

# CODE NAME BLUE WREN

The True Story of America's  
Most Dangerous Female Spy—  
and the Sister She Betrayed

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# ENDNOTES

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- 1 “candidly, neither is Lynette.” The author conducted interviews with Lynette “Squeaky” Fromme in March and April 2022
- 2 “It didn’t go off.” The quote comes from *Squeaky: The Life and Times of Lynette Alice Fromme*, by Jess Bravin, 1997, St. Martin’s Press, as reported by witnesses. In an interview with the *Code Name Blue Wren* author, Fromme claims she never intended to kill President Ford, but was merely trying to raise awareness of environmental issues. She said: “I knew how to put the bullet in the chamber, but it [firing the gun] wasn’t something I wanted to do”
- 3 “my husband, my brother, my father, my son.” Sourcing for Fromme’s long prison career includes court records and contemporaneous newspaper articles. “My husband, my brother...” is from Bravin’s excellent *Squeaky*
- 4 “in late 2002...” In a “Secret” psychological profile of Montes obtained by the author, the CIA reported that Montes was “jailed in Texas in late 2002.” The behavioral profile was written by the CIA’s Counterintelligence Center Analysis Group, in 2005, and titled *Ana Montes’s Espionage: Understanding the Interrelationship Between Ideology and Personality Development*
- 5 “as far as the sixth grade...” Details of Alberto’s early life are included in his unpublished autobiography written in May 1995, and from author interviews with Lucy Montes
- 6 “I had a lovely childhood...” *Baltimore Sun*, June 16, 1976
- 7 “I spent my first 18 years.” From Emilia Montes’s unpublished autobiography, “San Vicente Memories: Childhood in a Sugar Hacienda”
- 8 “Census takers...” In 1960, the US Census Bureau reported Topeka’s population as 91.8% White and 7.7% Black. The Census didn’t even track Hispanic population then

- 9 “The United States has had trouble...” *Wichita Eagle*, September 3, 1958
- 10 “between Mexican-American boys and White girls.” *Americano: My Journey to the Dream*, by Thomas Rodriguez, Amigos Publishing Co., 2004
- 11 “a big dog...” Emilia Montes email, 2017
- 12 “General Omar Bradley...” Background on Menninger comes from *A Psychiatrist’s World: The Selected Papers of Karl Menninger, M.D.*, Viking Press, 1959; and *Menninger: The Family & the Clinic*, University Press of Kansas, 1990
- 13 “An early ad...” *Menninger: The Family & the Clinic*, illustration
- 14 “A ‘total environment’ for its clinic patients...” *New York Times*, July 19, 1990
- 15 “In childhood parents...” From *The Human Mind*, by Karl A. Menninger, Alfred A. Knopf. Originally published in 1930
- 16 “It is much easier...” *New York Times* obituary, July 19, 1990
- 17 “almost unbelievable cruelties...” From *A Psychiatrist’s World*. This is a reprint of an article by Dr. Karl Menninger in *The Atlantic Monthly* in February 1939 called “Women, Men, and Hate.”
- 18 Author interview with Dr. Walter Menninger at his Topeka home, February 23, 2022
- 19 Dr. Herbert Modlin obituary, 2007
- 20 “The paper was read...” From “Narcotics Addiction in Physicians,” in the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, October 1964
- 21 “Just two years later...” From the Emilia Montes unpublished autobiography, “San Vicente Memories: Childhood in a Sugar Hacienda”
- 22 “radical” nationalist youth group...” From *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History Since 1898*, by Cesar Ayala, 2009. For “radical” description, see *Rebeldes al poder: los grupos y la lucha ideológica (1959-2000)*, by José Carlos Arroyo Muñoz 2003. “Among the popular youth, these were the most radical...”
- 23 “Sheppard stipulated...” From the hospital’s website.

- 24 “He was a very strict disciplinarian,...” *Miami Herald*, June 16, 2002
- 25 “six people were killed...” *Baltimore Magazine* feature story on the 1968 riots
- 26 “You may think...” Alberto Montes unpublished autobiography, May 1995
- 27 “Just one month...” Michelle Monthey, Alberto’s stepdaughter, says her mother married Alberto July 9, 1977
- 28 “Nancy and Alberto stayed married...” The divorce took place in 1995, according to court records the author accessed in Hawaii
- 29 “gregarious Puerto Rican...” *Baltimore Sun*, August 15, 1975
- 30 *Miami Herald*, June 16, 2002
- 31 *Baltimore Sun*, August 15, 1975
- 32 “barriers of prejudice...” *Baltimore Sun*, “Growing Spanish-speaking community here feels miffed,” June 16, 1976
- 33 “government hat-tipping...” *The Evening Sun* (Baltimore), November 25, 1975
- 34 “Hereford dug in his heels...” *New York Times*, February 11, 1976
- 35 “Minority Affairs Office...” *Cavalier Daily* retrospective article, November 17, 2006; and “Four Years in Review” article in the UVa 1979 yearbook, *The Corks And Curls*
- 36 “bastion of upper class whites...” *Cavalier Daily*, August 31, 1976
- 37 “There must be a terrible mistake...” Journalist Gideon Gil is married to Ana’s college roommate, Lisa Huber. On Sept. 30, 2001, Gil wrote a column on Montes for the *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), where he was regional editor. It was titled: “Spy or Not, A Friend’s Arrest Evokes Sadness.” Full disclosure: The author worked in the early 1980s with Gideon Gil at the *Trenton Times*, where they were both reporters
- 38 “didn’t have a sorority...” From the “Four Years in Review” article, in the UVa 1979 yearbook, *The Corks And Curls*
- 39 “stalking her...” CIA Secret behavioral report

- 40 “She smoked weed...” From *True Believer: Inside the Investigation and Capture of Ana Montes, Cuba’s Master Spy*, by Scott W. Carmichael, Naval Institute Press, 2007, and the CIA report
- 41 “She signed up...” The name of the Madrid study-abroad program comes from *True Believer*. Carmichael had access to Montes’s security file. The Institute of European Studies is now known as IES Abroad
- 42 “She took classes...” The Ohio State University professor Richard Gunther tells the author that he interviewed Spanish politicians during this time period and hired student typists through a local vendor in Spain. He doesn’t recall Montes. His name is mentioned in *True Believer*
- 43 “kidnapped by right-wing squads...” *New York Times*, September 12, 1977 and January 2, 1977
- 44 “Most of the victims...” Author Raymond Bonner, *The Nation*, April 15, 2016
- 45 “attracted to the social Communist parties...” The Department of Defense Inspector General report, “Review of the Actions Taken to Deter, Detect and Investigate the Espionage Activities of Ana Belen Montes (Redacted),” June 16, 2005
- 46 At her Florida home, Lucy Montes maintains Ana’s library. In 1991, Ricardo gave Ana the book *La Revolución es un Sueño Eterno* by Andrés Rivera, according to an inscription
- 47 “Yankee imperialism...” The Corretjer Montes speech appears on page 38 of a once-secret FBI memorandum on the Nationalist Party, published through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and available on the FBI’s “Vault” FOIA Library. Corretjer Montes delivered the speech on the day that National Party leader Pedro Albizu Campos returned to Puerto Rico after having served ten years in prison for sedition against the United States
- 48 “A president has to expect...” *New York Times*, November 2, 1950
- 49 “The messianic Albizu Campos...” *The New Yorker*, “The Dream of Puerto Rican Independence, and the Story of Heriberto Marín,” by Jon Lee Anderson, December 27, 2017
- 50 “he wrote a letter advocating independence...” From *Spy Schools: How the CIA, FBI, and Foreign Intelligence Secretly Exploit America’s Universities*, by Daniel Golden, Henry Holt, 2017

- 51 “Alberto’s second cousin...” The grandfather of Juan Antonio Corretjer Montes was brothers with the grandfather of Alberto Montes, the grocer, explains a Montes family relative and genealogist named Dr. Nydia Hanna
- 52 “the voice of the armed clandestine movement...” Corretjer Montes was eulogized in *Breakthrough*, the political journal of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee in its Spring/Summer edition of 1985. *Breakthrough* was a publication dedicated to “the Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism,” and was written by followers of the Weather Underground Organization
- 53 *Making the Revolution: Histories of the Latin American Left*, Cambridge University Press, 2019
- 54 “sentenced to ten years...” The *Breakthrough* obituary, FBI FOIA files, and *A Century of Colonialism: One Hundred Years of Puerto Rican Resistance*, by Oscar López Rivera, Duke University Press, 2007
- 55 “at least three arrests for Don Juan...” Corretjer Montes biographer, Margaret Power
- 56 “friendship with Che Guevara...” Marxists.org article
- 57 “armed clandestine organizations...” Ibid
- 58 “Sacred Heart University...” *True Believer*
- 59 “an opening as a clerk-typist...” The CIA report states that a friend told Montes about DOJ job openings
- 60 “It couldn’t be that bad...” The author reached out in 2022 for comment to Eduardo’s wife, Silvia Farnocchia, but she did not respond
- 61 Scott Carmichael book, *True Believer*. As a DIA investigator, Carmichael had access to Montes’s complete job history and the government’s many background investigations of her
- 62 “first ventured...” DOD Inspector General report
- 63 “GS-9 pay grade...” *True Believer*
- 64 A GS-4 (Government-Schedule 4 pay grade) today earns a range of \$36,000 to \$47,000, depending on one’s “steps,” or length of service.

By contrast, a GS-9 salary ranges from \$61,000 to \$80,000. Source is FederalPay.org website

- 65 “three thousand students...” SAIS Catalogue for the 1982–1983 school year
- 66 “armed to the teeth...” Speech by President Ronald Reagan, May 1983
- 67 “Soviet–Cuban colony...” Speech by President Ronald Reagan, October 27, 1983
- 68 “most left-wing” professor...” *Spy Schools*. In an interview with the *Blue Wren* author in 2022, Gleijesis again said: “So I would imagine probably I am the most left wing” professor at SAIS
- 69 “faculty member with a soft spot for Cuba.” One of the other prominent professors at SAIS during Ana’s tenure was Bruce Bagley. He was an Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics and Latin American Studies and taught at least eight Latin American courses to Ana and her classmates. Bagley would go on to become “a noted expert on crime and corruption in Latin America, writing books on the topic and serving as a go-to person for journalists,” the *New York Times* reported in late 2021. But at the same time, he “was himself involved in a bribery and corruption scheme in Venezuela.” In the years after he left SAIS, federal prosecutors alleged, Bagley used bank accounts in his name to launder about \$2.5 million, keeping about \$200,000 for himself. The funds were “stolen from the citizens of Venezuela” and Bagley pleaded guilty in June 2020 to two counts of money laundering. He was sentenced to six months in prison. A financial fixer for Venezuelan president Nicolás Maduro also was involved in the scam, the Justice Department alleged
- 70 “Gwendolyn Myers was sentenced...” Public records show that Gwendolyn Myers died September 26, 2015. The Bureau of Prisons’ Inmate Locator shows that she was released from prison on April 22, 2015
- 71 “Kendall Myers was sentenced to life...” The Bureau of Prisons’ Inmate Locator shows that Myers is held at Supermax, also called Florence Admax US Prison, in Florence, CO
- 72 “Glejises is clearly sympathetic to Castro’s policies...” *Washington Post* book review, March 31, 2002
- 73 “thought we were fascists...” In an article for *WIRED* Magazine in September 2022 titled “The Russian Spy in My Econ Class,” Profes-



sor Roett was even more candid about Ana Montes. “I was told later her favorite phrase for me was FF, ‘Fucking Fascist,’ which I took as a point of honor,” Roett said

- 74 “She went to parties...” *True Believer*
- 75 “finishing school for Roberto...” From public bios for Roberto Alvarez, from congressional testimony and the website of the government of the Dominican Republic
- 76 “for Roberto, there were other compensations...” In 2016, the author conducted an on-the-record interview with Roberto Alvarez Gil, who subsequently became the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic
- 77 “named Minister of Foreign Affairs...” Website of the government of the Dominican Republic, and media reports
- 78 “FBI white paper...” FBI, “Cuban Intelligence Targeting of Academia,” September 2, 2014
- 79 “In her graduation yearbook...” Yearbook quotes from an article in *El Nuevo Dia* newspaper, May 6, 2013
- 80 “made no secret of his support for the independence of Puerto Rico...” *Spy Schools*. The political leanings of Marta’s father are confirmed in the *El Nuevo Dia* article from May 6, 2013
- 81 “protested Princeton’s investments in the apartheid regime...” *Daily Princetonian* letter, April 14, 1978, edition. Letter to the Administration protesting Princeton’s investments in companies doing business with South Africa
- 82 “Apartheid Kills!...” The photo of Velázquez at a protest may be seen in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, page 7 of the June 3, 1992, edition. The publication identifies Marta in the original photo from 1977 and cites, as its source, her classmate Nilsa Santiago. Santiago, who holds the sign in the photo, sent a note to the editor identifying Marta
- 83 “seeming disinterest” in minority students...” *Daily Princetonian*, December 1, 1977
- 84 “Independence and Socialism as the Only Political Alternative...” *Daily Princetonian*, March 29, 1977

- 85 *Daily Princetonian*, December 13, 1976
- 86 “senior thesis at Princeton...” Marta’s senior thesis is available online through the Princeton Library’s Special Collections. *Spy Schools* first reported on Marta’s thesis
- 87 Ibid, page 23
- 88 “A University of Havana mathematics graduate...” *Miami Herald*, November 25, 2004, “Pain of Separation Never Fades”
- 89 “He wrote a white paper in Spanish...” Published by the Institute for Cuban & Cuban-American Studies (ICCAS), part of the School of International Studies at the University of Miami. January, 2002
- 90 “Using Cohen’s insider tips...” FBI, “Cuban Intelligence Targeting of Academia,” September 2, 2014
- 91 “Ana had already ‘expressed her moral indignation’...” DOD Inspector General report
- 92 “Ana, I have friends who can help you...” The conversation from 1984 is inferred, based on the Justice Department’s indictment of Marta dated February 6, 2004, and unsealed in April 2013
- 93 “They need someone to translate...” DOD Inspector General report
- 94 “the school had treated her unfairly...” CIA psychological report
- 95 “I hope our relationship continues...” Justice Department indictment of Marta Velázquez
- 96 “we’ve been over for a long time...” Letter from Ana Montes to friend Ana “Mimi” Colon, September 12, 1984
- 97 “Ana saw Roberto again...” Ibid
- 98 “six-year-old Elena Valdez fled Havana...” Author interview. “Elena” is a pseudonym chosen by the author to protect Elena’s identity
- 99 “Cuba will not be allowed to earn hard currency...” John M. Walker, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement and Operations, as reported in the *New York Times* on April 20, 1982
- 100 “At a safe house, the Cubans handed Ana and Marta travel clothes...”

- Details of the trip to Madrid, Prague, and then Cuba come from the Marta Velázquez indictment, February 2004, and unsealed in 2013
- 101 “Just three years earlier, President Reagan...” In April 1982, President Reagan reinstated the travel ban to Cuba. In March 1982, he declared Cuba a state sponsor of terror. Council on Foreign Relations timeline
- 102 “they insisted on taking practice polygraphs...” DOJ indictment of Marta Velázquez
- 103 “The Castro regime has long targeted the United States...” Fact Sheet by the State Department’s Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, July 30, 2003
- 104 “at least eight plots involving the CIA to assassinate Castro...” CNN, “Assassination plots and schemes: Castro in the crosshairs,” February 19, 2008
- 105 “The 702-page data dump, the CIA’s so-called ‘Family Jewels’...” In June 2007, the CIA declassified its 702-page “Family Jewels” report, chronicling the agency’s many failed assassinations and other misdeeds. The non-profit National Security Archive also posted the CIA report to its website, under the title: “The CIA’s Family Jewels: Agency Violated Charter for 25 Years, Wiretapped Journalists and Dissidents”
- 106 “She applied to the Office of Naval Intelligence...” *True Believer*
- 107 “I wanted something more palatable...” CIA behavioral report
- 108 “they even ‘assisted her in preparing her application.’” DOD Inspector General report
- 109 “If you can get her, take her.” *True Believer*
- 110 “After two interviews...” DOD Inspector General report
- 111 “The new agency proved its worth just a year later, during the Cuban Missile Crisis...” “*Legacy of Ashes, Trial by Fire: The Origins of the Defense Intelligence Agency and the Cuban Missile Crisis Crucible*,” by Michael B. Petersen, DIA Historical Research Support Branch, 2011
- 112 “The Cold War was on its last gasps...” FBI website
- 113 “difference between a corporal and a colonel...” DOD Inspector General report

- 114 “suggested that Montes was disloyal to the United States...” DOD Inspector General report
- 115 “the FBI and local police arrested four men for drug trafficking...” *Miami Herald*, January 21, 1985
- 116 “William Sessions...” Letter from former FBI director Sessions to Lucy Montes, March 1988
- 117 “he had stored ten thousand pounds of marijuana...” *Mother Jones*, May 7, 2014, and the DOJ indictment of Tabraue
- 118 “one hundred years in prison...” Associated Press, April 13, 1989
- 119 “released on appeal in 2000...” *Sun Sentinel*, September 3, 2000
- 120 “Tabraue gained fame in Netflix’s *Tiger King*...” *Deadline*, February 1, 2021
- 121 “She wasn’t polygraphed or given psychological testing...” All details on Ana’s background investigation and lack of a polygraph come from the DOD Inspector General report
- 122 “In reality, Ana had snorted cocaine...” DOD Inspector General report
- 123 “Her fiancé was Chris Mangiaracina...” Mangiaracina’s artist website
- 124 “When you finish studying this book...” *Your Memory: How It Works & How to Improve It*, by Kenneth Higbee, 1988, Da Capo Press
- 125 “She presented her handlers once with a DIA phone book...” Author interview with one of her debriefers. In Ana’s “proffer” to the Justice Department, she admits providing the Cubans with classified photographs and printed materials on October 3, 1996
- 126 “she would not leave a paper trail...” DOD Inspector General report
- 127 “Ana bought a book on memory techniques...” *Your Memory: How It Works & How to Improve It*
- 128 “high intelligence and positive attitude...” DOD Inspector General report
- 129 “congratulated Ana for her outstanding translating skills...” Ibid

- 130 “She was a phenomenal writer, extremely prolific...” Scheina as quoted in the DIA-produced documentary *The Two Faces of Ana Montes*
- 131 “Her reports were ‘praised by policy makers’...” DOD Inspector General report
- 132 “Marta Velázquez has been traveling all over the world...” *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, September 14, 1988
- 133 “San Salvador is closer to Houston...” Speech by President Reagan, May 9, 1984
- 134 “In January and February 1987...” The DOD Inspector General report says Ana was in El Salvador and Guatemala in January and February 1987 for analyst orientation training
- 135 “They raced in with satchel charges...” *New York Times*, April 1, 1987
- 136 “He wanted that Green Beret...” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 2, 1987. “Death in El Salvador, Roots in Pennsylvania”
- 137 “he suspected that some of the guerrillas had ‘infiltrated the army’...” *New York Times*, April 1, 1987
- 138 “An FMLN commander who helped attack El Paraiso...” *True Believer*
- 139 “a plaque celebrating her “exceptional area knowledge...” An award Ana received in December 1989 by the US Army Operational Group. See *True Believer* photo
- 140 “In order to defeat your enemy, you must first understand them...” Star Trek fan site quoting the episode “Face of the Enemy”, from February 8, 1993
- 141 “There were 733 female FBI agents in 1987...” *Washington Post*, September 10, 1987, “At Revamped FBI, Morale Is High as Directorship Changes Hands”
- 142 “Director William Sessions announced...” *Arizona Republic*, October 1, 1988
- 143 “She got kudos from all over...” Quotes by Steve Smith and Marty Scheina come from the DIA documentary *The Two Faces of Ana Montes*
- 144 “Her unsuspecting superiors nominated her for the DIA Meritorious

- Civilian Service Award...” DOD Inspector General report. The mention of the medal Ana was given by the Cubans in 1989 comes from reporting and from the DOD Inspector General report
- 145 “the basis for her initial moral outrage...” DOD Inspector General report
- 146 “In February 1993, Ana was selected to run DIA’s Cuba account...” DOD Inspector General report
- 147 “the United States might find a pretext to invade that island...” DOD Inspector General report
- 148 “validation, recognition, and control...” CIA behavioral report
- 149 “cipher the information every time you do...” FBI criminal complaint, September 2001
- 150 “Numbers messages were used extensively during the Second World War...” Cipher Machines & Cryptology white paper, “Cuban Agent Communications: Failure of a Perfect System,” February 27, 2022, by Dirk Rijmenants
- 151 “There’s “Swedish Rhapsody Child...” Cipher Machines & Cryptology white paper, “Numbers in the Air,” by Dirk Rijmenants. In addition, for a brilliant article on the geeks who collect numbers broadcasts, read author David Segal’s article in the *Washington Post* on August 3, 2004, titled “The Shortwave And the Calling.” The subject of Segal’s article created a bizarre collection of numbers broadcasts, called the Conet Project, which you can listen to on the SoundCloud music platform
- 152 “the cheat sheet for the numbers, that was all on water-soluble paper...” Author interview with FBI case agent Pete Lapp
- 153 “Ana passed a DIA-administered counterintelligence polygraph examination...” The March 1994 polygraph date is mentioned in *True Believer* and in the DIA documentary *The Two Faces of Ana Montes*
- 154 “she disclosed to the Cubans the true name of a covert US intelligence officer...” Ana’s “proffer” to the Justice Department, in 2002, states that she provided the Cubans in May 1994 with the identity of a covert US intelligence officer. This happened two months after Ana’s polygraph, in March 1994
- 155 “They understood my loneliness...” CIA report

- 156 “My workday typically consists of listening to recordings...” FBI website, November 18, 2005
- 157 “This spy ring was sent by the Cuban government...” *Miami Herald*, November 15, 1998
- 158 “Radio communications between the MiG-29 and the military control tower in Havana...” Transcripts of Cuban Military Radio Communications, International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), “Report on the shooting down of two U.S.-registered private civil aircraft by Cuban military aircraft on 24 February 1996, C-WP/10441, June 20, 1996.” The transcripts also appear in a report by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. The Clinton Administration first released the transcripts, as reported by the *New York Times* in 1996
- 159 “President Bill Clinton was already publicly fuming...” *New York Times*, February 25, 1996, “Exiles Say Cuba Downed 2 Planes And Clinton Expresses Outrage”
- 160 “According to the secondhand recollections of a coworker...” DOD Inspector General report
- 161 “He had heard that Ana had voiced her opposition to US policy...” DOD Inspector General report
- 162 “tasked the retired officers with finding ways that Washington and Havana could work together...” Ibid
- 163 “The DIA made it easy...” The author confirmed Ana’s knowledge of the NRO program through interviews with multiple sources. The FBI criminal complaint of Ana describes her access to the classified “SAP” program but doesn’t identify the US agency behind it. The complaint states: “DIA has confirmed that MONTES and a colleague with the same name as that related in the portion of the message described above were briefed into this SAP, together, on May 15, 1997.” The DOD Inspector General report provides a bit more information on this SAP, and identifies the US agency behind it. It states: “In March 1997, DIA conducted a security review of Montes to support her nomination for indoctrination into a National Reconnaissance Office [phrase blacked out.] In May 1997, she was indoctrinated for [phrase blacked out.]” The DIA investigated Montes for two months and then, in May 1997, gave her access to a Special Access Program run by the NRO, the secret US satellite agency

- 164 “Ana once boasted to her Cuban bosses...” FBI criminal complaint of Montes
- 165 “the Washington Post reported that the latest generation of the MISTY satellite had almost doubled in projected cost...” *Washington Post*, December 11, 2004, by writer Dana Priest, “New Spy Satellite Debated On Hill”
- 166 “Because of the highly classified nature of the programs... I cannot talk about them on the floor...” Senate transcript, December 8, 2004
- 167 “the CIA determined that the Russians had already made it next to impossible to conceal American satellites...” April 17, 1963, CIA memo published by the National Security Archive. In the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, in May/June 2005, author Jeff Richelson explains that the author of the CIA document was James Cunningham, deputy director of the Office of Special Activities (OSA), a component of the CIA’s Deputy Directorate of Research. Cunningham sent the memo, “A Covert Reconnaissance Satellite,” to John Parangosky, his deputy for technology
- 168 “The NRO itself relies on concealment...” NRO website article on the agency’s history
- 169 “the government didn’t even acknowledge [NRO’s] existence until 1992...” NRO public affairs office
- 170 “The 37,000-pound satellite, a pet project of the CIA and NSA...” *Aviation Week*, March 5, 1990, and January 22, 1990
- 171 “NASA’s cost just to launch the shuttle was \$115 million...” The government’s cost per launch of the space shuttle was \$115 million, according to the General Accounting Office (GAO) report *Military Space Programs: An Unclassified Overview of Defense Satellite Programs and Launch Activities*, published June 1990. Provided to the author by the National Security Archive
- 172 “The patent, for an inflatable shield...” National Security Archive, the invaluable library and archive of declassified US documents. See the US Patent application, dated September 6, 1994, for a “Satellite signature suppression shield”
- 173 “Amateur satellite spotters around the world are obsessed with finding spy satellites...” [www.heavens-above.com](http://www.heavens-above.com) website



- 174 “we would prefer that these things not end up on the internet...” *WIRED Magazine*, “I Spy,” February 1, 2006
- 175 “The Soviet news agency Novosti wrote...” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May/June 2005
- 176 “she had to sign a ‘Sensitive Compartmented Information Nondisclosure Agreement...’” FBI’s Ana Montes criminal complaint
- 177 “Ana was granted access to additional Special Access Programs...” DOD Inspector General report
- 178 “public records easily showed was occupied by an FBI surveillance specialist...” In March 2008, for the MSNBC blog called *Deep Background*, the author revealed that the Spy House was occupied by an FBI employee. “How do I know it’s an FBI facility? A simple web search confirmed it. From my desk, I plugged the house’s street address into a commercial database that NBC and many media organizations use—legally, of course—to conduct public-records searches. In about 30 seconds, and for just about \$2 in fees, I learned the names of three probable residents of the house. One of the residents had helpfully provided his employer’s name. There it was in black and white: ‘Company: FBI.’ But that’s not all. Under the job-title section, this same FBI employee is described as ‘Clerk Really a Spy.’” The blog is available now on the Wayback Machine internet archive
- 179 “the US government had constructed a secret tunnel underneath the Russian Embassy...” *New York Times*, March 4, 2001, by James Risen with Lowell Bergman, “U.S. Thinks Agent Revealed Tunnel at Soviet Embassy”
- 180 “mailed an unsigned letter to a DC-based KGB agent...” Robert Hansen criminal proffer, March 1, 2001.
- 181 “Moscow executed...” Robert Hanssen criminal complaint, 2001
- 182 “Ms. Montes’s strong sense of Intelligence Community responsibility...” DOD Inspector General report
- 183 “‘*Spies Among Us*,’ the Miami Herald splashed across its front page...” *Miami Herald*, September 15, 1998
- 184 Citation from CIA director George Tenet is from the private collection of Lucy Montes, and dated December 2, 1999

- 185 “fills fourteen hundred pages...” *The Guardian*, March 6, 2001
- 186 “She used a handwritten cipher, like a checkerboard...” FBI evidence, and “Cuban Agent Communications: Failure of a Perfect System,” by Dirk Rijmenants
- 187 “I was finally ready to share my life with someone but was leading a double life...” CIA behavioral report
- 188 “I eschew drugs...” *Psychology Today*, listing for Dr. Joseph Tarantolo
- 189 “We are a drug driven culture...” Email to the author, August 12, 2022
- 190 “he was loud, bullying, implied that I had been drugged my entire life...” ZocDoc online review
- 191 “She took an antidepressant for nine months...” CIA behavioral report
- 192 “The unclassified executive summary states that Cuba ‘does not pose a significant military threat’...” “The Cuban Threat to U.S. National Security.” The summary states: “This report has been prepared by the Defense Intelligence Agency in coordination with the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the National Security Agency, and the United States Southern Command Joint Intelligence Center pursuant to Section 1228 of Public Law No. 105-85, 111 Stat. 1943-44, November 18, 1997.” A version may be found online on the website of the Federation of American Scientists, [irp.fas.org](http://irp.fas.org)
- 193 “There is no doubt that Cuba poses a significant, dangerous, and hostile intelligence threat...” Army Lieutenant Colonel Joseph C. Myers, as told to journalist Bill Gertz in *Enemies: How America’s Foes Steal Our Vital Secrets—And How We Let It Happen*, Crown Forum, 2006
- 194 “I remain concerned about Cuba’s potential to develop and produce biological agents...” Website of the Federation of American Scientists. Archived Department of Defense news release, May 6, 1998, “Secretary Cohen Forwards Cuban Threat Assessment to Congress”
- 195 “Bolton has called Fulton Armstrong an ‘apologist for Cuba’...” John Bolton’s 2007 book, *Surrender Is Not an Option*, Threshold Editions
- 196 “I am proud to have you on my team...” This is a direct quote from the EIP letter that DIA director Patrick M. Hughes wrote to promotion recipient Anthony Shaffer in May 1998, one year before Ana won the

- same GG-14 level promotion from the same DIA director. The award may be found in congressional testimony from February 14, 2006, titled “National Security Whistleblowers in the Post-September 11th Era”
- 197 “I would describe Ana Montes as socially reserved...” Ana’s former colleague, Steve Smith, was interviewed for the DIA-produced documentary and training tool *The Two Faces of Ana Montes*
- 198 “I had her on a pedestal...” Lourdes Talbot interview with the author, September 24, 2009
- 199 “She was very protective of her personal life...” Ana’s former colleague Lourdes Talbot was also interviewed for the documentary *The Two Faces of Ana Montes*
- 200 “I probably knew less about Ana...” *The Two Faces of Ana Montes*
- 201 “NSA first briefed the FBI on a promising Cuban UNSUB case in 1998...” The author established the date of the beginning of the FBI UNSUB case through multiple interviews with sources. In addition, the DOD Inspector General report states that the FBI and other agencies “met to discuss the unknown subject” as least as early as April 1998. The same report adds: “From 1998 to 2001, the U.S. Government continued its search for the Cuban penetration agent of the Intelligence Community. The period opens with the Intelligence Community using the profile information in its attempt to identify the Cuban penetration agent and closes with the arrest and imprisonment of Ana Montes as a Cuban spy”
- 202 “From 1947 to 1979, only 5 percent of all American spies caught in the US were women...” *The Expanding Spectrum of Espionage by Americans, 1947–2015*, by the Defense Personnel and Security Research Center, August 2017
- 203 Ibid
- 204 “This effort did not develop any leads...” DOD Inspector General report
- 205 “As everyone has said, her personality was cold...” Roger Corneretto provided written email answers to questions from the author, as part of a story the author wrote for the *Washington Post Magazine* in April 2013
- 206 “her supervisors handed her a \$2,000 performance bonus...” *True Believer*

- 207 “We need your logic, expertise and ingenuity to protect the Nation...”  
DIA Counterintelligence recruitment brochure, 2022
- 208 DOD Inspector General report, page 102
- 209 “The dispute reflects the sore feelings that remain to this day between the FBI and DIA...” In the DOD Inspector General report, there’s more evidence of the clash between the DIA and FBI. In the DIA’s administrative comments on the case, it reports: “The same day that DIA special agents learned the basic information the FBI was using to search for the unknown Cuban spy, DIA special agents identified Montes and contacted the FBI squad handling the case. The FBI summarily rejected Montes as a suspect and had to be convinced otherwise”
- 210 “Krzemien thanked Carmichael for his time but threw her support behind McCoy...” From reporting. Former FBI supervisor Diane Krzemien did not respond to emailed requests for comment
- 211 “William Doherty, the chief of the FBI’s counterintelligence section...” William Doherty was identified as “the FBI’s chief for counterintelligence” in a *Miami Herald* article on the Wasp Network arrests, on September 16, 1998, titled: “Alleged Spies Damage Limited.” The author conducted a short interview with Doherty in July 2022, confirming his title and that he “crossed paths” with Montes prior to her becoming a suspect in the case. Doherty is retired from the FBI
- 212 “A young mother with a baby in a stroller...” *Spy: The Inside Story of How the FBI’s Robert Hanssen Betrayed America*, by David Wise, Random House, 2002
- 213 “Montes left her residence and drove to the Hecht’s...” Ana Montes criminal complaint, 2001
- 214 “The FBI began providing twice monthly briefings to the DIA director...” DOD Inspector General report
- 215 “They just thought of Bob as the ‘The Mortician’...” Details about Hanssen’s job history may be found in the Justice Department Inspector General’s report on the FBI’s handling of the Hanssen case. The nickname “The Mortician” comes from David Vise’s book, *The Bureau and the Mole*, Grove Press, 2002; and from David Wise’s *Spy*
- 216 “For a Russia expert who had been an FBI agent for nearly a quarter century...” Additional details about Hanssen’s job at the State Depart-

- ment's Office of Foreign Missions come from David Wise's excellent *Spy*. Wise, who passed away in 2018, was an unparalleled expert on espionage. *Spy* is a deeply researched book that benefits from the exclusive access that Wise was given to Hanssen's psychiatrist, Dr. David Charney, who spent days interviewing the fallen FBI agent in prison
- 217 "The FBI censured Hanssen..." The Justice Department Inspector General's report on Hanssen
- 218 "Giving up on me is a mistake..." *Spy*
- 219 "We went back and listened to the tape again..." *Spy*
- 220 "Roger flew to Washington to be with Ana..." Source for Roger's travels: *True Believer*. In a 2022 interview, Roger said that he never traveled extensively with Ana, and he denied arguing with her over Christmas in 2000.
- 221 "the Justice Department submitted 1,005 applications to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court..." Justice Department FISA report for 2001
- 222 "The FBI had solved the main mystery of the Blue Wren investigation..." The FBI codenamed the case "Blue Wren" without ascribing any particular meaning to the poetic, yet randomly generated phrase
- 223 "We feel humble, and we feel extremely proud..." *Sun Sentinel*, July 13, 2001, "FBI, Prosecutors Honored for Spy Case"
- 224 "On August 7, twenty unsuspecting DIA analysts got on a plane..." Reporting and *True Believer*
- 225 "Tucked inside Ana's wallet were the pre-paid calling cards..." Reporting and the FBI's criminal complaint of Montes
- 226 "As no other event in U.S. history, not even Pearl Harbor..." Details on the Pentagon attack on September 11, 2001, come from a thorough report by the Historical Office of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, dated 2007
- 227 "The ninety-ton airliner deliberately accelerated to 530 miles per hour..." Ibid
- 228 "Christine Morrison was working with about seventy of her colleagues..." Ibid

- 229 “The next few weeks became the most diversely challenging period of my 34-year Navy career...” Admiral Wilson’s article appeared in a publication of the *Naval Intelligence Professionals*, Volume II, Number 2, Winter 2021
- 230 “They were acts of war...” White House archives, speech by President Bush, September 12, 2001
- 231 “Why would she say such a thing at that moment?...” Emilia Montes letter, February 2017
- 232 “I could see the Pentagon burning from my office... Dark days ahead...” The email from Ana to her friend and college roommate, Lisa Huber, is quoted in a *Washington Post* article, “An Improbable Spy,” from October 4, 2001
- 233 “By the zoo’s pedestrian entrance on Connecticut Avenue...” After her arrest, Montes told the FBI that she had heard them over their radios on Sunday, September 16, saying something like, “She’s about to make a call.” If she did overhear the FBI’s SSG unit as they tailed her into the Metro, it’s hard to understand why she didn’t flee
- 234 “Ana got an instant promotion to branch chief...” Reporting and *True Believer*
- 235 “an angry twenty-three-page essay written in 1971 by a Harvard-educated loner...” Flynn’s connection to the Unabomber case was reported by the *New York Times* on May 5, 1998, in an article titled, “FBI’s 17-Year Search for Unabomber Often Seemed in Vain,” and confirmed by Flynn and reported on in other media outlets
- 236 “I started reading it, and all of a sudden, it was ‘Bing! bing! bing!...” SFGate, May 5, 1998, “New Details Of Stakeout In Montana”
- 237 “Ana Montes was arrested by the FBI...” *True Believer*
- 238 “Ana’s arrest was something that was very devastating...” *The Two Faces of Ana Montes*
- 239 “Ana didn’t claim she was being framed...” Roger Corneretto email to author, January 2013
- 240 “Ana was facing a possible death sentence...” In a letter from federal prosecutors to lawyer Plato Cacheris dated February 14, 2002, the

- government made clear that conspiracy to commit espionage can be “punishable by death”
- 241 “I like the battle against the government...” Plato Cacheris obituary, *Washington Post*, September 26, 2019
- 242 “I don’t lecture them on what they’ve done...” Ibid
- 243 “It would enable Cuba to drop its defensive measures...” Ana’s statement to the court, at sentencing, comes from a verbatim transcript the author obtained from the court in 2022
- 244 “he rejected Ana’s sugarcoated rationalizations...” DOJ Memorandum in Aid of Sentencing, filed October 10, 2002
- 245 “the judge had overcome hardscrabble beginnings in a Spanish Harlem four-story walk-up...” The background on Judge Ricardo Urbina is from an interview he conducted in 2013 with the Columbia Center for Oral History
- 246 “Felipe Pérez Roque, then Cuba’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote on a government website...” *The Miami Herald*, October 19, 2002, “Cuban Praises Jailed Spy,” by the Associated Press
- 247 “1950s promotional travel film, ‘Picturesque Sweden’...” YouTube
- 248 “her \$96,000-a-year US government job...” The author filed a Freedom of Information Act request with USAID, which provided information of Marta’s salary (\$96,605/year) at the time she quit her AID job, plus a detailed breakdown of her US government postings in DC and abroad in the thirteen years she worked for the agency
- 249 “Marta became a Swedish citizen...” *Spy Schools*
- 250 “The family said they could not find her...” *Spy Schools*, quote by Roberto Aponte Toro, former professor, University of Puerto Rico School of Law, and family friend
- 251 “Anders Kviele, a diplomat at the Swedish Embassy in Nicaragua...” In an email from the Swedish Foreign Ministry, it lists Kviele as the “2nd Embassy Secretary” in Managua, starting in 1989. A news article from that era lists him as the embassy’s “chargé d’affaires,” filling in for the ambassador briefly

- 252 “Velázquez and Kviele fell in love in Managua and married in 1996...”  
*Spy Schools*
- 253 “Marta moved from Managua to Washington...” USAID employment records for Marta show her detailed to “GC/ANE,” the General Counsel’s Office for the Asia Near East Bureau, from October 1994 to May 1998
- 254 “She supervised lawyers in DC and abroad...” *Spy Schools*; her promotion also was listed in the *Front Lines* USAID employee newsletter, page 11, in March 1997
- 255 “With the help of a Swedish investigative journalist...” Note: Author Daniel Golden has an excellent section on Marta Velázquez in *Spy Schools*, published in 2017. Golden was the first American reporter to track down Marta’s home outside Stockholm and report on her teaching career; she refused his emailed interview requests. Golden and his Swedish researcher never got the opportunity to confront Marta in person
- 256 “The couple bought their yellow two-story home...” Swedish property records show that Marta and Anders bought their home in 2013 for 4,550,000 Swedish Krona, or about \$432,000 US
- 257 “In 2009, she even worked for the British Council...” Marta’s teaching career is outlined in her résumé, provided to the author by local government officials in Sweden
- 258 “The population of the Administrative Housing Unit includes inmates on death row...” District of Columbia Corrections Information Council report on FMC Carswell, July 6, 2018
- 259 “a SuperMax for ‘female inmates with histories of escapes’...” Carswell prison’s Psychology Internship description, July 2017
- 260 “five to seven years behind bars...” Ibid
- 261 “Carswell has been the recurring subject of disturbing allegations...” *Star Telegram*, “Ex-correctional officer pleads guilty to sexually abusing women at Fort Worth prison,” May 18, 2022
- 262 “In a 2022 Prison Rape Elimination Act audit...” Bureau of Prisons “Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) Audit Report,” April 6, 2022
- 263 “eight inmates have died of COVID at Carswell...” *Star Telegram*,



- “Woman’s death from COVID-19 at Fort Worth prison sparks fear of virus resurgence,” October 5, 2021
- 264 “She was placed in quarantine...” *Star Telegram*, “Fort Worth prison responsible for new mother’s COVID death, family says in \$20M claim,” March 22, 2022
- 265 “house of horror...” *Star Telegram*, “Women at ‘house of horror’ Fort Worth prison say they face COVID, rotten food, abuse,” September 3, 2020
- 266 “Accusations of gross medical neglect, rape by prison guards...” *Fort Worth Weekly*, “Hospital of Horrors,” October 19, 2005
- 267 “The unit is frequently and unpredictably locked down for hours...” Campaign to Close Carswell website
- 268 “I act like I’m neutral like Sweden or a rock in the corner...” Note: In Spanish, Ana writes that she acts like “el sueco,” or a neutral party much like Sweden
- 269 “Her lawyers argued at trial that she was mentally ill...” Associated Press, “A closer look at the case of Aafia Siddiqui, jailed in Texas,” January 15, 2022; and *New York Times*, “Pakistani Sentenced to 86 Years for Attack,” September 23, 2010
- 270 “a ‘shell of a human being’...” CBS News, “Killer Nurse Gets Life,” March 26, 2001; and *Boston Globe*, “Caregiver or killer?,” October 8, 2000
- 271 “Ana’s only prison friend was fifty two years old...” *New York Times*, “U.S. Executes Lisa Montgomery for 2004 Murder,” January 13, 2021
- 272 “Ana Belén, you were misguided...” Letter from Emilia to Ana, March 26, 2002, days after Ana pleaded guilty
- 273 “I am a person who is extremely rigid...” Ana Montes letter to friend Mimi Colon, August 29, 2013
- 274 “But mostly the letter is a disjointed justification of Ana’s criminality...” Ana Montes letter to her nephew Matthew, February 24, 2010
- 275 “She mocked the *Washington Post Magazine* cover story I wrote about her...” *Washington Post Magazine*, April 18, 2013, “A Most Dangerous Spy”