

NBC NEWS PRESENTS

"FIRST TUESDAY"

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prominence in American schools. There lingers in many British minds only a vague idea that George III went mad and tried to make the Americans drink tea by sending armies of Hessian mercenaries to occupy the colonies.

"We need to straighten ourselves out a bit before we can qualify for the spirit of 1976. The Canadian Loyalists may find themselves a bit hesitant about contributing to the celebration at all though they might join the Americans in excoriating Arnold's memory. But the French, ah, the French should be ready and willing to participate. Who else won the war?

Until the crowning victory by land and sea at Yorktown in 1781, you remember, the whole thing had veered for years from demerol to demerol in an appalling, unprofessional manner. The King, finding the British themselves singularly unwilling to serve in his war, depended heavily on German mercenaries, and eventually also, of course, on American Loyalists.

"New York produced more volunteers for George III than for George Washington. For the British, then, there must be a good deal of use for mercenaries in the execution of an unnecessary, unsuccessful and altogether unfortunate war.

"There'll be difficulties, of course there'll be difficulties. It would be foolish of us to rub salt in the fest that we actually won Bunker Hill. There'll be British patriots who might like to re-enact the march into Washington. The last time we did it, the place somehow got burnt down.

"Anyway, it really is time to start. There are innumerable other independence celebrations in the pipeline. Roll on, 2014, when we can really burn down the White House again."

* * *

VANOCUR: Tonight, First Tuesday examines the use of United States Army Intelligence agents to spy on American citizens. Up until now, one of America's most cherished traditions has been that the military should exercise no role in the civilian life of the country, but during our social chaos of the late 1960's, this tradition was modified by the United States Army. Under the law, the Army has a responsibility for suppressing civil insurrections, that is all. It cannot arrest civilians unless there's been a declaration of martial law.

But there is no law governing military investigations of civilians. The Army has its own investigators in every major city and in many small towns throughout the United States. Military intelligence has a web of command centers, regional headquarters, and field offices. Military intelligence operates 300 offices and has approximately 1,000 plainclothes agents within the continental United States.

Their normal assignment is to investigate military personnel and employees of defense contractors for security clearances, but at times these agents have been assigned to spy on civilians who are not connected with the Army in any way. Only a few of the men who've been military intelligence agents were willing to tell their experiences on television. For some who feared possible reprisal, we agreed to conceal their identities.

Here are some of the former agents who told their stories.

MAN: I covered demonstrations in and throughout the city of Atlanta, including black people's marches, sanitation strikes, demonstrations against the induction center and anything that might create a crowd of over ten people.

MAN: Up until June of 1970, I was a special agent in U.S. Army Intelligence, assigned to the 115th Military Intelligence Group located here in Washington, D.C.

MAN: I was issued a press card, press credentials, the name was Francis T. Houston of the Richmond Times-Dispatch. I took the press card and attended a press conference which was given by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in a basement of an office building in northwest Washington.

MAN: Well, I was a special agent with the 115th Military Intelligence Group in Washington, D.C., and one of my activities and one of my activities while with the 115th was to infiltrate antiwar groups, student movement groups in the Washington, D.C. area.

WATSON: The United States Army Intelligence Command is headquartered at Fort Holabird in Baltimore, Maryland. Its symbol is the Sphinx, which Webster says means "a mysterious, inscrutable person given to enigmatic questions."

These men are training to be Army Intelligence agents. Some will go overseas and do highly secret assignments. Others will remain in the United States. The vaults at Fort Holabird contain files on millions of people who have been routinely investigated for normal Army security checks. The Army's entire domestic intelligence network is directed from here.

One of the most important regional intelligence commands is located in an obscure section of northern Washington, D.C., not far from the Capitol. The 115th Military Intelligence Group has more than 100 special agents. They use these unmarked government cars. Some are equipped with two-way radios. All are equipped with civilian license plates. The Army agents who use them never wear uniforms. They dress like plainclothes cops.

The 116th Headquarters War Room is on the second floor behind sealed windows. The War Room has been activated several times for use during civil disturbances in the District of Columbia. The 116th also has been used to gather information on Senator William Fulbright and more radical dissenters. These mug shots are from the files of the 116th.

These photographs were taken by agents of the 113th Military Intelligence Group at a demonstration on the University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis.

These photographs were provided to Military Intelligence in Minneapolis by local law enforcement agencies. In this one, subject No. 2 was identified as Francis Robert Shore, a graduate student at the university.

Military Intelligence was interested in many people in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. Among the subjects identified in the files were black militants Arnold Murray and Kelly Moore. This card index was prepared by Military Intelligence. Among the entries, "Banner, Bradford" identified as president of the St. Paul NARCP. "Irvin, Lewis" identified as director of the St. Paul Department on Human Rights. "Sugar, Jane" listed as an employee of the YMCA. "Maxwell, Grover" identified as professor of philosophy. He is a prominent University of Minnesota faculty member, as is David Noble, a long-time professor of history at the university. And "Stone, Lucian Scott" identified as Minnesota Campus Coordinator for the Poor People's Campaign.

More than four years ago, the Army Intelligence Command sent out this directive by teletype to its regional offices around the United States. Military Intelligence agents were requested to be on the alert for anti-war literature, leaflets, pamphlets and brochures. As of August 11, 1965, the Army was officially involved in developing information about various peace committees. But a year earlier, the Army was actively observing the anti-war movement in Oklahoma City. A U.S. Army Intelligence agent had been assigned to march with and report on this small group of anti-war demonstrators outside the Federal Building.

The peace movement was just getting organized in 1965, after President Johnson ordered the commitment of American combat troops in Vietnam.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON: I do not find it easy to send the flower of our youth, our finest young men, into battle, but we will not surrender and we will not retreat.

SONG: How many times must the cannonballs fly
Before they're forever banned?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind.
The answer is blowin' in the wind.

ANNOUNCER: The Peace Movement coincided with America's urban riots and by 1967 when troops were called to end the Detroit riots, the Army was told to prepare for possible riot duty in 25 cities simultaneously. This caused the Army to intensify its domestic spying operations.

MAN: Well, as part of the responsibility assigned to the Army, at the request of the Department of Justice, I want to emphasize, the Army did participate in the collection of some information that would be helpful to the Army, if necessary, in carrying out this system through civilian authorities.

MAN: If they were using Army personnel to investigate individuals who it might be thought would try to incite to riot, or something like that, then that is absolutely intolerable in a country that would be free. That cannot be permitted.

ANNOUNCER: Nonetheless, even further demands were made on Army intelligence by escalation of anti-war protests to the Pentagon itself and by the political assassinations of 1968.

DRUM BEATS

ANNOUNCER: The murder of Martin Luther King produced riots in Washington and a greatly expanded role for military intelligence.

MAN: By 8:30, I think, on the evening that Martin Luther King was assassinated, the 116th had decided to go on alert and to call in all of their personnel.

MAN: There was kind of pandemonium at the time because they had no operations plan to follow.

MAN: I was dropped off at a precinct in the Washington to act as police liaison.

MAN: I was assigned immediately with two other agents in a military vehicle, an unmarked military vehicle, and we proceeded into the Northwest Washington area. This vehicle was equipped with a radio, with a portable radio, and we reported in the activities that we saw in the riot-torn area that night.

MAN: My unit called and they wanted a list of all people who had been arrested, what they had been arrested for and so forth at this precinct. And so I copied down, I don't know, between 50 and 60 names, I would imagine, of people who had been arrested and booked at that precinct for anything connected with the civil disturbances going on at that time.

ANNOUNCER: 1968 was a traumatic year in the United States, but no single event attracted more attention from military intelligence than the death of Martin Luther King and the events which followed. This man, whose identity cannot be disclosed, was an Army Intelligence Agent based in Atlanta. Using a dictaphone, he recorded specific details of his assignment for N.B.C. News Reporter Tom Pettit.

TOM PETTIT: The funeral services for Martin Luther King were held in Atlanta on April 9, 1968. They began at Dr. King's home church, Ebenezer Baptist. Military Intelligence in Atlanta had all of its agents on duty that day. One of them said the military was very uptight about the funeral. They thought all hell would break loose that night in Atlanta.

ORGAN MUSIC IN BACKGROUND

ARMY INTELLIGENCE AGENT: All M.I. units were immediately put on alert and told to report to the Field Office where they remained for the entire time of the funeral, except when they were sent out in the field to cover the funeral itself.

HEAVY MUSIC (CONTINUES UNDER SPEECH)

AGENT: We...were given certain requirements from our Commander, that we had to cover every step of the funeral. We had to report on all dignitaries and personalities of any importance that were entering the area during the funeral, to include the Vice President of the United States. We were given no clear point for covering it, just that this was a black funeral and it was anticipated there might be disorders or perhaps a racial problem because of the funeral itself.

STREET NOISES.

AGENT: The...possibility in the eyes of the Army that this would...Golden, specifically some

kind of demonstration or even a riot.was fear for what might happen.

PETTIT: As the funeral cortage moved through the city of Atlanta, Army plainclothes agents moved with it, mingling with the crowd. Their job was to note the location of the procession and report back by radio or by telephone.

Even though the entire event was carried on national television, agents were encouraged to get as much information as possible. One agent radioed in from an unknown vantage point, "Here comes the parade." His terminology was quickly corrected by another agent, a black agent who cut in on the radio to say, "It's not a parade."

BELLS

AGENT: Top agent teams were assigned to march with the funeral procession itself throughout the whole course of the procession. We were told by our superiors that this had to be covered -- that every fifteen minutes a report had to be telephoned via a hot line expressly established for this funeral back to Fort Holloberg(?) reporting the activities of the march itself, with emphasis on being ahead of A.P. and U.P.I. wire service on all reporting information. They wanted to know exactly who was there, how many people were marching in the crowd, what the breakdown of the crowd was -- did it look like a hostile crowd? Was it an occasionally made up crowd of poor people, rich people, middle class people? Were there a lot of students in the crowd? Were there many militants in the area -- just a complete breakdown of anything we might be able to give.

PETTIT: As things turned out, there was no trouble in Atlanta that night, despite the Army's fears. But as a precaution, all available military intelligence agents were kept on stand-by duty.

ANNOUNCER: Exactly one month later, on the night of May 19, 1968, there was an enthusiastic meeting at the Atlanta Civic Center Exhibit Hall for members of the Poor Peoples' Campaign who had stopped here on their way to Washington, D.C. Among those who appeared that night were The Supremes, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, and Mrs. Coretta King.

One of the spectators was a special agent for military intelligence. The agent was not seated in the audience.

AGENT: My assignment was to maintain complete watch over the rally at the Exhibit Hall. I was stationed in a projection booth overlooking the Exhibit Hall itself on top of the stage. I was to report on all the key speakers at the rally and to what their contents were.

ANNOUNCER: One of the speakers he heard from that listening post was Mrs. King.

MRS. CORETTA KING: There is a need to rededicate ourselves and recommit ourselves to bring about the kind of society and the kind of world where men and women, boys and girls, can really build in dignity and freedom and justice and in peace.

APPLAUSE

AGENT: When Coretta King spoke, she told the audience about how her husband had had a dream and now this dream was going to come true. When I called this in to the Field Office, I spoke to a Captain at my headquarters. He wanted me to go back and find out what dream she was referring to.

MARTIN LUTHER KING: I have a dream. My poor little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colors of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream.

APPLAUSE

AGENT: It seemed to me that M.I. was getting involved in a field that they didn't even know what it was all about.

ANNOUNCER: On May 10, 1968 before receiving the trip to Washington, many members of the Poor Peoples' Campaign made a pilgrimage to the grave of Martin Luther King at Southview Cemetery in Atlanta.

MAN: We thank Thee, Our Father, for this, our fallen leader beside whose grave we now stand with heads bloody but unbowed.

ANNOUNCER: Across the street from the cemetery an unmarked Army vehicle was parked at a shopping center. In it were two military intelligence agents. Their assignment was to observe and report the license plate numbers of cars which brought people to the cemetery.

One of the agents came over here to mix with the crowd and jot down notes of what people were saying.

AGENT: One agent was told to remain at the graveside at all times and to listen in on the crowd of mourners to see if there was any possibility of any racial overtones which might develop into a riot or a demonstration.

HYMN

ANNOUNCER: Graveside surveillance was by no means the end of military intelligence interest in the Poor Peoples' Campaign. The Army maintained an extraordinary interest.

These people had been followed into Atlanta by Army agents in unmarked cars with civilian license plates. They were followed in Atlanta. They were followed out of Atlanta. They were observed and counted while boarding busses and getting into cars. Then they were followed all the way to Resurrection City in Washington. Where the poor people went, the Army went.

The Poor Peoples' Campaign also was sending mule teams to Washington from various parts of the South. They too were followed.

AGENT: That was probably one of the largest operations I have participated in in Army intelligence. The Atlanta Field Office established contact with the mule team when they entered Georgia itself. Approximately twelve agents met this caravan coming into the state. The mules were surveyed from that point on all the way through their trip into Georgia. They were constantly surveyed to include the number of mule trains, the number of people on the trains and the number of mules, to differentiate between the number of horses since they didn't supply enough mules. It was a very strong requirement of the Army to know the exact number of mules and the exact number of horses at all times. I took pictures for the military and I also had my private camera with which I took some of my own pictures of the mules and of the caravan itself. And when they left Georgia, another team of agents or another group of agents, I should say, would take over at that point and follow them on into D.C.

ANNOUNCER: In Washington, the Poor Peoples' encampment at Resurrection City became a full time assignment for agents of the 116th Military Intelligence group.

MAN: The 116th continued a constant surveillance, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. And Major Macle was a black Army officer in the intelligence command and he was sent into Resurrection City to gather information.

MAN: I don't know if he ever had to use a cover story, but he entered it surreptitiously. In other words, he did not enter it as a member of Army intelligence and say, "I am a member of Army intelligence and I'd like to talk to you."

MAN: He would be dressed generally in a pair of blue jeans and a sweater or a sweatshirt.

MAN: He was there to obtain whatever information he could as to what the Poor Peoples' Campaign's plans were for the next day, for the next week, this sort of thing.

MAN: Most of it was visual information, like counting the numbers of the shanties that had been built, anything more that was built, checking out information like this. He was requested to get information on the sanitation facilities, the depth of the mud when it rained so heavily there and information of that nature.

MAN: His reaction as I remember it at that time was one of fear.

MAN: He was conspicuous in the sense that he was a tall man and he had a short haircut. He did not have a beard. He didn't really fit in with the average type of person that was in Resurrection City.

MAN: Well, he was probably afraid that if it was found out that he was a member of Army Intelligence and actively attempting to gain information for them, some of the residents of Resurrection City might have been a little irate.

ANNOUNCER: The Army's domestic spying operations were first disclosed last January by a former Intelligence Officer, Christopher Pyle, in the magazine, WASHINGTON MONTHLY. Since then the Army claims it has suspended most of its dossier collecting. But it still has files on civilians, as do the Air Force and the Navy. The escalation of political protests and the new phenomenon of political bombing have raised complex questions about the Constitutional propriety of keeping files on people. There is a vast intelligence network in the United States, much of it legitimately concerned with the prevention of crime. What concerns civil libertarians is the inter-locking relationship between the military and civilian police agencies in keeping track of dissenters.

MAN: One of the most efficient civilian intelligence operations is run by the Philadelphia Police Department. Even an eminently peaceful Earth Day protest last Spring came under close scrutiny by the Philadelphia Civil Disobedience Unit.

BACKGROUND MAN: All right, then. Take a walk around. Take it easy.

SONG: There's a man who leads a life of danger.
To everyone he meets he stays a stranger.
In every note he makes,
Another chance he takes.
Odds are he won't live to see tomorrow.
Secret agent man. Secret agent man.
They've given you a number and taken away your name.
Secret agent man. Secret agent man.
They've given you a number and taken away your name.

MAN: Until this year Philadelphia police and military intelligence had a full-scale exchange of information about protestors.

SONG: Secret agent man.

APPLAUSE

MAN: Oklahoma City is 1500 miles away in a far more conservative part of the country.

SONG: What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming.

MAN: Even mild protest is not generally considered to be very patriotic here. In 1968 youthful demonstrators who were protesting an appearance by Selective Service Director, Louis Hershey, found themselves quickly under arrest.

Three months later, Oklahoma Governor, Dewey Bartlett, created a super-secret intelligence agency to collect information about would-be trouble makers. Governor Bartlett believes the agency has had a deterrent effect.

GOVERNOR DEWEY BARTLETT: We feel that our success of having a very small amount of trouble in the state, we think that this has resulted from good intelligence, good information that's been available to the campuses, to the law enforcement agencies, to this office, or what is going on, what might be going on, or what might be contemplated in our area that would be in violation of the law.

MAN: The Oklahoma C.I.A. is uniquely military. Its headquarters are also the headquarters of the Oklahoma National Guard. Nearly half its budget comes from the National Guard. It is headed by a retired Army Lieutenant Colonel, James DeFrates(?)

MUSIC (Electronic guitar and piano)

JAMES DEFRADES: We have in excess of 6,000 names. We have approximately 10,000 incident reports on violence since we first started operating back in July of '68. It's only been recently, I suppose, that there's been widespread knowledge of the existence of our agency.

MAN: Colonel DeFrates' agency shares intelligence with the state and local police departments in Oklahoma and elsewhere. For this purpose, it obtained a \$27,000 subsidy from the United States Justice Department. Colonel DeFrates is extremely dedicated to the pursuit of intelligence.

DEFRADES: When the information comes in, then it would go to a central desk here in my office where it would be screened.

MAN: Most intelligence agencies collect articles from the underground press. One former agent said papers like the Berkeley Barb would go out of business if it weren't for police subscribers looking for information.

MAN: It can come to us from the regular press, from the weekly newspapers, names and so forth. It can also come to us through police sources. Now this would be then "shredded", as we call it, putting it on a blank sheet of paper and then we put the incidents into packets of 50 each, and of course then file away.

The other processes that are involved here would be the extracting of names, possibly of the reports there as they come in, and filing them in a separate file.

Of course, before this is done, we have to have some way of being able to reobtain this information at the time that we want it so we do have a system for cross-indexing it and filing it in such a way that we can enter our files and obtain it in several different ways.

I would say that approximately a third of the names we have on file are from the seconer State, the majority, of course, from out of state.

Our effort is one not of trying to actually hold down dissent because we feel that everyone should have a right to dissent as long as it's legal dissent.

INTERVIEWER: Are there names of good Oklahomans in the file?

MAN: I'm sure there are.

INTERVIEWER: How do they get there?

MAN: Well, this would be in the same way as obtaining any other information, through the system we have for collecting information and for filing it.

INTERVIEWER: What I mean is, how would you happen to get the name of a perfectly law-abiding citizen, non-controversial person?

MAN: Well, it might well be that this individual was not known to someone and as a result his name was reported.

INTERVIEWER: And it could then find its way into the file?

MAN: This could be true of anyone who's not identified, certainly, as to what his actions may or may not be. But the mere fact that the name's in the file is no indication of what the individual is or does. In many instances it might well be a safeguard.

INTERVIEWER: If you check out a name and find that the person is, as a policeman would say, clean or law-abiding and has, in a sense been cleared, would you then remove that person's name from the file?

MAN: No, not necessarily so. In fact, I don't recall ever removing any names from the file.

INTERVIEWER: Do you get information from or give information to federal agencies, the F.B.I., military police, military intelligence, the Justice Department? Do you have a sharing arrangement with them?

MAN: We do share with various intelligence agencies so far as our contribution of the information that we pick up. We do pass it to various federal agencies.

INTERVIEWER: Which ones?

MAN: I'd hate to--I wouldn't want to specifically state at this time, I don't think that it would be appropriate for me to, if you don't mind.

ANNOUNCER: This man was a military intelligence agent with detailed knowledge of the Army's relationship with civilian agencies in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

MAN: Military intelligence Detachment out at Fort Carson had very good liaison with local city agencies and the local F.B.I. They were in touch with the Colorado Springs Police and worked closely with them. They had excellent liaison with the city government, the sheriff's office, El Paso County Sheriff's Office.

BAND MUSIC

ANNOUNCER: Fort Carson is just one of many military installations in the Colorado Springs area. Last Fall Army agents were fully deployed when students at Colorado College took part in a mild anti-War Moratorium in conjunction with similar activities all over the country.

MAN: I was in on sort of the planning staff of the Moratorium in October, October 15th, and helped get publicity out and helped decide what would be done and that sort of thing. There was extensive coverage of this Moratorium activity by military intelligence.

MAN: They held a rally at Arapahoe National Park, which is close to downtown Colorado Springs. From the rally they marched

up to Colorado College, which is about 10 blocks away. When they got up to Colorado College, they went to Shave(?) Chapel to hear a series of speakers. It was scheduled to be an all-night speak-in against the War.

Our office had at least a half a dozen agents covering the Monastorian. They had four or five agents inside the chapel while people were speaking and they had a radio car outside the chapel. The agents would go in and take notes on who was speaking, what they said, if any military personnel took part and they wanted to know everybody who took part. They wanted them all identified, including the clergyman and the people from the civilian community. And then they would come out to the radio car, or one of them would come out and feed this information out to Fort Carson by radio. I was at the other end of the radio recording the information as it came in. I would write down who spoke and a synopsis of what he said.

MAN: There is a general feeling, though, a very definite feeling, especially among those who are most active in the Peace Movement, that they are being constantly watched, that their phones are being bugged, that their actions are being taken down and written up in dossiers out at the Fort and other places.

MAN: I believe there is some danger if civilian officials, citizens and also officials, lean upon the Army, look to the Army without first assuming responsibility themselves. The Army reluctantly undertook this task and ever since that time -- that is since '69, certainly, there has been a very very sharp reduction in the Army's collection of information for civil disturbance.

ANNOUNCER: However, the Army still maintains files on civilians at this ordinary-appearing office building in Alexandria, Virginia. The microfilm files of the Army's counter-intelligence analysis division contain both foreign and domestic reports. The microfilm files are top secret.

In addition to the microfilm, raw information on civil disturbance is stored at Fort Hollobooz, Maryland. Senator Sam Irvin of North Carolina, a conservative Democrat, has been highly critical of the military for keeping files on civilians. Senator Irvin's subcommittee on Constitutional rights will hold hearings on the subject probably late in January. The Irvin subcommittee will be told of the top secret sale of Army Intelligence at the 1968 Presidential nominating conventions. That case study is next.

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ANNOUNCER: By mid-summer of 1968, military intelligence was deeply concerned with America's most fundamental political process, the Presidential nominating conventions. The Republicans met that year here in Miami Beach, Florida. It was the first week of August.

MAN: The 29th Annual Convention of the Republican Party has been called for the day of August 5th and the hour of 10 A.M. I now call the Convention to order and declare it to be in session.

ANNOUNCER: The military intelligence contingent had its own command post inside the Convention Hall. The commanding officer of the 11th Military Intelligence group had come here from his headquarters in Atlanta. The Army agents were plainclothes and had credentials for access to the Convention floor. And they had a specific job to do.

Here is Sergeant Gelber, who was Security Coordinator at that time for the Miami Beach Police Department.

SERGEANT GELBER: Early in this Convention, it was determined that protest was going to be acceptable. Army Intelligence basically contributed the knowledge that they had obtained through the years of their investigations concerning people who might be causing trouble in situations....

MAN: The man for 1968, the Honorable Richard M. Nixon.

CHEERING AND HOONS

GELBER: Army Intelligence and Navy Intelligence resorted in taking still shots and then going downstairs and having another team check tag each one of those still shots to determine any suspicious individuals whom they could recognize were present.

CHEERING

GELBER: The Army Intelligence as well as Navy Intelligence had rather complete files on people who might be trouble-prone and they also had contact with Washington and other parts of the country where they could get immediate information on any of those individuals, should that be necessary.

RICHARD M. NIXON: Tonight I again proudly accept that nomination for President of the United States.

CHEERING

GELBER: It seemed to me that everyone had some form of a walkie-talkie. The Army had a rather sophisticated one which was concealed on individuals and they were able to maintain communications with agents who were covering many groups in effect in that their identity wasn't revealed. Again, the Army, even within our group, doesn't and didn't make available all the details of the sophisticated devices they had, but there were many and they were all put to use. In addition to this, housing was at a premium during the Convention and they wanted to have all federal

forces located at one site and so they merely moved the ships here and housed -- there were probably as many as a thousand federal forces here -- and just housed them there, kept them quarantined on board. I understand morale wasn't too good, that they couldn't get around to see Miami Beach too well, but I think it helped in being organized for this short period.

ANNOUNCER: The United States Secret Service was in charge of security for individual Presidential candidates at the Republican Convention, but the job of security at Convention Hall involved many agencies. Among them was the United States Marine Corps which had helicopters standing by in the event it would be necessary to make a hasty and immediate evacuation of any one of the candidates.

GELBER: Those helicopters had special equipment wherein they could come down into a crowd and the individual, one of the candidates, could be lifted away into the sky to safety.

MAN: As we look at America, we see cities enveloped in flames. We hear sirens in the night.

GELBER: I would say that half a dozen people were apprehended here who were suspicious and some of them had charges filed against them and some of them merely were removed from the premises.

MAN: The time has come for us to leave the valley of despair and climb the mountain so that we may see the glory of the dawn, a new day for America and a new dawn for peace and freedom in the world.

APPLAUSE

GELBER: During the last convention, after we made all our plans, we ended up with the thought that we would pray for rain. I don't know that praying for rain will satisfy the problems of the next convention.

ANNOUNCER: America's troubled summer of 1968 came to a climax in Chicago. The Democratic National Convention attracted most of the forces of protest about which the Army had been so diligently collecting information. When delegates arrived at the Chicago Stockyards International Amphitheatre, the Army had 7500 combat troops on stand-by and military intelligence agents deployed around the city. Some of them with top secret electronic devices.

The Convention opened on Monday evening, August 26th. Aretha Franklin sang the "Star Spangled Banner."

ARETHA FRANKLIN: And the lanterns' bright glare,
The bands blaring in air
Gave proof through the night
That our flag was still there.
Oh, say can you see that star spangled

Banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free
And the home of the brave.

ANNOUNCER: The total military involvement in the Democratic Convention was complex. Long before the Convention opened, Army Intelligence was advising the Illinois National Guard in addition to making its own plans. Those plans included the use of the ultra-secret Army Security Agency.

MAN: About a month before the Chicago Convention, I handled the visuals on a briefing which was more or less laying out the plans for what the agency was going to do in support of the total Army effort in Chicago.

HUBERT HUMPHREY: I proudly accept the nomination of our Party.

MAN: We used equipment which were either hand-held equipment or equipment in jeeps or equipment in vans which were camouflaged to suit the area, say coloration, etc., something that's not specific, but something to that effect. And inside a van, something like a Ford Bronco or a Volkswagen van, you'd find a lot of equipment, a large net that would be, say, two people in the back and one man driving and a radio direction finder in some of them which would be able to track where some individual pick-up was coming from so that you could get closer to it and perhaps get a better recording of it.

MAN: There probably are more people listening and watching tonight than there will be at any other time during the campaign, any one time.

BAND MUSIC

MAN: Prior to the convention, I extensively briefed Brigadier General Dunn of the Illinois National Guard on groups and individuals who might demonstrate there. And he wanted a great deal of intelligence support for his efforts. We also received right after the convention a great amount of wiretap film taken by intelligence personnel of the actual disruption that occurred in the area in Chicago. An officer in Army Intelligence was sent there to represent the Assistant Chief of Staff in Intelligence and actually wound up inside the Convention on the floor of the convention.

MAN: I say to this convention tonight and to this great nation of ours, I am ready to lead our country.

CHEERING

MAN: In the case of the briefing after the Chicago incidents, there was a great emphasis put upon a telephone conversation which had been monitored. Now it was monitored I'm not going to say, but with monitors from McCarthy headquarters, from the Illinois Hotel. Two, as they always put in briefings, a known left-wing organization which was offering medical help for people who had been injured in the rioting. They used this as an example of the quality of the overall effort they had in Chicago.

STREET NOISE

MAN: I don't recall there being a specific file on Eugene McCarthy, but, of course, the activities which McCarthy was involved in dealing with the New Left and having the support of the New Left were monitored closely.

ANNOUNCER: It should be noted that Ron Webber, the young man who told about the Army Security Agency, is a deserter and was interviewed in Toronto. But his veracity has been checked with a former associate who received an honorable discharge from the Army.

* * *

ANNOUNCER: The inauguration of Richard Nixon took place against a backdrop of potential disorder. The same forces of protest involved at Chicago were planning a counter-inaugural demonstration. President Johnson had ordered unprecedented security, but the incoming Justice Department was demanding an open show of force by Army troops. However, Army Intelligence already had been assigned to infiltrate the protesters.

David Johnson, who is now a university student on the West Coast, was an undercover military intelligence agent posing as a student in Washington. He was given Army money to spend and told he could supply protesters with liquor or marijuana if needed to keep his cover.

DAVID JOHNSON: We were told even if we needed marijuana that we could have it, but not to get caught with it.

INTERVIEWER: Were you ever given marijuana.

JOHNSON:

JOHNSON: No I was never given marijuana by the Army.

INTERVIEWER: Do you know of any agent who was given marijuana by the Army to use in this kind of work?

JOHNSON: Not while I was there. No. They told us if we really needed it, if it was offered to us by the students, to take it and use it if we wanted to and that they had made arrangements with the Metropolitan Police in Washington, D.C. to clear us

of any charges that might come up if we were caught with possession of this drug or anything of that kind. We were given funds by the Army to meet any and all expenses on our part as far as taking these people out to a bar for a drink, a tavern for a beer. It was considered preferable by the Army to have social contact. They thought we'd learn more that way. We went to several taverns with these people. As often as possible, the Army itself, if we went to these parties, they'd purchase the liquor that we drank at a party and gave it to us before we attended the party because they could buy it cheaper on the post.

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember any names from the 116th files?

JOHNSON: Well, we were given card files from the 116th files of people like David Dillinger and Fannie(?) Davis, Susan Wilkerson and told to memorize the pictures that were on these files so that we would recognize them at the time. Of course Rennie was more easily recognizable than Dillinger. They were easy to spot and we simply reported back by pay phone from the streets of Washington D.C. where and what they were doing, when they arrived at the place, what they were doing there and what they said to other members of the Student Mobilization, attempted to find out what their plans were for the counter-inauguration and attempted to infiltrate the Student Mobilization group which was running the counter-inauguration. Rennie

INTERVIEWER: How did you do that?

JOHNSON: We just walked into their office and said, "I'm Dave Johnson and I'd like to help you out." They said, "Sit down. We've got plenty of jobs for you." And we sat down and listened to what was going on, helped print leaflets, ran various errands which they asked us to run because we did have cars and knew the area.

One evening I myself went out with a female member of the Student Mobilization to Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., passed out leaflets and attempted to get the students in Georgetown to attend a film of the Chicago riots during the Chicago Convention.

INTERVIEWER: What did you do, then on Inauguration Day itself?

JOHNSON: Inauguration Day I decided that my assignment was over and I stayed home.

NIXON: And will to the best of my ability...

JUDGE: Preserve, protect and defend...

NIXON: Preserve, protect and defend...

JUDGE: The Constitution of the United States.

NIXON: The Constitution of the United States.

JUDGE: So help you God.

NIXON: So help me God.

APPLAUSE

JOHNSON: The files contained the names of various high officials within the United States government.

INTERVIEWER: High officials?

JOHNSON: Senators, Representatives, various other officials within the government, all of whom had at one time or another spoken out against Vietnam.

ANNOUNCER: Most of the former agents I talked with felt that in 1968 and '69 military intelligence had become a national secret-police. The Army now claims to have cut back its intervention in civilian political activities, but the military intelligence apparatus remains, secret agents, some of the files, a communications network and sophisticated electronic devices.

The potential for violence seems as great today as it was in 1968, if not greater. For that reason alone, an Assistant Defense Secretary Harkin himself said, the temptation to turn to the Army for an easy answer will remain. There may be a parallel in the widely-quoted comment of an American officer after a battle in South Vietnam, "We had to destroy the town to save it."

* * *

ANNOUNCER: Many of us grew up listening to the intimate voices of radio, like the mellow deliveries of Milton Cross or the exciting tones of Walter Winchell. Whether the announcers were informing, entertaining or selling, we always knew someone was there. That's no longer true. Today, like everything else, radio has become automated. The trend is particularly common among FM stations; a 10 inch stack of I.B.M. cards and a computer can run a station for 24 hours. What follows is a condensed version of a typical broadcast day at KBTG-FM in Los Angeles.

STATION PLUB
WEEKEND WEATHER
"SWIMMING WEEK"
MUSIC FOR MEDITATION
COMMERCIAL
"PEOPLE"
STATION ID
"TIME AFTER TIME"
TIME CHECKS

STATION ID
SECRETARY OF THE DAY
"ECHOES OF MY MIND"
COMMERCIALS
"AGE OF AQUARIUS"

TAPE REWIND

ANNOUNCER: In the sixth month that KBIG-FM has been automated the station's ratings have doubled. We'll be back the first Tuesday in January. This is Sandra Vancouver, W.B.C. News. Good night.

MAN: Good night.

MAN: Good night.

MAN: Good night.