

# After Ellsberg: Counter-Spy

This is in part directed to Norman Mailer, but only in part. Anyone interested in supporting a serious, systematic probe into secret operations against the Constitution by government and private agencies can be of use.

It was Dan Ellsberg's hope, after he had released the Pentagon Papers, that others—both former and present government employees—would follow his example and make public information that the citizenry has the right and, as Watergate rather emphasizes, the need to know. Last year, Ellsberg told me that while he was disappointed there had been no marked initial movement in that direction, "I do see a very small beginning trend."

An encouraging index of that trend has been the formation of CARIC: the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community. I have talked to two of the three full-time organizers of CARIC and have read their reports. The foundations for what Norman Mailer has called the Fifth Estate already exist.

First, the organizers.

Winslow Peck worked for almost four years as an intelligence analyst for the National Security Agency and was stationed in Istanbul and Southeast Asia. "During the two years I spent in Istanbul," Peck says, "I was involved. I felt, in playing intelligence games with the Russians. I enjoyed it. Like most people in government, I was apolitical at the time. But then I went to Vietnam for NSA, and that was no game. I was killing people."

K. Barton Osborn was an "Agent Handler" in U. S. Army Intelligence and Security from 1966 to 1969. Both in Vietnam and in Washington, he worked with the murderous Operation Phoenix.

Tim Butz served in U. S. Air Force reconnaissance units in Vietnam and Germany.

In recent years, all three have been active in the anti-war movement and all joined Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In 1971, Osborn testified before the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information. In April 1972, Butz was a witness before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in rebuttal to statements by then Defense Secretary

and Secretary of State William Rogers on the effects of American bombing in Southeast Asia. Butz is also a former project manager of Project Air War.

Around May 1972, Winslow Peck got the idea for what came to be the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community. The following is excerpted from a statement, "Why CARIC?," in the second issue of the committee's publication, Counter-Spy:

"There is no agency of government—directly responsible to the public—monitoring U. S. intelligence. Now former intelligence workers, Vietnam Veterans, and concerned citizens have formed the Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC) to serve as an independent 'watchdog' on the government spy apparatus. We have formed the committee to provide the vital information an aware public needs to know about government operations. The secrecy with which the government surrounds itself must stop.

"CARIC will serve as an independent, publicly sponsored source of analysis and information on the practices, organization, and objectives of U.S. Intelligence. What clandestine actions are being carried out in the name of America? Is the CIA preparing to entangle us in another war similar to Indochina? What information is going into federal data banks on innocent American citizens. . . . Whose phones are tapped in America? These are some of the questions CARIC hopes to answer.

"Although CARIC does believe that a massive government spy apparatus is at work in the world, we hope to dispel some of the paranoia citizens naturally feel when there is talk of spies and wiretaps. We know that the FBI does not have agents behind every tree, but there are agents in every major town in this country who have spied on innocent private and public citizens. Only a full and undisguised look at this

anted fears, and guide the public effort to end this illegal and unjustified espionage by Big Brother.

"CARIC knows that tens of thousands of American citizens . . . were mobilized over the past decade to help bring an end to the government's war in Indochina, a war that has taken new forms under the direction of U. S. intelligence agencies. CARIC hopes that these same concerned citizens will continue to oppose the government's policies and bring an end to this new form of covert war. . . ."

From their own backgrounds and contacts in intelligence agencies, the members of CARIC had a firm base from which to start gathering and analyzing information, some of it classified. However, as CARIC pointed out in the first issue of Counter-Spy, "none of the information presented (in our publications), no matter how embarrassing to the U. S. government, will pose a threat to national security. It has been estimated by a congressional committee that 90 per cent of government information now classified should not be classified at all."

Nonetheless, when CARIC began, being a public counter-spy was kind of scary for those involved. For perhaps the first time in American history, a group of former government intelligence agents was openly trying to expose the interconnections of the invisible government, from the CIA's "dirty tricks" division to routine abuses of the Bill of Rights engaged in by local Red Squads around the country.

"Dan Ellsberg had a great influence on all of us in CARIC," Winslow Peck told me, "and we hope to have at least some of that kind of effect on others who have information which ought to be revealed. But I have to tell you that at first I was very fearful. Is it possible to regularly release classified information? Is it possible to destroy the myth that the invisible government is invincible at levels much deeper than Watergate? All of us had to convince