

THE SPY WHO KNEW TOO MUCH

An Ex-CIA Officer's Quest
Through a Legacy of Betrayal

HOWARD
BLUM



HARPER

An Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers

THE SPY WHO KNEW TOO MUCH. Copyright © 2022 by Howard Blum. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information, address HarperCollins Publishers, 195 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.

HarperCollins books may be purchased for educational, business, or sales promotional use. For information, please email the Special Markets Department at SPsales@harpercollins.com.

FIRST EDITION

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

ISBN 978-0-06-305421-9

22 23 24 25 26 LSC 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Cast of Characters

(In Order of Appearance)

The Americans

TENNENT “PETE” BAGLEY: Counterintelligence officer and deputy head of the CIA’s Soviet Bloc division.

MARTI PETERSON: The first female case officer assigned to Moscow Station.

JOHN PAISLEY: CIA analyst with a wide-ranging portfolio, which included defector interrogations as well as Soviet military strategy and nuclear weapons capabilities.

RAY ROCCA: Head of Research and Analysis, the CIA’s Counterintelligence Staff.

JAMES ANGLETON: Chief of the CIA’s Counterintelligence Staff.

CLARE EDWARD PETTY: Member of CIA’s Special Investigative Group (SIG).

CHRISTINA BAGLEY ROCCA: Pete Bagley’s daughter, a CIA officer who married Gordon Rocca, a DIA analyst and the son of Ray Rocca.

WILLIAM COLBY: CIA fieldman who became director of Central Intelligence.

GEORGE KISEVALTER: Russian-born CIA officer who served as handler for several double agents.

JACK MAURY: CIA Soviet Division chief.

WILLIAM HOOD: Cold War Vienna Station chief.

DAVID MURPHY: Berlin fieldman and CIA Soviet Division chief.

RICHARD HELMS: Wartime OSS officer who rose through the ranks to become CIA director.

JOHN ABIDIAN: Security officer at the American embassy in Moscow who performed operational tasks for the CIA.

BRUCE SOLIE: CIA security officer who defended Nosenko’s bona fides and later played a key role in the ill-fated running of double agent Nicholas Shadrin.

LEONARD MCCOY: CIA reports officer who defended Nosenko, asserting he was not a dispatched Russian agent.

JOHN HART: CIA officer who cleared Nosenko and later gave testimony to the House Select Committee on Assassinations that was pointedly critical of Pete Bagley.

KATHERINE HART: Chief of staff for CIA field stations and wife of John Hart.

MARYANN PAISLEY: Wife of John Paisley and, for a time, a CIA clerk working directly for Katherine Hart.

DAVID SULLIVAN: CIA analyst who leaked information to an aide of a US senator and later reported his suspicions about John Paisley to the Office of Security.

The Russians

ALEXANDER OGORODNIK: Double agent code-named Trigon who, when caught, committed suicide by ingesting a cyanide pill concealed in a fountain pen.

PYOTR POPOV: Lieutenant colonel in military intelligence (GRU) who provided military secrets to the CIA and was executed for treason.

OLEG PENKOVSKY: Colonel of GRU who passed secret intelligence to both the CIA and MI6 and was executed for treason.

LEONID BREZHNEV: Soviet general secretary whose private conversations were covertly recorded in the course of the CIA's Gamma Guppy operation.

BORIS NALIVAICO: KGB officer based in Vienna who lured the CIA into an embarrassing trap.

GENERAL OLEG GRIBANOV: Chief of KGB counterintelligence (Second Chief Directorate) who established a special unit to focus on "operational deception."

LIEUTENANT GENERAL SERGEY KONDRASHEV: High-ranking KGB officer with a wide-ranging career in foreign intelligence and counterintelligence operations.

The Poles

MICHAŁ GOLEŃEWSKI: Polish intelligence officer code-named Sniper.

The Czechs

KARL AND HANA KOECHER: Husband-and-wife team of Czech intelligence officers who worked closely with the KGB and succeeded in infiltrating the CIA.

The Defectors

PETER DERIABIN: KGB officer who became a consultant to the CIA.

YURI IVANOVICH NOSENKO: KGB officer who defected after the Kennedy assassination.

ANATOLY GOLITSYN: KGB officer who later worked closely with the CIA's Counterintelligence Staff.

IGOR KOCHNOV: KGB agent who pretended to be a defector in order to set a trap for a Russian-born American citizen working for the DIA.

NICHOLAS SHADRIN: Soviet naval captain who became a US double agent, an operation that resulted in his kidnapping and death at the hands of the KGB.

A Note on Sources

WHEN PETE BAGLEY, THE HERO of this story, died, the obituaries made quick work of summing up what had been a varied and complicated public life. “Played a key role in the controversial handling of Soviet defector Yuri Nosenko,” was how the *Washington Post*’s lede encapsulated Bagley’s activities. The *New York Times*’ opening graf stuck to this territory, too, albeit in a more nuanced fashion: “a former CIA officer who helped a mysterious Soviet spy betray his country, then tried for a half century to prove that the defector was actually a Russian double agent.”

Yet while the Nosenko affair was indeed central to Bagley’s professional life (the “Rosetta stone,” he called it), I began my exploration of his remarkable career with the intent of focusing on what had struck me as a more important truth: how the case opened his detective’s mind to the belief that the CIA had been penetrated by a mole. And as I set out to tell this story, to recount the perils, pitfalls, and ultimate success of Bagley’s long-running mole hunt, I was also prodded by an observation Ed Epstein, a groundbreaking investigator into the secret workings of the US intelligence community, had offered on his friend Bagley’s quest. “How he found the answers on his own could provide the plot of a great Hollywood spy movie,” Epstein had provocatively written—before his essay, to my frustration, had quickly moved on to other matters.

From the outset, therefore, I was guided and encouraged by two

ambitions. I would tell the story of a real-life pursuit of a traitor. And I also was determined to shape this tale as a nonfiction narrative mirroring the actual adventure Bagley had lived.

Yet as I proceeded, I discovered, to my increasing consternation, that I had entered an investigative minefield. At every stage of my inquiries, I encountered a good deal of resistance. There were seemingly knowledgeable individuals in the covert world who for a variety of deeply held reasons—some intent on protecting at all costs the reputations of the institutions they'd served, others bristling with surprisingly durable personal antagonisms—refused to engage with the reality of the events that I'd uncovered and shared with them. Battle lines, apparently, had long ago been drawn and with the passing years had become reified. And in this grudge war (a taste of which I try to give in my tale), the truth—and its crucial implications—became in many quarters an irrelevancy. The official mindset was, in effect, to let sleeping moles lie.

And no less an obstacle to a writer trying to get to the bottom of things with some authority, sources who were (only after considerable prodding in most cases) willing to talk were nevertheless reluctant to allow themselves to be identified. Time after time, they shared critical, previously unreported information, yet they were adamant that their names could not be used. Part of their logic was professional: spies, they felt, should remain in the shadows. Yet another large component, I discovered with dismay, was their fear of reprisals; character assassination, as my account suggests, was an often-deployed weapon in the spy vs. spy wars that to this day rage within our intelligence services. And this apprehension also affected the friends and family of both Pete Bagley and John Paisley. I talked to several of them at length, and still they acceded to these interviews (many spread across multiple days) only if I promised that I would not identify them.

It is an agreement that I am honor bound to keep.

And yet this book suggests some startling new truths.

So how did go I about getting to the bottom of things? How

did I manage to take the reader on a journey that culminates on a snowy afternoon at the entrance to an ancient, venerable cemetery in Moscow? And how can I satisfy the reader that (as an in-house CIA journal sniffed about Bagley) while some of my sources are “conveniently unnamed,” this is a true story?

And, no less of a challenge, how did I craft a narrative that tries to have the intrigue of a mystery and the momentum of a thriller—while also being a true story? Specifically, how did I accomplish this without resorting to a sputtering narrative, one that tediously reiterates the sources underlying the highly charged drama shaping each incident I recount? That doesn’t trudge on like an academic tome?

Here, then, are the cardinal rules that guided me as I wrote this story: If a statement is in direct quotes, it is information that was conveyed to me in that precise form in an interview, a government document, a published book, or a press report. And if an incident is depicted, its details were shared directly to me by at least two mutually confirming sources, or substantiated in government documents or previously published accounts.

Consider, for example, the sections on Maryann Paisley that bracket the gist of the narrative. She died years before I began my research; I did not interview her. Her thoughts and opinions, however, were conveyed to me by members of her family, documents obtained by the Freedom of Information Act, interviews with her friends, interviews with individuals who had spoken with James Angleton in the months before his death and had knowledge of his luncheon with Mrs. Paisley as well as his long-gestating beliefs about the significance of the Paisley case, lawyers’ briefs filed on Mrs. Paisley’s behalf against the CIA and Justice Department, the transcripts of the insurance trial after the car crash involving her son and the death of a passenger in the car he’d been driving, and statements previously published in books and newspaper reports.

In the course of my research for the entire book, I conducted eighty-three separate interviews, including several that were quite

lengthy. I also relied on many recently declassified government documents, including, for example, the FBI file on Yuri Nosenko (File Number 63-68530) that ran to 718 pages; CIA files on Pyotr Deriabin, especially those newly declassified accounts of his behind-closed-doors testimony to the Warren Commission; and hundreds of pages of Freedom of Information documents on the John Paisley case that had been originally requested by members of the Paisley family and their lawyers.

Also invaluable were the convincing firsthand accounts Pete Bagley had written (*Spy Wars* and *Spymaster*); the many books and articles on the Paisley case (particularly *Widows* by William R. Corson, Susan B. Trento, and Joseph J. Trento, and the investigative reports in the *New York Times* by Tad Szulc and William Safire); and a tall mountain of books on the CIA mole hunt (most helpfully *Wilderness of Mirrors* by David Martin; *Molehunt*, by David Wise; *The Ghost*, by Jefferson Morley; *The Secrets of the FBI*, by Ron Kessler; and *Angleton Was Right*, by Edward J. Epstein).

What follows are the principal sources for each chapter of this book.

Prologue: William R. Corson, Susan B. Trento, and Joseph Trento, *Widows* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1989) [*Widows*]; Interviews with Paisley Family Sources [Paisley]; *Maryann Paisley v. The Travelers Insurance Company* Depositions [Paisley Depositions]; Fairfax County, Virginia, Courthouse Records (Law Numbers 325748 and 34684) [Fairfax Courthouse]; *Wilmington News-Journal*, May 20, 1979.

Chapter 1: Interviews with Bagley Family Sources [Bagley]; Tennent Bagley Collection #1833, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University [Collection 1833 BU]; David E. Hoffman, *The Billion Dollar Spy* (New York: Anchor Books, 2016) [*Billion*]; Maris Goldmanis, “The Case of Aleksandr Ogorodnik,” Numbers Station Research Information Center; Martha Peterson, *The Widow Spy* (Wilmington, NC: Red Canary Press, 2012); Bob Fulton, *Reflections on a Life* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2008); Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield* (New York: Basic Books, 2001) [*Sword*]; Duane R. Clarridge, *A Spy for All Seasons* (New York: Scribner, 1977) [*Seasons*].

Chapter 2: Tennent H. Bagley, *Spy Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007) [*Wars*]; Bagley; Collection 1833 BU; *Widows*; Paisley; Raymond Rocca Collection #1832, Howard Gotlieb Archival Record Center, Boston University [Collection 1832 BU]; Tad Szulc, “The Missing CIA Man,” *New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 7, 1961 [Szulc]; Internet Archives, Full Text of John Arthur Paisley, FBI, <https://archive.org/stream/JohnArthurPaisley> [Internet Archives]; documents.theblackvault.com/documents/fbifiles/coldwar/johnpaisley.pdf [Black Vault]; US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Jan. 1, 1979, to Dec. 31, 1980, 97193.pdf [Senate]; Paisley Depositions; *Widows*; Paisley; Maryland State Police Report first cited in *Widows*; Joseph Trento, “The Spy Who Never Was,” *Penthouse*, March 1979; Maryland Park Service Report, IR-45-78-268; Coast Guard Documents; CIA Security Memos, FOIA [Security]; Interviews with Intelligence Sources [IS]; *Wilmington News-Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post* coverage [Press]; Colonial Funeral Home, Falls Church, Virginia, Records, first cited in *Widows* [Colonial Funeral]; Edward Jay Epstein, *The Annals of Unsolved Crime* (New York: Melville House, 2012) [*Annals*].

Chapter 3: Paisley; *Wars*; Tennent H. Bagley, *Spymaster* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2015) [*Spymaster*]; Edward Jay Epstein, *James Jesus Angleton: Was He Right?* (New York: FastTrack Press, 2014) [*Right*]; David C. Martin, *Wilderness of Mirrors* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2018) [*Wilderness*]; David Wise, *Molehunt* (New York: Random House, 1992) [*Molehunt*]; “Moles, Defectors, and Deceptions,” Center for Security Studies Conference, Georgetown University, March 29, 2012, edited by Bruce Hoffman and Christian Ostermann [Conference]; Tennent H. Bagley, “Bane of Counterintelligence: Our Penchant for Self-Deception,” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 6, no. 1 (1993) [“Penchant”].

Chapter 4: Bagley; *Wars*; *Spymaster*; *Sword*; *Wilderness*; *Molehunt*; *Right*; IS; “Peter Deriabin, 71, a Moscow Defector Who Joined CIA,” *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1992; Peter Deriabin and Frank Gibney, *Secret World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1980) [*World*].

Chapter 5: Bagley; IS; Collection 1832 BU; Jefferson Morley, *The Ghost* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2017) [*Ghost*]; *Right*; Tom Mangold, *Cold Warrior: James Jesus Angleton: The CIA’s Master Spy Hunter* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991) [*Cold Warrior*].

Chapter 6: Bagley; IS; *Right*; Conference; *Widows*, particularly interviews with Petty; *Molehunt*; *Wilderness*; *Wars*; Collection 1833 BU.

Chapter 7: *Widows*; Bagley; *Cold Warrior*; *World*; IS; *Ghost*; *Molehunt*; *Wilderness*; *Right*.

Chapter 8: *Wars*, particularly for quoted dialogue; *Wilderness*; *Ghost*; Bagley; IS; *Molehunt*; *Right*; Internet Archive Freedom of Information Act FBI Nosenko Files, identifier-ark: ark:/13960/14dn92285 [FBI Nosenko]; *Sword*; William Hood, *Mole: The True Story of the First Russian Intelligence Officer Recruited by the CIA* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982) [*First*]; Clarence Ashley, *CIA Spymaster* (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 2004) [Ashley]; John Limond Hart, *The CIA's Russians* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003) [*Russians*]; David E. Murphy, Sergei A. Kondrashev, and George Bailey, *Battleground Berlin: CIA vs. KGB in the Cold War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977) [*Battleground*]; *Seasons*.

Chapter 9: Bagley; *Wars*, particularly for quoted dialogue; FBI Nosenko; *First*; *Russians*; *Battleground*; *Wilderness*; *Ghost*; *Molehunt*; *Right*.

Chapter 10: *Wars*, particularly for quoted dialogue; Bagley; IS; *Russians*; *Ghost*; *Battleground*; *Cold Warrior*; *Wilderness*; Conference; Collection 1832 BU; Collection 1833 BU; “Pendant”; *Billion*.

Chapter 11: *Wars*; Bagley; House Select Committee on Assassinations, 95th Congress Hearings (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1979) [Assassinations]; Report of the President’s Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1964)[Report]; *Cold Warrior*; *Right*; Edward Jay Epstein, *Legend: The Secret World of Lee Harvey Oswald* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978) [*Legend*]; Press.

Chapter 12: *Wars*, particularly for dialogue; Assassinations; *Legend*; *Right*; *Ghost*; FBI Nosenko; Collection 1833 BU; Collection 1832 BU; Bagley.

Chapter 13: *Wars*, particularly his interview with Abidian; Bagley; *Ghost*; Report; *Sword*; John Barron, *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974); Jerold L. Schechter and Peter S. Deriabin, *The Spy Who Saved the World* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1992) [*Saved*]; Oleg Penkovsky, *The Penkovsky Papers* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964); Ben Macintyre, *The Spy and the Traitor* (New York: Crown, 2019); “Pendant”; Conference; *Billion*; Leonard McCoy, “The Penkovsky Case,” *Studies in Intelligence*, declassified September 2014; *First*.

Chapter 14: *Wars*, particularly for dialogue; *Ghost*; *Legend*; Report; Assassinations; IS; Bagley; Conference; “Pendant”; FBI Nosenko; *Sword*; *Cold Warrior*; “The Analysis of Yuri Nosenko’s Polygraph Examination,” Richard Arthur testimony to Select Committee on Assassinations, US House of Representatives, March 1979 [Polygraph]; *Wilderness*; *Molehunt*; Press.

Chapter 15: *Wars*; Bagley; Richard J. Heuer Jr., “Nosenko: Five Paths to Judgment,” *Studies in Intelligence* 31, declassified Fall 1987 [“Paths”]; *Right*; *Ghost*; *Wilderness*; *Molehunt*; Polygraph.

Chapter 16: Bagley; IS; *Wars*; Collection 1832 BU; Collection 1833 BU; “Paths”; *Ghost*.

Chapter 17: Bagley; *Wars*; *Widows*.

Chapter 18: *Wars*; “Ex-CIA Employee Held as Czech Spy,” *New York Times*, Nov. 28, 1984; Cynthia L. Haven, *The Man Who Brought Brodsky into English* (New York: Academic Studies Press, 2021); Tracy Burns, “Life During the Communist Era in Czechoslovakia,” <https://www.private-prague-guide.com>; Richard Cunningham, “How a Czech ‘Super Spy’ Infiltrated the CIA,” *The Guardian*, June 30, 2016 [Cunningham]; Ronald Kessler, “Moscow’s Mole in the CIA,” *Washington Post*, April 17, 1988 [Kessler]; Ronald Kessler, *The Secrets of the FBI* (New York: Crown, 2011) [Secrets]; “Unknown Spy Sites,” International Spy Museum, <https://www.spymuseum.org> [“Sites”]; Conference; *Sword*; Fairfax, Virginia, court records, cited first in *Widows* (at Law No. 38430) [Court]; *Billion*; *Right*; Press.

Chapter 19: “Sites”; Cunningham; Kessler; *Widows*, particularly Fairfax, Virginia, court records; Conference; *Wars*; Bagley.

Chapter 20: *Wars*; *Spymaster*; “Paths”; Cunningham; Kessler; Conference; *Billion*; *Sword*; *Widows*; Bagley; IS.

Chapter 21: *Wars*; Bagley; IS; *Spymaster*.

Chapter 22: Bagley; IS; Polygraph; *Widows*; *Molehunt*; *Ghost*; Bagley Testimony, House Assassinations Committee, Doc ID: 32273600; FBI Nosenko; “Paths”; *Legend*; *Right*; Szulc; William Safire, “Slithy Toves of CIA,” *New York Times*, Jan. 22, 1979 [Safire].

Chapter 23: *Russians*; *Wars*; Bagley; John Steadman, “Forget ERA, Sivess’ True Passion Was for CIA’s Game of Intrigue,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 17, 1966; *Widows*; *Spymaster*; *Ghost*; James Disette, “Cloak, Dagger, and Chesapeake,” Parts I and II, <https://www.chestertownspy.org/spies-pf-the-eastern-shore>; Ann Hughey, “The House That Hid the CIA’s Secrets,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 19 1991; Polygraph; Collection 1832 BC.

Chapter 24: *Widows*, particularly Coast Guard records and family interviews; *Ghost*; *Cold Warrior*; Szulc; Safire; Internet Archives; Black Vault; Paisley; IS; Paisley CIA biographical file, FOIA[Biog File]; Bagley; IS; Press.

Chapter 25: *Wars*; *Widows*, particularly Paisley family interviews; Paisley; Deposition; Black Vault; Internet Archives; CIA, “Standard Assessment of Paisley,” May 14, 1957, FOIA; Robert D. Vickers Jr., *The History of CIA’s Office of Strategic Research* (Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 2019); David Shamus McCarthy, “The CIA & the Cult of Secrecy,” 2008

Dissertation, William & Mary ScholarWorks [Dissertation]; Joe Trento, *Wilmington News Journal* and passim regarding P.O. box; Szulc; Safire.

Chapter 26: Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (New York: Knopf, 1979); *Wilderness*; Henry Hurt, *The Spy Who Never Came Back* (New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1983); *Widows*; Joseph J. Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA* (New York: Forum Prime, 2001); *Wars*; Bagley; Tad Szulc, "The Shadrin Affair: A Double Agent Double-Crossed," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 1978; *Sword*; Collection 1832 BC; "Paths"; Robert G. Kaiser, "A Non-Fiction Spy Story with No Ending," *Washington Post*, July 17, 1977; *Wars*; Bagley; IS; Press.

Chapter 27: *Wars*; Bagley; IS; Conference; "Pendant"; *Widows*; Kessler; Cunningham; Secrets; Court; Deposition; Internet Archives; Black Vault; Szulc.

Chapter 28: William Safire, "Deception Managers," *New York Times*, Aug. 6, 1981; Federation of American Scientists, "Weapons of Mass Destruction," <https://nuke.fas.org/guide/russia/icbm/>; The Special Collection Service & Gamma Guppy, <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu>; *Widows*, particularly interviews with Richard Pipes and David Binder; Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power* (New York: Summit, 1983); Dissertation; Jeffrey T. Richelson, "The CIA and Secret Intelligence," National Security Archive, March 2005; Jeffrey T. Richelson, *The Wizards of Langley* (New York: Basic Books, 2005); "The CIA Mission Impossible," *Time*, Feb. 6, 1978; Richard Pipes, "Team B: The Reality Behind the Myth," *Commentary*, Oct. 1986; Bill Keller, "The Boy Who Cried Wolfowitz," *New York Times*, June 14, 2003; Internet Archives; Black Vault.

Chapter 29: *Widows*; *Wars*; Bagley; *Russians*; IS.

Chapter 30: Deposition; *Widows*, particularly Betty Myers interview; Black Vault; Internet Archives; Bagley; "Paths"; House Assassination Committee Transcripts, 1978; Safire; Szulc; Fairfax Courthouse (originally cited in *Widows*); Paisley; Kessler; Conference; *Sword*; Jason Fangone, "The Amazing Story of the Russian Defector Who Changed His Mind," *Washingtonian*, Feb. 2, 2018; Stephen Engleberg, "CIA Gives a Rare Glimpse of Life of a Top Soviet Spy," *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1991; *Annals*; *Right*; David Sullivan interview, cited in *Widows*.

Chapter 31: *Widows*, particularly David Sullivan interview and dialogue; Tim Weiner, "CIA Officer's Suit Tells Tale of Betrayal and Disgrace," *New York Times*, Sept. 1, 1996 [Weiner]; Richard K. Betts and Thomas Mahnken, editors, *Paradoxes of Strategic Intelligence* (Milton Park, UK: Routledge, 2004); IS; Dissertation; Internet Archives; Black Vault; Press.

Chapter 32: *Widows*, particularly David Sullivan interview and dialogue; Internet Archives; Black Vault; Weiner; Collection 1832 BC; Collection 1833 BC; Bagley; Paisley; *Annals*; Szulc; Safire; Coast Guard records, first cited in *Widows*; “Report to the Senate of Select Committee on Intelligence, January 1, 1979–December 31, 1980” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1981); Blaine Harden, “FBI Tells Senate Panel Paisley Probe Unjustified,” *Washington Post*, Apr. 4, 1979; Timothy S. Robinson, “Full Report on Paisley to Be Secret,” *Washington Post*, Apr. 24, 1980; Jesse Helms Archive Center, Record Group/Senatorial Papers, 1953–2004; *Wars*; Bagley.

Chapter 33: *Wars*, particularly for quoted dialogue with Kondrashev; Bagley; *Spymaster*; IS; *Saved*; “Penchant”; *Russians*; *Sword*; *Ghost*; *Molehunt*; *Legend*; Peter Wright, *Spycatcher* (New York: Penguin, 1987); Elaine Shannon, “Death of the Perfect Spy,” *Time*, July 22, 2007; Hy Rothstein and Barton Whaley, *The Art and Science of Military Deception* (New York: Artech House, 2013).

Chapter 34: Bagley, particularly for passages that are specifically quoted and appear within quotation marks; IS; *Spymaster*; “Penchant”; Conference; “Paths”; David Robarge, “Cunning Passages, Contrived Corridors,” *Studies in Intelligence* 53 (Dec. 2009); *Ghosts*.

Epilogue: Paisley; *Widows*, particularly for details about postcards and subsequent theft; Maryann Paisley, *Appellant v. Central Intelligence Agency*, 724 F.2d 201 (D.C. Cir., 1984); Internet Archives; Black Vault; Szulc; Deposition.