences instead of a personal instrument of the President.”⁴⁵ Speechwriting can give us a window into the divergent interests of the institutions within the institution of the White House.

Generally, presidential speech has been studied only as power wielded against other political forces. What we can see in presidential speech can be used to learn about political forces that are seldom, if ever, visible to the scholar. However, the quantitative results presented here provide evidence to back the historical accounts of battles in the White House and suggest that the view of the presidency as a monolithic institution with one motive and view of the political world is too simplistic and in need of revision.

Appendix A

DICTION Dictionary and Score Descriptions⁴⁶

ACCOMPLISHMENT: Words that express completion of tasks (establish, finish, influence, proceed) and organized human behavior (motivated, influence, leader, manage). Includes capitalistic terms (buy, produce, sell), words related to expansion (grow, increase, generate, construction) and general functionality (handling, strengthen, succeed) and programmatic language (agenda, enacted, working, leadership).

AGGRESSION: Words that highlight competition and forceful action. This includes physical energy (blast, crash, collide), domination (conquest, attacking, dictatorships, violation), words associated with personal triumph (mastered, rambunctious, pushy), excess human energy (prod, poke, pound, shove), disassembly (dismantle, demolish, overturn, veto) and resistance (prevent, reduce, defend, curbed) are included.

AMBIVALENCE: Words expressing hesitation or uncertainty, implying a speaker's inability or unwillingness to commit to the verbalization being made. Included are hedges (allegedly, perhaps, might), statements of inexactness (almost, approximate, vague, somewhere) and confusion (baffled, puzzling, hesitate). Also included are words of restrained possibility (could, would) and mystery (dilemma, guess, suppose, seems).

BLAME: Terms designating social inappropriateness (mean, naive, sloppy, stupid) as well as downright evil (fascist, blood-thirsty, repugnant, malicious) compose this dictionary. In addition, adjectives describing unfortunate circumstances (bankrupt, rash, morbid, embarrassing) or unplanned vicissitudes (weary, nervous, painful, detrimental) are included. The dictionary also contains outright denigrations: cruel, illegitimate, offensive, and miserly.

CENTRALITY: Terms denoting institutional regularities and/or substantive agreement on core values. Included are indigenous terms (native, basic, innate) and designations of legitimacy (orthodox, decorum, constitutional, ratified), systematicity (paradigm, bureaucratic, ritualistic), and typicality (standardized, matter-of-fact, regularity). Also included are terms of congruence (conformity, mandate, unanimous), predictability (expected, continuity, reliable), and universality (womankind, perennial, landmarks).

COGNITIVE TERMS: Words referring to cerebral processes, both functional and imaginative. Included are modes of discovery (learn, deliberate, consider, compare) and domains of study (biology, psychology, logic, economics). The dictionary includes mental challenges (question, forget, re-examine, paradoxes), institutional learning practices (graduation, teaching, classrooms), as well as three forms of intellection: intuition (invent, perceive, speculate, interpret), rationalistic (estimate, examine, reasonable, strategies), and calculative (diagnose, analyze, software, fact-finding).

COLLECTIVES: Singular nouns connoting plurality that function to decrease specificity. These words reflect a dependence on categorical modes of thought. Included are social groupings crowd, choir, team, humanity), task groups (army, congress, legislature, staff) and geographical entities (county, world, kingdom, republic).

COMMUNICATION: Terms referring to social interaction, both face-to-face (listen, interview, read, speak) and mediated (film, videotape, telephone, e-mail). The dictionary includes both modes of intercourse (translate, quote, scripts, broadcast) and moods of intercourse (chat, declare, flatter, demand). Other terms refer to social actors (reporter, spokesperson, advocates, preacher) and a variety of social purposes (hint, rebuke, respond, persuade).

COMPLEXITY: A simple measure of the average number of characters-per-word in a given input file. Based on the idea that convoluted phrasings can make ideas abstract and implications unclear.

CONCRETENESS: A large dictionary possessing no thematic unity other than tangibility and materiality. Included are sociological units (peasants, African-Americans, Catholics), occupational groups (carpenter, manufacturer, policewoman), and political alignments (Communists, congressman, Europeans). Also incorporated are physical structures (courthouse, temple, store), forms of diversion (television, football, cd-rom), terms of accountancy (mortgage, wages, finances), and modes of transportation (airplane, ship, bicycle). In addition, the dictionary includes body parts (stomach, eyes, lips), articles of clothing (slacks, pants, shirt), household animals (cat,

insects, horse) and foodstuffs (wine, grain, sugar), and general elements of nature (oil, silk, sand).

COOPERATION: Terms designating behavioral interactions among people that often result in a group product. Included are designations of formal work relations (unions, schoolmates, caucus) and informal associations (chum, partner, cronies) to more intimate interactions (sisterhood, friendship, comrade). Also included are neutral interactions (consolidate, mediate, alignment), job-related tasks (network, detente, exchange), personal involvement (teamwork, sharing, contribute), and self-denial (public-spirited, care-taking, self-sacrifice).

DENIAL: A dictionary consisting of standard negative contractions (aren't, shouldn't, don't), negative functions words (nor, not, nay), and terms designating null sets (nothing, nobody, none).

DIVERSITY: Words describing individuals or groups of individuals differing from the norm. Such distinctiveness may be comparatively neutral (inconsistent, contrasting, non-conformist) but it can also be positive (exceptional, unique, individualistic) and negative (illegitimate, rabble-rouser, extremist). Functionally, heterogeneity may be an asset (far-flung, dispersed, diffuse) or a liability (factionalism, deviancy, quirky) as can its characterizations: rare vs. queer, variety vs. jumble, distinctive vs. disobedient.

EMBELLISHMENT: A selective ratio of adjectives to verbs. Embellishment is calculated according to the following formula: $[Praise + Blame + 1] \div [Present Concern + Past Concern + 1]$

EXCLUSION: A dictionary describing the sources and effects of social isolation. Such seclusion can be phrased passively (displaced, sequestered) as well as positively (self-contained, self-sufficient) and negatively (outlaws, repudiated). Moreover, it can result from voluntary forces (secede, privacy) and involuntary forces (ostracize, forsake, discriminate) and from both personality factors (small-mindedness, loneliness) and political factors (right-wingers, nihilism). Exclusion is often a dialectical concept: hermit vs. derelict, refugee vs. pariah, discard vs. spurn).

FAMILIARITY: Consists of a selected number of words that are the most common words in the English language. Included are common prepositions (across, over, through), demonstrative pronouns (this, that) and interrogative pronouns (who, what), and a variety of particles, conjunctions and connectives (a, for, so).

HARDSHIP: This dictionary contains natural disasters (earthquake, starvation, tornado, pollution), hostile actions (killers, bankruptcy, enemies, vices) and censurable human behavior (infidelity, despots, betrayal). It also includes unsavory political outcomes (injustice, slavery, exploitation, rebellion) as well as normal human fears (grief, unemployment, died, apprehension) and in capacities (error, cop-outs, weakness).

HUMAN INTEREST: Includes standard personal pronouns (he, his, ourselves, them), family members and relations (cousin, wife, grandchild, uncle), and generic terms (friend, baby, human, persons) because concentrating on people and their activities gives rhetoric a life-like quality.

INSISTENCE: A measure of the repetition of key terms that may indicate a preference for presented a limited or ordered view. All words occurring three or more times that function as nouns or noun-derived adjectives are identified and the following calculation performed: $[\text{Number of Eligible Words} \times \text{Sum of their Occurrences}] \div 10$.

INSPIRATION: Abstract virtues deserving of universal respect. Most of the terms in this dictionary are nouns isolating desirable moral qualities (faith, honesty, self-sacrifice, virtue) as well as attractive personal qualities (courage, dedication, wisdom, mercy). Social and political ideals are also included: patriotism, success, education, and justice.

LEVELING: A dictionary of words that build a sense of completeness and assurance used by ignoring individual differences. Included are totalizing terms (everybody, anyone, each, fully), adverbs of permanence (always, completely, inevitably, consistently), and resolute adjectives (unconditional, consummate, absolute, open-and-shut).

LIBERATION: Terms describing the maximizing of individual choice (autonomous, open-minded, options) and the rejection of social conventions (unencumbered, radical, released). Liberation is motivated by both personality factors (eccentric, impetuous, flighty) and political forces (suffrage, liberty, freedom, emancipation) and may produce dramatic outcomes (exodus, riotous, deliverance) or subdued effects (loosen, disentangle, outpouring). Liberatory terms also admit to rival characterizations: exemption vs. loophole, elope vs. abscond, uninhibited vs. outlandish.

MOTION: Terms connoting human movement (bustle, job, lurch, leap), physical processes (circulate, momentum, revolve, twist), journeys (barnstorm, jaunt, wandering, travels), speed (nimble, zip), and modes of transit (ride, fly, glide, swim).

NUMERICAL TERMS: Any sum, date, or product specifying the facts in a given case. The presumption is that these term hyper-specify a claim and detracting from its universality.

PASSIVITY: Words ranging from neutrality to inactivity. Includes terms of compliance (allow, tame), docility (submit, contented), and cessation (arrested, refrain, yielding). This dictionary also contains references to inertness (backward, immobile, inhibit), disinterest (unconcerned, nonchalant, stoic), and tranquility (quietly, sleepy).

PAST CONCERN: The past- tense forms of the verbs contained in the Present Concern dictionary.

PRAISE: Affirmations of some person, group, or abstract entity. Included are adjectives describing important social qualities (dear, delightful, witty), physical qualities (mighty, handsome, beautiful), intellectual qualities (shrewd, bright, reasonable), entrepreneurial qualities (successful, conscientious, renowned), and moral qualities (faithful, good, noble).

PRESENT CONCERN: This dictionary includes a selective list of present-tense verbs and is not topic-specific. This score points to general physical activity (cough, taste, sing, take), social operations (canvass, touch, govern, meet), and task-performance (make, cook, print, paint).

RAPPORT: This dictionary describes attitudinal similarities among groups of people. Included are terms of affinity (congenial, camaraderie, companion), assent (approve, vouched, warrants), deference (tolerant, willing, permission), and id entity (equivalent, resemble, consensus).

SATISFACTION: Terms associated with positive affective states (cheerful, passionate, happiness), with moments of undiminished joy (thanks, smile, welcome) and pleasurable diversion (excited, fun, lucky), or with moments of triumph (celebrating, pride, auspicious).

SELF-REFERENCE: All first-person references. This dictionary track how often the locus of action appears to be the speaker and not in the world at large.

SPATIAL AWARENESS: Terms referring to geographical entities and physical distances. Included are general geographical terms (abroad, elbow-room, local, outdoors) as well as references to specific locations such as nations. Also included are politically defined locations (county, fatherland, municipality, ward), points on the compass (east, southwest), terms of scale (kilometer, map, spacious), and other references to geographic terms (latitude, coastal, border, snowbelt). This dictionary also measure as well as quality (vacant, out-of-the-way, disoriented) and change (pilgrimage, migrated, frontier) in geography.

TEMPORAL AWARENESS: Terms that fix a person, idea, or event within a specific time-interval, thereby signaling a concern for concrete and practical matters. The dictionary designates literal time (century, instant, mid-morning) as well as metaphorical designations (lingering, seniority, nowadays), calendrical terms (autumn, year-round, weekend), elliptical terms (spontaneously, postpone, transitional), and judgmental terms (premature, obsolete, punctual).

TENACITY: These verbs that connote confidence and totality. This dictionary analyzes all uses of the verb “to be” (is, am, will, shall), three definitive verb forms (has, must, do) and their variants, as well as all associated contraction.

VARIETY: This measure divides the number of different words in a passage by the passage’s total words. A high score reflects an avoidance of overstatement and a preference for precise statements.

Appendix B

The National Security Council offers a few suggestions on the Berlin Wall speech⁴⁷

Page 6

~~These protests were well-meaning; they were an exercise of~~
~~But the Alliance held firm, moving to counter the Soviet~~
~~the freedom we are defending. But they were mistaken, a~~
~~threat. And I invite those who protested then~~ ~~I invite those~~
~~who protest today -- to mark this fact:~~ ~~Because we remained~~
~~firm,~~ ~~the Soviets came back to negotiate on mutual reductions.~~
~~strong,~~ ~~Because we remained~~
~~strong, today we are engaged in talks that~~ ~~hold the possibility of~~
~~limitations on the growth of arms, but~~ ~~eliminating, for the first time, a whole~~
~~class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.~~
~~reductions.~~

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to
 review the progress of ~~consider~~ ~~our proposals for~~ ~~eliminating these~~ ~~intermediate-range~~
 nuclear forces. ~~We have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces~~ ~~as well.~~
 At the ~~Geneva~~ ~~talks in Geneva,~~ ~~The Western Allies have made serious~~
~~indeed, we have proposed sharp~~

No! ~~cuts in virtually every aspect of the nuclear forces now based in~~
~~and far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war,~~
~~Europe.~~ ~~and to ban chemical weapons, While we pursue these arms~~
~~reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the flexible capacity~~
~~to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur,~~
~~not only to counterbalance Soviet nuclear missiles, but to make~~
~~And the United States, in cooperation with many of its Allies,~~
~~up as well for the superiority of Soviet conventional forces,~~
~~is pursuing research toward a safer and more stable~~
~~virtually throughout Eastern Europe. So today I challenge the~~
~~nuclear balance -- to base deterrence not on the threat of~~
~~Soviets. Those thousands of troops -- those massive conventional~~
~~offensive retaliation, but on strategic defenses that protect~~
~~forces of all kinds -- that are in place in Eastern Europe not to~~
~~human lives instead of targeting them,~~
~~maintain the military balance but only to secure Soviet~~
~~By these means, we seek to make Europe -- and~~
~~domination. Withdraw them. For the sake of arms control -- for~~
~~the world -- safer. But we must remember a crucial fact:~~
~~the sake of peace in Europe -- withdraw them.~~
~~East and West do not mistrust each other because we are~~
~~The resolve to defend ourselves, the determination to reduce~~
~~armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other.~~
~~the nuclear threat -- our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both~~
~~And our differences are not about hardware; they are~~
~~clear. In East and West alike, today nuclear strategy is based~~
~~moral and political differences about the relationship between~~
~~upon the threat of massive retaliation. The Strategic Defense~~
~~the citizen and the state.~~

Endnotes

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¹ Peggy Noonan, What I Saw at the Revolution: A Political Life in the Reagan Era (New York: Random House, 1990) 75.

² Jeffrey K. Tulis, The Rhetorical Presidency (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987) 185.

³ Peggy Noonan, What I Saw at the Revolution 67.

⁴ Terry M. Moe, "The Politicized Presidency," in The New Directions in American Politics ed. John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1985) 241.

⁵ Jeffrey K. Tulis, The Rhetorical Presidency Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987

⁶ Samuel Kernell, Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership, Third Edition Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1997

⁷ Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Robert Y. Shapiro, Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000

⁸ Edwards, George III, On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

⁹ William K. Muir, Jr., The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1992) 34.

¹⁰ Karen M. Hult and Charles E. Walcott, Empowering the White House: Governance under Nixon, Ford, and Carter, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004, 154.

¹¹ D.T. Max, "The Making of the Speech," New York Times, October 7, 2001, A32.

¹² Dana Rohrbacher, quoted in William K. Muir, Jr., The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan, San Francisco: ICS Press, 1992, 34

¹³ Samuel I. Rosenman, Working with Roosevelt, New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1952, 325.

¹⁴ Bradley H. Patterson, Jr., The Ring of Power: The White House Staff and Its Expanding Role in Government, New York: Basic Books Inc., Publishers, 1988, 196.

¹⁵ Calvin Coolidge, The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge, New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1929, 216-217.

¹⁶ James C. Humes, Confessions of a White House Ghostwriter: Five Presidents and Other Political Adventures, Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc. 1997, 5.

¹⁷ These steps are adapted from the six steps described by former speechwriter William Muir. William K. Muir, Jr., "Ronald Reagan's Bully Pulpit: Creating a Rhetoric of Values," Presidential Speechwriting: From the New Deal to the Reagan Revolution and Beyond, edited by Kurt Ritter and Martin J. Medhurst, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003, 198. While the system has evolved in some regards, the broad outlines of the process remain the same from Franklin Roosevelt to the present.

Endnotes

¹⁸ “TCS 1st Draft,” 3/15/62 folder: “Gridiron Club Dinner, 3/17/62, Speech Materials, 3/15/62 – 3/17/62 + undated,” Personal Papers of Theodore Sorensen, Speech File Series, Box 68, John F. Kennedy Library, 2.

¹⁹ Karen M. Hult and Charles E. Walcott, Empowering the White House: Governance under Nixon, Ford, and Carter, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004, 160.

²⁰ Robert Orben, “Speeches, Humor and the Public,” The Ford Presidency: Twenty Two Intimate Perspectives of Gerald Ford, Kenneth W. Thompson, editor, New York: University Press of America, 1988, 242.

²¹ Peter Robinson 103.

²² White House Staffing Memorandum, 12/12/89, “National Christmas Tree Lighting 12/14/89 [OA 8309], Office of Speechwriting, Speech Files, Backup, Chron Files 1989-93: Box 45, George H.W. Bush Presidential Library.

²³ White House Staffing Memorandum 10002, 12/12/89, “National Christmas Tree Lighting 12/14/89 [OA 8309], Office of Speechwriting, Speech Files, Backup, Chron Files 1989-93: Box 45, George H.W. Bush Presidential Library.

²⁴ Memo from Hal Horan to Jeanne Davis, April 2, 1975, Folder: “SP 2-3-6, Address by the President to the Joint Session of Congress, 4/10/75,” White House Central Files, Box 11, Gerald R. Ford Library, 1.

²⁵ David Frum, The Right Man: the Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush, New York: Random House, 2003, 147.

²⁶ Douglas Brinkley, The Boys of Pointe du Hoc: Ronald Reagan, D-Day, and the U.S. Army 2nd Ranger Battalion, New York: Harper Collins, 2005, 156.

²⁷ Aram Bakshian Interview, Miller Center, University of Virginia, Ronald Reagan Oral History Project, January 14, 2002, 45.

²⁸ Clark Clifford, Oral History, Truman Library.

²⁹ John Ehrlichman, Witness to Power: The Nixon Years, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982, 21.

³⁰ Memorandum from Elizabeth Dole to Aram Bakshian, January 15, 1982, folder: “State of the Union Address (21), January 28, 1982, Anthony Dolan Files, Drafts, Box 7.

³¹ William K. Muir, Jr., The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan, San Francisco: ICS Press, 1992, 35.

³² Quoted in William Ker Muir, Jr., The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan, San Francisco: ICS Press, 1992, 33.

³³ Transcript, Nightline: Up Close,

³⁴ Gerald Rafshoon, Exit Interview, Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, 13.

³⁵ Peter Robinson, How Ronald Reagan Changed My Life, New York: Harper Collins, 2003, 44.

³⁶ Chase Haddix interview with Robert Hartmann, April 5, 1991, Gerald R. Ford Library, 6.

³⁷ Speech drafts from the Truman and first Bush administration have been gathered but not fully analyzed yet. Since the Clinton Library has just opened, speech drafts were not available to researchers.

³⁸ “Lighting the National Christmas Tree: The Case for Studying ‘Rose Garden Rubbish’” presented at the *Southwest Political Science Association* (San Antonio, Texas, April 2003).

³⁹ Unfortunately, the absence of a formal staffing system was paralleled by the absence of a standard filing system making the retention of inaugural drafts much more uncertain than other speech draft.

Endnotes

⁴⁰ Roderick P. Hart, Verbal Style and the Presidency: A Computer-Based Analysis, Orlando: Academic Press, Inc., 1984. For a detailed description of the function of the DICTION software see pages 14-24 and Appendices A-D.

⁴¹ For the speeches analyzed here the master variables on average produced nearly double the level of variation that the more basic measures.

⁴² The normal variation for other kinds of communication is somewhat different. For example, “commonality” for all types of communication in the DICTION database ranges from 46.86 to 52.28.

⁴³ Raymond Moley, with the assistance of Elliot A. Rosen, The First New Deal (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966) 113.

⁴⁴ Larry Speakes with Robert Pack, Speaking Out: The Reagan Presidency from Inside the White House, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1988, 88.

Speakes describe Khachigian as Reagan’s speechwriter. Of course, Speakes goes on to say that Don Regan would be his chief of staff, a choice many around the Reagan White House might have reservations about.

⁴⁵ Theodore C. Sorensen, Decision-Making in the White House: The Olive Branch or the Arrows, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963, 71.

⁴⁶ Roderick T. Hart, DICTION 5.0 Users Manual, Austin: Digitex, Inc., 2000, 32-37.

⁴⁷ Robinson/ARD draft, May 27, 1987, 1:30 p.m., folder “SP1150 (Begin-501693),” Speeches--SP, White House Office of Records Management, Reagan Library.