Setting the Record Straight

CIA and the Guatemala Assassination Proposals, 1952-1954 (S)

Gerald K. Haines

Author's Note: During a thorough review of CIA records relating to Operation PBSUCCESS, an operation designed to get rid of the Jacobo Arbenz Guzman regime in Guatemala in 1954, Center for the Study of Intelligence (CSI) reviewers in 1995 uncovered a sensitive file of material pertaining to proposals for the assassination or limitation of Guatemalan Communist leaders, including President Arbenz.1 Researching the background or provenance of the file, CIA historians discovered that the records had not been included in a CIA Inspector General report of 1967 on alleged assassination plotting or in the 1976 Church Committee investigation volumes on CIA assassination plotting. In addition, the entire Guatemala collection had been pulled together from CIA records in response to a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request in 1979. (U)

Further research revealed that the 1979 Agency-wide review for the FOIA request had found several documents relating to discussions and proposals regarding assassination, elimination, disposal, and executive action proposals against Guatemalan officials. The original reviewers separated the sensitive documents and placed them in a separate (b)(3)(n) envelope. They also informed Deputy Director of Operations John McMahon and DCI Adm. Stansfield Turner of the material. McMahon ordered name traces on all the Guatemalans mentioned to determine if, in fact, any of them had been assassinated. The traces turned up no evidence of assassination. The Intelligence Oversight Board and the Congressional oversight committees also were informed about the documents and the name traces. (U)

Here the matter rested until the records were rediscovered during the CSI review of 1995. CIA historians further determined that the PBSUCCESS material was an artificial collection of documents that broke the original provenance of the recordkeeping system of the Directorate of Operations (DO), and the further separation of the sensitive materials distorted the overall interpretation of the records by removing them from their original context.

The Director of CSI, Brian Latell, after notifying the Executive Director of CIA, the White House, the NSC, and the Department of State, ordered a page-by-page review of the entire DO collection and other Directorate records relating to PBSUCCESS for additional documents mentioning assassination, elimination, disposal, or executive action suggestions or proposals with regard to Guatemala in the early 1950s. With all the records identified and their proper file location noted, Latell then asked the CIA History Staff to undertake a thorough analysis of the materials to determine exactly what the CIA role was in assassination planning for PBSUCCESS. The following article tries to detail CIA's role in the proposals and to place the assassination planning proposals in their proper historical context.2 (U)

In the early 1950s, the CIA directed covert operations aimed at removing the government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman from power in Guatemala. Included in these efforts were various suggestions for the disposal of key

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(b)(3)(c)
Arbenz government officials and Guatemalan Communists. The Agency drew up lists of individuals for assassination, discussed training Guatemalan exiles for assassination teams, and conducted intimidation programs against prominent Guatemalan officials. (U)

This brief article traces, in a chronological manner, the injection of assassination planning and proposals into the PBFAILURE covert operation against the Arbenz government in 1952 and into the PBSUCCESS operation in 1954. It tries to illustrate the depth of such planning and the level of involvement of Agency officials. It also details where the proposals originated, who approved them, and how advanced the preparations for such actions were. Finally, the study examines the implementation of such planning and the results, that is, were any Arbenz officials or Guatemalan Communists killed as a result of CIA or US assassination planning? The article is based almost exclusively on DO records relating to PBFAILURE and PBSUCCESS. (U)

Background

As early as 1952, US policymakers viewed the government of President Arbenz with some alarm. Although he had been popularly elected in 1950, growing Communist influence within his government gave rise to concern in the United States that Arbenz had established an effective working alliance with the Communists. Moreover, Arbenz’s policies had damaged US business interests in Guatemala; a sweeping agrarian reform called for the expropriation and redistribution of much of the United Fruit Company’s land. (S)

Although most high-level US officials recognized that a hostile government in Guatemala by itself did not constitute a direct security threat to the United States, they viewed events there in the context of the growing global Cold War struggle with the Soviet Union and feared that Guatemala could become a client state from which the Soviets could project power and influence throughout the Western Hemisphere. (S)

CIA and Intelligence Community (IC) reports tended to support the view that Guatemala and the Arbenz regime were rapidly falling under the sway of the Communists. DCI Walter Bedell Smith and other Agency officials believed the situation called for action. Their assessment was, that without help, the Guatemalan opposition would remain inept, disorganized, and ineffective. The anti-Communist elements—the Catholic hierarchy, landowners, business interests, the railway workers’ union, university students, and the Army—were prepared to prevent a Communist accession to power, but they had little outside support. (S)

Other US officials, especially in the Department of State, urged a more cautious approach. The Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, for example, did not want to present “the spectacle of the elephant shaking with alarm before the mouse.” It wanted a policy of firm persuasion with the withholding of virtually all cooperative assistance, and the concluding of military defense assistance pacts with El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras. Although the Department of State position became the official public US policy, the CIA assessment of the situation had support within the Truman administration as well. This led to the development of PBFAILURE. (U)

PBFAILURE

Following a visit to Washington by Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza in April 1952, in which Somoza boasted that if provided arms he and Guatemalan exile Carlos Castillo Armas could overthrow Arbenz, President Truman asked DCI Smith to investigate the possibility. Smith sent a case officer from the Directorate of Plans (DDP) to contact Guatemalan dissidents about armed action against the Arbenz regime. After seeing the case officer’s report, J. C. King, Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division of the DDP, proposed to DDCI Allen Dulles that the Agency supply Castillo Armas with arms and $225,000 and that Nicaragua and Honduras furnish the Guatemalans with air support. Gaining Department of State support, Smith, on 9 September 1952, officially approved King’s request to initiate operation PBFAILURE to aid Guatemalan exiles in overthrowing Arbenz. Planning for PBFAILURE lasted barely a month, however, when Smith terminated it after he learned in October that it had been blown. (S)
In addition to monitoring events in Guatemala, the Agency continued to try to influence developments and to float ideas for disposing of key figures in the Arbenz government.

Headquarters took any action regarding Castillo Armas’s list. (S)

After the PBORISCON operation was officially terminated, the Agency continued to pick up reports of assassination planning by the Guatemalan opposition. In late November 1952, for example, an opposition Guatemalan leader, in a conversation with the case officer, confirmed that Castillo Armas had special K Groups whose mission was to kill all leading political and military leaders, and that the hit list with the location of the homes and offices of all targets had already been drawn up. (S) On 12 December, the case officer reported further that Castillo Armas planned to make maximum use of the K Groups. (S)

Another source subsequently reported that Nicaraguan, Honduran, and Salvadoran soldiers in civilian clothes would infiltrate Guatemala and assassinate unnamed Communist leaders. (S)

In addition to monitoring events in Guatemala, the Agency continued to try to influence developments and to float ideas for disposing of key figures in the Arbenz government. J. C. King in 1953 proposed not only to focus on sabotage, defection, penetration, and propaganda efforts with regard to Guatemala, but also to eliminate Arbenz himself. According to King’s draft memorandum, after creating a story that Arbenz was preparing to oust the Communists, he could be eliminated. His assassination would be “laid to the Commies” and used to bring about a mass defection of the Guatemalan Army. A Western Hemisphere Division memo of 28 August 1953 also suggested possibly assassinating key Guatemalan military officers if they refused to be converted to the rebel cause. In September 1953, King also sent Allen Dulles, now DCI, an updated plan of action which included a reference to “neutralizing” key Guatemalan military leaders.

In the psychological warfare area, Guatemala sent all leading Communists in Guatemala, “death notice” cards for 30 straight days beginning 15 April 1953. (S) repeated the operation beginning 15 June 1953, but it reported no reaction from the targeted leaders.

PBSUCCESS

By the fall of 1953, US policymakers, including CIA officials, were searching for a new overall program for dealing with Arbenz. The Guatemalan leader had moved even closer to the Communists. He had expropriated additional United Fruit Company holdings, legalized the Guatemalan Communist Party, the PGT, and suppressed anti-Communist opposition following an abortive uprising at Salamá. In response, the NSC authorized a covert action operation against Arbenz and gave the CIA primary responsibility.
The CIA plan, as drawn up by J. C. King's Western Hemisphere Division, combined psychological warfare and economic, diplomatic, and paramilitary actions against Guatemala. Named PBSUCCESS and coordinated with the Department of State, the plan's stated objective was "to remove covertly, and without bloodshed if possible, the menace of the present Communist-controlled Government of Guatemala." In the outline of the operation, the sixth stage called for the "rollup" of Communists and collaborators after a successful coup.23 (S)

Dulles placed Frank Wisner in charge of PBSUCCESS and sent a senior DDP officer, (b)(3)(c) to establish a temporary (LINCOLN), in Florida, to coordinate the planning and execution of PBSUCCESS. Other key Agency figures involved were King and Tracy Barnes, chief of the Political and Paramilitary Operations Staff; Department of State officials Henry Holland, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs; Raymond Leddy, from the office of Middle American Affairs; and James Lampton Berry, State liaison to the Agency also played major roles. (U)

Training

Although assassination was not mentioned specifically in the overall plan, the chief of Paramilitary Operations, LINCOLN, requested on 5 January 1954 a special paper on liquidation of personnel. This paper, according to the paramilitary chief, was to be used to brief the training chief for PBSUCCESS before he left to begin training Castillo Armas's forces in Honduras on 10 January 1954. A cable from LINCOLN the following day requested 20 silencers (converters) for .22-caliber rifles. Headquarters sent the rifles.26 The paramilitary chief also discussed the training plan with the case officer on 13 January 1954, telling him that he wanted Castillo Armas and the PBSUCCESS training officer to train two assassins. In addition, he discussed these "assassination specialists" with Castillo Armas on 3 February 1954.27 (S)

The idea of forming assassination teams (K Groups) apparently originated with Castillo Armas in 1952. Adapting Castillo Armas's concept, the paramilitary chief routinely included two assassination specialists in his training plans.28 (S)

CIA planning for sabotage teams in early 1954 also included creating a K Group trained to perform assassinations. The main mission of the sabotage teams or harassment teams, however, was to attack local Communists and Communist property and to avoid attacks on the Army.29 A chart depicting the paramilitary chief's plan for the CALLGERIS (Castillo Armas) organization showed the K Group. It was distributed in various paramilitary planning packets as late as the spring of 1954.30 In June 1954, in a briefing for David Atlee Phillips, chief of SHERWOOD, the CIA's clandestine radiobroadcasting program aimed at the Arbenz regime, (b)(3)(c) also mentioned that sabotage teams would assassinate known Communists in their areas once the invasion operation began.31 (S)

Psychological Warfare

As in PBFORTUNE, an intensive psychological warfare program paralleled the planning for paramilitary action. Using the anti-Communist network established by a Guatemalan dissident, the chief of Political and Psychological Operations at LINCOLN developed a major propaganda campaign against the Arbenz government. Part of this program included the sending of new mourning cards to top Communist leaders that lamented the imminent purge or execution of various Communists throughout the world and hinted of the forthcoming doom of the addressee. Death letters were also sent to top Guatemalan Communists such as the Guatemalan dissident student leader. The "nerve war against individuals," as it was called in Guatemala, also included sending wooden coffins, hangman's nooses, and phony bombs to select individuals. Such slogans as "Here Lives a Spy" and "You Have Only 5 Days" were painted on their houses.32 (S)

Wanting to go beyond mere threats, the dissident student leader suggested that the "violent disposal" of one of the top Guatemalan Communists would have a positive effect on the resistance movement and undermine Communist morale. The dissident leader's recommendations called for the formation of a covert action group to perform violent, illegal acts against the government. LINCOLN cautioned the dissident leader, however, that such techniques...
CIA received further Department of State encouragement for assassination plotting in April 1954.

Following this meeting, [b](3)(c) appears to be the Agency official who revived discussion of assassination as an option. On 25 March, he broached the subject with [b](3)(c), Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, who had just returned from the OAS meeting in Caracas, Venezuela, that voted 17 to 1 to condemn Communism in Guatemala.

With [b](3)(c) present, asked if he had changed his thinking since the conference on the possible methods to get rid of the Arbenz government. [b](3)(c) replied that in his opinion, "The elimination of those in high positions of the government would bring about its collapse." He then qualified his statement, according to memo, by saying that perhaps "even a smaller number, say 20, would be sufficient." 

Less than a week later, Allen Dulles visited LINCOLN on 31 March. The records do not indicate why Dulles flew to LINCOLN, but on that date the LINCOLN officers were asked to draw up an updated target list. Criteria for inclusion on the disposal list required that individuals be (1) high government and organizational leaders "irrevocably implicated in Communist doctrine and policy," (2) "out-and-out proven Communist leaders," or (3) those few individuals in key government and military positions of tactical importance "whose removal for psychological, organizational or other reasons is mandatory for the success of military action." 

The paramilitary chief took the new list with him when he consulted Castillo Armas on 7 April 1954. Chief, LINCOLN also borrowed a copy of the list on the same day. The paramilitary chief and Castillo Armas apparently discussed the list, and, at least tentatively, agreed that any assassination would take place during the actual invasion of Guatemala by Castillo Armas's forces. There was still no time date for the actual beginning of hostilities, however. 

Agency contacts with conservative Guatemalan exile leader in El Salvador at the same time also produced an assassination list. of a CIA cutout with a list of Communist leaders he would like to see executed, but LINCOLN saw a loose cannon. They did not want him to become involved in PBSUCCESS.

CIA received further Department of State encouragement for assassination plotting in April 1954. Fueling the fire for action

[b](3)(n) in a meeting with Wisner; [b](3)(n) Richard Bissell, Special Assistant to Dulles; Barnes; and another CIA officer concluded that "more drastic and definitive steps to overthrow the government [in Guatemala] must be taken." In response to a question of whether 

[b](3)(n) "salvageable," applied in the negative and suggested that he be eliminated.
On 16 May 1954, the executive officer at LINCOLN proposed in a
memorandum to LINCOLN, that assassination be incorporated
into the psychological part of PBSUCCESS. The executive officer
laid out a specific assassination schedule leading up to D-Day, the actual
invasion by Castillo Armas. On D-12 he proposed a raid on “El Cajon,” the
finca of Arbenz. This was to be a show of force; no one was to be
harmed, and the attack was to take place when Arbenz was absent from
the plantation. On D-10, however, the executive officer proposed the
disposal of (b)(3)(n) as a means of paralyzing the Guardia and eliminat-
ing “the prime symbol of (b)(3)(n) oppression.” On D-8, the executive
officer suggested that (b)(3)(n) be killed. According to the executive
officer, this would eliminate the police-state character of the Arbenz
regime. On D-6, the executive officer called for the disposal (b)(3)(n)
(b)(3)(n) ...
(b)(3)(n) the executive
officer believed. On D-4, (b)(3)(n)
(b)(3)(n) would be eliminated. On D-1 or
D-Day, Arbenz himself was to be
eliminated so that the rebel forces
would not have to worry about him or
deal with him after victory. The
executive officer considered the pos-
sibility of reprisals as a weakness in his
scheme, but he decided that “such
actions were expected anyway.” The
executive officer argued that his prop-
asal, if adopted, would not only be
physically impressive but also psycholog-
ically significant by providing a
show of strength for the opposition.
It would also “soften up” the enemy.
He added that his first three sug-
(3)(c) (b)(3)(c) gessions had (b)(1) vious approval
(b)(3)(c) (b)(3)(c)
On 21 May, (b)(3)(c) asked Head-
quartermaster for permission to implement the
executive officer’s proposal and asked for suggestions about the specific
individuals to be targeted. No reply from Headquarters or (b)(3)(c)
has been found. On 29 May 1954, how-
ever, the paramilitary chief requested
the names of the “four men” he and the
executive officer discussed assassi-
nating. More than likely, the
paramilitary chief wanted to take up
the issue again with Castillo Armas.
Again, no cable reply from
Headquarters or LINCOLN has been
found. At the same time,
LINCOLN continued compiling
information on Arbenz’s finca and
lists of home addresses for individu-
als named on the “disposal list”
drafted in April. (b)(1) believed
Arbenz’s finca was a “worthy target” (b)(1)
(b)(3)(c) (b)(3)(c)
In Washington submitted a proposal on 1 June 1954 that sug-
(3)(c) gested that, as an alternative approach to the paramilitary action program,
“specific sabotage and possibly politi-
cal assassination should be carefully
worked out and executed.” With
(b)(3)(c)
(b)(3)(c)
(b)(3)(c)
The U.S. government, frustrated by the contin-
ued inaction of the Guatemalan
military commander, told him that if
he wanted them killed he should do it
himself. Despite the Guatemalan
military commander’s vacillation, a
cable indicated that he remained
convinced that Arbenz had to be
(b)(1) eliminated. (b)(1)
(b)(3)(c)
With the Guatemala Army’s position
uncertain and the outcome still in
doubt, the U.S. government, in
Nicaragua, requested permission a few
days later to bomb the Presidential
(b)(1) Palace and Arbenz’s finca. LIN-
(b)(3)(c) COLN responded on 22 June that it
did not want to waste air strikes on the
(b)(1) finca or the palace while a battle was
(b)(3)(c) raging at Zacapa. In a dramatic
(b)(1) cable that ended “bomb repeat
(b)(3)(c) bomb,” the Secretary and the Ambas-
(b)(3)(c)ador also supported the paramilitary
(b)(1)
(b)(3)(c)
Yet, no covert action plan involving assassinations of Guatemalans was ever approved or implemented.

Proposals for assassination pervaded both PBLe-found and PBSUCCESS, rather than being confined to an early stage of these programs. Even before official approval of PBLe-found, CIA officers compiled elimination lists and discussed the concept of assassination with Guatemalan opposition leaders. Until the day that Arbenz resigned in June 1954, the option of assassination was still being considered. (s)

Discussions of assassination reached a high level within the Agency. Among those involved were

Discussion of whether to assassinate Guatemalan Communists and leaders sympathetic to Communist programs took place in a historical era quite different from the present. Soviet Communism had earned a reputation of using whatever means were expedient to advance Moscow's interests internationally. Considering Moscow's machinations in Eastern Europe, role in the Korean War, sponsorship of subversion through Communist surrogates in the Third World, and espousal of an ideology that seemed to have global hegemony as the ultimate objective, US officials and the American public alike regarded foreign Communist parties as Soviet pawns and as threatening to vital US security interests. (s)

Cold War realities and perceptions conditioned American attitudes toward what political weapons were legitimate to use in the struggle against Communism. It would be over two decades after the events in Guatemala before DCI William Colby prohibited any CIA involvement in assassination and a subsequent Executive Order banned any US Government involvement in assassination. (s)

NOTES
1. The Historical Review Group, as part of CSI, reviewed these records for
possible declassification and release under a selective subject release program. The Guatemalan records were originally pulled together by the Information, Privacy, and Classification Review Division for an FOIA request. For this request, Agency records were assembled from all the Directorates. (U)

2. This article, a previously classified review of Operation PBSUCCESS, and a large segment of the original records have been sanitized, declassified, and released to the National Archives and Records Administration. (U)


6. J. C. King, Chief, Western Hemisphere Division, dispatch, 22 March 1952, Box 7 (S).


8. See cable to Dulles, "Conference with...), 4 August 1952, Box 69. (S)

9. See memorandum to Dulles "Guatemalan Situation," 9 July 1952, Box 67 (S) and memorandum to Dulles, "Conference with...), 4 August 1952, Box 69. (S)

10. See King, "Chronology of Meetings Leading to Approval of Project A," 8 October 1952, Box 69 (S); to King, "Guatemala," 8 October 1952, Box 69 (S); and to Dulles, "Guatemala Situation," 9 July 1952, Box 69. (S)

11. See King, "Chronology of Meetings Leading to Approval of Project A." (S). See also Immerman, CIA in Guatemala, pp. 120-22. Because of security leaks and the boasting of General Somoza about his and the Agency's role in supporting the rebellion, PBFOUNTAIN was soon called off. Secretary of State Dean Acheson asked DCI Smith to stop the operation in October 1952. (U)

12. See (b)(3)(c) to 26 January 1952, Box 7 (S). For a list of the names and biographical data see, Chief, Economic Warfare Operations, LINCOLN to All Staff Officers, "Selection of Individuals for Disposals by Junta Group," 31 March 1954, Box 145. (S)

13. Washington (b)(3)(c) to 29 January 1952, Box 7. (S)

14. (b)(3)(c) to Headquarters, 29 January 1952, Box 10. (S)

15. See to King, "Guatemala Communist Personnel to be Disposed of During Military Operations of CALLIGERIS," (Castillo Armas), 18 September 1952, Box 134. (S)

16. See Report #3 to King, "Liaison between CALLIGERIS and General Trujillo of Santo Domingo," 18 September 1952, Box 134 (S). Assassination was a nasty but frequent tool of Guatemalan politics. Arbenz himself benefited from the killing of his archrival for the presidency, Francisco Arana, in 1949. (U)

17. See to King, memorandum, "Conference," 1 December 1952, Box 134. (S)

18. To King, memorandum, "Current Planning of CALLIGERIS Organization," 12 December 1952, Box 134 (S). See also, Acting Chief, Psychological Warfare Branch, Western Hemisphere Division, that reported in November 1952 that Castillo Armas was studying PW use of liquidation lists. Memorandum for the record, "PW Conference," 5 November 1952, Box 151 (S). The case officer also reported that the Arbenz government had targeted Castillo Armas for assassination. (S)

19. See 30 March 1953, Box 150. (S)

20. See King, memorandum, "Proposed Course of Action If Plan is Not Continued in Present Form"; undated but probably 1953, Box 154. (S)

21. Western Hemisphere Division, memorandum, "PBFOUNTAIN," 28 August 1953, Box 72. (S)

22. See King, memorandum to Dulles, "Guatemala—General Plan of Action," 11 September 1953, Box 5 (TS). See also the attached memorandum from Hans Toffe to King, 9 September 1953. (S)
23. See dispatch, to LINCOLN, "Death Notices," 19 April 1954, Box 99. (S)

24. NSC Policy Paper, 19 August 1953, FRUS 4:1083. (U)

25. See King to Dulles, "Guatemala—General Plan of Action," Box 5 (TS) Special Deputy for PBSUCCESS, memorandum for the record, "Program for PBSUCCESS," 12 November 1953, Box 135 (C). See also, memorandum to "Summary of Directives and Instructions on PBSUCCESS," 5 November 1953, Box 142 (S).

26. LINCOLN for PBSUCCESS. See LINCOLN to Headquarters, 5 January 1954, Box 1 (S) and LINCOLN to Headquarters 6 January 1954, Box 1 (S). See also, Chief, Technical Operations, Technical Services Staff, memorandum "Cost of Support for PBSUCCESS," 27 September 1954, Box 43 (S). He listed the 20 silenced rifles. See also LINCOLN to Headquarters, 6 January 1954, Box 75 (S) and LINCOLN to Headquarters, 21 January 1954, Box 1 (S).

27. See the paramilitary chief to Chief, LINCOLN (b)(3)(c), "CALLIGERIS Briefing Notes," 3 February 1954, Box 147 (S). See also, Chief, Technical Operations, Technical Services Staff, memorandum "Cost of Support for PBSUCCESS," 27 September 1954, Box 43 (S). He listed the 20 silenced rifles. See also LINCOLN to Headquarters, 6 January 1954, Box 75 (S) and LINCOLN to Headquarters, 21 January 1954, Box 1 (S).

28. To King, Report #5, "Manuel Alfredo Pedroza G.," 18 September 1952, Box 73 (S) and paramilitary chief, memorandum for the record, "PM Conference Held at LINCOLN," 13 February 1954, Box 74 (S). See also LINCOLN to Headquarters, 4 January 1954, Box 1 (S).

29. See LINCOLN (b)(3)(c) to Headquarters, 8 June 1954, Box 5 (S) or LINCOLN (b)(3)(c) to Headquarters, 8 June 1954, Box 5 (S).


31. See dispatch to Guatemala City, "Train in (b)(1)(b)(3)(c), 6 June 1954, Box 75 (Secret, PBSUCCESS, Rybat). (S)

32. To LINCOLN, 26 May 1954, "Tactical Instructions (part II)," (S) and to LINCOLN, "Instructions to Nerve War Against Individuals," 9 June 1954, Box 50. (S)

33. See Guatemala City to Western Hemisphere Division, undated, "ox 46 (C) and Guatemala City (b)(1)(b)(3)(c), LINCOLN, 14 May 1954. See also the dispatch Guatemala City to LINCOLN, 14 May 1954 (b)(1)(b)(3)(c) Box 145 (S). SHERWOOD was the code name for the black radio propaganda program for PBSUCCESS. (S)

34. See King, memorandum for the record, "Weekly PBSUCCESS Meeting with DD/P," 9 March 1954, Box 154 (TS).

35. King, memorandum for the record, "Report of Mr. Thomas Mann on OAS Conference," 29 March 1954, Box 145. (S)

36. See Chief, Economic Warfare, LINCOLN, memo to All Staff Officers, "Selection of Individuals for Disposal by Junta Group," 31 March 1954, Box 145 (S). We know Dulles visited LINCOLN on this date from the LINCOLN visitors' log book. He signed into LINCOLN on 31 March. See LINCOLN Log Book for 31 March 1954, Box 138. (S)

37. Memorandum, Box 145. (S)

38. (b)(1)(b)(3)(c)

39. Ydigores Fuentes was living in exile in El Salvador, and the Agency was cultivating him as well as Castillo Armas. Arbenz had defeated Fuentes in the presidential election of December 1950. See memo to Barnes, "Summary of Operation," 18 April 1954, Box 134 (S). See also Dispatch, LINCOLN (b)(1)(b)(3)(c)(b)(3)(n)

40. See memorandum for the record, "Synthesis of Ambassador Peurifoy's Remarks Relevant to PBSUCCESS Made at a Meeting 21 April 1954," 22 April 1954, Box 151. (S)

Secret

Guatemala

(b)(1)
(b)(3)(c)

Box 145 (Secret, PQSUCCESS, Rybat). (S) (b)(3)(c)

42. See LINCOLN ______ to Director, 21 May 1954, Box 4 (S) and LINCOLN ______ to Director, 21 May 1954, Box 4. (S) (b)(3)(c)

43. See to Headquarters, 29 May 1954, Box 13 (S). Perhaps executive officer, LINCOLN, and chief paramilitary talked at a conference held at LINCOLN on 2 June 1954. See LINCOLN ______ to LINCOLN, 2 June 1954, Box 146 (Secret, PQSUCCESS, Rybat). (S) (b)(3)(c)

(b)(1)See dispatch, Guatemala to LINCOLN, "K Program, Arbenz's durica," 25 May 1954, Box 145 (Secret, PQSUCCESS, Rybat). (S)

(b)(3)(c)

45. See "Disposal List Home Addresses," copied from an attachment to dispatch, Guatemala to LINCOLN, 1 June 1954, Box 145, 'S'. It contained 15 names. See also LINCOLN routing slip for the attachment. (Dispatch dated 25 May 1954), Box 145 (Secret, Rybat). (S)

46. See Barnes, draft memo, “Present Status and Possible Future Course of PQSUCCESS,” 1 June 1954, Box 145. (S)

47. Wisner, memorandum for the record, “Points Covered in H/W Discussions of June 1 and 2,” 3 June 1954, Box 145 (S). This memo is originally from Job 0075R, Box 1, Folder 3. (S) (b)(3)(c)

48. See 2 June 1954, Box 146 (Secret, PQSUCCESS, Rybat). See also Wisner, memorandum for the record, "Points Covered in H/W Discussion of June 1 and 2," 3 June 1954 and LINCOLN, note for the file, "Disposal List Prepared by C/EW," 1 June 1954, Box 145. (S)

49. See Guatemala City ______ to Headquarters, 17 June 1954, Box 75 (S); Guatemala City ______ to Headquarters, 18 June 1954, Box 11 (S). See earlier Agency meetings with Guatemalan military leader, "First Meeting, 4 May 1954, Dispatch, Guatemala City to LINCOLN, 1 June 1954, Box 134 (S); Dispatch, 11 June 1954, Box 134 (S); and Dispatch, Guatemala City to LINCOLN, 1 May 1954, Box 154 (S). For see Guatemala City to LINCOLN, 24 June 1954, Box 153 (Secret, PQSUCCESS, Rybat). (b)(3)(c)

50. See ______ to LINCOLN, 14 June 1954, Box 93 (Secret, PQSUCCESS, Rybat); Guatemala City to LINCOLN, 19 June 1954, Box 93 (S); and LINCOLN ______ to Headquarters, 22 June 1954, Box 93 (Secret, PQSUCCESS, Rybat). (b)(3)(c)

51. SHERWOOD ______ to LINCOLN, 25 June 1954, Box 146 (S) and Guatemala City to Dulles, 19 June 1954, Box 91. (S) (b)(3)(c)

52. See Headquarters to LINCOLN, 5857, 22 June 1954, Box 143. (S)

53. See Guatemala City ______ to LINCOLN, 27 June 1954, Box 145 (Secret, PQSUCCESS, Rybat). (b)(3)(c)

54. John H. Waller, CIA Inspector General, letter to Thomas Farmer, Chairman of the Intelligence Oversight Board, 15 October 1979. (S)