

FLANDERS

of Vermont

BY J. B. MATTHEWS

HAD IT not been for his connection with the McCarthy issue, Ralph Edward Flanders would have remained one of the more obscure members of the United States Senate — his very name, to say nothing of his labors, unknown to millions of Americans.

Senator Flanders may have reached a state of senility, as alleged by Senator McCarthy; but he unquestionably possessed a remarkable agility. With one jump, he bounded from obscurity to notoriety.

It was, perhaps, natural for Senator Flanders to fret more and more — he's in his 75th year — at the thought of his inconspicuous Senate

record, and to seek a remedy for his obscurity by plunging into the national limelight of the McCarthy controversy. If hundreds of other fellows could make national headlines by attacking McCarthy, why not he?

The Watkins Censure Committee included in its report the following statement: "The evidence shows that on June 11, 1954, Senator Flanders walked into the Senate caucus room where Senator McCarthy was testifying before a vast television audience in the Army-McCarthy hearings, and unexpectedly gave Senator McCarthy notice of an intended speech attacking Senator

McCarthy which he proposed forthwith to deliver on the Senate floor. . . ."

Millions of Americans who witnessed, on their television screens, this startling spectacle of the aging Senator from Vermont would say that Flanders floundered into the caucus room. As the television floodlights picked him up at the door of the caucus room and followed him as he stumbled along to the witness chair in which McCarthy sat, it was obvious that Flanders' publicity aides had given notice of his impending act to the television cameramen.

They say that McCarthy is headline-hungry. Be that as it may, Flanders was certainly on the verge of starvation — as thin as Job's turkey or Old Mother Hubbard's poor dog (not a bird dog or a kennel dog, please note!). And so, on June 11, 1954, thanks to the innovation of televised Senate proceedings, Ralph Edward Flanders sat down to as sumptuous a publicity meal as was ever set before a Solon with a lean and haggard look.

SOME time before the Flanders' flounder across the caucus room, the Senator from Vermont had delivered a speech on the Senate floor in which he attacked the Senator from Wisconsin with an innuendo unparalleled for its foulness in the entire history of the United States Senate. In referring to this particular speech, the Watkins Censure Committee said that Flanders had

"made provocative speeches in respect to Senator McCarthy on the Senate floor." To describe the Flanders speeches as "provocative" is to produce a masterpiece of understatement. Many a man in unofficial life has been horsewhipped for the kind of innuendo included in one of the Flanders Senate speeches.

After the incident of the caucus room by which Flanders achieved his national notoriety, newsmen asked McCarthy for comment. McCarthy thereupon delivered his famous characterization of his Senatorial colleague: "Senile — I think they should get a man with a net and take him to a good quiet place." Considering all the circumstances of Flanders' conduct — both in the caucus room and in his unprecedented vilification of McCarthy on the Senate floor — McCarthy's comment was the essence of good humor.

In a garbled version of one of Flanders' charges against McCarthy, the apparently illiterate members of the Watkins Censure Committee make it appear that the one word, *senile*, is an example of "vulgar and base language." Look it up on page 46 of their report! Seeing is believing. The six members of the Watkins Committee may be well versed in the law; but they have demonstrated their ignorance of the English language. There is not the slightest basis in any English dictionary for saying that the word *senile* is "vulgar and base." It is, of course, possible that the six Watkins Committee

Senators adopted, without reading, a report which was written by their counsel, E. Wallace Chadwick, and his staff. Chadwick himself may be touchy on the subject of senility: like Flanders, he is in his seventies.

WHETHER Senator Flanders launched his foul attack on Senator McCarthy on his own initiative or whether others, working behind the scenes, put him up to it, was a question which occurred to many who heard him read his first anti-McCarthy speech on the Senate floor. Throughout the reading, he floundered as though he did not grasp the significance of what he was saying.

Furthermore, it had been noted that agents of a vicious left-wing propaganda organization had been going in and out of Senator Flanders' offices. It is even reported that the agents of this organization and the members of Senator Flanders' staff were working so closely with each other that some of Flanders' own staff thought the outsiders had been added to the Senator's payroll.

Under relentless questioning by Senator Knowland, Flanders admitted on the Senate floor that he was being aided by the National Committee for an Effective Congress. This outfit operates from offices at 680 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. It will bear investigation. It would seem relevant for the Watkins Censure Committee to have looked into this organization which

had originated and was pushing the latest series of fake charges against Senator McCarthy; but Senator Watkins and his five colleagues were strangely indifferent to this and many other relevant aspects of the McCarthy matter.

Any old time a committee comes up with an answer which is pleasing to the Communists, it is assured of the congratulations of the American Civil Liberties Union. To ignore or to omit anything favorable to an anti-Communist is a mark of the judicious approach; and that is exactly what the top officials of the American Civil Liberties Union have said with respect to the report of the Watkins Censure Committee. In 37 years of the history of the Communist movement in the United States, the Communist Party has never been able to do as much for itself as the American Civil Liberties Union has done for it.

To anybody who knows and cares about the Communist conspiracy, the American Civil Liberties Union gave the kiss of death to the report of the Watkins Censure Committee. In a letter published in the *New York Times* of September 30, 1954, the ACLU said: "All in all, the report of this committee is one of the great milestones in the history of American civil liberties." The letter was signed by Ernest Angell, Chairman, Board of Directors, and Patrick Murphy Malin, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union.

Inasmuch as the Watkins Censure Committee, by its perverted standards of what was and what was not judicious, chose to ignore the principal originators and backers of the fake charges against Senator McCarthy, it becomes imperative for others to expose the true character of the National Committee for an Effective Congress.

DURING the past year, the National Committee for an Effective Congress dropped from its Board of Advisors the name of James Roosevelt. This is significant. What organization set up for any purpose whatsoever could bear the moral burden of this particular Roosevelt on its letterhead?

Before leaving the subject of James Roosevelt and his membership on the Board of Advisors of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, it should be recorded that a few years ago Roosevelt was a \$25,000-a-year executive of the Communist organization, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Having dropped James Roosevelt from its Board of Advisors, the National Committee for an Effective Congress was left with a list of thirty-nine board members. Twenty-four of these advisors, or sixty percent, have had affiliations with the Communist-front movement. Not one of them has ever repudiated his Communist connections to the point of becoming known as an anti-Com-

munist. The overwhelming majority of them belong in the category of anti-anti-Communists.

Let us examine the records of some of the men mixed up in this organization which did Flanders' smear writing for him.

GARDNER JACKSON is a member of the board of advisors of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. Jackson's record of left-wing activities, including extensive affiliations with the Communist-front conspiracy, covers a period of many years.

In October, 1941, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, under the chairmanship of Martin Dies, submitted to the Attorney General of the United States, in compliance with an act of the House of Representatives of June 28, 1941, the Communist-front record of Gardner Jackson.

Jackson was then an employee with the title of principal economist in the Department of Agriculture. The House Committee's record, as submitted to the Attorney General, Francis Biddle, read as follows: sponsor, Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America; sponsor, Conference on Pan American Democracy; sponsor, Consumers Union; chairman, Council for Pan American Democracy; legislative representative, Council of U.S. Veterans, Inc.; member, executive board, Council of U.S. Veterans, Inc.; sponsor, Daughters of the American Depres-

sion; vice-president, Film Audiences for Democracy; vice-president, Films for Democracy; member, advisory board, Frontier Films; signer of call, Congress of Youth; panel speaker, Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; signer, Letter Protesting Ban on Communists in American Civil Liberties Union; sponsor, National Council to Aid Agricultural Labor; signer of open letter on Dies Committee, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights; member, National Peoples Committee Against Hearst; member, Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio; endorser, Pamphlet on Mooney Case by Marcantonio; member, Washington Committee for Democratic Action; sponsor, Washington Committee for Democratic Action; speaker, Workers Alliance Conference; speaker, national conference, Workers Alliance of America.

Fifteen of the foregoing affiliations of Gardner Jackson were with organizations which have been cited as Communist by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Eight were with organizations cited as Communist by the Attorney General of the United States.

In addition to the foregoing record, Gardner Jackson was affiliated, according to public records, with the following Communist fronts and enterprises: *The Lantern* (a magazine); American Friends of Spanish Democracy; National Committee on

Atomic Information; and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The latter organization was recently the subject of extensive public hearings by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, II, famous librettist, is another member of the board of advisors of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. According to public records, he has been affiliated with the following left-wing and Communist enterprises: dinner sponsor, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; sponsor, Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor (auxiliary of International Labor Defense); initiator of support for Hollywood Ten, Committee for the First Amendment; sponsor, Committee for the Negro in the Arts; sponsor, End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee; sponsor, Hollywood Anti-Nazi League; sponsor, Hollywood Democratic Committee; sponsor, Hollywood League for Democratic Action; speaker, Hollywood Writers Mobilization; initiating sponsor, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; signer, Letter to *The Nation* on the Peekskill Riot and in behalf of Paul Robeson; sponsor, National Mobilization Committee; sponsor, New York Committee for Justice in Freeport; sponsor, People's Songs; honorary member, Southern Negro Youth Congress; sponsor, Win the Peace Conference.

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, well-known editor, is a member of the board of advisors of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. According to public records, he has been affiliated with the following left-wing and Communist-front enterprises: sponsor, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; sponsor, American Pushkin Committee; sponsor, Bill of Rights Conference; sponsor, Cinema 16, Inc.; sponsor, Committee to Lift the Ban on *The Nation*; signer of open letter, Committee of One Thousand; member, Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson; individual representative, Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo; initiating sponsor, independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; sponsor, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; contributor, League of American Writers; signer of letter, National Institute of Arts and Letters; sponsor, National War-time Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields; contributor, *New Masses*; signer of declaration, Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee; signer of open letter, Washington Committee to Lift Spanish Embargo.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER (SR.), Professor of History at Harvard University and a member of the board of advisors of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, has been affiliated with the following left-wing and Communist-

front enterprises: signer of petition, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; sponsor, American Friends of Spanish Democracy; committee member, American Friends of Spanish Democracy; signer of open letter, American Friends of Spanish Democracy; affiliated with, American Student Union; sponsor, Congress on Civil Rights; signer of open letter, Council for Pan American Democracy; committee member, Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy; member, executive committee, Metropolitan Interfaith and Interracial Coordinating Council; member, National Citizens Political Action Committee; sponsor, National Emergency Conference; affiliated with, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights; signer of statement, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; signer of petition for Bridges, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; signer of petition to abolish the Dies Committee, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; signer, Open Letter on Harry Bridges.

THE CAMPAIGN director of the National Committee for an Effective Congress is one Maurice Rosenblatt. He is the man who managed the Washington end of Operation "Get-McCarthy." He was Flanders' right-hand man.

Rosenblatt is an old hand at the business and technique of smearing

members of Congress. He's a veteran and a professional.

A significant speech by the Honorable Martin Dies appears in the *Congressional Record* of February 1, 1943. Addressing the House of Representatives for more than an hour, Mr. Dies revealed the existence of a group of left-wing propagandists whose aim, according to Mr. Dies, was "to discredit Congress in order that their program of internationalism will not be hampered after the war by a strong and alert Congress."

Mr. Dies proceeded to take up one by one the organizations which were back of this campaign to purge members of Congress. "The next purge organization I should like to take up," said Mr. Dies at one point in his address to the House, "is the Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action, of 103 Park Avenue, New York City." Continuing, Mr. Dies reported that this committee was attacking members of Congress "as obstructionists and fascists."

Who was the executive secretary of the Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action? Rosenblatt!

In its publication, *The City Reporter*, dated January 6, 1942, the Coordinating Committee — Mr. Rosenblatt's outfit — declared: "Both Senators and Representatives cooperated intimately with Fascist groups."

Then came Mr. Dies' revelation that the officials of the Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action were in constant touch with New

Deal officials, and that Maurice Rosenblatt was actually operating out of the office of Gardner Jackson in the Department of Agriculture.

Said Mr. Dies: "It may or may not surprise you to learn that the telephone and telegraph records of this organization reveal that they were in close touch with officials of this Government. For example, I hold here the long-distance telephone record of the calls made from New York to Washington, which shows that officials of the organization were in frequent communication with Gardner Jackson, Principal Economist of the Department of Agriculture. Several of the calls were taken by Mr. Jackson on a Government phone at the Department of Agriculture, and still other telephone records show that Maurice Rosenblatt, executive secretary of the organization, received calls at Mr. Jackson's office in the Department of Agriculture, from his secretary in New York in July, 1942, which was prior to the election."

His collaboration with Maurice Rosenblatt and the National Committee for an Effective Congress in their campaign to "get" McCarthy isn't the only instance of Senator Flanders' close cooperation with a pro-Communist enterprise.

Ralph E. Flanders and Owen Lattimore were on a small team together in the post-war attack on Chiang Kai-shek. The attack was issued in the form of a subtle propa-

ganda press release calling for the formation of a coalition government in China to replace "the authoritarian control of a single party." That was the pure Communist propaganda line of the moment, which was either at the end of 1946 or the beginning of 1947. "The authoritarian control of a single party" referred to the government of Chiang Kai-shek. The call for the formation of a coalition government in China meant the admission of the Communists into the government. What happens when Communists are admitted to the government of a country is too well known to require comment.

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy promptly published excerpts from the Flanders-Lattimore document, and informed readers of its bulletin that the full text would be sent on request from the offices of the Committee. The CDFEP has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States. Such organizations do not distribute anti-Communist documents. The eagerness of the CDFEP to disseminate the Flanders-Lattimore press release was significant.

Soviet Weekly of January 30, 1947, published in Moscow, hailed the Flanders-Lattimore statement. Some other signers of the statement were United States Senator James E. Murray; Harley F. MacNair, University of Chicago; H. H. Fisher, Stanford University; and Foster

Rhea Dulles, Ohio State University.

The *Daily Worker* of September 16, 1952, ran a 6-column headline which read: "Sen. Flanders Urges Peace Acceptable to N. Korea." The story under the headline was out of Ottawa where Flanders had addressed a meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. It began: "This city is still buzzing over last week's sensational proposals by Sen. Ralph Flanders (R-Vt.) for ending the Korean War." That isn't the kind of headline publicity Joe McCarthy gets in the *Daily Worker*.

THE CLIMAX of his Communist-line propaganda came only a few weeks ago when Frankfurt's (Germany) leading left-wing newspaper, the *Rundschau*, published an interview with Flanders. According to the interview, Flanders advocated "neutralizing" Germany. *Human Events*, the sturdy pro-American weekly edited by Frank C. Hani-ghen, reported John B. Crane's comment on the interview, in its issue of October 20, 1954, as follows: "This [neutralization of German policy] has long been the Commie line for solving the German problem. It is at least an interesting coincidence that the GOP Senator who has done most to attack Senator Joseph McCarthy, the Senate's leading crusader against Communism, grants an interview to one of Germany's leading left-wing dailies and follows the Commie line in his view of the future of Germany."

What next, Senator Flanders?

THE MAN BEHIND THE



A-PLANE

By George Carroll

FEW AMERICANS know the name, Donald John Keirn, much less the man. Yet he sparkplugs a project of such tremendous scope it can shape the destiny of us all, individually and as a nation of free people.

He's the man behind the atomic-powered airplane we are racing to build and fly before the Soviet Union gets a Red-starred model into the skies.

We both have the hydrogen bombs, the Russians and ourselves. Couple the hydrogen bomb with an atomic-powered bomber of practically limitless range and you have the supreme weapons combination — at least until the truly intercontinental missile with atomic warhead comes along.

Who first achieves that combination, the Soviets or ourselves, holds the balance of power.

The job of Brigadier General Donald John Keirn, United States Air Force, is to see that we beat Malenkov and his crew of experts into the heavens with the world's first nuclear-run aircraft.

General Keirn is to our atomic aircraft project what the now widely

known Rear Admiral Hyman George Rickover was to the Navy's atomic-powered submarine, the *Nautilus*, launched a few months ago.

They differ in this, the experts agree — Keirn is up against a lot rougher proposition than even Rickover was.

Through newspapers, magazines and newsreels and finally a book, the Admiral has become a fairly familiar figure to his fellow Americans.

Not so Keirn. This is the first magazine article ever to appear about him and his work, so far as the writer is aware, and this may be a good place to state that he, the General, has contributed none of the information.

Keirn functions behind a tapestry of security screens rivaling those of FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover and maybe a little bit better than those of the Central Intelligence Agency, our topmost rung in security matters, which recently suffered certain embarrassments in West Germany.

The writer never has met him and when he wrote General Keirn a brief note some months ago, enclosing a clipping of a piece he had done