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A CLASSIC CASE OF BEARING FALSE WITNESS

BECAUSE we believe Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's experience to be a classic example of Congressional irresponsibility and of bearing false witness against innocent persons, we are reprinting on today's editorial page the text of his opening statement to the House Un-American Activities Committee this week.

Three months ago, Rep. Donald Jackson charged in a speech on the House floor that the Bishop had "served God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week over such a long period of time." That was the culmination of what appeared to be a running campaign to discredit the outspoken Methodist official, by impugning his loyalty—a campaign that had been sparked by seven official "releases" from the committee and letters from committee members or staffers that reflected upon Oxnam in one way or another.

After the Jackson speech, Bishop Oxnam asked for a hearing. It took him three months to get one. But the delay was apparently in Oxnam's favor. By the time he took the witness stand on Tuesday, he was ready.

Step by step he outlined his philosophy of democracy and his religious views. Point by point he demolished the allegations that committee had made against him. He answered, and disproved, each of the seven "releases" from the committee by citing the misrepresentations and outright falsehoods of the material in the committee's files.

And then for nearly eight hours, Oxnam answered questions fired at him by counsel and members of the committee, all of whom had had a similar opportunity to get ready for the hearing.

At the end, the committee adopted unanimously a resolution saying that "this committee has no record of Communist Party affiliation or membership by Bishop Oxnam." And Rep. Morgan Moulder of Missouri, a member, added:

> "Bishop Oxnam submitted himself to grueling examination and cross-examination . . . After hearing and careful consideration of all the evidence, it is my opinion that Bishop Oxnam is not and never has been a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. On the contrary, he convinced me that he has vigorously opposed communism and has fought hard against the philosophy and conditions which breed communism."

Held in abeyance was a decision about the committee files. Oxnam had demanded that the committee clean up its files by removing the inaccuracies and misrepresentations from them, and that it cease the practice of publicly distributing, upon request, unverified and unsubstantiated information about individuals.

Bishop Oxnam is an able and influential man. Because of his influence, he got a hearing; and because of his ability, he handled himself brilliantly.

But the aspect of the Oxnam case that should cause loyal Americans to think long and hard is that here, in free America, it has become necessary for a citizen to go to the witness stand and clear himself of smears and innuendoes spread about him by an official arm of the U. S. Congess.

MECKLENBURG GOES MODERN

THE re-registration of every Mecklenburg voter, as required by the county election system reorganization, will of course be an inconvenience. However, the switchover to the efficient card system requires, by law passed during the last General Assembly, card signature by all registrants. Thus the County Election Board had no alternative.

The inconvenience for voters will be minor when compared with the advantages of the new system. Comparison of the voter's signature with his registration card signature should insure against multiple voting. The card system will be completely alphabetical; the book system was alphabetical only to the extent of the first letter, thus registrars often had to check several pages to find the registrant's name. Cards at busy polling places can be split into several alphabetical groups, so voters can check in promptly instead of standing in line before the single registration book, as they had to under the old system. Too, the relative equalization of the population load through the precinct redistricting will distribute voters more evenly, so there should be no more of this twiddling of thumbs at one polling place and a mad rush at another one.

Because of the decrease in precincts, from 72 to 62, the Election Board anticipates smaller personnel costs during an election. If electric voting machines are installed then, after the original cost has been met, personnel costs and wasted voter time should decrease even more.

Mecklenburg County is finally adopting, in its voting system, what common sense and good business practice dictate. Chairman W. Cleve Davis and his fellow Elections Board members and their staff merit the community's warm thanks for a good job.

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

THERE will soon be, it appears, another Hoover Commission. While the group charged with recommending improvements in the executive branch is still in process of formation, it is likely that Mr. Hoover, who has already accepted membership on the commission, will once more head a sweeping study of the branch over which he once presided.

It was Democratic President Harry Truman who appointed Herbert Hoover to the original commission in 1947, thus establishing a sound bipartisanship in the commission, about half of whose recommendations were enacted. Some may argue that President Eisenhower in like manner should have appointed Mr. Truman to the new commission instead of a Republican ex-President. However, the decision to leave Mr. Truman be, writing his memoirs, was a wise one. Perhaps in a decade or so, when time has softened bitter memories, Mr. Truman may render similar service. But for the time being his appointment would create the lack of confidence that would have accompanied reliance upon Mr. Hoover in 1933.

The only objection—and it is not serious—we have to Mr. Hoover's chairmanship is that he is rather old to give the commission much active leadership. But with men like Jim Farley, who bounced before the TV cameras at the Chicago convention with his old agility, youthful Attorney-General Herbert Brownell, and Arthur Flemming, who heads the Office of Defense Mobilization and served on the previous commission, to say nothing of Congressmen yet to be appointed, the new group should not be lacking in effective leadership.

We only wish Congress was as eager to streamline the legislative branch as it is to improve the executive.

From The Greensboro Daily News

THRILLS OF CHILDHOOD

IN nostalgic vein, to which it is all too easy for many of us to succumb, the Hickory Daily Record gets around to reminiscing about the thrills of childhood.

The Hickory editor goes back, in his own childhood, to his first remembered ice cream cone.

Incidentally one of our own "first thrills" was just that too. A little tyke tugging at our dad's heels we had been taken from the red hills of Cleveland County down to Charlotte to see our first big circus. And what, may we interject, could be a greater childhood thrill than that? In the animal tent on the way through to the big top we encountered our first ice cream cone. Such an impression did it make upon both of us that the senior member of the duet learned from the vendor where cones might be purchased and pronto started selling them at his Shelby drug store; the first ice cream cones, so far as we know, to be sold, other than by such transients as circus vendors, in North Carolina. It took the public a little while to catch on. Horns, funnels et al several other names they were first called; and many a customer, young and old, ate the ice cream out and gave the cone back, or left it on the soda fountain counter.

But, this place is supposed to be devoted to childhood thrills, rather than solely to ice cream cones.

Two of them in particular stick out with us. How many of you remember the first fish you ever caught? What does it matter if it were only a catfish, hornyhead or sun perch hardly big enough to make the pan smell or if you learned years later that you really didn't catch it but that dad, who was sitting right there on the bank, earlier had actually caught the fish, asked you to hold his fishing pole a minute, told you to look out, you had a bite, and then, just as bright-eyed as you were, watched you jerk his fish in?

Or, for another one of the high spots, has anyone in the congregation had, when he was about 10 or 12, a baseball player whom he especially admired give him a baseball bat that his own hero had used to drive out homers? What if it had been broken and was largely held together by tape and so heavy that you could scarcely lift it to your shoulder, hadn't it been his bat and wasn't it a genuine "Louisville Slugger"?

Since the rioting, the Reds are promising to make East Berlin a better prison.—*Memphis Press-Scimitar.*

Any woman who can see herself in a fur coat, but apparently it is a rare one who can see herself in slacks.—*Omega (Ga.) News.*

Why is it that people who want to leave parties early and people who don't always get married to each other?—*Mattoon (Ill.) Journal-Gazette*

Ruth—What would you do if you had five dates with a man and he never attempted to kiss you?

Mary—I'd lie about it.—*Greeneville (Tenn.) Sun.*

Full Text Of Bishop Oxnam's Statement

(Following is the text of the statement presented today by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist leader for the Washington area, to the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives, plus additional material he said he would have presented had he received additional time. The text is reprinted from The New York Times. Eds. The News.)

MR. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I have requested opportunity to appear voluntarily before this committee, in public session, to secure redress for the damage done me by the release of information in the "files" of this committee. I deeply appreciate the grant of this privilege.

Such releases, made at various times for a period of nearly seven years, have contained material, much of which is irrelevant and immaterial, some of which is false and some of which is true, but all prepared in a way capable of creating the impression that I have been and am sympathetic to Communism, and therefore subversive.

These "files," so released, have been used by private agencies as evidence of Communist sympathies. A member of this committee apparently has arrived at conclusion.

Speaking on the work of this committee, upon the floor of House of Representatives itself he said: "Bishop Bromley has been to the Communist front what Man O'War was to thoroughbred horse racing, and no one except the good Bishop pays much attention to his fulminations these days.

"Having served God on Sunday and the Communist front the balance of the week over such a long period of time, it is no great wonder that the bishop sees an investigating committee in every vestry. If reprinting Bishop Oxnam's record of aid and comfort to the Communist front would serve any useful purpose, I would ask permission to insert it here, but suffice it to say that the record is available to any member who cares to request it from the committee."

AFFIRMATION OF FAITH

If a member of the committee can be misled by this material, it is no wonder that uninformed citizens are similarly misled.

When I declare, "I believe in God, the Father, Almighty," I affirm the theistic faith and strike at the fundamental fallacy of communism, that of atheism.

I thereby reaffirm the basic conviction upon which this Republic rests, namely, that all men are created by the Eternal and in His image, beings of infinite worth, members of one family, brothers. We are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights. The State does not confer them; it merely confirms them. They belong to man because he is a son of God.

When I say, "I believe in God," I am also saying that moral law is written into the nature of things. There are moral absolutes. Marxism, by definition, rules out moral absolutes. Because I believe the will of God is revealed in the Gospel of Christ, I hold that all historically conditioned political, economic, social and revolutionary systems must be judged by the Gospel, not identified with it. This is to say, I reject communism, first because of its atheism.

When I say, "I believe in Jesus Christ, His Only Son, Our Lord," I am reaffirming faith in a spiritual view of life. By so doing, I repudiate the philosophy of materialism upon which communism is based, and thereby undermine it. I reject the theory of social development that assumes social institutions and even morality are determined by the prevailing mode of production.

When I accept the law of love taught by Christ and revealed in His person, I must, of necessity, oppose to death a theory that justifies dictatorship with its annihilation of freedom.

FOR THE FREE MAN

I am not an economist, but have studied sufficiently to be convinced that there are basic fallacies in Marxian economics. Personally as I do that personality is a supreme good and that personality flowers in freedom, I stand for the free man in the free society, seeking the truth that will make him free.

I hold that the freeman must discover concrete measures through which the ideals of religion may be translated into the realities of world law and order, economic justice and racial brotherhood.

As a result of long study and of prayer, I am by conviction pledged to the free way of life and opposed in all forms of totalitarianism, Left or Right, and to all tendencies toward such practices at home or abroad. Consequently, I have been actively opposed to communism all my life. I have never been a member of the Communist party.

My opposition to communism is a matter of public record in books, numerous articles, addresses and sermons; and in resolutions I have drafted or sponsored in which powerful religious agencies have been put on record as opposed to communism. It is evidenced likewise in a life of service and the sponsorship of measures designed to make the free society impregnable to Communist attack.

Loyalty to my family, my church and my country are fundamental to me; and when any man or any committee questions that loyalty I doubt that I would be worthy of the name American if I took it lying down.

THREE CONSIDERATIONS

There are three considerations I desire to lay before this committee:

FIRST, this committee has followed a practice of releasing unverified and unevaluated material designated as "information" to citizens, organizations, and members of Congress. It accepts no responsibility for the accuracy of the newspaper clippings recorded and so released; and insists that the material does not represent an opinion or a conclusion of the committee.

This material officially released on official letterheads and signed by an official clerk carried no disclaimer, in my case, and the recipient understandably assumed it did represent a conclusion.

I am here formally to request that this "file" be cleaned up, that the committee frankly admit its inaccuracies and misrepresentations, and that this matter be brought to a close.

It is alleged that the committee has "files" on a million individuals, many of whom are among the most respected, patriotic and devoted citizens of this nation. This is not the proper place to raise a question as to the propriety of maintaining such vast "files" at public expense; but it is the proper place, in my case, to request that the practice of releasing unverified and unevaluated material, for which the committee accepts no responsibility, cease.

It can be shown that these reports are the result of inexcusable incompetence or of slanted selection; the result being the same in either case, namely, to question loyalty, to pillory or to diminish the individual, to damage reputation, and to turn attention from the Communist conspirator who pursues his nefarious work in the shadows, while a patriotic citizen is discredited in public.

NOTES DANGER IN FILES

The preparation and publication of these "files" puts into the hands of irresponsible individuals and agencies a wicked tool. It gives rise to a practice of vicious expressions of Ku-Kluxism, in which an innocent person may be beaten by unknown assailants, who are cloaked in anonymity and at times immunity, and whose whips are cleverly constructed lists of so-called subversive organizations and whose floggings appear all too often to be sadistic in spirit rather than patriotic in purpose.

I had planned, at this point, to set forth specifications of what I believe is false. The rules of this committee gave me but fifteen minutes for this statement. The specifications cannot be listed in fifteen minutes. Therefore, I must respectfully request the committee members, or its counsel, to question me concerning some of the material released by the committee, namely:

(1)

A release dated July 3, 1946, in which it is alleged I sponsored the League against War and Fascism; and in which it is suggested by implication that I would substitute dialectical materialism for religious freedom.

(2)

A release dated Sept. 4, 1946, in which it is alleged that I am "referred to as a collectivist Bishop"; that I presided at a meeting addressed "by one R. Gebert, president of the Polish Section of the International Workers Order," that I have been "associated with several groups in which Langston Hughes has also held membership."

(3)

A release dated Sept. 13, 1950, in which, quoting The Daily Worker as authority, I am alleged to have been invited by the Government of Yugoslavia to tour that country, in which I am alleged to have written an article on Stalin for a magazine called Classmate.

(4)

Releases of different dates alleging I delivered an address to the prisoners of the Indiana State Reformatory, Feb. 10, 1930.

(5)

A letter from Mr. Frank S. Tavenner Jr., dated March 21, 1953, relative to covering letters alleged to accompany releases.

BISHOP OXNAM

(6)

A release sent out by the chairman of this committee dated March 31, 1953.

(7)

Letters from two members of this committee, one dated March 19, 1953, and the other alleging the committee did not release this material, dated March 3, 1953.

If I may be asked questions concerning these items, I will leave it to any fair-minded man whether I have been misrepresented. In this connection I would like to file with the committee a bibliography covering my personal position relative to communism.

SECOND, When I had the honor of debating this issue with the Honorable Donald L. Jackson, a member of this committee, he, the committee, in its work, accumulates all pertinent information relative to any given individual whose name is listed in the files. That is the only way by which one can determine the philosophical bent of any given individual."

Can the philosophy of an individual be determined by a scissors and paste process of cutting out clippings that damn? Why did the individual who clipped derogatory statements concerning me fail to clip such announcements as the following:

My appointment by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to visit the Mediterranean Theater and the European Theatre of Operations during the war; or my appointment by Secretary Forrestal as a member of the Navy's Civilian Advisory Committee; or the announcement that the Navy had awarded me the highly prized Certificate of Appreciation for services during the war; or that I had been invited to be the guest of Archbishop Damaskinos, then Regent of Greece and that the King of Greece has awarded me the Order of the Phoenix; or that I had represented the American churches at the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury; or that I had been appointed by the President as a member of the President's Commission on Higher Education; or that I was chairman of the commission approved by the President to study postwar religious conditions in Germany?

HONORS BY CHURCHMEN

This might be called "pertinent" information. I have held the highest offices it is in the power of fellow churchmen to confer upon me, such as the presidency of the Federal Council of the churches of Christ in America. I am one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches, perhaps the highest honor that can come to a clergyman. I hold positions of responsibility in the church I love and seek to serve, among them secretary of the Council of Bishops.

We cannot beat down the Communist menace by bearing false witness against fellow Americans. The Communist wants a divided America, an America whose citizens are suspicious of each other, an America without trust, an America open to infiltration. I believe this committee will wish to end a practice that plays into Communist hands.

THIRD, Congress is considering proposals for the reform of investigating committee procedures. It may, at first, seem drastic to propose that the so-called "public files" be closed out; but is there any need of any file other than the investigative files, as they have been recently described? Could not all the material that is of value in the public files be included in the investigative files?

If for purpose of education or exposure, the committee decides that public statements must be made, is there any reason why a careful statement that will stand scrutiny cannot be made by studying the material in the investigative files. The committee informs us that it does not vouch for the accuracy of the public files, that everything in these files is available to the public elsewhere.

Why, then, should public money be spent in maintaining such public files? Would it not be well for the committee to appoint a subcommittee to investigate its own files and those who compiled them, and to secure answers to questions such as the following:

How much duplication is there in the public and investigative files of this committee and the files of the F. B. I.? Is the F. B. I. better equipped to get the facts on real subversives? Why was Appendix IX withdrawn from the public, and why is it under lock and key in the Library of Congress? Was it because of inexcusable inaccuracies and vicious slanting of material? How much of it is still the core of the public files? If there is real misunderstanding, would it not be well to ascertain who is misinforming whom, and why?

I respectfully ask the committee to order that my "file" be corrected so as to tell the truth, if that is all that can be done; that it publicly announce its mistakes in my case; but better, that the public files be closed out, and the releases of unverified material described herein be discontinued.

When Mr. Jackson discovered that he had misunderstood the chairman of this committee with reference to an announcement concerning possible investigation of churchmen, he, in the manly, the American, the Christian way apologized on the floor of the House. It takes a big man to admit a fault.

I respectfully request Mr. Jackson to apologize on the floor of the House for his unprecedented and untrue statements made there concerning me. I will be the first to shake hands with him and to call the incident closed.

I conclude. I believe the churches have done and are doing far more to destroy the Communist threat to faith and to freedom than all investigating committees put together. I think the chairman of this committee, after a friendly interview, concurred publicly in that statement when I made it in his presence.

This committee might well have the cooperation of millions of citizens who belong to the churches, if it would cease practices that many of us believe to be un-American, and would turn itself to the real task and the real threat. But these citizens will never cooperate in practices that jeopardize the liberty of free men won after a thousand years struggle for political and religious freedom.

They will cooperate effectively with agencies everywhere that honestly seek to build the free society, where free men may worship God according to the dictates of conscience and serve their fellowmen in accordance with Christ's law of love.

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Within the time limits of this statement, I can bring but a few specifications:

FIRST, on July 3, 1946, in response to a telegraphic request of a citizen, there was released on the letterhead of the committee and signed by John W. Carrington, clerk, a letter which, among other allegations, stated that "the records of this committee reflect that Bishop Oxnam was a sponsor of the American League Against War and Fascism."

I was never a sponsor of this organization.

The letter concluded with this statement, "Should you desire any further information regarding the organizations or individuals mentioned herein, please do not hesitate to call upon the committee. The committee feels that one of its main tasks is to prevent the replacement of the freedom of religion by those who would advocate a substitution of so-called dialectical materialism."

In the context of this release, a citizen receiving this letter would naturally draw the conclusion that I am one who would replace the freedom of religion with dialectical materialism.

SECOND, on Sept. 4, 1946, there was released over the signature of John W. Carrington, clerk, a report headed "G. Bromley Oxnam." This report begins with the statement, "This individual is a Methodist minister, and is sometimes referred to as a collectivist Bishop." It fails to reference, but becomes accessory to the slander.

It states, "Oxnam was a sponsor of the joint meeting held by the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People."

It further states, "Oxnam has also been associated with an organization which was set to commemorate the second anniversary of Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union. At one of the meetings sponsored by the organization, Oxnam acted as chairman. Among the speakers was one B. Gebert, president of the Polish Section of the International Workers Order, which is under the direction of known members of the Communist party." As a matter of fact, I never presided at this meeting, and never met Mr. Gebert.

The report continues, "Oxnam has also been associated with several groups" (Note they are not n a m e d) "in which Langston Hughes has also held membership. Hughes is the author of a poem entitled 'Great Mob' which advocates a revolution in the United States by the 'Great Mob' of workers. Hughes has also written a poem in which he asks Jesus Christ to make us ask Jesus Christ to make us ask Jesus Christ to make us ask