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The Eagle and the Bull: United States Relations With Francoist Spain during World War II

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## Abstract

This thesis argues that the relationship between the United States and Spain played a significant part in maintaining the neutrality of Spain and had a considerable effect on the outcome of the war. It is largely based on research done at The Columbia University Rare Book Library on the Carlton J.H. Hayes Papers, 1920-1962. These papers were the records of the Ambassador of the United States to Spain, Carlton J.H. Hayes, and contained his personal notes and correspondence in addition to official communications and letters that he wrote as Ambassador to Spain. Utilizing the hundreds of pages contained in this archive was essential in gaining access to a unique set of primary sources that placed the United States-Spanish relationship in a context previously unexplored. Where before, there was little secondary research on the American relationship with Spain during World War II, and even fewer that utilized the writings of Carlton Hayes, this thesis explores a new avenue of research on a little explored subject. Additionally, Ambassador Hayes' personal notes and correspondence provided a window into the mind of an individual whose experiences during World War II were singular and reflective of his responsibilities during the war. The opportunity to utilize these records allowed this rare perspective to come to light and his words and experiences are reflected throughout this thesis.

## Acknowledgments

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## Introduction

When the forces of Nazi Germany crossed the Polish border on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939, the world changed forever. Policies of appeasement maintained by Western Europe's democracies that allowed fascist powers to expand in order to maintain global peace had failed. Europe was once again at war. By the end of the war every independent nation in Europe, and many around the world, had joined either the Allied Nations or the Axis Nations, choosing a side in the conflict. There were, however, exceptions. Nations whose individual leaders, motivations, or interests made them declare that they were neutral offered neither aid nor harbor to either side, or offered both equal access to resources. In Europe this included Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Sweden and Switzerland. Among these neutral nations, the story of how Spain maintained its neutrality is particularly compelling and unique.

Spain is the largest nation in the Iberian Peninsula. Spain's size, geographic location, and status as a major European power meant that its people and government were in a unique position when hostilities broke out following Germany's invasion of Poland. Each nation that joined either the Allies or the Axis had the potential to profoundly affect the outcome of the war. Small European nations with few resources and large nations on the other side of the world all maintained a potential to shape aspects of the war if they joined. Spain, however, was especially qualified to alter the outcome of the war. Having just concluded a civil war, its soldiers were hardened war veterans more than capable of invading a neighbor or otherwise inexorably changing the outcome of the second global war. Combine Spain's military prowess with their location and status in Europe and it had the potential throughout the war to radically alter which side won.

Moreover, Spain had a close relationship with the Axis Powers. During Spain's Civil War, a dictatorship rose to power, aided directly and militarily by the fascist powers in Europe in Germany and Italy. Consequently, when Germany invaded Poland and lines were drawn in the sand, the fascists in power in Spain should have logically supported their international benefactors. Its government, however, decided to maintain neutrality throughout the war. Although there were a number of reasons that Spain reached this decision, one of the key reasons for this were the diplomatic efforts of the United States. The United States would succeed not only in making Spain neutral, but would spend the duration of the war successfully lobbying the Spanish government for the continuation of that neutrality. Indeed, the United States government would, in concert with the other Allied Powers, utilize Spain as a tool to win the war. When the war began, the United States was also a neutral nation. The goals of the United States were to identify the motives and sympathies of the Spanish leaders and people, influence the Spanish leaders in order to maintain Spain's neutrality, and then use Spain as a neutral nation to help achieve wartime goals.

There were a number of key players whose actions were directly responsible for influencing the relationship between Spain and the United States. Some of these important people were the leaders of the United States, Spain, and Germany: President Franklin Roosevelt, General Francisco Franco, and Adolf Hitler. Their correspondence, intentions, and personalities in addition to their direct diplomatic efforts were to drive much of the diplomatic efforts in Spain. Other important individuals include significant members of the Spanish government, men like Serano Suñer and Count Jordana, whose position and influence within the Spanish government defined much of the direction that Spain would take throughout the war. Although

their names are not likely recognizable to many, the ministers and administrators of the Spanish government held a significant influence on the direction it chose.

One of the most significant individuals in this story is the American ambassador to Spain Carlton J.H. Hayes. Carlton Hayes was an academic and historian at Columbia University, appointed by President Franklin Roosevelt to represent the interests of the United States in Spain. Throughout the war, the ambassador would be instrumental in maintaining Spain's neutrality, using his status to monitor and thwart Axis efforts in Spain, encourage pro-Allied Powers and influence the Spanish leadership. He would also act covertly, gathering intelligence, maintaining a network of spies, and bribing key government officials, all in order to further American wartime goals. Hayes' actions, both overt and covert, diplomatic and discrete, provided a record of the American government's actions and observations in Spain. They reflected the American position in Spain, and show the efforts American diplomats went to in order to keep Spain neutral. It was his worldview that would inform the American-Spanish relationship.

Before being appointed as ambassador, Carlton Hayes was a historian. Employed by Columbia University, he was a pragmatist who wrote numerous history books and gave numerous lectures prior to being appointed as the United States Ambassador to Spain. A Catholic convert, he was seen by President Franklin Roosevelt as the obvious choice for Ambassador. He would be accepted by the Spanish because of his religion. He would also be an effective ambassador because of his historical knowledge and his ability to ideologically accept Franco's regime as a pragmatist. As a conservative and pragmatist, Hayes was willing to work with the Spanish government in order to advance American interests. Even though he, and most Americans, disagreed with the idea of a dictatorship, Hayes was willing to work with the Spanish

to keep them neutral and as he believed: "...convert them into an ally."<sup>1</sup> The American Ambassador was able to see the benefit of working with a government he disagreed with, and his writings and his records reflect this. As someone who could accept the Spanish dictatorship as a reality to be worked with, Ambassador Carlton Hayes was able to maintain Spanish neutrality and advance the goals of the United States in a country that not only had many reasons to side with the Axis Powers, but a country whose governance was disliked by most Americans.

The goal of this thesis is to explain the diplomatic relationship between the United States and Spain. More specifically, this means that it will first give background on the United States and Spanish diplomatic relationship, while also explaining the wider context of the Spanish Civil War as it was relevant to the nation's diplomatic relationship with the United States during World War II. It will then explain how Spain became a neutral nation during World War II, and how the United States and the Allied nations worked to encourage and maintain Spanish neutrality. Finally, this thesis will explain how the United States and the Allies utilized a neutral Spain to their advantage during the war, and how this contributed to Allied advances. The Allied relationship with Spain avoided potentially disastrous outcomes of the war, and had a clear and positive effect on the result of the war. Much of this thesis will be told citing the primary sources left behind by American Ambassador to Spain Carlton Hayes, a source and story previously untouched by historians of the era, but it will also utilize secondary source from a variety of mediums, uncovering a unique and rarely acknowledged story of the Second World War.

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<sup>1</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 1-15



## Chapter 1: Eagle and Bull Meet

Understanding the history of the United States' relationship with Spain during World War II requires an understanding of the formation and evolution of the relationship. This cannot simply begin with the twentieth century, because the relationship began long before that, and its longer history explains much about how the United States viewed its Spanish counterpart as well as how Spain saw its relationship with the United States. The political and military history of the two nations go back to the inception of the American nation, and inform their relationship in the twentieth century. This examination, therefore, begins with the American Revolution and the founding of a nation.

In 1776, Thirteen Colonies in North America rebelled against Great Britain, their mother country. In a David versus Goliath scenario, a ragtag army of militiamen, civilian volunteers, and misfits attempted to fight one of the largest and most powerful global empires of their era. Their struggle initially went poorly. Soon after conflict broke out, the colonials found themselves frequently outmatched and often on the losing side of battles. Additionally, separating from their mother country meant that in conducting trade and getting arms and munitions to fight Britain they would need foreign assistance to prevail.

One of the nations these revolutionaries turned to was Spain.<sup>2</sup> Spain supplied arms, munitions, and financial aid, and this aid proved vital assistance to the rebelling colonials.<sup>3</sup> Later Spain joined the conflict directly, thus playing a role in ending Britain's grip on her colonies. When the war was over, and the Treaty of Paris was signed recognizing the United States as an independent nation, Spain was an early nation to recognize this independence and trade with the

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas A. Bailey, *A diplomatic history of the American people* (10th ed. 1980) Pg. 32-33.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas E. Chavez *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift*. (UNM Press, January 2004), Pg. 225.

new nation. As one of America's earliest diplomatic friends, Spain developed an early and positive relationship with the United States.<sup>4</sup> A consequence of the American Revolution was not only the founding of a new nation, but the establishment of a political relationship with one of the great powers of Europe, Spain.

Understanding Spain's relationship with Europe will help explain how Spain decided to remain neutral in World War II. It can also help explain Spain's diplomatic relationship with the United States because Spanish history informed the way it viewed and interacted with other nations. The event that would have had the greatest impact on Spain in these regards was the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula by Napoleon Bonaparte and his French forces at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The invasion, the efforts by Spanish guerillas to overthrow the French conquerors, and the coalition of French, Portuguese, and Spanish troops that eventually kicked the French out of the Iberian Peninsula would establish in the psyche of the Spanish the horrors of European warfare, and the awesome toll warfare could take on the peoples who lived in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>5</sup> It was not likely the most significant lesson taught by Napoleon to subsequent generations of Spaniards, however.

Total War is the concept that during warfare civilian resources were legitimate military targets. Although this first appeared as a concept after the Napoleonic wars, it very much applies to how Napoleon's forces treated the Spanish during their invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. When French troops invaded Spain, the outrage of Spain's peoples was intense. A series of massive uprisings of Spanish civilians ensued, and soon French troops were battling Spanish militias and irregular forces for control of entire cities. This irregular warfare resulted in vicious reprisals by the French troops against civilians and captured guerillas: "...an uprising took place

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<sup>4</sup> Richard B. Morris, *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence* (1965).

<sup>5</sup> David A. Bell, *The First Total War*, (New York: Mariner Books, 2007), Pg. 270-290

in Madrid itself. The French suppressed amid gory street fighting, and the next day firing squads summarily executed hundreds of prisoners.”<sup>6</sup> The executions and horrors committed by French forces were immortalized in the Spanish national identity, and this can be seen through works like *The Third of May, 1808* by Francisco Goya, depicting the execution of Spaniards by French soldiers.<sup>7</sup>

Called the Peninsular War, the horrors inflicted upon the Spanish and their determination to overthrow their French oppressors marked a watershed moment in the Spanish identity. Spanish nationalism, later used as a rallying cry for Spaniards during the Spanish Civil War, was magnified and helped to define their rebellion. Entering into World War II, their concern that a European Empire, in this case Germany, would invade the Iberian Peninsula was very real. It also meant that both the Spanish government and its people understood the cost of joining the Allies or Axis, and another massive war with world powers.

Although the United States entered into a positive relationship with Spain over the century following American independence, this relationship hit a great many road blocks. The greatest of these roadblocks was the War of 1812, where the United States found that a Spain which had, less than half-a-century prior, proclaimed a friendship with the United States was now its enemy.<sup>8</sup> As Americans entered the Nineteenth Century, they found their status as a sovereign nation questioned by their former colonial master. The violation of the rights of American sailors by the British Navy, as well as British military incidents on the northern border of the United States eventually resulted in war. At the same time Napoleon was invading and being losing the conflict in the Iberian Peninsula, Spain was fighting to hold onto its colony in

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<sup>6</sup> David A. Bell, *The First Total War*, (New York: Mariner Books, 2007), Pg. 276.

<sup>7</sup> Francisco Goya, *The Third of May, 1808*. 1814, Oil on Canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

<sup>8</sup> Donald R Hickey, *The War of 1812*. (University of Illinois Press, 1990).

modern-day Florida. The United States, meanwhile, had developed an early semblance of a belief in Manifest Destiny, i.e., the idea that the United States was destined to expand across North America.<sup>9</sup> These ideologies conflicted with Spain's presence in Florida, and American colonists eventually rose up in rebellion and ousted the Spanish from this colony.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, at the beginning of the Nineteenth century, Americans saw Spain as more enemy than friend.

After the American overthrow of the Spain's Florida colony, America signed the Adams-Onís Treaty. This treaty specifically outlined the borders of American land and Spanish land in Texas, and turned Florida over to the American government. The conflict, however, foreshadowed a great shift in the American-Spanish relationship. Former friends, Spain now saw an American desire for control of the entirety of the New World.<sup>11</sup> Americans, on the other hand, saw Spain as an increasingly unfriendly nation whose empire in the New World was a direct obstacle to their expansion. Although immediate concerns had been settled, Spain's relationship with America had not only deteriorated, but both sides now recognized the opposing interests they had for one another.

Spain, once a major colonial power in the Americas, had long been an empire on the decline. They had colonies in the Caribbean, like Puerto Rico and Cuba, but they also had colonies in the Near East, like the Philippines. America, on the other hand, was looking for opportunities to expand. American ideology in the Americas was based on the Monroe Doctrine, which was a policy that essentially stated that the United States was the dominant controller of

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<sup>9</sup> Lesli J. Favor, "*Settling the West*", *A Historical Atlas of America's Manifest Destiny* (Rosen, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> Donald R Hickey, *The War of 1812*. (University of Illinois Press, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> James W Cordata, *Spain and the American Civil War: Relations at Mid-Century, 1855-1868*. (American Philosophical Society, 1980).

the Americas and foreign influence would be seen as an act of aggression.<sup>12</sup> The result was the Spanish-American War. The United States easily defeated the Spanish military and gained control of its Caribbean and Pacific colonies, a small empire. One of the greatest consequences of this was a severing of American and Spanish diplomatic ties. At the turn of the twentieth century, this had repercussions lasting decades, as the two nations would have to rebuild a broken relationship. During the process of rebuilding this relationship, Spain would develop closer economic ties with the United States, ties that would become critical to diplomacy efforts during World War II.

In the World War I, Spain maintained a state of neutrality very different from its neutrality in World War II. As a large, neutral European power, Spain sold weapons to countries like France and Greece.<sup>13</sup> In this war, neutrality was a calculated risk. Spanish leaders believed that they could benefit economically, and avoid the political ramifications of choosing a particular side.<sup>14</sup> Their focus was on their economy, but German U-boat attacks, and the flow of vital goods to Spain decreased, resulting in some shortages.<sup>15</sup> The most important part of the war, however, was the ideological effect it had on the Spanish people. Hearing stories and reading about the war, the population began to divide itself between Francophiles and Germanophiles, those who sympathized with either France or Germany in the war. By World War II, these sympathies festered and had a profound effect on how Spain would be influenced by foreign powers. In between these two global wars, a national war within Spain would inexorably alter its global outlook.

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<sup>12</sup> "The Monroe Doctrine (1823)". *Basic Readings in U.S. Democracy*. (United States Department of State, January 8, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*. Volumes I and II. New York: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1952.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid

<sup>15</sup> Carolyn S Lowry, "At what cost?: Spanish neutrality in the First World War" *University of South Florida*, 2009.

Spain changed significantly after World War I. Nominally a Monarchy, Spain became a Republic. As a Republic, Spain began to become more and more influenced by various left-leaning ideologies. Workers' parties and unions gained strength in the new Spanish Republic, and in the same interval military leaders suspected of leading a potential coup were sidelined.<sup>16</sup> General Francisco Franco was fired from his military position as Chief of Staff and sent to the Canary Islands, in an informal exile.<sup>17</sup> These actions resulted in covert plans being made for a coup by a number of senior members of the military, and Franco, a long-respected member of the army command, was amongst them. In the following weeks, attempted arrests and murders resulted in reprisals that shook the nation into action. Forces in the army began to arm and mobilize in an attempted rebellion against the Republic.<sup>18</sup> Conversely, Socialist and Communist leaders began demanding the armories be opened to the civilian population, so they could resist the attempted rebellion.<sup>19</sup> The opening shots of the Spanish Civil War had been fired.

The Spanish Civil War was fought from 1936 to 1939, on the eve of the Second World War, between the forces commanded by exiled Spanish Army General Francisco Franco, known as Nationalists, and the left-leaning forces that supported the existing government of the Second Spanish Republic, called Republicans. The rebellion of the Nationalists against the Second Spanish Republic began in Spanish Morocco, where Spain's army, traditionally a bastion of Catholicism and Conservative thinking, organized an uprising.<sup>20</sup> While successful in Morocco, the Nationalists were far less successful in mainland Spain, making marginal gains while the Republicans armed and rallied. Across Spain, soldiers, civilians, and politicians were forced to

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<sup>16</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, Touchstone, 1961). Pg. 159-160

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. Pg. 258

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Pg. 268

<sup>20</sup> *World War II in HD Colour: "The Gathering Storm,"* DVD, narrated by Robert Powell (2008; London, United Kingdom: IMG Media)

choose a side, and armed conflict was common. In the Spanish Navy, seamen and officers fought pitched battles for control of ships, often emblematic of conflicts within barracks and in cities throughout Spain.<sup>21</sup> With the exception of Spanish Morocco, however, most of Spain remained under the control of Republicans.<sup>22</sup> Franco's Nationalists needed help crossing the Strait of Gibraltar, help foreign nations were more than willing to give.

Foreign powers would play a large role in the Spanish Civil War. The Nationalists, primarily isolated in Spanish Morocco, were airlifted by German and Italian aircraft into Spain, allowing them to bolster their largely unsuccessful counterparts on the Spanish mainland. Germany and Spain not only provided transport, but also direct air support, arms, and volunteer forces. These volunteers would return home as war veterans whose combat experience would prove invaluable to the Axis Powers during the Second World War.<sup>23</sup> Other Allies to Nationalist forces would include Conservative Portugal and a number of Irish volunteers determined to fight Communism. Portuguese aide would instill a lasting political relationship between Franco's government and the Portuguese government. It was German and Italian support, however, that would have an indelible effect on the Nationalists. Their technological support and volunteer soldiers were vital in tipping the war firmly in favor of the Nationalists, and the Nationalists would remember this aide when war broke out. The Republicans also received support in the form of direct aide from the USSR and Mexico, and volunteers from many other countries. In the end, however, the support for the Nationalists far outweighed the support for the Republicans.

The United States maintained an Ambassador, Claude Bowers, in Spain during the War. Ambassador Bowers was located in Madrid. As a neutral nation in the fight, the United States

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<sup>21</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, Touchstone, 1961). Pg. 227

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* Pg. 226

<sup>23</sup> Chester Wilmot, *The Struggle for Europe*. (CT, Konecky, 1952). Pg. 580-603

refused to aid either side. The Ambassador's view during the fighting was that the Republic fell the moment it allowed civilians access to the nation's armories, therefore neither side represented a legitimate government in Spain.<sup>24</sup> He therefore consistently recommended that the United States recognize the Republicans as the legitimate government but not aide them because they, in reality, were no longer fighting for a Republic.<sup>25</sup> Keeping the United States neutral, despite a significant distaste for the Nationalists, allowed the United States to legitimately deal with the Nationalist government after it won the Civil War.

Diplomatically, the United States remained neutral in the fight from 1939 to 1942. As a result of other nations support, however, the Spanish Civil War was seen by many as a fight between Authoritarianism and Communism. Within each side, however, there were a wide variety of political ideologies. The Nationalists were not only Fascists, or Falangists in Spain, but also Monarchists, and a number of other moderate and extreme right-leaning ideologies. The Republicans were Communists, Anarchists, Socialists, and other left-leaning ideologies.<sup>26</sup> Whereas the Nationalists had rigid order and military discipline, the Republicans had infighting over which ideology they should follow.<sup>27</sup> This meant that nations like France and Great Britain would not give aid to a potentially far-left side in the conflict. It also meant that Nationalist militarism was able to make military gains while Republicans waged street battles over which ideology would lead their government.

There were a host of tragedies on both sides of the Civil War that would leave a lasting impression on the people of Spain. Nationalists, upon seizing a town, would immediately begin cleansing it of individuals suspected of supporting the Republicans. This included,

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<sup>24</sup> Claude Bowers, *My Life; The Memoirs of Claude Bowers*, (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1962). Pg. 269

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* Pg. 275-285

<sup>26</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, Touchstone, 1961). Pg. 150-176

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* Pg. 830-840



“...schoolteachers, tradesmen and union members, as well as mass execution of civilians believed or suspected to have aided the Republicans.”<sup>28</sup> Republicans were frequently criticized for executing Catholic priests, monks, and nuns, killing thousands of them in villages and in town churches. The Spanish Army, as a traditionalist and staunch Catholic institution, saw the execution of those priests as a direct product of Communism. Although both sides committed atrocities and executions were rife across Spain during the war, the Nationalists would carry the memory of the executed Catholic figures into World War II.<sup>29</sup> Their ideological hatred of Communism meant that, to Nationalist Spaniards after the Civil War, the Soviet Union was the greatest global threat to Spain, a threat that would need to be directly countered.

The Spanish Civil War ended when the Nationalists closed in on Madrid, one of the last bastions of the Spanish Republic. The International Brigades, Republican volunteers from around the world, were sent home.<sup>30</sup> One by one nations, including the United States, began to recognize the Nationalists as the legitimate rulers of Spain.<sup>31</sup> The Nationalist victory brought one of the architects of their rebellion, General Franco, into power as their leader. Across Spain, lands that had been collectivized by Anarchists saw their social revolution crushed. At the end of the fighting, reprisals by the Nationalists began. By executing thousands or even tens-of-thousands of individuals, whose total and accurate numbers are still unknown, and imprisoning thousands of others, massive numbers of individuals were killed when it was perceived that they were sympathetic to the Republicans.

The Nationalist victory resulted in a mass exodus of Republican supporters from Spain. Some of these individuals fled Latin America to nations like Mexico and Venezuela with leftist

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<sup>28</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, Touchstone, 1961). Pg. 895

<sup>29</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, Touchstone, 1961). Pg. 199

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* Pg. 968

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* Pg. 887

governments. The vast majority, however, fled to Vichy France, where they were held in concentration camps and subjected to horrific conditions.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, over ten-thousand more individuals, mostly farmers, fled as refugees to Vichy France. Most were returned to Spain and sent to prison, but some were sent to Nazi Germany to die at the Mauthausen Concentration Camp.<sup>33</sup> These executions and deaths would not be realized by many outside Spain for decades following the war, but with the fall of the Francoist regime, these post-conflict atrocities came to light. The use of Nazi Concentration Camps to remove unwanted individuals in Spain indicated early-on that the Spanish were willing to work with the Germans to remove perceived dissidents from the Iberian Peninsula.

On the eve of World War II, Spain had a population of around 26 million people.<sup>34</sup> Ravaged economically by the Spanish Civil War, rationing in 1939 was commonplace, only ending in 1952, and homelessness and fuel shortages were relatively common. Under the newly formed dictatorship, Catholicism was prevalent in daily Spanish life. Abortion and contraception were strictly banned, and a veneration of members of the clergy was observed at large by the Spanish population, enforced by a deeply Catholic military and government. Life expectancy was around 47 years of age and the fertility rate was slightly over two in 1939.<sup>35</sup> Madrid was the largest city, and Spain had overseas territories in Morocco, the Pacific, and various islands near Spain and around the world. Politically, the majority of Spanish citizens after the war were conservative, religious, and pro-monarchy, as the Spanish monarchy was an important cultural and conservative influence on Spanish life.<sup>36</sup> Many of these realities were a result of the Spanish

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<sup>32</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, Touchstone, 1961). Pg. 895

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> "World Population Review: History of the Population of Spain" *World Population Review*  
<http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/spain-population/>

<sup>35</sup> "Life expectancy". *Our World in Data*. <https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/life-expectancy?year=1810>

<sup>36</sup> Solsten, Eric; Meditz, Sandra W. "King, Prime Minister, and Council of Ministers". *Spain, a country Study*. (Washington GPO for the Library of Congress, 1998). Retrieved 18 February 2012. <http://countrystudies.us/spain/76.htm>

Civil War, and although many would change over the course of World War II, they offer a glimpse into the life of the average Spaniard in 1939.

## Chapter 2: Eagle and Bull Negotiate

Chapter Two discusses the Allied, and specifically American, efforts to achieve Spanish neutrality. It will detail how Spain, at a crossroads, and with significant reasons to join the Axis Powers, initially decided against joining them, and then when given another opportunity to join the Axis, was influenced by the United Kingdom and a neutral United States and remained neutral. This chapter will detail the Spanish government as well as the major political ideologies and philosophies that influenced Spain, particularly amongst the educated class, the elites, and within the government. It will additionally show how the United States worked to maintain Spanish neutrality, and how, in discussions between Ambassador Carlton Hayes and General Francisco Franco, their discussions showed their individual personalities and the efforts that went in to influencing Spain's relationship with the Axis Powers.

The United States Ambassador to Spain, Carlton Hayes, sat down with both the Spanish Foreign Minister and General Franco throughout his tenure as Ambassador during World War II for regular diplomatic and non-diplomatic discussions. While meetings with Franco were always, at least according to Hayes, "formal and diplomatic affairs," his meeting with the foreign minister were not always so formal.<sup>37</sup> Once the pro-Axis foreign minister was replaced with one more open to the Allies, Hayes often discussed the war and ongoing political affairs in informal discussions with the replacement foreign minister. Hayes was formal by nature and seemed to appreciate that aspect of his position. He was also not averse to asking hard-hitting questions, and often willing to ask delicate questions directly to Franco. Franco, somewhat in contrast, seemed to always carefully consider his audience and attempt to portray his nation in the most

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<sup>37</sup> Carlton JH Hayes Autobiographical Notes, Box 3, Folder 1, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

sympathetic light. For example, rather than aiding the Axis by allowing Spanish volunteers to fight the Soviets, he was “committed to fighting Communism and saw the Axis fight as an opportunity to do so.”<sup>38</sup> Their personalities come through in the writings Ambassador Hayes left behind, and their impact on diplomacy throughout the war became apparent as the United States worked to keep Spain neutral once war broke out.

When the armies of Nazi Germany crossed the Polish border on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939 the world changed forever. Policies of appeasement maintained by Western Europe’s Democracies, allowing fascist powers to expand in order to maintain global peace, had long since failed, and the world was once again plunged into a global war. By the conclusion of the conflict, nearly every independent nation in Europe and many around the world joined in the fighting on one of the two opposing sides in war. There were, however, exceptions: nations whose individual leaders or motivations made them declare a state of neutrality, offering neither aid nor harbor to any nation aligned with either side of the conflict. Amongst these neutral nations, the story of Spain’s neutrality is especially unique.

Spain. As the largest nation in the Iberian Peninsula, its size, geographic location, and status as a European Power meant that its people and government were in a unique position of power when Germany invaded Poland. Having just concluded a Civil War, its soldiers were recent veterans in a unique position to invade or assist their neighbors. Additionally, the Spanish Civil War resulted in a dictatorship coming to power in Spain, a dictatorship directly aided in its victory by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Therefore, when Germany invaded Poland and lines were drawn “in the sand,” Spain would logically fall in with its dictatorial benefactors, a wartime

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<sup>38</sup> Carlton JH Hayes Letters to President Roosevelt, 30 June- July 8<sup>th</sup> 1942, Box 1, Folder 2, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

position its benefactors fully expected it to support.<sup>39</sup> The government of General Francisco Franco, however, chose to establish and maintain a state of neutrality throughout the war. One of the key reasons for this were the diplomatic efforts of the United States.

Beginning as a neutral nation, the efforts of the diplomats of the United States were to identify the motives and sympathies of the Spanish leaders, influence those leaders in order to maintain Spain's neutrality, and then use Spain's status as a neutral nation on the European mainland to achieve wartime goals. In undertaking these efforts, the United States succeeded in not only maintaining Spanish neutrality, but in utilizing this neutrality to accomplish significant wartime activities and goals that affected the outcome of the war in favor of the Allies. Starting to look at Spain during World War II from this point forward, it will become clear that the diplomatic efforts of the United States in Spain were critical in the maintenance of Spanish neutrality, and that further efforts within Spain to assist refugees, aid allies, and further influence the war produced tangible effects on the war in Europe and the people involved in it.

Shortly after Spain was forcibly united under the government of General Francisco Franco, World War II broke out. Using a new offensive military tactic called Blitzkrieg, the armies of Nazi Germany rapidly overwhelmed their Polish neighbor. As Poland fell, the great European Democracies, France and England, mobilized for war and prepared for combat similar to World War I. Spain, however, no longer seemed to be the neutral power it had been in World War I, as its government was no longer a monarchy or a republic, but a dictatorship with direct ties to the other dictatorships of Europe. Spain no longer appeared sympathetic to their elective democratic neighbors. As a dictatorship placed in control by other European dictators located south of France, Spain was both ideologically and geographically well-placed to join the Axis

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<sup>39</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 30

Powers in an invasion of France. Additionally, France's border with Spain was far less defended than their border with Germany, making an invasion of France from this front particularly appealing from a tactical perspective for the Axis militaries. The Spanish government and people were at a crossroads. Having a landscape and a people devastated in a recent Civil War, their decision to join the Axis Powers in an invasion of France could further devastate an already war-weary populace. Conversely, supporting the Allies, or even merely declaring neutrality would go against the sympathies of a vast majority of the Spanish people. It could also result in an Axis invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in an attempt to control British Gibraltar and Spanish resources. Whatever was chosen, Spain risked its status as an independent nation, and the lives of its citizens.

Spain's initial path to neutrality was more representative of coincidence than choice. With significant Axis sympathies, Spain began formal talks, or negotiations, with Germany to join the Axis Powers.<sup>40</sup> With tens-of-thousands of veteran soldiers, Spain saw opportunities for territorial expansion, as well as the honoring or returning of the aide that had been given to their Nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War. At the same time they had serious concerns about the British, whose massive Naval forces could isolate Spanish Morocco or the Spanish-controlled Canary Islands. This meant that at the negotiating table, Franco's demands to Hitler, were primarily based off of concerns for vulnerable Spanish holdings.<sup>41</sup> Initially Hitler saw Spanish participation in the war as unnecessary, but by the time negotiations began, Hitler saw these demands as unreasonable, and both leaders walked away without an agreement. Due to this lack of agreement, Spain did not join the Axis Powers and declared a state of neutrality.

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<sup>40</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 30

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid* pg. 31

By declaring Spanish neutrality, Spain was externally neutral. In other words, officially Spain would not join or hold sympathy to either side in the war. Internally, however, divisions were rife. A significant portion of the populace, including the state controlled or influenced media and members of the government, recalled the assistance of the Axis Powers in the Spanish Civil War, and were called Germanophiles, or individuals in Spain whose sympathized with the Axis Powers. Additionally, the camaraderie established when German and Italian resources like planes and soldiers assisted Spanish Nationalists in the Civil War, as well as a mutual hatred of Communism, resulted in some individuals having serious pro-Axis sympathies.<sup>42</sup> As a dictatorship, Spain also had more direct political commonalities with the other dictatorships of Europe, meaning that Franco, himself, was likely a Germanophile in many respects, seeing more personally in common with his German and Italian counterparts, as well as having a personal hatred of Communism from his time during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>43</sup><sup>44</sup> At first glance, Spain's internal loyalties would seem to be overwhelmingly aligned with the Axis Powers. Lastly, the Spanish Civil War expunged a plethora of the political opponents to Franco's dictatorship. This included Anarchists, Communists, Socialists, and Syndicalists, people whose ideology led them to either die fighting the Nationalists in the Civil War, or flee to nations like Venezuela.<sup>45</sup> People with these ideologies were in short supply in Spain, and these political migrations made Spain's Germanophiles a significant portion of the population after the outbreak of World War II.

There was, however, an internal opposition to the Germanophiles, including individuals who saw Spain as having longstanding ties with Britain and the neutral United States. These

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<sup>42</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 30

<sup>43</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, Touchstone, 1961). Pg. 199

<sup>44</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 31

<sup>45</sup> James Badcock, "Venezuelans escape to Spain and ask to return old favour," *BBC*, October 18, 2018, [https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45640307?intlink\\_from\\_url=https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/cg41ylwvwx/venezuela&link\\_location=live-reporting-story](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45640307?intlink_from_url=https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/cg41ylwvwx/venezuela&link_location=live-reporting-story)



individuals were called Anglophiles and held a number of key government and military positions in Spain.<sup>46</sup> These Anglophiles saw direct opposition to Great Britain as going against Spanish national interests. They were also realists who saw other neutral nations, as well as Britain, as trade and diplomatic partners whose alliance was key to keeping Spain an independent nation. At the outbreak of the war, key positions like the Minister of Foreign Affairs were occupied by Anglophiles who saw it as their duty to keep Spain out of the war. One result of these efforts was the continued independence of the British port of Gibraltar, a vital port of British control throughout the war. Throughout the war Spain denied German attempts to march through Spain to seize the port and refused internal attempts to seize the port, that would have brought Spain into the war. Easy territorial gains were thwarted by Anglophiles at the outbreak of the war to prevent Spain from being subsumed into the global conflict.

While the Spanish populace can be divided between pro-Axis and pro-Allied individuals, politically the country was divided along more ideological lines. One of the largest parties in Spain was the Falangist Party. The Falangist movement began as an anti-capitalist, generally pro-fascist movement that advocated for a one-party Spanish state under the control of a dictatorship. Falangists also continually advocated for the seizure of the Gibraltar from Great Britain and a unification with Portugal, a position that directly conflicted with the interests of the Allied Powers in World War II. Additionally, although other fascist movements in Europe had strong anti-Semitic tendencies, there appears to be very little evidence of this degree of hatred towards Jews by Falangists, other than in the context of an anti-Marxist sentiment. This lack of strong anti-Jewish sentiment in the mainstream of Spain's nationalist political ideology was clearly a departure from the other dictatorships of Europe. Early on, Falangism was identified as

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<sup>46</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 45

a key obstacle to the objectives of the United States in Spain, and one of the goals of the United States became undermining Falangist influence on the Spanish government.

The leader of the Falangist movement in Spain was General Franco's brother-in-law, Serrano Suñer, the President of the Falange Party caucus. Suñer was ardently pro-Axis, and brought the Falangist ideology to the height of the Spanish dictatorship.<sup>47</sup> While initially appointed by Franco to be the Minister of the Interior, he was eventually appointed by Franco as the to be Spain's Minister of Foreign Affairs, a position that allowed him to bring Spain closer to the Axis Powers. He was also able to use this position to spread the Falangist ideology to the Spanish people during the Second World War. On first look, the United States Ambassador to Spain, Carlton JH Hayes, described Serrano Suñer as a "...cleverer and less principled man than Franco."<sup>48</sup> Hayes essentially described Suñer as an intelligent individual, whose commitment to the Axis was not one of principal, but one conceived out of a belief that the Axis would eventually win. He maintained close ties to Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy throughout his tenure as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was therefore a key target of Hayes' attempts to monitor Axis influence on the Spanish government. Serrano Suñer was also seen, however, as having a limited effect on the Spanish government and people. Despite this, minimizing his influence was a key element of the efforts of the United States in Spain.

While the Falangist movement had a significant influence on the Spanish population during the Spanish Civil War, it became a far greater driver of the Spanish government after the war ended and General Franco began his dictatorship in Spain. The government during the Spanish Dictatorship in World War II was not directly controlled by an ideology of Falangism.

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<sup>47</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 30 June 1942, Box 1, Folder 2, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>48</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 30

That movement, however, had a significant influence on Spain's government. An influence that leaned decidedly pro-Axis.<sup>49</sup> As the Second World War progressed, a series of leadership changes in the Spanish government resulted in the dismissal of Serrano Suñer, who was pro Axis, as head of the Falangists.<sup>50</sup> The United States' attempt to limit the influence of the Falangists on the Spanish government became a more difficult task when General Franco, already the dictator of Spain, became the leader of the movement.<sup>51</sup> Although the other ideologies present in Spain had a significant effect on Spain during World War II, the Falangists not only wielded the most power, but under Franco's leadership they provided the most obstacles to American influence than any other ideology present in Spain during the Second World War.

One of the least understood factors in Spanish neutrality were the actions of its neighbor, Portugal. Spain and Portugal have intrinsically-linked diplomatic ties. Not only neighbors, but occasional reflections of one-another, their mutual trust and historical friendship meant that what one did, the other often sympathized with. Portugal had joined the Allies in the Great War, but was now an authoritarian state not-unlike Spain. Portugal's diplomatic ties to the Allies were longstanding, and its islands, colonies, and resources made it a significant target for both sides of the war. As an authoritarian state with a rabid hatred of Communism, Portugal decided to become neutral. Because they did not aide the Allies, it was believed by Allied ambassadors that this was a key factor in keeping Spain from aiding the Germans, in effect keeping the whole of the Iberian Peninsula out of the war. Although Portugal would become less relevant to Spanish neutrality as the war progressed, the Portuguese decision to become neutral was another key factor in keeping Spain from joining the Axis Powers.

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<sup>49</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945).

<sup>50</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 21 January 1943, Box 1, Folder 3, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>51</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945).

Spain had an increasing number of reasons to join the Axis Powers as the war expanded in 1940 and 1941. As Germany successfully invaded and took control of France, Franco became increasingly convinced that the Axis Powers would soon control Europe. A key internal change in the Spanish government was the replacing of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Juan Beigbeder Atienza, an Anglophile, with Franco's brother-in-law, Ramon Serrano Suñer.<sup>52</sup> Suñer was a Germanophile, and this key appointment change reflected a view that Spain would need to be more-friendly towards the Axis Powers, who appeared would soon be victorious in conquering the democracies in Europe.<sup>53</sup> As the war progressed, however, attitudes changed. Germany's failure to successfully cross the English Channel and invade England directly changed Hitler's attitude towards Spain. Negotiations to get Spain to join the war resumed but broke down as at this point Spain believed the British were strong enough to threaten its over-seas territories.<sup>54</sup> This also meant that the Germans began drawing up plans for Operation Felix, a German invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.

Following the fall of France and the established failure of Germany to successfully invade the British mainland, it became clear to the diplomats in Madrid that Spain was not going to immediately join the Axis Powers. Attempts to negotiate a formal alliance had only led to diplomatic failures and personality clashes between the negotiators, Hitler and Franco.<sup>55</sup> Internally, however, Spanish opinion was divided between sympathies for the Axis, neutrality, or support for the Allies. A number of outcomes for how Spain would enter the war seemed

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<sup>52</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 32-40.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 30 June 1942, Box 1, Folder 3, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>55</sup> Wayne H Bowen, *Spain in World War II*. (Missouri, University of Missouri, 2006). Pg. 16-40.

possible, and some key goals of US diplomats were identifying these potential points of entry and doing what they could to limit any negative outcomes.<sup>56</sup>

Over the course of the Second World War, a number of high-ranking Spaniards made regular trips to Italy and Germany, meeting with their counterparts in the other fascist governments of Europe. Even Francisco Franco met with Adolf Hitler and other key members of the Nazi leadership like Heinrich Himmler, the head of the SS. Trips by men like Serrano Suner to Nazi Germany created a perpetual concern for United States observers that Spain would still formally ally with Germany as the war expanded. Messages of friendship or congratulations from Franco to Hitler would also be seen as a concern. Monitoring these trips, as well as key communications between Spain and the Axis Powers were critical in assessing the leanings of the Spanish government. Individual actors within the government had the potential to significantly influence its allegiance, particularly General Franco and those close to him in the senior administration. In monitoring their relationship with Germany, President Roosevelt and his emissary in Spain, Carlton Hayes, believed that they could more accurately respond and act in an effort to keep Spain neutral.

On June 22, 1941, Germany proceeded with Operation Barbarossa, the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union. Making rapid gains, the Germans conquered thousands of miles of territory, deep into the heart of the Soviet Union. For Hitler, this was an ideological war just as much as it was one of territorial expansion. Hitler was known to frequently remark that he thought that “Communism as the ultimate enemy of fascism.”<sup>57</sup> When his forces invaded the Soviet Union, the German leadership saw themselves as fighting against their ideological opposites, a fight that

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<sup>56</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 30 June 1942, Box 1, Folder 1, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>57</sup> *World War II in HD Colour: “Hitler Strikes East,”* DVD, narrated by Robert Powell (2008; London, United Kingdom: IMG Media)

was easy to justify from that perspective. Additionally, they had an ideological ally whose sympathies towards the Axis Powers, once waning, now returned with great ferocity over a Communist ideology they also despised. That ally was Spain.

Many Spanish citizens, particularly those who fought and led the Nationalist side during the Spanish Civil War, had a particular distaste for Communism. They still held the memory of Communists and Communist-aligned individuals committing war crimes during the Spanish Civil War. They also remembered that one of the only nations to directly support their opponents in the Spanish Civil War, the Republicans, was the Soviet Union. The Soviets provided direct and vital aid to the Republicans, and this would create a longstanding enmity between Franco's government and the Soviet Union. This inevitably brought Spain close to Germany following the Axis invasion, as they saw the Germans fighting not only the German's ideological opposite, but the Spanish ideological opposite as well. The result would be a closing of Spanish and German ties, and the eventual formation of the Spanish Blue Division.

The Spanish Blue Division was a unit of volunteer and conscript soldiers who fought with the German Army against the Soviet Union during World War II. The division consisted of volunteers from Spain as well as a number of volunteers from Portugal. Because Spain was neutral, the unit fought under German command during the conflict, however their actions were limited by Spain to fighting Communism, relegating their fighting to the frontlines in the Soviet Union. Franco reasoned that by relegating the volunteer division's actions to the Eastern Front, he could repay Germany for their support during the Spanish Civil War, fight against their ideological enemy, and remain at peace with the Western Allies. The soldiers consisted primarily of veterans from the Spanish Civil War who received further training and armaments from Germany after volunteering. Their most well-known wartime contribution was at the siege of

Leningrad, where the Blue Division held off a Russian attempt to break the siege with seven times the number of men the Blue Division had. Despite enduring heavily casualties, they held off the Soviet offensive. Despite their success on the battlefield, by the end of 1943 they were eventually forced to pull back as the war began to turn against the Germans and political rumblings began to turn towards the Allied demands to call the Blue Division home.

The political alliance of the Axis, that is to say that of Germany, Italy, and Japan, became a topic of increasing discussion and scrutiny between General Franco and the United States Ambassador to Spain, Carlton Hayes. During their various meetings and discussions, Franco, as head of state, frequently made arguments that Germany and Italy were fighting the scourge of Communism in the Soviet Union. Germans should therefore be considered different from the Japanese who, like many Europeans, he saw as a lesser people whose aggressive expansionism, including into Spanish territories in the Pacific, made them an appropriate enemy of the United States. As many of these conversations followed the attack on Pearl Harbor and the German declaration of war on the United States, the United States needed to convince Franco and many in Spain and neutral Europe who were opposed to Communism, that although Japan was an enemy of the United States, so too were fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Over the duration of their conversations, it was made clear that although Japan had attacked the United States, Germany had declared war on the United States and that made Germany an avowed enemy of the United States. He also made it clear that the Soviet Union, at war with the Axis Powers, was a friend of the United States because “the enemy of my enemy is my friend.” Although Hayes was often regarded as an anticommunist, he passionately defended an alliance borne of necessity.

These conversations hint at the thoughts of the United States and Spain and their diplomatic relationship. Franco, his government, and therefore many in Spain, were committed

anticommunists whose opinion and relationship with the Axis was partially borne from a hatred of Communism. Franco's lack of concern for Imperial Japan shows not only racist attitudes typical of the time, but a lack of commitment to Japan because they were not fighting Communism. The United States, on the other hand, saw through this diplomatic line and, through its ambassador, was determined to impress its reasons for fighting all the Axis nations.<sup>58</sup> Sympathetic to Nazi Germany for more reasons than its war with the Soviet Union, Franco was attempting to justify not only the sales of resources vital to the Nazi war effort, but also the regiment of Spanish volunteers currently serving as part of the German military in its fight against Communism.

When the Nationalists entered Madrid at the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War, the fighting had concluded but internal divisions remained. Some of the greatest of these divisions were within the new government.<sup>59</sup> On one hand, hundreds of thousands of Spaniards were imprisoned in Spain and France, or had left the country altogether to avoid that fate. To outside observers like US Ambassador Carlton Hayes, it seemed an untenable situation that so many opponents to General Franco's dictatorship remained within reach of Spain, or were within Spain itself.<sup>60</sup> It seemed likely that either a mass revolt in Spain would free the prisoners or Spaniards that had fled would return. In either case, the new dictatorship would fall. On the other hand, the other likely outcome viewed by observers was the internal divisions within the new government itself.<sup>61</sup> Under the Nationalist banner in the Civil War rested a number of different conservative and traditionalists ideologies and political movements. Outside the Falangists, one of the most

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<sup>58</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 72

<sup>59</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (New York, Touchstone, 1961).

<sup>60</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 21 January 1943, Box 1, Folder 2, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.



powerful political groups were the Carlists, individuals who supported a return to the Spanish monarchy. A marriage of necessity after winning the war, it seemed likely the Carlists would demand power be given to the family of the former king in the form of his brother, Don Carlos. Hayes also observed that Franco might allow this to occur himself, and that this might lessen the power of the dictatorship and draw Spain further from the Axis. In either case, a key US goal quickly became monitoring and possibly assisting either of these outcomes as they seemed to serve the strategic interests of the United States.

At the commencement of the Second World War, the United States was a neutral nation with very little knowledge or influence on Spain. Militarily, they had already begun to develop a secret strategy with England, should the United States join the war. This meant that the United States quietly supported the Allies diplomatically in their efforts to thwart a likely future enemy. The United States wanted to develop tools that they could use to influence other nations towards neutrality or to convince others to advocate for the Allied Powers. In an indirect manner, the United States wanted to influence the war. As a neutral nation with Axis sympathies, Spain would become a primary target of covert influence. Initially, diplomatic tools were used to identify who could be used to spread the message of the United States to the Spanish people.<sup>62</sup> These tools would later become vital in successfully influencing the people of Spain and the Spanish government.

One of the United States' earliest diplomatic tools in Spain was the dispersal of propaganda. Later in the war, propaganda in Spain would be vital for encouraging external action or inaction of the Spanish government, however, near the beginning of the war they needed tools to convince the Spanish people to support neutrality. A significant concern for US Ambassador

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<sup>62</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 30 June 1942, Box 1, Folder 2, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

to Spain Carlton Hayes was the massive influence German propaganda had on the Spanish people. With little Allied presence in Spain to counter Axis propaganda, the Germans were able to effectively bring pro-German sentiments to the wider Spanish population. Hayes identified two potential vectors for counter-propaganda: propaganda in favor of the Allied cause or neutrality. On one hand, he saw teachers and educators as a potential route. Traditionally liberal and staunchly opposed to the Francoist regime, educators represented one way to reach the Spanish masses. The other route Hayes identified was through the clergy.<sup>63</sup> Spain's Nationalist forces in the Spanish Civil War fought under a perception that they were defending Catholicism in Spain. When they won the Civil War, the clergy's influence over the populace and government grew exponentially. The clergy, however, were not all pro-Nationalist. Hayes recognized that the Clergy could disseminate Allied propaganda in Spain, and government reprisals would most likely be muted out of a respect for the ecumenical status of the priests and the public outrage should they be harmed.

Another diplomatic tool in the belt of the United States in Spain were the Latin American countries of Central and South America. With exceptions like Argentina, a great many nations in South America and Central America, although neutral, maintained sympathies towards the Allies. Many of these nations, former Spanish colonial possessions, were seen by many diplomats as having a "special relationship" with Spain, where both parties viewed close diplomatic ties as highly desirable.<sup>64</sup> The United States Ambassador used this relationship to forward pro-neutral and even pro-Allied sentiments in Spain; encouraging liberal Latin American nations like Mexico that were also on good terms with the neutral United States to

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<sup>63</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 30 June 1942, Box 2, Folder 4, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>64</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 8-9

form closer ties to the Francoist government in Spain. Where once Mexico had supplied arms to the Spanish Republicans fighting Franco, through the efforts of United States diplomats, relationships were mended.<sup>65</sup> Spain began to hear more and more diplomatic support for neutrality and even some sentiments for the Allied nations.

As a neutral nation, some of the best tools the diplomats of the United States had during World War II were the economic tools of international trade. During war, neutral nations have the potential to sell their goods to all parties in the conflict, maximizing profits from trade as a direct product of other nation's increased need for goods. Neutral nations, however, also have an ability to tilt the quantity of economic support towards a particular side in the war; remaining at peace while aiding a cause they find more just. In its neutrality at the beginning of World War II, the United States acted as an "Arsenal of Democracy" likening it to "lending your neighbor a hose to put out a fire."<sup>66</sup> Americans would prosper from the sales of war material to the Allied Powers while remaining neutral. Tens of thousands of materials vital for the war like trucks, guns, and fuel would be supplied over the course of the war to the major Allied Powers by the United States, an effort that began when the United States was still officially neutral.<sup>67</sup> German submarine warfare would remain one of the few significant obstacles to this effort, sinking millions of tons of Allied war material, include material sent by neutral counties like the United States, over the course of the war.<sup>68</sup> Despite this, the United States remained relatively free to ship war material to any country it wanted due to its neutrality. One of the most overlooked aspect of this free trade, therefore, was the ability for neutral nations to trade during wartime.

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid. Pg. 9

<sup>66</sup> *World War II in HD Colour: "Britain at Bay,"* DVD, narrated by Robert Powell (2008; London, United Kingdom: IMG Media)

<sup>67</sup> James L Stokesbury, *A Short History of World War II.* (New York, Morrow Publishing, 1980).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

During the course of a war, many nations will develop issues of resource scarcity. Even today, concerns for supplies of vital or scarce resources often drive global security needs.<sup>69</sup> In World War II, one of the greatest issues of resource scarcity for many nations was the ability to acquire fuel. For example, during World War II, fuel shortages for the German Army became critical issues on the battlefield, and resource objectives had to change significantly to meet the dire fuel needs of its armies. Similarly, the Imperial Japanese Navy's perpetual need for fuel was one of the primary factors in their initial expansion because they saw their reliance on foreign powers for fuel as a significant national security weakness. Some of the least recognized nations that suffer from resource scarcity, however, are neutral nations.

Neutral nations are often forgotten in a discussion of resource scarcity during wartime. Nations that choose neutrality that do not have a bevy of colonies to turn to often find themselves unable to acquire resources for which they once could easily trade. Spain specifically it lost many of its colonies to the United States during the Spanish-American War. This meant that Spain could not connect to former colonies like the Philippines to secure fuel resources.

There are a number of additional factors outside colonies that create a situation of resource scarcity for neutral nations. First, countries at war may be able to pay premiums for resources, like fuel, that are vital to their war effort. This can undercut traditional trade routes, and leave neutral countries with less access to resources. Warring nations may also prioritize their own needs over normal international trade, creating shortages in the international market that force neutral nations to have resource shortages. When the United States entered the war, it reorganized many domestic industries, appointing wartime boards that determined resource

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<sup>69</sup> Stormy-Annika Milder, Solveig Richter, Gitta Lauster, *Resource Scarcity – A Global Security Threat?* (Berlin, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, 2011). [https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/research\\_papers/2011\\_RP02\\_lag\\_mdn\\_rsv\\_ks.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/research_papers/2011_RP02_lag_mdn_rsv_ks.pdf)

allocation to prioritize sending resources to the frontlines of the conflict. As a neutral nation, with few external resources like colonies to seek fuel, Spain suffered from many of the causes of resource scarcity for neutral nations, and would need to rely on international aid satisfy its needs.

One of the factors often missed in the negotiations of Spain joining the Axis Powers near the beginning of the war was Spain's fuel scarcity.<sup>70</sup> Having lost all of its colonies in preceding wars, Spain relied heavily on international assistance to maintain its military. Its Navy, for example, required significant amounts of fuel to be effective in combat. Axis resource shortages, particularly in terms of a lack of fuel reserves, meant that had Spain joined the war on the side of the Axis, Spain would have become almost completely reliant of Germany for fuel.<sup>71</sup> Germany, already incredibly short on fuel in 1940, recognized that it could not shoulder the burden of another military reliant on its fuel reserves. This was a key reason that Germany turned down Spain's offer to join the war following the Battle of Britain.<sup>72</sup> Spain, as a neutral nation, was meeting some of its fuel needs, and this need was filled by another neutral nation, the United States.

The United States was able to reap direct diplomatic and wartime benefits in Spain due to its export of its vast fuel reserves. America was rich in oil and gasoline and was a major international supplier. Using these vast reserves as a diplomatic tool, the United States government was able to cripple the mobility and security of any nation it sold fuel to. Exports could be cut to any nation that went against the interests of the United States. When it cut off Japan's fuel exports following the Japanese invasion of China, the Japanese ability to fuel their

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<sup>70</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 30 June 1942, Box 2, Folder 4, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>71</sup> Carlton JH Hayes State Department Memoranda, 5 May, 1942, Box 1, Folder 5, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>72</sup> Wayne H Bowen, *Spain in World War II*. (Missouri, University of Missouri, 2006). Pg. 16-40.

Navy could be measured in days, and they often had to choose between planes or ships when deciding where their limited fuel reserves would be allocated. Japan's ability to wage war, let alone the impact of no oil or gas had at home, dramatically altered the Japanese ability to wage war. Similar to the way the United States cutoff Imperial Japan, it could cut off Spain.

Identifying the scarcity of the Spanish fuel reserves, the United States used its fuel exports as a diplomatic weapon. This meant that throughout the war, the US Ambassador to Spain prepared negative reports about how Spain's involvement in the war could result in fuel sanctions, and this effectively crippled Spain's ability to diverge from US interests. With so little fuel available to an isolated neutral nation, Spain relied on US imports to keep electricity flowing and transport functioning. As the Ambassador to Spain beginning in 1942, some of Hayes' most regular correspondence with President Roosevelt and the US government concerned the level of exports to Spain.<sup>73</sup> If Spain developed a surplus, it was a realistic concern that they would sell the excess to the Germans.<sup>74</sup> With a significant portion of the Spanish population sympathetic to the Axis, it also seemed possible that should Spain develop enough of a fuel reserve, it might enter the war or seize Gibraltar. It therefore seemed a very realistic concern for US diplomats in Spain to monitor the actions of the Spanish government and to use the imports of gasoline and oil strategically to encourage Spain to remain neutral.

When the Spanish Civil War ended, the Spanish countryside was in a state of devastation. Not only had fighting in cities destroyed much of the industrial and economic capabilities of Spain, but its agrarian lands had been devastated as well. With thousands of homeless war

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<sup>73</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 5 May, 1942, Box 1, Folder 2, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>74</sup> Carlton JH Hayes Memorandum to Department of State, 5 May, 1942, Box 3, Folder 3, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

refugees, veterans returning home, and thousands of acres of destroyed farmland, Spain was on a path to a food crisis. With war looming in Europe and nations stockpiling necessary goods, Spain was in an increasingly precarious position. Desperate for food imports, she would rely on other nations to keep her citizens fed while the Spanish countryside was rebuilt. Having some of the largest and richest farmland on Earth at that time, the United States would be vital in the supply of food to war-torn Spain. Spain would also import significant quantities of food from other neutral nations in Latin America and would also import from Germany and Italy when possible. Overall, however, the vast majority of foodstuffs imported to Spain following the Spanish Civil War came from the Americas and neutral nations. By the time the Second World began, Spain was still reliant on neutral nations in the Americas for much of the food imports vital to the people of Spain. With Germany and Italy engaged in the conflict, they would be less and less able to meet the needs of Spain. The importation of foodstuffs would therefore, become a significant and relevant factor in Spanish neutrality and the United States would leverage this to encourage Spanish neutrality.<sup>75</sup>

Amongst the greatest concerns the United States had, once Spain declared its neutrality, was that Germany would invade the Iberian Peninsula. The Germans in 1940, fresh off their successes throughout Europe, wanted to not only take the British controlled port of Gibraltar, but also to control the Iberian Peninsula, whose ports and resources would have presented a significant advantage to the German Army and Navy. Unknown to Spain and the United States, the Germans had even developed Operation Felix, a strategy for the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. Invasion seemed likely, and Spain was not prepared for it. The vast majority of Spain's armies in 1940 were located in Southern Spain and near Gibraltar, believing that direct

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<sup>75</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 49

conflict with the Allies was far more likely than conflict with the Axis. The United States needed to convince Spain that its perceived friend, Germany, was about to stab them in the back and invade.

A German invasion of the Iberian Peninsula may have never been a realistic plan for Nazi Germany. In an ongoing conflict with Great Britain, while occupied in conflicts in Norway and Africa, also invading the Soviet Union, attacking Spain might have been one front too-many. Despite this, with the Spanish armies in the south of the peninsula, it was quite possible a rapid invasion would have succeeded. Fortunately for Spain, General Franco recognized the threat and moved his forces to the French border to dissuade Germany. The possibility of invasion, however, would create a lasting limit to the trust that Spain was willing to place in Germany, a limit that the United States would attempt to exploit to maintain Spanish neutrality.

During the course of the Axis occupation of France, German defectors and deserters used Spain to flee from Nazi-controlled Europe. Additionally, German soldiers patrolling the Spain-France border would occasionally get lost and cross into Spain, and end up in the custody of the Spanish.<sup>76</sup> These minor encounters with German soldiers served as catalysts for Spanish fears that the Germans had large numbers of soldiers on their border, reinforcing concerns based on the threat of invasion at the beginning of the war. As the war progressed and the US diplomatic mission in Spain attempted to expand its influence, the threat of German invasion seemed a very realistic possibility, a possibility the United States would use to convince the Spanish people to maintain neutrality. Using a combination of Allied propaganda and formal diplomatic discussion, the United States embassy worked to convince the Spanish people that the threat of German

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<sup>76</sup> Carlton JH Hayes Memorandum to Department of State, 18 May, 1944, Box 3, Folder 1, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.



invasion was not only real, but that the threat of invasion could occur at any moment. Despite the relative unlikelihood of invasion as the war progressed, the United States was able to use the threat of German invasion to maintain Spain's neutrality.

Over the course of the war, the relationship of the United States and Spain evolved dramatically. At the beginning of the war, Germany was surging across Europe and many Spaniards saw Axis victory as inevitable. Already holding sympathies towards Germany, and with the British trade position precarious, the United States, as a neutral nation, could not use trade to force the Spanish to stop trading with the Germans. Even after the United States joined the war, the Allied position was seen as too precarious to risk being tough with Spain. As the war progressed, however, with Allied victories in North Africa and the invasion of Europe, the relationship evolved. The United States was able to use its status as a significant trade partner with Spain to bully the Spanish government into cutting off trade with Germany. While taking a hard line with Spain still presented some risk to the British, the overwhelming quantity of supplies being brought into Europe by the United States ended any serious risk to its war partners. Additionally, with resources becoming more precarious each day, Germany relied more and more on the nations willing to trade with it, in order to remain functional. Therefore, by taking a hard line with Spain, the United States was able to make the German supply situation even more desperate.

### Chapter 3: Eagle and Bull, Friends at Last

Chapter Three discusses the influence that Spain had on World War II and how the United States used Spain to advantage the Allied cause during the war. It discusses the Allied espionage operations, specifically detailing Operation Mincemeat as an example of how the Allies operated in Spain and used an Axis-friendly Spain to their advantage. It will detail the internal changes in Spain that occurred as the war went on, and how as the war developed, the Spanish government, and especially General Francisco Franco, proved adaptable to the Allied war gains, recharacterizing their neutral nation in a light more favorable to the Allies. In this chapter, it will become clear that Franco and his government were less ideologically motivated by Fascism than the Axis government, and more committed to an anti-Communist worldview that was diplomatically convenient to the Allied victory. Lastly, this chapter will detail the revelation that Spain was a route for Jews and other war refugees fleeing the Axis, and that even after that escape route was closed by the Spanish government, American ambassador Carlton Hayes was able to use his position and influence in Spain to help Jews escape through Spain.

With an established diplomatic mission in Spain, the United States, particularly as it entered the war as an Allied Power, sought to use its relationship with Spain to forward its war goals. No longer intent on merely maintaining Spanish neutrality, the United States wanted to exploit the relationship to counter German influence in a nation that the Germans had long been courting as a potential ally. While officially neutral, Franco had still openly professed verbal support of the Axis. He allowed numerous German operations like listening posts to be constructed within the Spanish borders, and German U-boats to refuel and be harbored within Spanish waters. This overt support meant that even though Spain was officially neutral it was still, in effect, supporting the Axis Powers and this support did damage to the Allied ability to

conduct the war. It would be up to the United States diplomatic mission in Spain to disrupt these efforts. However, there were a number of obstacles that blocked a clear path to success.

The greatest obstacle to thwarting German ambitions in Spain was the Spanish foreign minister, Serrano Suñer. Already well known as a prominent Axis sympathizer, he was able to use his position and his relations with General Franco as brother-in-law to maintain overt pro-German sympathies within the Spanish government. This meant that official attempts to stop the Germans from spying on Allied activity, particularly in the Gibraltar, went unheeded in the beginning of the war. An additional obstacle was the lack of an established American embassy in Spain. Although there was a previous Ambassador of the United States to Spain, the diplomatic mission was relatively new and small as a direct result of the Spanish-American War that had occurred only a few decades before. This meant that when Ambassador Hayes arrived in Madrid, he was forced to act as a secondary partner to the British embassy, which was far larger and had more diplomatic and military resources at its disposal since it had been around longer and Britain had been in a state of war longer than America. The last true obstacle was Generalissimo Francisco Franco himself, whose anti-communist views and sympathies towards Germany and Italy created a difficult obstacle towards creating actual neutrality in Spain. Franco's overt attempts to join the Axis at the beginning of the war, as well as the fact that throughout the war Franco would make speeches congratulating Axis victories over the Soviet Union, showed his sympathies were more-often-than-not relegated towards the Axis Powers. Over time, however, and following the establishment of Spanish neutrality and an Allied network of loyalists, the Americans began to exploit their relationship with Spain to damage the Axis Powers on the Iberian Peninsula.

When the United States wanted to stop German operations in the Iberian Peninsula, it turned to its ambassador to Spain, Carlton Hayes. Hayes had identified key Allied sympathizers in the Spanish government, and this knowledge would be used to remove important obstacles to Allied influence in Spain. The American network in Spain was also one of political influence. With Allied propaganda being disseminated through educators and priests, American interests could be accomplished by convincing the Spanish people that institutional change was needed. To this end, the American monitoring of Nationalist factions bore fruit when the Nationalist factions in Spain, the Carlists and the Falangists, briefly conflicted in an incident called “The Basilica of Begoña Incident” where a bombing occurred. This minor incident led to the removal of a pro-Allied Spanish General as well as the removal of the Spanish Foreign Minister, Serrano Suñer: “...while we were sad to see the General go we were delighted at the removal of Suñer.”<sup>77</sup> Serrano Suñer was replaced by The Count of Jordana, Francisco Sousa. Sousa was referred to as Count Jordana by Ambassador Hayes and a prominent pro-Allied Spanish government official in frequent communication with Hayes. Sousa’s appointment as Foreign Minister resulted in a fundamental shift in the United States-Spain diplomatic relationship. Because Count Jordana was appointed by Franco, it signaled a recognition of the Spanish government that overt Axis support would be ending. Not only was the war turning in the Allies’ favor, but their prospects of genuinely influencing the Spanish government had been altered in their favor as well.

Having actively thwarted attempts to draw Spain into the war on the side of the Axis, the United States began the process of using Spain to further Allied war goals. Since the beginning of the war, information gathering was the goal of the diplomatic mission. The United States now

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<sup>77</sup> Carlton JH Hayes to President Roosevelt, 20 September, 1942, Box 1, Folder 2, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

sought to utilize this information to gain advantage over their European enemies. This contribution would become particularly vital as the United States formally entered World War II. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, transitioning from a passive supporter of Britain and the Allied cause into an active principle in the undermining of German influence around the world.<sup>78</sup> As a dictatorship with formal and informal ties to the Axis Powers, Spain would play a vital role as both a target of anti-German influence and as a battlefield in which the weapons were largely words and where victory would result in significant consequences for the war at-large. Using Spain as a tool to affect the outcome of the war had been a long-term goal of the United States. It had an established predecessor in this regard, in the espionage and diplomatic efforts of Great Britain.

At the beginning of World War II, British control of Gibraltar was seen as a significant obstacle for the Axis Powers, providing sea access to the Mediterranean and North Africa. In the interest of protecting this vital wartime interest, the British initially sought to deter direct German access to Gibraltar by preventing German control of the Iberian Peninsula either through alliance or invasion. Through a combination of the diplomatic efforts of the British and neutral nations, primarily the United States, Spain declared neutrality and developed enough of an internal and external security apparatus to deter direct German invasion. When this proved successful and Spanish neutrality ensured at least temporary security for the British overseas territory, the Germans turned to less overt attempts to neutralize the British in that territory; they turned to sabotage.

Sabotage in the context of World War II in Spain is primarily defined as German efforts to sabotage British military or industrial efforts in the Iberian Peninsula. With the British, and

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<sup>78</sup> David Irving "Churchill and US Entry Into World War II" *Institute for Historical Review*, [http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v09/v09p261\\_Irving.html](http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v09/v09p261_Irving.html)

later the United States, using Gibraltar as a military fortress and a center for supplying war materials for their efforts across the Mediterranean, it became a prime target for German saboteurs who could use pro-Axis sympathies amongst Spaniards to disrupt Allied war efforts.<sup>79</sup> Over the course of the war, numerous attempts to bomb targets, sink ships, and disrupt Allied war efforts would occur throughout the conflict. Some successful acts of sabotage included the bombing of ammunition dumps and the sinking of several British ships docked at Gibraltar. When the United States joined the war, it used the British territory as an airbase to send fighters into Europe and North Africa. Its significant value during wartime, and the repeated attempts by the Axis Powers to sabotage Gibraltar led the British to develop a significant network of agents committed to stopping German saboteurs. As the United States entered the war, it would follow the British example and develop a network of influence in Spain to protect Gibraltar from sabotage.<sup>80</sup> While sabotage did occur over the course of the war on the Iberian Peninsula, the vast majority of the direct efforts of the major powers revolved around espionage.

Espionage was used by both Allied and Axis during World War II around the world to gain large and small advantages over one another. Agents, often called spies, were usually civilians who expressed some degree of loyalty to one side and whose actions were designed to benefit the side to which they were loyal. While many of these spies were members of a participating nation, spies could also be individuals from neutral nations who acted because of sympathy to one side. Spain, as a neutral nation in Europe, became rife with spies soon after the war broke out. Many of these spies were Spaniards or people of Spanish descent. An example of

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<sup>79</sup> "Gibraltar's Little-Known World War II History" *Vassar College International Studies*. April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2011. <http://pages.vassar.edu/envisioningspainsborder/?p=783>

<sup>80</sup> Carlton JH Hayes Unsent State Department Inquiry, 4 April 1944, Box 12, Folder 1, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

this, for the Axis, were Spaniards whose significant loyalty toward Germany and Italy had developed from Falangist or fascist hardliners, as well as individuals who remembered Axis contributions to the Nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>81</sup> The Allies had spies in Spain, for example, Spaniards who were born in Gibraltar, making them British citizens, but of Spanish loyalty. Both sides also had ex-patriots living in Spain, some of whom would then act as spies over the course of the war. One of the most famous examples of espionage activity in Spain by the Allies was Operation Mincemeat, an operation that, although conducted by the British, is representative of the actions of many countries, including the United States, in Spain.

After Allied victories in North Africa in 1943, the Allied Powers, with the United States now an integral member, began to prepare for the invasion of the European continent. The avenue of invasion chosen was through Sicily, with thousands of soldiers, tanks, and tons of war material being prepared for the invasion. Sicily, however, was too apparent a point of invasion: “All Hitler had to do was look at a map, to see that the most obvious point of invasion was Sicily”<sup>82</sup> The United States and Britain had a significant problem. As the most logical point of invasion, the casualties from their planned assault had the potential to cost massive numbers of Allied soldiers their lives. The solution was Operation Mincemeat, an espionage mission whose success relied, in no small part, on the actions of individuals in neutral Spain.

Over the duration of the Second World War, both Allied and Axis Powers established a strong presence in Spain. While officially this included diplomatic missions and official representatives, unofficially this included Spanish nationals who were willing to act on behalf of one side of the conflict. Operation Mincemeat was a plan that involved exploiting these agents in Spain to convince the Axis Powers that Sicily was not the planned route of invasion. This was

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<sup>81</sup> Walter Schellenbrg, “Labyrinth,” (New York; Harper Brothers, 1956), pg. 113

<sup>82</sup> Ben MacIntyre, *Operation Mincemeat*, (New York; Broadway Paperbacks, 2010) pg. 14-15

done by dropping a body with misinformation on it off the Spanish coastline in an area that was especially pro-German, where Spanish citizens who acted as German agents were likely to intercept the corpse and pass along the information to their Axis benefactors.<sup>83</sup> The ruse relied not only on the actions of German agents, but on the unique Spanish position as a neutral nation host to many individuals with sympathies for the Axis Powers.

There were a great number of reasons for the Germans and Italians to view neutral Spain as an opportunity rather than a loss. Losing Spain as a direct ally did not mean that there weren't many Spaniards with significant loyalties to the Axis Powers. Over the duration of the war, these agents would not only be used in direct actions against the Allied presence in the Iberian Peninsula, but they would also be used to monitor and relay important information to the Axis militaries. This frequently involved reporting on Allied ships moving near the Iberian Peninsula, but also involved intercepting Allied communications and sending their observations to Germany. The Allies, over the course of the war, came to recognize this as a significant obstacle to their efforts in and around the Peninsula. Operation Mincemeat exploited this activity, recognizing that many in Spain were sympathetic or agents of the Axis Powers. The Allies used this to ensure that the invasion of Sicily would succeed. Although the operation was primarily a British operation, its success shows how Allied Powers, including the United States, were able to utilize Spanish sympathies to accomplish wartime goals, and the role that Spain played in its relationship with the Allied Powers.

Following repeated Axis failures on battlefields around the world and in Europe, the situation globally and in Spain was changing dramatically. With severe resource depletions, the Axis relied more and more on its network of influence in Spain. Using things like radios, the

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<sup>83</sup> Ben MacIntyre, *Operation Mincemeat*, (New York; Broadway Paperbacks, 2010) pg. 103



Germans were able to use their embassy and diplomatic mission in Spain to spy on the Allies.<sup>84</sup> They also used this embassy to spread propaganda and secure vital resources. As the war evolved, and the Axis began losing ground, their relationship with Spain also changed. Seeing overt sympathies towards Spain as more and more dangerous, General Franco and his government began to ask for assurances that reprisals would not follow them after the war for their lack of action in stopping Axis operations in Spain and for the limited support they had given the Axis. While President Roosevelt assured Franco in 1945 that there would be no reprisals, the United States now had a strong enough position in the war and relationship with Spain that it was able to continue to limit their support of Germany. Closing spy networks and ending Spanish trade with Germany were just some of these positional advantages. Whatever was occurring above the surface, underneath the surface the Germans were still able to operate with impunity.

The narrative of Operation Mincemeat also reveals a significant element of how the United States used its relationship with Spain. While one of the original missions of the US ambassador to Spain was to observe and create a network of agents within the Spanish citizenry using this network became vital in ensuring the interests of the Allied powers as the war progressed. Disseminating propaganda, keeping track of enemy spies, and influencing the Spanish government were just some of the unofficial activities that the United States and the Allied powers relied upon within Spain in order to affect their relationship with the Spanish people and affect the outcome of the war. Operation Mincemeat exposes how Allied and Axis agents acted within Spain, with Axis aligned Spaniards relaying information to Germany, and

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<sup>84</sup> Carlton JH Hayes State Department Memoranda, 2 February 1945, Box 12, Folder 2, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

Allied agents in Spain ensuring that the information was false and seemed important. America's unofficial relationship with Spain was frequently based around acts of espionage, and the cultivating of relationships with sympathetic Spanish citizens at the beginning of the war was key to that relationship.

The Spanish newspapers, largely directly controlled by the Falange, represented a significant obstacle for early US and Allied influence in Spain and an asset for Axis propagandists. Controlled by the authoritarian political party of Spain, at its core the Spanish news was loyal to Serrano Suñer and by extension, the Axis nations he favored.<sup>85</sup> Often taking direction directly from the German propagandists, the Spanish newspapers rarely printed anything critical of the Axis powers at the outset of the war. Frequently predicting sweeping Axis victories, newspapers in Spain made it difficult for the Allied diplomats and agents to convince Spaniards that their opponents had anything but success in their future. A "wall" of propaganda, much of it contrived and spread by Spaniards, brought Spain and the Axis closer and closer together. A Spanish citizen, whose only news was of Axis victory, was inherently inclined to believe that the Axis would win the conflict. Even Francisco Franco, leader of the nation, frequently referenced the propaganda in his nation's newspapers in early discussions with the British and American ambassadors, seemingly taken-in by the propaganda just as his nation was. Over time, however, cracks began to form.

The first crack came with the Allied conference at Casablanca in 1943, a conference where the Allies agreed that the only surrender they would accept was an unconditional surrender. Taking place in Morocco, nominally controlled by Spain throughout the war, it brought significant pro-Allied news to Spain, where reporters extensively covered the

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<sup>85</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 99

conference. Essentially taking place in Spain's backyard, it forced the censored and pro-Axis newspapers in Spain to address the Allied gains since the war began. It also began a discussion within the Spanish population about an Allied invasion of Europe.<sup>86</sup> Through the conference, the Spanish people began to slowly question the narrative that the Axis would inevitably win, a consequence of increasing Allied propaganda disseminated by Allied agents in Spain. Although censor of Spain's news remained, its populace was now far more aware of the reality of the war than they had been before.<sup>87</sup> As the war continued to progress, the Axis' ability to control neutral Spain through its news was beginning to wane.

As a neutral nation, Spain should have been able to ship goods unimpeded around the world. During World War I German submarines allowed for the sinking of neutral shipping, which drew nations like Portugal into the war as an enemy. Hitler, wary of the consequences of targeting neutral shipping, explicitly ordered his submariners to avoid neutral shipping from nations like the United States and Spain. At sea, however, accidents happen, and in addition to the sinking of several United States merchant and naval vessels, a Spanish cargo ship was eventually sunk by a German U-Boat resulting in the deaths of its crew, Spanish citizens. Despite initial attempts to blame the sinking on the British, even the Falangist press was outraged and headlines blared that the Germans were directly responsible for the deaths of Spanish citizens. This was an early crack in the highly efficient propaganda machine, and a sign of change. Despite its heavy Axis lean, the Spain's newspapers, particularly as the war evolved, began to criticize the Axis. After the departure of Serrano Suner as Foreign Minister and the overall failure of the Axis in war, the tune and tenor of the Spanish papers changed.<sup>88</sup> With an Allied

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<sup>86</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 99

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Paul Preston, "Ramon Serrano Suner," September 3, 2003, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/sep/04/guardianobituaries.spain>

propaganda arm eschewing pro-Allied news in Spain, and the American ambassador regularly lobbying for the establishment of a free press, the writing was on the wall. Franco allowed the Spanish newspapers to print the truth. The Allies were winning the propaganda war in Spain.

Another significant element of the United States' relationship with Spain was through bribery. As a neutral nation, many Spaniards had no particular stand on either side. Throughout the war, the American ambassador and American agents worked to bribe key officials in the Spanish government. Allied bribes were intended for individuals like Spanish Generals whose purchased sympathies could be used to maintain Spanish neutrality and influence the Spanish government to take a stronger stand against Axis influence.<sup>89</sup> Aside from high ranking government officials, the use of bribery was widespread in efforts to influence people across Spain in order to achieve Allied wartime goals. With German agents operating openly in Spain, monitoring Allied shipping in the Gibraltar and relaying intelligence to Berlin, the ability to bribe key officials was key to eventually ending open support for the Axis Powers in Spain.

Well after it became clear that the Allies had gained the upper-hand in the overall war against the Axis, Spain was still regularly trading key war materials with the Axis, well into 1944. Key amongst these was what the Spanish called wolfram, more commonly known as tungsten, a key material for the creation of weapons. What the Spanish called Wolfram, was a vital material for the creation of armor piercing projectiles, from small-caliber bullets to tank rounds.<sup>90</sup> As one of the rarest elements on earth, domestic German access to Wolfram was essentially nonexistent. Spain had one of the largest supplies on Earth during the Second World

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<sup>89</sup> George Winston, "Churchill Order Millions of Pounds Paid in Bribes to keep Spain out of World War II," September 25<sup>th</sup>, 2016, <https://www.warhistoryonline.com/war-articles/churchill-ordered-millions-of-pounds-paid-in-bribes.html>

<sup>90</sup> Jeff Desjardins. "The history of tungsten, the strongest metal on Earth" *Mining*. May 1, 2017. <http://www.mining.com/web/history-tungsten-strongest-natural-metal-earth/>

War, and began to sell it to Germany following the Spanish Civil War. Once it became clear the Allies were winning, and in spite of regular attempts to stop Spanish trade with Germany, Spain continued to trade war materials to Germany, the most important of these being Wolfram. After repeated appeals of the United States Ambassador to Spain, and letters between President Roosevelt and Francisco Franco, the United States was eventually able to stop the export of Wolfram to Germany, directly contributing to German shortages of war material at the end of the war. (CJH 84-6).

Once the tides of war had clearly turned in favor of the Allies, Spain was finally forced to redress status as an Axis-friendly dictatorship. Where once the Spanish government openly referred to itself as fascist or having sympathy with fascists, Franco now claimed that Spain never observed a fascist ideology.<sup>9192</sup> Indeed, before long even the Spanish Foreign Office communicated that the Spanish government had never laid claim to being fascists, despite the fact that just a few months before they had used the term regularly in reference to their governing and ideological persuasion.<sup>93</sup> Franco called Falangism “adaptable,” referring to the political realities of the war.<sup>94</sup> What is unclear is whether the Spanish government actually and truly identified as fascist or merely used it as a convenient political term. Francoist Spain, a dictatorship, had a fascist political party and ideology in the Falange, however the government itself seemed to use ideological distinctions as tools of political convenience, more so than they possessed actual motivations. Franco was more than willing to call his style of governance fascist when he believed it would directly benefit his relationship with the Axis. Similarly, once

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<sup>91</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 153

<sup>92</sup> Carlton JH Hayes Meeting Notes, 7 September 1944, Box 12, Folder 3, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>93</sup> Carlton JH Hayes Personal Note, 3 December 1944, Box 12, Folder 3, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>94</sup> Carlton JH Hayes Meeting Notes, 7 September 1944, Box 12, Folder 3, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

that relationship was no longer useful, he dropped the ideological stylings to make his anti-Communism more of a focus and appeal to the Western Allies. The Francoist government began to present itself to the outside world as one committed against Communism and open for collaboration with the Democracies of the West. The important distinction for the United States-Spain relationship is that when it became clear the Axis Powers would lose, Franco and the Spanish government believed that by defining their nation as ideologically opposed to Communism rather than as an ideologically motivated dictatorship, they would pave the way for a positive future relationship in the post-war era between the United States and Spain. While this change was welcomed by President Roosevelt, willing to work with an ally that that he morally disagreed with, the next President, Harry Truman, was far less willing to look the other way and would isolate Spain diplomatically during his tenure as President.

Another sign of change in political reality within Spain came during the end of the war, when Franco began to regularly meet with the American Ambassador and communicate with American diplomats in a clear attempt to portray his government as friendly to Western Democracies and open for trade. Throughout the war neutral Portugal had a number of strategic islands that the Allies wanted to use to stifle German U-Boats entering or near the Mediterranean. The Azores, the strategic islands vital to the Allies, were under the control of neutral Portugal, and Portugal was under significant pressure from the Allies to hand-over the islands or they would be seized by the Allies. Eventually, they decided to allow several Allied bases to be constructed on the islands, which greatly angered the Axis Powers.<sup>95</sup> Franco argued that it was his influence in the Axis governments and his status as a neutral power that kept Portugal from being invaded in retaliation. He argued that he kept Portugal's "back-door safe"

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<sup>95</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 170

and had therefore helped the Allies.<sup>96</sup> He further argued that Spain's consistent resolve to maintain its neutrality and clear intent to prevent the Axis from directly using Spain to do things like seize Gibraltar had given the Allies significant advantages throughout the war.<sup>97</sup> This recharacterization of Spain's role in the war shows that the Spanish government was attempting to show itself as a covert benefit to the Allies throughout the war, even as they frequently provided highly dubious assistance to the Axis that was in frequent violation of their neutral status during the conflict.

In spite of Spain's willingness to cavort with the Axis governments in Europe, there were some signs of a willingness to work with the Allies when politics didn't intercede. With thousands of Allied airplanes flying over Europe, it was inevitable that some would become lost and others would be shot down. In both these cases there was a chance that a pilot would end up in Spain, flying in or attempting to cross the border and sneak out of Nazi-controlled France.<sup>98</sup> Some of these pilots were successful in reaching friendly shores. Others, however, ended up in Spanish custody.<sup>99</sup> Before long, pilots from both sides ended up in Spanish custody and questions emerged about their return. Through negotiations with the Americans and British, many Allied pilots were able to return to their nations of origin and fight again.<sup>100</sup> By the end of the war, while Allied prisoners were still being returned, German and Italian aviators were not.<sup>101</sup> Something inconceivable a few years before, this showed at least the ephemeral-like willingness of the Spanish to work with the Allies when it suited them. Their true act of compassion,

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid. Pg. 170

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 104

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

however, would be in their willingness to help the refugees of World War II, a problem directly influenced by the diplomatic relationship of The United States and Spain.

From the earliest acts of overt anti-Semitism in Germany to the tens-of-thousands of refugees fleeing persecution of an expanding Third Reich, the refugees of World War II came from numerous backgrounds, religions, and political affiliations, but they all had one thing in common; a desire to escape the persecution and probable death that awaited them should they remain in a German controlled Europe. Germany, the Axis Power that was responsible for the vast majority of the conquering of the European continent and the persecutions that followed, it was also, therefore, responsible for a vast majority of the European refugees that sought escape throughout the duration of the war. When the war began, many of these refugees were individuals from conquered countries who feared the German invasion. As the war progressed, while similar refugees continued to seek escape, they continued to be more defined by their Jewish religion and/or their left-leaning ideologies. Communists, Socialists, Gypsies, Jews, these are the refugees whose persecution left an indelible mark on the European continent as they attempted to flee persecution. Also, amongst them, and frequently forgotten, are the citizens of conquered nations like France and Poland who followed similar routes to flee their oppressors and join so called “free armies” based in England who awaited the day in which they could fight for the liberation of their nations. Notable members of the “free armies” included Free French leader Charles de Gaulle and Polish Prime Minister Władysław Sikorski.<sup>102</sup> For a large number of Europeans, the question was not whether to escape, but how to escape, and the answer for a large number of them was through neutral nations.

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<sup>102</sup> Ann Mah. “The Legacy De Gaulle Left in London” *The New York Times*. August 17<sup>th</sup> 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/17/travel/charles-de-gaulle-london-history.html>



During the darkest days for many in Europe, when German forces had overwhelmed France, Eastern Europe, and were on the doorstep of Moscow, thousands upon thousands of people attempted to flee. By far one of the best routes for these individuals was through neutral countries, many of which were deemed safe harbor from Nazi persecutions.<sup>103</sup> They could also be used as place of safe transit where refugees could then flee to other nations. Nations like Sweden and Switzerland became well-known hosts to refugees like hundreds of Danish Jews, who fled to Sweden shortly after Germany overtook Denmark, helped by their neighbors and by a German turncoat who warned them.<sup>104</sup> Another neutral nation, however, that provided safe harbor for thousands of Jews and other war refugees, was Spain.

As France fell to German invasion, the French citizens who did or could not stay in Nazi occupied France or flee to authoritarian Vichy France had few options for escape. Thousands of French citizens who wanted to join the free French army that had formed in Britain or escape for others reasons had to find a means to do so. While some could flee to neutral Switzerland or cross the English Channel, for most the easiest route was through Spain. As a neutral country with a French border, Spain seemed like an ideal choice for refugees. Spain did not seem an ideal route for escape, however, as a dictatorship with many citizens and members of government having Nazi sympathies. Of particular importance for the Foreign Minister, Serrano Suner, who, being a prominent Nazi sympathizer, used his position to maintain a “less-than-friendly” attitude towards Jewish refugees.<sup>105</sup> Despite these apparent roadblocks, however, even at the beginning of the war Jews from across Europe were able to find some limited success in escaping the

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<sup>103</sup> Scott Goodall. *The Freedom Trail: Following one of the hardest wartime escape routes through the central Pyrenees into Northern Spain*. (Oxfordshire, Inchmere Design, 2005)

<sup>104</sup> Richard Hurowitz, “How the Danes and a German turncoat, pulled off a World War II Miracle” *Los Angeles Times*. September 30, 2018. <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-hurowitz-georg-duckwitz-denmark-nazis-jews-20180930-story.html>

<sup>105</sup> Paul Preston, “Ramon Serrano Suner,” September 3, 2003, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/sep/04/guardianobituaries.spain>

Holocaust through Spain. Their escape would be at least partially due to the divided nature of the Spain's citizens.

The Spanish population and government were divided along many lines. One of these divisions was an individual citizen's sympathies towards the Allied or Axis Powers. Similarly, Spanish citizens were divided on their willingness to support Jewish refugees. Unlike many European nations in the 1930s and 1940s, Spain did not have a large Jewish population, having exiled a large number of them in preceding centuries. As a result, the anti-Semitism found in nations like Germany and Russia was not as prevalent in Spain, although it was undoubtedly still present. This meant that, at the very least, a large portion of the population, including members of the government, had little objection to Jews, or were at least willing to look the other way in exchange for a bribe. As the war progressed and the status of members of the Jewish faith in Axis Europe became more clear, Spanish citizens and members of government were likely to provide an avenue of escape for European Jews.

Spain ended up providing a significant, and often forgotten role in helping Jews escape the Holocaust. Focusing on the actions of Spanish citizens and the Spanish government, it is clear that policy and perception often mask reality. Official Spanish policy reflected anti-Jewish sentiment, but it did not go nearly as far as the Nazis'. Even Franco's opinion of Jews was likely ambivalent, allowing Jewish refugees to flee through Spain, while at the same time ordering the compilation of a list of Spanish Jews that was then passed to Heinrich Himmler, the head of the Nazi SS.<sup>106</sup> This relative ambivalence, both helping Jews and collaborating with the Nazis, meant that many individual government officials and Spanish citizens could choose to assist or not assist Jewish refugees. Therefore, while it is true that some individuals like Serrano Suñer, as

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<sup>106</sup> Giles Tremlett, "General Franco gave list of Spanish Jews to the Nazis," June 20, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jun/20/franco-gave-list-spanish-jews-nazis>

Foreign Minister, had Axis sympathies and did not assist Jewish refugees, there were also individuals like Angel Sanz Briz, the Spanish ambassador to Hungary, helped save thousands of Hungarian Jews by giving them Spanish passports. Jewish refugees, if they found a sympathetic government official, could use Spain to escape Nazi persecution.

Despite the willingness of many people in Spain to help Jews flee Europe, a Jewish refugee attempting to flee through Spain could encounter a number of obstacles, like unwilling government officials, who could force a Jewish refugee to look elsewhere for escape. Particularly as the war entered 1941, under pressure from the Axis, Franco ordered many of the routes of Jewish escape closed. This is where the United States government stepped in. Having at least some recognition of what was happening to Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, a number of government and non-government Americans were determined to help. Looking at non-government American programs, their relationship with the Spanish government was positive. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, an organization devoted to assisting and rescuing Jews, was able to operate openly in Spain. This indicates at least a tacit approval of Jewish aid from the Spanish government. This approval would become more open after Serrano Suñer was replaced as Foreign Minister by the Count of Jordana, Francisco Sousa, a prominent sympathizer of the Allied Powers who was also willing to more openly assist Jews. The greatest assistance to Jews in Spain, however, was arguably the United States Ambassador to Spain, Carlton Hayes.

Before the United States got involved in the process, the ability for Jewish refugees to make it through Spain and out of Europe was far too often based on luck. With many Spanish officials, checkpoint guards, and civilians ambivalent on the plight of Jews or openly anti-Semitic, many were unwilling to help. This meant that all it took was one official or checkpoint

guard refusing to allow a group of Jewish refugees through to end their journey to safe harbor. Ambassador Carlton Hayes and the American diplomatic mission in Spain fixed this process. By 1943, his mission was bribing key officials, encouraging sympathetic checkpoint guards, and actively intervening when necessary. The American Ambassador was able to utilize his diplomatic status and his relationship with the Spanish government to ensure that Jewish refugees had a real chance of escaping Nazi controlled Europe and the Holocaust.<sup>107</sup> It is estimated that some 30,000 Jews escaped through Spain before 1942. By 1943, with routes closed, that number had fallen to practically zero, but through American influence: “...that some 7,000 Jews were able to escape through Spain as a direct result of the influence of Carlton Hayes and the American Mission in Spain.”<sup>108</sup> The presence of the United States, and the exploitation of the diplomatic relationship between America and Spain, were vital in ensuring that the process of rescuing many Jewish refugees was successful.

Throughout the war Ambassador Carlton Hayes continued to be instrumental in rescuing refugees. Although the number is disputed, Hayes rescued between 5,000 and 9,000 refugees, most of whom were Jewish, by providing them with an escape route through Spain. This success was in direct correlation with the views of the American Ambassador. When Hayes was appointed, he described Spain as being “...less repressive and totalitarian than Germany or Italy, and a potential American ally.”<sup>109</sup> He maintained this view throughout the war, and was willing to work with the Spanish government, a government he often disagreed with, in order to advance Allied and humanitarian goals. United States Ambassador Carlton Hayes was able to use his

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<sup>107</sup> Carlton JH Hayes State Department Memoranda, 7 October 1944, Box 1, Folder 1, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>108</sup> Carlton JH Hayes: Autobiography Review: the Jewish Times, Reviews and Newspaper Articles, 1950-1955, Box 4, Folder 9, Carlton JH Hayes Papers, 1920-1962: Series I: Spanish Papers, Columbia University Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries.

<sup>109</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 1-20

worldview, and the American relationship with Spain, to ensure that tens-of-thousands of Jewish refugees were able to survive the war.

The United States Ambassador to Spain, Carlton J Hayes, had a mixed legacy upon his return to the United States following the war. As a Catholic and a man who spent much of the war working for the United States in a nation controlled by an Axis-friendly government, many Americans believed he was too sympathetic to the Catholic nation to which he had been sent. Additionally, there was regular criticism throughout the war that Spain should be included as an enemy of the United States, and the Ambassador's regular updates to the newspapers of the United States made him enemies with those who lobbied against Spain. Hayes was in many ways a pragmatist. He, and President Roosevelt, saw Spain, even under the control of a dictator, as a resource. The ability to use Spain to accomplish wartime goals, and the benefit of not engaging with Spain's armies, meant that Spanish neutrality was far-preferable to deposing another dictator. When Hayes returned home, his dispatches that advocated for the preservation of neutrality earned him criticism from those who believed a harder line should have been taken with Spain. Additionally, as a Catholic, much of the criticism leveled against him stemmed from anti-Catholic sentiments in America, and claims that he was overly loyal to Catholic Spain. The anti-religious sentiment, indeed much of the criticism of Ambassador Hayes, stems from individuals whose motivations were either anti-Catholic or who were not actually aware of the work he did in Spain. Economically and politically influencing Spain, damaging the German war effort and saving Jewish refugees were just a portion of his wartime accomplishments. Although the criticism was largely unfounded, it is important to recognize that there were those who criticized his role and the Allied position on Spain, and their words have left a lasting mark on the legacy of Ambassador Carlton Hayes.

Both England and the United States worked in concert throughout much of the war as Allies to diplomatically and economically influence Spain. At the beginning of the war, the British were the primary lobbyists within Spain for the maintenance of Spanish neutrality. It was the United States, as Spain's main trading partner and a neutral nation, however, that was able to exert its economic and diplomatic influence to keep that nation neutral. As the United States joined the war, it dramatically expanded its mission in Spain, seeking to not only encourage Spanish neutrality, but also to influence the war from a European Power geographically and politically close to the Axis.<sup>110</sup> The United States became a major influence on Spain, diplomatically lobbying directly for the Allies.<sup>111</sup> Its mission gained a new importance, and although the relationship is often overlooked, the tens-of-thousands of experienced-combatants in the Spanish Army that did not join the Axis during the war, and the economic recovery of Spain following the Spanish Civil War speaks to the success of the relationship between the two nations.

The relationship between the United States and Spain proved beneficial to both sides during and after the war. In their neutrality, Spain was able to avoid loss of life and resources, and benefit from trade with both sides. Similarly, the United States, as a neutral nation, benefited itself in the future by keeping Spain from joining the Axis, a realistic and catastrophic potential reality for the Allies at the beginning of the war.<sup>112</sup> Once the United States joined the war, it was able to use its diplomatic and economic relationship with Spain to isolate the Axis Powers as well as accomplish key wartime objectives related to espionage and trade. As Allied victory became clear, the United States-Spain relationship was once again clear in ensuring that the Axis

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<sup>110</sup> Carlton JH Hayes, *Wartime Mission in Spain*. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1945). Pg. 166

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Chester Wilmot. *The Struggle for Europe*. (Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky & Konecky, 1952).

forces were deprived of key resources necessary to continue the war. Additionally, throughout the war, the Allies were able to use Spain to evacuate refugees: Jews, freedom fighters, and Allied soldiers trapped behind enemy lines saving hundreds, if not thousands, of civilian and military lives throughout the war. Even after the war, when Capitalist battled Communist, Francoist Spain's ideological opposition to Communism would benefit from the diplomatic relationship developed with the United States established during World War II. The United States' relationship with Spain during World War II would consistently prove consequential during and after the war and have a profound affect on not only the outcome of the war, but also on the American-Spain relationship after the war.

Spain is often ignored in the story of the Second World War. A tertiary subject at best, Spain is often discussed as a pre-war interest, with the Spanish Civil War as Spain's only call to recognition. It had, however significant influence throughout the war and therefore had an unrecognized significance on its outcome. Spain's large, veteran army, key strategic position, and diplomatic and economic influence could have made an enormous difference had Spain joined the Axis. The efforts of the United States, indeed all the Allied Powers, to keep Spain neutral were essential in keeping a key European power out of the war, and limiting its ability to influence the war. Through the efforts of individuals like President Franklin Roosevelt and Ambassador Carlton Hayes the Allies were able to not only stop Spain from becoming an enemy, but also to utilize a neutral Spain as an asset to isolate Axis influence and sabotage the Axis war effort. The story of Spain in World War II is a story of Allied triumph. Its key players and its effect on the war should not be forgotten, so a significant part of the World War II effort that is often left out of its story can be properly remembered.

### Annotated Bibliography

Badcock, James. "Venezuelans escape to Spain and ask to return old favour," *BBC*, October 18, 2018

This article is about descendants of citizens of Spain who fled to Venezuela following the Spanish Civil War, and now wish to return to escape the failing state of Venezuela. It describes how Venezuelan citizens are exiting Spain en-masse, and how the search for a home for some often requires looking back generations to find potential citizenship in another nation. The article recounts how some Venezuelans could draw back ancestry to Spain. They were then able to use this ancestral citizenship to their advantage to return to Spain. This shows how many of those who fled Francoist Spain found refuge in other nations, and the long-lasting affect his rule and government has had on the Spanish people.

Bailey, Thomas A., *A diplomatic history of the American people*. Prentice Hall, 10th ed. 1980

This book details many of the diplomatic dealings between the United States and various other nations. It accounts for the inception of many of the relationships the United States formed, for example with France and Spain, and how these relationships affected the American diplomatic story. It is important because it established the United States diplomatic relationship with Spain. This relationship was one of the first that America successfully lobbying for, and Spain then provided assistance during the American Revolution, establishing an early history and a positive relationship that would reverberate into the future.

Bell, David A. *The First Total War*. New York, NY: Houghton, Mifflin, Harcourt Publishing, 2007.

This book is about the Napoleonic Wars. It has a significant section relating to Napoleon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. This invasion occurred over a century before World War II, but it informed much of Spain's military and political ideology with regards to the rest of Europe well into World War II. It also left many scars on the land and on Spain's government. It provides a vital context to the Francoist regime, and their decision to keep Spain neutral in the war. Providing a background of the relationship between the United States and Spain is critical to understanding the relationship in World War Two, but understanding the Spanish military within the context of Spanish history is also important, as members of the military had become the government of Spain.

Bowers, Claude. *My Life; the Memoirs of Claude Bowers*. Charlestown, SC: Nabu Press, 2011.

Claude Bowers was the United States ambassador to Spain during the Spanish Civil War. He got a first-hand look at the fight between the Nationalists, led by General Francisco Franco, and supported by the fascist regimes of Europe, and the Republicans, supported by the Soviet Union. His memoir details his experience during this time, and his attempts to understand the changes going on within the country. His role provides vital context to the pre-World War II Spanish government, and the United States' relationship with Spain at the time. It also shows some of the mentality of U.S. Ambassadors, and their broad goals and views of Spain, when compared with the experiences of other ambassadors in the era.



Chavez, Thomas E. *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift*. UNM Press, January 2004.

This book discusses the value of the United States diplomatic relationship with Spain. It primarily talks about the value of diplomatic recognition during the American Revolution and how it affected global recognition of America as an independent state. It advocates for the idea that Spain, as one of the first nations to recognize American independence, allowed the United States to more successfully lobby for itself on a global stage. It assists this thesis in underlining the contributions that Spain paid to American independence and how those contributions began a lasting and fruitful diplomatic relationship between the two nations.

Cordata, James W. *Spain and the American Civil War: Relations at Mid-Century, 1855-1868*. American Philosophical Society, 1980.

During and after the American Civil War, the United States relationship changed with many nations around the world. Concerns that foreign powers were backing the confederacy, as well as American attempts to acquire Cuba during this period reflect just some of the diplomatic developments that occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. These developments directly preceded the Spanish American War and provide insight into American diplomacy with Spain during the period.

Goya, Francisco. *The Third of May, 1808*. 1814, Oil on Canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

This painting depicts the execution of Spanish citizens by French soldiers during the French invasion of Spain during the Napoleonic Wars. It depicts the real-life massacres that took place during the French invasion of Spain, as an active Spanish civilian resistance met the consequence of their defiance. As one of the most significant and scarring wars in Spanish history, a war that occurred in the century before WWII, it left scars on the Spanish memory, visible in this work that is often used to show that impact. By World War II, the threat of invasion by a European power presented itself to the Spanish people once again. Their decision to maintain neutrality, therefore, and avoid an invasion, can be traced to the indelible memory of former wars, and the evidence can be found in Goya's work.

Favor, Lesli J. *"Settling the West", A Historical Atlas of America's Manifest Destiny*. Rosen, 2005.

This book talks about American expansions following its independence. Other than the Louisiana purchase many of these land acquisitions were from Spain. The book details how the United States gained control of Spanish Florida, as well as gains made in the West, many of which were formerly under the control of the Spanish based in Mexico. The book shows how the United States, while in search of land, frequently ran into Spain, and diplomacy between the two nations suffered as a result.

Hayes, Carlton J.H. *Carlton J.H. Hayes Papers, 1920-1962*, Columbia University Libraries Rare Book Library, Columbia University Libraries, New York, New York.

This is the collected works and papers of United States Ambassador to Spain, Carlton JH Hayes, from 1920 to 1962. It consists of a plethora of government papers, books, public and private correspondence, and other papers given to Columbia University by the ambassador. The enormous collection of papers includes massive amounts of information about Carlton Hayes' time serving as the ambassador of Spain, much written by him, but many official documents, correspondence, and facts and figures as well. This collection offers an unparalleled primary source that delves directly into the United States' relationship with Spain. It provides data, information, and a personal account of an American directly responsible for maintaining and improving the United States' relationship with Spain, but more than that, it offers a unique personal window into an American in Spain during World War II. Offering Hayes' private and public thoughts, the unique and oft-forgotten information he dealt with on a daily basis, and his direct and indirect contributions to the Allied cause, it shows the United States-Spain diplomatic relationship in great detail.

Hayes, Carlton J.H. *Wartime Mission in Spain*. New York, NY: MacMillan Publishing, 1945.

Carlton Hayes was the United States ambassador to Spain during World War Two. His story is arguably the most relevant in understanding the relationship the United States was seeking with Spain during the war. His insights, and his experiences provide a direct window into the relationship, and provides access to the way the United States wanted to interact with Spain. Ambassador Hayes' book shows not only what the United States wanted out of Spain during the war, but what the views of an educated American professor thought of the events occurring around him. By understanding Hayes' views, insight can be gleaned into the political dynamics of the Francoist regime, and Hayes' attempt to influence them.

Hickey, Donald R. *The War of 1812*. University of Illinois Press, 1990.

This book tells the history of the War of 1812. It starts with the reasons that the war began, details the course of the war and talks about some of the effects the war had, including on American diplomacy. It discusses the American diplomatic situation globally, including how Florida became a target of increasing desire by the American government. This soured relations with Spain, and matters in that this diplomatic relationship remained poor leading up to the Spanish-American War.

Kennedy, Emmet. *Ambassador Carlton JH Hayes' Wartime Diplomacy: Making Spain a Haven from Hitler*. *Diplomatic History*. Apr2012, Vol. 36 Issue 2.

This article is an analysis of Ambassador Hayes' book. It argues that Ambassador Hayes was historically misrepresented by the media in the United States as a pro-Francoist individual whose motivations were biased and suspect. Emmet argues that Hayes used neutral Spain as an opportunity, one where Jews and other war refugees could be evacuated. Emmet views Hayes as an American with opportunity to help people – an opportunity he took. This journal article paints a picture that helps provide analysis of what the United States did in Spain during World War II.

Larson, Erik. *In the Garden of Beasts*. New York, NY: Broadway Books, 2011.

This book is about the United States' only ambassador to Nazi Germany, William Dodd. As the ambassador to Germany, Dodd was in a unique position to see what was occurring in the German state. His tale also provides context for the United States' relationship with European nations in general, and European dictatorships specifically. Comparing Ambassador Dodd to other ambassadors in Europe during this period can also provide insight into the role Americans wanted to play in Europe. Having isolationist policies prior to Pearl Harbor, seeing Americans navigate an increasingly war filled Europe will help answer vital questions about what the United States wanted to accomplish in Europe.

MacIntyre, Ben. *Operation Mincemeat*. New York; Broadway Paperbacks, 2010.

This book details Operation Mincemeat, the Allied deception that paved the way for the invasion of Sicily during World War II. The invasion was predicated on a deception that was designed to convince the Axis that Sicily was not the target of invasion. The deception relied on information being passed through Axis-friendly Spain, and its detailing of Spanish life and political allegiances during the war is vital in understanding the nature of the Spanish-Axis relationship, as well as the amount of espionage that took place in Spain during the war. Additionally, although Operation Mincemeat was a British operation, it alludes to the Allied relationship with Spain, and how both the United States and the United Kingdom used Spain as a resource during the war.

Morris, Richard B. *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence*. 1965.

This book discusses the value of the United States diplomatic relationship with many of the great powers of Europe. It primarily talks about the value of diplomatic recognition during the American Revolution and how it affected global recognition of America as an independent state. It assists in underlining the contributions that many of the great European powers, including Spain, paid to American independence and how those contributions were a significant factor in the success of the American Revolution.

Schellenberg, Walter. *The Labyrinth*. New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1956.

In this book, Schellenberg recounts his time spying in Europe during World War II. As a Nazi spy, his actions took him all over the European continent, as he attempted to gain political and strategic advantages for Germany during the war. One of his stops was neutral Spain. In neutral Spain, spies and espionage activity were common by both Allied and Axis Powers who wanted an edge over one another in the war. As a neutral nation in a strategic location, Spain was a frequent playground for such actors to ply their trade, and in his memoirs, Schellenberg describes these activities. This book provides vital information about the role of neutral Spain in the war, as well as the role of neutral nations as a frequent port for spies during the course of the war.

Stokesbury, James L. *A Short History of World War II*. New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2001.

This book is an overview of the Second World War in its entirety. It covers the war from its inception to its conclusion, and provides an overall context for what was going on outside of Spain. Many of the major events during the war had a direct impact on Spain. From the invasion

of Abyssinia to the Crossing of the Rhine, having an explanation for the outside influences events that influences Spain and the United States will be necessary for providing context for the events in Spain. The events also impacted what the United States wanted to get out its relationship with Spain.

Thomas, Hugh. *The Spanish Civil War*. New York, NY: Touchstone, 1986.

In this book, Hugh Thomas contributes a historical overview of the Spanish Civil War. It explains the fall of the Second Spanish Republic, and the rise of the Spanish Nationalists led by General Franco. It provides background to the Spanish government in World War II, and it establishes the state of United States-Spanish relations at the start of the war. As a history of the Civil War, it also explains the influence Spain played in pre-World War II Europe, and describes some of the earliest conflict between Soviet-backed and Fascist-backed troops.

Thomas, Joan Maria. *Roosevelt and Franco during the Second World War*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

This book describes the relationship and interactions of two world leaders during World War II. General Franco and President Roosevelt confronted one another on multiple occasions. Franco was put in power with the aid of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. As a result, there was significant concern in the United States that they would join the Axis Powers. President Roosevelt repeatedly addressed Franco, and attempted to limit his influence and undermine his regime. This book details U.S. policy in this regard.

Tremlett, Giles "General Franco gave list of Spanish Jews to the Nazis," June 20, 2010.

This article discusses how General Franco gave a letter to the government of Nazi Germany that contained a list of the names of the Jewish population in Spain. It describes how, following the wishes of the Axis Powers, Spain closed off its border to Jewish refugees, and how on top of this, Franco was complicit in providing information on the Jewish population of his nation. Meeting with Hitler at the Spain-France border in 1940, the article makes the case that Franco complicit in the anti-Semitism common in the era. It provides an excellent counterbalance to Hayes, who saw Francoist Spain as ambivalent to the Jewish question, providing a more balanced view of Spanish opinion of Jews in Spain.

Wilmot, Chester. *The Struggle for Europe*. Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky & Konecky, 1952.

In this book, the conflicts in Europe during World War II are described. Having a general overview of the war is good. Having a book that focuses on Europe specifically is great because it allows for a deeper understanding of how the progression of the war influenced Spain's relationship with the United States. Getting Jews out of Europe, the liberation of France. Issues that are minimized in a larger context of the war are brought into more focus in this book. Additionally, following specific battles and events in Europe is necessary for understanding the evolving goals of the United States in Spain.

*World War II in HD Colour*. DVD, narrated by Robert Powell (2008; London, United Kingdom: IMG Media)

This television series tells the history of World War II. In addition to recounting significant battles, political events and information relevant to the war, it talks about the neutral nations of the war, as well as some of the events leading up to the war. This includes the Spanish Civil War. The series discusses the Civil War, and the effect it had on the nations of Europe. This is vital in understanding why Spain became neutral in World War II, and having a visual media that can tell the story of Spain before World War II adds to the understanding of Spain's story prior-to and during the war.

## Academic Vita

Bruce Beckman

### Education:

**The Pennsylvania State University**, University Park, PA  
**Schreyer Honors College**

2015 – 2019

**BS in Labor and Employment Relations**

**BA in History**

**Dispute Management and Resolution Minor**

**Concentrations in Organizational Leadership, Unions and Collective Bargaining, and Human Resources**

- Paterno Fellow: Honors Program including advanced academic coursework, thesis, internship, ethics study, and leadership/service commitment
- Dean's List, Freshman, Sophomore, Junior Years, Penn State
- Member of Phi Eta Sigma Honor Society
- Member of Phi Alpha Theta History National Honor Society
- Treasurer: The National Honor Society of Collegiate Scholars – Penn State Chapter
- Treasurer: Penn State Liberal Arts Undergraduate Council

**Randolph High School, Randolph NJ**

Graduated May 2015

### Internships, Activities, and Work Experience:

- **Internship: Department of the Interior at Gettysburg National Military Park** Summer, 2017  
Internship with the Cultural Resources Department that involved extensive research and archival work and research at the National Archives and included obtaining a government ID and job training with the Department of the Interior
- **Internship: The Morris Museum, Morris Township, New Jersey** Summer 2018  
Internship with the Collections and Archives Department that involved archival work, research, and exhibit construction, as well as training in archival and museum management.
- **Pennsylvania State University Student Legal Services Advisory Board** 2015-2018  
(Council Member) Leadership position involving campus-wide decision making, strategic input, and co-curricular learning
- **Phi Alpha Delta Pre-Law Society (Member)** 2015-2018
- **Tamarack Day Camp (Staff Member)** Summer 2016

### Volunteer Service:

- **People to People (Student Ambassador)** 2012  
Traveled with several other Student Ambassadors from across the United States to Spain, France, Monaco, Vatican City and Italy. Learned about other cultures, interacted with local officials and performed public service projects.

### Skills:

Language: Can read and write in Hebrew, can read, write, and comprehend Spanish

Computer: Microsoft Word, PowerPoint, Publisher, Excel, Minitab