

Has Conceded

April 30, 1973, in a televised address to the nation:

... For the fact that alleged improper actions took place within the White House or within my campaign organization, the easiest course would be for me to blame those to whom I delegated the responsibility to run the campaign. But that would be a cowardly thing to do.

... In any organization, the man at the top must bear the responsibility. That responsibility, therefore, belongs here, in this office. I accept it.

May 22, 1973 statement on Watergate and national security matters:

... Because of the emphasis I put on the crucial importance of protecting the national security [at the time of the Ellsberg investigation], I can understand how highly motivated individuals could have felt justified in engaging in specific actions that I would have disapproved had they been brought to my attention.

Consequently, as President, I must and do assume responsibility for such actions despite the fact that I, at no time approved or had knowledge of them...

... With hindsight, it is apparent that I should have given more heed to the warning signals I received along the way about a Watergate cover-up and less to the reassurances

November 17, 1973, during a question-and-answer session with the Associated Press Managing Editors at Disney World:

... [In 1972] I didn't run the campaign. People around me didn't bring things to me that they probably should have, because I was frankly just too busy trying to do the nation's business... I say if mistakes are made, however, I am not blaming the people down below. The man at the top has to take the heat for all of them.

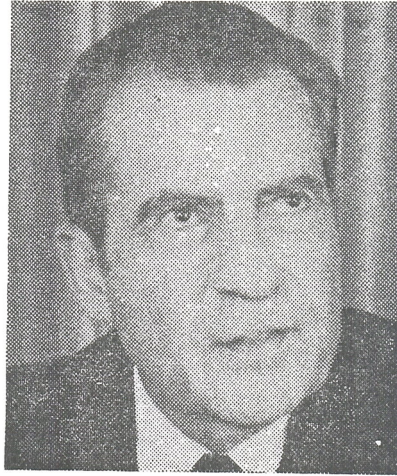
... Neither party was without fault in the campaign of 1972.

April 29, 1974, when releasing the White House version of the transcripts:

From the beginning, I have said that in many places on the tapes there were ambiguities—statements and comment that different people with different perspectives might interpret in drastically different ways. But although the words may be ambiguous—though the discussions may have explored many alternatives—the record of my actions is totally clear now and I still believe it was totally correct then.

August 5, 1974, when releasing the June 23, 1972, transcripts:

... Although I recognized [in May] that these [transcripts] presented problems, I did not inform my staff or my counsel of it, or those arguing



my case, nor did I amend my submission to the Judiciary Committee in order to include and reflect it.

... This was a serious act of omission for which I take full responsibility and which I deeply regret.

... The June 23 tapes clearly show... that at the time I gave those instructions [to limit the FBI investigation to avoid exposing national security matters] I also discussed the political aspects of the situation, and that I was aware of the advantages this course of action would have with respect to limiting possible public exposure of involvement by persons connected with the re-election committee

August 8, 1974, when announcing his decision to resign from office:

... I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of events that led to this decision. I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong, and some were wrong, they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the nation.

September 8, 1974, in accepting the pardon granted by President Ford:

Looking back on what is still in my mind a complex and confusing maze of events, decisions, pressures and personalities, one thing I can see clearly now is that I was wrong in not acting more decisively and forthrightly in dealing with Watergate, particularly when it reached the stage of judicial proceedings and grew from a political scandal into a national tragedy.

... I know many fair-minded people believe that my motivations and actions in the Watergate affair were intentionally self-serving and illegal. I now understand how my own mistakes and misjudgments have contributed to that belief and seemed to support it...

That the way I tried to deal with Watergate was the wrong way is a burden I shall bear for every day of the life that is left to me.