

WHITE HOUSE TAPES
5th CHRONOLOGICAL RELEASE
PART V
APRIL – JULY 1973



Richard Nixon Presidential Library

National Archives and Records Administration

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NIXON WHITE HOUSE TAPES

FIFTH CHRONOLOGICAL SEGMENT

PART V

APRIL – JULY 1973

This group of 94 Nixon White House tapes, released on August 21, 2013, consists of conversations which took place in the Oval Office, in the President's Old Executive Office Building (EOB) office, and on certain telephones in the Oval Office, the President's EOB office, and in the Lincoln Sitting Room in the residence of the White House. This group of White House tapes also includes room conversations and telephone conversations recorded in the President's study in the Aspen Lodge at the Camp David Presidential retreat in Maryland. In all, there are 2905 conversations totaling approximately 340 hours of listening time. These conversations were recorded, from April 9, 1973 to July 12, 1973.

According to the terms of the 1996 Tapes Settlement Agreement between the National Archives, President Nixon's Estate, and Public Citizen, the Nixon Presidential Materials Staff and its later manifestation, the Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, has previously processed and released to the public nine installments of Nixon White House Tapes. The installments were:

1. Abuse of governmental power (AOGP) conversations. These tapes consisted of excerpted portions of conversations that documented evidence of abuses of governmental power. These excerpted portions were recorded between February 1971 and July 1973. This first installment was released to the public in October 1996 and totaled 201 hours of listening time.
2. Cabinet Room conversations. These conversations were recorded in the Cabinet Room in the White House between February 1971 and July 1973. This second installment was released to the public in November 1997 and totaled 154 hours of listening time.
3. First chronological segment. These conversations were recorded between February and July 1971. They were released to the public in October 1999 and totaled 445 hours of listening time.
4. Second chronological segment. These conversations were recorded between August and December 1971. They were released to the public in October 2000 and totaled 420 hours of listening time.
5. Third chronological segment. These conversations were recorded between January and June 1972. They were released to the public in February 2002 and totaled 425 hours of listening time.
6. Fourth chronological segment. These conversations were recorded between July and October 1972. They were released to the public in December 2003 and totaled 238 hours of listening time.

7. Fifth chronological segment, part I (tapes 33, 388, and 813). These conversations were recorded in November 1972. They were released to the public in July 2007 and totaled 11 ½ hours of listening time.
8. Fifth chronological segment, part II. These conversations were recorded between November and December 1972. They were released to the public in December 2008 and totaled 198 hours of listening time.
9. Fifth chronological segment, part III. These conversations were recorded in January 1973. They were released to the public in June 2009 and totaled 154 hours of listening time.
10. Fifth chronological segment, part IV. These conversations were recorded between February and March 1973. They were released to the public in December 2010 and totaled 265 hours of listening.

All of these tapes are in the custody of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). They are part of the Nixon presidential historical materials under the provisions of the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act of 1974 (PRMPA) (44 USC 2111 note). In July 2007 with the establishment of the Nixon Presidential Library, the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace Foundation signed a deed of gift donating large portions of previously withdrawn conversations from the White House tapes. These donated conversations concern personal and political matters that were initially identified and reviewed by the archivists as “returnable” to the Nixon Foundation as the content of those conversations had no bearing on the constitutional and statutory duties of the Presidency, as stipulated in the PRMPA and its implementing public access regulations. Conversations determined to fall within the scope of the Nixon Foundation’s deed of gift, were reviewed according to the terms of the deed. Accordingly, access to the Nixon materials, including the tapes, is now governed by the PRMPA, its implementing public access regulations, the 1996 Tapes Settlement Agreement, and the 2007 deed of gift.

A Brief History of the White House Taping System

In February 1971, the United States Secret Service (USSS), at the request of the President, installed listening devices in the White House. They placed seven microphones in the Oval Office – five in the President’s desk and one on each side of the fireplace. They placed two microphones in the Cabinet Room under the table near the President’s chair. The Secret Service technicians wired all devices to central mixers which were then connected to recorders in an old locker room in the White House basement.

In April 1971, the Secret Service technicians installed four microphones in the President’s office in the EOB. These microphones were located in the President’s desk and wires led to a mixer and recorders in an adjoining room. The Secret Service also tapped the telephones in the Oval Office, in the President’s EOB office, and in the Lincoln Sitting Room. These telephone conversations were recorded by tapping the telephone lines from the White House switchboard and relaying the conversations to recorders in a closet in the basement of the residence.

Finally, in May 1972, the Secret Service set up a taping system in the President's study in Aspen Lodge at Camp David. There were three separate recording systems put in place. A single microphone recorded conversations taking place in the study. The President's telephone on the President's desk was tapped as was the telephone on the study table.

This was a secret taping system maintained by the Secret Service. Only President Nixon, H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman, and a few of the President's close personal assistants knew the system existed. One of its key features was that the recording equipment in the Oval Office, the EOB office, at Camp David, and on the telephones was sound activated, operating without a conscious decision by the President to record a specific conversation. Most participants were unaware that their conversations were being recorded. The system was tied to the Presidential Locator System and would only activate if the President was present in the room. It was designed to continue recording for fifteen to thirty seconds after the President left the room.

The Cabinet Room recording system operated somewhat differently. It was a manual rather than a sound activated system. It was activated by a Special Assistant to the President who managed the President's activities in the West Wing of the White House. The assistant activated the system from a switch on his desk (although the Secret Service also placed on/off switches on either side of the President's chair at the Cabinet Room table). When the assistant inadvertently left the system "on," the tape recorders captured non-historical conversations as well as hours of room noise.

Tapes Processing

The archivists have processed the sound recordings for public access under PRMPA, its implementing public access regulations, the 1996 Tapes Settlement Agreement, and starting with the July 2007 release, the 2007 deed of gift.

Archival processing included duplicating the recordings to preserve the original tapes, enhancing the sound quality of the tape copies, describing the contents of the tapes by creating tape subject logs and other finding aids, and reviewing the tapes for restrictions.

The PRMPA regulations define eight restriction categories. In accordance with PRMPA and its implementing public access regulations, NARA restricts the content if release of the information would:

- Violate a Federal statute or agency policy (restriction category "A");
- Reveal national security information (restriction category "B");
- Violate an individual's rights (pending) (restriction category "C");
- Constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy (restriction category "D");
- Disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information (category "E");
- Disclose investigatory/law enforcement information (restriction category "F");
- Disclose purely private and personal information, as defined by the PRMPA (restriction category "G");

Disclose non-historical material (restriction category “H”).

In some cases, the archivists withheld certain portions which were so unintelligible that the staff could not adequately review them for release at this time. These portions are noted on the tape subject log as “Unintelligible.” For all of the withdrawals (except those removed because they were unintelligible), the tape subject log will note the relevant restriction category and the duration of the withdrawal. For national security withdrawals, the tape subject log will also indicate the main topic of the withdrawal.

Portions of conversations determined to fall within the “G” restriction category originally were to be returned to the Nixon Estate in accordance with PRMPA and its implementing public access regulations. However, the July 2007 deed of gift from the Nixon Foundation donated a large portion of this “G” material to NARA. The deed of gift allows NARA to retain and review all of the “G” material that does not concern the medical history or personal finances of Richard Nixon and does not concern the private, non-public activities of the immediate First Family (Thelma “Pat” Nixon, Tricia Nixon Cox, Edward Cox, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, and David Eisenhower). The archivists review these deeded portions to determine if they can be released to the public. In conducting this review, the archivists only restrict information that constitutes a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy. These privacy withdrawals are indicated on the tapes subject logs as “Deed of gift-privacy” along with the duration of the withdrawal. Material previously returned to the Nixon Foundation that falls outside of the scope of the deed of gift, as well as material returned to the Nixon Foundation under the 2007 deed of gift are indicated on the tapes subject logs as “Personal returnable” along with the duration of the withdrawal.

In past tapes processing, room noise captured on the tapes had been withdrawn. If President Nixon was alone in the room during these room noise recordings, the room noise was withdrawn as “G” personal returnable. If President Nixon was not in the room, the room noise was withdrawn as “H” non-historical. Under the 2007 deed of gift agreement, the Nixon Foundation allowed NARA to retain and release room noise captured on the tapes that had been designated as “G” material under PRMPA. In this release, for the sake of consistency and because of its potential, albeit limited, historical value, the Director of the Nixon Presidential Library decided to release both types of room noise as well as any incidental background conversation inadvertently captured on the tapes (e.g. faint conversations in the outside hallway). Room noise is segregated from identifiable conversations and labeled as such. Withdrawals from the room noise segments have been made for unintelligible segments that might be conversation. Room noise is not indicated on the tape subject logs.

All withdrawals under PRMPA or the 2007 deed of gift, including unintelligible withdrawals, are identified on the tapes by a ten second tone.

In this installment, the National Archives is releasing 94 White House tapes recorded between April 9, 1973 and July 12, 1973 totaling approximately 340 hours of listening time with 52 hours 36 minutes and 46 seconds of room noise. In the course of processing the tapes, the Nixon

Presidential Library restricted a total of 3 hours 24 minutes and 9 seconds worth of conversation. According to PRMPA and the 2007 deed of gift, the archivists determined that approximately 46 minutes and 27 seconds remained under the restriction category “G” and would be returned to the Nixon Estate. Under the deed of gift, the archivists withheld 8 minutes and 26 seconds for privacy. In the course of processing these recordings, the archivists determined that approximately 43 minutes required restriction because the conversations or room noise were too unintelligible to review. The archivists restricted 19 minutes and 43 seconds because of statute (restriction category “A”). There is one investigatory or law enforcement withdrawal with a duration of 10 seconds (restriction category “F”). The archivists only restricted 1 hour and 20 minutes and 28 seconds worth of conversation for reasons of national security (restriction category “B”). Lastly, the archivists only restricted approximately 6 minutes worth of conversation for restriction category “D” (release would clearly constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy).

Description of Tapes Included in the August 2013 Release

Introduction

This release comprises conversations involving the President and a variety of participants which were captured on audio tape during the period April to July 1973. The most frequent participants are White House staff members Bob Haldeman, Henry Kissinger, Ronald Ziegler, John Ehrlichman, Alexander Haig, and Stephen Bull. Others include members of Congress, the Cabinet, White House staff, and federal agencies; foreign dignitaries; the President’s personal secretary, legal counsel, friends and family; journalists; and celebrities. The conversations document the entire scope of issues in which the Nixon White House engaged and in particular include topics related to the implementation of the peace settlement ending United States involvement in the Vietnam War, investigations of Watergate, presidential appointments and personnel management, domestic policy issues, trade reform, "most favored nation" tariff status and the emigration of Soviet Jews, the United States – Soviet Union summit, the President's Year of Europe endeavor, as well as conversations with notable participants, presidential messages and statements, and other topics.

The Library reviews individual tapes in their entirety. The US Secret Service, which operated the taping system in 1973, only replaced tapes when they had been fully recorded. As a result a few of the tapes from the end of March 1973 include conversations from April. Those conversations have been opened to the public as part of the 5th Chronological Release, Part IV.

All conversations recorded in the Cabinet Room during the period April-June 1973 were released in 1997 and are not included in this release.

Implementation of the Agreement Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam

After the last US troops departed South Vietnam in March 1973, many outstanding political and military goals set out in the Vietnam peace agreement and related protocols remained unachieved. Among the more pressing unresolved issues discussed by the President and his national security staff, including Henry Kissinger, Alexander Haig, and Brig. Gen. Brent G. Scowcroft, are the status of U.S. military and civilian personnel missing in action, cease-fire violations in South Vietnam, withdrawal of foreign troops from Laos and Cambodia, aerial bombing, and political self-determination and sovereignty in Indochina, particularly South Vietnam. Starting in early April, Kissinger, Haig, and William H. Sullivan held informal talks and formal negotiations with representatives from South and North Vietnam which culminated in the June 13, 1973 signing of a joint communiqué on the implementation of the Vietnam agreement. One week prior to the signing, the President hosted South Vietnam Ambassador to the U.S. Tran Kim Phuong, together with Haig and Scowcroft.

The President conversed occasionally with members of Congress including Joe D. Waggoner, Jr. and Otto E. Passman, and met with his Congressional liaison staff and counselors including William E. Timmons and Melvin R. Laird to discuss funding for continued U.S. military operations and foreign assistance to Indochina. The President also discussed strategies to counter legislation aimed at halting the flow of U.S. arms and dollars to Indochina. The President also met with political advisors and speech writers including Ron Ziegler and Raymond K. Price, Jr. to draft presidential messages on foreign assistance programs and air activities over Cambodia. The latter message accompanied the President's signature on the Second Supplemental and Continuing Appropriations Bills for Fiscal Year 1973 which contained compromise language making it illegal to use any appropriated federal funds for ground and air operations in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia after August 15, 1973. This legislation effectively ended U.S. military operations in Indochina.

While Kissinger, Haig, and Sullivan were negotiating the joint communiqué, the White House organized a reception, formal dinner, and entertainment for recently returned prisoners of war and their spouses. In planning events staged at the State Department and the White House, the President met frequently with Kissinger, Haldeman, Haig, and the President's Personal Secretary Rose Mary Woods, and conversed occasionally with Ray Price and event organizer Paul Keyes. President Nixon also convened separate meetings with prisoners of war Lt. Col. John Dramesi, Gen. John B. Flynn, and Adm. James B. Stockdale, as well as Dr. Roger Shields who helped plan for the repatriation of POWs.

Watergate

The tapes in this opening include many previously released conversations that were part of the Watergate Trial Tapes, Watergate Special Prosecution Force, and Abuse of Governmental Powers tapes releases. Watergate-related conversations rereleased as part of this chronological opening of the White House Tapes include discussions of Congressional committee and subcommittee hearings, grand jury proceedings, and federal criminal trials involving matters related to the public release of the Pentagon Papers, the break-in at the Watergate complex and the offices of Dr. Lewis Fielding, campaign finance violations, misuse of federal agencies, and

federal antitrust actions. The President, his chief political advisors Bob Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Alexander Haig, and Ron Ziegler, legal counsel J. Fred Buzhardt, Jr., Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, and Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen held frequent and lengthy discussions about legal culpability and personnel management; executive privilege and immunity from prosecution; witness testimony, public disclosure of information, and documentary evidence; Presidential statements and White House staff news briefings; Presidential residences; Justice Department investigations and the appointment of a special prosecutor; civil rights, national security, and the Constitutional and statutory authority of the President, Congress, and the judiciary.

With the opening of grand jury proceedings in Washington, D.C. on April 5, 1973, staff from the Office of the President, the Committee to Re-Elect the President, federal agencies and departments were called upon to provide testimony in ongoing federal investigations. The President and his advisors frequently discuss reports of witness testimony, pending charges, and indictments while developing a plausible defense of the Office of the President suitable for Congress, federal courts, political correspondents, and the general public.

Presidential Appointments and Personnel Management

From April to July 1973 the President took part in numerous conversations with political advisors and legal counsels including Leonard Garment, William Rogers, and Ron Ziegler wherein he discussed and considered current and prospective White House staff and Cabinet-level appointments. As a result of Congressional and grand jury investigations into the Watergate break-in, campaign financing, and other related matters, the President discussed the resignation or termination of Chief of Staff Bob Haldeman, White House Counsel John W. Dean, III, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs John Ehrlichman, Federal Bureau of Investigations Director L. Patrick Gray, and Attorney General Richard Kleindienst.

Soon after accepting the resignations of Haldeman and Ehrlichman, the President reorganized the Office of the White House starting with the interim appointment of Alexander Haig as assistant to the President on May 4, 1973. Thereafter, Haig met frequently with the President and Ron Ziegler regarding the appointments of Special (Watergate) Counsel Fred Buzhardt, Special Assistant John B. Connally, and White House Counsel Len Garment. On June 6, Haig and Ziegler were formally named assistants to the President while Deputy Press Secretary Gerald R. Warren announced the appointment of Melvin R. Laird as counsellor to the President. After consulting with Haig, Ziegler, and Proctor and Gamble Chairman Henry J. Morgens, the President invited Bryce N. Harlow to return to the Cabinet as a counselor to the President on June 14. In filling vacant Cabinet-level positions, the President appointed Secretary of Defense Elliot L. Richardson as attorney general. He interviewed David Packard to replace Richardson as secretary of defense, but appointed Central Intelligence Agency Director James R. Schlesinger. William E. Colby was the President's choice to replace Schlesinger, while William D. Ruckleshaus was asked to serve as interim Director of the FBI until being replaced by Clarence

M. Kelley. Watergate-related topics framed many of the discussions about appointments and personnel management.

Domestic Issues

During the period April through July 1973, domestic policy issues were discussed among the President and his political advisors Bob Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Alexander Haig, Ron Ziegler, Mel Laird, Bryce Harlow, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr. and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew. The President also met intermittently with congressional relations staff members William Timmons and Tom C. Korologos, and convened weekly or bi-weekly meetings with Republican and Bipartisan Congressional Leadership including Gerald R. Ford, Leslie C. Arends, Robert P. Griffin, Hugh Scott, Michael J. Mansfield, and Republic National Committee Chairman, George H. W. Bush.

President Nixon dealt with a variety of domestic issues during these months. Early in April, the President discussed federal spending and his veto of two separate authorization bills: one to fund vocational rehabilitation and another to provide grants for rural, water and sewer programs. Toward the end of June, the President once again sought ways to prevent passage of several pieces of legislation including a supplemental appropriation act which contained a rider mandating that the President halt bombing operations over Cambodia on July 1, 1973. Conversely, during this period, the President introduced or proposed legislation to Congress concerning unemployment insurance, retirement benefits, and pension reforms; the sale of raw materials from the national strategic stockpile; the creation of a non-partisan legal services corporation; special revenue sharing of federal grants to state and local governments; and funding for national direct student loans. More specifically, the President met with policy advisors and members of Congress to discuss campaign reform, energy policy, and wage and price controls.

In May, President Nixon raised the issue of campaign reform during several conversations with Alexander Haig and William Rogers; in particular, they discussed presidential and congressional terms of office, campaign financing, and campaign practices. On May 15, he convened a meeting of Bipartisan Congressional Leadership to outline his proposal for a non-partisan, electoral reform commission. Contemporaneously, President Nixon sought advice from White House staff and members of Congress on potential appointees to a 17-member campaign reform commission which he announced in a public statement recorded in the Oval Office on May 16.

The President devoted considerable time to reviewing energy policy. On April 5, Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton met with the President to discuss construction of an Alaskan oil pipeline. Two weeks later, the President filmed public remarks in the Oval Office in which he proposed expanding energy production and lowering the cost of fuel oil, building the Alaska pipeline, deregulating natural gas production, leasing federal lands to energy developers, and eliminating oil import duties. Simultaneously, the President issued Executive Order 11712 establishing a Special Committee on Energy and a National Energy Office. On June 29, he released a second statement on energy and natural resources together with Executive Order

11726 which consolidated the functions of the energy committee and office within a newly established Energy Policy Office. In the interim, the President considered several possible candidates for the position of director of energy policy including John Connally, William W. Scranton, and Colorado Governor John A. Love. The President interviewed both Scranton and Love. He announced the appointment of the Governor Love in his June 29 energy statement.

During Phase III of the economic stabilization program (January 1973- June 1973) President Nixon abandoned mandatory government inflation guidelines and pre-notification of wage and price increases in favor of voluntary, corporate compliance and financial reporting. At the same time, the President reorganized administrative machinery established during Phase II (November 1971 – January 1973). However, between April and June 1973, the President and his economic advisors noted significant price increases with respect to gasoline and food items, which provided some evidence that the voluntary system of wage and price controls were insufficient in curbing inflation.

Beginning with a meeting on April 18, the President sought a consensus opinion among his economic advisors George P. Shultz, Herbert Stein, Roy L. Ash, and John Connally, John T. Dunlop, and Arthur F. Burns as to the duration of a price freeze and the type of price control regime that would be both politically palatable and economically viable. The President and his advisors frequently discussed the efficacy of the first three phases of the President's economic stabilization program. They cited examples from different sectors of the economy to demonstrate whether mandatory price controls were more effective than voluntary action on the part of business and labor. They speculated whether prices would stabilize if frozen for 60 days as compared to 30 or 90 days; and they compared the rates of inflation for labor contracts, rents, dividends, prices and profits. Between June 11 and June 13, the President convened three meetings with Haig, Shultz, Connally, Dunlop, Ash and Stein; hosted the Labor-Management Advisory Committee in the Cabinet Room; and spoke frequently with Ray Price about editing a Presidential message on Phase IV economic controls. The President delivered his address on the nation's economy on June 13. In the message, he called upon Congress to provide the White House with power to administer a system of export controls for food products. He also outlined Executive Order 11723 which declared a 60-day price freeze and strengthened government oversight of corporate compliance with mandatory price guidelines. President Nixon reviewed Phase IV economic controls with the American public via a radio address recorded in the Oval Office on June 30, and with George Shultz, William Timmons, Hugh Scott, Gerald Ford, and Ron Ziegler during a meeting convened on July 10.

Trade Reform, "Most Favored Nation" Tariff Status, and the Emigration of Soviet Jews

In the spring of 1973, Congress considered passage of the Trade Reform Act. The Act, in part, authorized the President to extend the Soviet Union Most Favored Nation [MFN] tariff status as part of a bilateral trade agreement signed between the U.S. and Soviet Union in October 1972. Senator Henry M. Jackson and Representative Charles A. Vanik proposed to amend the act to state that the granting of MFN status to communist nations would be contingent upon a domestic policy of free and open emigration. Supporters of the Jackson-Vanik amendment in Congress

sought to force the Soviet Union to stop imposing an "education tax" on prospective émigrés. This policy's affect on Soviet Jews and other members of the intelligentsia had led to international protests and advocacy. The President, enmeshed in negotiations and preparations for a June 1973 summit with Secretary General Leonid I. Brezhnev, held meetings with Jewish leaders and members of Congress on April 18 and 19. He argued that with regard to Soviet Jewish emigration, quiet diplomacy was preferable to Congressional action. He also informed the leaders that communications from the Soviet Union indicated that the "education tax" would no longer be imposed. On May 8, President Nixon met with members of the Senate Commerce Committee who had recently returned from the Soviet Union. Leading up to the summit in June 1973, the President discussed the MFN and emigration issues with Bob Haldeman, Henry Kissinger, Ron Ziegler, and William Timmons. The President also worked with speechwriters to prepare a message recommending enactment of the Trade Reform Act of 1973 which he delivered to Congress on April 10.

United States – Soviet Union Summit Meeting

The President welcomed Secretary General Leonid I. Brezhnev to the White House on June 18, 1973. Over the course of six days, the President, Leonid Brezhnev, and their respective ministers and representatives met formally and informally in the Oval Office, Cabinet Room, and East Room of the White House, as well as Blair House, the Benjamin Franklin Room of the Department of State, Camp David, the Soviet embassy, the President's San Clemente residence, and aboard the Presidential yacht *Sequoia*. One such meeting in the Oval Office involving President Nixon, Secretary Brezhnev, translator Viktor M. Sukhodrev William Rogers, Henry Kissinger, Andrei Gromyko, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, and Anatoliy Dobrynin was captured on tape on June 18. Leading up to Brezhnev's arrival, the President devoted considerable time to planning summit events such as signing ceremonies and state dinners, and logistics including transportation and sight-seeing tours. The President conversed frequently with his principal political advisors Haldeman, Haig, Kissinger, Shultz, Ziegler, and Rogers and with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin to discuss U.S. and Soviet domestic politics and leadership, press relations, European security, nuclear weapons, international trade, and cultural and scientific exchanges both in general terms and in the specific context of formal, preliminary treaty negotiations. These wide-ranging discussions culminated in the signing of agreements, protocols, conventions, treaties, and a joint communiqué embracing the following topics: trade, agriculture, transportation, oceanography, scientific and cultural exchanges, taxation, atomic energy, arms control negotiations, and the prevention of nuclear war.

Year of Europe

President Nixon declared 1973 to be the Year of Europe. Underpinning the President's focus on Europe was a desire to redefine the Atlantic alliance to suit what he and his principal foreign policy advisor, Henry Kissinger, believed to be prevailing Cold War realities faced by the United States – open diplomatic relations with China; nuclear parity and détente with the Soviet Union; West European political and economic integration; and a U.S. export market grown increasingly competitive with an expanded European Economic Community [EEC] and Japan. President

Nixon's Year of Europe policy evolved through a series of preliminary meetings with European heads of state. The President hosted Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti at the White House on April 17 and 18, and Chancellor Willy Brandt on May 1 and 2. And at the end of May, President Nixon flew to Reykjavik, Iceland where President Kristjan Eldjarn entertained President Georges J. R. Pompidou and him for a two-day summit. The President also held talks in the Oval Office with Foreign Minister Gregoria Lopez Bravo de Castro of Spain, Foreign Minister Michel Jobert of France, Foreign Minister Walter Scheel of the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG], and NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns. Discussions about the President's Year of Europe policy focused generally on Atlantic unity and an itinerary and protocols for the President's proposed tour of Europe. Specifically, conversations about the Year of Europe focused on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions and U.S. negotiations with the Soviet Union; the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Italian and FRG domestic politics; Middle East peace negotiations, petroleum, and energy policy; trade with the EEC, the People's Republic of China, and Japan; Ostpolitik and FRG bilateral diplomacy; the U.S. Congress and "neo-isolationism."

Notable Participants, Presidential Messages and Statements, and Other Topics

Notable participants:

Notable participants include the following heads of state: Canada, Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau; Ethiopia, Emperor Haile Selassie, I; Liberia, President William R. Tolbert, Jr., and Singapore, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. The President met with other representatives of foreign governments including Bangladesh, Special Emissary Mustafizur Rahman Siddiqi; Federal Republic of Germany, Christian Democratic Union Chairman Rainer Barzel; and Honduras Ambassador to the U.S. Phillip V. Sanchez. Other notable participants include: U.S. Ambassador to Italy John A. Volpe; William F. ("Billy") Graham; Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren E. Burger; Charles W. Colson; Louis P. Harris; Charles Alan Wright; Cleveland, Ohio Mayor Ralph Park; and Edson Arantes do Nascimento (Pelé).

Presidential messages and statements:

The President read aloud and discussed draft presidential statements and messages and delivered published addresses via live and recorded television and radio broadcast on the following topics: energy policy, Watergate, foreign policy, highway safety, trade reform, campaign reform, prisoners of war repatriation, Memorial Day, wage and price controls, and economic policy.

Other topics:

-President Nixon hosted Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan and Ken Cole on April 13 in the Oval Office where the trio discussed youth employment, minimum wage, the President's upcoming speech before the National Conference of Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, and pending legislation.

-On February 27, Oglala Sioux, members of the American Indian Movement [AIM], and their supporters seized buildings and homes in the village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. A cease-fire and peace agreement signed by AIM leader Russell Means and Assistant Attorney General Dale K. (“Kent”) Frizzell temporarily ended the seven-week standoff on April 5, but gunfire erupted again twelve days later. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst spoke briefly on April 26 to the President about the Justice Department's possible role in ending the occupation. The following day, Federal agents used tear gas in a gun battle with the occupiers of Wounded Knee. Subsequently, federal agents and leaders of the occupation negotiated a second peace agreement –signed on May 6- which included provisions for disarmament as well as a promise of high-level talks with representatives of the White House.

-The President initiated several conversations about the White House tapes and taping system with Bob Haldeman, Alexander Haig, Ron Ziegler, Rose Woods, and Fred Buzhardt wherein he mentioned the possibility of destroying the tapes and talked about their possible use in framing a Watergate defense, publishing a written memoir, and responding to recollections of White House staff members.

-On May 14, President Nixon presented to Vera Christina Zabala the first Presidential Citizens Medal which the President awarded posthumously to Roberto Clemente.

-New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller and former Delaware Governor Russell W. Peterson met with the President on May 14 to discuss the role of government in society and the establishment of a commission -Critical Choices for Americans- to study the topic.

-The People's Republic of China and the United States agreed in February 1973 to move their respective liaison offices from Paris, France to Washington, D.C. and Peking. With the U.S. liaison mission slated to open in May, the President briefed U.S. Ambassador to the PRC, David K. E. Bruce on May 3 prior to his departure for Peking. And on May 30, in the Oval Office, President Nixon formally welcomed PRC Liaison Chief Huang Chen to the United States.

-The President entered Bethesda Naval Hospital on July 12 for treatment of viral pneumonia. That same day, President Nixon met with his personal physicians Dr. Walter R. Tkach and Dr. William M. Lukash as well as Alexander Haig, Ron Ziegler, Rose Woods, and Henry Kissinger to discuss symptoms and treatment of the President's physical condition, his schedule, and public relations. At 8:41 PM, Ron Ziegler briefed President Nixon about a public announcement regarding the President's health condition. This conversation, captured by microphones in the Oval Office on tape number 949, was the last to have been recorded by the United States Secret Service.

Tape Logs

In the course of processing the tapes, the archivists prepared tape subject logs as researcher aids to follow conversations. Each log contains the tape number, the conversation, the tape location,

the date and time of the conversation, and the names of the participants involved. The logs include activity statements which document when someone entered or left a room. These activity statements are based on research done by archivists. In instances when there is a telephone conversation in one of the offices, the logs contain cross references to the corresponding telephone recording, noting the tape and conversation number. The logs also indicate which portions of the tape were reviewed under the 2007 deed of gift. Room noise is not indicated on the tape subject logs. No transcripts have been created for any of these tapes.

Variations in sound quality can produce wide variations in what is heard. Even though transcripts may be prepared with great care and substantial effort, many points of ambiguity are inevitable, and erroneous or different interpretations from transcripts are always possible. As a general policy, the National Archives does not create transcripts of conversations, and considers existing transcripts to be an interpretation of the record rather than the record itself. NARA considers the actual tapes to be the record, and strongly urges users to listen to the tapes in forming their own interpretation.

Conversation Numbers

During the processing of the White House tapes, the archivists identified and assigned a unique number to each recorded conversation. The conversation number consists of an initial number which identifies the reel of the original White House tape. Each conversation on each reel is further identified by a unique number, with the first conversation on a particular reel usually labeled "1," the second conversation labeled "2," the third conversation labeled "3," and so on sequentially until the tape goes blank. Infrequent exceptions to the sequential numbering of conversations on a tape occur because of the procedures used to process the tapes. For example, the first conversation on a tape may be labeled "1," the second "39," and the third "2."

When listening to an Oval Office or an EOB office tape recording, there may be instances where the President or someone else in the room places or receives a telephone call while a meeting is in progress. The tape subject log identifies each instance by an activity statement, alerting the listener as to what is occurring, and lists a cross reference, if there is one, indicating the tape and conversation number for that telephone conversation on the White House telephone tapes. Likewise, the subject logs for the White House telephone tapes indicate the cross reference, if there is one, with the corresponding conversation from an Oval Office or an EOB office conversation.

Audio Quality

The audio quality of the recordings varies greatly. In general, conversations recorded in the Oval Office are of good audio quality; those recorded in the President's EOB office are of poorer sound quality. Conversations recorded on the telephone are generally very audible; however, in some instances, the recording equipment malfunctioned, and those conversations are barely

audible. In some instances, background noises, such as footsteps or the clinking of coffee cups and glasses, make parts of the tape segments more difficult to understand.

The National Archives duplicated the original tapes using both analog and digital technology for preservation purposes and to produce copies with improved sound quality and audibility for the review of the conversations. Digital Audio Cassettes (DATs) were used for review purposes. Digital audio files, available on compact discs and on the Nixon Library website, were then produced from these DATs for researcher use.

Executive Order 13526, Executive Order 12829 as amended and Declassification

In processing these recordings for public access, the National Archives implemented Executive Order 13526 and Executive Order 12829 as amended, which mandates declassification of materials more than twenty-five years old. Using agency guidelines, on-site visits from agency declassification specialists, detailed reference information, and textual records from the Nixon Presidential materials, the archivists were able to review substantial amounts of material. The National Archives determined that only 1 hour 20 minutes and 28 seconds required restriction out of 340 hours in this segment. These 99 withdrawals are indicated on the various tape subject logs. For national security withdrawals, the tape subject log indicates the main subject or subjects that have been withdrawn.

Other Finding Aids

In addition to the tapes subject logs, the archivists also created the following finding aids to assist researchers in their work:

Conversation Lists: Two complete lists of each conversation found on the tapes, providing the conversation number, the date and time of the conversation, the abbreviations of names of participants (by individual or described by group), the length of the released portion of the conversation, and the reference compact disk or cassette where the conversation can be located. One list is arranged by conversation number and the other by conversation date.

Abbreviations List: A list of the name abbreviations used on the conversation lists.

Index: A search engine searchable by key words such as names, geographic places, and subjects.