

# Know Your FSB From Your KGB: Researching Soviet/Russian Intelligence in America: Bibliography (Last updated: October 2018)

## 1. Federal Government Sources

### A. The 2016 US Presidential Election

[Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections](#). Office of the Director of National Intelligence, January 6, 2017.

[Committee Findings on the 2017 Intelligence Community Assessment](#). Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, July 3, 2018.

*Disinformation: Panel I, Panel II. A Primer in Russian Active Measures and Influence Campaigns: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, One Hundred Fifteenth Congress, First Session, Thursday, March 30, 2017.* (Y 4.IN 8/19: S.HRG.115-40/)  
Link: <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo86393>

[FACT SHEET: Actions in Response to Russian Malicious Cyber Activity and Harassment](#). White House Office of the Press Secretary, December 29, 2016.

[Grand Jury Indicts 12 Russian Intelligence Officers for Hacking Offenses Related to the 2016 Election](#). Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs, July 13, 2018.

[Grizzly Steppe: Russian Malicious Cyber Activity](#). U.S. Department of Homeland Security, and Federal Bureau of Investigation, December 29, 2016.

[Information Warfare: Issues for Congress](#). Congressional Research Service, March 5, 2018.

[Minority Views: The Minority Members of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on March 26, 2018, Submit the Following Minority Views to the Majority-Produced "Report on Russian active Measures, March 22, 2018."](#) House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, March 26, 2018.

*Open Hearing: Social Media Influence in the 2016 U.S. Election: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, One Hundred Fifteenth Congress, First Session, Wednesday, November 1, 2017.* (Y 4.IN 8/19:S.HRG.115-232)  
Link: <https://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo93340>

-Includes testimony from representatives of Facebook, Twitter, and Google.

*Open Hearing on the Intelligence Community's Assessment on Russian Activities and Intentions in the 2016 U.S. Elections: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, One Hundred Fifteenth Congress, First Session, Tuesday, January 10, 2017.* (Y 4.IN 8/19:S.HRG.115-264)  
Link: <https://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo105751>

*Open Hearing with Attorney General Jeff Sessions: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, One Hundred Fifteenth Congress, First Session, Tuesday, June 13, 2017.* (Y 4.IN 8/19:S.HRG.115-94)

Link: <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo88244>

*Open Hearing with Former FBI Director James Comey: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, One Hundred Fifteenth Congress, First Session, Thursday, June 8, 2017.* (Y 4.IN 8/19:S.HRG.115-99)

Link: <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo86407>

[Report on Russian Active Measures](#). House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, March 22, 2018.

[Russian Government Cyber Activity Targeting Energy and Other Critical Infrastructure Sectors](#). U.S. Computer Emergency Readiness Team, March 16, 2018.

*Russian Interference in the 2016 U.S. Elections: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, One Hundred Fifteenth Congress, First Session, Wednesday, June 21, 2017.* (Y 4.IN 8/19:S.HRG.115-92/)

Link: <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo87643>

[Russian Targeting of Election Infrastructure During the 2016 Election: Summary of Initial Findings and Recommendations](#). Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, May 8, 2018.

[The Scourge of Russian Disinformation](#). Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, September 14, 2017.

[Social Media Influence in the 2016 U.S. Elections Exhibits](#). Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, November 1, 2017.

*Undermining Democratic Institutions and Splintering NATO: Russian Disinformation Aims: Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Fifteenth Congress, First Session, March 9, 2017.* (Y 4.F 76/1:115-7)

Link: <https://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo80482>

U.S. Department of Justice: [Special Counsel's Office](#).

-Official website for Special Counsel Robert Mueller, containing indictments and other documents.

## **B. Russian Intelligence in America, 1992-present (non-2016 election)**

*Confronting Russia's Weaponization of Information: Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred Fourteenth Congress, First Session April 15, 2015.* (Y 4.F 76/1:114-37)

Link: <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo59356>

*Cyber Threats from China, Russia, and Iran: Protecting American Critical Infrastructure: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Cybersecurity, Infrastructure Protection, and Security Technologies of the Committee on Homeland Security, House of Representatives, One Hundred Thirteenth Congress, First Session, March 20, 2013.* (Y 4.H 75:113-9)

Link: <http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo41011>

*Russian Intelligence Activities Directed at the Department of State: Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, February 10, 2000.* (Y 4.F 76/2:S.HRG.106-565)

Link: <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS5332>

*Russian Threats to United States Security in the Post-Cold War Era: Hearing Before Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives, One Hundred Sixth Congress, Second Session, January 24, 2000.* (Y 4.G 74/7:R 92/2)

Link: <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS7833>

## **C. Soviet Intelligence in America, 1917-1991**

### **Congressional Documents:**

*An Assessment of the Aldrich H. Ames Espionage Case and its Implications for U.S. Intelligence: Report.* U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 1994. (Y 4.IN 8/19:S.PRT.103-90)

*Communist Bloc Intelligence Gathering Activities on Capitol Hill: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-Seventh Congress, Second Session, on S. 1959 ... and S. 1963 ...* May 12, 1982. (Y 4.J 89/2:J-97-116)

*Conduct of Espionage Within the United States by Agents of Foreign Communist Governments: Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 90th Congress, First Session.* 1967. (Y 4.UN 1/2:ES 6)

*Export Policy and Loyalty. Hearings before the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures, United States Senate, Eightieth Congress, Second Session.* Part 1, July 30, 1948. (Y4.Ex7/14:ln89/pt.1)

-Elizabeth Bentley's first public testimony regarding her involvement in Soviet espionage.

*Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in United States Government. Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, Second Session.* July 31-Sept. 9, 1948. (Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/6)

-The famous hearings involving Whittaker Chambers, Alger Hiss, and Elizabeth Bentley.

*Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Radiation Laboratory and Atomic Bomb Project at the University of California, Berkeley, Calif. Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-First Congress, First (Second) Session.* 3 v., 1949-51. (Y 4. Un 1/2: C 73/9/)

*Interim Report on Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in United States Government: Investigation of Un-American Activities in the United States.* Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, Second Session. 1948. (Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/8)

*Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, Volume 9, Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 76th Congress, First Session.* 1939. (Y 4: Un 1/2: Un 1/v. 9)

-Features testimony from GRU defector Walter Krivitsky, from pages 5719-5742.

*The Kremlin's Espionage and Terror Organizations: Testimony of Petr S. Deriabin, Former Officer of the USSR's Committee of State Security (KGB): Hearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 86th Congress, First Session.* 1959. (Y 4.UN 1/2:K 88)

*Patterns of Communist Espionage: Report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, 80th Congress, Second Session.* 1958. (Y 4.UN 1/2:C 73/101)

*Report of Investigation: The Aldrich Ames Espionage Case.* U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 1994. (Y 4.IN 8/18:AM 3)

*Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States: Hearing Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 84th Congress, Second Session.* 95 v., 1956-59. (Y 4.J 89/2:SO 8/4/)

*Security Practices in the National Security Agency (Defection of Bernon F. Mitchell and William H. Martin).* Report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-Seventh Congress, Second Session. August 13, 1962. (Y 4.UN 1/2:N 21SE)

-Report on two young NSA employees who defected to the USSR in 1960, in a forerunner of the Edward Snowden case.

*The Shameful Years: Thirty Years of Soviet Espionage in the United States.* Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. 1951. (Y 4.UN 1/2:SO 8)

*Soviet Espionage Through Poland. Hearing Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Sixth Congress, Second Session. Testimony of Pawel Monat.* 1960. (Y 4. J 89/2: SO 8/10)

*Soviet Espionage within United States Government: Second Report.* Committee on Un-American Activities, 80th Congress, Second Session. 1948. (Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/8/2d rp.)

*Soviet Intelligence and Security Services ... : A Selected Bibliography of Soviet Publications with Some Additional Titles from Other Sources.* Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2 v., 1972-75. (Y 4.J 89/2:SO 8/20/)

*Soviet Presence in the U.N. Secretariat: Report of the Select Committee on Intelligence, United States Senate.* 1985. (Y 4.In 8/19:S.prt.99-52)

## Executive Branch Documents:

Benson, Robert Louis. [The Venona Story](#). Center for Cryptologic History, National Security Agency, 2001.

Federal Bureau of Investigation: VENONA: <https://vault.fbi.gov/Venona>.

Herbig, Katherine L. and Martin F. Wiskoff. [Espionage Against the United States by American Citizens 1947-2001](#). Monterey, CA.: Defense Personnel Security Research Center, 2002.

National Security Agency: VENONA: <https://www.nsa.gov/news-features/declassified-documents/venona/>.

[A Review of the FBI's Performance in Deterring, Detecting, and Investigating the Espionage Activities of Robert Philip Hanssen](#). U.S. Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, August 2003.

[A Review of the FBI's Performance in Uncovering the Espionage Activities of Aldrich Hazen Ames](#). U.S. Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, April 21, 1997.

*Soviet Acquisition of Western Technology*. Central Intelligence Agency, 1982. (PrEx 3.2:So 9)

[Venona: Soviet Espionage and the American Response, 1939-1957](#). National Security Agency and Central Intelligence Agency, 1996.

## D. Soviet Active Measures

Boghardt, Thomas. "[Operation INFEKTION: Soviet Bloc Intelligence and Its AIDS Disinformation Campaign](#)." *Studies in Intelligence* 53 (4), December 2009.

*Contemporary Soviet Propaganda and Disinformation: A Conference Report, Airlie, Virginia, June 25-27, 1985*. U.S. Department of State, 1987. (S 1.2:So 8/10)

*Forgery, Disinformation, Political Operations: Soviet Active Measures*. U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Public Communication, Editorial Division, 1981. (S 1.129:88)

Schoen, Fletcher and Christopher J. Lamb. [Deception, Disinformation, and Strategic Communications: How One Interagency Group Made a Major Difference](#). Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2012.

*Soviet Active Measures: Hearings Before the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, Ninety-Seventh Congress, Second Session, July 13, 14, 1982*. (Y 4.In 8/18:So 8/5)

*Soviet Active Measures: September 1983*. U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Public Communication, Editorial Division, 1983. (S 1.129:110)

*Soviet Influence Activities: A Report on Active Measures and Propaganda, 1986-87.* U.S. Department of State, 1987. (S 1.2:SO 8/12/986-87)

*Soviet Influence Activities: A Report on Active Measures and Propaganda, 1987-1988.* U.S. Department of State, 1989. (S 1.2:SO 8/12/987-88)

*The U.S.S.R.'s AIDS Disinformation Campaign.* U.S. Department of State, 1987. (S 1.126/3:Ac 7)

## 2. Secondary Sources

### Books: Soviet Intelligence (1917-91):

Andrew, Christopher and Oleg Gordievsky. *KGB: The Inside Story of its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1990. (JN6529.I6 A53 1990)

Andrew, Christopher and Vasili Mitrokhin. *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB.* New York: Basic Books, 1999. (UB251.S65 A63 1999)

Barron, John. *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents.* New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1974. (HV8225.B37 1974)

Barron, John. *KGB Today: The Hidden Hand.* New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1983. (HV8225 .B373 1983)

Dziak, John J. *Chekisty: A History of the KGB.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1988. (HV8224. D95 1988)

Haslam, Jonathan. *Near and Distant Neighbors: A New History of Soviet Intelligence.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015. (JN6529 .I6 H37 2015)

Haynes, John Earl, Harvey Klehr and Alexander Vassiliev. *Spies: The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. (UB271.R9 H389 2009)

Leonard, Raymond W. *Secret Soldiers of the Revolution: Soviet Military Intelligence, 1918-1933.* Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999. (Joyner Stacks: UB251.R8 L46 1999)

Olmsted, Kathryn S. *Red Spy Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth Bentley.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. (HX84.B384 O45 2002)

Shultz, Richard H., and Roy Godson. *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy.* Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984. (DK278.S47 1984)

Suvorov, Victor. *Inside Soviet Military Intelligence.* New York: Macmillan, 1984. (Joyner Stacks: UB251.S65 S88 1984)

Suvorov, Victor. *Inside the Aquarium: The Making of a Top Soviet Spy*. New York: Macmillan, 1986.  
(Joyner Stacks: UB271.R92 S885 1986)

Weinstein, Allen and Alexander Vassiliev. *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era*. New York: Random House, 1999. (UB271.R9 W45 1999)

### **Books: Post- Soviet Russian Intelligence (1991-present):**

Earley, Pete. *Comrade J: The Untold Secrets of Russia's Master Spy in America After the End of the Cold War*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2007. (JN 6529.I6 E17 2007)

Knight, Amy. *Spies Without Cloaks: The KGB's Successors*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996. (HV8227.2.A3 K59 1996)

Lucas, Edward. *Deception: The Untold Story of East-West Espionage Today*. New York: Walker Publishing Co., 2012. (D2025.5 .R8 L83 2012)

Soldatov, Andrei and Irina Borogan. *The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2010. (JN6529.I6 S67 2010)

Soldatov, Andrei and Irina Borogan. *The Red Web: The Kremlin's Wars on the Internet*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2017. (JN6695 .A55 A859 2017)

### **Online Sources:**

[Agentura.ru](http://Agentura.ru).

-Website of Russian journalists Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan, who specialize in reporting on Russian intelligence and security services.

Cold War International History Project: Venona Project and Vassiliev Notebooks Index and Concordance: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/venona-project>.

Daniels, Laura. "[Russian Active Measures in Germany and the United States: Analog Lessons From the Cold War](#)". War on the Rocks, September 27, 2017.

Darczewska, Jolanta and Piotr Żochowski. [Active Measures: Russia's Key Export](#). Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich im. Marka Karpia/Centre for Eastern Studies, May 30, 2017.

Ewing, Philip. "[Russia's Election Meddling Part of A Long History Of 'Active Measures'](#)". Npr.org, May 23, 2017.

[The Frontline Interviews: The Putin Files](#). PBS.org, October 2017.

-Complete set of interviews compiled in support of the October/November 2017 Frontline documentary *Putin's Revenge*.

Galeotti, Mark. [Controlling Chaos: How Russia Manages its Political War in Europe](#). European Council on Foreign Relations, September 1, 2017.

Galeotti, Mark. [Crimintern: How the Kremlin uses Russia's criminal networks in Europe](#). European Council on Foreign Relations, April 18, 2017.

Galeotti, Mark. [Putin's Hydra: Inside Russia's Intelligence Services](#). European Council on Foreign Relations, May 11, 2016.

Giles, Keir. [Russia's 'New' Tools for Confronting the West: Continuity and Innovation in Moscow's Exercise of Power](#). Chatham House, March 21, 2016.

[Itemized Posts and Historical Engagement - 6 Now-Closed FB Pages](#).

-Archive of posts from Facebook accounts proven to have been created by Russian "trolls" to influence US public opinion. Compiled by Jonathan Albright, of Columbia University's Tow Center for Digital Journalism

[John Earl Haynes: Historical Writings](#).

-Official website of a prominent historian of Soviet espionage in America, featuring numerous articles and essays.

Juurvee, Ivo. ["The Resurrection of 'Active Measures': Intelligence Services as a Part of Russia's Influencing Toolbox."](#) *Strategic Analysis*, April 2018. Hybrid CoE, May 2, 2018.

[Marshall Fund: Alliance for Securing Democracy](#).

-Includes both policy analysis, and the [Hamilton 68 dashboard](#) for tracking suspected Russian influence activity on Twitter.

National Security Archive. [Cyber Brief: GRU Cyber Operations](#).

-Collection of unclassified US government documents related to 2016 Russian election-related hacking and active measures.

Roeder, Oliver. ["Why We're Sharing 3 Million Russian Troll Tweets."](#) FiveThirtyEight.com, July 31, 2018.

-Digital archive of tweets linked to suspected Russian influence accounts.

Weiss, Michael. ["The GRU: Putin's No-Longer-So-Secret Weapon."](#) *The Daily Beast*, December 31, 2016.

Wilson Center Digital Archive: [Vassiliev Notebooks](#)

-An invaluable primary source on Soviet espionage in the USA in the 1930s and 40s.