How Agnew Bartered His Office To Keep From Going to Prison

10/23/13:

collapse of Spiro T. Agnew's and is based on reporting by ranking official taking steps to career was a negotiated decline him, John M. Crewdson, Ben A. guard against Government

The dimensions of the bar- and Agis Salpukas. gaining were even broader than the public record suggested. President Nixon sent a They produced a game of legal messenger to the Vice Presi-chess in which constitutional dent in early September to seek issues were gambits and the his resignation. The Vice Presidency itself was a pawn. dent consented at that time, but fought to obtain a guaran-luncheon conversation late last tee that he would not go to year. It culminated 12 days ago charge of income tax evasion prison. The Attorney General as a result, in part, of a speech encouraged the bargain because by Secretary of State Kissinger he feared that fate might ele- about war and peace.

new's bartered resignation and more suited to a novel than to the Government settled for a disgrace were as fascinating as a national trauma: A President sentence of three years of unthe event was stunning. They who could not bring himself to contained elements of psycho-tell his heir apparent, to his \$10,000 fine. logical drama. They reflected face, to quit. A Vice President clashing motives in the upper inviting his own impeachment

Franklin, Christopher Lydon wiretaps of their telephones.

The drama began with a

vate a felon to the Presidency.

The details behind Mr. Ag
10 months, were ingredients reaches of the Government. in order to threaten a President Continued on Page 36, Column 1

The following dispatch was with the same prospect. Law-WASHINGTON, Oct. 22—The written by James M. Naughton yers for the nation's second-Prosecutors discussing the mental health of the President.

> The outcome became history when Mr. Agnew stood before United States District Judge Walter E. Hoffman in a Baltimore courtroom. He resigned, pleaded no contest to one and permitted the Government to publish evidence that he had extorted bribes for a decade. In return, his plea left him technically free to proclaim his innocence of any wrongdoing and supervised probation and a

Not until the last few days

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

have central figures been willing to describe the steps that led up to that momentous result. Some of the elements are matters of dispute. Years from now, scholars may debate the

causes and consequences. But based on interviews with Mr. Agnew's defense lawyers and key officials in the Government -some of whom insisted that they not be identified-here is how the fate of a Vice President was sealed in secret:



Lester Matz



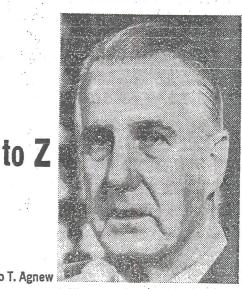
X to Y

Jerome B. Wolff

The Trail of Evidence



I. H. Hammerman



Spiro T. Agnew

The Federal investigation in Maryland that began with discovery of facts about Lester Matz, partner in a consulting firm, and Jerome B. Wolff, who held both state

and Federal posts under Spiro T. Agnew, and then to I. H. Hammerman, a banker and supporter of Mr. Agnew. When Mr. Hammerman talked, X-Y-Z chain was formed.

The Investigation

It started with a casual remark, over lunch in Baltimore. late in the fall of 1972.

Robert Brown, director of the local Internal Revenue Service intelligence unit, mentioned a curious matter to George Beall, the United States Attorney. The intelligence unit had been poking into the income tax returns of Maryland officials and some of them "don't jibe," said Mr. Brown.

With equal nonchalance, Mr. Beall replied that he had heard rumors of local officials taking kickbacks from government contractors. Perhaps, the two men agreed, it was time to seek a connection between the tax returns and the rumors.

The investigation centered in suburban Baltimore County, where a Democrat, N. Dale Anderson, succeeded Mr. Agnew as the county executive in 1967. On Dec. 4, Mr. Beall had United States District Judge C. Stanley Blair—who had been Vice President Agnew's chief of staff until his appointment to the bench in 1971—impanel a Federal grand jury.

The objectives were modest. Maybe they would catch "a couple of building inspectors" on the take, Mr. Beall thought. He assigned the case to three young assistants—Barnet D. Skolnik, Russell T. Baker Jr. and Ronald S. Liebman.

Agnew Heard Rumors

In January, they subpoensed truckloads of official records from Baltimore County. By February, the county seat, Towson, was alive with speculation about the inquiry and rumors of it reached Mr. Agnew. He was startled, but outwardly unconcerned. He had done nothing wrong in his tenure there, he confided to friends.

Then the prosecutors traced the suspicious pattern of payoffs to two contractors who had long been associates of Mr. Agnew: Jerome B. Wolff, who had served as a public works staff man to County Executive Agnew, state roads commissioner under Governor Agnew and science adviser to Vice President Agnew, and Lester Matz, a partner in a consulting firm that had had many dealings with Mr. Agnew's county and state administrations.

The two contractors were alarmed. They warned Mr. Agnew that his name would be dragged into the investigation if it were not cut short.

One account, from an Agnew associate, is that the two men approached the Vice President directly last spring but Mr. Agnew told them he had nothing to fear and would not inter-

vene.

Agnew Reassurance

Another version—which the prosecutors in Baltimore were exploring as the basis for a possible obstruction of justice charge against Mr. Agnew—was more involved. It was that Mr. Matz and Mr. Wolff had sent their message through I. H. Hammerman, a wealthy Maryland mortgage banker who had begun an Agnew-for-President movement for his close friend with "Spiro of "76" bumper stickers. Mr. Agnew was said to have sent back a rejoinder, paraphrased by one prosecutor:

prosecutor:
"Don't worry. It's going to be stopped. You'll be indicted, but what's an indictment? You can beat it. The prosecutors will be kicked upstairs and it will end."

Whichever version was more correct, Mr. Agnew decided in April that he had to have legal advice. He got in touch with Charles W. Colson, the former White House special counsel. It was a curious choice. Mr. Colson was himself coming under investigation by the Senate Watergate committee for his activities on behalf of Presi-

dent Nixon and had gone so far as to take a lie detector test to demonstrate that he was not involved in the Watergate burglary on June 17, 1972.

Mr. Colson met a number of times with Mr. Agnew. He also is known to have discussed the situation with the President. He asked his law partner, Judah Best, to get in touch with United States Attorney Beall.

Just before Easter, on April 19, Mr. Best went to Baltimore to declare that Mr. Agnew was concerned that "people were putting pressure on him to stop the investigation," and he wanted Mr. Beall to know that the last thing the Vice President "wanted to do in the middle of Watergate was to cover up."

As he later recalled it:
"I explained to Beall that I represented the Vice President, that the Vice President had heard these stories that he'd better stop the investigation or they'd make charges about him, and also that we'd heard rumors on the cocktail circuit about the dubious loyalties and lack of discretion of people on his[Beal's] staff."

Skolnik Pursued It

The last remark was a reference to Mr. Skolnik, the mos expert of the three assistant prosecutors on corruption cases—"I have an instinct for going after public officials who take cash in envelopes," he later boasted—but a liberal Democrat who had taken a leave from the prosecutor's office to work in the unsuccessful 1972 Presidential campaign of Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine.

It was Mr. Skolnik who pursued the investigation until it touched on Mr. Agnew, a point that later would lead one of the Vice President's strategists to complain that Mr. Beall, a Republican whose father had been and brother was a United States Senator, had "lost control" of the inquiry.

In April, though, Mr. Agnew had yet to be implicated. Mr. Beall told the Vice President's lawyer that there was nothing to warrant any suggestion that Mr. Agnew was involved, said that he understood the delicacy of the situation and agreed to keep Mr. Best advised of the progress of the case.

Through June, Mr. Best kept telephoning Mr. Beall every 10 days or so and getting the same report, don't worry.

They didn't. Mr. Agnew discussed with his staff the prospect of another trip abroad on behalf of the White House. He submitted to a series of interviews in which he was able to note that he alone, among the officials closest to the President, had escaped any hint of involvement in the burgeoning Watergate scandal.

3 Were Pressing

But Mr. Skolnik and his two colleagues were pressing hard with the tactic that prosecutors employ to get lesser figures to implicate higher-ups.

"The train is at the station," they would warn a potential criminal defendant. "Lots of people are getting on. Room is running out. Time is also runing out. The train may leave at any moment."

On June 4, the Baltimore

On June 4, the Baltimore County administrator, William E. Fornoff, succumbed to the tactic and gave the prosecutors detailed allegations that led to a subsequent grand jury indictment of Dale Anderson. Unknown to the Vice President, however, Fornoff gave no information involving him.

But Fornoff's actions apparently threatened Mr. Wolff and Mr. Matz. On June 11, almost simultaneously, they reached the prosecutors and started talking. By the end of June, the case against Vice President Agnew had begun to take shape.

No More Smiles

The routine call from Judah former White House legal Best to George Beall, in early counsel, had been testifying to States Attorney told Mr. Ag-new's lawyer, "It would be beneficial if we didn't talk again.

Beyond that, Mr. Richard-son voiced concern—which he

It was universal, among from becoming President of those involved. On July 3, Mr. the United States. Beall and his three assistants Beall and his three assistants came to Washington to alert go down tomorrow," the Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson to the important "The President's plane could go down tomorrow," the Attorney General kept saying. "There could be an assassin's

"Boy, do we have bad news Here we have a Vice President of the office of the under a cloud." nation's top law enforcement official.

For a decade, up to last De-the investigation away from the Vice President. The calls cepted, perhaps even solicited, never came. cash payments from contrac-

the prosecutors had finished Nixon Administration. and lit up a cigar. It was the eve of Independence Day. And the Attorney General immedithing would have been manately cast the situation in its ageable. We wouldn't have had most broad and serious con-Richardson in the Justice Detext. What was at stake, he partment, for one thing. I sure

during the previous Kleindienst. AH week, John W. Dean 3d, the

July did not elicit the routine the Senate Watergate commitassurance. Instead, the United tee that President Nixon was

To Mr. Best, the implication would repeat many times over was clear. "All smiles ended in the next three months—that

He told the Baltimore prosecutors to proceed. They ex-Richardson's Concern
They outlined the charges: calls" to proceed. They expected, as one of them later put it, "some midnight phone calls" to order that they direct

Much later, after Mr. Agnew favors.

Mr. Richardson listened, ment to the turnoil that leaned back in his chair when Watergate had stirred in the

remarked, was "the continuing as hell would rather have dealt capacity of the nation to gov- with Kleindienst"—former action itself." torney General Richard G.

The point was not that Mr.

Kleindienst might have been supermarket executive. His induced to cover up the case. restaurant tabs were picked up. It was that he might have understood better than Mr. Richardson—a Boston Brahmin whose politics had never depended upon others' wealth—Vice President to Palm Springs. how Mr. Agnew could ration-Calif., everything was paid for alize a political life-style in him there by Frank Sinatra or which secret gifts from others Bob Hope. Early this year he were considered necessary for moved into a \$190,000 home s survival.

against him through his tele-vised explanation of his resignation last Monday, Mr. Agnew ciates stated it, Mr. Agnew felt insisted that he was innocent that "you can't go to [political] of any wrongdoing, that he had rallies if you don't have shoes, never violated a public trust and gasoline in the car." in return for political contribu-

essential to survival, a basic did the prosecutors in Mary-platform from which he could land—that what the Vice Prescintinue to pursue higher office. Having entered big time politics without benefit of wealth, "How can he stay in office?" he felt constant presure to live Mr. Richardson asked col-

with a \$610,000 mortgage-From the outset of the case and could not aford new dra-

As one of his closest asso-

But as the Agnew supporters suspected, Attorney For Mr. Agnew, it was all Richardson took the view—as

up to the standards of his leagues in one Justice Department meeting. "I couldn't do it."

From X to Y to Z

On the last day of July, "That's a pack of lies, all George Beall telephoned Judah nonsense," Mr. Agnew said. On the last day of July, Best and asked him to come to Baltimore. Mr. Best asked al: "These people certainly re-

Beall's office the next day, Contractors may have made Aug. I, the three other prosecutors already to have Mr. Beall asked: "Do you want to sit with your back to the wall?"

"If it's all the same to you,"
Mr. Best answered, "I'd rather sit by the window."

Mr. Beall handed him a letter His lawvers implored Mr.

Mr. Beall handed him a letter His lawyers implored Mr. advising Mr. Best that the Vice Richardson to send someone President was under investiga- from the Justice Department to tion for possible violations of Baltimore to weigh the allegathe Federal criminal code and tions. They suggested that Mr.

ton and made arrangements Administration.

The Attorney General had al-Vice President, who was then ready decided on a review of in New York, the next day, the case. At 5 P.M. that same York law firm of Paul, Weiss, General in charge of the Crim-Rifkind, Garrison & Wharton inal Division, to his office. Mr. to ask Jay H. Topkis, a special-Petersen knew nothing of the ist in tax fraud cases, to join Agnew case. It was his first

There was a pause at his end of the telephone conversation and then he told Mr. Topkis, "Well, no, not quite the highest."

to the Senate Watergate Committee.

"You're going to be sorry you came back from vacation," Mr. Richardson told him.

Martin London of the New lated evidence and quickly de-York firm to the defense team. cided that it was genuine. To From that point on, in many bolster his judgment, he had telephone conversations about the principal witnesses undergo defense strategy, the lawyers lie detector examinations. On referred to the Vice President the "critical issues involved," only as "the client" and spoke in what they later described as "sufficient to give us confiament, a "highly eliptical" manner, dence that there was not described that the Cov. liberte miestatement." They suspected that the Gov-liberate misstatement." ernment would tap

lawyers—Messrs. Best, Topkis pledged to raise several million and London—had their first dollars for a 1976 Presidential

In the afternoon, Mr. Agnew's the ditemoon, with rights with the case this way:
up, then announced: "It's Richardson. He's coming over."

lined the case this way:
"Let's say we've got money flowing from X to Y to Z. Be-

Wolff and by Allen Green, the money to Y and we believe it principal in a large engineering went to Z.' If you get Y to take company, that they had fun-neled thousands of dollars to Mr. Agnew on a regular basis the stand if necessary and imin exchange for favors.

if he could do so in a few days, ceived government contracts, but the United States Attorney said, "You'd better make it was never influenced by When Mr. Best entered Mr. never abused my public trust. Beall's office the next day, Contractors may have made campaign contributions.

the Federal criminal code and tions. They suggested that Mr. least read it, folded it up and, eagerly lapped up stories conwithout a word, left the office.

He drove back to Washing-off prosecution by a Republican

Then another partner, David I. day, he called Henry E. Peter-Shapiro, telephoned to the New sen, the Assistant Attorney "We've got a very high gov-was concentrating on testimony to defend," Mr. Shapiro said. day back from vacation and he

Mr. Petersen went to Balti-Mr. Topkis agreed and added more, reviewed the accumu-

their Among those who underwent the lie detector test was Mr. The three principal defense Agnew's close friend, who had meeting with Mr. Agnew on the bid—Bud Hammerman. He was morning of Aug. 6, in the Vice the last of the four central witnesses against Mr. Agnew to give evidence to the prosecutors and the most important The meeting lasted all day tors, and the most important.

One of the prosecutors out-

The Attorney General joined fore Hammerman, we had a them and recited the case as it then stood. It consisted of allegations by Mr. Matz and Mr. stand and say, "Yes, we gave the many to Y and we believe it

plicate Z.

Purgatory

ing with some regularity from gatory." Mr. Hammerman. Mr. Agnew would answer the phone and ardson outlined to Mr. Agnew

There were no more cryptic With the aid of the lawyers, calls after that, and the vice he prepared a brief statement president knew what that acknowledging that he was meant: even Mr. Hamerman being investigated and prohad turned on him. But he set claiming innocence of any vioout to win vindication. The lations of law. process was complicated by On Aug. 8, 1 the suddenness with which the ducted a news conference at case against him had become which he called the charges an open fight, in full view of against him "damned lies,"

The messages had been com-|he would describe it as a "pur-

The same day that Mr. Richan intermediary would say, the government's evidence against him, the vice presi-Then came the day in August dent learned that someone had when there was a final, shock-ing message: "You may be in big trouble." Street Journal.

On Aug. 8, Mr. Agnew conthe public. Before it would end, pledged cooperation with the

intricate campaign to place another. Cordial, yes. Respect-

tended to draw a sharp con-in Mr. Agnew. Later he began trast between a cooperative volunteering the statement that Vice President and a President no improprieties had been cited who was withholding Watergate tapes from the Senate and President—a qualification that Government investigators. Second, it was intended to "use the The White House kept insistpress, in the classic sense, to ing, after each of a series of

prosecutors and said he had cials of the United States Gov-"absolutely nothing to hide." ernment met in private they It was the first step in an were uncomfortable with one pressure on the President and, through him, on the Depart-ment of Justice.

A condition of Justice.

A condition of Justice.

A condition of Justice. As one official knowledge-able about Mr. Agnew's strate-strate a public prop-erty it was doubly so. Mr. Nixon at first gave periodic and seemingly begrudged ex-it, the news conference was in--while Mr. Agnew was Vice



George Beall, right, U.S. Attorney in Maryland, and Elliot L. Richardson, who has since resigned as Attorney General, discussing the Agnew case in Washington on Oct. 11, the day after Mr. Agnew stepped down.

counter the other side's use of private meetings between the

the press" through leaks of evi-President and Vice President, dence against the Vice Presi-that no requests had been made dent. Finally, it was meant to by Mr. Nixon for the resignable a warning to the President: tion of the man he twice had picked for his heir apparent. Mrs. Nixon and Mr. Agnew Most Washington skeptics automatically disbelieved it. Curingver became close personally lensly another it was true. never became close personally ously enough, it was true, When the two senior offi-strictly speaking.

No Deal

criminal case with the Vice Phoenix not long afterwards, President on Sept. 1. He reportedly wanted Mr. Agnew to resign, but recoiled from the call counsel on Watergate. The

of September. An Agnew associate said that it was Bryce N. Harlow, a gentle but politically streetwise counselor to the dential assistants outlined the President who had developed a evidence, but Mr. Goldwater close relationship with Mr. Ag- told them it contained nothing new during the 1970 campaign he had not already seen in the but was closest of all to Mr. newspapers, a fact he resented Nixon.

that the consequences for Mr. Agnew should be made minimal in return for an act of

if any such proposal involved the risk of imprisonment. It was, said one of the half-dozen people with whom he consulted about the overture, "very, very important to him, the most important to him, the most important thing of all that he not
go to prison." He continued to
profess his innocence, but he that innocence understood understood that resignation would be taken as a token of guilt and a presumption of guilt might well be a prelude to constant and a maryland politics. might well be a prelude to conviction and jail.

On Sept. 14, Mr. Agnew Each side had a fundamental asked his closest confidant in demand that was to imperil the Senate, Barry Goldwater of the negotiations. Mr. Agnew Arizona, to meet with him. He would not go to prison; the told the Senator, whose support for him had rallied other that he should. The Government had to be able to avoid

Mr. Goldwater told the Vice Some opportunity to insist on his innocence and thus salvage were guilty. If not—as Mr. assured him—then he Mr. Buzhardt played the role should fight it to the end.

ator then flew to his home in It was clear that the quicker it Phoenix.

The President discussed the Mr. Harlow arrived by jet in task of making a direct appeal.

Instead, he sent an agent to see the Vice President some time during the first few days

Resented Publicity

For an hour, the two Presinearly as much as Mr. Agnew Mr. Harlow described the for its prejudicial impact on the Vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, a resignation might be best, and he alluded to an understanding in the White House what mattered was that he was that the consequences for Mr. Inot getting fair treatment from the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the consequences for Mr. Inot getting fair treatment from the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice President's defense. In his customary blunt style, which is the vice Preside

From the outset, Mr. Agnew was already secretly beginning to try to make a satisfactory bargain with Justice. Each side with-led from the opposite a price of the composal involves. vate fear that prosecution could be disastrous: the Government lawyers because they thought it inevitable that one contention that their client had

Buzhardt Was Broker

Presidential request for his resignation.

Mr. Coldworder told the Was seriously weighing a cover-up charges by publishing the core of its evidence; Mr. Agnew's lawyers wanted

Should fight it to the end.

Later that morning, Senator to the bargaining table. Who, Goldwater telephoned Mr. Harlow and was harshly critical of the request and the pressure it represented. The Senting Market is the suicker in the suicker in the suicker in the suicker is the suicker in th of broker to get the two sides hoenix.
To the Senator's surprise, the President would like it."

But Mr. Buzhardt made no sug-manded stern retribution, gestions. He didn't have to. prison term. Others argued When the two sets of lawyers about the impact of a deal on proposal

minisced, this, an end of the investigation. And his resignation is part of it. Let's cut a deal. A nolo plea [nolo contendere, or no contest, the legal equivalent of a pleo of guilt without The Attorney General ref-

got him whipped," he said. "That's extraordinary in it-self."

ment officials wrangled for gaining was under way. Mr. five days over whether to ac- Best denied it; Justice Waffled. cept. The arguments were ferocious. Mr. Richardson sat at the head of a large conference "No." he told his lawyers, "it's impossible. We're negotiatable with five aides and the ting in a posture where I'm shouting at one another.

met the first time on Sept. 13, the public image of a Justice Judah Best made a startling Department already soiled by Watergate. Everyone worried "My line was," he later re- about the political implications, inisced, "I want an end of the effect on legal institutions

the admission to a one-count ereed, for the most part, but penformation. No jail term. And riodically he would chime in he'll resign. And I want to save with the same insistent theme: this man's honor to the extent Mr. Agnew must not become President. Mr. Nixon had been Henry Petersen was "dum-founded." He had encountered nia in July. And, a colleague of nothing like it in 25 years at the Justice Department. "When torney General "was very wora guy comes in and wants to ried about Nixon—he might be

On Wednesday, Sept. 22, it But the senior law enforce-leaked into print that plea bar-

four Baltimore prosecutors plea bargaining. I'm innocent, outing at one another. and the public perception must Mr. Skolnik in particular de-be that I'm innocent."

Pressure

On Sept. 23, the Vice Presi-|---an open invitation to imdent set up a legal defense peachment—was the most exfund. On Sept. 25, he urged cruciating of the pressure tacthe House of Representatives tics. It was designed to pose to conduct a full, public in- a risk to a besieged President quiry that would give him an that the derelict constitutional opportunity to vindicate him-self. On Sept. 26, House Speaker Carl Albert shelved Agnew case and, oiled, humthe request. On Sept. 27, the Baltimore prosecutors began presenting evidence against Mr. Nixon himself. Agnew to the grand jury. On The legal argument that Mr. Sept. 28, Mr. Agnew's lawyers Agnew could not be indicted filed suit in the Federal courts in office contained a threat of to block the grand jury action, a Supreme Court ruling that contending that the Constitu-might also set a precedent for tion forbade the indictment of the Presidency. a Vice President and that news leaks had irreparably damaged charges that the Justice Dethe prospect of a fair trial.

Bid to House

On Sept. 29, the Vice President vowed in a Los Angeles speech not to resign even if indicted and accused the Justice Department of trying to "destroy" his career. On Oct. 3, Judge Hoffman granted Mr. Agnew with an uncanny Agnew unparalleled authority to subpoena prosecutors and activities. of news leaks. On Oct. 5, the closest associates from knowl-Justice Department asserted in edge of what equally close a legal memorandum that a President could not be indicted but a Vice President could.

aides were doing on his behalf.
Only three other persons were aware of Mr. Agnew's

another, but a whole series of John M. Dunn, his military aide; new legal, constitutional and Mary Ellen Warner, Mr. Ag. political crises. The cascade of new's confidential secretary. developments was, in fact, the public product of a strategy marized by a marveling adto strengthen Mr. Agnew's mirer of the strategy, was band at the secret bargaining basic: table or, failing there, to build a foundation for a long-drawn-help. Demanded help." out effort in the courts.

The bid for a House inquiry message.

impeachment.

The legal and oratorical partment was systematically

to subpoena prosecutors and journalists to find the sources barriers that kept some of his

It occurred with such breath- strategy of escalating pressure. taking rapidity and mounting They were Arthur J. Sohmer, intensity that the nation seem the Vice President's adminised confronted with not merely trative assistant: Major General

The message, later sum-

"We need help. Wanted

The White House got the

The Bargain

Within days of Mr. Agnew's Beall and Skolnik for the Gov-Sept. 29 attack in Los Angeles ernment and Messrs. Topkis, against the Justice Depart-London and Best for the Vice ment and his vow to stand President. The tentative agree-and fight, a channel of com-ment was outlined, but Mr. munication that none of the Agnew's lawyers wanted a departicipants would specify but cision on the sentence they one called "bizarre" fed a recould expect, and Judge Hoffsponse to Mr. Agnew from the man refused to make any com-White House: resume the bar-mitment without a recommengaining and this time it will dation from General's office.

J. Marsh Thomson, the Vice President's spokesman, was advising newsmen that Mr. stern rebuke to the prosecu- and the meeting broke up with tors on Oct. 4 at a Republican resolution still eluding the party banquet in Chicago. But negotiators. a day earlier, Mr. Thomson was suddenly ordered to make himself totally unavailable to wished to exact. The argument news outlets. Baltimore investigation.

"A candle is only so long tion of leniency. and eventually it goes out," At 8:45 that ni tified Chicago audience.

Once again the broker was on the search for world peace. Mr. Buzhardt and it was iming idiot if he weren't trying be given up in the quest for to exert some role in this thing. ever-elusive ideal solutions." It's his administration! He had

Settled on Wording

Late on Friday, Oct. 5, Mr. Best caught a plane to Miami sen had his secretary type to meet with Mr. Buzhardt, who was at nearby Key Bis-Assistant Attorney General cayne with the President's enroom at the Marriott Hotel, they settled on the wording no doubt about that. The quesof a statement in which Mr. Agnew would acknowledge evading income taxes in 1967, sufficient without sending and they reached an "ironclad Vice President to prison. agreement" that the Vice President could see the summary negotiations resumed before

But the question of punish-against a prison sentence, ment still had to be settled, "It is my understanding," a Federal judge in the private "that for you to give a guarannegotiations.

On Columbus Day, Oct. 8, recommendation from me. Judge Hoffman met from 5 to 7 Judge, if it's a must, you've got it."

P.M. in the Old Colony Motel, across the Potomac River from "If I've got it, okay, I will the capital in Alexandria, Va., commit myself,' Judge Hoffman with three representatives from replied, each side: Messrs. Petersen, It was

from the Attorney

Couldn't Agree on Penalty

Mr. Petersen said he could Agnew would deliver another not give a recommendation.

The speech broke out again and it became turned out to be unfettered apparent, in the words of one praise of the President, with source, that they would have to only a cryptic reference to the "trample on Skolnik" to get "trample on Skolnik" to get his support for a recommenda-

At 8:45 that night, Mr. Peterthe Vice President told a mys-sen was driving home from the office. On his car radio he The next day, Mr. Agnew told Mr. Best, "I think they're ready to negotiate."

The next day, Mr. Agnew heard part of a speech by Secretary of State Kissinger to Pacem in Terris, a conference

"A presumed monopoly on plicit for whom he was acting. truth obstructs negotiation and As Mr. Petersen stated it, "The accommodation," Mr. Kissinger President would be a blither was saying. "Good results may Policy makers, he said moments both a political interest and a later, must understand "the constitutional interest in get-crucial importance of timing. ting a resolution of the situa-Opportunities cannot be hoard-tion." ed; once past, they are usually irretrievable."

The next morning, Mr. Peter sen had his secretary type Assistant Attorney cayne with the President's entourage. From midnight until 3 A.M. Saturday, in Mr. Best's room at the Marriott Hotel. General tion is, should we?"

Disgrace, he said, would be sufficient without sending the

Later that day, Oct. 9, the of the evidence against him Judge Hoffman. This time, howbefore it was published.

"The key," Mr. Best said, Department. Attorney General "was Agnew's capacity to deny Richardson was present and he was prepared to recommend

and that would mean involving Mr. Richardson told the judge, tee you need an affirmative

It was a bargain.