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(An Editorial.)

Take the Stand, Mr. Willkie

Q. Name, please.
A. Wendell Willkie.
Q. Oh, I see. Candidate for President of the United States, eh?
A. You are damn right.
Q. What party you belong to?
A. Republican.
Q. How old are you?
A. Around 50.
Q. How long you been a Republican?
A. Over 2 years.
Q. You voted for Roosevelt last election, did you not?
A. Yes, I did.
Q. And gave big money to his campaign fund?
A. I made a contribution.
Q. That was before your Wall Street friends decided to run you, wasn't it, and before the Hatch bill was passed?
A. I was nominated by the spontaneous demand of the people.
Q. What people?
A. The sovereign citizenship of the nation.
Q. Why, nearly all the delegates to your Philadelphia convention were instructed for Dewey, Taft, Vandenberg, Hoover and other Republicans. How come you, a renegade Democrat, totting off the bacon?
A. The people wanted me, I told you.
Q. You are the telegram nominee, ain't you?
A. I don't get your meaning.
Q. Were not the instructed delegates for the real Republican candidates stamped when 20,000 telegrams began pouring in from every State in the Union demanding: "We want Willkie," "Give us Willkie," "We will have nobody but Willkie?"
A. You have been misinformed.
Q. Your nomination was fixed long before the convention, wasn't it?
A. Why hell, no. What are you trying to get at?
Q. I ask you if you did not attend a meeting in a high-up room in the Empire State building in New York as early as last May, where the scheme was framed to put you over by the big interests, knowing you would obey their behests when you became President. Didn't you?
A. No.
Q. Now, Mr. Willkie, when that little high-pressure confab was held on the 28th floor of the Empire State, engineered by Al Smith, last May, I ask if you and your Wall Street backers did not engage N. W. Ayer & Son, of Philadelphia, the biggest advertising experts of America to handle the thing, giving them carte blanche on expenses. And that the Ayers concern hired men in every State of the Union at good pay to send in wires so they would arrive at the psychological moments—wires that demanded Willkie as the man of destiny who alone could beat Roosevelt. Is this a fact, Mr. Willkie, or if not, will you submit facts to prove it is not so?
A. I deny all this.
Q. I ask you if in that meeting were not also a representative of the firm of J. P. Morgan and Co., and the finance chairman of the Republican national committee, and a du Pont executive, and Al Smith, and a number of other disgruntled Democrats, leading Republican politicians, and that later came into the clique John W. Hanes, Lewis W. Douglas, Senator Johnson of California, Jas. A. Reed of Missouri, and others. Please answer yes or no.
A. Hell, no.
Q. How come you to quit the Democrats and come over to the Republicans. What caused your sudden change of heart? Give us the details of your conversion, Mr. Willkie, and I put you on your guard.

A. Well, to be frank, the scales fell from my eyes.
Q. Fell where?
A. I don't get you.
Q. Where did the "scales" fall, on the ground or in your pockets? Didn't the \$75,000-a-year salary the power trust paid you, cause you to turn coat?
A. I refuse to submit further to your damned questioning. You can't bulldoze me.
Q. I have heard that you have agreed that practically all the New Deal policies are O. K., except that you think you can do it better. Is that right?
A. I am against the foreign policy of Roosevelt.
Q. How?
A. It will carry us into war.
Q. Why have you not stated that America should go even further than we are doing to assist England. How about that?
A. We should do more to prepare American defenses.
Q. You stood for drafting our boys, didn't you?
A. I certainly did.
Q. Did you also favor the law permitting the government to take over and operate any war plants or factories which were unwilling to cooperate in the full national defense?
A. I think that would give the government too much power and would lead to a Dictatorship.
Q. So you are willing for the mothers' boys of America to make their sacrifice in case of war, but you are against sacrificing the dollars of your masters? President Roosevelt says if the boys are called, let us also call wealth to sacrifice too, and to do its part to save America. This is one point where you can't endorse the New Deal, is it not?
No answer.
Q. In your campaign for this highest position in the world today, Mr. Willkie, have you treated the President of the United States fairly?
A. Oh, hell, he is supposed to be the indispensable man. I would like to meet the champ. He is afraid to face me on the stump. I will tell him more damn things than he ever dreamed of.
Q. Have you been truthful in your campaign orations, or have you tried to undermine him by false statements and misrepresentations?
A. What in the hell do you mean?
Q. I am asking if you have not repeatedly lied in your swashbuckling program?
A. I deny it, and dare you to prove it.
Q. Did you not state that President Roosevelt telephoned Hitler and Mussolini, to sell Czechoslovakia "down the river?"
A. Oh, my secretary explained later that I had misspoken.
Q. Did you not state that of all the men of your acquaintance, Roosevelt was the one least qualified to be President?
A. He is.
Q. Is that a truth or is it "misspoken?"
No answer.
Q. In what class would you put your statement that you never belonged to Tammany Hall political machine, which was proved on you with photostatic copies of your certificate of membership?
No answer.
Q. You stated that relief rolls had been heavily increased in the months prior to the election, when it was proved on you by governmental statistics that the rolls had been heavily DECREASED. Was this falsehood ever corrected by your secretary?
No answer.
Q. What experience have you had in mental affairs, Mr. Willkie?
A. I have managed big business.

Q. In his late addresses, President Roosevelt acknowledged that the position of President of the United States was a sacred trust and that he felt the nation should look for guidance to Almighty God in this hour of our greatest peril. Do you endorse this policy of Roosevelt, too, or would you look to J. P. Morgan and Co., John W. Hanes, and other Wall Street masters to direct your hand in national and world affairs, now when a misstep may be an appalling tragedy to the last democracies?
A. If elected I will run the office on a Big Business basis, and I defy any damned man to show me anything about business.
Q. You have been telling your audiences that national defense has been neglected by this administration. Have you told them that your newly-adopted pals sank half a billion dollars of ships, making this nation the laughing stock of the totalitarian powers?
No answer.
Q. Have you told them that through the constant, untiring efforts of Roosevelt and the Democratic majorities in the Senate and House, all of which legislation was voted against by your newly-adopted party, that during the era of the New Deal the American navy is now acknowledged to be superior to any navy in the world?
No answer.
Q. If you lied about that "selling down the river" and about your Tammany connection and about relief rolls, etc., you felt no compunction of conscience to withhold the truth about the navy, did you?
A. If I am elected, as I certainly will be, I will make impregnable defenses for this nation, by putting it on a Big Business Basis.
Q. You say you are in favor of conscripting our boys to do this, will you also be in favor of conscripting Big Business that America may be made safe?
No answer.
Q. Do you believe in the freedom of speech and the freedom of business in the United States?
A. Unquestionably I do. To hell with this interference with business. It is unconstitutional, all this damned mess of hours and wages, crop control, with agricultural subsidies, etc., is holding down capital and making it afraid to invest under the New Deal.
Q. Do you also believe in the freedom of the press? I notice 80 per cent. of the big newspapers are supporting you for President—newspapers whose stock is controlled by millionaire owners. Tell us about this?
A. The newspapers that are supporting me are the reflection of the constitution's guarantee of free speech and a free press.
Q. If you stand for a free press, why did you kill the Chattanooga News?
A. I deny your damned insinuation.
Q. Then please read the following editorial from the Philadelphia Record, and explain its meaning to this court of the People of North Carolina:
EDITORIAL FROM THE PHILADELPHIA RECORD:
An open letter to Wendell L. Willkie, Republican candidate for President, addressed to him by the Philadelphia Record at his home on Fifth Avenue, New York, reads:
"Who killed the Chattanooga News?"
"Published by George Fort Milton, the Chattanooga News was one of the foremost liberal newspapers in the country, and one of a very few papers in the South which opposed you and

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