











- **November 12, 2015.** Speech. "[Permazero](#)," delivered at the Cato Institute–33rd Annual Monetary Conference, *Rethinking Monetary Policy*, Washington, D.C.  
[Speech \(pdf\)](#) | [Cato Journal article \(pdf\)](#).  
Related article in Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis [Review](#), Second Quarter, 2016, 98(2), pp. 81-92.