

Smoothing the Peaceful Transfer of Democratic Power

# REPORT 2021-46E PRESIDENTIAL INTERACTIONS WITH REPORTERS DURING THEIR FIRST FULL YEAR

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#### WHO WE ARE & WHAT WE DO

The White House Transition Project. Begun in 1998, the White House Transition Project provides information about individual offices for staff coming into the White House to help streamline the process of transition from one administration to the next. A nonpartisan, nonprofit group, the WHTP brings together political science scholars who study the presidency and White House operations to write analytical pieces on relevant topics about presidential transitions, presidential appointments, and crisis management. Since its creation, it has participated in the 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2017, and now the 2021. WHTP coordinates with government agencies and other non-profit groups, e.g., the US National Archives or the Partnership for Public Service. It also consults with foreign governments and organizations interested in improving governmental transitions, worldwide. See the project at <a href="http://whitehousetransitionproject.org">http://whitehousetransitionproject.org</a>

The White House Transition Project produces a number of materials, including:

- WHITE HOUSE OFFICE ESSAYS: Based on interviews with key personnel who have borne these unique responsibilities, including former White House Chiefs of Staff; Staff Secretaries; Counsels; Press Secretaries, etc., WHTP produces briefing books for each of the critical White House offices. These briefs compile the best practices suggested by those who have carried out the duties of these office. With the permission of the interviewees, interviews are available on the National Archives website page dedicated to this project:
- WHITE HOUSE ORGANIZATION CHARTS. The charts cover administrations from Ronald Reagan to Barack Obama and help new White House staff understand what to expect when they arrive and how their offices changed over time or stayed the same.
- TRANSITION ESSAYS. These reports cover a number of topics suggested by White House staff, including analyses of the patterns of presidential appointments and the Senate confirmation process, White House and presidential working routine, and the patterns of presidential travel and crisis management. It also maintains ongoing reports on the patterns of interactions with reporters and the press in general as well as White House staffing.
- INTERNATIONAL COMPONENT. The WHTP consults with international governments and groups interested in transitions in their governments. In 2017 in conjunction with the Baker Institute, the WHTP hosted a conference with emerging Latin American leaders and in 2018 cosponsored a government transitions conference with the National Democratic Institute held in November 2018 in Montreal, Canada.

Earlier White House Transition Project funding has included grants from the Pew Charitable Trusts of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and The Moody Foundation of Galveston, Texas.

The Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy. A central element of the University of Missouri's main campus in Columbia, Missouri, the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy prepares students for lives of thoughtful and engaged citizenship by equipping them with knowledge of the ideas and events that have shaped our nation's history. https://democracy.missouri.edu.

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An analysis of the interchanges with reporters of Presidents Reagan through Biden at the end of December of their first year, demonstrates similar as well as differing presidential press patterns. The main findings:

#### PRESIDENT BIDEN: INTERCHANGES WITH REPORTERS IN 2021

BIDEN Answers Questions More Frequently, but Takes Fewer of Them Than His Six Predecessors.

While President Biden has taken questions more often at his events than his predecessors, he spends less time doing so. He provides short answers with few follow-ups when he takes questions at the end of a previously scheduled speech. He often takes one or two questions while his predecessors (Trump, Clinton, GW Bush) took more queries at fewer events. Counting weekdays in office in 2021, excluding holidays, President Biden answered a question or more posed by reporters 64% of the days. For the period from January through July, he responded 74% of weekdays. From August through January 20th, however, his numbers fell by over 20 percentage points. In that period, he responded to queries 53% of the days. Looking at all of his speaking events, Biden answered one or more questions in 56% of them.

BIDEN ANSWERS QUESTIONS MORE FREQUENTLY, BUT NOT NECESSARILY WITH DETAIL

While brief, Biden's answers are often newsworthy. For example, on September 15th he met with business leaders to discuss COVID vaccinations. In his introduction, he spoke a total of 3:36 minutes and in the last two seconds responded to a reporter's question: did he have confidence in General Milley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who had recently come under criticism in some quarters for his actions at the end of the Trump administration. Biden answered: "I have great confidence in General Milley." He did not provide the reasoning behind his statement. Following an October meeting in Rome with Pope Francis, Biden was asked by the pool reporter covering the event if the subject of abortion came up. He responded: "no, it didn't....we just talked about the fact he was happy that I was a good Catholic and I should keep receiving communion." In one sentence, he touched on two current hot issues: abortion and Biden's taking communion. At the time of his meeting with the Pope, a group of

conservative Catholic bishops sought to prevent Biden from taking communion because of his support for women having the right to make their own reproductive choices.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF STAFF IN COMMUNICATING THE BIDEN PRESIDENCY.

With President Biden providing spare statements, special pressure rests with his staff to flesh out the president's thinking. In the Biden presidency, the press operation is an important complement to the president. Of the 247 weekdays – not counting holidays - in the first calendar year of the Biden presidency, the press secretary and her staff briefed reporters 89% of those days. Press Secretary Jen Psaki gave regular briefings that dug into the issues mentioned by the president and raised by reporters. The press secretary and her deputy conducted 226 sessions where they responded to reporters' questions. Except when the president was traveling, the press staff held 180 briefings in the White House Briefing Room. Psaki conducted 169 of the briefings and principal Deputy Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre another nine with two background briefings given by unidentified administration officials.

When the president was abroad or traveling in the United States, Press Secretary Psaki or her deputy, briefed reporters on Air Force One in sessions known as "gaggles." In total, they held 46 with Psaki conducting 19, Jean-Pierre another 23, and other officials a total of four.

In addition to 117 solo briefings by the press secretary and her deputy, on 61 occasions they brought in officials from the White House and executive branch departments and agencies to explain presidential policies in some depth. They came in at a time when the policies were on the media menu. Psaki conducted briefings bringing in as guests all 15 of the Cabinet secretaries, except Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, Secretary of State Antony Blinken, Attorney General Merrick Garland, and Secretary of Health and Human Services, Xavier Becerra. Additionally, White House staff were frequent guests, especially National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan who made a dozen appearances in briefings and gaggles and National Economic Advisor Brian Deese who participated in another six briefings.

Communications staff are important as well directing the president on the issue of whether he should take questions from reporters and how he should answer them. He sometimes refers to the directions staff provide him by stating he is going to get in trouble with them if he doesn't follow their guidance. In a news conference in the United Kingdom at St. Magwan, for example, he responded to a question about an upcoming meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin by saying: "I'm going to get in trouble with staff if I don't do this the right way." In another he told reporters: "I am not supposed to take any questions, but go ahead." When the reporter asked about conditions at the Kabul airport as the U.S. was leaving Afghanistan, the president said "I'm not going to answer Afghanistan now." 2

## COMMUNICATING THE BIDEN AGENDA: POLITICAL PROBLEMS, NOT JUST COMMUNICATIONS ONES.

President Biden faces a conundrum: to get the public to understand the steps he is taking to bring about his legislative goals, he needs to personally explain each. At the same time, though, he cannot afford to publicly discuss the specifics at a time when he is negotiating with members of Congress where in both houses, he holds razor thin margins. A president who focuses on an inside political game needs the running room that private negotiations require. That approach leaves to others the responsibility of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://www.axios.com/jan-6-poll-axios-momentive-26ba0f30-e2b1-4530-803c-860e6302c5a9.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-following-briefing-hurricane-ida-preparedness-efforts-the-federal-emergency

explaining his presidency and programs. But often the public doesn't recognize who is behind the initiatives it supports. In a December 8<sup>th</sup> Monmouth University poll, for example, Biden's core infrastructure and Build Back Better social programs had the support respectively of 61% and 66% of respondents, yet in the same poll the president's job approval rating was 40% approval and 50% disapproval.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, in a December Marist poll, only 17% of those polled credited Biden for his popular child tax credit initiative and 20% for his economic stimulus plan.<sup>4</sup>

President Biden's poll ratings have steadily declined since he came into office with a 57% Gallup job approval rating, which dropped to 40% by mid-January. His approval numbers faced a particularly sharp decline from August (50%) to September (43%) at the end of the untidy U.S. troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. His Gallup approval numbers have not risen since that time.

While President Biden does have communications problems, just as important are the political problems he faces. Biden has faced an issue which other presidents — Democrats and Republicans — have not. While no president likes to lose an election, those running for reelection have supported the winner. Presidents Carter and George H.W. Bush conceded the election shortly after it became apparent they had lost. Additionally, they were committed to a smooth transition to power. President Trump not only did not follow their example, he worked to convince the public, particularly his constituents, that he, not Joe Biden, won the election. At no time has he conceded the election and, additionally, Trump has carried on a post-presidential "Stop the Steal" campaign to delegitimize Biden's presidency. Early in January 2022, an Axios-Momentive poll found that 55% of those contacted "accept Joe Biden as having legitimately won the 2020 presidential election." Yet 26% believed he did not and another 16% were not sure. Other modern presidents have not had to govern in an environment where their predecessor has actively worked to undermine their presidency in the way Trump has. Additionally, in their statements, almost all Republican members of Congress have publicly supported Trump and have not been willing to declare he lost the election. That has made developing bipartisan coalitions more difficult for Biden than was true for his predecessors who did not face such questions.

Policy factors that are critical in his slipping ratings include inflation and the fear of a worsening economy. COVID-19 and the spread of the Omicron virus are top issues. Structural political issues are important as well with the difficulty negotiating in the context of a 50-50 Senate and a 10 vote Democratic margin in the House. In January 2022, the party breakdown in the House was 222-212 with one vacancy. The close partisan breakdown resulted in voting on party lines with Vice President Harris playing a key role. In 2021, she cast 15 tie breaking votes, the most in a year for any vice president. Mike Pence, for example, only cast 13 tie breaking votes in his four year tenure. Biden's communications problems exacerbated the basic issues he faced in his first year, but his political problems were significant ones.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://www.monmouth.edu/polling-institute/reports/monmouthpoll us 120821/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://maristpoll.marist.edu/polls/npr-marist-national-poll-biden-economic-stimulus-december-2021/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://news.gallup.com/poll/329384/presidential-approval-ratings-joe-biden.aspx

<sup>6</sup> https://www.axios.com/jan-6-poll-axios-momentive-26ba0f30-e2b1-4530-803c-860e6302c5a9.html

#### THE PATTERNS OF RECENT PRESIDENTS

#### Presidents Respond to Queries in Their Favored Settings

Whether they like it or not, presidents answer reporters' questions throughout their years in office. Yet they do so on their own terms choosing settings they prefer. For President Biden, his favored setting

is taking a limited number of questions at the end of speeches or prior to getting on Marine One or at an airport on his way to or from the White House. At the same time, he was the least likely of the seven presidents to hold a press conference and the most likely to take a question or two at the end of an event. On the other hand, Obama preferred interviews (162) rather than regularly answering questions from White House reporters in informal sessions (46). Of the seven, President Clinton willingly met with reporters in all three forums, outdistancing the others in the press conferences and short question and answer sessions he held in the early months.

Trump added another resource to the White House digital arsenal: tweeting. From early in the morning, Trump's tweets were a

#### Three Venues for Presidents

There are three main venues presidents have used to answer questions.

**Press Conferences.** Since 1913 all presidents have held press conferences where they answered reporters' queries. The off-the-record sessions went on the record in 1953 and on television in 1955. Since that time, presidents have been less willing than those before Eisenhower to hold news conferences where they air their thinking. In the last fifty years, presidents have used two additional forums to meet reporters: short question and answer sessions and interviews. Presidents have added a new variation: joint news conferences with foreign leaders and, less frequently, with governmental officials.

Short Question and Answer Sessions. These are occasions where a president takes questions in an impromptu manner. The prime venues and occasions where presidents and reporters informally meet are on the South Lawn, at the end of scheduled remarks, and prior to an Oval Office meeting with a foreign leader, or in the Cabinet and Roosevelt Rooms meeting with officials inside and outside of government. While sometimes not announced beforehand, White House press and communications staff build in such opportunities, often in an effort to reduce journalists' pressure on a president to hold a press conference.

Interviews. The third forum for answering questions is in interviews with one or more journalists. Those sessions are usually of much greater length than the short Q&As, but shorter than a solo press conference. Trump and Obama often did four-or five-minute interviews. Trump did many of them with local television reporters while visiting locations around the country and prior to giving remarks. He also regularly spoke at length in calls he made to various Fox television hosts. Obama held interviews with small groups of local reporters at the White House as part of his effort to get Congress to pass pieces of legislation, such as the ones he did to urge congressional passage of Trade Promotion Authority. He also did long interviews with reporters exploring a particular topic as well as off the record sessions with columnists that lasted more than an hour.

communications staple. His tweets regularly set the Trump narrative for the day and filled the national news space in ways that little news time was left over for his critics. He brought his tweeting practices with him when he came into office and a year later, he accumulated 2,627 of them.

## REDUCED NUMBER OF SOLO WHITE HOUSE PRESS CONFERENCES; INCREASE IN JOINT ONES

Daily presidential responses meet the needs of some reporters, but most view the solo White House press conference as the best forum for meeting the president to record his responses to multiple questions and his thinking on a variety of subjects. Solo press conferences have the benefit of follow up questions as well as multiple reporters posing queries that dig into a president's reasoning on policy as well as explanations of his actions, goals, and assessments.

Since President George H. W. Bush developed them as a regular publicity resource, joint press conferences with foreign and government leaders are an important presidential diplomatic tool. However, they are less satisfying to reporters as the president and his guest generally take no more than three questions per leader. The solo sessions run from a half to a full hour with some presidents calling on from a dozen (Obama) to close to two dozen reporters (Trump, Clinton). On January 19<sup>th</sup>, President Biden broke all longevity records with a press conference that lasted one hour and fifty-one minutes. While President Reagan held his press conferences in a White House setting where he took questions

from the full press corps, his successors gradually moved away from that model. Five of Biden's seven solo press conferences, for example, were held in European locations on his first and second trips there, not at the White House.

#### CHANGES IN THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDIA ENVIRONMENT

The three cable news networks provide additional presidential publicity opportunities. Prior to their creation and White House presence (CNN in 1981; MSNBC and Fox in1996), news organizations were more willing to give prime time space to a president for an address to the nation than they are now willing to do. Today presidential speeches are regularly covered by cable networks, most often during their daytime programming. Networks do not want to give up their evening entertainment programming and its substantial revenue for presidential speeches and news conferences unless a president's press conference will be a major news event.

White House media operations have become increasingly complex during the period from Reagan to Biden. In the Reagan and George H.W. Bush era reporters worked for one news organization and did one or two stories a day for their networks or newspapers, but by 2021 reporters and their news organizations had very different rhythms. Most news organizations became similar to wire services as they streamed information throughout the day. Additionally, a large number of local and regional newspapers died or went online. By the Obama administration, local television became the route for a White House to make a president's policy pitches to targeted areas.

Even in dealing with reporters for a particular news organization, White House staff had to consider all of the venues where they presented their articles. Reporters published their stories online before they came out in printed form, tweeted information throughout the day, and then discussed their articles on television where they often had a contract to regularly provide commentary on a day's events. Peter Baker, senior White House correspondent for the *New York Times*, for example, provides commentary on MSNBC, and sometimes on the PBS "Washington Week in Review" show, as well as writes for the *Times* and authors books on the presidency. Many other White House reporters have similar organizational arrangements.

## THE PATTERNS PRESIDENTS DEVELOP IN THEIR FIRST MONTHS ARE SUBJECT TO AMENDMENT

In their first year in office, presidents experiment with different communications approaches. Known for his extended South Lawn sessions with reporters, President Trump did not hold the first such session with reporters until September 2017. A nighttime White House East Room often one-hour news conference was President Reagan's signature publicity event. He held his first one in March 1982 and never looked back. He used them for the remainder of his term. Reagan began his Saturday radio addresses, another major publicity tool, in April of his second year. Trump gave Saturday weekly addresses on a regular basis until near the end of his first year and then stopped them altogether in September of his second year. Some presidents adopt an early pattern and find it works well for them. In his first months in office President George H. W. Bush developed the modern joint news conference with foreign leaders. In May 1989, he held his first such news conference when he and French President Francois Mitterand jointly met reporters in a formal news conference.

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### **APPENDIX: AT A FULL YEAR IN OFFICE** SEVEN PRESIDENTS AND THEIR INTERCHANGES WITH REPORTERS\*

#### PRESIDENT BIDEN: SUMMARY OF INTERCHANGES WITH REPORTERS

•	Press conferences:	10
•	Informal question-and-answer sessions:	225
•	Interviews:	28
•	Total events where Biden took reporters' questions:	263
•	Addresses and remarks: <sup>7</sup>	208

#### SUMMARY FOR ALL PRESIDENTS

#### Press Conferences: Solo and Joint With Foreign and Government Leaders

President Joe Biden				
Total:	10	[7 Solo; 3 Joint]		
White House Solo:	2		Period Cove	ered for Each Presidency
Nighttime East Room:	0		Biden:	1/20/2021 - 1/20/2022
President Donald Trump Total: White House Solo: Nighttime East Room:	23 1 0	[1 Solo; 22 Joint]	Trump: Obama: W. Bush: Clinton: H.W. Bush: Reagan:	1/20/2017 - 1/20/2018 1/20/2009 - 1/20/2010 1/20/2001 - 1/20/2002 1/20/1993 - 1/20/1994 1/20/1988 - 1/20/1989 1/20/1981 - 1/20/1982
President Barack Obama	07	F44 C 1		, ,
Total:	27	[11 Solo, 16 Joint]		
White House Solo:	5			
Nighttime East Room:	4	[(all in 2009) February 9; March 24; April 29; J	uly 22]	
President George W. Bush				
Total:	19	[4 Solo: 15 Joint]		

[June 17, 1993]

President George W. Bus	h	
Total:	19	[4 Solo; 15 Joint]
White House Solo:	4	
Nighttime East Room:	1	[October 11, 2001]
President Bill Clinton		
Total:	45	[14 Solo; 31 Joint]
White House Solo:	11	

#### President George H. W. Bush

Nighttime East Room:

Total:	32	[22 Solo; 5 Joint]
White House Solo:	18	
Nighttime East Room:	1	[June 8, 1989]

#### President Ronald Reagan<sup>8</sup>

Total:	7	[7 Solo; 0 Joint]
White House Solo:	7	
Nighttime East Room:	0	

<sup>7</sup> These numbers do not include when Biden followed a speech or remarks with taking questions from reporters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> President Reagan is hard to compare as he was shot March 30, 1981, with several weeks of recovery without public appearances.

#### Informal Question and Answer Sessions: President Gives Remarks and Takes Reporters' Questions

President Joe Biden

Total: 225

**President Donald Trump** 

Total: 120

President Barack Obama

Total: 46

President George W. Bush

Total: 148

President Bill Clinton

Total: 255

President George H. W. Bush

Total: 62

President Ronald Reagan

Total: 41

#### Interviews

President Joe Biden

Total: 28

**President Donald Trump** 

Total: 95

President Barack Obama

Total: 162

President George W. Bush

Total: 50

President Bill Clinton

Total: 55

President George H. W. Bush

Total: 48

President Ronald Reagan

Total: 65

#### Percentage of All Speaking Sessions Where President Took Reporters' Questions

President Joe Biden

Total: 56%

President Donald Trump

Total: 41%

President Barack Obama

Total: 33%

President George W. Bush

Total: 34%

President Bill Clinton

Total: 48%

President George H. W. Bush

Total: 28%

President Ronald Reagan

Total: 34%

#### Notes on Data Collections

# The figures here are based on counts of official public events as found in White House press releases and pool reports as well as cross-checked with, first, the Daily Compilation of Presidential Documents [earlier from the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents] published by the National Archives and Records Administration [https://www.govinfo.gov/app/collection/cpd/2019/08] and, second, the entries of public presidential utterances included in the Public Papers of the President as found on The American Presidency website, <a href="https://www.americanpresidency.org">www.americanpresidency.org</a>, and third, the presidential schedule and transcripts for each day that I receive them from the Press Office. My headings are based on ones used by the National Archives though I aggregate them [Remarks and Exchanges and Exchanges without accompanying remarks] into my own categories and divide press conferences into Solo and Joint ones.

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S POLITICAL RALLIES. President Trump did not include most of his political rallies in the official record of his presidency. In 2017, eight are included in the *Public Papers* and two were not. From 2018-2021, only two are included in the *Public Papers* out of 46 in 2018, 21 in 2019, 99 in 2020, and 2 in 2021. President Trump did not include in the *Daily Compilation of Presidential Documents* his January 6th speech on the Ellipse that preceded the attack on the Capitol. I include his political rallies in my record of his speeches.

**PRESIDENT TRUMP'S TWEETS.** I do counts for particular time periods from the Tweets archived in the Trump Twitter archive at: trumptwitterarchive.com. Click on "See All' to scroll through his Tweets. The database is easily searchable. Other presidents did not personally tweet as a method to communicate with the public.

PRESS CONFERENCES. Press conferences are divided into Solo and Joint sessions. The latter are usually held together with a foreign leader where each answers questions from reporters from the foreign and White House press corps members present. Both leaders first make statements, usually about what was discussed in their meeting, and then take questions. There also are occasional joint sessions with U.S. government officials. Solo sessions tend to be longer ones. I have noted how many Solo sessions a President has held in the White House compound. I have also noted how many of the Solo sessions occurred in prime time from the East Room, which as the "crown jewel" of presidential interchanges involve the largest television audiences of any interchange. President George H. W. Bush is the first President to use Joint press conferences on a regular basis and his successors have continued the trend he began. His predecessors did so only occasionally. In March and April, 2020, President Trump had long news conferences when the Task Force on the Coronavirus came to the White House Briefing Room to speak. The President generally spoke first and answered questions at length. While they were sometimes titled as "briefings" these sometimes 120+ minute sessions fit into the category of news conferences.

**SHORT QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSIONS.** "Short question-and-answer sessions" are events where only a small number of reporters representing the White House press corps – a pool - are allowed in to question the President. This category is composed of the National Archives designation of "Exchanges with Reporters" where the President may or may not make remarks at the same time. If he has a speech that is designated by the National Archives as "Remarks and Exchange with Reporters," it is counted twice in my tabulations. His remarks are counted separately in the "Addresses and Remarks" category while the exchanges with reporters is also counted in the "Short Question and Answer Sessions."

INTERVIEWS. Unlike the other categories, "interviews" are only occasionally publicly released. They are regarded as the property of the news organization and, with some exceptions, the individual organizations control whether and when transcripts are released. For the Obama, George W. Bush, and William Clinton administrations, my figures represent internal counts maintained by White House staff as well as additional interviews I find that may not have been listed on the White House file. For recent presidents, I comb online sources for interviews, use information from Pool Reports issued by reporters covering the President, references in reporters' stories to their discussions with the President, and information I have obtained from reporters about their direct talks with the President either by phone or in person. I include the off-the-record luncheons, dinners, and meetings presidents sometimes have with reporters because inevitably information journalists have acquired in those sessions is shared within their news organizations and sometimes makes its way into print.

For the interview numbers for Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush, I have used the White House Daily Diary, which is compiled from official internal records by the Diarist, an employee of the National Archives and Records Administration. Until recently the Reagan personal and Daily Diary were online through the Reagan Foundation website at: <a href="http://www.reaganfoundation.org/white-house-diary.aspx">http://www.reaganfoundation.org/white-house-diary.aspx</a> and the first year and a half of the Daily Diary for President George H. W. Bush is available through the Miller Center at the University of Virginia. Their diary information only goes through December 1990. The full White House Daily Diary for President George H. W. Bush is available at the George H. W. Bush Library in College Station, Texas. That is the diary I used. The President's Daily Diary for Reagan is now available at the Reagan Library at: <a href="https://reaganlibrary.gov/digital-library/daily-diary-His">https://reaganlibrary.gov/digital-library/daily-diary-His</a> His personal diary can be purchased online. For Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush, the President's Daily Diary offers a more complete picture of the President's interactions with those associated with news organizations because the diaries capture the phone calls they place and those they receive. Even when they are brief, I include these phone contacts in my counts because the information exchanged between the President and the journalist will be used in some way by them and / or their news organizations in their articles or planning of their news coverage. The White House Daily Diary for Presidents George W. Bush and Bill Clinton have not yet been made public so that excellent source is not yet available. When the Diaries are available, I will go back through my lists and update with phone calls with reporters and other interviews that were not included in their internal lists.

SPEECHES. Speeches to Joint Sessions of Congress, State of the Union, Inaugural Addresses, and Addresses to the Nation form my category, Addresses to the Nation. The Weekly Addresses category includes formal Radio Addresses in the Reagan, George W. Bush and Clinton administrations as well as the radio addresses in the Obama administration that are titled "Weekly Address" presented on several platforms, including YouTube and television as well as radio. Other radio addresses are included in Radio Addresses as well, such as those given by George H. W. Bush who did not regularly do weekly radio addresses as did the others. President Reagan was the first President to adopt and then maintain a practice of delivering weekly radio addresses. Except for President George H. W. Bush, all of his successors have followed his practice from the early days of their administrations. Any Radio Addresses by any of the five presidents was put into the Radio Addresses category. All other remarks and speeches publicly given by the President form my "addresses and remarks" subcategory.

WATCHING INTERCHANGES WITH REPORTERS ON FACTBA.SE. You can watch most of the on-the-record video interchanges by President Biden and President Trump with the press as well as speeches at Factba.se. Click on Joseph Biden / Donald Trump and then in the dropdown menu, choose Topics and click on "Browse Speeches and Interviews." Most are also available on You Tube.