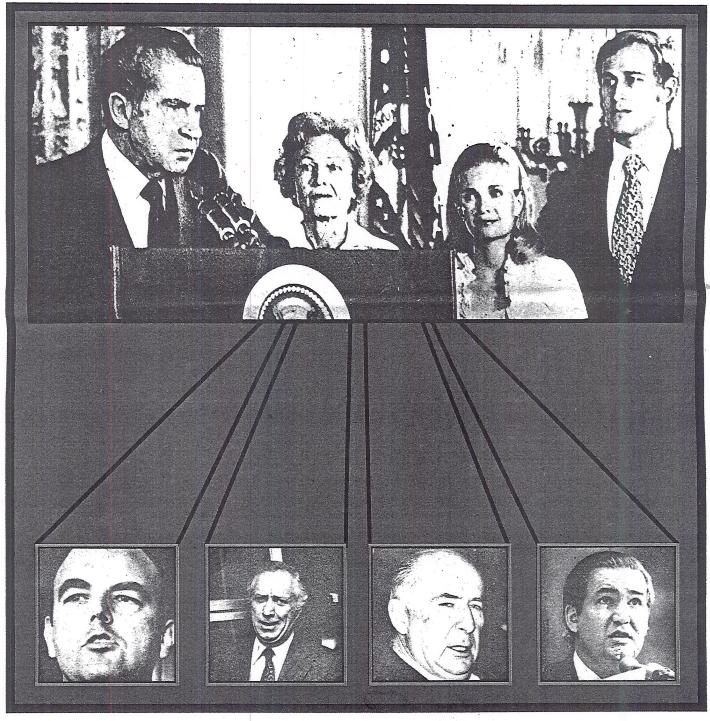
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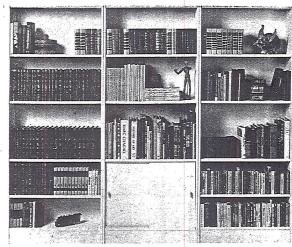
Abigail McCarthy on Washington Novels

The Front Page

The Nixon Team: One Year After



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SHELBY COFFEY III, editor; MARION CLARK, managing editor; SUSAN DOOLEY, associate editor; DAVID MOY, art director; WILLIAM R. MacKAYE, copy/production editor; BETHANN THORNBURGH, assistant to art director; HENRY ALLEN, MYRA MacPHERSON, RUDY MAXA and KENNETH TURAN, staff writers; DEBORAH FLEMING, secretary; MATTHEW LEWIS, photographer.

ac/August 10,

After the Long

The Nixon team today

By Nick Thimmesch

he people closest to the person and presence of President Richard Nixon have all lost something in their lives. Their characters have not truly changed, but their mood has. Like those who served assassinated political figures, they have experienced a sudden and devastating loss of power, but unlike those grievers, many feel shame.

Book writing and speaking out are methods to unburden any emotional load. So they talk about books, planned and in progress, all to be different from "the ones on Watergate." Some can't conceal their outrage over what they consider a moral double-standard inflicted on the moralistic Nixon administration, and naturally, there are potshots at the press. The best off have found sanctuary in humor or philosophical ruminating.

There have been no suicides, or public bouts of alcoholism. But there were innings of depression; family problems broke several marriages. Hoped-for careers, with higher income and prestige, usually the desserts of White House veterans, were lost to some. None suffered total financial ruin, though those who went to court owe legal bills running to six figures.

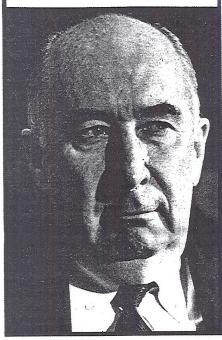
Years from now the conventional pronouncements and scenario on the first resignation of an American President, may be considerably altered by history, and these Nixon folk could gain a measure of comfort. For the moment, however, none feel at all good about this tragic moment in our history.

Mitchell

ohn N. Mitchell jokes that he has become a "professional witness" in the past year, grappling with a score of lawsuits. Once the tough former Attorney General fell into heavy legal trouble, all manner of people, from Jane Fonda to Morton Halperin to thousands of May-Dayers filed lawsuits against him. Additionally, Mitchell fights disbarment proceedings, and waits for the legal separation

Nick Thimmesch is a columnist with the Los Angeles Times Syndicate

John Mitchell: "Better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all." That's me, baby."



suit with wife Martha to be heard in New York

Douglas Chevalier

And yet Mitchell, who entered politics late in his career and cracks that he stayed too long, professes that, "I never felt better in my life. I've lost 15 pounds. I don't have to lecture or write books and articles to keep busy. All I have to do is go to court. I'm doing a lot of lawyering on my behalf.

"I'm taking life as it comes. I have no regrets for having gotten into public life. What did the poet say, 'Better to have loved and lost than to never have loved at all?' That's me, baby.

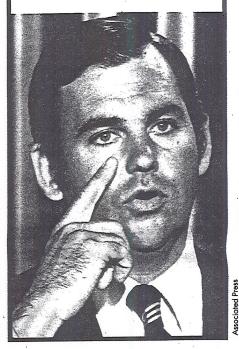
all? That's me, baby.

"I'm not kidding, I've never felt better.

And I feel great relief because you-knowwho is gone. We haven't seen or talked to each other in over two years."

He really laid it on Martha, alias you-know-who, last February when he was sentenced to 2½ to eight years in the Watergate coverup case. His statement of reaction won an immediate place with the unforgettable quotes: "It could have been better, it could have been worse, a helluva lot worse. They could have told me to spend

Ron Ziegler: "I see my future in business."



the rest of my life with Martha Mitchell."

He is comforted these days by his friend-ship with Mrs. Gordon Dean, the former Mary Gore. She is the sister of Louise Gore, the last candidate testing the honesty of Maryland's Gov. Marvin Mandel. Anyway, widow Dean and Mitchell (who still lives in New York, but spends a lot of time here) get about Washington a bit, taking a good meal in one of the better restaurants in the evening, and hashing over his legal life during the daytime.

Mitchell says that he also has social sessions with some of his old friends at the Justice Department, among them his successor, Richard Kleindienst, and his one-time civil-rights enforcer, Jerris Leonard. Mitchell is always ready for a little conviviality, even in circumstances that would drive other men to despair, strong drink or Jesus Christ.

Who can forget that marvelous photograph of Mitchell and fellow tribal celebrants lifting their glasses after being acquitted in the Robert Vesco case, one of Mitchell's many.

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Goodbye

Charles Colson: "We were perilously close to a coup."



He sees this marathon of litigation against him as "a little deeper than your regular challenge," and he says that one day he will report or write "very extensively" on his new insights on the American judicial system.

When people delicately mention the possibility that he might go to jail, Mitchell says, "That's ridiculous to consider. It hasn't crossed my mind at all. I have much more pressing matters to occupy myself with."

His greatest moments of joy, Mitchell says, are those he spends with his daughter, Marty, 14, a student at Sacred Heart School, Greenwich, Connecticut. Mitchell was awarded custody of Marty, and says that he visits her every weekend.

Mitchell has visited Nixon and talked with him on the phone a number of times. "My view of him hasn't changed," Mitchell says. "He's the same man I've always known. We talk about this and that."

Of all the men and women who came to work for President Richard Nixon, none has a saltier humor or is more cocksure than Mitchell. It wins him grudging respect from many folks, because Watergate was awfully short on humor.

Ehrlichman

ohn Ehrlichman walks the streets of Santa Fe, occasionally performing services for Indians, and at night ruminates and writes his recollections of his four years in the Nixon White House.

His is a new, vastly changed life, devoid of power. Friends say he is on a sabbatical from his wife and family, who are home in Bellevue, Washington. Wife Jean earns about \$10,000 a year as director of the youth program for the Seattle Symphony Orchestra. This fall, only one of the five children will be at home. The others are in college, away like John.

Ehrlichman is thinner, tan, and wears a beard. No more business suits. After staying with friends for two weeks after his arrival, he moved into a low-rent, three room adobe. His phone is unlisted, his contacts with old friends in Washington, few.

"He's regained his sense of humor," says Congressman Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, a friend since days at Stanford Law school. "I'm encouraged the way John has pulled up his socks, and developed new perspective. He's having second thoughts about all that happened during those years at the White House."

While he was on trial here, there were evenings after the long days, when his lawyers became concerned over his despair. Christian Scientists believe in the triumph of goodness, but there was no sign of uplift in any of the courtroom ordeals Ehrlichman went through. His President turned his back on him, and his trusted assistant, David Young, stool-pigeoned on him. And his final plea, on sentencing, to do good work for the Indians, instead of going to prison, was a debacle.

Ehrlichman's champion on the plan to work for the Indians, attorney Ira N. Lowe, feels that idea was misunderstood. Lowe argued long at the sentencing that Ehrlichman would pay his debt to society in far better fashion by using his legal expertise on behalf of eight Pueblo tribes headquartered in Santa Fe. He asked Judge John Sirica' to sentence Ehrlichman to serve his time with the Indians. Sirica did not buy the suggestion.

There was great hooting in Washington

over Lowe's extraordinary plea which, to some people, put Ehrlichman in Charles Colson's league. Few knew, however, that the Indians had written Judge Sirica, asking for Ehrlichman to help them.

The publicity storm which came out of Lowe's courtroom plea made the Indians withdraw the offer. Ehrlichman headed for Santa Fe anyway. But Lowe still pursues the alternative-service possibility for Ehrlichman, and is encouraged by a ruling of U.S. District Judge Charles R. Richey, ordering a "tailor-made" sentence for two convicted felons who would do their time in the community, instead of prison. Richey later explained that he would henceforth expect authorities set on incarceration of a defendant to validate every element of that recommendation.

So Ehrlichman has his sentencing problem tended to by Lowe, a bearded activist, who is friend to Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden. Lowe serves Ehrlichman free, which is some relief to a man with a \$400,000 legal bill.

The attorney who handled Ehrlichman's two federal cases, William S. Frates, is basing appeal motions largely on the idea that the national security defense argument, and the lack of President Nixon's testimony, wronged Ehrlichman.

There's no question but the Nixon White House, particularly the President and Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, was furious over Daniel Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon Papers and wanted Ellsberg dealt with. Kissinger was vehement in his denunications of Ellsberg, according to depositions taken in court here.

But Judge Gerhard A. Gesell refused the admission of any defense based on national security grounds, and thus Ehrlichman was denied the opportunity to tell how he got into the Plumbers' mess. Now that he lives a simple, out-of-the-way life in Santa Fe, maybe Ehrlichman will one day describe in detail who said what, and who invoked "national security."

The great war which officials like Nixon

The great war which officials like Nixon and Kissinger waged against their outside domestic enemies is remote from Ehrlichman's present life. The rigid postures Ehrlichman took in those days are much softened now that he is out among the folks. His friends say he sounds much better on the phone, and wonder if his separation from wife and family is permanent. They all figure Ehrlichman is in a much better

Ziegler

onald Ziegler, the youngest man ever to be appointed a White House ever to be appointed press secretary, is now an old 36.

After nearly six years of grinding work in the White House, facing the lions daily, Ziegler should have expected the future to improve. But it didn't. The prestigious and well-paying news organizations didn't come round for him, as he had always hoped. Like the ancient messengers who were slain after delivering the bad news, Ziegler took more punishment.

After a long, long transition, left Mr. Nixon's staff, and will soon take what he describes as a senior management position in an international company based

in New York City.

"I see my future in the business community," he says, tentatively. "I'll see what I can do. I'll be living somewhere in the

Last January, when Ziegler delivered what seemed to be a final blast at "the vindictiveness of some in Congress and in the Ford White House" toward Mr. Nixon, that was regarded as a kickoff for a new ca-

reer as a public speaker.

He left Mr. Nixon's payroll in February, but the lecture circuit plans were already in trouble. A small-minded dean of the Boston University School of Communication, John A. Wicklein, warned the student body that it was "morally wrong" for them to pay \$3,000 "or any amount of money" to Ziegler, whom he charged subverted the First Amendment.

That outburst queered the deal. Other student bodies began to reconsider Ziegler speaking dates, and Ziegler cancelled the tour, without delivering one lecture.

"He didn't feel that reopening the Watergate wounds was worth it," explained his agent, William Leigh. "The ex- 66 prospects were good for the tour, and there are still people interested in booking

Art Buchwald was one of a number of writers who defended Ziegler in this episode.

They Also Served

By Lynne Bundesen

Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense in 1969 and later Special Counsel to the President, is an editor of the Reader's Digest and frequent golf partner of President Ford.

Continued on page 19

"I was willing to talk about Watergate," Ziegler says now, "but I could tell it would all erupt again. I may do some speeches later. I might do some books and articles, too."

With the tour out, Ziegler stayed on with Nixon, assisting him with his book project, and serving as a liaison man on some of Nixon's legal problems. were lots of rumors flying around about me," Ziegler says. "All I was doing was ex-

tending my time with him."

He did start wearing a turtleneck sweater. He let his hair grow long and curly. He bought and rode a motorcycle. This wasn't neatly groomed Ronnie Boy anymore. This was what-the-hell, we'reonly-here-one-time-around. He played tennis, sunned. His wife and children came to visit him from their home in suburban Washington. He suffered the worst with Mr. Nixon, and was there for the critical illnesses, too. Ziegler, it turns out, has spent most of his adult life in and around Mr. Nixon.

Some 18 months ago, when he asked by a writer for Potomac how he thought Watergate would eventually come out, Ziegler replied by saying that on Jan. 20, 1977, he would be on the inaugural stand with the President of the United States (Nixon) as the new President takes his oath of office."

That day would be a vindication for a man "under vicious attack," and would reaffirm his strength and courage. "He will go out with dignity," Ziegler said.

Mr. Nixon did go out with a measure of dignity, but Ziegler doesn't want to talk about the timing or that period now.

"Some day I'll set them down on my own," he says, "from my own unique vantage point. This will be my view of a man who made substantial accomplishments.

Colson

o I have any regrets? I have lots of regrets. On balance, I regret that Nixon's lies have destroyed what good things he had done and was trying to do. This has been a great, tragic object lesson. I felt in early May 1974 that the President should resign, and I communicated that to him. Not that his crimes were so great, but that he had lost the capacity to govern.

That's Charles Colson talking. Since he developed intense religious feelings (Some call it a conversion, though he was always a nominal Christian), he has sprayed the air with statements that have made big men duck, and suspecting folk wonder what was really going on in this town in the past ten years.

It must be remembered that Colson's detailed statements about the pervasive power of the CIA preceded the current revelations by one year. And his disclosure that it was Dr. Henry A. Kissinger who urged the heavy, punitive bombing of Ha-

noi in December 1972 were never adequately denied by the Secretary of State. Colson loves to shoot them out. There is audience, because Washington's murky areas by no means have been fully explored

yet.
"The President's resignation was a chilling, chilling precedent," Colson says. "We were perilously close to a coup. Thank God, Nixon let it happen the way it did. He went out like a man."

Colson won't tell how the coup would have occurred, but then Mr. Nixon always thought him a bit overexercised. After all, Colson was in prison when Mr. Nixon resigned. Perhaps the mystery will be re-solved in Colson's book, to be published next December, and there's reason to think Kissinger isn't anticipating that event with pleasure.

"I have strong misgivings about Kissinger," Colson says. "I pray for him, He is leading a charmed life in regard to some of the things which happened in this town. My book will deal with some of that. I'm telling it straight. The publisher made me take some things out. He said they were too self-serving.

Colson frets over the state of the nation, says, "There are frightening parallels here conditions in ancient Israel before

Christ's coming.

"Salvation to the nation's problems doesn't lie in institutions, but in men's hearts. We must spread the good infection of Christianity.

To do his bit to make democracy safe for America, Colson speaks to religious groups and works the prison circuit for Christ.

Recently he visited Miami for the first

time since the 1972 Republican National Convention and got a rousing, standing ovation from 20,000 at a Southern Baptist pastors convention. "Back in 1972," says Colson, somewhat wryly, "I never dreamed I would be speaking to such a

With former Senator Harold Hughes, whom Colson says "I love like a brother," he is working to develop Christian ministries in the federal prisons including Lorton, and says he contributes his speaking fees to prison ministries. They will soon bring a small group of federal inmates to Washington for a religious retreat under the auspices of Fellowship House.

His book, he says, will deal with his "conversion, with some Watergate in it." His purpose is to "offer encouragement and uplift, and turn hearts to God. Maybe out of the crucible, something good will come." Colson says, "I went through an emotional wringer writing it."

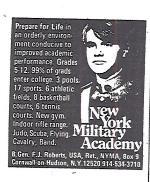
As for the taunts, sneers and wisecracks

about his new life, Colson says:
"I don't mind the skeptics. Conversion isn't a flash of lightning. It's a process. I would be skeptical, too, if some House heavy suddenly converted."

Continued on page 16

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Aftermath, from page 12

Buchanan

he present irony of Patrick J. Buchanan, is that he was the White House's two-fisted media fighter, and yet today, his benefactors are two major newspapers and a volume circulation magazine.

Buchanan, the feistiest of the Nixonmen, authored the celebrated speech by Vice President Spiro Agnew which sent quivers through the communications industry. Today he is blessed with a contract with the New York Times for three columns a week, salaried by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, and paid \$750 each for 1,000 word articles he writes as a media critic for TV Guide.

His life plan did not provide for an abrupt return to journalism. "I didn't intend to stay in my White House job until January 1977, but I didn't plan on leaving as early as August 1974 either," Buchanan said recently with a smile. "They dropped us off in deep water and we had to swim to make it."

So after putting in an awkward three months in Mr. Ford's White House, Buchanan swam right over to the New York Times.

"The Times has been good and gracious to me," Buchanan says, like a man who found his life raft. "Harrison Salisbury and the others there give me spirited discussions, but I like it. They are an intellectually interesting group.

"They're different from The Washington Post which is more petty, vindictive, and harder ideologically. But The Post can be whipped. We had them beat up and down on Vietnam and everything until Watergate.

"They're a damned capable adversary. We trounced them in 1969 and 1972. We could have beat 'em on Watergate, if we had told the truth. But once they had us in trouble, like in boxing, they laid it on. They used the news columns to push their point of view."

Buchanan is an ideologue in that he is fixed on the Right End of the political spectrum. In his years with Nixon, he often counseled striking back at adversaries, but there were moments when he thought it tactically best to lay back. One such occasion was when he advised against a White House campaign to defame Daniel Ellsberg, thief of the Pentagon Papers, and re-

jected an assignment to head the project.

"We always lived with trouble in Washington," he says, "because this is an anti-Nixon town. When we fired Cox, and Richardson and Ruckelshaus resigned, I knew there would be impeachment proceedings.

"In that summer of 1974, though, there was a chance that we had the votes to stop impeachment. Once that June 1972 tape was in, we were finished. I counseled him to resign.

"My initial reaction was exasperation and anger, But I don't bear any emotional scars or hurts. I do think of the extraordinary waste. We had a mandate in 1972, and the capability of carrying it out. It was all washed away. A real shame. Ten years of work gone. The anti-liberal and anti-McGovern mandate was a result of ten years' labor. We were ready to diminish the size of government."

Buchanan says he'll do his fighting in journalism and not in politics, at least "not in 1976." He's not committed to President Ford, says he likes him personally" but feels the Reagan challenge is good for the country and the G.O.P.

Buchanan and his attractive blonde wife, Shelley, have always liked comfort. They enjoyed it at their Watergate apartment, and since last May, they have enjoyed it in their French Provincial house in Spring Valley, which they bought for \$167,500 and share with one white cat.

When Pat was Presidential

when Pat was Presidential assistant at \$42,500, and Sheley a White House receptionist, the Buchanan's income ranked them with the affluent, Pat says the Globe-Democrat salary, syndication money, speeches and TV Guide articles, plus a new book, Conservative Votes: Liberal Victories combine to equal their old salaries. Shelley stays home to do the research and typing.

He finds his life more regular now, because of scheduled deadlines, but the pressure is far less intense than working for Mr. Nixon. He claims he tends toward reclusiveness, "so we try to get out to see friends once a week."

Buchanan is a movie fan, believing you learn much about contemporary culture from them. As for the Watergate film-in-process, All the President's Men, Buchanan snaps: "It's a joke. Typical Hollywood, from what I hear.

Black-hat, white-hat stuff.'

The home is loaded with memorabilia of the Nixon years, signed photos, statements of gratitude, and a handsome cigarette box, done in shiny red and black, and bearing a heroic painting of Lenin, ardently speaking. This is a souvenir from one of Pat's trips to the Soviet Union. Yet, he says, "I never was an enthusiast for detente with the Soviets and Chinese, and I let the old man know that,

As for the "old man's" shortcomings, well, Pat grimaces, and says: "We delivered ourselves to them on Watergate. We could have whipped them on it. You ask whether it was his top people who led to this? Nixon knew the capabilities of the men he put at the top next to him."

Krogh

gil (Bud) Krogh is as gung-ho as ever, only now it's on behalf of Rep. Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey (R-Calif.) long-regarded by the Nixon White House as an enemy.

But Krogh says that even in

But Krogh says that even in his enemy-hunting days, he admired McCloskey, whom he had met in Vietnam in 1968.

Th's the same enthusiasm, fired perhaps by Christian Science earnestness, which moved Krogh to labor dutifully for Richard Nixon, to wage war against international drug traffic, to serve proudly as Co-Chief of the White House Plumbers, and to later philosophize on the values of doing time in prison.

Nowadays, as the \$15,000-ayear legislative assistant to McCloskey, Krogh tackles chores dealing with energy, conservation, maritime issues and Soviet seapower. He joined McCloskey last May. He needs the job because the Washington State Supreme Court disbarred him from practicing law.

"It's quite a change from that unscheduled life I had in the nine months following my release from prison," says Krogh. "It's regular employment now with objectives."

When Krogh got out of Allenwood Prison, in June 1974, he startled some folks with his earnest talk about the therapeutic good accruing to a man in jail. Krogh went around seeing his old friends to reassure them life in the clink wasn't that bad. He

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talked with Dwight Chapin (sentenced) and Ed Morgan (in prison now). "Appealing a case only prolongs the ordeal," Krogh says.

Shortly after the resignation, Krogh visited Mr. Nixon at San Clemente, and while not offering his whole testimonial on prisons, "I told him, indirectly, of the value in facing the legal issues before him." Krogh adds: "I told him that I found a sense of freedom in prison."

Krogh says that among the lessons he learned were "that men in government must be aware of the limitations of their power, that they should ask more questions of their superiors, whether they are working on the Hill or in the Executive branch."

He says he has also gained "much greater respect for the ability of the system to right itself." Krogh credits President Ford for helping to bring this about.

As for Nixon, "I have regrets that I didn't serve him better," says Krogh.

Krogh says he remains a "moderate" Republican, claims, "It's not fair to call Pete McCloskey a liberal because he's tough on cutting spending, and he's very sensitive to the growth of Soviet seapower."

Krogh was brought to Washington by his law partner, John Ehrlichman, who, coincidentally, had known McCloskey quite well at Stanford. Mutual friends. Ehrlichman was high on Krogh and when Nixon (after hearing Henry Kissinger's ravings about Ellsberg) formed the Special Investigative Unit in the White House (Plumbers), Krogh was chosen to share its leadership with David Young, then Kissinger's assistant.

The consequence of all this was Krogh's eventual conviction on the break-in of the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Krogh served 4½ months, and was celebrated as a penitent.

Soon after he got home, he was out on the campus circuit, lecturing and conducting seminars on the American presidency. His fees, savings and his wife's earnings as a teacher at St. Aidan's Montessori School, helped reduce his legal bills from \$70,000 to \$15,000.

"Another thing I learned is that Watergate is very hard on marriages. There have been some tragedies. My wife

and I had tough adjustments to make."

Garment

eonard Garment and Nixon had a close relationship, but when they first met in 1963, Garment didn't foresee it. He was a liberal though independent Democratic member of the old line Mudge, Rose law firm which Nixon joined as a business-getter after his 1962 California humiliation.

Somehow the two men became friends. Nixon played the piano at Garment's modernistic house in Brooklyn Heights, and Len did his stuff on the clarinet.

When the 1968 campaign began, Garment was a key man in the idea department, came up with "Nixon's The One," and followed his friend into the White House. There he performed all manner of chores, tending to civil rights, school desegregation, Indian affairs and the cultural world. Garment installed his family in Mike Straight's 214-year-old Colonial house, surrounded by 17 acres of nature walks, and richly enjoyed the Washington life.

When John Dean exited, Garment entered as Counsel to the President, and readied defenses for the first assault. Angered over leaks and anonymous charges, he asked, "Where have all the civil libertarians gone?" and condemned those accusing Nixon of antisemitism as the "shy pornographers of our time."

With Prof. Charles Alan Wright, Garment worked to put the tapes question before the U.S. Supreme Court with all deliberate speed, but was overruled by his boss. Soon thereafter, Garment Wright gave way to James St. Clair, Garment covering his disappointment with a but pun: "I want to make thing perfectly St. Clair."

He returned to his work in creative arts, avoided discussing Watergate, but privately had doubts how long the Nixon presidency would last. He was "thunderstruck," to use his own words, when he learned of the content of the June 23, 1972, tape, a week before resignation. On resignation night, Nixon phoned Garment. The conversation between the old friends went 15 minutes "in a highly personal manner."

A few months later, Garment said, "The size of this tragedy and devastation make me feel sad about Nixon. He lives painfully with his punishment. The administration's accomplishments are now 20,000 fathoms deep, and it's far too early to evaluate the Nixon presidency."

Garment stayed on in the first months of the Ford administration to arrange an orderly transition of his beloved arts and humanities program.

Then, instead of returning to the Mudge, Rose law offices, Garment surprised old friends by joining Trubin, Sillcocks, Edelman and Knapp, a smaller New York firm once headed by the brothers Javits. His former colleagues explained that Garment would be allowed more latitude with his new partners, and would devote some

time to the arts.

One year after that momentous conversation with Nixon, Garment says he has absolutely no regrets over his six years in the White House. He's also had time to reflect.

"I've done some pondering of the Watergate mystery over the past year, but not much," he said. "There's too much else I have to do that I'd rather do.

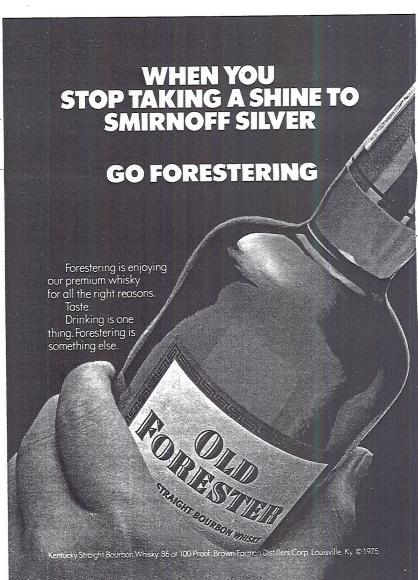
"Theodore White has the facts pretty straight in Breach of Faith; and Theodore Sorensen's Watchmen in the Night has the substantive lessons laid out in pretty good order.

"But here's one thought: Woodrow Wilson said that we are a government of men, not laws. He was wrong. But so is the old civics book saw that we are a government of laws and not men. All of that, is a speechwriter's simplification.

"Watergate showed that we are a government of laws and men, interreacting with each other and with public opinion in a very complex way. So it would be silly to announce a lot of sweeping conclusions and commandments.

"The one thing I'm clear about is that there's nothing in Watergate that would justify any diminution of the powers of the Presidency. A strong chief executive is still an essential part of our constitutional arrangement.

"Watergate also taught us that the impeachment clause works, and how it works which is important—and



The Washington Post/Potomac/August 10,

we've shown that we could undergo this incredible political ordeal and come out on our feet. That must be damned impressive to the world, and is damned important at this time."

Everybody around liked "Lenny," though he didn't like that nickname. He's back living on a narrow street in Brooklyn Heights, seeing his family more, and shrinking his sense of spatial relations from Michael Straight's 17 acres to a city lot.

As for his friend, the

As for his friend, the stranger he never thought he would ever know, the once and former president, Garment says, carefully: "I am a friend to the decent side of Richard Nixon which time after time was exposed to me."

Price

aymond K. Price Jr., a thoughtful, decent fellow, was always one to keep pretty much to himself. He and his boss, Mr. Nixon, preferred being private, almost ascetic people. Price was Nixon's key man in speechwriting and was often called in for think sessions. Price urged Nixon to resign and wrote the resignation speech. Nixon has been very private in California. Price?

"I have even been more reclusive since the resignation," Price says in his Georgetown house. "I am really out of circulation. I avoid encounters this way. Some people sounded off at me when I saw them after the resignation. There were spasms of hate."

Price, a 45-year-old bache-

Price, a 45-year-old bachelor, lives among his books, paintings and cartons of research. His mind is in the world of ideas. He is sensitive to what happens, duty-oriented, and reflective. A year ago, his hair was short, and he carried no extra weight. Now his hair is long, Prince Valiant style, and his face is chubby. He really has been staying in.

He's a fine writer, and when Nixon's speeches were eloquent, it was the Price hand. He wrote "What the country needs is the lift of a driving dream," and "We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another," thus, "To lower our voices would be a simple thing."

So now he writes a book on the Nixon years, describing the administration's purposes and goals, and what it was

about. A thematic book, which includes Watergate, naturally, but no confessions. He wrote a column for a short time for the Washington Star, but claims it was temporary work.

He holds his personal regret in, but occasionally a comment betrays it. "If it hadn't been for the weakening of the Presidency," he says, "South Vietnam would not have collapsed. We didn't keep our commitment and it went. Those who damaged the Presidency are partly responsible. Now dominoes topple and that was predictable.

"But at the end, Nixon's offenses had not risen to a level to justify his removal from office. When I learned on August 1 about the final tape, though, I pushed for resignation. The political support was gone.

"The press exaggerated the Watergate episode. Now there is a movie being made about it, and I'll bet it will be a bomb. It was a way for some people to make a million. When I think of what Bên Bradlee wrote about his experiences with Kennedy, I think of these size."

of hypocrisy."

He says that the days and weeks with Mr. Nixon after the resignation were painful. Price went to San Clemente three times. "I was there when he became sick the first time. And when he was sick the second time, and almost went, I understand there were people standing around outside the hospital, crying out, 'Let him die.' It was all godawful, really. Congress was changing the conditions of the transition every day."

Price has no thoughts of reassessment on Nixon. "I felt I knew him before the resignation, and he is the same guy now. He has fantastic recuperative powers, both physically and mentally.

"If the Middle East situation works out, it will be the fruition of his efforts. He reestablished relations with 100 million Arabs, and without them, there will be no peace for Israel. And he opened the way to the Soviet Union and China. It wasn't with love and kisses, but it was done."

Price feels Mr. Nixon could never achieve total success in Washington. "The lack of our power sourcing was frustrating," he explains. "The government was overwhelmingly staffed with people committed to a different way of doing it. And there never was a real way to better relations with the press."

Price claims he had never planned to remain in the administration longer than a year into the second term, "but I got held over by Watergate." Considering his loner life, one believes him when he says, "I don't have Potomac fever. It's good to be out."

He doesn't know what is ahead, but he knows what is behind. He was a writer for Collier's magazine until it went out of business. Then he went to work for Life, but left it before it became yearly. Next, the New York Herald Tribune, where he was chief editorial writer, and authored that paper's first endorsement of a Democratic presidential candidate in 1964. Finally, he signed on with Richard Nixon in March 1967, an association which paid him a salary until Nov. 8, 1974. There are aspects to Price's work history which entitle him to a little sadness.

Clawson

am out of journalism," says Kenneth W. Clawson, a fight-to-the-end stalwart in the Nixon bunker, "because apparently there's no one in journalism who would have me." That's an unhappy admission from a man who spent 18 years in the news game, and was considered a hard-nosed reporter by his colleagues. He had hoped that when he left government, he would find a job in television management, but he got no offers.

"People who really get involved in controversy in the government just can't get back into news. Sure, guys like Moyers and Mankiew'icz have become commentators, but anybody can be a commentator — all you do is state your opinion."

So after an unsuccessful pass at freelance fiction, Clawson, 38, signed on as communications director for an energy-system and anti-pollution equipment firm

lution equipment firm.

"There were only three of us, Julie (Eisenhower), Rose Mary (Woods) and myself, who told the President at the end to fight and not quit. If he hadn't resigned, I would have stood beside him through impeachment. If we lost, and he went down the drain, I would have gone with him.

"There are lots of people

philosophizing now. Anybody can play Socrates and not bite the bullet. Everything we did in dealing with Watergate, we did in good faith. You people don't know what pressure is until you are in a situation.

"Dishwashers are writing about Watergate these days. I'm holding my own views of the Nixon presidency in abeyance. I promised the old man I wouldn't write anything about it, and I keep my word."

Clawson claims he hasn't monitored what the Ford administration is doing, because he's concentrating on developing a public relations system for "this five-year-old conglomerate I work for." He says: "The first page I read is the financial page."

He says he has no bitterness

He says he has no bitterness toward the press, including his alma mater, The Washington Post. "When I worked at The Post, I was treated better than any place I had ever worked," Clawson says.

"Katharine Graham and Ben Bradlee took a personal interest in me. When I worked for the President, they were trying to kill us because the President didn't think Bradlee was important enough to invite to dinner at the White House.

"Most of the reporters whom I raked over the coals in my job (Communications Director), were professionally vulnerable. They had made mistakes. Ziegler's criticism was different, too broadbrushed. Ziegler shot his mouth off too much."

Clawson was another of those hardball players in the White House, though he advised against general attacks on the press. He liked to plant stories and carry on brush warfare against Nixon's enemies. But he also devised "Cocktails With Clawson," a non-alcoholic background session for newsmen with key administration officials.

Clawson was cleared by the Senate Watergate Committee and the Watergate prosecutor's office on allegations that he wrote the infamous "Canuck" letter which defamed Senator Ed Muskie in the 1972 New Hampshire primary. "I just didn't write that letter, no matter what anybody says," Clawson declares.

He sees himself going into the third career in his life, now that he's in industry. "This new career has all the interest of my jobs at The Post and at the White House," he

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says.
"There's no question that I had the time of my life at the White House. It was as good as my Nieman Year at Harvard—\$42,500 a year, and Director of Communications, is that bad?

"I never was in politics. In fact, I felt a journalist shouldn't vote, and I cast my first vote in 1972, after I had gone to work for President Nixon. I'll say this: He gave me the best opportunity I ever had in my life. I never intended to stay in government any longer than he did."

NOTES ON SOME OTHERS:

ROSE MARY WOODS, Mr. Nixon's personal secretary since 1951, still works in the Lafayette Square office for former Presidents, makes it clear she is on Nixon's government payroll. Opens mail, forwards it, handles important phone messages. Has volunteers helping her. She still lives in Watergate East, there since 1969. Seen at parties, enjoys a drink, but she passed the word through David and Julie Eisenhower that she's not talking to the press at this time.

A friend says she is distraught, and is not in best of physical or psychological health. Says it's strange that she didn't move to West Coast. She's reported retiring.

DWIGHT CHAPIN, Nixon's

DWIGHT CHAPIN, Nixon's appointment secretary, is living in suburban Chicago, working for insurance tycoon Clement Stone. Travels to California a good deal. In good health and spirits, his friends say. Just had his appeal denied, and lawyer Jacob Stein says they are hoping Supreme Court will take case. Marriage in good shape.

STEPHEN BULL, special as-

STEPHEN BULL, special assistant and personal scheduler for the President, is now assistant to Jack Wilson, the president of TV News, the Coors outfit in New York City. Bull has been in the job since April 1975. He stuck with Nixon through November 1974, then looked for work. Bull is divorced and lives with friends in Connecticut on a temporary basis. He will move to a Manhattan apartment soon, says he misses the "physical aspects" of Washington.

Of Washington.
Quotes: "I didn't accept the resignation until two days beforehand. I can empathize with the President on that June 22, 1972 tape. It seemed

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John Connally, former Secretary of the Treasury, has gone back to Texas and since his acquittal here several months ago has been sounding out supporters who think he might make a good Presidential candidate.

Elliot Richardson was Attorney General, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and Secretary of Defense. He is now Ambassador to the Court of St. James's London.

William Saxbe, former Attorney General, appointed in 1974, is now Ambassador to India

Walter Hickel, the first Secretary of the Interior, signed under pressure in 1971 and returned to Juneau, and returned to Juneau, Alaska. Hickel was defeated in his bid for governor in 1974 and is now head of. Hickel, Inc., which invests in shopping centers and motels in Alaska.

Rogers C. B. Morton took over at Interior after Hickel and has moved to another Cabinet seat in the last few months. He's still "Mr. Secretary," but now it's at Com-

William P. Rogers, President Nixon's first Secretary of State, is a partner in the Washington firm of Rogers & Wells and deals primarily in corporate law.

Peter Peterson, Secretary of Commerce in 1972 and 1973, is a partner in the New York investment firm of Lehman Brothers.

Dent, Frederick pointed Secretary of Com-merce in 1973, works out of the Executive Office of the President as the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. The title also gives Dent the rank of ambassador. which helps in negotiations with other countries.

David Kennedy, Secretary

of the Treasury, went back to Chicago and the Continental Illinois Bank, where he became the chairman of the board. Kennedy no longer holds the title but still has offices at the bank and is involved in its operations.

George P. Shultz was Secretary of the Treasury from 1972 to 1974. Since May 16, 1975, Shultz has been the president of the Bechtel Corporation, the largest engineering construction firm in the world. Shultz's office is in San Francisco.

Robert Finch was Secretary of Health, Education and elfare and went over to the White House as an adviser to the President for a while in 1970 when Elliot Richardson moved in. But that lasted formally only briefly. Finch, practicing law in California, is eyeing the possibility of run-ning for the Senate seat now held by John Tunney.

Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, appointed in 1973, retired last month and headed back to California. His plans are to "find a nice house in northern California again." Insiders suspect he will be very active in the Finch cam-

paign.

George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development from 1969 to 1973, is back in Michigan, his home state, running a citizens' lobby and keeping active in politics.

James T. Lynn followed Romney as Secretary of HUD and has now gone over to head the Office of Management and Budget.

Herb Klein, head of the Communications Office, is now the vice president of Metromedia in California. He is writing a book due out in the spring of 1976.

Jeb Stuart Magruder of the Communications Office served time in prison, wrote a book, An American Life— One Man's Road to Waterand took a job last month as vice president of a religiously-oriented youth group in Colorado. Magruder had lectured until then on his experiences during his White House tenure and afterwards.

Gerald Warren was assistant press secretary under President Nixon and for a time in the Ford administration. He is to become editor of the San Diego Union next month.

John Volpe, former Secretary of Transportation, is now

Ambassador to Italy.

Clifford Hardin, former Secretary of Agriculture, is an executive with the Ralston Purina Company, with headquarters in St. Louis.

Peter J. Brennan, President Nixon's last Secretary of Labor, is back in New York as the president of the Greater New York Building and Con-

struction Trades Council.

Claude S. Brinegar, Secetary of Transportation in 1973, is senior vice president in charge of corporate affairs for Union Oil Company of

California, in Los Angeles.

Herbert L. "Bart" Porter served 30 days in jail and lives now in Laguna Niguel, California, where he works in his father-in-law's construction firm. His lawyer, Charles B. Murray, says, "He's doing just fine." Porter served in the White House Office of Communications.

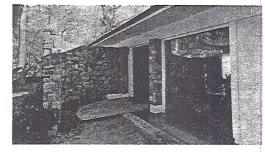
Charles Alan Wright, lawyer for five months for President Nixon, is back teaching law at the University Texas at Austin, from whence he came.

David Young worked for the National Security Council. Now he is at Oxford in England, writing and

searching.
Fred Molek was in the personnel office in the White House and was then deputy campaign director. He is now

Continued on page 25

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Staff from page 19

a senior vice president of the Marriott Corporation. Malek says he feels "fortunate in not having any negative repercussions" from his years in government.

Maurice H. Stans, who was Secretary of Commerce and then Mr. Nixon's chief fund-raiser, was fined \$5,000 in May after pleading guilty to five misdemeanor violations of federal campaign law. A regular on the Washington rty circuit in recent weeks, he's sold his Watergate apartment and is moving to Phoenix with his wife, who is suffering from tendonitis. He's billed the Committee to Re-Elect the President for \$18,-000 for his time, for several hundred thousand dollars more to cover his legal fees.

Robert Mardian, special assistant at the White House, is in Phoenix, Arizona, at Mardian Construction Company, pending his appeal of a conviction growing out of the Watergate cover-up charges.

E. Howard Hunt, listed as consultant at the White House, is serving a prison sentence in Florida for his involvement in the Watergate break-in. Hunt continues to

write books, an avocation of his for many years. They usually have spy plots.

Henry Kissinger was Mr. Nixon's Secretary of State. He holds the same position under Gerald Ford. James Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense, Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture and William Sicretary of mon, Secretary of the Treasury, are the only other Nixon Cabinet appointees in their same positions one year after the resignation.

Peter Flanigan was in the business and regulatory af-fairs department of the White House. Flanigan has moved to New York where he is the managing director of Dillon Reed, an investment banking

Alexander Haig is now the commander of NATO forces in Europe. He worked first for Kissinger and the last months at the White House Haig was chief of staff for Richard Nixon. He has resumed his army career and rank of general.

Alexander Butterfield

disclosed the existence of the White House taping system, headed the Federal Aviation Administration, retired from the Air Force and is now a transportation consultant.

J. Fred Buzhardt was an attorney for President Nixon. Buzhardt has returned South Carolina, where he practices law with the firm of Dowling, Dowling, Sanders and Dukes in Hilton Head.

Clark MacGregor was an assistant to the President in the area of congressional relations. MacGregor is now the vice president of what used to be United Air Craft Corp. They've changed their name to United Technologies, Mac-Gregor works in Washington.
H. R. Haldeman, chief of

the White House staff under President Nixon, is in California, his home, writing and spending time with his family pending appeal of his conviction in the Watergate cover-up.

Larry Higby, former aide to H. R. Haldeman, is an ex-ecutive vice president of Pepsico, Inc., Purchase, N.Y. Higby is working in the sensitive Russian-Pepsi franchise switch-wine for Americans, Pepsi for the Russians

Ken Cole has left domestic affairs at the White House and is the vice president of Union Camp, a forest products company headquartered in New Jersey.

Harry Dent practices law in Columbia and West Columbia, South Carolina, with his firm Dent, Kirkland, Taylor and Wilson. Dent was listed as part of the political section of the White House.

Bruce Kerhli is now direcof administration for Kaufman and Broad, a home building firm in California with offices in Los Angeles and Northern California. and Kerhli was in administration in the White House under Alexander Butterfield.

James St. Clair, President Nixon's attorney until the resignation, has returned to Boston and his private practice of

John Dean has moved to California since he was released from prison. Dean was special counsel to the President in the Nixon administration and has written a book on his experiences to be published by Simon & Shuster. His wife, Maureen, has also written a book due out shortly.

John Compbell was at the Domestic Council in the Nixon administration. Now Campbell is a private investor in Los Angeles. He worked for Ashkenazy Enterprises for a while, but six months ago moved to his own offices.

Hugh Sloan works for the Budd Company in Troy, Michigan. Sloan, who was in scheduling at the White House, is the executive assistant to the group vice president of the international section of the transportation company which—among other things-builds the railroad cars for the Metroliners.

Robert Odle was a staff assistant to the President, Now he is a deputy assistant secretary at Housing and Urban

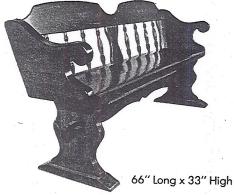
Development.

Gordon Struchan, who was on the White House operations staff, is clerking for a law firm in Salt Lake City.

William Timmons, assistant to the President for legislative affairs, has opened a business consulting firm in Washington with Tom Korologos, Eugene Ainsworth and Stanley Ebner. The firm adbusiness clientsand pharmaceutical companies, for example-on government activities.

Ken Kachigan was a speechwriter for President Nixon. He worked at the Ag-Continued on page 27





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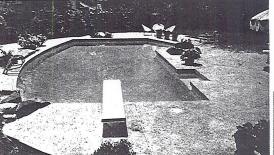
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riculture Department as a speech writer for Secretary Butz until three months ago when he moved to San Clemente to consult with former President Nixon on his book.

Richard Kleindienst, for mer Attorney General, is-after his Watergate troubles and resignation—practicing law in the offices of Welch and

Morgan in Washington.

Donald Rumsfeld Counsellor to the President during the Nixon administration. Rumsfeld is now an assistant to the President. There are others who are working in the Ford administration who were there in the early years with Nixon:

Virginia Knauer was and is in charge of consumer affairs, Rex Scouten was and is the Chief Usher, Max Friedersdorf was deputy assistant for legislative affairs. Now he is assistant to the President for legislative af-

fairs.

Brent Scowcroft was a major general and assistant for national security affairs when he served Nixon. He's now a lieutenant general, but he has the same job with Mr. Ford. Stan Scott was a special assistant to Mr. Nixon. He's expanded his title in the Ford administration to Special Assistant to the President for

Warren K. Hendriks Jr. is Deputy Director of the Domestic Council under President Ford. He and Tod R. Hullin worked in the previ-ous administration. William Baroody is another holdover who was a special assistant and is now assistant to the

President for public liaison.

Patrick O'Donnell is special assistant for legislative affairs for the Senate for Mr. Ford. He was an aide to Charles Colson dealing with Congress in the Nixon administration. Terry O'Donnell is also a holdover and he is "the new Steve Bull," according to another White House staffer.

Then there is Jerry Jones. staff secretary to Mr. Ford, who was a special assistant to Nixon. President Ford has also enlarged the staff size in the White House office. Ford has 64 special designated aides. Nixon had 41.

Lucy Winchester, the White House Social Secretary, has moved to a new job as Assistant Chief of Protocol.

Lynne Bundesen is a free

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