



JOHN R. STOCKWELL
... Money "has long since been spent"

CIA Sues 2d Ex-Agent for

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Justice Department accused another former CIA officer-turned-author yesterday of violating his secrecy agreement with the agency and filed suit for the profits from his book.

Acting in the wake of a controversial Supreme Court decision that bolstered its censorship powers, the government charged CIA veteran John R. Stockwell with breach of contract for publishing the book without first submitting it to the CIA for review.

An expose of CIA operations in Angola in 1975-76, the book, "In Search of Enemies—A CIA Story," accused the agency of mounting covert military operations and then lying to Congress and the public to keep them secret.

A 12-year veteran of the CIA, Stockwell quit the agency in March 1976 after an eight-month assignment as chief of the CIA's Angola Task Force in Washington. The charges he made public at the time triggered a Senate investigation.

His book was published in 1978 by W. W. Norton & Co. of New York and went through four printings as well as a paperback edition.

The government's civil suit, filed in U.S. District Court in Alexandria, was patterned after a similar action upheld by the Supreme Court last month against former CIA officer Frank Snepp.

In that case, the high court sanctioned the CIA's secrecy agreement—under which employees promise to submit any writings about the agency for

STOCKWELL, From A1

that Stockwell had been "unjustly enriched" by profits, advances, royalties "and other advantages" stemming from the book and it asked the courts to order an accounting and to direct Stockwell to "relinquish the proceeds."

Under an agreement he signed on joining the CIA in 1964, Stockwell pledged "not to publish or participate in the publication of any information or material, relating to the agency, its activities or intelligence activities generally," even after leaving the CIA, "without specific prior approval by the agency."

IN the foreword to his book, he said he did not feel bound by the agreement because his CIA recruiters had lied about the true nature of the agency's clandestine services, because he was convinced they needed reform, and because he felt his right to freedom of speech took precedence.

The Supreme Court dismissed the First Amendment argument in a footnote to its Snepp decision, saying "the government has a compelling interest in protecting both the secrecy of information important to the national security and the appearance of confidentiality so essential to the effective operation of our foreign intelligence service."

Although he signed the standard secrecy form on joining the CIA, Stockwell said yesterday he refused to sign the so-called "exit agreement," repeating the promise, when he left. He recalled debating about it with a CIA security officer.

"He spent about 30 minutes trying

to persuade me to sign and I spent 30 minutes saying no," Stockwell said yesterday. "I said, 'You're not paying me any money anymore. Why should I sign a contract saying I'll do something for you? It never occurred to him to ask whether I planned to write a book.'"

Stockwell has accused both former secretary of state Henry A. Kissinger and former CIA director William Colby of lying to Congress about the CIA's Angolan operations. He maintains the activities paved the way for massive Soviet and Cuban intervention in the civil war there. The Soviet-backed faction won.

Stockwell yesterday also chided CIA Director Stansfield Turner for suggesting that whistleblowers such as himself get "huge advances" for their CIA exposes.

"Anybody knows that you don't get huge advances for books like that," Stockwell said, indicating his advance came to about \$20,000. "If my book made \$50,000," he said, "it also cost me \$10,000 in research and travel costs and, I'd say, about \$15,000 in taxes. That leaves about \$25,000 to pay the rent and everything else for three years. By comparison, I would have made about \$95,000 working for the CIA."

Book Profits

review—and held that the government may impose such restrictions even in the absence of an explicit agreement.

Now living in Austin, Tex., Stockwell said he was "a little surprised that, in an election year, the government would be so heavy-handed. Every newspaper I've read has been screaming about the Snepp decision."

In any event, Stockwell said sales of the book, which he estimated at about 40,000 copies including the paperback editions, have peaked out. "Every penny I made from it has long since been spent," he declared. He said he is now working on other projects as a freelance television journalist.

The government said in the suit
See STOCKWELL, A7, Col. 4

FROM NEWS
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Settlement With CIA

Ex-Agent Gives Up Book Proceeds

Associated Press

The Justice Department has reached an out-of-court settlement of its suit to obtain the profits from former CIA agent John Stockwell's book about the agency's activities in Angola.

The department yesterday released a consent agreement entered in U.S. District Court in Alexandria. The judgment was approved Monday by Judge Albert V. Bryan, officials said.

Under the agreement, Stockwell, who now lives in Texas, is required to turn over to the government any future profits from the sale, serialization, republication or movie rights to his 1978 book "In Search of Enemies, A CIA Story."

In the civil suit filed March 3, the government sought all the profits from the book. But Stockwell has said that he made considerably less than \$50,000 on the book and that the money has been spent.

The government's case was based on a secrecy agreement Stockwell signed when he joined the CIA in October 1964. The government contended that agreement required him to submit any writings about the CIA to the agency before publication, so that it could delete classified material.

Stockwell, who headed the CIA's Agnola task force during part of 1975-76, did not submit his book for CIA review.

Under the consent judgment, Stockwell agreed to submit any future writing about the CIA to the agency for review.

SF Chronicle

Ex-Agent's Attack on CIA

Washington

The Senate Intelligence Committee and the Central Intelligence Agency are looking into allegations by a former CIA officer that CIA field officers fattened their own pocketbooks from agency funds.

John R. Stockwell, a 13-year CIA veteran, also charged that the agency deceived Congress and that most CIA operations in Vietnam were fabrications.

Stockwell pleaded for reform of the CIA in his resignation letter last week to Admiral Stansfield Turner, the new CIA director.

The 2000-word letter was published Sunday in the Washington Post.

Stockwell said he had served in Vietnam and several African posts as well as at CIA headquarters in Langley, Va.

He said that after he became a station chief, a superior told him how to supplement his income "by an additional \$3000-\$4000 a year by manipulating representational and operational funds. This was quite within regulations."

Stockwell said one station chief in Africa collected more than \$9000



JOHN R. STOCKWELL
A 13-year veteran

AP Wirephoto

from the CIA last year for his own household expenses.

A CIA spokesman said Turner had not received Stockwell's letter.

"Throughout his career, Stockwell never brought any of his comments to the attention of the agency," the spokesman said. "The

agency has begun to look into these matters."

Spencer Davis, a staff member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, would say only that an investigation has begun.

"The Senate Intelligence committee is looking into Mr. Stockwell's allegations," he said.

The Senate committee was set up after recent investigations found CIA involvement in domestic spying, plots to kill foreign leaders and other activities.

Stockwell, 40, said CIA files were cleansed of incriminating documents and that documents were hidden from congressional investigators.

He said a CIA associate had told him that the agency file relating to David Burkin, an American mercenary in Angola, "was carefully purged."

"Certain documents containing information about him were placed in other files where they could be easily retrieved but not be exposed if he demanded and gained access to his own file," Stockwell said.

Stockwell said in the letter to Turner that he and other CIA

officers were "disappointed that you have given no indication of intention or even awareness of the need for the internal housecleaning that is so conspicuously overdue at the agency."

He said he was writing the letter in the hope that "it might lead to measures which would upgrade the clandestine service from its present mediocre standard to the elite organization it was once reputed to be."

Stockwell also made scathing criticisms of CIA operations in Vietnam.

"Agency operations in Vietnam would have discouraged even the most callous, self-serving of adventures... Ninety-eight per cent of the operations were commonly agreed to be fabrications, but were papered over by aware case officers because of the 'numbers games' requirements from headquarters."

"Several senior CIA field officers were caught by surprise, fled in hasty panic and otherwise abandoned their responsibilities" when South Vietnam was about to surrender in April, 1975, Stockwell said.

Associated Press

Post 5/10/78

Bell Preserves Right to Sue Critic of CIA

Attorney General Griffin B. Bell said yesterday he is in no hurry to take legal action against John Stockwell, the latest former Central Intelligence Agency official to write a book critical of the agency.

"We don't have to go after Stockwell now," Bell said during a luncheon with Washington Post editors and reporters. "The statute of limitations gives us a good while to do something."

Stockwell's book criticizes the CIA's involvement in the civil war in Angola.

The Justice Department has filed a civil suit against Frank Snepp, another former CIA employe, because he, too, wrote a book without submitting it to the intelligence agency for review. The suit seeks all profits from the book.

The Price of Subversion

Ex-CIA Agent Reveals the Truth About the U.S. in Angola

BY JON STEINBERG

"My CIA recruiters lied to me about the clandestine services as they swore me in," says John Stockwell explaining why he wrote *In Search of Enemies*, published May 8. "They insisted the CIA functioned to gather intelligence. It did not kill, use drugs or damage people's lives, they assured me. These lies were perpetuated in the following year of training courses. It was not until the disclosures of the Church and Pike Committees in 1975 that I learned the full, shocking truth about my employers."

Though he felt increasingly uncomfortable with these truths, Stockwell continued to serve the agency which had lied to him. To his surprise, he was given a high position in the CIA's Angola operation. This time he went with his eyes open.

The CIA Stockwell describes combines the politics of Machiavelli, the efficiency of the Keystone Kops and the generosity of the fat boy on the block who wants to be liked and has a big allowance.

During his early days with FEATURE, as the Angola project was code-named, Stockwell was amazed to discover from one of the CIA's top experts on Southern Africa that "The Soviets did not make the first move on Angola. Other people did. The Chinese and the United States. The Soviets have been a half-step behind, countering our moves."

Once FEATURE was set in motion, those involved scurried in every direction to keep it secret from Congress and the public. Some were figuring out how to enter Angola unobserved while others were trading weapons to Israel in exchange for captured Soviet arms which could cover American tracks. Some were supplying Holden Roberto's FNLA with boots and guns when it had almost no troops to use them, while others were writing propaganda for Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces, fabricating explicit and imaginary details of rape and pillage by Cuban troops.

President Carter's attack on Cuban policy in Africa as an attempt "to subvert other people through military means" carries far less weight after Stockwell's account, which shows that the Cubans arrived in Africa in large



Helen Marcus
Ex-CIA agent John Stockwell (standing on edge of road) with FNLA commanders and a Brazilian major (squatting).

numbers for the first time only after the South African invasion and CIA-supported offensives seriously threatened the MPLA.

Stockwell does not know if the American government was directly involved in the South African decision to invade. Prime Minister Vorster, among others, has strongly hinted it was. Stockwell says that "the CIA has traditionally sympathized with South Africa and enjoyed a close liaison with BOSS," its secret police, to the extent that there is no independent American intelligence operation in South Africa. The Americans also discussed Angola with French intelligence agents, who fleeced the CIA, providing a mercenary recruiter who conned the Americans out of taxpayers' dollars, while at the same time conducting their own operations in Angola without informing the CIA.

Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, long on the CIA gift list, helped out as well, supplying troops and transport in exchange for lavish sums. FEATURE

agents thought him not only greedy but singularly ungrateful; after all, Stockwell reveals, the U.S. was fighting the MPLA partly because of old ally Mobutu's persistent requests. (The CIA had been involved in the murder of his rival Patrice Lumumba in 1961. Stockwell also confirms the widespread charge that the CIA had a role in the overthrow of President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.)

How many other plots, assassination coups and wars has the CIA been involved in? We may never know. Stockwell explains that all the damning information is kept in "soft" files. They are registered in official records and are therefore immune from leaks via the Freedom of Information Act, Congressional committees and even, if need be, the President—assuming the President and Congress want to know. As Stockwell points out in his introduction, the slap on the wrist given former CIA Director Richard Helms for perjuring himself before a Senate committee is, in effect, official approval of the CIA's right to lie to the government and the American people. Influential publications such as *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post* support this policy wholeheartedly. Richard Harris shows in his eloquent examination of the Helms case in April 10 *New Yorker*.

John Stockwell is no radical. Like any organization he served for 12 years, he would still unhesitatingly squeeze a tube of toothpaste from the top: He is convinced that the war in Angola would have been won if the CIA's allies had been given a couple of helicopter ships. He doesn't wonder why the Zaire and FNLA troops raped and pillaged while the Cubans and MPLA didn't. He probably wouldn't understand why he was no surprise that the week his book was released, the South African army again invaded Angola and slaughtered nearly 600 unarmed Namibian refugees, many of them children.

Stockwell does know that the CIA is uncontrolled, unaccountable and a threat to confounding its own security that of the American people. The lesson learned the hard way is that if a powerful Praetorian Guard is created to protect the emperor it may even choose its own occupant for the throne.

Book World 6/4/78

**The former CIA
agent and the
book that
are making
headlines**

PHOTO: HELEN MARCUS



Spring 1975: As Saigon falls, the CIA destabilizes
Angola in preparation for the next war.

**IN SEARCH OF
ENEMIES**

A CIA STORY



John Stockwell
Former Chief CIA Angola Task Force

Sixty Minutes, the front pages of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, media all across the country are quoting John Stockwell's devastating account of how the CIA ran a disastrous secret war - and then systematically misled the National Security Council, Congress, the State Department, and the American people. Here is the toughest, most revealing book yet about the CIA, unique in its wealth of detail about the running of CIA operations, and as convincing as the man who wrote it.

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