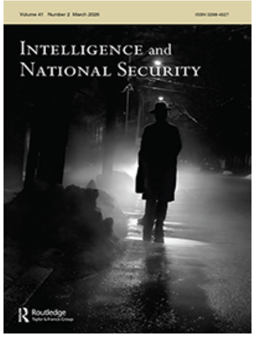

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The Soviet intelligence illegals program in the face of counterintelligence pressure: the case of the United States and Canada

Kevin Riehle

ABSTRACT
Post-World War II Soviet intelligence illegals operations in the United States and Canada started strong in the 1940s and 1950s. However, as they experienced increasing counterintelligence pressure through penetrations, defections, and double agents, it became harder for Soviet services to place illegals in both countries. Soviet services increasingly struggled to find suitable candidates to send as illegals to the United States and Canada. This article analyzes sixty-two illegals dispatched to or designated for the United States and Canada to show that the numbers of illegals dispatched to the United States and Canada after the 1960s decreased, with many being deterred by counterintelligence activities.

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Introduction

Intelligence illegals are operatives sent abroad, usually under false identities, with no overt connection to the Soviet Union or Russia. They are valuable assets because they blend into a foreign society and, hopefully, remain off the radar of counterintelligence services. Their separation from a Soviet diplomatic establishment also means they can remain in place even if war breaks out and diplomatic relations are severed.

Both Soviet services with foreign intelligence missions, the Committee of State Security (KGB) and the Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (GRU), emphasized illegals programs after World War II, especially to penetrate the 'main enemy', the United States. Placing operatives, including illegals, in the United States who could be alert for indications that the United States was preparing for an attack was the highest intelligence priority.

Over the 1940s and 1950s, both the KGB and GRU successfully established illegals in the United States, and in Canada as a step-off point to the United States. A few of those illegals remained undetected for long periods. However, illegals were difficult to recruit and train, creating their legends was costly, and their operations were fragile. The sensitive nature of illegals made Soviet services risk-averse and easily dissuaded from sending an illegal into a hostile environment. Defections, penetrations, double agents, stringent passport regimes, and identity checks had deterrent effects. The ill-fated end to one illegal operation rippled through others, sometimes halting plans altogether or

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redirecting them to a less hostile operational location. That was true for the United States more than anywhere else during the Soviet era.

Vasiliy Mitrokhin wrote in his unpublished manuscript on the KGB, 'All illegals who operated in the USA and Canada during the post-war period, without exception, completed their training before the beginning of the 1960s'.[1] Although that statement is not entirely accurate, and even Mitrokhin identifies exceptions, it represents a Soviet perception that the United States and Canada were hostile counterintelligence environments for intelligence illegals. Both countries had success neutralizing Soviet operations using a variety of counterintelligence methods, from analyzing their patterns and financial flows to running double agent operations against them and sometimes doubling the illegals themselves. The United States and Canada were anomalies, with the KGB successfully placing illegals elsewhere throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Published works on Soviet illegals, such as Trevor Barnes's *Dead Doubles*, Donald Mahar's *Shattered Illusions*, and Barbara Carr's *Loginov: Spy in the Sun*, often discuss specific illegals operations. Additionally, several illegals, such as Rupert Sigl, Kaarlo Tuomi, Leonid Dubonosov, and Albert Dittrich, aka Jack Barsky, wrote about their own operations, and illegals handling officers Vladimir Kuzichkin and Alexander Kouzminov wrote about managing illegals. Shawn Walker's book, *The Illegals*,[2] goes further by presenting a general history of the illegals program. However, none of those works aggregate cases to analyze trends, and most do not focus solely on the United States and Canada. This article uses the elements of those works that relate to the United States and Canada and integrates them into the details revealed by Vasiliy Mitrokhin.

Much of the data for this article comes from Mitrokhin's papers, housed at the Churchill Archive Centre, Cambridge University. Mitrokhin had access to operational files as an archivist in the KGB's First Chief Directorate, and he copied pieces of those files over a nearly 20-year period with the intention of eventually publishing a book that revealed the inner workings of the KGB which he had grown to hate. Thanks to Mitrokhin, we know more about illegals than we would have otherwise, and some of his revelations are unique. Counterintelligence activities and press coverage in the United States and Canada provided further insights about illegals operations, corroborating some of Mitrokhin's materials.

Mitrokhin did not have access to GRU illegals and thus information about those operations comes mostly from declassified US and Canadian counterintelligence files. Based on the mix of those published and archival sources, this article provides a chronological analysis of sixty-two Soviet illegals who operated, or were designated to operate, in the United States and Canada from World War II to the end of the Soviet era, showing the counterintelligence complications they faced and the risks of running operations in those countries.

World War II-era illegals: successes and the awakening of counterintelligence

Just before and during World War II, Soviet intelligence services dispatched illegals abroad in large numbers. These were the generation that followed what Peter Wright labeled the 'great illegals' who operated during the 1930s but were often caught up in Stalin's purges.[3] Some of the post-'great illegals' enjoyed significant success, including in the United States and Canada, while others departed under counterintelligence pressure.

Three GRU illegals operated in the United States through much of the war without the FBI learning about them until after they departed. Leonard Lebedinskiy (see below) claimed that he met a GRU illegal codenamed Colonel 'Jane' or 'Frances' not long before his dispatch to the United States in 1958. She had recently returned to the Soviet Union after an 18-year illegal assignment in the United States, placing her arrival around 1940. She was highly regarded within the GRU and tutored Lebedinskiy on life in the United States, but no further information is known about her.[4] George Koval (DELMAR)[5] also arrived in the United States as an illegal in 1940. After enlisting in the US Army, he was assigned to Oak Ridge, Tennessee, for work in the Manhattan Project, where, to the GRU's fortune, he had access to information about polonium, which was used in the atomic weapons program. His mission in the United States ended in October 1948, although the FBI was unaware of his presence until 1955.[6] Francia Mitynin (SALLI, AVSTRALIYKA) arrived in the United States in 1943. Little is known about her intelligence activities, but she was believed to still be living in the United States after the war. The FBI learned in 1956 that she had departed the United States.[7]

Several others arrived in the United States between 1936 and 1941 and operated through the war until the FBI learned about them, forcing them to depart under counterintelligence pressure. They included People's Commissariat of State Security (NKGB) illegals Iskhak Akhmerov (YUNG) and Abromas Sobolevicius, aka Jack Soble (CHEKH), and GRU illegals Arthur Adams (AKHIL) and Zalman Litvin (MULAT).

Akhmerov handled high-level sources inside the US government during World War II but was transferred back to Moscow in December 1945 in the wake of the revelations of Elizabeth Bentley, an agent handler who served as a contact point between Akhmerov and other agents. Although Bentley did not know Akhmerov's name or address, the Soviet service removed him in an abundance of caution.[8] Soble arrived in 1941 as an agent-illegal, meaning a non-staff officer dispatched abroad to conduct intelligence operations. The FBI learned about him in 1947 when one of his agents, Boris Morros, offered his services to the FBI. Morros's cooperation allowed the FBI to monitor Soble for the next decade. He and his wife, Myra, along with one of their agents, Yakov Albam, were arrested in 1957 when the FBI terminated Morros's double agent operation.[9]

Litvin arrived in the United States in 1939 and operated under cover as a student and later an instructor at the University of Southern California until 1945. He used the identity of a Canadian living double, 'Ignacy Samuel Witczak', who had traveled to Spain to fight in the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s, and whose passport fell into the hands of Soviet intelligence. The FBI learned about him from Igor Gouzenko, who defected in Ottawa in 1945. Litvin escaped FBI surveillance and was extracted from the United States in November 1945.[10] Another GRU illegal, Adams, was recruited into Soviet military intelligence and entered the United States in 1939. The FBI began surveilling him in 1945 but did not arrest him. He left the United States in December 1946.[11]

These illegals were trained before World War II, having been recruited on various grounds. Akhmerov joined Soviet State Security in 1930 and began a career as an illegal in 1932. Soble was identified and recruited through his communist affiliations. Litvin was initially recruited as an illegal because he was a Chinese linguist and completed an illegal assignment in China before being assigned to the United States. Adams had spent time in the United States as an engineer in the 1920s and 1930s, spoke English well, and was recruited as an illegal in 1939.

Koval and Mitynin were born outside the Soviet Union and were among the thousands of foreigners who immigrated to the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. Their recruitment as illegals was based on their native foreign language proficiency and their ability to act naturally in a foreign environment, akin to the 'great illegals' of the 1930s. Immigrants represented a pool of illegals candidates from which Soviet services could draw for the next several decades.

By the late 1940s, the FBI began to turn more counterintelligence attention toward Soviet intelligence thanks to Gouzenko, Bentley, Morros, and the Venona program, through which the US government intercepted and decrypted thousands of Soviet intelligence telegrams. The ensuing counterintelligence activities meant Soviet services needed to rebuild *rezidenturas* that had been dismantled at the end of the war.

The KGB in the 1940s and 1950s: fragile operations complicated by double agents

The late 1940s and 1950s were an intense period for Soviet illegals operations in the United States and Canada to recover the operations lost due to defections. This led to new operations, especially employing 1930s immigrants to the Soviet Union. However, several were doubled in Canada and the United States and others were withdrawn due to unsuitability.

The Ministry of State Security (MGB) and its successor, the KGB, continued to draw illegals candidates from among people who had immigrated to the Soviet Union, as the GRU did with Koval and Mitynin. Immigrants could be used as illegals themselves, or their identities could form the basis for plausible covers for other illegals. However, many of the operations that began in this period failed, either because illegals were prevented from entering the United States or Canada, were arrested or defected, were doubled back against the Soviet service, or proved themselves incapable of operating as illegals.

The first illegal to arrive in the United States after the war may have been a woman codenamed WANDA. Little is known about her, except that, according to notes from KGB files gathered by Aleksandr Vassiliev, she was operating in the United States as of June 1948 and was in contact with an illegals courier codenamed KRAB.[12]

Around the same time as WANDA, another illegal, William Fisher (MARK), arrived in the United States. He traveled to the United States using a passport in the name Andrew Kayotis, a Lithuanian-born US citizen who died while on a trip to the Soviet Union. He later became famous under the name Rudolf Abel. He began training to be an illegal in the 1920s, not long after his family immigrated from the United Kingdom to the Soviet Union. Georgiy Arutyunov (also known as Agabekov), a Soviet intelligence defector in 1930, reported that Fisher was in training for duty as an illegal in an English-speaking country as early as 1929.[13]

By the time Fisher/Abel arrived in the United States in 1948, he was already an experienced radio operator, having served in Norway and the UK in the 1930s operating against German forces during World War II. He remained in the United States for the next 9 years. Because of his long tenure and his resistance to interrogation after his arrest in 1957, Fisher/Abel gained legendary status, both in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mitrokhin, however, claims that the reality of Fisher/Abel never matched the mythology. Mitrokhin places the origin of the myth in the United States, where defense attorney James Donovan published the book *Strangers on a Bridge* in 1964.[14] According to Mitrokhin, the KGB seized upon Donovan's praise for Fisher/Abel and embellished it to transform him into an honored chekist, which boosted KGB morale and provided a cause for marketing the KGB to the Soviet population. Contrary to the myth, however, Fisher/Abel's accomplishments were few, according to Mitrokhin. His experience was as a radio operator, not an illegal *rezident*, and his main task was to legalize himself. He was never involved in intelligence activities. Referring to Fisher/Abel, Mitrokhin used the Russian proverb 'Good fame sits behind the stove, while bad fame runs around the world'.[15] Even though others, like WANDA and 'Colonel Jane', lasted longer in their illegals assignments than Fisher/Abel, Fisher/Abel was an easy object around which to create a myth because he was already known in the West.

Several other illegals used the identities of immigrants to the Soviet Union. Valeriy Makayev (GARRI), a contemporary of Fisher/Abel's, began illegals training in 1947 and traveled to Poland using the identity of 'John Kovalik', an immigrant to the Soviet Union from the United States. The namesake was still alive in the Soviet Union in March 1950 when Makayev traveled to the United States. Makayev was assigned to be the handler for Guy Burgess, who was posted to the British Embassy in Washington, and to use him as a courier for communication with Kim Philby. However, by 1951, the US Venona program was decrypting Soviet telegrams, and the US government passed intelligence to MI5 via Kim Philby that identified Burgess as a Soviet agent. Philby reported the suspicion to his Soviet handlers and warned Burgess, who, with Donald Maclean, defected to the Soviet Union in May 1951.

The MGB intended for Makayev to lead a US-based *rezidentura* that would eventually also include Reino Häyhänen (VIK) and Vitaliy Lyamin (DIM). However, Moscow began to suspect that Makayev was incapable of being a *rezident* when he missed a dead drop containing payment for Philby. Moscow considered attaching him to the Fisher/Abel *rezidentura* instead but recalled him to Moscow in 1951 after he misplaced operational materials. The MI5 investigation into Burgess and Maclean also likely contributed to his recall. His time in the United States lasted a little over a year.[16]

Mitrokhin's materials make no reference to Lyamin ever arriving in the United States; he was active elsewhere as an illegal in the late 1960s.[17] Häyhänen, on the other hand, arrived in 1952 to be Fisher/Abel's assistant rather than Makayev's. Häyhänen was a Karelian Finn and used the identity of Eugene Maki, a US-born person who immigrated to the Soviet Union with his family in 1927. The identity was operationally successful, but Häyhänen was not. He made a series of mistakes, including spending a special hollow nickel he was given as a clandestine communications device and pocketing operational funds. He also got into fights at local bars and beat his wife.[18] In May 1957, he was recalled to Moscow to account for his failures but stopped in Paris en route and walked into the US embassy to defect. His defection and recruitment as a double agent led to the arrest of Fisher/Abel a few weeks later.[19]

Mikhail Filonenko (ZHANGO, GEKTOR) was slated for the United States but never arrived due to counterintelligence concerns. Filonenko assumed the identity of a US-born son of Czech parents and used that to emigrate to Brazil. He applied for a US passport in 1955; however, the US Department of State agreed to issue a passport only to him, not to his wife, Yelena Filonenko (MARTA), and it would be valid only for travel to the United States. He turned it down. Moscow then decided to send the couple to Canada, possibly intending to eventually try again to enter the United States. Canada was often an interim spot for illegals ultimately destined for the United States; as far as Soviet intelligence services were concerned, Canada was merely an operational adjunct to the 'main enemy'.[20] However, KGB headquarters recalled them to the Soviet Union after the compromise of Yevgeniy Brik (see below).[21]

At least three others were also removed from consideration for dispatch to the United States before they departed. They were all attempts to use native-born Russians with no prior connections to the United States. However, their missions were derailed based on their past intelligence work. Vladimir Grinchenko (RON, KLOD) and Simona Krimker (MIRA) established themselves in Argentina as illegals in 1948. In 1954, the KGB instructed them to apply for US passports so they could transfer their operation there. However, the KGB learned that the FBI had copies of Grinchenko's fingerprints because he had previously been an intelligence officer sailing on board a Soviet merchant ship that called at US ports. Mitrokhin's materials do not specify how or when the KGB reached that conclusion, but it led to the cancelation of their transfer to the United States and their reassignment to France instead.[22] Nikolay Nagornov (NORMAN) received a Belgian passport in 1955 with the intent to send him to Canada to operate against the United States. However, Nagornov had worked from 1945 to 1950 for the Society of Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union (VOKS) in Paris, and KGB headquarters received information that French and Swiss counterintelligence had information about his affiliation with Soviet intelligence. He was withdrawn before he was sent to Canada.[23]

Yevgeniy Brik (GART) was identified as an illegal candidate for a different reason. He spent part of his childhood living in the United States, while his father worked at the Soviet trading company Amtorg in New York from 1927 to 1932. When the family moved back to Moscow, Brik's parents enrolled him in the Anglo-American School so he could maintain his English. Consequently, he achieved near-native English proficiency with a credible New York accent. In 1949, he was enrolled in illegals training, and he arrived in Canada in 1951 using the passport of 'David Soboloff', a Canadian citizen who had emigrated to the Soviet Union. After spending over a year establishing his legend, Brik was assigned to handle several sources, including an agent who worked for a Canadian aircraft company. However, Brik's lack of self-discipline diminished his effectiveness. He became entangled in an affair with a married Canadian woman to whom he admitted his status as an illegal. She convinced him to turn himself in to Canadian authorities, and he became a Canadian double agent in November 1953.

In February 1954, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) constable James Morrison learned of Brik's status as a double agent when he was assigned to drive him from Ottawa to Montreal after one of Brik's meetings with his RCMP handlers. In June 1955, Morrison offered his services to the KGB in Ottawa in exchange for money to pay his debts, at which time he compromised Brik. Moscow messaged Brik, calling him home, purportedly for routine training; he had been away from Moscow for 4 years, so he did not suspect any nefarious motive. He traveled to the Soviet Union via Brazil, where he was supposed to meet with Filonenko (see above), who was slated to become Brik's superior in Canada. KGB headquarters called off the meeting with Filonenko, but Brik continued his travel to Moscow. He was arrested as soon as he arrived, and the KGB briefly redoubled him against his Canadian handlers. He then spent 15 years in a Soviet prison.[24]

Soviet intelligence was constantly seeking new ways to dispatch illegals to the United States. In the late 1940s, the MGB recruited a husband-and-wife couple, Shota Tkeshelashvili (SMIT) and Izabella Stepanyan (MERI), and sent them across the border into Iran in 1952 posing as refugees. Their mission was to emigrate to the United States, and they succeeded in doing so by contacting US government representatives in Iran. They arrived in New York in September 1954. The CIA hired them and moved them to Greece, where Tkeshelashvili worked for the CIA-sponsored Radio Kavkaz, and Stepanyan was employed as a linguist translating intelligence materials, and then transferred them to the United States in 1960. The KGB suspended their operation after Anatoliy Golitsyn's defection in December 1961. They may never have returned to full activity, because Tkeshelashvili was diagnosed with lung cancer in 1962 and died in February 1963. Stepanyan broke contact with her Soviet handlers and never returned to the Soviet Union.[25] They are unusual in that it is unknown whether US counterintelligence was ever aware of their Soviet affiliation.

Although the KGB experienced some long-term successes in the 1950s, those successes were mixed with significant failures that led to compromises. To them were added the US and Canadian recruitment of illegals as double agents for the first time, Brik in Canada and Häyhänen in the United States.

GRU illegals in the 1950s–1960s: a strong start followed by spectacular failures

The 1950s and early 1960s were the most active period for GRU illegals. However, many of the operations ended when the illegals were arrested, doubled, or recalled to Moscow for undefined reasons. GRU illegals operated in parallel with their KGB counterparts, but a lack of compartmentalization between the KGB and GRU may have contributed to operational failures. There are indicators that the agencies may have shared handling data: Anatoliy Golitsyn, a KGB officer who defected in 1961, claimed to have access to both KGB and GRU illegals,[26] and Vladimir Vetrov, a KGB officer who offered his services to the French intelligence service in 1982, reportedly compromised a GRU illegal operation.[27]

More often, the failures occurred because of foreign recruitments and defections of GRU officers, like Petr Popov, whom the CIA recruited in 1953 in Vienna; Dmitriy Polyakov, who offered his services to the FBI in New York in 1961; and Leonard Lebedinskiy, whom the FBI interviewed in 1961 and doubled.

Petr Popov's revelations led to the identification of a GRU illegal operation involving Igor and Margarita Tairov. Igor arrived in the United States in about 1957 using the identity 'Walter Anthony Sjoa', and Margarita arrived in 1958 using the identity 'Mary Grodnik'. The origin of those names is unclear, but they were likely US citizens who either immigrated to the Soviet Union or who died young. They were intended to operate as a husband-and-wife illegals couple; however, Popov compromised Margarita, and she noticed FBI surveillance en route to the United States. Both Tairovs disappeared soon thereafter.[28]

The GRU continued the practice of using immigrants to the Soviet Union, either as illegals themselves or as identities used for illegal cover. One was Kaarlo Tuomi, who was born in the United States and immigrated to the Soviet Union in 1933. He was recruited as an illegal in 1954 and arrived in the United States in February 1959. The FBI arrested him almost immediately and ran him as a double agent against the GRU for the next 3 years.[29]

Tuomi's revelations facilitated the FBI's identification of another GRU illegal, Leonard Lebedinskiy (BARTON), who used the identity 'Richard Earl Hauta'. The real Hauta was born in the United States and emigrated with his family to Finland in 1931, and then to the Soviet Union. Lebedinskiy was recruited to be an illegal in September 1955 after graduating from the Military Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow. He arrived in the United States via Canada in October 1958. The FBI identified him through analysis of airmail entering the United States, interviewed him in October 1961, and recruited him as a double agent. He returned to the Soviet Union in May 1962, thinking, like Brik 7 years earlier, that it was for routine home leave. The FBI never heard from him again.[30]

Maria Dobrova (MACY) arrived in the United States as an illegal in 1954 and established herself in New York with the identity 'Glen Morerro Podtseski', a cosmetologist supposedly born in Florida. Her primary mission was to run an accommodation address in New York City, but she also became acquainted with the wives of military officers and political leaders as clients, recruiting some of them for intelligence purposes. Lebedinskiy identified her as part of his illegal *rezidentura* when the FBI interviewed him in 1961.[31] The FBI initiated surveillance of Dobrova in 1962 under an operation codename GLEME[32]; however, she noticed the surveillance and reported it to GRU headquarters.

According to a Russian press source, in June 1962, the FBI arrested an illegal codenamed MASLOV, who had recently arrived as the new handler for Dobrova, presumably replacing Lebedinskiy. The FBI caught MASLOV leaving a chalk mark for Dobrova to warn her that she was in danger. It is unclear what happened to him after that, and FBI materials do not mention him.[33] Dobrova began preparations to return to the Soviet Union, which involved crossing into Canada and being exfiltrated by the Ottawa *rezidentura*. After a surprisingly long time – nearly a year – in April 1963, the FBI approached her and began debriefing her. She provided information about her personal history and her communication procedures. However, she refused to become a double agent. She was found dead on 19 April 1963 at her apartment in New York, having committed suicide.[34] Despite her tragic end, she was one of the longest lasting GRU illegals in the United States.

Lebedinskiy noted another illegal using the name 'Helen Cichy' (RAYA), who contacted him in New York in April 1960 and introduced herself as his radio operator. She had previously been assigned to Canada up to 1957 using the same 'Cichy' identity. A few months after contacting Lebedinskiy, 'Cichy' claimed to have noticed surveillance, and Lebedinskiy recommended she be recalled to Moscow. She departed New York via Montreal before the end of 1960.[35] The FBI briefly mentioned a case in 1961 involving a Soviet illegal codenamed PEBBLE. Nothing further is available publicly about the PEBBLE case, although it might be related to 'Cichy'.[36]

As early as 1947, the GRU began preparing to use the name 'Helmuth Felix Klawuhn' for an illegal operation. The pseudonym was taken from a boy born in the United States whose family emigrated to Germany in 1932. The operative who used the name 'Klawuhn', whom the FBI does not name, was approached while he lived in East Germany in July 1958 and began illegals training. He arrived in the United States in

April 1959 but ceased communicating with the GRU in October 1959 and was interviewed by the FBI in October 1960. During interviews, he described in detail his training and travel to the United States.[37] Nothing further is known of his fate.

Another truncated GRU operation involved Zoya Kornich, who arrived in Canada in August 1956 using a false Canadian passport. She traveled around Canada for several weeks and then was arrested trying to cross the border from Windsor, Ontario, into Detroit, Michigan. She was deported back to Canada as an illegal immigrant, and Canadian authorities deported her to Czechoslovakia in November 1956, presumably because she was using a Czechoslovak identity.[38]

In April 1958, a person using the name 'Rudolf Kneschke' arrived in Canada from Paraguay, traveling on a student visa. No information is available about the origin of the 'Kneschke' name or the real name of the illegal who used it. He applied for residency status in Canada in 1959, completed a 1-year radio and television repair course, and opened a shop in January 1960. Canadian police conducted a pretext interview in June 1960, during which 'Kneschke' provided a plausible explanation for his presence in the country. His Canadian legal residency was granted in January 1961, while he was living in Vancouver. However, in May 1961, he suddenly informed acquaintances he was leaving to take a job in eastern Canada. He placed his personal belongings in storage and disappeared. Canadian authorities tracked him as far as Rome. In June 1962, 'Kneschke's' former Canadian business acquaintance received a letter postmarked in Helsinki, asking him to dispose of the business assets and deposit the money into a bank account. He was never heard from again after that.[39]

The origins of the legend identities for two individuals who arrived in the United States as illegals in 1958 are less ambiguous: they assumed the names of two people still alive in the United States: 'Robert Kerstutis Baltch' and 'Joy Ann Garber'. It was later revealed that 'Baltch' was a GRU officer named Aleksandr Sokolov. Although it is unclear how the GRU chose the 'Baltch' identity, a passport in the name 'Joy Ann Garber' came from a false document ring run by a Russian immigrant named Ossip Garber in the 1930s. He ran a photography studio in New York City and was arrested in 1939 for passport forgery after he provided false passports for several possible illegals. Garber had a daughter named Joy Ann and likely provided a passport in his daughter's name to Soviet military intelligence. The GRU assigned the name to an illegal over 25 years later.

Sokolov and 'Garber' were arrested on 2 July 1963, possibly on information provided by Polyakov.[40] They were put on public trial in September 1964 and became a media sensation, including front-page coverage in the *New York Times*. The US government suddenly ended the prosecution; however, when the defense attorney submitted a demand for the addresses of all witnesses, one of whom was Kaarlo Tuomi. The couple was deported rather than being jailed for espionage.[41]

For some GRU illegals, Canada and the United States were only stop-off points on their way to other assignments. Spending time in the United States and Canada could solidify a legend for use elsewhere. Leonid Dubonosov arrived in the United States in 1954 and spent 3 years learning to be an American, followed by a year in Canada to establish himself as a businessman.[42] He arrived for his ultimate assignment in Japan in 1958 and obtained long-term residency to be in place in case of a future war with Japan. However, in 1961—nearly simultaneous with 'Kneschke' in Canada – he received an urgent notice to return to Moscow and was never sent back to Japan. He initially assumed the recall was related to the Francis Gary Powers espionage case in the Soviet Union. Dubonosov believed that the GRU wanted to deprive the Americans of a potential trading card in a future spy swap.[43] However, Powers was exchanged for Rudolf Abel in 1962, refuting Dubonosov's assumption. Dubonosov, who published a book in 2002 about his time as an illegal, claims he was left with no explanation why he was recalled from Japan.

A GRU illegal using the identity 'Stephen Mamela' arrived in Canada in 1955 using a Canadian passport. He obtained a job at a stock brokerage in Montreal and then started a cargo shipping company in November 1956. He disappeared from Montreal in July 1957 and returned to the Soviet Union; his time in Canada may have been only to establish his legend, like Dubonosov. 'Mamela' and his wife were dispatched to Tokyo in November 1958, and he became a partner in an electronics export firm. In 1963, he was approached by a Western intelligence service while on a business trip to London, possibly based on information from Polyakov, and he admitted he was an illegal but provided no further information. He left Japan in July 1963 after withdrawing his own and his business partner's money from a bank account and disappeared, likely back to the Soviet Union.[44]

The year 1963 was a bad year for GRU illegals, with 'Mamela' being pitched and Sokolov/'Garber' being arrested within a few days of each other. A flurry of GRU illegals in the 1950s and early 1960s was followed by a near drought for the next 40 years.

KGB illegals in the 1960s: diversifying the recruitment pool and decrease in operations

As noted earlier, Mitrokhin asserted that 'All illegals who operated in the USA and Canada during the post-war period, without exception, completed their training before the beginning of the 1960s'.[45] That assertion likely reflects counterintelligence concerns that complicated illegals operations in the United States and Canada, compounded by increasing difficulty in finding suitable candidates. Media coverage of several illegals defectors made matters even worse. The same was not true for illegals elsewhere; dozens of KGB illegals operated in other countries in the 1960s.

By 1960, only a few 1930s immigrant identities were still available to be applied to illegals. One who used such an identity was Georgiy Kotlyar (BERTRAND), who arrived in Mexico in 1962 using the name Edward Harrington, an American, who emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1934. He was joined in 1966 by Juliette Maucolot (ADEL), an agent-illegal recruited in France. The couple was designated for the United States, and soon after Juliette's arrival in Mexico, the couple visited the US consulate in Mexico City. However, the visit was done without KGB headquarters approval, and the KGB feared the couple's legend was insufficiently backstopped to withstand scrutiny. They were recalled and removed from the illegals program.[46]

Mihal Mihalcin was one of the last of the immigrant illegals. He was born in 1931 in Montreal. His father was from Slovakia and emigrated to Canada before Mihalcin's birth; however, the father struggled to find work and returned to Czechoslovakia with his family in 1946. Mihalcin was contacted in Czechoslovakia in 1957 and recruited as a KGB illegal. He underwent tradecraft training and approached the Canadian embassy in Prague in 1959 to receive a Canadian citizenship certificate and passport. Mihalcin traveled to Canada in May 1961, where he spent his first 2 years working low-skilled jobs and solidifying his Canadian identity.

In 1963, the KGB began tasking him with intelligence missions through radio and personal meets with officers based at the Soviet embassy in Ottawa or who traveled to Canada as part of Soviet delegations. One of his contacts was Viktor Myznikov, a KGB officer based at the Soviet embassy who was under RCMP surveillance, which led the RCMP to investigate Mihalcin. Mihalcin began warning his KGB contacts in 1965 that he was being watched, but they continued to give him intelligence assignments, including to surveil critical infrastructure sites to collect information for use in sabotage operations in time of war. The RCMP arrested him in April 1971, and he immediately provided information about his activities on behalf of the KGB and handed over his cipher book.[47] RCMP proposed that he become a double agent, and he sent a letter to his father in Czechoslovakia offering to continue operating. However, the response was an invitation to come to Czechoslovakia. He ignored the invitation.

In March 1972, a British newspaper reported the existence of a Soviet defector named Anton Sabotka, Mihalcin's pseudonym.[48] The Canadian government initially claimed that no one named Anton Sabotka existed, and that the story was actually a mélange of cases compiled for training purposes.[49] However, in September 1972, a *Toronto Star* journalist located Mihalcin and interviewed him, still using the pseudonym Anton Sabotka to protect his identity.[50] He discussed his illegals assignments publicly in the interview and eventually gave his real name.

The decreasing availability of immigrant candidates like Mihalcin forced the KGB to look elsewhere. That meant identifying cooperative people in other Soviet Bloc countries, like Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

That led the KGB to Dalibar Valoušek, who was working as a Czechoslovak border guard when he was called into an office in Prague in 1955 and invited to be an illegal. He and his wife, Inga, whom he met in East Germany, were trained for the next 2 years using the identities of dead double Sudeten Germans, 'Rudolf Herrmann', who had died in the Soviet Union, and 'Ingalore Moerke'. They were initially sent to West Germany in 1957 to improve their German and learn about life in the West. They emigrated to Canada in 1960 and obtained Canadian citizenship in 1967. They moved to New York in 1968, where he became an illegal *rezident*.

Valoušek began to include his teenage son, Peter, in operations in 1974: grooming the son of an illegal occurred several times in the 1970s (see Klementiy Korsakov below). However, the FBI identified Valoušek, approached him in 1977, and gave him an ultimatum to cooperate or go to jail. He chose to cooperate and he worked as an FBI double agent for the next 2 years. The FBI arranged a press conference for Valoušek in March 1980, where he exposed his activities on behalf of both the KGB and the FBI. The Valoušeks were some of the longest-lasting illegals and had handled a productive source in Canada during the 1960s and 1970s before the FBI doubled Dalibar.[51]

The East German Ministry of State Security became a vital partner in finding candidates who could pose as German refugees, often using West Germany as a staging point to prepare for further assignment to the United States or Canada. Even with robust training, several of these illegals exhibited character traits and relationship problems that lessened their suitability.

Being an illegal was a stressful existence, and not all candidates handled the stress well. A KGB illegal using the name 'Gerhard Max Köhler' (KONOV) completed illegals training in 1959. He was partnered with an East German intelligence officer, EMMA, and they were dispatched together to West Germany in 1959 as East German refugees. They traveled to the United States in 1963. They were naturalized as US citizens in 1970, which Mitrokhin claims went smoothly because KONOV was a member of an FBI citizens volunteer organization. All was not smooth at home, however, and they traveled to Haiti in 1971 to obtain a divorce without telling KGB headquarters. EMMA subsequently pleaded with headquarters for a new partner. They were recalled in October 1972, and KONOV returned to his real family in Moscow. EMMA was fired from the KGB in 1975. Mitrokhin does not discuss details of their intelligence activities in the United States.[52]

Anatoliy Rudenko (RYBAKOV) began preparation as an illegal in 1956. Posing as an East German refugee, he received a West German passport and was dispatched to London in 1964 as a piano repairman. In 1967, he proceeded to the United States and established himself in the piano trade, obtaining wealthy New York clients, including New York governor Nelson Rockefeller. However, Rudenko proved to be undisciplined. KGB headquarters noticed lapses in his tradecraft and ordered him to Moscow, where he admitted to disobeying headquarters. While in West Germany, he met a woman and proposed to KGB headquarters that she be brought into his intelligence work. Headquarters refused and ordered him to cut off contact. Rather than complying, he married her and took her to the United States without informing headquarters. He performed his communications procedures in her presence, and she had access to his cipher material. He was simultaneously having an affair with an American woman. He never returned to the United States after his recall and sent letters to both his wife and his mistress offering false explanations for his sudden disappearance.[53]

The KGB often established unconnected *rezidenturas* in the same country. In July 1961, Nikolay and Nina Bitnov (ALBERT and GERA) arrived in Canada using false Belgian passports. They had been preparing for their assignment since 1956, spending time in Romania gaining experience outside the Soviet Union, in Switzerland attending a business school, and then establishing their identities in Belgium. The KGB provided them with funds to set up two businesses in Canada, but both failed. The Bitnovs were recalled in 1969 after accomplishing little.[54] Gennadiy Blyabin (BOGUN) arrived in Canada in May 1962, overlapped for several years with the Bitnovs, and then transferred to the United States in February 1965. Blyabin had been preparing to become an illegal since the late 1950s and arrived in West Germany in 1959 to improve his German language competency. He married another illegal, LENA, in 1961, and they proceeded to Canada. Blyabin and LENA were recalled in 1968 when Moscow suspected he was under counterintelligence scrutiny. No information is available about their intelligence activities in the United States.[55]

At times, international counterintelligence liaison sharing proved an obstacle to illegals operations. For example, Vadim and Larisa Mayorov (OLEGOV and OLEGOVA) were dispatched to Argentina in 1962 with the intent to send them to the United States. The FBI learned of their existence and passed information about them to Argentine authorities, and they were under surveillance for the whole time there until their arrest in October 1970.[56] The Argentines transferred them to US custody in 1972, and they were debriefed but escaped. They initially tried to approach the Bulgarian embassy in Washington, DC, but were turned away as a provocation. They then made their way to the Soviet embassy and were transported to Moscow. Mitrokhin speculated that the US government allowed them to escape to avoid complicating the upcoming visit by Richard Nixon to Moscow, which occurred in March 1972.[57]

By the mid-1960s, defections and penetrations gave US and Canadian counterintelligence increased knowledge about Soviet illegals tradecraft, such as travel arrangements, funding, and communications. The FBI developed several detection programs built on that knowledge:

- ALEM: Search for immigrants using Immigration and Naturalization Service punch cards. This program was initiated in August 1965, based on information received from Aleksey Kulak (FBI codename FEDORA), whom the FBI recruited as a penetration of the KGB in 1962.[58]
- BANPOP: Identify people in the United States who receive money from Swiss banks. This program was initiated in August 1966, based on the analysis of four past illegals who received money in the United States.[59]
- CANIL: Identify people who arrived in Canada as European immigrants and then entered the United States by obtaining a visa at a US consulate in Canada. The program was initiated in June 1966, based on the FBI's COWSLIP operation, which investigated an unidentified husband-and-wife illegal couple who entered the United States using that method.[60]

By 1970, none of these programs had identified any illegals. The reason might be that Soviet services had slowed the dispatch of illegals to the United States; there were simply not as many to find as there once had been. The days of 1930s immigrants were long gone, forcing the KGB to look for candidates with other non-Soviet backgrounds.

KGB illegals trained after the 1960s: reduction followed by late 1970s renewal

After the intense 1950s and the carry-over of illegals into the 1960s, fewer illegals trained after the 1960s are known to have been dispatched to the United States or Canada on long-term assignments. The number did not drop to zero, as Mitrokhin claimed, but it did get smaller.

However, the United States and Canada were an anomaly; training for illegals designated to operate elsewhere did not slow down after 1960. Mitrokhin's materials refer to over 75 KGB illegals trained and dispatched to other countries during the 1970s, with 30 more in the 1980s. Beginning in 1968, the KGB assigned dozens of illegals, many of whom were already established abroad, for so-called PROGRESS operations to penetrate democratic opposition in Soviet Bloc countries. Many of those illegals also continued to target the 'main enemy' wherever they could.

The lack of visibility into further illegals may be a function of Mitrokhin's access – he retired in 1984 and did not know about all illegals. But it may also have been the product of Soviet caution in the face of counterintelligence pressure and public disclosures in the United States and Canada.

The year 1978 featured in several cases, possibly indicating a renewed emphasis on penetrating the United States and Canada. In 1978, the KGB considered sending Gevork and Goar Vartanyan (ARNI and AMIR) to target immigrant communities in the United

States. The Vartanyans did not technically contradict Mitrokhin's assertion as they had been illegals since 1946.[61] Mitrokhin does not specify whether they ever arrived in the United States; however, a 2016 Russian news report celebrating Goar Vartanyan's ninetieth birthday mentioned the United States among the countries they visited.[62]

Like Valoušek's son Peter, Klimentiy Korsakov (KIM) was the son of a KGB agent-illegal EVA, a German citizen who died in 1971. Andrew claims Korsakov was selected to become an illegal when he was a child. The KGB sent him to university in Austria in the early 1970s, posing as an East German refugee, while simultaneously grooming him for service in the United States. He graduated in 1976, and the KGB planned to send him to Georgetown University to study. He arrived in the United States in 1978. He may have been under counterintelligence scrutiny in the United States, because Mitrokhin claims that one of the letters he sent from New York to an accommodation address in Berlin appeared to have been opened. Korsakov continued to travel occasionally to Moscow for training, and on one of those trips in January 1980, he walked into the US embassy and offered to defect. The KGB caught him before he could leave the country and sent him to a psychiatric facility.[63]

Albert Dittrich, an East German student, began illegals training in 1973. He arrived in the United States in October 1978 using the name 'Jack Barsky', a boy born in the United States who died in 1955 at the age of ten.[64] Dittrich's ultimate objective was to gain access to US governing circles and influence US policy. However, his initial task was to obtain a US passport, which occupied his entire tenure as an illegal until he began to doubt his mission in 1988. He broke contact with Moscow by claiming to have contracted HIV. Mitrokhin's materials led the FBI to him in the early 1990s, and he was surveilled until 1997, when the FBI approached him, and he admitted his status as an illegal.[65]

Mitrokhin also identified a husband-and-wife agent-illegals couple, Norbert and Gloria Scheinpflug (SHUMAN and LYUDVIGA), who operated in Canada from the late 1970s until 1981. Norbert, who had reportedly been working for East German intelligence since the early 1970s, arrived in Canada at an unspecified time and legalized himself by studying at Concordia University in Montreal. Gloria, who was also East German, followed him in March 1981. Canadian authorities arrested them in April 1981, suspecting them of being East German spies.[66] Canadian counterintelligence officers tried to double them, but they maintained their cover stories and refused to cooperate. Press reported that Canadian authorities had been cooperating with West German counterintelligence in their investigation, allowing Gloria to return to Europe but transferring Norbert to West German custody. The Germans held him for a few months and then released him. The Scheinpflugs received the medal 'For Strengthening Military Cooperation' after their return to Moscow.[67]

Mikhail Vasenkov (VOLF) graduated from initial KGB training in 1968 and began preparations to be an illegal. He was initially sent to Spain in the early 1970s, and then to Peru in 1976 using a Uruguayan passport; he received Peruvian citizenship in 1979. Vasenkov recruited Virginia Palaez Ocampo (VIKA), a Peruvian journalist, and they were married in Peru in 1983 after KGB headquarters approved her as Vasenkov's partner. Vasenkov became a photojournalist in Peru and reportedly joined the Peruvian president's journalist pool.[68]

Vasenkov and Palaez's dispatch to the United States came later. Sources differ about when they arrived: Mitrokhin's notes state that Vasenkov traveled to New York City in

1983 to enroll in a US university[69]; Russian sources claim he arrived in 1985.[70] Either way, Vasenkov received a graduate degree from the New School for Social Research and continued his work as a photojournalist. In 1990, he was awarded the Hero of the Soviet Union medal for 'fulfilling his service duty', with no further public details. Rumors in the Russian press indicate that he obtained the schedule for the US President's international travel and transmitted it to Moscow.[71] He retired from the SVR in 2004, but remained in the United States until 2010, when he was arrested with other Russian illegals in the FBI's 10-year 'Ghost Stories' counterintelligence operation and exchanged back to Russia. Almost immediately upon returning to Russia, Vasenkov expressed the desire to settle in Peru, and the couple immigrated to Peru in 2013, where he died in 2022.[72]

Mitrokhin's notes indicate that Peru was a favorable country from which to launch illegals operations. The KGB had emphasized the need for an illegal presence in Peru since 1972 and recruited agents in passport and registration offices to create doubles for that purpose.[73] One of those agents photographed the register of births and deaths in Peru for the years 1950 to 1952, providing a wealth of information for creating doubles.[74] Based on that information, an agent-illegal couple, ROMAN and MARIYA, legalized themselves in Peru in 1980. ROMAN was naturalized as a Peruvian citizen and opened a cover business, with affiliated offices in Washington, DC, and Chile. They travel to the United States regularly, and their Washington office facilitated their move there, likely in 1983, to establish an illegal *rezidentura*. Mitrokhin's materials list five agents they recruited, although it is unclear whether they were in Peru or the United States.[75]

Wolfhard and Heidi Thiel (ALFRED and RENATE) arrived in New York as illegals in May 1986, using the identities of 'Robert Bohde' and 'Karen Ann Tully', both of whom were children who were born and died young in the United States. The Thiels were East Germans, and Wolfhard was recruited in 1976. The specifics of their assignment are not public, except that they reportedly 'gathered a range of military intelligence' and were designated to lead an illegal *rezidentura* in New York in case of war. They returned to East Germany, which had since been reunited with West Germany, offered their information to West German counterintelligence, and broke contact with the KGB after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.[76]

The KGB began to rejuvenate its illegals program in the United States and Canada. The rejuvenation led to several long-term KGB illegals who reportedly had success in their intelligence assignments. However, the dissolution of the Soviet Union left doubts in their minds; several cut off contact with their Moscow handlers and settled abroad.

The GRU after the 1960s: the near absence of GRU illegals

The GRU experienced an even greater decrease in new illegals in the 1960s. After the media frenzy surrounding the Sokolov/'Garber' trial in 1964, few GRU illegals are known to have been dispatched anywhere in the 1960s. A near absence of long-term officer-illegals began in the mid-1960s and extended to the end of the Soviet era.

Vitaliy Shlykov was recruited in 1958 to be a long-term GRU illegal in Canada. However, after Oleg Penkovskiy's arrest in 1962, Shlykov's assignment was canceled, and he claimed that the long-term dispatch of GRU officer-illegals ended. He was subsequently sent abroad on short-term, limited assignments.[77] He was arrested in January 1983 when he traveled to Switzerland to meet a source.[78]

The FBI identified three GRU agent-illegals in a long-running double agent operation using a US Army non-commissioned officer, Joseph Cassidy (FBI codename CHOWLINE). One was an Austrian named Edmund Freundlich, who arrived in New York City in April 1968, tasked with being a telephone contact for Cassidy to report US plans to launch a nuclear attack. Freundlich was a communist party activist and had been a low-level GRU agent in Austria since the 1940s. The FBI interviewed him in 1978 and used him briefly as a double agent (FBI codename IXORA). The FBI's CHOWLINE operation also surfaced a Mexican husband-and-wife agent-illegal couple, Gilberto Lopez y Rivas and Alicia Castellano, who from 1971 to 1974 serviced Cassidy's dead drops. They were long-time communist activists in Mexico who readily accepted the GRU assignment on ideological grounds. The FBI monitored them from the moment they arrived in the United States and pitched them in 1974 (FBI codename PALMETTO), after which they quickly returned to Mexico.[79]

Conclusion

This analysis provides an illustration of the complications Soviet intelligence illegals operations in the United States and Canada faced from both offensive and defensive measures (see Table 1). Western penetrations of Soviet services provided valuable leads to identify illegals. Popov, Polyakov, and Kulak revealed foundational information on illegals' identities and tradecraft. Double agent operations, such as those involving Morros, Brik, Lebedinskiy, Tuomi, and Valoušek, yielded information about communication systems, cover, documentation, travel, and the identities of handlers.

International counterintelligence liaison also inhibited illegals operations during the Cold War. Sharing Venona decrypts with MI5 not only supported the identification of Burgess and Maclean but also the withdrawal of Makayev. US sharing intelligence with Argentina neutralized the Mayorovs. Canadian-West German liaison led to the arrest of the Scheinpflugs. Most importantly, sharing Mitrokhin's materials with the FBI provided vast knowledge about illegals, resulting in the identification of multiple operations, including Dittrich.

Publicity also had a negative impact on illegals. Illegals thrive in the dark. Between the late 1950s and the early 1980s, a series of public revelations in the United States and Canada shined light on the illegals program. The arraignment of Fisher/Abel in August 1957 occurred on the same day as the sentencing of Jack and Myra Soble; both received wide media coverage.[80] Häyhänen was cited as a witness in the Fisher/Abel trial.[81] Fisher/Abel's exchange in 1962 was publicized, followed by Donovan's book in 1964.[82] The trial of Sokolov and 'Garber' took place later in 1964, with Tuomi as the star witness.[83] Photos of Fisher/Abel, the Sobles, Sokolov and 'Garber', and Häyhänen appeared in newspapers. John Barron published Tuomi's story in a two-part series of articles in the *Reader's Digest* in 1970, after which Tuomi went on the speaking circuit around the United States. Articles about Mihalcin, using his pseudonym Sabotka, first appeared in the Canadian press in March 1972, followed by a newspaper interview with him.[84] The FBI arranged a press conference for Valoušek in 1980, using his cover name 'Rudolf Herrmann', where Valoušek described his 6 years in Canada before coming to the United States and later becoming a double agent.[85]

Table 1. List of Soviet illegals dispatched to the United States and Canada from World War II to the end of the Soviet era. The dark line shows the contrast in the number of illegals trained before and after 1960.

			Began training	Entered U.S. or Canada	Operation in U.S. or Canada ended	Reason for departing
Akhmerov	NKVD	U.S.	1932	1936	1945	Counterintelligence pressure
Litvin	GRU	U.S.	1934	1939	1945	Counterintelligence pressure
Adams	GRU	U.S.	1935	1939	1946	Counterintelligence pressure
Koval	GRU	U.S.	1938?	1940	1948	Completed mission
Colonel Jane or Frances	GRU	U.S.	??	1940?	1958	Completed mission
Soble	NKGB	U.S.	1940	1940	1957	Arrested
Mitynin	NKGB	U.S.	??	1943	1956	Completed mission
WANDA	NKGB	U.S.	??	1948?	after 1948	Completed mission
Fisher/Abel	MGB	U.S.	1928	1948	1957	Arrested
Makayev	MGB	U.S.	1947	1950	1951	Incoompetence, counterintelligence pressure
Brik	MGB	Canada	1949	1951	1953	Doubled
Häyhänen	MGB	U.S.	1948	1952	1952	Doubled
Tkeshelashvili and Stepanyan	MGB	U.S.	1949?	1854	1961	Perceived counterintelligence pressure, died
Dubonosov	GRU	U.S. and Canada	1951?	1954 (U.S.); 1957 (Canada)	1958	Proceeded to next assignment
Dobrova	GRU	U.S.	??	1954	1963	Counterintelligence pressure
"Stephen Mamela"	GRU	Canada	??	1955	1957	Proceeded to next assignment
Filonenko	KGB	U.S.	1953?	1955 (planned)	--	Never arrived
Grinchenko and Krimker	MGB	U.S.	1946?	1955 (planned)	--	Never arrived
Nagornov	KGB	Canada	1953?	1955 (planned)	--	Never arrived
Kornich	??	Canada	??	1956	1956	Counterintelligence pressure
"Cichy"	GRU	Canada and U.S.	??	1956? (Canada); 1960	1960	Counterintelligence pressure
Tairovs	GRU	U.S.	??	1957/1958	1958	Counterintelligence pressure
"Rudolf Kneschke"	GRU	Canada	??	1958	1961	Recalled for unknown reason
Lebedinskiy	GRU	U.S.	1955	1958	1961	Doubled
Sokolov and "Garber"	GRU	U.S.	??	1958	1963	Arrested
"Helmuth Klawuhn"	GRU	U.S.	1958	1959	1959	Counterintelligence pressure
Tuomi	KGB	U.S.	1954	1959	1959	Doubled
Valoušeks	KGB	Canada and U.S.	1955	1960 (Canada); 1968 (U.S.)	1977	Doubled
Mihalcin	KGB	Canada	1957	1961	1971	Counterintelligence pressure
Bitnovs	KGB	Canada	1956	1961	1969	Recalled after accomplishing little
Blyabin and LENA	KGB	Canada and U.S.	late 1960s	1962 (Canada); 1965	1968	Counterintelligence pressure
Mayorovs	KGB	U.S.	late 1960s	1962 (Argentina; planned but never arrived in U.S.)	1970	Arrested
MASLOV	GRU	U.S.	??	1962	1962	Arrested
"Köhler" and EMMA	KGB	U.S.	1957?	1963	1972	Recalled due to incompatibility
Rudenko	KGB	U.S.	1956	1967	late 1960s	Recalled due to disobedience
Kotlyar and Maucolot	KGB	U.S.	late 1960s	1967 (planned)	1966	Never arrived
Freundlich	GRU	U.S.	1967?	1968	1978	Doubled
Lopezes	GRU	U.S.	1971?	1971	1974	Counterintelligence pressure
Vartanyans	KGB	U.S.	1946	1978?	??	??
Korsakov	KGB	U.S.	1971?	1978	1980	Arrested
Peter Valoušek	KGB	U.S.	mid-1970s	Already in U.S.	1977	Father doubled
Dittrich	KGB	U.S.	1973	1978	1988	Cut off contact
Scheinpflugs	KGB	Canada	mid-1970s	late 1970s	1981	Arrested
Vasenkov and Palaez	KGB	U.S.	1968	1983	2004	Retired
ROMAN and MARIYA	KGB	U.S.	late 1970s	1983?	??	??
Thiels	KGB	U.S.	1976	1986	1992	Cut off contact

Exposures in the United States and Canada were compounded by media coverage of illegals elsewhere: German media exposed Yevgeniy Runge and Rupert Sigl in Germany in 1967 and 1969, respectively, and a book about Yuriy Loginov appeared in South Africa in 1969.[86] Sigl's book about his career as an illegal was published in 1978.[87] Public revelations were an unwelcome problem for the Soviet intelligence illegals program.

Defensive methods also complicated illegals operations. Securing the passport issuance process and scrutinizing documents at borders deterred illegals from entering a country. Ensuring that employees of passport offices, police precincts, and birth, death, and marriage registration offices were secure and honest posed obstacles to illegals documentation. In countries where employees were less susceptible to corruption, illegals operations were much more difficult.

The dispatch of Soviet intelligence illegals to the United States and Canada dwindled in the 1960s, seeing a slight uptick at the end of the 1970s. The GRU, on the other hand, had few known cases from the mid-1960s to the end of the Soviet era. However, throughout the Cold War, a mix of aggressive counterintelligence and the increasing difficulty in finding suitable candidates complicated efforts by Soviet intelligence services to place illegals inside the 'main enemy'.

Notes

1. Mitrokhin, *Окаянщина*, MITN 1/6/2, 129.
2. Shawn Walker, *The Illegals: Russia's Most Audacious Spies*.
3. Wright, *Spycatcher: A Candid Autobiography of a Senior*, 226.
4. US FBI, "GUNSON" case, memo dated September 29, 1961, 124.
5. Soviet codenames are in parentheses after illegals' names.
6. Walsh, "George Koval; the FBI's investigation of Koval", file number 65–62911, began in 1955.
7. Benson, *The Venona Story*, 46.
8. MITN 1/6/2, 105–7.
9. MITN 1/6/2, 113; "Text of Statement by Boris Morros on His Activities as a Spy"; and Morros, *My Ten Years as a Counterspy*.
10. Riehle (translator), "Interview of Soviet Military Intelligence Illegal Zalman Litvin."
11. "Адамс Артур Александрович."
12. "Vassiliev Black Notebook," 128.
13. Interrogation report, "Details of Workers in the INO OGPU"; Metropolitan Police Special Branch, memo dated August 1, 1930.
14. Donovan, *Strangers on a Bridge*.
15. "Добрая слава за печкой сидит, а худая по свету бежит," MITN 1/6/2, 114.
16. MITN 1/6/2, 121–22.
17. MITN 2/20, 85, 93, 94.
18. FBI New York airtel to FBI HQ, "Morton Sobell, was Stone,"; Report of investigation conducted for James Donovan, Abel's attorney.
19. MITN 1/6/2, 119–20.
20. Correra, *Russians Among Us*, 42.
21. MITN 1/6/2, 123; MITN 1/8, 23.
22. MITN 2/5, 107.
23. MITN 1/6/2, 123.
24. MITN 1/8, 22–5; and Mahar, *Shattered Illusions*.
25. MITN 1/2, 58–9; see also Riehle, "The First Soviet Penetrations."
26. Golitsyn, *Checkmate*, in West, *Soviet and Nazi Defectors*, 123.
27. Felgengauer, Pavel, "Советский нелегал против ГРУ и Генштаба". November 23, 2011, https://novayagazeta.ru/articles/2011/11/23/46930-sovetskiy-nelegal-protiv-gru-i-genshtaba.
28. Ashley, *CIA Spymaster*, 127–37; and Hart, *The CIA's Russians*, 51–5.
29. Tuomi, *Spy Lost*, 99, 122–24.
30. US FBI, "GUNSON" case.
31. Ibid., 123–24.
32. US FBI, "GLEME" case, 129–36.
33. ""Я ходил по острию ножа."
34. Boyko, "Тайна 'Мэйси'": Russian sources claim that she was in Chicago when the FBI approached her; FBI debriefing reports contradict that.
35. US FBI, "GUNSON" case, 121–22.
36. US FBI, "GUNSON" case, 111.
37. US FBI, "HEKLAR" case.
38. Canadian Security Intelligence Service, *Soviet Intelligence Illegal Activity*, 2–3.

39. Ibid.
40. Stowell, “The Robinson Case”; and “Ossip Garber, Photographer, Dies at Age 60.”
41. Wise and Ross, *The Espionage Establishment*), 203–28; and “Spy Trial Ended.”
42. Dubonosov, *Нелегал За Океаном*, 157–252.
43. Ibid., 386–98.
44. Canadian Security Intelligence Service, *Soviet Intelligence Illegal Activity*, 5–8.
45. Mitrokhin, *Окаянщина*, MITN 1/6/2, 129.
46. MITN 1/6/2, 154A-154C.
47. Canadian Security Intelligence Service, *Soviet Intelligence Illegal Activity*, 20.
48. “Red Spy Defects in Canada”.
49. “Ottawa Denies Soviet Spy Defected Here”.
50. Hazlett, “Soviet Spy Reveals career of Blunders in Canada.”
51. Barron, *KGB Today*, 294–373; FBI Press Briefing; MITN 1/6/5, 400–2.
52. MITN 1/6/2, 123.
53. MITN 1/6/2, 125–27.
54. MITN 1/6/2, 129; MITN 1/8, 85; MITN 2/20, 63.
55. MITN 1/6/2, 123; Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive*, p. 193. Andrew cites MITN 2/9, item number 78, which is closed for researchers.
56. US FBI, Domestic Intelligence Division Inspection, “Persona non Grata and Other Removal Actions,” 402.
57. MITN 1/6/2, 124–25, 154D.
58. US FBI Domestic Intelligence Division Inspection, ALEM program review, 126, 449.
59. US FBI Domestic Intelligence Division Inspection, BANPOP program review, 127, 455.
60. US FBI Domestic Intelligence Division Inspection, CANIL program review, 128, 450.
61. MITN 1/6/2, 127–28.
62. “90 лет сегодня исполнилось легендарной советской разведчице Гоар Вартанян.”
63. MITN 1/6/2, 128; MITN 2/16/1, 89. Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive*, 199, cites 1/6/2, Appendix 2, which is closed for researchers.
64. “The Original Jack Philip Barsky.”
65. Barsky, *Deep Undercover*.
66. “Germans Nab Canada Spy Suspect.”
67. MITN 2/20, 109.
68. Sedov, “Последний Герой Союза.”
69. MITN 2/22, 309.
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71. Brilev, “История разведчика-нелегала.”
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80. “2 Spies Sentenced; and Abel Lawyerless.”
81. Clark, “Red Order to Pay Mrs. Sobell Cited.”
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83. Anderson, “Finn Disclosed as Double Agent at Spy Trial Here.”
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85. FBI Press Briefing.
86. Carr, *Loginov*.
87. Sigl, *In the Claws of the KGB*.

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