Please return for my Nixon file. While this duplicates much of what was in "undance and other sources, which are cited, it has some different content and has different perspectives. One of the things that you may find of interest is the inference of homosexuality in both Nixon and Rebozo. I do think it is past time for the major media to be making some mention of and investigating the crookedness with which Nixon has been associated all his political life. I am certain that despite what this seems to say, personal financial crookedness much larger than the slush fund will surface, especially with his homes. HW 4/27/73
The World Behind Watergate

Kirkpatrick Sale

The bedfellows politics makes are never strange; it only seems that way to those who have not watched the courtship. In Richard Nixon's case, notwithstanding his presence in national politics for the last twenty-five years, those courtships have remained remarkably unexamined—or, when examined, remarkably misunderstood—and as a result the bedfellows he has acquired have remained unusually obscure both to the public and to the political pundits who are supposed to comment with such things. Certain obvious relationships, to be sure, have been given attention—the back-scratching of Nixon and his old friend and PepsiCo chairman Donald Kendall, for example, the latest evidence of which is Washington's gift of the Soviet soft-drink franchise to Pepsi-Cola. But the wider pattern of his associations, the character of his power base, remains essentially obscure. This seems particularly dangerous in view of the evidence that these people will be influential in American government not only for the next four years but for the foreseeable future.

The Nixonian bedfellows, the people whose creed the President expresses and whose interests he guards, are, to generalize, the economic sovereigns of America's Southern rim, the "moguls" that runs from Southern California, through Arizona and Texas, down to the Florida keys. They are for the most part new-money people, without the family fortunes and backgrounds of Eastern wealth (Rockefellers, DuPonts, etc.), people whose fortunes have been made only in the postwar decades, mostly in new industries such as aerospace and defense contracting, in oil, natural gas, and allied businesses, usually domestic rather than international, and in real-estate operations during the postwar real-estate population boom.

They are "self-made" men and women, in the sense that they did not generally inherit great riches (though of course in another sense they are government-made, depending, as it is in oil and defense, on large favors from Washington, but they hardly like to think of it that way), and they tend to be with shady associations, and antiregulation, and quite often associated with professional "anti-communist" organizations. Whether because of the newness of their position, their frontier heritage, or their lack of old-school ties, they tend to be without particular concern about the scrutiny of business ethics and morals.

The ascendancy of these Southern-cin people—those whom Carl Oglesby once called "the cowboys," as distinct from "the Yankees" of old Eastern money—has taken place coincidentally with their economic growth in the last generation. Their power on a state level was solidified a decade or so ago, and they made certain inroads to national influence with Johnson's assumption of power in 1963. But it was not until the election of Richard Nixon in 1968—and even more so now during a second term in which he seems far beyond mediating pressure from the press, Congress, and public—that the Southern-cin bedfellows were firmly installed in the bedrooms of political power in Washington. It is a fitting symbol of this that Nixon has established White Houses at the two extremes of the Southern rim, San Clemente and Key Biscayne.

Now it is certainly true that the cowboys retain considerable power in national politics, that the Wall Street investment houses and the family banks and the well-established holding and insurance companies still have influence throughout local and federal government. No one would want to suggest that David Rockefeller or the First National City Bank was inconsequential in guiding the affairs of the national and the important position of Henry Kissing, a man with authentic Yankee ties (Harvard, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Council on Foreign Relations) attests to their continuing influence. What is important to note, however, is the relative decline of the Yankees in recent years and their renunciation of important powers to cowboy hands. Moreover, as the economic importance of the Southern rim has increased, New York banks and investment houses (notably Lehman Brothers) have bought into its businesses, with the result that to a greater extent than before the interests and wishes of the cowboys have become of serious concern to the moguls of Wall Street.

One rough measure of the political ascendancy of the cowboys is the number of them who actually occupy high positions in Washington. Of the four members of what Nixon likes to call his "super-super cabinet," three of investigations, the exercise of American power in Washington. It is a fitting symbol of this that Nixon has established White Houses at the two extremes of the Southern rim, San Clemente and Key Biscayne.


Evidence of their cozy relationship may be found in Leonard Lurie, The Running of Richard Nixon (Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1972), and
National Committee have all been from the Southern-rim coal operators George Bush (Texas: oil company co-founder) and Janet Johnson (California: rancher) and general counsel Harry Dean (South Carolina: lawyer, ex-GOP state head). The rim influence here is so strong that there have even been published complaints from Midwestern Republicans about a “Southers Maffe.”

And peppered throughout the government are such key cowboys as press secretary Ronald Ziegler (California: public relations), Frederick Meale, second-in-command of the budget (South Carolina: fast-manufacturing millionnaire), Commissioner of Communications Herbert Klein (California: Copley Press executive), Deputy Secretary of

Of the five Nixon nominees to the Supreme Court, three (Rehnquist, Castlewell, and Haynsworth) were wool-dyed Southern-rim conservatives and one (Powell) was a right-wing Virginian who was also a director of oil and gas corporations. The key appointments to the increasingly powerful Republican

A second measure of cowboy penetration is their preponderance among Nixon’s major financial supporters. Though the loophole campaign-spendng laws permit only partial identification of the top money men, it seems clear at least that the chief sources of Nixon’s campaign finances—and therefore presumably the people whose interests the President will try to keep dominant—are independent oil producers, defense contractors, right-wing unionists, rich conservative businessmen, and various Southern-rim manufacturers. This does not mean, of course, that the more traditional sources of Republican money, such as the old-money families and yankies new and old throughout the financial world, have been thoroughly displaced or no longer make big contributions, but only that their position is being steadily narrowed and their importance therefore steadily decreased.

Oil money, for example, has always found its way into politics, as much from the old corporations with chiefly international interests as from the new independents who have sprung up along the Southern rim. But it has been the latter who have been most important in Nixon’s career, from such supporters as Union Oil, Superior Oil, and Texas uctraconservative L. H. Hunt, who helped finance his early campaigns, through California right-winger Henry Salvatori, the Texas Merchants family, and at least a third of the backers in the 1952 “slush fund.” In this last campaign there were some large contributions from old oil—Richard Mellon Scull (Gulf Oil, among other interests) gave $1 million, the Phibbs family (Texas among others) gave at least $55,000—but the striking fact is the number of domestic oil donors, industrialists and oil interests, people like Kent Smith (Lufthansa, $2,000), Norman Lear $2,000), and Saul Steinberg (Leasco, $100,000), but they were matched by the rich conservative businessmen, like Charles and Sam Wyly (Dallas computer company, $172,000), Thomas Marquez (Electronic Data Systems, Dallas, $89,000), Howard Hughes (Hughes Tool, etc., Houston, $170,000), and various Southern-rim manufacturers. This does not mean, of course, that the more traditional sources of Republican money, such as the old-money families and yankies new and old throughout the financial world, have been thoroughly displaced or no longer make big contributions, but only that their position is being steadily narrowed and their importance therefore steadily decreased.

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happened to be a close friend of Reboro's and a stockholder in his bank. This, coupled with the fact that Reboro never fully disclosed his business dealings in making applications to the SBA, led Newsday, in a prominent editorial, to denounce the SBA for "wheeling and dealing... on Reboro's behalf." And it led Representative Wright Patman to accuse the SBA of "publicly of wrongdoing in making Reboro a 'preferred customer.'" With one of the SBA grants Reboro proceeded to build an elaborate shopping center, to be leased to members of the right-wing Cuban exile community, and he let out the contracting bid for one to "Big Al" Polizzi, a convicted black marketeer and a man named by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics as "one of the most influential members of the underworld in the United States."

Neither surprise, all that, if not precisely criminals, and a rather pell for career of our mosaicic

The exposé of Reboro's dealings with the SBA was in Newsday, "Special Report," pp. 9-15; the editorial, p. 19.


Nixon himself is not out to make a vast personal fortune as his predecessor did. But the unsavory surrounding Bebe Reboro does not stop there. For in the mid-1960s Reboro was also part of a Florida real-estate company with one Donald Borg, an acquaintance of Nixon's and the man from whom Nixon bought property in Key Biscayne less than a mile from the White House. This same Donald Bieg, who has been linked with at least one associate of mobster Meyer Lansky, has a background so questionable that after Nixon became President the Secret Service asked him to stop eating at Bebe Reboro's Key Biscayne restau.

Finally, according to Jack Anderson, Reboro was involved in some of the real-estate deals of Bernard Barker—the former CIA operative—and had a financial interest in an investment group called Palpiel and who has benefited enormously from President Nixon's favors. Palpiel has since been accused by congressional committees of helping to bankrupt the Pan American Railroad, and two of its key shareholders have been indicted for criminal conspiracy in misappropriating more than $30 million of Pan American investments for their own personal profit. (See Arms, supra 1 p. 1.)

Nixon's major investments were a Florida gas company, two Florida banks, and a Dallas investment corporation, which also owned a California real-estate operation—a rather
Perhaps an even more revealing measure of the rich people's influence is the growing dominance of the Nixon's inner circle. Now their numbers are by far harder to speculate, because this President is an essentially friendless man, a distrustful person with few close cousins, the few that exist are, almost to a man (and women), from the swank set of the city. The only visible exceptions are Donald Kendall and Secretary of State William Rogers, both solid Easterners, and even they are new-money, up-from-poverty types.

The rest age people like Southern California businessmen Jack Thompson, Ray Arthbrauth and C. Arnholt Smith, California politician Robert Finch (a friend, apparently, even after his fall from office), and four men who know to be closed to all of the President: Herbert Kalmbach, a rich Los Angeles lawyer who is the President's personal counsel and was his chief fund raiser during 1971; John Connally, the oil-tied Texas politician who is Nixon's financial guru and reportedly his choice as successor; Murray Chotiner, the California lawyer who has been with Nixon since the beginning and during 1971 and 1972 was with him in the White House; and Bebe Rebozo, the Florida millionaire who is reckoned to be the most intimate of all with the President.

All of these are fairly typical Southern rich people, all are new-money people, all are well-off, and all of them (except maybe Finch) are politically conservative. Most disturbing of all, several of these people have had their lives, and sometimes the full stigma, of scandal around them.

This last attribute deserves somewhat more attention, for it is inevitably one of the most striking features of the political cowboys and one with very serious implications for our national life. Without going into a full portrait of the millionaire character of so much of the Southern rim—home of well-established organized crime centers in such places as Las Vegas, New Orleans, and Miami, and the latest having lately been the New York Times, February 11, 1973, p. 1; May 3, 1971, p. 1; February 3, 1971, p. 1.

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Herbert Kalmbach has been identified as one of the five people in charge of funds for the million-dollar Republican operation to sabotage the Democratic campaign last year, and according to the FBI he personally gave Republican funds to Donald Segreti, the California lawyer who by all accounts (none denied) was the West Coast leader of that operation. Kalmbach has also been identified in sworn court papers as the strongest man in the Republicans' efforts to squeeze some $700,000 out of the large milk producers in return for a government-approved price raise.

Connally, whose service on behalf of Nixon includes three with extensive oil contracts, the Texas-based Associated Milk Producers ($782,000), and two right-wing unions, the Stevedores (with direct oil and agribusiness links, $100,000), and the Teamsters (with heavy investments from Southern California and Las Vegas to Miami, an estimated $100,000).

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Other part of the world? Who may be hatching right now in some other part of the world? Who knows what other schemes ITT may be hatching right now in some other part of the world? Who knows what other secret plans the Republican party has ready to serve its own narrow purposes?

Now the fuel resource, of this country sealed not so much by diminishing supplies as by the oil interests, both those with international ties who wanted to increase shipments from abroad and domestic producers along the Southern rim. With winter coming in and the refineries having concentrated on gasoline rather than heating fuel over the summer, the industry last year launched a $3 million PR campaign to create panic buying at higher rates and force a relaxation of pollution standards ("buy dirty or freeze"). As a Ford Foundation energy consultant, S. David Freeman, recently put it, "The 'energy crisis' could well serve as a smoke screen for a massive exercise in picking the pocket of the American consumer to the tune of billions of dollars a year."

The Nixon Administration, as might be expected, considering its enormous debt to oil, bought the "energy crisis" line and pushed it upon the public with all the skill of the Petroleum Institute itself. It has made provisions in the new budget for considerable money to be given to domestic producers for "technical assistance"--especially to develop oil-from-coal extraction--and this is likely to increase in future-budgets. It permitted a hefty 8 percent rise in heating-oil costs in the middle of January, right after price controls were lifted (thus making its ballyhooed 1 percent price freeze in March almost pointless). And it has just proposed a new energy program which, while allowing more foreign oil imports, to the benefit of the larger international concerns, is explicitly designed for the advantage of domestic producers through the imposition of a set of tariff-like "fees" on imports and the official encouragement of domestic resource development and refinery construction. Its net effect is to increase the value of in-ground resources in this country, which will be vital in case of future international troubles or eventual shortages.

More of the same governmental largesse can be expected in the future.

Other examples of the influence of the Southern rim, operating through this shadowy second government, are sure to emerge in the coming months: more money for defense industries, for example, following the $4.1 billion increase in the new budget even after the Vietnam ceasefire; support for road building over mass transportation, satisfying boom-area industry, right-wing construction unions, Detroit, oil interests, and the Teamsters all at once, continued encouragement for TV and radio licensing challenges from conservative cowboys against Yankee-owned stations; expansion of American influence in the Caribbean, where so many of Nixon's friends have heavy investments (Connally, Rebozo, Robert McNamara, the Murchison, etc.). Other scandals--whether called by that name in the press or not, as with the Watergate "cover-up"--are also sure to follow, for it seems obvious that the kind of millions in which the President has chosen to immerse himself will continue to produce policies self-serving at best, shady at average, and downright illegal at worst, and that at least some of this will break through to public attention. It also seems probable that the American public will continue to pay it all not much mind, despite worries from some Republicans now, and indeed that many people in the land identify themselves with--or at least dream themselves as--the new-money wheel-machine dealers and seem to regard influence-peddling and back-scratching as the true stuff of the American dream. But that's another story.

The real trouble with such oil stains, not to mention spots of fertilized dirt, is that they are very hard to wash off your hands. Someliberals, clicking with glee over the new Watergate disclosures, might like to believe that the power of the Southern rimers is going to vanish after Nixon and his immediate friends leave office. As
What is at work here is nothing less than Kevin Phillips’s (and Richard Nixon’s) Southern strategy, the creation of a coalition of conservative forces within the Republican party so as to make it, for the first time since 1932, the majority party in the country. It is built on the population growth of the Southern rim, the increased voting power and the financial wealth and shady dealings of the cowboys. If that strategy is correct, and every indication from the last two elections suggests that it is, the reversal of power that it has brought is likely to last just as long as the one that brought Roosevelt to power.

Santa Barbara, Pike spoke to his disconcerted son. His account of these sessions, in his book The Other Side, was a Daisybelle bonanza. The medium moved from a tiny abode to a $70,000 house, now the headquarters of his Hallowed Grounds Fellowship for Spiritual Healing and Prayer. Last year his fee for a sitting was $50, and there was a six-month waiting list.

In 1967 Pike had his most dramatic encounter with Jim. At Lily Dale, Spraggett had met Arthur Ford, an almost forgotten American medium, and had been overwhelmed by Ford’s clairvoyant powers. Why not bring Pike and Ford together for a simultaneous television sit? The sitting was videotaped in Toronto on September 3. Two weeks later, a half-hour portion of the two-hour session was shown on Canadian prime time. It was the biggest psychic news story since Bradley Murphy.

Compared to the great mediums of the past, with their jangling tambourines, floating trumpets, and glowing ectoplasm, Ford put on a dull performance. As was his custom, he covered his eyes with a black silk cloth, fell into a trance, and was immediately taken over by Fletcher, his spirit control since 1924. After introducing several discarnate churchmen Pike had known, Fletcher presented a “boy” who turned out to be Jim. “I told Fletcher, ‘... wants you to understand that you, or any other member of your family, have any right to feel that you failed him in any way.”

Ford died in Miami on January 4, 1971. On the day of his death, his spirit instantly began dictating a book on the afterlife to Ruth Montgomery. It was published later in the year as The Other Side. The following year, when he and Diane were touring the Holy Land, they became lost in the Dead Sea desert and Pike died of a fall while Diane was seeking help. Spraggett lost no time dashing off The Bishop Pike Story (1970). Diane lost no time dashing off Search (1970), her account of Pike’s death in the wilderness.

Ford said Fletcher, “... wants you to understand that you, or any other member of your family, have any right to feel that you failed him in any way.”

Ford’s story begins with his birth in 1897 at Titusville, Florida. At seventeen he was studying to be a minister in the Disciples of Christ Church, at their Transylvania (shades of Count Dracula) College, Lexington, Kentucky. He dropped out to enlist in the army. In his autobiography, Mother Seer Stone, and his later book of memoirs, Unknown but Known, Ford said flatly that he never got overseas, but Spraggett cites four published books that he did.

The New York Review
running the CRP and according to Mccord was the "overall boss" of the operation.1
Stans, who stayed on, has since been shown to be directly involved in at least one other piece of shenanigans, having to do with a secret $200,000 campaign gift he accepted in cash from Arthur Vance of Investors Overseas Service (heavily invested, incidentally, in the Bahamas). a man then (and now) being sued by the SEC for having "spirited away" some $224 million from four mutual funds.14

There can be little doubt finally that the entire sabotage campaign was at least tacitly approved, if not actually orchestrated, by the President himself—certainly the subsequent presidential actions seem only to confirm, from the hardy attempt at a "no-one-was-warehived'-coverup to the tizzy erection of "executive privileges' barriers. And so there it is from the top level of the government, through two of Nixon's closest advisors and the "California Mafia" in the White House, through CIA career men and right-wing Miami elites down to Florida businessmen and Texas oil millionaires. This is the world of the thirty-seventh President.

Perhaps because they are new to the game, perhaps because they just feel they can get away with it, the more recent operatives of this second government seem to regard government as a tool for financial enrichment, and is to a large extent financed by and working to the benefit of the newer exploitative giants—newer, chiefly the Southern rim. Perhaps because they are new to the world of the second government—and they are obviously only tip-of-the-Iceberg glimpses into their world.46

Take the Soviet wheat deal, a bonanza for certain American shippers


Even one of the old operators of this type has recently masted the ITT, and agricultural middlemen, oddly enough with Republican ties. Or the coast-plus handiaps which such defense giants as Litton and Ling-Temco-Vought have been allowed to get away with. Or the funny dealings of US District Secretary of State and former SEC chairman William Casey, who is one of seventeen defendants in a $2.1 million federal damage suit, charged, in the words of the court-appointed trustees with "self-dealing among themselves for their own personal gain but to the utmost detriment and damage" to a Southern ring agribusiness corporation which went bankrupt a week after Casey was nominated for the SEC.1 Or the charges against California businessman and former Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian, a leader of Nixon's CRP whom Mccord has linked to Watergate and whom "the New York Times" has accused of getting confidential information from the Justice Department to use in the Republican campaign.47

Or the findings of "proofed immorality and corruption" by a nonpartisan investigating committee of the Argentine legislature against Texan William Clemente, now Deputy Secretary of Defense, for his very profitable role in a multimillion dollar oil deal, a deal in which he was partners with one man who is using him for fraudulent conspiracy and two others who have slipped the US to avoid paying taxes on their profits.48 Or the neat little deal by which Director of the Budget Roy Ash and a partner in 1969 traded twenty-two acres of land in California with the Federal Bureau of Lands for 14,145 acres of government-owned land in Nevada,49 or his even neater dumping of some $2.6 million worth of Litton stock in 1970, not long before it became public that Litton's shipbuilding program was in deep trouble and the price of the stock dropped by half, the implications of which are now being looked into by the SEC.50 Or... but just wait until tomorrow morning's paper.

All of these glimpses into the world of the second government—and they are obviously only tip-of-the-iceberg glimpses—suggest that there are important operations going on beyond the reach of ordinary citizens or of party politics, in many ways beyond even the control of Congress. And these operations involve men at the top levels of government, they do not seem to indicate any great attachment to democratic processes, as the acknowledged campaign to sabotage one major political party bear witness, or to the constitutional exercise of foreign policy, as the acknowledged attempt has been quietly cozy with the CIA since World War II, recently had to acknowledge its attempt to pay a million dollars to the White House and the CIA to prevent Allende's election in Chile, and this followed not long after its public embarrassment in being caught behind and approving to pave the way for its multimillion dollar Hartford Fire Insurance merger.


The New York Review
Barker was paymaster this time around, personally recruited three others, all of whom subsequently pleaded guilty at the Watergate trial: Eugene Martinis, another CIA operative and a real-estate business partner of Barker's, and also vice president of another real-estate firm with whom both Nixon and Rebozo have done business; Frank Sturgis, a CIA operative, who lost his citizenship at one time for his Caribbean gun-running activities (first for Castro in 1958, then against him in 1962), and organizer of a "Cubans for Nixon" demonstration at Miami Beach last year; and Virgilio Gonzalez, also a CIA operative, in on the Bay of Pigs, and a member of a right-wing anti-Castro organization run by the same people who ran the "Cubans for Nixon" operation both last year and in 1968.

These four men were guided in their operations by at least three others with close connections to the Nixon inner circle, all of whom have been convicted for their part in Watergate: Gordon Liddy, a former FBI agent who had worked on espionage matters in the White House under Ethelstman, who was assigned by White House counsel John Dean to Nixon's Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP), and who therupon, according to trial testimony, set up the Republican sabotage campaign; James McCord, a twenty-year CIA agent with extensive contacts among the anti-Castro community, who was "security coordinator" for the CRP and who says that Dean cleared him for the job; and Howard Hunt, another career CIA agent (chief operations officer for the Bay of Pigs) and former White House consultant, who became a CRP operative in 1971. Having spooked night in the White House seems bad enough, but the sorry trail goes on--in fact goes on for two more steps.

The first step involves at least three other men besides Dean who were White House aides to Nixon. Charles Colson, Hunt's superior at the White House and head of a White House anti-Democrat committee known as the "attack group." Gordon Strachan, a Haldeman assistant who (according to

11Washington Post, February 8, 1973, p. 1), Colson has produced his own private lie detector test claiming that, in spite of McCord's impression, he was not involved specifically in Watergate. The New York Times reported, however, that, "The examination did not deal with the campaign of espionage as FBI files) was the chief link to the reported California saboteurs, Donald Segretti, and according to the New York Times was the White House contact for the Watergate people. and Dwight Chapin, another White House Californian and Haldeman aide who, according to L. Patrick Gray III, transmitted funds to his old college friend Segretti, mostly through here in again--Herbert Kalmbach. In the recent hearsay testimony of McCord to the Senate Watergate Committee Haldeman himself is said to have known "what was going on" at CRP.

The second step leads to two men close to Nixon, personally and professionally, CRP treasurer Stans and CRP chairman John Mitchell. Though things yet pretty shady at this point--partly because Nixon's huss hasn't investigated much here--it seems obvious that both men condoned the anti-Democratic operations, and trial testimony indicates that both men approved specific payments to spy

master Liddy out of Stans's own office safe. In addition, Mitchell as CRP chairman was so implicated in the scandal--not least by his lugubrious wife, who complained of John's "dirty things"--that he resigned his CRP position in July; it has since emerged that he net daily with McCord while


Han Social Structure
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