

Introduction to Donald Flanders Atomic Energy Commission Hearing

In David Caute's "The Great Fear" he describes the effect of the atmosphere of the post-war "witch-hunt" on those scientists who had worked on the development of the atomic bombs, "fat man and little boy"¹ He states that.../*"Soon after the war the issue was raised whether the further development of atomic energy should fall under civilian or military control. With the support of local atomic scientists' committees, and of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, formed in November 1945 from nuclei at Columbia, Chicago, Los Alamos and Oak Ridge, the civilian cause triumphed and the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 transferred control of nuclear research and development from the Army-run Manhattan Engineer District to a new civilian Atomic Energy Commission. The defeated proponents of civilian control now launched a rearguard action by impugning the loyalty of the AEC's five members and of the atomic scientists themselves.*/

/The AEC's loyalty-security program extended to about 200,000 employees in all, including those working on classified contracts for private corporations like Westinghouse Electric and the Bethlehem Steel Company. The Atomic Energy Act generated a system of scrutiny that, as an Atomic Scientists of Chicago poll conducted in March 1948 showed, antagonized the majority of scientists working on government projects. Five times as many respondents criticized the AEC's security methods as praised them-the complaints raised most frequently were lack of due process, concealment of the nature and source of the charges, the use of hearsay, assumption of guilt by association, and the tendency to regard liberalism as tantamount to disloyalty./

.....

/*By the end of 1952, about 400,000 personnel had been investigated by the AEC. Of these, we can estimate that scientists and technicians working on the staffs of the AEC's national laboratories, or working on the AEC's research projects in nongovernmental laboratories, numbered at any one time about nine to ten thousand."*/

One of those scientists was mathematician Donald Flanders, who had headed up the computation group at Los Alamos for the Manhattan Project. Donald was the youngest of Albert Flanders children.

Donald Flanders problem with the loyalty program was no ordinary one. He was a friend of Alger Hiss
<<http://www.thenation.com/issue/961209/1209nava.htm>>, the bete noire of the witch-hunters, most prominently Richard Nixon. Hiss was a high-ranking New Dealer who was accused of spying for the Soviet Union, and who had been convicted of perjury in relation to those accusations.

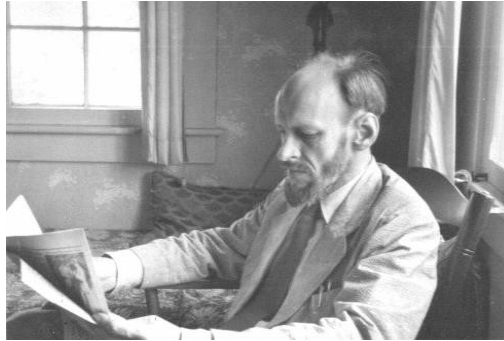
1 Fat Man and Little Boy, the bombs dropped on Japan

Here are transcriptions of excerpts from Donald Flanders AEC hearing, including testimony from mathematician Richard Courant, and Donald's wife, Sara. I have left in the page headings and numbers from the hearing transcript.

Jon Flanders

I. Letter to Donald Flanders from the Atomic Energy Commission, 9-15-1952

donald flanders



*Dear Mr. Flanders:

In accordance with with Section 10 of the Atomic Energy Act, an investigation was conducted concerning your character, associations, and loyalty. Additional information reported subsequent to this investigation, when considered along with information obtained during the course of it, has created a question concerning your eligibility for continued security clearance and employment in Atomic Commission work.*

Donald Flanders

* It was reported that you and your wife have been close personal friends of Alger and Priscilla Hiss for many years, and that Hiss and his wife have visited in your house many times. It was also reported that your wife solicited funds for Alger Hiss. Alger Hiss was convicted in 1950 on charges of perjury, and was reported to have been involved in Communist and espionage activities in behalf of Soviet Russia.

* It was reported that you received announcements of meetings of the Socialist Youth League weekly "Labor Action." Both organizations are cited by the Attorney General.

* It was reported that you and your daughter, Ellen, have associated with Fred Meyer, reported to have been President of the Socialist Youth League.

* On your Personnel Security Questionnaire, you listed membership in the Progressive Citizens of America, which is

reportedly supported by the Communist Party.

- * It was reported that in 1948, your daughter, Ellen, was a member of the Young Progressives of America, the Youth division of the Progressive Party, and that the Progressive Party was Communist controlled.
 - * It was reported that your daughter Ellen, attended night classes conducted by Peggy Kraft. It was also reported that Peggy Kraft was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, and had other Communist associations.
 - * It was reported that in 1927 your wife wrote a letter to a government official in which she referred to the government's loyalty program as a Communist witch hunt. You are requested to make a written response to the above.
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*II Letter to AEC from Donald Flanders, and Donald Flanders Testimony



Donald Flanders at NYU

Gentlemen:

This letter is intended as a response to your letter to me. I do desire to appear before a board. I have marked my response with letters corresponding to the lettered paragraphs you sent to me.

a. The history of the relations between Alger and Priscilla Hiss and my wife and myself is as follows:

Thomas Fansler, a brother of Priscilla Hiss, was a classmate of mine at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, for two years. On my return to college in the fall of 1920, we began the friendship which has lasted continuously since then. We became classmates because he lost a year at college due to service with the Marines, while I was out two years, of which I spent three months in the Army at the SATC in

Princeton, and the remainder in learning the machinist's trade in my then home town of Springfield, Vermont.

During our Junior and Senior years I met his parents and various of his siblings, including his younger sister, Priscilla. Priscilla entered Bryn Mawr college when I was a junior at Haverford, and during those two years I came to know her fairly well, since the circles of our friends overlapped to a considerable extent.

During the years 1922-25 I was a graduate student of mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania, living in Philadelphia. I met a classmate and close friend of hers, Roberta Murray,, to whom Thomas Fansler became engaged in 1924. They married in July 1924.

At the senior garden party at Bryn Mawr in June, 1924, I met Roberta's sister Sara, whom I subsequently married and who is still my wife. Sara Murray graduated from Vassar in 1919, spent about two years in high schoolteaching, and had just finished nurse's training at Pennsylvania Hospital when I met her, and had met Priscilla Fansler through Roberta: in 1922-24.

Sara and I became engaged in September of 1924 and were married May of 1925. We then left for Texas where I was an instructor of Mathematics in the summer at the University of Texas and a Professor of Mathematics during 1925-26 at the Texas Technological College.

Priscilla spent 1924-25 in the graduate study of English at Yale, where she met Thayer Hobson whom she married in 1925. My wife and I spent the summer of 1926 in my wife's home in Chappaqua, New York, a Westchester suburb of New York City, and I remember our going to visit Priscilla at the home of her brother Henry Fansler in Bedford Hills a few weeks before the births of our son Peter and her son Timothy Hobson.

My family spent the academic year 1926-27 in Philadelphia, where I was an Instructor and graduate student in mathematics. I received the the PH.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1927. The next two years we spent at Princeton, where I was a National Research Fellow.

In the spring of 1929 I was appointed Instructor in Mathematics at the Bronx Campus of New York University. In September, my family, now increased by the addition of our daughter Ellen, born in 1927, removed to New York City. From 1926 on, Thomas and Roberta Fansler had been living in New York. During this time, I do not remember that I saw Priscilla very often, Priscilla was drawn into her husbands circle of friends, I remember having dinner at the Hobson's just once.

I was on the faculty of New York University from 1929 until I came to the Argonne National Laboratory in the summer of 1948. However, I was on sabbatical leave in Denmark during 1937-38, and I was on leave at Los Alamos from 1943 to 1946, both times with my family. For the remainder of those years we lived in and near New York City--in the city itself in 1929-35 and 1947-48, and in Chappaqua for the other years.

In the spring of 1929 Thomas Fansler and his wife bought a farm in New Lebanon, New York, about 25 miles southeast of Albany and 15 miles west of Pittsfield, Mass. In the spring of 1930 my wife and I bought an adjacent farm. Save for absences, the two families have continued to occupy these places as summer residences ever since, except that my sister-in-law, who has kept the farm became divorced from Thomas Fansler some time about 1940.

Priscilla Hobson was divorced from Thayer Hobson about 1928, I believe, and continued to live in New York for the next year or two. I know that we saw her occasionally during that time both in New York and in New Lebanon, I am sure that we regarded ourselves as good friends, practically as relatives, but as often happens in a large city we did not see each other as often as might have been expected.

I am not sure when I first met Alger Hiss, but he was introduced to me

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by Priscilla. My chronology about this period is quite uncertain. I was engrossed in my work, my growing family (our daughter Jane was born in 1931, and our musical interests (my wife and I were both involved in two distinct activities, chamber music and a small choral group).

I believe that Priscilla introduced Alger as her fiancée at Christmas time in 1929. I remember that we met the Thomas Fansler's and that Priscilla and Alger were married not long after we met them, while he was the secretary of Mr. Justice Holmes.

My wife and I have always been very fond of Priscilla, and we liked Alger from the start. We had always felt at complete ease with them, and have discussed a wide range of topics with the complete freedom. In particular we discussed many social problems. All of us--Thomas and Roberta Fansler, Alger and Priscilla Hiss, Donald and Sara Flanders would properly be described as liberals.. At one time around 1930, Sara and I, and I Priscilla, got somewhat interested in Socialism. Sara was a dues-paying member of the socialist party for a while, and I might have been if I hadn't been too busy with other things. None of us, so far as I know, certainly not my wife or I

ever went in for pure Marxism. Sara's and my interest in Socialism waned after she had attended a few meetings of a local group. There seemed to be much more interest in petty internal politics than in fundamental principles or in active campaigning. I think she dropped out after a few months.

The six of us found our companionship mutually very sympathetic and we discussed things with great freedom. This does not mean that we agreed on all topics, political or otherwise. There were certainly sharp disagreements and hot arguments. Under those circumstances, I think it would have been pretty difficult for Alger to obscure a passionate devotion to Marxist principles if he had one, (he displayed none), particularly if that devotion were so passionate that it would cause a man to behave in a manner completely contradictory to his everyday character as revealed rather intimately in the circumstances in which I have had opportunity to observe him. As I have known him, Alger showed himself to be morally and intellectually honest, highly intelligent, and a man of goodwill. Take the matter of intellectual honesty; for example. In all of our discussions I cannot remember that he ever intentionally used a specious argument a fault of which I think I can fairly accuse every other one of the six of us. With respect to his liberalism, I always noted that his training and his cast of mind gave him a truly conservative tinge, in the sense that he had a deep understanding of the development of society and appreciation of the worth of our institutions. From our knowledge, my wife and I agree in believing that treachery is wholly inconsistent with the Alger we now know. When the Chambers allegations broke we were, and have remained, horrified and incredulous.

In 1948 we came to the Argonne Laboratory. During a business trip to New York I visited them that winter. During the summer of 1949 my wife attended one day of the first trial, and had lunch with the Hisses and some of their friends. Later in the summer, after the trial that ended in a hung jury, we spent a day and a night with them in Peacham.

The following summer, in 1950, after the conviction resulting from the second trial, we spent a day and a night with Priscilla in Peacham. Alger was in New York. The day before I was to set out on my vacation, it was suggested to me that if I intended to visit the Hisses I ought to clear the visit with the proper authorities. Although I did not agree that the clearance was necessary, I did realize that I ought perhaps for my own protection to notify the authorities of the propriety of my intention so that no erroneous idea should be formed. Therefore I called the Associate Director of the Laboratory, Mr. Hilberry, told him of the suggestion and of my intention to visit Priscilla, and asked his advice. Mr. Hilberry said that he would inform and consult with the proper authorities. I

heard nothing further and the visit was made as planned. I should also say that I called Mr. Hilberry not only because of his official position, but also because I had known him for many years at New York..

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university, and he knew how friendly we were with the Hisses.

We also saw Priscilla briefly in the summer of 1951 at the home of my niece, Susan Bowen and we would have seen her this summer if my daughter Ellen's illness had not forced us to call off our Vermont trip. However she did stop in to see her' sister-in-law, now Roberta Alford, in New Lebanon on her way from a visit to Alger at the Lewisburg Penitentiary, and she spent an evening at our farm. She told us about Alger's prison life and read us a letter he had written to her recently.

My wife and I never knew the Hisses so well that we ever always knew what they were doing all the time. The total amount of time spent with Alger never really great. What I do base my opinion of him however, is the nature of our contact. Although we did not see each, other as often, as we would have liked, we did feel ourselves to be members of the same family and felt ourselves to be very close and very friendly. I felt that our relationship was, frank and unguarded . I considered him an able and fine person. I really thought that he would someday undoubtedly be a judge of the Supreme Court.

There was nothing in our unguarded and frank contacts which ever indicated any ingredient of character consistent with the acts of espionage to which Chambers testified at the Hiss trials. Because we feel that our own observations revealed a man incapable of such acts, neither my wife or I could accept the Chambers testimony as we read it in the newspapers.

We realize that Alger has been, convicted on testimony and his conviction affirmed, but we believe that the testimony is inconsistent with our observation and knowledge of the man, as here described.

For that reason my wife solicited funds for his defense, in order to help him clear himself of the accusation For that reason, too, we would not, even though accepting the fact of conviction, withdraw our personal friendship. This is not to say that I would ever justify or condone in any way at all acts of espionage of the kind attributed to Alger. Such acts, if actually committed by a man of Alger's ostensible character, would be doubly reprehensible

b. To the best of my knowledge and belief the allegation about my wife and me in this paragraph is false. My wife and I have had no

connection that I know of with the Socialist Youth League and certainly not a voluntary one. After all, we could scarcely be classed as youths, even as long as four years ago I remember seeing one copy of "Labor Action" in my apartment, and I thought it was the property of my daughter Ellen. I read one or two articles didn't think much of them; decided that it was either a Socialist or Trotskyite Publication (probably the latter) and let it lie. I certainly would not give it credit for being very effective '

c. When I came to Chicago in 1948, I bought (and am still paying for) a two apartment house at 824 East 61st Place. My daughters were then attending the University of Chicago. Before we even looked for a place we asked them whether they wished to live with us or not. They both said they wanted to live with us so we looked for someplace that would be large enough for all five of us (including our younger son Steven, born in 1941. This two apartment house seemed to offer just the right possibilities. The two girls could live downstairs, we and Steve could live upstairs, and the girls could be near us but not have us in their hair all of the time (nor we have them in ours).

This arrangement lasted one year, when both girls moved out. On Ellen's recommendation we then rented the downstairs apartment to Fred and Schula Meier, who were represented as living in one room and desperately eager to get larger quarters. I am not much of a business man. I asked around as to what we ought to charge,

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and finally settled on 75 dollars a month. This was agreeable to the Meiers so they moved in.

They put their names on the mail box, along with the letters SYL, which meant nothing to me. At some time during the year I learned that these letters stood for Socialist Youth League, but that also meant nothing to me. It was clear that there were occasional meetings or parties downstairs, but they were never noisy. Sometimes on these occasions we would hear voices raised feebly and somewhat discordantly in song.

At Christmas my older son Peter and his recently acquired wife came to visit us from New York for a few days. My wife and I had seen her only once, and naturally desired to get to know her better. Since we did not have room upstairs the Meiers had an extra room downstairs containing one of our beds, Pete and his wife slept down there, their stay was brief and hectic and we and they saw the Meiers a number of times, and also some of their friends during that time. Once in a while after that we had cocktails with the Meiers.

d. My wife belonged, for a time to the Progressive Citizens, of America. We joined a local chapter of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions in late 1946 after our return to Chappaqua from Los Alamos. During that winter a split occurred in the ICCASP, and the ADA and the PCA were formed. We voted with our local group to join the latter, The basis of the split was the formal exclusion of the Communists. Neither my wife nor I believe that labels alone are a suitable basis for judging individuals, so we voted to stay with that group, the PCA that did not require declarations of complete freedom from Communist taint as a prerequisite for membership for everyone. Upon our removal to New York City in the fall of 1947 we did not join any local chapter, though I believe we paid dues to the national organization for that year. Some time during that winter I attended one or two session, of a conference of some sort sponsored by the national organization. I did not like the intolerant attitude of the majority of the more vocal part of the participants. In consequence we lost interest and have had no further connection with the organization.

e. Ellen met Peggy Kraft through my wife and myself. When we came to Chicago, a member of the string quartet in New York with which we had played for 19 years mentioned Peggy Kraft as a cellist of modest ability with whom we might like to play occasionally. Some time during our first year in Chicago we got in touch with her. My wife and I are not good players, but mediocre performers always prefer to play with better performers than themselves. We did like her personally and we played with her occasionally, but we made no attempt to include her in a regular chamber music group.

I think it in early 1950 that we sold our 1938 Dodge Sedan to her for \$100. It had had a new motor installed in the summer of 1948, but its body had suffered severely from a fire in the fall of 1949. The sale resulted from a chance conversation.

In the course of our acquaintance we became aware that her political thinking was unorthodox, but political discussion was not an important part of our social intercourse, which was mainly devoted to music. We knew of Ellen's participation in the Art classes, but it would never have occurred to us to interfere. As far as we were concerned, the Art classes seemed to be good, and seemed to develop Ellen's artistic talent.

Ellen has given me the following: "I joined Peggy's art class right after' meeting her. I soon became aware that, although she might not be a communist, she was certainly working for many causes they supported, and agreed with them in most respects. However, she is a most extraordinarily good art teacher. The classes were on art, not politics. I disagree with her politics but I shall always be grateful for the opportunity of learning art from her.

b, c, and f. I should say something about my knowledge of Ellen's connection with the SYL and Marxism generally. I believe that it was in the summer of 1950 that Ellen talked with me about her interest in Marxism. If I remember correctly, she informed me that she was interested in Marxism and that she intended to become an active member' of SYL and attend classes on Marxism during the coming winter. She asked whether I felt that this would be prejudicial to my position. I believe that I responded that I did not think that she would find Marxism the universal panacea that it claims to be, that I did not believe that her course of action would or should be prejudicial to my position, and that even if it were, it was her decision not mine, and that she should make her own decision. In saying this I am sure that I was influenced by my conviction that she was fundamentally sound enough escape becoming a fanatical convert, and by my further conviction that this is the best manner in which to handle this sort of parent-child problem. Ellen was about 23 years of age at this time. I know that she was active for some political organization or organizations during at least part of that winter, for she told us of making posters and writing articles. Some time in the spring she met her present husband, who assures me she had nothing to do with SYL for over a year now. He says that at least one of her articles was very unfavorably received because, it did not conform to orthodox Marxism. My faith in her and in my handling of the matter seems to have been justified.

It was at the time of my conversation with Ellen that I learned that my daughter in law, Rochelle Flanders, was interested in. the SYL. I believe that it was at the time of the above talk that I learned that SYL was a Trotskyite organization. I further learned that my daughter-in-law had had some sort of SYL business that she transacted during her visit to us at Christmas. I think that I knew at the time of her visit that she had known Fred Meier before in New York. At, any rate, I had known from my first acquaintance with her that she seemed to be an interested Marxist in her views Marxism and Freudianism are intellectual hobbies of hers and these are subjects on which we have agreed to disagree. In spite of what I consider her aberrations, I love her dearly. My son, Peter, who is studying choral conducting at the Julliard School in New York, is rather completely uninterested in politics. Just this fall he told me that he had once had a brief flurry of activity in the Harvard Liberal Club during his senior year, had voted for what he later felt to have been a probably Communist dominated faction, which in any case he ultimately felt to be inferior to the ousted faction, and had dropped his interest in such matters after burning his fingers in this way.

g. I do not remember the specific incident, but assume that it occurred. Sara is an active and forthright person. She often writes to senators and congressmen. Allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration; the phrase used was, I believe, intended to express our concern over the extension in a democracy to a large body of citizens of procedures which seem justified only in the case of the relatively few people employed in sensitive government positions.

I deem that items a - g cited in the "letter of notification" fall under category B of derogatory information, 'as defined' in "Personnel Security Clearance". Accordingly "the extent of activities, the attitudes, or convictions of the individual must be weighed in determining whether a presumption of risk existed. It is my contention that in the light of my response to these allegations such a presumption of risk does not exist.

In conclusion, I think I can affirmatively say that I am a completely loyal and trustworthy citizen, else I would not contest the matter but would resign. I believe that my work, my character, my attachment to democracy, my

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scientific standing, discretion and my professional value to the laboratory should serve to dissipate any question raised in your letter to me.

Sincerely yours,

Donald Flanders

Testimony <dft1.htm> of Donald Flanders at Atomic Energy Commission hearing.

The Atomic Energy Commission Hearing Testimony of Donald Flanders



*The defense was given the opportunity to challenge members of the board for cause, but did not do so. *

/Q. In 1950 after the conviction, did you correspond with the Hisses?/hiss swearing in

A. It is, my friends will tell you, not my custom to correspond. I am a very poor correspondent. My wife had undoubtedly done so. The only letter I ever wrote to Alger Hiss in my life was in 19---I believe, I had better say, to the best of my recollection, was after the first trial in 1949. I do not wish you to draw from this the conclusion that this in any way interferes with my belief in my intimacy with Alger Hiss. It is simply a fact that I do not, write to any of my friends. My wife writes for me.

Alger Hiss swearing in.

/Q. Did Priscilla invite you to visit her, or did your wife write to her?/

A. Well, I think it could have been either way. it was probably more likely that my wife wrote. We plan our vacation schedule rather carefully in advance. We have just a month. We want to get to our farm New Lebanon, New York, and spend some time there. Both of us have relatives who we want to visit, but more particularly I, and friends whom we want to visit, so that we try to schedule our summer vacation in advance. I would, suppose that Mrs. Flanders undoubtedly wrote to Priscilla trying to arrange a date, a suitable date for us to visit them.

/Q. Do you know whether or not Priscilla responded? /

A. I sure she must have because we set a date, or an approximate date. I don't recall seeing such a letter I should say that it is a practice in our house that there is no mail, that is personal to my wife or to myself, so as far as our personal correspondence is concerned. One of us

always reads the mail, aloud to the other. If there was a response, I saw it undoubtedly.

/Q. Now what we would like to have you testify in as much detail as possible, at the start, is this relationship with Mr. and Mrs. Hiss. Did Priscilla Hiss ever state to you whether or not she was a Communist?/

A. I have no recollection of any such statement.

/Q. If such a statement were made to you it is likely you would recall it?" /

A. That is very hard to say. Memory is capricious. It must be realized that the whole social attitude towards Communism has changed over these years. There was no such stigma, in my estimation, attached to being a Communist at the time,

In, my younger years, as there is at present. I would consider it conceivable that I might not have recollected such a statement. The only point about it would be that if she had made such a statement the chances are that it would not be isolated, that is to say, I would have been conscious of the fact that she was a communist. It is not that I would recollect a particular statement, but rather I would if she made the statement, I would undoubtedly have classified her, have categorized her in my mind as being a Communist, and would have, for whatever it is worth, associated her in mind with whatever ideas I have concerning Communism, which I never did. As for her saying she was not, it was, totally unnecessary as far, as I was concerned. I never had and do not now

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have the faintest belief she's ever has been or is a Communist.

/Q. You have never in your mind at any time classified her or Alger as a Communist?/

A. No. It is my impression that between 1931 and 1933, sometime I do know how long, and I don't know at what time that Priscilla was a dues paying member of the Socialist Party. That is my present impression of what was true then. It is my impression that it was Priscilla's interest that got my wife to join. That is my recollection. I did not join.

/Q. You state that you and your wife's interest waned after a few meetings, and you never went in for a pure Marxism. What was your interest in it, may I ask? /

A. I tried to refresh myself on this by looking it up the encyclopedia to find out, what socialism was, and I found it difficult to determine. I can tell you roughly what my general idea of the political philosophy

of socialism was as I now think I thought around 1930. Namely, that it could be up, shall we say, in production for use rather than for profit. That the motivating force of the society as far as economic matters were concerned should be to produce goods rather than to make a profit. That, I would say, was what was the basis of my interest in socialism.

Communism was rather sharply distinguished in my mind by my belief--- I haven't read Marx--- but shall we say, to be a bit more specific, Communism at the moment is a word with such broad meanings that I would rather not use the term, and I would like to use the term Marxism as distinguished from "Socialism". What distinguished it for me at the time was that it was my impression that the Marxists were convinced that changes which would be needed to bring about this change in fundamental attitude, and motivation of the society, could be brought about only by only by violent revolution, and with that I did not agree. I felt that it, was possible to do these things peacefully and in an orderly manner within the framework of our own constitution.

I cannot say that I ever studied the precepts of socialism. My main interest in life is music and mathematics and my family. I read Shaw's "Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism". That, I think, is about the only tract that I ever read on the subject, as far as I can recollect.

/Q. I asked because the socialists claim, they arrogate themselves to the position of being the true exponents of Marxism./

A. I don't know. I am not well enough enlightened or informed to be able agree with you on that. As I say. I recently looked up the subject in the encyclopedia, and the origin of socialism is earlier than Marxism. Clearly Marxism derived from Socialism, if one is to believe the article in the encyclopedia Britannica, 14th Edition. I labor under the impression that Marx thought he was writing Socialism.

/Q. Have you read the Marx and Engels Manifesto of 1948?/

A. No, I have never' really been interested enough to go into Marxism at all. As I say, Communism has by now become a word that is almost meaningless. It covers such a multitude of sins that I would rather not use the word.

I will say for example that in some people's mind it is associated, shall we say, with membership in the Communist Party. That is a Communist. That is one definition of a Communist. Another definition is anyone who is actively sympathetic with their aims and so to speak, would, shall we say, like to be a member. A third use of the word Communist is essentially a Stalinist Marxist, meaning that the particular interpretations of Marxism that have been made by and are regarded as the ex cathedra pronouncements from Moscow, those constitute

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Communists. A fourth is those who believe in by and large, doctrines propagated by Marx and Engels but are violently opposed to the interpretations that the Stalinists have put on this, the so called Trotskyists. A fifth is--- I can't go on classifying these indefinitely-- but let us say, it has certainly been used in public utterances in this country to cover people whose opinions are not in agreement with the speaker's. It is for this reason particularly that I don't wish to use the word "Communist".

/Q. Do you not consider a member of the CP as also in the nature of a Stalinist Communist? You sort of duplicated./

A. I believe that at the present time it is essential--- I have duplicated, you are right, in order to be a member of the Communist Party, it is my belief, that one has to be a Stalinist Marxist.

/Q. Hiss and his wife are both musical, are they?/

A. Not particularly. That is, they have no competence, real competence, on any instrument. I don't know that Alger has any. They enjoy music as listeners. Whenever you say musical, I think of performers. I perform myself so I think of only performers being musical. I think Priscilla played the recorder.

: /Q. I'm trying in mind, I am wondering what you talked to Hiss about when you talked to him./

A. Well, we would have talked about theories of child raising, we would have talked about-- I remember when Alger had the connection with the Nye munitions Committee that subject came up. I couldn't remember just what his position was, but there was this Nye committee investigating munitions. We certainly discussed national politics and international politics. And, of course, as we were more or less family and friends, we discussed family and friends.

/Q Did you discuss your work with your wife? /

A. Classified work, no. It happens that at the present time a large part of my work is completely unclassified. It concerns the construction of a high speed digital computer for the laboratory. I certainly have mentioned it to her.

/Q. Are you a Communist?/

A. In none of the senses except the last one identified am I a Communist.

That is the one whose views differ from the speaker's. It has been used in public, I certainly' disagree with people who have used the word Communist in that sense. Otherwise, no.

/Q. Do you now think that you have been at any time a Communist sympathizer? /

A. I can give an almost unqualified no. At the time of the Russian revolution I suppose I sort of sympathized. The whole business is confused, but sympathized with the whole idea of the revolution against the Czars, and, as to whether I sympathized with the Bolsheviks or the Mensheviks I can't remember. If you remember, I made the distinction between Communists and Socialists, this feeling that violent revolution was unavoidable, and I have never sympathized with violent revolution as an unavoidable means of attaining such political ends.

/Q. Doctor, do you understand that the ends to be achieved by both Communists and Socialists are the same?/

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A. That is very difficult---

/Q. They differ only on the methods./

A. That is difficult to say. Are you talking about the Stalinists, for example. I would say the end result to be achieved by Stalinist Russia is imperialism, essentially. That Communism is just an historical accident more or less. If you speak of some Communists, I would say that they believe that the ends to be achieved are the same.

/Q. Now, are you testifying that philosophically you are a Socialist?/

A. No, this testimony, most of it, concerns my endeavor to distinguish between Socialism and Communism as political philosophies. I have said I am not a Communist. I have not said I am a Socialist.

I don't know when I became interested in Socialism. I suppose it would have been around 1929 or 1930. The depression might have aroused my interest in it. I have no recollection earlier. I heard some speeches. I heard some speeches of Norman Thomas at Princeton earlier than that which impressed me favorably.

I remember quite clearly that in or about that time I came to have the feeling that the two major political parties in this country did not represent enough of any sufficiently fundamental difference in philosophy to make them distinguishable, and the Socialist Party seemed to offer a general philosophy that attracted me. I don't remember exactly what I said in here, but the fact is that when Sara joined the

Socialist Party, I think I was just as interested as she was. I felt I was too busy and that I would never do any active work myself. I looked on it as one of the functions of our partnership that she would do this sort of thing. She would have a little more leisure than I. At that time, I think one could have said that I felt myself to be a Socialist without any very strong, certainly not sufficiently strong, well, convictions based on a thorough study of Socialist theory.

I continued to feel that way, I would say up through perhaps 1936-37. Along about that time I think that my thinking began to be influenced away from Socialism by, well, I suppose a gradual maturing process to some extent. I sometimes had talks with my oldest brother, in which I often disagreed with him, but after I had them I began to realize he had said some things that were sensible, and came to feel that there were some virtues in the theory of private enterprise. It is in many cases wasteful and can be cruel, but I think I have come to realize more and more that the problem of a lot of people living together, all of whom are human beings, is a lot more complex than I had realized when I was young, and that one cannot expect any simple, overall solution to these extremely complex problems of billions of people living on the face of the globe. So I have swung away from even-well, let's put it this way----abstractly, I still think production for use rather than profit would be fine if we could ever reach that point. I don't see any likelihood of our reaching that point under something like millennia rather than decades. I am not interested in hurrying the course of history, so fast that we will get there before I die.

/Q. Those, views, I take it, are the views which in a general sense you shared with all six of the group you described, Thomas and Roberta Fansler, Alger and Priscilla Hiss, Donald and Sara Flanders?/

A. Right.

Q. Do you recall ever knowing, ever meeting, corresponding with or communicating with in any way anyone whom you classified a Communist within any of those categories that you set up here except the last?

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A. The only people that I feel might come under this category would come under it in the sense that I suspected possibly they might be fellow travelers, and at the moment I can think of only two. One of is Peggy Kraft, who is mentioned here. The other one, I would rather not give the name of the individual, though if you wish I will. My reluctance is merely that I don't wish to, since this is a matter of surmise on my part and not of knowledge, I don't wish to give someone else a black name.

/Q. I think, Doctor, you should give the name as long as this party was an associate of yours. You can qualify your testimony any way you like.

Association is one of the elements of this hearing./

A. This was Clara Shanafelt. With her we got to the point where we couldn't discuss matters pertaining to Russia very comfortably.

I might say first that we have known Shanafelt for many years. She was the schoolmate of the wife of my eldest brother. They were schoolmates at boarding school. I met her at my brother's home in Vermont, perhaps around 1916. When we moved to New York, we became better acquainted with her.

At that time, she lived with another woman who was a mutual friend, also through my oldest brother, in Greenwich Village. She had been a poet of sorts, but later settled for writing advertising copy for, well, for places like the antique department at Wanamakers. She was a very interesting and stimulating friend.

During the earlier years of our association, perhaps until we left for Los Alamos in 1943, I considered her to be possibly a Socialist. The line she began to take after we got back from Los Alamos struck me then as being rather more rigid, and I felt she was getting to be rather doctrinaire. If she wasn't a CP member, there was a possibility she was swallowing the propaganda line hook line, and sinker. We parted on not too pleasant terms, and I haven't seen her since.

/Q. Are you sure about Peggy Kraft?/

A. No. I say, I began to suspect she might be something of the sort. About that time, she left Chicago, I didn't have to make any unpleasant decisions.

/Q. Upon what did you base this suspicion or conclusion? /

A. It is very hard to recollect these things. For example, to digress for a moment I have said that the Hisses, The Fanslers and I didn't always agree. There were hot arguments. I can't remember a single hot argument, but I have a clear picture in my mind of Priscilla sitting on lawn, her face flushed, saying, "Moll you fool, you". That is the sort of thing I happen to remember. I don't remember the substance of the argument at all.

With respect to Clara, I cannot remember the precise things. I remember that we disagreed on the Robeson concert in Westchester. Paul Robeson gave a concert in Westchester.

Clara attended that. They had a riot. I hope memory is correct. I think she admitted that various people who went there to attend the concert had armed themselves with something like blackjacks, and I said I just couldn't see that. If they were going to be beaten up, they should. go

with their hands clean. I believe strongly in the right of free speech and free assembly, and I think the thing should have been allowed to come off, but I didn't think anyone should go to prepared to wage a fight.

/Q. I take it that what you mean is, you sense in her attitude that she was interested in provoking a riot or open difficulty? /

A. I had the feeling, yes. She didn't actually go armed with anything herself, I guess, but she sympathized with provoking an incident. That is my feeling.

Donald Flanders testimony <dft2.htm> continued.

(dft2.htm is missing)

*Testimony of Richard Courant, head of Mathematics Institute, NYU *

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richard courant

Richard Courant <http://cims.nyu.edu/courant_bio.html>

/Q. How long have you known Dr. Flanders, and how well?/

A. I can't state it by the date. I had been in this country before. I emigrated definitely, and we came , landed in New York, in August 1934. Flanders, whom I didn't know, but who was a professor at New York University, came to the pier to greet me. Immediately afterwards we became good friends on the basis of mutual musical interests. I think we played string quartets two days afterward also.

I have seen him all of the time, very regularly, as long as we were together at NYU.

Then, during the war I was--when the Los Alamos Laboratory was organized they came to me and asked for a recommendation of somebody who could conduct computing work. Very reluctantly, because we needed Flanders by that time for our work, but it was urgent, by some of the original

founders of Los Alamos Laboratories, I mentioned Flanders, and he was selected.

Through these years something very strange happened to me which I found a little bit funny. He came on official business to New York. He saw us, but although I was perfectly aware of what was going on, he never said, he avoided talking about his work. Once I was even consulted by the Los Alamos Laboratory on specific questions. I was willing to stop there on my way to the West Coast, where I had some business. I remember that Flanders asked me not to come to Los Alamos, but to stay in a hotel

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room, in Albuquerque, and visited me there. He asked measured questions about equations, and that was all. He left for Los Alamos.

/Q. What is your opinion as to his discretion, honesty, sense of right and wrong, loyalty to principles of our government?/

A. It is very difficult to talk about the character of somebody in his presence. I would say he is unpleasantly discreet. If he feels he shouldn't talk about something, even if it is vital for the man who asks, he would not, it is impossible even to get an indication from him of what it is all about. I can really say I have never met anybody who is so discreet to the degree of being, making life difficult for his friends.

His character, I think Flanders, there still exist people whom you might call puritans. Flanders is a prototype of a puritan, and you can read about that in history books. He is upstanding, puritanical. This of course is very admirable and we all love and admire him for that. It makes it sometimes difficult. I could tell you of many instances.

One thing I always tell about Flanders, when I want to characterize him. If he has some obligation or feels he has some obligation, he takes it so seriously. I don't know of anybody--as a teacher at the university he taught undergraduate classes. Problems are assigned. The students hand in homework problems, little tests which have to be graded.

Now Flanders wants to be absolutely fair, so it takes him, it took him, we found out--I still remember the figures--17 minutes for each miserable little paper. Since there were hundreds of them, the consequences was that piles of papers accumulated, and even 24 hours a day, seven days a week, would not suffice for him to catch up with his backlog. It made him really miserable. He couldn't compromise. He thought it was his duty. Ordinary professors would take a minute or two for each paper and shake it off, and this became a major oppression.

I must say that his inability to cope with all of these various

obligations made him feel that he ought to go to a place where he had one thing to do, like Los Alamos or Argonne, where he could concentrate on one thing and not have to assume obligations he couldn't discharge according to his senses.

/Q. You mean inability to slough them off, get rid of them?/

A. Inability to compromise in a way a normal practical person would do it and does it. I have seen nobody that would take such an amount of energy on discharging even trivial obligations.

/Q. He has the obligation, he discharges it?/

A. He does, to the extent that it will ruin his health?

/Q. You pictured piles of blue-books uncorrected? You are shocking a dean, Doctor./

A. He did. Certainly he shocked the Dean. He worked day and night, including Saturdays and Sundays, just to get this off. If you would like me to say, I remember one incident when he went to Los Alamos. At that time Los Alamos was just starting. I thought it was questionable he should tie into--shut himself off from the laboratory. That was understood in the beginning, it was meant that people shouldn't be permitted to telephone.

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I told Flanders, "Would you accept such a job that would really shut you off from your friends, every body, potentially for years?"

He said, "Well, I must say that since I have found that I cannot go and become a monk in a monastery, the next place would be a prison where I am absolutely confined to something I have to do and don't have to cope with all of those complications."

/Q. You would have no human doubt of his discretion, his keeping a secret?/

A. I have not met many people in government work or confidential work, including very high jobs, but I have met nobody who could even compare with Flanders in this respect. I can say that with absolute deepest conviction.

/Q. Would his conduct in seeing Alger Hiss at some unspecified time in the future change your opinion in any way about his discretion, his keeping of his oath as to secrecy and classified information?/

A. It would not have the slightest effect on my opinion, but I would like---as in the Hiss case--I would like to say a few words about it.

In the first place, I disagree definitely with my friend Flanders and also his wife as far as my judgment is concerned. I think, I don't want to offend anybody, if I had been on the jury, on the basis of the evidence that I have read in the paper, I would have voted for conviction. I want to say that clearly. I cannot escape, I cannot escape impressions that it was on that basis. However, I want to say also that I met Hiss. I met him through Flanders. My interest in Hiss was when he was a member of the Carnegie group. We wanted very much to have financial support for the institute. The Carnegie Institute--when I learned that Flanders knew Hiss so well I thought--on very friendly terms--I thought it would be a good opportunity of getting at the Carnegie people. Flanders invited me for dinner once with Hiss. I saw Alger several times. In the school matters he tried to help us. I had several meetings with Hiss for lunch and in my office on this problem.

I didn't know any thing about Hiss except he had been with the State Department. He was highly respected, and when I met him I was very much impressed that such a big shot should be such a straight-forward pleasant, easy-going individual. We mostly talked about educational questions. I don't remember that any political problem was touched.

Then I remember one day I opened the newspaper and I saw this accusation. I was just perfectly--it was unbelievable to me. For a long time I was convinced that it was all nothing.

I will say, following the first trial I became doubtful. I always waited for something to come from Hiss which would clear up the case, at least show that he was fully cooperating in clearing up the record. When this did not happen, I changed my mind. The fact that Flanders did not change his mind, in my opinion, change his mind about the facts, that is one of the disagreements of opinion. I think I am right. But I would not hold it against him, and certainly I would consider it just as one of these inconvenient consequences of his puritanism. His loyalty is so strong that it takes a little more to shake it than it does for a normal person.

I understood he still feels friendly for him, and it is just a consequence of the same quality which makes him such a particularly good security risk.

Now you asked me what would happen when he would meet Hiss. I don't know. I could conjecture. I personally think either he would be disappointed and see

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the difference in one he has known, and it would be a painful experience for him, or he would be by the strength of his puritanism, would be

convinced he should still cooperate in bringing out the whole truth. I don't think the trial has brought out all the aspects of the case. There are many questions I would have to ask before I would pretend to understand it. I think that Flanders, in future contacts, would have respect for the public as a whole. It would have absolutely no bearing on his security matters.

/Q. You mean because his obligation is absolute on security matters?/

A. It is perfectly unthinkable for me that Flanders would ever disclose anything to anybody, including his nearest friends, including people who have been cleared completely, but the rules are you must not disclose classified information. He didn't talk to me about it, although I had atomic energy clearance. He knows that this subject is free to discuss. So I think, I am certainly not the only one, but anyone who knows Flanders would be just as strong to convince as this. I think it is very deplorable if people have misjudged situations. What you think the situation is, everything is clear. But this has nothing to do with this; no leak can be possible.

/Q. What is his mathematical ability./

A. Well, this is just the point which makes me think this way. I think Flanders is a very unique phenomenon in the whole structure of mathematics in atomic energy research and so on. His qualities of puritanic meticulous devotion to a job, together with very broad scientific competence and broad knowledge of many fields, engineering, mathematics, fields themselves that are involved in the atomic energy program. He is quite unique. He has a key job. In this whole field of mathematical computation for scientific purposes, it is coming into its own. Everybody has read in the papers about the machines, exaggerated statements, but if you boil it down to what it really amounts to, it is still very important. It has become recently, and will even more so be of extreme importance.

There are absolutely very few people in this country who can do this kind of job. Now, if one of them should be knocked out, it would be really a very great blow to the whole program. I am not talking through my hat. The project, which I indicated, is just this direction. He will be charged with the pioneering, setting up such facilities in an effective way, and we have been looking around, where there are people to help us. There are just two or three people in the country to whom we could turn, and one of them is Flanders. We have been tormenting our brains, discussing things with people in Washington, and the Navy, and AEC, and it is very difficult.

Maybe in three or four years other people will have grown into such a situation, but at the moment I would consider it a great tragedy if a man like Flanders should be prevented from being perfectly free in

dealing with these problems. I would feel, if there was any serious risk for security, there was nothing one can do about it. Since I feel so strongly there is not, I volunteered to come here to testify, though it is quite inconvenient for me.

During the last two weeks, AEC asked us, my institute, through me, to step into this field and do some pioneering, set up some facilities in the university. My interest in his remaining active in the field has been very enhanced by the responsibilities I have undertaken recently.

/Q. Are you a citizen, Doctor?/

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Yes, sure. I have been a citizen--as you can hear from my accent--I was naturalized in 1940.

/Q. Are you anti-Nazi? Are you a Communist?/

A. Of course I am anti-Nazi, certainly. I have had a very personal experience with communists, and I have been immunized before anybody else was immunized by very close--I had a very close view of the communists in politics, and some reading of Russian communism.

When I was a professor immediately after the Russian revolution, a Russian mathematician came to visit Gottingen. He was one of the leading Bolsheviks. He was to be sent as ambassador to Brazil, but Brazil did not visit Russia. He waited, brushed up on his mathematics. He used to be a mathematics professor in Leningrad. He was the son of a bishop. He became an Arctic explorer. We were interested in what was happening in Russia. He told us frankly. It was so repugnant, and gave such a deep insight, that everybody who had any association with this man--it was in 1921 or 1922--was immunized for the rest of his life.

Also, people who lived in Germany before the Nazis came could observe how the communists, by trickery and lies, really brought about the Nazi revolution. They and the Nazis are the same brand. They cooperated. Each of them was waiting for the other to cut his throat, but they cooperated just as the Russians did with the Nazis in 1939. I am very much anti-communist.

/Q. Do you now know any communists in the the United States?/

A. At the moment not knowing--I don't think so. I think my last contact with a communist was--we played chamber music at my house. My wife met violinists and invited them to come. There was a violinist who I found out, my wife found out he was a communist. Ever since then we discontinued. That was before the war.

/Q. There apparently isn't any antagonism between music and communism?/

A. Communism in anything else except in my opinion--communism, well I don't understand the mentality. Whether communism is a whole field of politics, social problems, human relations, standard of ethics in which the western civilization has been built, it just doesn't exist. But the communist is perfectly capable of playing the flute or violin quite well.

/Q. You have read some of the stories involving unauthorized disclosure of atomic energy material such as the Rosenberg case?/

A. I have seen it in the papers. I even received letters recently from a lawyer in New York who collected money or signatures for some appeal in the Rosenberg case. I must be on the list for some of those people. I threw them in the wastepaper basket. If people want to be martyrs for some nonsense, one can't help them.

/Q. Have you any opinion as to why Fuchs did what he did. He fled out of Germany./

A. I think he was a communist, as it turned out. These people are fanatics, and our ethical standards on behavior are not valid, for lying and deceiving is a measure of warfare against the capitalist society for them. Otherwise, they allow it. It is not conceivable to me that a human being, as we know them, and like them, could have such a double, such a duplicity in his attitude. I have no psychological explanation.

I have talked about this very problem with people who have met communists. There is just a barrier between our way of looking at things and the communist attitude. As a matter of fact, I now recall a long conversation I had with Dr. Flanders when I visited him on his farm. We talked about his fact, that it is impossible to trust communists, and his statement and attitude, because they just do not act according to the ethical standards, as they are valid for us.

/Q. What are your politics?/

A. I have no secrets about that. Two weeks ago when the campaign started I favored Eisenhower. Then I gradually went over to the Stevenson side. When Stevenson was defeated I was one of those who was not very unhappy. That is exactly what I thought.

I have very good friends who are on the right wing side of the Republican party as a matter of fact, and quite prominent. I have met Herbert Hoover and have had lunch with him.

/Q. Are you descended from a Jewish family, and was that connected with your leaving Germany in 1933?/

A. Yes, that was the only thing. As a matter of fact, I was immediately, when the Nazis took power, I had a rather big position then. I was Dean. I was a natural target. But then some people brought out that I had been in the war in high command on the general staff, and had done certain things, so my dispatch was rescinded. I was reinstated. But I preferred to leave, and so I resigned then and went to England.

/Q. Was Fuchs a communist?/

A. I think Fuchs probably, you see that happens so often in life. You criticize something and if somebody else also criticizes the same conditions, then you identify yourself with this guy. Now Fuchs certainly as a young boy had been very anti-Nazi. Since the communists also profess to be anti-Nazi, he thinks it is good company to be in. That is probably in many cases, has been the beginning of communist infiltration. They find some points, some common interest, some common political attitude, and take over.

In my case,, I was very much anti-communist from the beginning, because I have seen so much of it from an early start. If young people, who don't know any better, are captured for a while, they are very vulnerable. When they have the moral strength and the interest to cut loose after this, it is all right. I don't think it does them any lasting damage. But I must say that I have very little experience. Fortunately my children never had any such leanings.

/Q. Is there any thing you would like to add?/

A. I would say that I can perfectly understand that if people here knew of his friendship with Alger Hiss, they may be startled. It may be a shock. Very few people still believe in his absolute innocence, but I can understand that. I feel that when one knows Flanders, it can be interpreted the other way. It is just a symptom of the fact that he is loyal.

I want to say that Flanders' loyalty to Hiss may not stand the test of another meeting. That is my personal opinion. But his loyalty, trust, is an outcome of the same puritanism that makes him such a good security risk in other ways. That is my opinion.

/Q. What about his judgment in arranging a trip to visit the wife of a man/

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/who had just been convicted of a very serious offense affecting the security of the United States?/

A. Well, I would separate the two things. I would say that human sympathy and friendship should be independent of judgment about guilt. I

must say that I have known people who have stolen money from me and other things, and I did not afterwards, didn't feel, as a matter of fact, they were very good servants. I thought, all right, it is too bad, but I know now, and we did not dismiss the girl. I don't see why somebody who is such a good Christian as Flanders, though he might not admit it, why he should not be friendly to somebody who is guilty of otherwise. That is one thing.

Now, if this would imply any violation of trust than of security is this case, this would be quite a different story. So I would see no harm in it. I think it is not very prudent for somebody who is being observed all of the time, but I don't think Flanders would do things in a hidden way. He probably would tell everybody very frankly, and if he would be told not to do that, he would gladly comply, as he did during the war. He did not see his friends, and so on. I think if people in charge of security had told him, "We know what your situation is with Hiss, would you please be a little reticent and keep away from that contact, " he would consider it and probably would comply. If he wouldn't he would say so. I don't know whether he has been warned. I don't think you can say that is his judgment. It may be an uncomfortable puritanic attitude, but one has to put up with that.

/Q. You realize that association is one of the factors considered in security?/

A. I know, but it is not up to me to say something However, I would say, it is my opinion that the association with the same person may mean something quite different for different individuals. If I were to associate, I am not of such a strong puritanic character as Flanders, so I am more careful. I say that. I would be reluctant in associating with people who I suspect have connections with the other side of the fence. But somebody who is so clean and puritanical as Flanders, he is not touched by these things.

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Testimony of Sara M. Flanders
(VIII. 61)



donald, sally and steve flanders

In the first place, it may have puzzled you when I continued to stay in Europe when this was going on, and I would like to explain why I did. I did not know anything about it. My husband knew perfectly well that if I knew about it, I would take the next boat home. So, anyone who was likely to write to me was warned, and when I arrived in New York, I saw various people. Nobody said anything. I went to visit my sister in Providence, and nobody said anything.

The only false note that occurred the whole time I was on my way home, the entire time I was away, was that Joe Stein, of whom you have heard, the cellist with whom we played for many years, called up from Boston, which was reasonable enough, called up, knowing I was to be in Providence, sorry not to see me, and he said, "As soon as you get to Chicago, send me Ellen's address, and let me know how Ellen is." I said, "All right." And he said, "I do want to know how Moll is, and why he hasn't written to me."

Sally M., Donald and Steve Flanders

I simply roared. I said, "He hasn't written you because he never writes to anybody." But it seemed strange that he, knowing that Moll never writes a letter would ask about it. That is the only thing that made me feel there was anything curious about it. Then it wasn't until we had been home, and Steve had finished burbling as much as he could in the first half hour--I guess until Steve was gone that I learned about it.

The reason that I went to Europe was that Jane was planning to study in Paris. Each of the three older children was left a thousand dollars to do as they wished when they got to be 21. Jane decided she would spend hers on a year in Paris studying music. The she, not surprisingly got cold feet during the summer, and thought it was going to be very far away, and my sister suggested that I go with her and get her settled in Paris. I said that was perfect nonsense; we didn't have the money. Everybody insisted so strongly that I finally investigated to find out whether Steve could go half-fare, and finding that he could go half-fare, this year and next summer, allowed my sister and others to persuade me and went. I was very glad I had because the fact that I was on the boat with her, which was a French boat, meant that I made friends with three Frenchwomen, Parisian women, who were my age, who were glad to be nice to Jane because they had made friends with me, but would never have noticed her otherwise. She would have been one of the many kids on the boat. So I stayed ten days in Paris and got her settle, and Steve and I saw sights. Then I left her feeling very happy about her because she had older friends and also friends of her own age in Paris.

/Q. Have you ever been a communist sympathizer?/

A. Well, at the time of the original Russian revolution, I read the new constitution, and thought it was probably the most superb document that I had ever read, ever been written.

And then as time went on, it seemed to me that they were, that it was a pretty piece of paper, and for a long time, I guess probably to the time of the purges, I felt they had demonstrated and done great things in Russia. At the time of the purges, I could not see how they could be justified, and from that time on, I lost more and more sympathy with them.

Also while we were in Denmark in 1937-38, I remember talking to Professor Harold Bohr, who said that among the people he had helped or knew about, I am not sure whether he had helped them to get to Russia. They had gone to Russia feeling as I just said I did, that it was a fine place to escape to from Germany or such, and then had found that life was fully as difficult and as, well

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as impossible in Russia as it was in Germany. That backed up my--I read Dodd--I am terrible about names and dates--and he tried to justify certain and succeeded in justifying some of the people as having worked against the government. But he couldn't convince me that it was all right, and, and Bohr's statement made me feel still more that the situation in Russia was not all right. In other words, I began at that point to feel that the communist constitution was a piece of paper, and I have never felt much sympathy for them since then.

/Q. Your attitude towards Soviet Russia from the date of the purge to date was non-sympathetic?/

A. Yes. Well, not even down to date as that way. At that point I was non-sympathetic, although I did feel there were probably certain things about it that were still of value. Then I was, of course, very much impressed with the defense of Stalingrad, and thought they were doing a good job there.

I can't exactly put my finger on when I began to completely anti, but it certainly was at the end of the war. I was anti and very shortly after that I became very definitely anti.

/Q. Do you draw any distinction between communism and socialism?/

A. There again I would say that it was a fine piece of paper, that the theory of socialism was excellent, but not necessarily workable, and certainly not probably workable then here. After all, Norman Thomas is about as good a symbol of futility as we have. He is a perfectly fine person, with fine ideals, and he has tried awfully hard and accomplished very little.

/Q. Did you ever register as a socialist?/

A. Sure. It was the time of--it was 1929 when we came to New York. The crash was in 1930. I would say that it was in the winter of 1930 or 1931 that people were starving in New York City, and the socialists were definitely doing something about it. I think it was Priscilla that came and asked me if I wouldn't help collect old clothes in my building, and help serve refreshments in the socialist headquarters. But I didn't join until the following year. I just went over and brought clothes and

passed them out. I joined them, though, and it was extremely dull. I don't remember resigning, but I just stopped. I let it ride and was too busy with the family, the kids, to do anything really in social activities. I felt a little--I mean, social not as teas and so on, but as being helpful, and felt rather depressed and frustrated about it, until we went to Chappaqua(1935).

Then after my sister's(Ruth Murray, called Bay) death, when the older children--the three who are now grown up--were in school and off my hands, I went into district nursing part-time, and that satisfied my desire for being useful as well as bringing in a small--it didn't really bring in enough to notice.

/Q. Would you describe yourself as a Marxist?/

A. Definitely not. I have never read Marx, although what I knew of Marxist theories had a certain amount of appeal,---primarily the feeling that they were--the socialists, I mean, ---working for the betterment of people in general. I guess that is really the whole point.

/Q. Well, in contrast with whom?/

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A. In contrast with the status quo which was doing nothing, the then regime, shall we say. Well, suppose we say up until Roosevelt's inauguration, I felt those in power were doing very little, if any, for the welfare of the people who needed it.

/Q. Would you describe generally you political attitude since 1933?/

A. I registered as a Democrat in Chappaqua, and I have felt that I was a liberal Democrat, but I went along with Roosevelt on practically everything. I have continued to feel that Mr. Truman was doing his best. Sometimes it wasn't as good as I hoped, but in general.

/Q. Will you describe for us the relationship with the Hisses, when it started, etc.?/

A. I have been extremely fond of Prossie since my sister a freshman year in college. When she married Thayer Hobson, we both felt--I think all of my family felt a little distressed because he was not the kind of person that we are. He was much better dressed, and took us to front row seats to see Gilbert and Sullivan--I think it was--the night that we went there for dinner. He was just out of our financial and intellectual group I would say. It was an entirely different background. While that went on we didn't see much of Priscilla. Although we were always--we are fond of her still--and sent Christmas presents, things of that sort. But I don't remember exactly when I met Alger. All I remember is that it was

-- it seemed perfectly wonderful that Timmie would now have a really satisfactory father, and it was wonderful that Prossie and he were so happy, and the whole thing had turned out so beautifully.

/Q. What was wrong with Mr. Hobson? Was he a drinking man?/

A. No. It was simply that he was not the kind of person that we were. When Prossie was married to him, the tow of them didn't fit into the group, you see. It wasn't that I felt that Thayer in himself would not be a good father for Timmie, but merely that since they had broken, and since Prossie had been very much alone, and that Timmie needed a father, it was wonderful to me that it should be a unite--that Timmie should have a united family.

We was them at our farm, our place in New Lebanon. What happen about that was that both families, the Fanslers and the Flanders, felt that we needed,--we were moving from one apartment to another constantly, and we needed roots for our children. So Thomas Fansler went up and bought a farm and came back with the deed in his pocket. The following spring, after we had visited them up there, I sent Moll up to do the same thing. He came back telling me which farm he had bought. It was one which I hadn't even remembered knowing. I knew I was crazy about the country, and I would be perfectly satisfied.

So the Hisses have visited either one place or the other, either at their farm or our farm, but more usually at their farm. But we always saw them.

I felt rather sad from time to time that we saw so little of them. We would go over there for dinner, and they would come over to our house for dinner en masse. All of the Flanders would go over to see the Hisses and the Fanslers, or all of the Fanslers and Hisses would come over and have dinner with us. Whereas, if they stayed with us, we would see more of them. So that the only time when we had them to ourselves, shall I say, was when Bob and Tommy were in New York, and they came and visited us. This was when Alger was in the State Department.

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sara drawing

It was an exciting time, and it was an exciting time because of China. I kept thinking how splendid it would be to have a man from the State Department come and we would get something more than we got out of the papers, but we didn't. It was a total loss so far as that was concerned. We had a very lovely time with them.

The next time that we really saw very much of them was one weekend which was the year after Steven was born, and Jane gave us a wedding anniversary present of spending--sending us off to Washington to stay with the Hisses.

The next time we saw them was when they came to visit me in Chappaqua after Moll had left for Los Alamos by car. They came especially to stay

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with me because they knew that I was going to Los Alamos. They were sorry to have missed Moll. They knew we were going somewhere, and they did not know that we were going to Los Alamos.

The situation was very upsetting to me at the time. Not the Hisses, but the Los Alamos situation. We had been told that we were not to say anything about our destination; that we were not even to know what our destination was at first. I didn't know where we were going. When Moll was offered the job, he was asked if he would take a job somewhere in the southwest. When he told me about it, I said, "Oh my goodness? Is this going to be another case of Lubbock?" That was one of the most unattractive towns that I ever spent a winter in. I said if it was as interesting a job as that, as had been said to him that it was, of course we would go.

So when we were talking about going, in Chappaqua, among my friends, before Moll left, I was saying, "I don't know where we are going, but it is just like a detective story. We don't know where we are going. We are going somewhere in the great southwest, and it is all very fascinating, you see."

I got a great deal of curiosity up among my friends. Then Moll got there and found that that approach was totally incorrect, and that the thing to do was simply say that he had a government job in the southwest--no, that he was going to the southwest--I don't remember exactly what it was, what the technique was at that time. But, anyway, it was totally at variance with what I had been doing.

I was very much upset as to whether I should try to remember every person to who I had told this tale, "That was just a cock and bull story," or whether I should keep my mouth shut.

I opened the letter. I can still see us sitting around having mid-morning coffee, and I had been down to get the mail. I was simply flabbergasted. We were, each of us, reading our mail. I said to myself, I have got to have advice. If I can't get the proper kind of advice from as close-mouthed a lawyer as I know Alger to be, and a member of the State Department, I didn't know where I could get better.

I asked Alger, not telling him any more than simply that I had made these statements to various friends, I was now to make these new batch of statements, and what should I do. Should I try to remember all of the people to whom I had made the statements, or should I just keep my mouth shut. Alger said, "For heaven's sake. Don't say anything."

/Q. Did he at the time indicate that he knew where your husband was?/

A. No, he didn't. He didn't ask. I mean, even at that point I had acquired the habit of not asking questions, and certainly Alger wouldn't ask a question when he knew there was any reason for not asking.

/Q. You are the one who ordinarily conduct the correspondence of the family?/

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A. We have always divided up jobs, and things that I do like that (indicating), I do. Things that have to be done remarkably well, he does; things that are done with precision and care like gluing a valuable piece of furniture together. I have written all family letters with the exception of one, the Bevingtons and one, Mother Flanders. Up to this summer, I don't know of any others that he has written.

With the Hisses, it is just about the same. I would send them a Christmas present or write and say thank you for their Christmas present. I would write and say, "We are going to be in Norwich the 25th of June, "or what have you," and would it be all right with you if we stopped on the way back to the next place?" They would write back, couldn't you make it the day before or the day after, or certainly that will be fine, as the case may be. That is practically the total of our correspondence.

I have written Prossie since the trial. I have tried to write cheery letters about what Steve was doing, things like that, since Alger was put in jail.

While we were in Los Alamos, I wrote as I wrote to other friends, probably once or twice a year, aside from a thank you note at Christmas time. I said we sung carols or something of the sort, simply about the general type of activities we were engaged in, social activities, and my work in the nursery school, so on. It was probably not more than a couple of times in each year. It is quite possible that it was only in reply, in thanking her for the Christmas present.

After Hiroshima, everybody know that was what we were doing, and it wasn't necessary for me to write and say, "Now you see?" Everybody knew. I have no recollection of writing to anyone and saying, "See, this is what we did, " because it was obvious to everyone. I don't think we received any letters saying, "Now we know." It was just such an obvious thing.

I felt that the Hisses were always very much concerned about the general welfare. Priscilla and I, being somewhat more sentimental than our husbands, thought the small amount we could do was sufficiently valuable to put an awful lot of work in it. Whereas our husbands were very much interested and in sympathy with our aims, but perhaps didn't feel that what we were doing was more than a drop in the bucket, and was not as useful as we thought it was. Certainly, I would feel that Alger was a liberal in the best sense of the word, and that he hadn't a vague tinge of pink, in any snes.

I definitely remember something that I vaguely thought they should have brought out at the trial. When my sister was working in the education department at the Metropolitan Museum Bobby), she was visiting the Hisses. She said she had spoken to Prossie about a friend of her's who was a very fine sculptress living in Washington. Prossie said she would love to meet her. When Bob said, Prossy said, "I hat case, I don't want to meet her. A man in the State Department has no right to meet

communists." That is the only time I know, secondhand, of any mention of communists.

/Q. What is your idea of the necessity for a security program?/

A. It seems unfortunate that it is necessary or that it should be necessary for there to be any secrecy about scientific work. I think science in general goes on--it has been a wonderful thing, the rapport between scientists here and in other countries, and between scientists in one place and another in the United State. It has been a very excellent and wonderful thing. It is too bad, it seems to me, that it should be necessary to curb that, but I do feel quite definitely that in case of anything pertaining to military ends that it is necessary and that it is reasonable that hearing such as this should be held.

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/Q. That hasn't always been your opinion, has it?/

A. You are referring to the statement about the communist witch hunt, aren't you? I felt strongly then, and I still feel strongly, that McCarthyism was smearing people without basis,

and they were not being, the hearings were not being held in secret. The man was smeared by the very fact that he was being investigated. That was not a question of a so-called sensitive occupation. In other words, I felt that the un-American activities Committee was damning people without--in the public prints.

/Q. Can you name one person who was in any way mistreated or unfairly handled?/

A. There were saying there were thousands of people in various places, in various jobs that were disloyal, and when it came down to being investigated, maybe there was one or two.

Now, I made the distinction then, and I make it now, that when you take a job in a "sensitive" field you expect to be cleared before you take the job. You expect to be under more or less continuous scrutiny thereafter. I have expected ever since the conviction of Alger Hiss that my husband's clearance would be questioned. I mean that it didn't seem unfair that it should be. I have never felt that our love for Alger was a contradiction of my husband's fitness to work for the AEC. My husband has never told me anything that he shouldn't. Why should he tell Alger?

Remington lost his job because he was condemned without a hearing.

/Q. There was not a criminal charge involved there, was there? None of us has a particular right to demand a particular job./

A. Nobody has a right to demand a job in a sensitive area, but the fact that this man was publicly accused before he was proven guilty--

/Q. It is done in every criminal case. A grand jury returns an indictment, and it is publicized./

A. All right. There was more publicity about that, and the man would have been unable, if he had resigned -- of course, I don't remember all of these things. If he had resigned more or less at the first, he would still have found it difficult to get a job almost anywhere.

/Q. Isn't that true of any man? I may be wrongfully indicted for a serious offense. I may be acquitted the next day, but still the indictment was publicized before I made any effort to make my defense. I can't see why you can do it in a criminal case, and why it wouldn't be just as proper to do it in a Congressional investigation. I am trying to find out your reaction./

A. Well, there still seems to be a difference to me.

/Q. Do you have the same attitude as to the communistic smears of anybody who exposes communism? Are you opposed to smear tactics on either side? So that this attitude as to the treatment of Remington would be applied to the treatment of anyone whether he was a communist or not?/

A. I think so. Wasn't it Justice Holmes who said, "I will defend with my life the opportunity --" I can't quote.

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/Q. Voltaire. You understand that later Mr. Remington was convicted? You still think he was dealt with unfairly?/

A. I have no convictions about Mr. Remington. I know nothing about it except what I read at the time. I am perfectly willing to admit he was, in all probability -- that he was, shall we say --

(Mr. Despres, lawyer) I think in fairness to everybody we ought to point out that the conviction was reversed. The only reason I mention it is that if we all say there is a conviction, Mrs. Flanders will accept the statement of a panel of lawyers.

/Q. What we are interested in is this: We know that it is a matter of common experience that when any accusation, charge, or unfavorable statement is made about any Commie in the United States, immediately all

of the transmission belts are flooded with smear tactics against anyone who has made any unfavorable statement about any communists. We want to know whether you are in that group of not; whether you have been a tool of communist propaganda or not./

A. I am certainly against communist smear tactics too.

/Q. You don't think you were being used by communists to smear others, for example, to smear the un-American Activities Committee?/

A. I don't believe so.

/Q. You don't think you were being used by the communists to smear others. As you undoubtedly know, communists are engaged in that effort./

A. I don't think that I have been in contact with any -- with anyone who could have used me in that way.

/Q. Well, your sister Roberta was in contact with a communist sculptress./

A. She met an excellent sculptress in 1942. She was not interested in politics. The only reason she mentioned the woman's politics was because Alger was in the State Department, and she felt there was a possibility that it was unwise. Otherwise, she wouldn't have bothered mentioning it, no more than you would say, "She is a Republican, or a Democrat."

/Q. She recommended that the Hisses meet that lady?/

A. She thought that Mrs. Hiss would be interested in an excellent sculptress. Then it occurred to her that there might be some objection on the part of the Hisses, so she mentioned it. It was originally thought of as a relationship between Mrs. Hiss and a sculptress. Then my sister realized that it would involve Alger, and thought it only fair to mention it. She mentioned it, and when the objection was brought up by Priscilla, she dropped the suggestion.

/Q. Did you have any idea whether Peggy Kraft was a communist?/

A. I do not now have any idea whether she was a communist. She came to our house not more than twice a winter, I would say, and I once went with her to a show that she gave, some art exhibition, and she gave a little speech about the way she made a sketch. That was all. She would come to our house for supper,

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and we would play in the course of the evening, and one of us would walk with her to the streetcar, or not, as the case might be.

After she told us about this trip to Mexico, not while she was telling us but afterwards, as we read about that congress in the papers, we both independently realized that the congress which she had attended in Mexico was probably under communist auspices, although it wasn't necessarily a communist --

I don't think that we have, either of us, seen her since. Ellen took the art course that you know of after that, and neither of us had any objection to the art course as an art course. We liked Peggy, but we didn't feel that we particularly agreed, and although we may not mention politics in the course of an evening, I like to feel that the people I like and see a great course of the evening. I like to feel that the people I like and see a great deal of are of the general, have the general feeling about the world that I have. I don't expect anybody to agree with me point by point.

/Q. You discussed that you felt so happy that you were closely friendly with the Hisses, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Hiss had a rather high ranking state department job, and it might give you some inside information. What did you mean by that?/

A. Well, simply as an intelligent American, which I hope I am, I think I am, I want to know as much as possible about the state of the world, the state of the United States, particularly.

I would not want -- I wouldn't have thought for a moment of Alger giving me something he shouldn't have given. You see. He must have a lot of loose information which doesn't happen to get into the papers, which is perfectly legitimate. It just doesn't happen to get into the paper. That was the kind of thing I was hoping to get. Certainly, I wouldn't think of asking Alger even then, before I had my Los Alamos training in not asking questions, I

wouldn't have thought of asking Alger a question which I thought he shouldn't answer. Frequently, in talking to people at Los Alamos I have said, "Please, may I go on asking questions because I don't know which is a sensitive question, which is an improper question, not knowing enough about which is classified and what is not. It would make me feel freer if I were free to ask any question that I want to, and you just tell me, "That is one of the things I don't answer."

So I don't even remember making such a statement to Alger, because it never would occurred to me that he would tell anything he shouldn't.

/Q. I think you have mellowed a little since 1949, the last hearing. You are a little more conservative than you were./

A. I am older. You try to become more tolerant as the years go on.

/Q. Your husband testified that at one period he was disturbed by what he described to us as an inflexible attitude toward Russia. Does that also reflect your attitude?/

A. I have always felt and still feel that anything which could be done to make living in the same world with Russia possible, as long as you don't give up any important principle, should be done. I s that statement clear?

I don't know whether it is or not. We should try our best to get along with Russia as far as we can without giving up any principle in which we believe.

/Q. Is it your present opinion that we can co-exist peacefully with Russia?/

A. It is my hope. I think life would be too horrible if we didn't think there was some chance of it. We can't have another war.

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/Q. Will you describe for us your daughter Ellen's political attitude at present, and what it has been in the past in your opinion?/

A. I think Ellen agrees very strongly with me in that she would like to see conditions better for the underprivileged. I think at one point she joined the SYL thinking that perhaps this was a means of achieving that result, or that the SYL was, and decided that the SYL was not, would not not get anywhere in that line, and did not like their activities, tactics, and got out.



Ellen Flanders

/Q. Would you describe Ellen's relationship to Peggy Kraft?/

A. At the time that Peggy was coming to our house, Ellen wasn't living with us, and didn't see her very much. When she did meet her, she liked her very much. Ellen and Peggy played a quartet with us once. Ellen liked Peggy and Peggy liked Ellen. It was after the Pan-American Labor Conference that Ellen, though again I am not sure, took this art course with Peggy, which she enjoyed very much. Peggy was an extremely good teacher. Ellen never spoke about anything -- she came home always very much excited about the art classes, and talked about them at some length. She never mentioned politics at all in connection with the classes.

Now, she may or may not have talked some politics with Peggy at that time. I don't know. I just never happened to ask her. The reason for her going was the art classes, and they were completely satisfactory.

/Q. Would you have any objection to becoming a member of an organization if you knew in advance that some members of it were communists or fellow-travelers?/

A. There my opinion has changed more or less completely. You see back in 1946, when we were in Chappaqua, your witch hunt question came up again. At that time, at the time of the split when ADA and PAC became separate parties instead of the one original party, which has so many letters you can't remember what they were, we joined the PCA.

I took issue with Mrs. Roosevelt's statement she did not want to belong to an organization which would admit communists or communist sympathizers. It seemed to me that you couldn't have that kind of sign on your letter-head without a certain amount of what I then called witch hunting. Therefore, I preferred to join the PCA which made no question about whether you had been or had sympathies with the communists.

The life of the Progressive Party has fairly well proved, as well as many other things, that it is unwise to join an organization which allows communists to be in it because they are almost certain to take over by fair means or foul, so that now I don't think I would knowingly join an organization which had been communistic.

/Q. We have a report on which to date we have not questioned your husband involving a picketing parade on 125th Street. I don't know the date, but the report is that Dr. Flanders, joined with a group of picketers./

A. No. I am unable to cross a picket line unless I am convinced the pickets are wrong, but I don't think I have heard of my husband joining a picket line.

Mr. Flanders: I have never been in a picket line. I have never been in a protest parade.

Mrs. Flanders: I would have heard about it.

Mr. Flanders: During 1947-48, we lived in a cooperative apartment house on

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552 Riverside drive. It had been gutted by fire, then subdivided, and sold as cooperative apartments. I am saying this to indicate that it was not the sort of cooperative where a group of people get together with the idea of cooperating, but rather that this was a commercial pattern. The housing was made available as a cooperative. We were one of the original purchasers of an apartment in that building.

When the tenant-owners organized, I was elected president of the cooperative, and I served through that year as president.

One of the first things that we had to do was to decide on how the building was to be managed. we decided that we would try to get one of the tenants to manage the building for a fee. He would be reimbursed for his services. None of the officers of the cooperative received any money or reimbursement. This was a job which we felt we would try to handle within the cooperative it self. There were other alternatives such as hiring, engaging a management corporation to manage it. It was a good-sized building -- maybe 57 apartments.

One of the applicants for this position was a young man recently, I believe, honorably discharged from the armed services, who lived on the ground floor, and he made a very vigorous effort to get this position of operating manager.

He was not selected for the job. I, myself, did not think he was the best qualified applicant, but I do not remember that I did anything unfair in my handling of the situation. It was very clear to me that this young man held a grudge against me because of his failure to get the position.

Toward the end of our stay in that apartment house, at one of the general meetings of the whole cooperative, a proposal was made that Negroes should enter the building through the basement and be denied entrance through the front door. This was an idea that was so repugnant to me, to my concept of democratic procedure, that I expressed considerable indignation.

It is my recollection that this young man, to whom I referred, was one of the sponsors of this idea. Shortly after that, shortly after this meeting, in which this proposition was defeated, the question of my going to Chicago arose. I believe in fact, well certainly it was known that I had accepted the position at Argonne subject to clearance. I was informed by one of the tenants that he had overheard this young man say

that he was going to inform the FBI that I was a wild radical, and it is my belief that this allegation is due to that incident.

/Q. Mrs. Flanders, I think you said life would be too horrible if we didn't think there was some chance of peaceful co-existence with Russia. When you said that, to what were you referring?/

A. Yes What I meant was, in fact, I don't see that life would be worth living if you felt it was absolutely necessary that an atomic war should come.

/Q. Now, you were asked about the difference between inquiry by Congressional investigation and indictment by a court, and you referred to principles of Anglo-Saxon law. When you referred to that --/

A. I don't know about them.

/Q. I don't want to ask you what Anglo-Saxon law is, but what you had in mind./

A. I have in mind, well, the oft-repeated statement that until a man is proven guilty he is assumed to be innocent.

/Q. What about the other rights such as the right to know the charges, the right to examine witnesses, the right to introduce evidence in your own defense./

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A. Those I also assume as the rights that one should have.

/Q. Those are rights that we do have in a court of law, aren't they? And many of those rights are protected also by safeguards in administrative proceedings, too, aren't they?/

A. Yes.

/Q. But before a congressional committee, is it your impression that a man knows the charge in advance, or that he has a right to cross-examine witnesses, or that he has a right to introduce evidence himself?/

My feeling about the Dies committee procedure was that those things were not true. That is what I understand. That was the objection that I felt was valid to procedures of the Dies committee Those safeguards were not in effect.

/Q. You spoke about the Remington case. You said you knew what you read about it. What had you read about the case, the newspaper accounts, I suppose?/

A. I read the Herald Tribune on the subject, and I presume that the Nation had an article. The thing that impressed me was the articles in The New Yorker.

/Q. And those articles dealt, with the loyalty hearing of Remington? Wasn't that in the early days of the loyalty hearings? And wasn't that some years ago, before a great many safeguards were in effect?/

A. Yes.

/Q. And didn't those articles describe the great difficulty that he had in knowing the charges against him? And the difficulty in meeting the evidence against him? Then, wasn't he cleared eventually in the loyalty proceeding? (Yes to all questions) Then didn't the article describe the expense to Remington of the proceeding?/

A. Yes, and how he was baby-sitting, when he could get baby-sitting, with people who wouldn't feel that he was a subversive influence on their 6-month-old baby?

/Q. The record with Remington so far is that there has been a loyalty charge against him, and he has been cleared of that. There has been a court trial against him, and he has been convicted, but the conviction has been reversed. Then he has been indicted, I shouldn't say the conviction has been reversed. It has been set aside. He was indicted for perjury on his first federal trial./

A. My remarks were all prior, about the situation when I understood he had been cleared. The articles in The New Yorker were heartrending.

I would say that it is necessary for the AEC to investigate the loyalty of all the people who work for it. I would say that having found out that one of our dearest friends is in jail, it was fairly obvious that you should take up the problem.

You state in the AEC criteria for employment that associations are important, but that it is up to you to take up such associations and view them in the light of the man's personality.

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/Q. Would you tell about your husband's discretion, loyalty, carefulness, his feelings about right and wrong, his principle, -- state them as you know them./

A. One reason I told you about my not know anything about this hearing

was to show that even in a case where it wasn't of national importance, he could be completely secretive. He has written to me over and over this summer, and I never had the slightest ideas that there was anything going on other than the fact that life is not as easy when I am around, not as easy when I am around bothering him. All right. I would say that.

/Q. I understand this./

A. Thank you. I would say that my husband is one of the three or four most honorable people I know.

When we were considering going to Los Alamos, it sounded as though living conditions would be rather bad, as though everything else would be rather bad, but the work was for the welfare of the country. That is the reason we decided to go. I mean, it is the welfare of the country rather than which side our bread is buttered on that counts.

/Q. If Mr. Remington is guilty, isn't what he has done to the United States a tragic thing?/

A. Definitely. I would not question that. Don't forget that my indictment, if you could call it that, of the Dies committee was not in the light of the fact that he was guilty, but in the light which seemed, well, the best light I had at the moment, which was that he was innocent. He should have been presumed to have been innocent until he was proved guilty.

/Q. He want' proved guilty of anything./

A. My point about Alger Hiss is that when I know a man and believe in him as I believe in Alger, I can't agree with the verdict. My day at the trial bears out my feelings on the subject because the next day, as I read the papers, the things that I had heard at the trial which seemed to me to back up my belief in Alger's innocence were not mentioned in the paper the following day. The things that were mentioned in the paper were things which I hadn't noticed, which seemed completely unimportant to me as I listened.

/Q. Your confidence in and friendship for -- I think you have described it as love for the Hisses has not been diminished by this conviction?/

A. Not in the least.

/Q. But that in your opinion does not mean that your spouse should be disqualified from continuing to contribute to this national effort?/

A. Definitely not. I would not. My husband has never said anything to me that he should not say. Why should he say it to anyone else?

/Q. I have only one question more. Do you know whether these judicial safe-guards, cross-examination, and the like, have ever been applied in Anglo-Saxon history to legislative investigations?/

A. I don't know anything about legislative investigations. I don't remember having read about them until the present crop.

IX. *Closing statement of Mr. Despres, lawyer for the defense *73

I would like to say that in the hearing, I have tried to do what Dr. Flanders asked to have done, and that is to handle the whole hearing not in any sense like a partisan proceeding, but like a join effort to arrive at a result and a finding.

Now, if at any time I have done anything favorable, I wish you would credit Dr. Flanders with it. If I have injected myself in any way that irritated, then i wish you would place the blame for it on me, and on my shoulders, because that was really not Dr. Flanders' intention from the beginning.

In all his conferences with me, and in his statements here, he said what he wanted was an arrival at the truth and at a good judgment. At the same time, also, in any questions I may have made, I have intended to be broad. There were times when you properly asked something broader than I had asked. I was to say my intention was never to phrase a question and get a narrow answer. For example, I asked one witness about Mrs. Flanders' character. I think the chairman properly said, "Well, Mr. Despres didn't cover loyalty." It is true; I didn't cover it it. I didn't intend to omit it. We intended cover everything. There was no attempt at trickery or the narrowing of questions.

I would like to express my appreciation to the panel for its patience, courtesy and decorum.



Ralph, Donald and E. Flanders