MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SMITH

12 October 1951

The message from Ambassador Lequerica in Washington to Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated 26 July, (Tab A) although outdated, is of interest in that it reveals the rather considerable classified information that Senator Brewster has made available to the Spanish Ambassador in Washington with regard to his conversations with General Eisenhower and others on the Spanish role in Western Defense.

A copy of this report has been sent to General Eisenhower through G-2 COMINT channels.

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INTERAGENCY SECURITY CLASSIFICATION APPEALS PANEL,
E.O. 13526, SECTION 5.3(b)(3)
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MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL MULLER:

SUBJECT: 50X1, E.O.13526

Attached is a brief summary of the text of which will be sent by courier on 11 October to General Eisenhower through the Army G-2 Special Security Officer at SHAPE.

Although the information was originally procured by 50X1, E.O.13526, it was necessary to use the G-2 channel because this type of material is translated and published by AFSA.

K. W. McMAHAN
Chief, Intelligence Staff
O/CI

1 Attachment
The Spanish Ambassador in Washington reported to Madrid on 26 July 1951 that, although the US policy of obtaining Spanish participation in Western defense would be difficult to block "now", since it had top-level military and political backing, there was the danger of delay in implementation at lower levels. He, therefore, advised that Spain must redouble its efforts, "both in Congress and in the newspapers," and in every way possible to ensure "powerful support from all sides." The Ambassador felt that delay would result principally from (1) UK influence on the State Department; (2) the influence of organized labor on the US administration; (3) the influence of "French radicalism."

The Ambassador relayed his impression of two interviews between Senator Brewster and General Eisenhower during Brewster's trip to Europe in July with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Brewster reportedly told the Spanish Ambassador that, while Eisenhower in the first interview seemed completely convinced of the military necessity of Spanish participation, later on he seemed apprehensive as to the stability of the Franco regime. Senator Brewster allegedly attributed this change in attitude to French influence, specifically the lure held out by the French of a "European Army" exclusive of Spain, and cited Jean Monnet and President Auriol as having displayed a strong anti-Franco bias. The Spanish Ambassador added that Brewster was fairly well satisfied that General Marshall was favorable to Spanish participation.
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CONTROL

TOP SECRET
Subject: Turkey and Pakistan

The first political document concluded between Turkey and Pakistan was signed yesterday in Ankara. It is a treaty of friendship of the conventional type, apparently without any secret clause. Both countries agree therein to solve their conflicts by diplomatic means and, if this fails, to have recourse to the UN.

Mr. KEMAL, Minister of Foreign Affairs, signed for Turkey; and Mr. WIAF BASHIR AHMAD, Ambassador in Ankara, signed for Pakistan.

I am trying to ascertain if, contrary to what is presumed, something special has been agreed upon; and, in any case, I plan to forward the text to you as soon as it is published.
Subject: The President of Afghanistan visits Turkey

The President of Afghanistan, Shah MAHMUD KHAN GHAZI, is in Turkey. He has come in response to a vague invitation made by this government, which desires to see in Ankara the leaders of the countries comprising the so-called Middle East, of which Turkey justifiably considers herself the strongest and best organized.

As to Afghanistan, it is important to continue maintaining cordial relations with Turkey; and she cannot forget that she belongs to the Stahabad Pact, which was drawn up under the leadership of ATATÜRK.

Nevertheless, this visit should not be considered as designed to strengthen the aforementioned pact. The state of the Arab world and especially the grave crisis in Iran will keep Turkey's proverbial caution on the alert.

One should not and cannot expect any accomplishments as a result of this visit. Perhaps the Afghan [President] expounded details...
of the Afghan-Pakistan border conflict to this government; and he may
have requested support when the case is taken up in the UN, where
Turkey is a member of the Security Council representing the Middle
East.
There has been consent on the fact that two Russian heavy cruisers of modern type passed through the Sound toward the open sea the day before yesterday. Only their passage was noted, since they did not establish any type of communication with any port in the countries on the Sound.

If the event has attracted any attention it is due exclusively [to the fact] that units of the Russian Navy pass through these waters at infrequent intervals.
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[Subject]: EISENHOWER and Spanish Participation

Personal.

It would be futile to dwell upon the possible influence of Admiral SHERMAN's death on relations between Spain and the United States. I believe that the situation involves a plan drawn up by the military high command with high political approval, and that [it would be] difficult to block it now. But it is obvious that there is a big difference between having the most influential man of the Joint Chiefs of Staff enthusiastically and energetically on our side and being left to deal with the administrative officials without any enthusiastic, personal support there. This compels us to redouble our efforts, both in Congress and in the newspapers, and to endeavor in every way possible, as I have said to Your Excellency all along, to obtain powerful support from all sides.

England must weigh heavily against us in the State Department, achieving, at least, the delays [that are always] possible. Labor
has a very special interest in this matter, and sympathy toward
Labor in official American circles has always been well demonstrated.
Labor will demand, as in the UN, a caution that will delay what
has already been initiated. French radicalism will operate in the
same manner.

Senator BRENNER'S conversation with General EISENHOWER, which
I am reporting to you, shows the beginning of this maneuver and its
main supports. Senator BRENNER's only concern upon his return from
Spain, according to what he told me in a lengthy interview, is
EISENHOWER'S possible attitude due to influence exercised by France and
England. I am omitting all of the details with reference to the
conversation in Madrid - the Senator's great satisfaction, his praise
for His Excellency, the Chief of State, and his appreciation of the
cordial welcome. What is important is that, when the subject of Spain
was brought up in an interview with EISENHOWER on the outgoing trip,
the General told them flatly that one needs only to consult a map in
order to understand the necessity of including Spain in European
defense agreements, and he developed this theme with convincing
enthusiasm. On the return trip, however, at an interview from which
Admiral SHEPHERD was absent although still alive, they met a completely
different EISENHOWER, filled with apprehension about our country. "Are
we sure we are dealing with a stable government?" the General in
Versailles wondered. "Has the present Government authority to make
commitments?" And he seemed to conclude negatively, clearly showing -
- said the Senator - French sources of his information. According to
Senator BREMSTER, EISENHOWER is being lured with the "European Army," -
- truly fiction, at least up to the present time. General HARDY, head
of the North American Forces in Europe, happened to be present at the
interview with EISENHOWER. "What do you think of the European Army?"
BREMSTER asked him. "In order to answer you," HARDY replied, "I
must first know what the European Army is, and I do not know of the
existence of such a thing." Mr. BREMSTER was quite concerned, and
MONNET - of the Monnet Plan - cornered him for three or four hours
during and after dinner, and tried to convince BREMSTER of the great
possibilities of Western Europe alone without including our peninsula.
Senator BREMSTER established easily enough the relationship between
EISENHOWER's and MONNET's words.

AURIOL, President of the French Republic, according to what
BREMSTER told me, was also deeply anti-Spanish, censoring the govern-
ment and affirming the existence of a Republican government in exile
which has the complete confidence of European anticommunists. BREMSTER
commented on the ineffectiveness of such a delusion, but Mr. AURIOL insisted
enthusiastically with songs of praise for the men heading the so-called
Spanish Republic. Then he went on to attack the lack of liberty in
Spain, dwelling a great deal on the religious aspect, since he assumed
that the senators were Protestants. "And what about TITO? Hasn't he

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persecuted Catholics and imprisoned Archbishop STEFANAC?" they asked him. At that point Mr. AURIOL became quite disconcerted in spite of his southern eloquence and, after hesitating for a moment, he granted that it was quite difficult to rationalize political problems and to subject them to rules of logic. The senators also asked Mr. AURIOL why France spoke of six or eight divisions well in the future, when in 1939 she had more than a hundred. They added that agriculture has improved in France and that industry has increased forty per cent. Why then doesn't France have now the same number of divisions that she had in 1939? No reply was received either from the President or from the French government.

BRENNER also spoke with General MARSHALL at a dinner; even though he did not gather anything very definite regarding Spain, as MARSHALL touched rather on topics of a general nature, he did form an opinion that the General's attitude is favorable to arrangements with our country, and the Senator was fairly well satisfied. Published statements also seem to confirm this.
Mr. MORRISON announced yesterday in Commons that a decision had been made to send a mission to Teheran to negotiate the settlement of the Anglo-Iranian question in view of the favorable proposals brought back by Mr. KARRIMAN. The mission will not be headed by Lord JOUNIE, as had been announced at first, among other reasons because the latter will leave shortly for New Zealand. The presidency of the British mission has been entrusted to Mr. STOKES, Lord Privy Seal and Minister of Raw Materials. It is pointed out that Mr. STOKES is the only member of the government who has experience in the management of industrial enterprises, and for this reason he has the appropriate qualifications.

Mr. MORRISON announced that Mr. STOKES will leave for Iran as soon as definite limits are set, and that he will first stop at Abadan. The limits to which Mr. MORRISON alludes refer especially to the treatment which British technicians have been receiving recently in Abadan from the Iranian authorities. The British Government wishes above all to have the assurance that Iran will take the necessary measures to see that British personnel in that country are not subjected to further acts of hostility. As soon as Mr. KARRIMAN, who left yesterday for Teheran,
obtains these assurances from the Iranian Government, the British Mission will undertake the trip. Another reason for delaying Mr. STOKES' trip is the fact that the British Government does not wish to give the impression of being in a hurry to initiate negotiations under American pressure. Mr. SHERIDAN, the British Ambassador in Tehran, has not returned to Tehran with Mr. HARRIMAN, but he will do so accompanying Mr. STOKES.

In the same session of Commons, Mr. CHURCHILL explained the Conservative Party's position with regard to the Iranian conflict. He pointed out that in all of the conversations he had with Mr. ATTLEE and Mr. MORRISON, in the name of the Opposition, he said that the Conservatives would strongly oppose every measure which would lead to the evacuation of Abadan. He affirmed that British personnel at the Abadan refinery must remain in Iran at all costs, and that if [Iran] tries to drive them out, [England] must not hesitate to intervene with force. He pointed out that if events compel recourse to such a measure, a meeting of Parliament should be convened at once. He made this explanation on the supposition of a possible break in the negotiations which at the present time are about to open. Mr. CHURCHILL also paid tribute to Mr. HARRIMAN's mediation to find a solution of the present conflict. Hereafter, it was pointed out here, Mr. HARRIMAN's mediating mission is ended, but nevertheless he will continue for some time in
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Reitera for the purpose of interposing conciliatory action in the event that other difficulties arise.

Mr. MORRISON in this debate also referred to the Anglo-Egyptian conflict.

He accused the Egyptian Government for its attitude on the following problems:

1. Constant refusal to collaborate with the British Government to study a plan of defense,

2. Restrictions placed upon the freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal, and

3. Insistence in contending that there is no difference between the Egyptian people and the Sudanese.

Mr. MORRISON ended, however, with a conciliatory appeal that Egypt make a last effort toward an understanding with Great Britain.

Finally, Mr. MORRISON reviewed the Middle East situation referring once again to the differences existing between Israel and the Arab countries. He pointed out that relations between Great Britain and Israel had improved, and made an appeal to the Arab people that they do likewise and accept the established fact of the existence of the State of Israel.

Mr. CHURCHILL, participating in this debate on the Middle East, strongly attacked Mr. MORRISON both politically and personally. With special reference to Anglo-Egyptian relations, he accused the Foreign

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Office of having a contradictory policy, making loans and war material available to Egypt while that country violates international agreements establishing freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal. He asked the government to adopt a firm policy toward Egypt, suspending all types of payments and shipment of merchandice until Egypt respects international agreements on freedom of navigation.

It is pointed out here that Mr. CHURCHILL has accentuated his criticism of the government's policy, as well as of Mr. MORRISON personally, in this debate, in view of the censure which has been directed against him for some time in his own Conservative ranks for not having clearly presented the Opposition's point of view on the Egyptian and Iranian questions.

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