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(Late	VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
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Low	-Churcheast St. Louis, Illinois Buck Summon
Adul	SEPTEMBER 16, 1966 SEPTEMBER 16, 1966
94	at meters to Illinois and to East St. Jouis to work to
	I have come to Illinois and to East St. Louis to work
77 6	and fight for Paul Douglas' re-election to the United States
/ out	Senate. You are the men and women who can bring him
	victory. Jim Roman
Prin	L I am here, too, to ask your support for Congressman
	Mel Price. The people of Illinois need Paul Douglas and Mel
Gra	Price in Washingtonjust as they need Congressmen Ken
Shiply	Gray and George Shipley from your neighboring districts.
14	The people of Illinois and of America, face a test
	this November. (Yeace Corps)
1	Shall they, or shall they not, return to leadership
	the men who have made this country the strongestthe most
l	prosperousthe freest nation on earth?
	In our cities and especially in our industrial cities
	Letus Begin Continues

we face tasks that call, above all, for leadership. No one knows better than Mayor Al Fields the tremendous problems we face -- despite all the progress we have made. We face the problems of young people trying to get a good education amid a shortage of classrooms and good teachers. . . of old people living out their lives in empty, lonely rooms. . . of people of all ages falling victim to crime and violence. . . of Negro citizens held back by old barriers of discrimination. . . of workers who need retraining for new skills. . . of men and women trying to get decent jobs at decent wages. We face problems of air and water unfit to breathe or dripk and of bousing unfit to live in. We face, in short, the need to continue the work we have begun:



To make this land the strong and happy nation we want it to be. . . and to make our cities places where every single child growing up can live healthy and safe, with a good and equal chance to make his way in life.

That is what Mayor Al Fields is trying to do here in

East St. Louis, That is what your Congressmen. . . what

President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey. . . what

Senator Paul Douglas are trying to do in Washington.

I wonder if the people of Illinois and of America

really know how much they owe to Senator Paul Douglas.

Suppose you are over 65. Do you draw social security

benefits?

Act for the nation.

/

Are you under Medicare?

Paul Douglas was one of the chief sponsors of that bill in the Senate. He received the highest award from the

National Council of Senior Citizens this year for the part he played in passing Medicare.

Are you able to earn a few extra dollars without losing your social security benefits?

Paul Douglas' amendment to the law made that possible.

Do you have children?

No man has done more for education than Paul Douglas.

Paul Douglas sponsored the first Federal Aid to Education laws.

He has supported bills for federal scholarships, funds for vocational education, and job training.

Do you believe in clearing up the slums, housing the poor, and making it possible for all people to live peacefully in our cities? — Urban Renewal — Elkerly (4)

Paul Douglas got the first slum clearance bill ever passed through the Senate. He was the leader of the fight for rent supplements. And Paul made it possible for East St. Louis and hundreds of our towns and cities in Illinois to get money for water and sewers and community facilities through the bills he helped to write.



Are you a housewife who cooks and heats her home with gas?

Twice Paul Douglas led the fight which saved

American consumers at least six hundred dollars a

year in lower gas prices.



Were you for the tax cut which helped get out economy moving again?

Paul Douglas proposed that tax cut during the

1958 recession, but the Republicans wouldn't put it through,
so we had to wait for the Democrats to do it.

Are you a working man?

You know where Paul Douglas stands. He is <u>for</u> federal standards for unemployment compensation. He is <u>for</u> repeal of I4(b). He is <u>for</u> the increase in the minimum wage and extending its coverage to the unorganized workers of this country.

It was Paul Douglas who helped protect the Workers'
Pension and Welfare funds by his bill which called for a
regular accounting and full disclosure of the books.

All of you are concerned about jobs for Southern Illinois and for providing public facilities for the towns and communities of this state and nation so they can attract and provide jobs for their people.

It was Paul Douglas' Area Redevelopment Act which brought jobs to Southern Illinois, and Northern Minnesota, and Eastern Kentucky, and West Virginia. And his new Economic Development Act has greatly expanded his original

bill.

But as much as we owe to Senator Paul Douglas for what he has done to build a stronger and more prosperous America, we owe him just as much for what he has done to build a safer and freer world.

I don't have to remind you that Paul Douglas, at age 50, enlisted as a private in the Marine Corps because he knew that we could not stand by in the face of international bullying during World War II.

And I don't have to remind you, either, that today -when there is international bullying in another part of the
world -- Paul Douglas stands just as firm and strong as he
did in World War II.

For none of us can be safe in a world in which might makes right, and in which big countries can get away with pushing their small neighbors around.

There is no question where Paul Douglas stands on this issue. And President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey stand with him.

We will stand up to aggression. We are not afraid to meet it. Nor are we afraid to work for a just and honorable peace. We will see it through in Vietnam until aggression ceases and peace can be established.

Paul Douglas is a man of courage. . . a man of loyalty. . . a man who stands by his word. He is a man who stands not only for truth in lending and truth in packaging, but for truth in people and truth to himself.

He is a man with a great mind. . . and an even bigger heart. He has given all his life to the people.

In less than two months the people of Illinois must decide whether or not Paul Douglas will remain in the United States Senate.

He needs your help. I ask you to give that help, every day between now and election day. And the people will win in November.

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[Transcript]

Address Given by
THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Vice President of the United States

Date: September 16, 1966

Given at the East St. Louis Senior High School Auditorium

Reporter: James W. May

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EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

## BY MR. HUMPHREY:

Thank you. Thank you very much, Sen. Paul Douglas.

Not only my thanks for your generous and gracious friendly introduction, but I think that I speak for everybody in this audience and for the vast majority of the people in the State of Illinois when I say, thank you, Sen. Paul Douglas, for all that you have done for the people of this country.

Mayor Al Fields, Sheriff Joseph, and soon to be treasurer, and all of the County officials of Madison and St. Clair Counties, these two great Democratic counties that have been referred to by your fine Senator, and Don Prince, whom I am sure you are going to elect as one of your State officials, Superintendent of Public Instruction of your school system -- and I was hoping tonight that I might see a young friend of mine here, who carries an honored name, who walks in the tradition and in the spirit of his illustrious and beloved father. Adlai Stevenson III, your candidate for State Treasurer.

I tell you when you have a ticket at the State level like Paul Douglas, Don Prince, and Adlai Stevenson, and then you have these fine County officials and the Congressmen that I am going to mention — and by the way, before I forget it, and I am not going to forget it, I am going to do it again and again, when I think of men like Mel Price, the Congressman from this district, when you have people like that, you just can't help but know that you are on the right side. You don't

really have to spend much time thinking about it. You just know that you are doing right. Isn't that right?

By the way, I have been told, and I hope that our friends here, I have been told that in this audience tonight are some Peace Corps volunteers. And I hope they are. They are going to try to visit us and come over from the University, St. Louis University. You have had some Peace Corps volunteers there in training since July 10th. They will complete their training the 10th of October. And then they are going to leave for Central America, I believe down in Honduras.

Before I ask them to stand, if they are here, I just want to tell you one thing. It's the finest thing this Government does, the most outstanding program that they have in the foreign field the program that does more good for more people at less cost, and really projects the true image of America, is the Peace Corps program and the Peace Corps volunteers. Will they please stand? Are our Peace Corps friends here?

Now they are going to be asked a lot of questions about American politics when they get down to Honduras. And I never ask what their party politics is, what their special political preference is. That is their right to have the religion of their choice, the party of their choice, the girl is or the man of their choice, this/a country of free choice.

I only say this, that when you get to Central America and to the Republic of Honduras -- and I have been there -- you just

tell them that the United States of America is a nation that cares. Cares about other people. Cares about its own people. And you tell them a little bit about our politics. Tell them that we are not half as angry as we sound in these elections.

But you ought to also tell them that this is a nation that believes in progressive government. A nation that believes in human dignity and self-respect. A nation that believes in progress. And I haven't any doubt that that is what they are going to say. Now I don't intend to organize any of them tonight as Democratic field workers, but when they return, when they return, I would sure like to talk to a few of them.

It's good to be here with my old friend, Jim Rollman, your State Chairman, and the officers of your State Committee. You see I come tonight not only as your Vice President, which is a high honor for me and a privilege, but I come here as a fellow citizen and as a fellow Democrat. I am proud of our party. I am proud of the kind of people in the main that it has sent to high office. I am proud of the political party that in my lifetime, at least in my voting lifetime has given to this nation a President like Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

A party that gave to this nation one of its most courageous, one of its most brave and daring members, Harry S. Truman.

I am proud of a political party that even in its hours of defeat was able to provide for this nation a noble spirit,

a keen intellect, a man of high principle and high purpose, one that really made the Democratic Party stand a little taller, and look a little better, Adlai Stevenson.

And how well we remember 1960. How well you folks in this audience remember when Paul Douglas traveled up and down through this State, knowing that victory would be hard fought and hard won, and he took by the hand as a father would a son, the late and beloved President Kennedy who was then our candidate for President, and took President Kennedy from one part of the State of Illinois to another. And was, and I believe I say in a large measure to be responsible for the victory of this State of President John Kennedy, who won Illinois with a close margin, as Paul Douglas won by four hundred ninety thousand votes. Isn't that a great thing?

And something happened to America when John Kennedy became President. He said "Let us begin." He appealed to the young people. And some of the reason, and the main reason that these young people are here tonight in the Peace Corps is because John Kennedy said, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."

May I say I was privileged as the Majority whip of the United States Senate to be the author of the Peace Corps.

To introduce the legislation. We had introduced it before in the Republican administration, but it did not pass. It did not have executive support. But when we elected John Kennedy, and

we had a Democratic Congress, then the Eighty-eighth Congress, we had the inspiration and the drive of the President, and we had enough people in the Congress on our side. And we went and passed the Peace Corps.

And today, we have ten thousand young men and women as volunteers, my fellow Americans, who are doing more for the cause of world peace than almost any other group I know save the people that are the spiritual leaders of this world. Our own Peace Corps.

Now you remember those immortal words of John Kennedy when he said to a nation that was tired apparently, at least one that was in recession, a third Republican recession of eight years, and it was, you remember 1960 in East St. Louis? Do you remember joblessness, some of you? Do you remember smokestacks that weren't smoking? Do you remember factories that weren't manufacturing? They were here. John Kennedy said to this nation, "We must begin." He said to this nation, let us get moving again. And here was the voice that called upon the American people to begin. To begin what? To begin to grow. To begin to prosper. To begin to fulfill our responsibilities to our own people. To begin to build the strength of this nation at home and abroad.

And then after a thousand glorious days, struck down by an assassin's bullet. But thank God, alongside of him stood a man that was experienced in the art of government.

One who had served as majority leader of the Senate. One who knew government as few others. And that same man that I speak of was the man who addressed a sad, yes, and a pained 4 joint session of Congress after the death of President Kennedy. And that man who was Vice President and became President, said these words: "Let us continue." And that man who said "Let us continue" was speaking of the same movement, the same force, the same spirit, that was in the words "Let us begin." John Kennedy let us begin and Lyndon Baines Johnson let us continue. And aren't we lucky to have him as President? forward. And with high and noble purpose.

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We did get America moving. In the right direction too,

I come here tonight to talk about one of the gallant soldiers of democracy. And I come to talk about an old friend. I could just speak to you about him as a friend and a neighbor. I could speak to you about Emily, his wonderful wife. Because Emily is a very good friend of Hubert's and Muriel's. I could speak to you about Paul. Paul Douglas, just a good friend. Somone that I have spent many an hour with. Someone who has been like a brother.

But I come to you to speak about a Senator. Because sometimes our friends, as good as they are, and as wonderful as they are, are not adequate to the responsibilities of high public duty and public service. But tonight, I have a friend

and a Senator, who excels both in the qualities of friendship and statesmanship. And I know that the people of Illinois are the luckiest people in all of this glorious republic. Because they had in the United States Senate a man who understands government, who knows government, who knows his people, who believes with Abraham Lincoln that this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And he has demonstrated it every day of his public life. You know who.

Sen. Douglas.

But let me say to you that you are fortunate. I wish that every State in this land was as fortunate as Illinois.

Many of them are very fortunate, but not that fortunate.

Now you have a great Congressman, and I mentioned him here. And he was unable to be with us tonight, because he is very busy, and serving on many committees, we have to rely on Mel Price a great deal. We need him back in Congress. There isn't any doubt about it, that you are going to send him back, is there? You are going to do that.

And we need some Congressmen who have friends here tonight from other districts, other counties. We need that fine young Congressman, Ken Gray, and those of you that know him up around Carbondale and that area, you are going to do something about him.

By the way, I had hoped those folks up there at Southern Illinois University will just say hello to all that student

body up there.

And we need George Shipley. I am sure we have some Shipley supporters here.

What we need are the people that are doing their job.

I said to some of our friends here a while ago in Decatur, a

few things about Sen. Douglas. We had a good time over there,

and I want to say to Mayor Fields that Decatur is a pretty

good Democratic city too. They must have had a lot of good

education over there. They are voting right. Macon County is

pretty good. But I have been told that as good as Macon County

is, that it can't stack up to Madison and St. Clair County.

Is that right?

We need these men because they have done their job.

Now this nation faces a great test in November, and the State of Illinois faces a test. The people are being asked, shall they or shall they not return to leadership the men who have made this country the strongest, the most prosperous, and the freest nation on the face of this earth. Because while I wish that we could believe that everything good that has happened to us was just natural, in other words, just by accident, I doubt that anybody that is mature and responsible can believe that.

Decisions have to be made. Policies have to be followed.

Programs enacted at the public sector, in public life. And
then the private enterprise of this country, the great dynamic

forces of business and labor, of the non-public groups in America go to work and make this one of the -- well not one of the greatest, the greatest, and the most blessed land on the face of this earth.

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Many of you have traveled far and wide. So have I, I have been to Asia three times since Christmas. Three times this past year. I was to Europe last year. I suppose I will be doing a good deal more traveling, and as a Senator, I traveled to many parts of this world. And there is one thing that I can say above all that is a lasting impression. And that is how fortunate, how fortunate I was to be born in America and to be an American. What a wonderful country. No matter what its problems, believe me, they are minute, they are really puny and small compared to the problems of other people. And here we have these vast resources, resources of material wealth as well as human talent to come to grips with these problems. Now we have problems, and I am going to talk to you about them tonight. And that is why we need good men. If we didn't have any challenges, we could turn this government over to the opposition party.

But we do have some challenges, and we have to have people who understand those challenges and have the courage to face up to them. In our cities, for example, and particularly in our industrial cities, like East St. Louis, we face huge tasks. They call for strong-willed men and men of leadership.

And no one knows this any better than the Mayor of East St. Louis, Mayor Al Fields. He knows the tremendous problems we face.

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I served as Mayor of a city of a half million people. Sen. Douglas once served on the City Council of the great City of Chicago. Those of us who have served in local government know these problems. They are much more intense now, than they were years ago. We made great progress, but we have far to go to satisfy all of our needs and wants. America like other parts of the world is experiencing what we call the revolution of rising expectations. People want more things, not to be given to them, but they want to have the chance to earn them. And this administration that I shall speak to you about tonight is an administration that seeks above all else to help make every American citizen, every citizen without regard to his race, his color, his creed, his national origin or the way he spells his name, to make every citizen a firstclass citizen, to make every citizen an active participant in this great drama of democracy that is ours.

Let me just cite a few of the challenges that we face.

We can call them challenges or problems. Well, we face the problems, for example, of our young people. Trying to get good education. And the shortage of classrooms and good teachers.

I want the young people to listen to me just a moment.

This morning, ten o'clock this morning, I met with fifty young

people from several of our States. These were young people that come from very poor families. Poor neighborhoods. Frankly, they are the children of the poor, from the poverty areas of America. Many of them were young people that were on the verge of being a school dropout, which is a tragic waste of human talent. But they were yet in school. And their teachers recommended them to us in this war on poverty as students that with inspiration, with motivation, with possibly some new experience, that they might do well.

They were given that chance. This summer in a program called Upward Bound, Upward Bound, they have been visiting and attending classes on university campuses all across America.

Many of them are seniors, and they have attained scholarships to attend the universities next year. Juniors, sixteen years, seventeen years, eighteen years old. And my fellow Americans, most of these young people would never have had a chance to go to college, would have never had an opportunity, possibly some of them to complete their high school, except for a program called Upward Bound. A program in the war on poverty.

And I can tell you as the father of three sons and a daughter who have had many privileges, that these young people thrilled me to the quick. They wanted to do well and they were doing well. They were bright, they were alert. They were Indians, Puerto Ricans, Negroes, white, brown, red, Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian. A young man from Guam. Every

kind of person representing America, because we are all kinds of people. And these young people want an education. They hunger for it. They thirst for it. And the Johnson-Humphrey administration is going to see to it that every young man and woman in America gets all the education that they can take. That's our policy.

Now we face these problems, but we are not afraid of them. Problems of old people, living out their lives, all too many of them, in empty lonely rooms. That is not right in America. A nation that has our wealth can provide for its elderly. We have problems of peoples of all ages that are falling victim to crime and violence. Of our Negro Americans, the American Negro, held back by old barriers of discrimination, which is wrong, just plain wrong. And problems of workers who need retraining for new skills in a new age.

Problems of men and women trying to get decent jobs at decent wages. And problems of families, trying to find a decent home in a decent neighborhood in rich America.

Now ladies and gentlemen, this is enough to challenge anybody. I have had young people say to me, well, what is there now to challenge you. I have listed it. You know how we really build a better world. We build a better world by sharing what we have. We build a better world by caring for others. We build a better world by these fine young people going abroad to teach as they will, to help. To inspire others

to self-help. But you start to build a better world right here, right here in this County, right here in East St. Louis, right here in this school.

America can only do as much abroad as it can do at home. And I tell you that the sincerity of our message overseas is tested by the sincerity of our effort at home. And when we can win the war on poverty here, then maybe we can help other people win the war on poverty there. When we can help our people help themselves without any regard to their national origin, then maybe people will believe us more overseas that we can help them. Because remember, my fellow Americans, more people in this world are colored than white. More people are poor than rich. More people are sick than well. And more people are illiterate than educated.

And therefore, every time we win a battle against sickness or discrimination, against illiteracy and ignorance, every time we win a battle against poverty at home, we win a battle the world over. We prove that we know how to win.

Now we have begun. Yes, as President Kennedy said, we shall begin. And we did begin. We have begun to make this land to the strong and happy nation that we want it to be.

And it is a better country today than it was yesterday. We have begun to make our cities places where every child growing up can live in health and safety. We have begun. We have much more to do.

This is what the Mayor of this city is trying to do here in East St. Louis, and this is what your Congressman is trying to do. This is what President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey are trying to do. And this is what Sen. Paul Douglas has been doing and doing and doing for you, and for this nation in the United States Senate in Washington. Making America better.

I am just going to now, like a question and answer period, and just ask you some questions. And I am not going to bother you to have you stand up and give the answers.

Because while I am not psychic, I do think I know a fair-minded person when I see one. And I know that I am talking to an audience tonight that has kept very close vigil upon the public servants that represent them.

So I ask the question, I wonder -- I wonder tonight if the people of Illinois and the United States really know how much they owe to Sen. Paul Douglas.

I said in Decatur this afternoon, "Here is a man that gave you your first old-age pension law in this State." He helped draft it. Here is a man that fought for you when he drafted the Public Utilities Act of this State. He is one that fought for good government in local government. He is a scholar. He is a teacher. This man has written a dozen, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, major books. He has more honorary degrees from great universities than almost any man in public

life if not more. And all earned, may I say. The former President of the Economics Association, which is one of the most, or one of the great professional bodies of America, of economists.

But the best thing about Paul Douglas is not his education.

The best thing about him is his heart. Isn't it wonderful

when you have a man that has both a good heart and a good

mind, a strong heart and a strong mind?

I have looked over this audience, and I am happy to note that most of the people here are young people. This is good. But there are some here that are -- well, you won't admit it. The fellows will. Of course, I have never met any of you ladies that are over sixty-five. And we never ask any questions like that. So I ask the men, suppose you are over sixty-five. Do you draw social security benefits? Well, if you do, then can I remind you that it was Sen. Paul Douglas who helped draft the first, the original Social Security Act. When others were calling it bad names and you will remember, oh, my goodness, do you remember? If you don't, read it. When others were criticising it, Paul Douglas was developing it. He was writing the Social Security Act, which today provides benefits to a hundred million Americans, potential benefits.

I wonder if you can imagine an America without Social Security. I wonder if you can imagine what it would be like in America without old age and survivor's insurance. Without

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

aid to dependent children. Without old-age pensions. I wonder what business would be like. I wonder what this country would be like.

Paul Douglas had a dream a long time ago. And that dream was that a nation as great and as rich as America ought to be able to provide a modicum of security in old age for its senior citizens. That dream came true. Franklin Roosevelt knew that dream. And Franklin Roosevelt called upon Paul Douglas. And he answered the call to duty then as he has a thousand times in his life.

Are you under medicare or signed up for it? Well, if youare, I think you ought to know, and you maybe do know that Paul Douglas is one of the main sponsors of that bill in the Senate. And helped shepherd it through to successful passage. You know these things just don't happen. Someone has to work to get them done. He received the highest award of the National Council of Senior Citizens this year for the part that he played in passing medicare.

And what a blessing medicare is. What a blessing.

Hospital, nursing home and medical care without having to

declare yourself a pauper. Having medical care with dignity

and self-respect. Good for the doctors, good for the hospitals,

and better for the patients. And great for America.

Now are you able to earn a few extra dollars without losing your social security benefits? You know just a few

years ago, if you earned a little extra money, they chopped you right off of social security. Now who do you think fixed that up? Well, Paul Douglas' amendment to that law, the Social Security Act, made it possible for you to earn a little extra, and still keep your social security benefits. Do you think it was easy? I can tell you it wasn't. I tried to do it ten times and failed. I don't like to admit that. Paul Douglas tried it and succeeded. That is the kind of Senator you need.

No one has done more for education than Sen. Paul Douglas. He sponsored the first Federal Aid to Education Laws. And he has supported every bill that has been before the Congress for federal aid to education, higher education, elementary, secondary education, vocational education, scholarships, you name it. If the word education is attached to it, Sen. Douglas is also attached to it. He is an educator. He loves children. He has faith in young people. And he knows that education is the key to the door of prosperity and opportunity. He knows that modern youth in America has little or no chance unless that young man and young woman has an education.

And Sen. Douglas looked to the future. And he is going to see to it if he has any way, and he will have his way as long as you keep him in the Senate of the United States, that every young man and woman in this land shall have the best education that educators can offer to a deserving and to a

healthy young people. That is your Senator.

Now do you believe in clearing up the slums? Well, of course you do. Housing for the poor. Yes, I know you do. Making it possible for people to live peaceably in our cities. I am sure you want that. You do want urban renewal to clean out these old slums. Housing for the elderly, of course. I just talked to Mayor Fields, and he tells me that three projects are being completed in East St. Louis and two more to come. Housing for the elderly. Now how do you think that happened? Do you think that happened by somebody that wants to be in office? That happened because there was a man in the Senate of the United States that served on the Senate committee on banking and currency for all the laws on housing. A man who has given his life to making America a better place in which to live, and better houses in America. And that man is Sen. Paul Douglas. And he sponsored these bills and got them passed for you.

And rent supplements, new legislation. We had a hard time getting rent supplements passed. It came out of Sen. Paul Douglas' committee. Two projects in these two counties in rent supplements. Two of the first in the United States. What does it mean? It means a little extra money to a poor family to live in a privately owned development that has been developed by a non-profit corporation. It means that people will have a chance to live in a decent neighborhood.

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Let me say a word about the slums. I spent a lot of my time as the President's coordinater for local government. I have met with your Mayor. I have met with all of the Mayors of the major cities of the United States, down to the population of thirty thousand, and many of them under that. Not once, sixteen times in two years. This is my main work as your Vice President. There are many problems facing this world. In some parts of the world, we face the threat of Communist agression. Here in America we face a threat called slumism. The deterioration of both people and buildings. The breakdown of neighborhoods and social structure. Slumism. What does it mean? It means bitterness. It means distress. It means hopelessness. It means deprivation. It means unemployment. It means ignorance. It means illiteracy. It means nobody likes you or wants you anymore, and you feel that way. It means you are left out. It means you are locked in, to the ghetto. Slums of America are no longer, Mr. Mayor, the problem of the city fathers. They are the cancer of a nation. The poor, poverty is no longer the burden of the poor. It stands as a moral challenge to the rich. Sen. Douglas knows these things. I have been one of his

Sen. Douglas knows these things. I have been one of his students in government. And yet in a way, today, I can stand as his monitor. Because I served for four years as the Majority whip of the United States Senate. That means I had some responsibility for the legislative program, to know who was

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doing the work and who wasn't. To get the job done. I served under the administration of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson as Majority whip of the Senate. That is a responsible job, a hard job, a difficult one. I loved every minute of it. And one of the reasons I did is because I had faithful, faithful champions working side by side in every fight and every battle that was for the people. And none was stronger and none stood taller and none was braver and none was more effective than the senior Senator from the State of Illinois, Sen. Paul Douglas, your man.

And he got the first slum clearance bill passed.

And he has been responsible, my friends here in these great counties -- I have been told that there are people here from a dozen or more counties. There is hardly a community in this State or any other State that doesn't need clean water. That doesn't need some new sewage system. That doesn't need some housing. Well, whenever you think about those needs, think about the one that helped you meet some of those needs. Not all of them, because we haven't been able to meet all of them. But we took the first step, and that first step is the longest journey.

Now are you a housewife? Yes, I see some out here tonight. Very attractive ones, I might add too. Are you a housewife who cooks or heats your home with gas? Well, if you are, and it's always good to cook on gas, as they say, but if

you are, twice Paul Douglas led the fight which saved the
American consumers at least six hundred million dollars, six
hundred dollars a year in lower gas prices. Six hundred dollars
per family. Now that is not bad.

Were you for a tax cut? I think most everybody was. I haven't found hardly anybody who wasn't for a tax cut. Well, I remember when Paul Douglas was advocating one in 1958.

Because he saw this economy slipping. And why did he advocate that tax cut? Because he said what we ought to do is release this money into the hands of individuals and corporations and business and workers, and let them put this money to work to build this country.

Well, there was a Secretary of the Treasury then by the name of Humphrey, not my relative. I want you to know that. He is a good man. He is a fine man. He had a few limitations One of them was partisan, political. His name was George.

My name is Hubert. I used to say he was trickle-down George and I am percolate-up Hubert. There was a lot of difference.

And he was delighted that I never claimed relationship with him, and I was pleased myself. Both families were.

But during that period of time, Sen. Paul Douglas was saying to the Secretary of the Treasury and to the President of the United States, let's let the American economy go to work. Let's get these taxes reduced. Let's let the consumer have a little more to buy with. Let American business have a

little more to invest. And the Republicans were always saying, they are so good for business. They gave us three recessions in eight years. I want to tell you, it takes a rich businessman to afford them.

But you have noticed that of late many of those same businessmen are now supporting the administration and the policies of an administration that has permitted business to grow and to expand. And the prescription that Dr. Douglas, the economic prescription that Dr. Douglas prescribed in 1958 and prescribed in 1960 and finally prescribed again for the third time in 1961, when he found somebody that would take the medicine. That prescription and that medicine has been working, and for sixty-seven consecutive months, my fellow Americans, we have had a growing economy. Growing at double the rate at what it did five years ago, ten years ago. An economy in which as Sen. Douglas told you tonight, has increased its gross national product to almost seven hundred fifty million dollars. Profits high, wages good, farm prices up.

Oh, I know, right away somebody says, well, that's inflation. Well, my dear friends, let's get the record straight on inflation right now. Inflation, what does it mean? It means what you pay for things and what you have to buy with. Now if you want to get rid of an economy in which business makes money, workers have decent wages, workers have jobs, and farmers have reasonable prices, I will tell you how to do it.

Elect a Republican Congress. They will get rid of it in a hurry for you.

They will lower the prices. I will guarantee you, and they will reduce your wages. They will have the unemployment up. They have before. And I am not speaking now in partisan terms. I am speaking a historical fact. A historical fact.

Now what about this cost of living index? The cost of living index, which is the measurement of what you as an average family have to pay for what you buy. That cost of living index went up from 1956 to 1961 a little more than ten per cent. That same cost of living index went up from 1961 to July 1966 about nine per cent. During the '56 to '61 period, you had the privilege of two recessions that cost the American people billions of dollars in lost production and wages. Since 1961, you have had sixty-seven months of consecutive economic growth and constant increase in income in this country.

I am not here to tell you that prices have not gone up under a Democratic administration. But I am here to defy all critics that prices have gone up less in the last five years than in the preceding five years. And I am here to say to my Republican friends that we haven't given you the same ups and downs, the same shakes, the same working over that you had received in those five previous years from '56 to '61.

This is not to say that a nation can not have dangerous

inflation. It can. But we don't intend to let it have, nor do you, because you have got a great State in a stable country and a growing country. And I want to remind you that what America has suffered the most from during its lifetime as a nation is not inflation but depression, recession. And there is some experts lying around unemployed politically at the present time that know how to get one for you.

Now are you a working man? And I know there are plenty of them here, because East St. Louis is a great industrial center. And, if you are, what does Paul Douglas stand for? What does he mean to you? Well, he means fair unemployment standards. Federal unemployment compensation standards that are fair and just. He is for repeal of Section 14B, and he fought for it and worked for it. And the fact that it wasn't successful was no fault of his.

He is for an increase in the minimum wage. He sponsored minimum wage laws that brought it up to a dollar, a dollar and a quarter, and now what, up to a dollar sixty cents. And whose name is around that law? Well, I will tell you. It isn't anybody that seeks to take Mr. Douglas' office. It's Paul Douglas' name. And when you talk of social security and minimum wage, just put after it, authored by Sen. Paul Douglas, my Senator, your Senator.

And it was this same Senator that protected your health and welfare funds, Mr. Worker, through his legislation. Oh,

my goodness. I could go down the line, area redevelopment, when we needed funds to stimulate the economy. The Appalachia Program for other parts of America, the Economic Development Act, the office of economic opportunity.

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How many mothers in this audience may I ask have a child in Head Start? Let me see your hands. Some of you I know have had children in Head Start programs. How many people in this audience have had a boy or a girl that has benefited from one of our new education programs in which the Federal Government has given some help? Plenty of you. Thank you, lady. I can look over this audience and see many who have had schools, sent their children to schools, and I am in one, because in this County alone, if my information serves me correctly, and I received some tonight just as I came to this podium, in this County alone, under one education law, more than four million dollars, four million dollars has come into the County to educate needy children in special programs. Project Head Start for the little ones. The little pre-kindergarten program. One of the finest things that we have ever had. One of the finest programs. It's done so much. Project Upward Bound. Job Corps centers. Neighborhood Youth Corps. Those are the programs of the war on poverty, and those are Paul Douglas' programs.

Now I want to just leave you tonight with one other theme. That all of the problems that we have at home, we are

living in a troubled world. The late beloved Pope John XXIII said, that where there is constant want, there is no peace.

And if any man understood human nature, if any man was an astute observer of this world scene, it was this beloved church man, who I think has helped bring this world to a new understanding of the meaning of human dignity. Pope John said wherever there is constant want, there is no peace.

My fellow Americans, that goes for American communities where there is want and deprivation, there is no peace. But it also goes for a world in which there is want and poverty and illiteracy and sickness, and there is no peace. The greatest threat to the lives of every boy and girl in this room today is poverty on the world scene. Is illiteracy, ignorance, because it's out of illiteracy and ignorance and poverty that wars are born. It's to these that the victims of illiteracy and sickness and poverty and ignorance the demagogue makes his appeal. It's the people that live in these conditions that frequently and regretably are fooled into following the false leader of Communism.

So our task today is to combat that poverty. And we have done it many ways. America has been a very generous nation. But despite our generosity, my fellow Americans, despite the foreign aid, the Peace Corps, all the work of our churches and our trade unions, and all of them have contributed much, our private business, there is yet a sad and sick world.

And the world that is infected by poverty and ignorance. And in this world there are evil forces. And there is no better word for them than just that simple word, evil. Evil forces. I think we now know that none of us can be safe in a world in which might makes right. In which the powerful and the strident and the militant can start pushing their neighbors around. And in many areas of this world, that is either taking place or has taken place.

In the immediate post war years, the threat to peace was in Europe. And this beloved land took its stand three times in Berlin. We organized NATO. We spent billions. Billions in defense of western Europe. We met the Communist threat in Turkey and Greece in the Mediterranean. We aided the Greeks when their country was being torn apart by what some people called a civil war, which is nothing more than a war of national liberation, attack from Communist forces. And when those forces were cut off, when American aid came, when American troops came, and they did come, when Gen. VanFleet and the American forces came and when Truman enunciated his Greek-Turkish program, the Truman Doctrine, and when the Communists saw that it was futile, that they couldn't win, peace came to Greece.

And I want to remind the audience tonight as a teacher of history that Greece was two-thirds occupied by the Communists.

Two-thirds. And during that period of time, eighteen months,

Greece had a change of government eleven times. It was barely living. The torch of freedom was almost extinguished. The spark of liberty was but a flicker. And then came America.

America has had to fill, as Ferdinand Markos, the President of the Phillipines said in the Congress of the United States, only yesterday, has had to fill the security gap in this world. And there was a security gap in Europe. That gap has been closed.

The Soviet Union has learned after long, long days and nights, that aggression comes too high, at too high a price.

They have learned that in the nuclear age, there is no place to hide. And at least they respect now the United States and its power in western Europe. And there is some hope for a live and let live policy in that part of the world.

The Asia threat to world peace today is a major threat.

The immediate threat. There are always threats elsewhere,
but over half of God's children live in Asia. The most severe
problems of poverty and illiteracy are to be found in Asia.

And today in Asia, there is aggression. And your country with
a heavy heart, with great pain, has had to face up to that.

Because mark it down in your notebook tonight, fellow Americans,
if there is going to be a free world, it's because this nation
is going to help make it possible. If there is going to be
an avoidance of World War III, it's because we will have the
intelligence and the vision to meet the small attack before it

comes into a big attack. If we haven't learned that lesson in history, then we have learned nothing.

We are in Southeast Asia today, my fellow Americans, not just because of fifteen million people in South Vietnam, even though that would be good reason. I can't imagine anything more immoral or indecent, more a violation of the prayer I heard tonight to be willing to turn over the lives of fifteen million innocent people in Vietnam to an aggressor, to the Communists. And to make them slaves. To make them the subject of totalitarian doctrine. It's wrong.

But we are not there only because of that. We are there because of you, and because of me, and because of our families. We are there because of America. We are there because we know that aggression unchecked is aggression unleashed. And we know that unless you can make the aggressor understand that the price of aggression comes too high, that he has an insatiable appetite, and he eats up one little country after another. We learned that from Hitler. We learned it from Tojo, and from others.

No one is happy about war. And the hope and the prayer of your President and of your Senator, your Vice President, and of every responsible officer of this government is that this tragic struggle can be brought to a conclusion and quickly. But I want to make it quite clear, we do not think that it is in the cause of peace to let those who would destroy the peace consume innocent victims. We do not think that it is in the

cause of humanity and in the cause of self-respect and human dignity and self-determination to let those who proclaim the doctrine of the supremacy of the State over the individual, who proclaim the doctrine of military might, that might makes right, we do not consider it the cause of peace to let them have their way.

And as difficult and painful as it is, your nation takes its stand. This isn't the first time. There has been many times. And we are taking our stand in a far away place, but it's close to home. Close to many homes. This is a shrinking world. This is a smaller world. And your Senator has stood by that stand. That is not a sign of weakness. That is not a sign of lack of compassion. That is not a sign that this Senator or that this government is indifferent to human need. It is a sign if you please, a testimonial to compassion and to our recognition of human need. The need of security, the need of self-respect, and a self-determination that need people to live their own lives unmolested.

I know not what the attitude of this community, but I do know mine, and I know what your Senator's is. Our nation seeks no conquest. Never has. We seek not to dominate anybody. We seek no bases, and the President and your Congress have said repeatedly we want no bases. We seek no military position in Asia or anyplace else, where we are not wanted. We seek peace.

But we do not seek peace at the price of dishonor. We

do not seek peace at the price of appeasement. Because we know that it doesn't work, and we know that it's wrong. You see, peace is not just the absence of war. Because if that were the case, then turn the world over to the totalitarians. They will keep the peace. Anybody that seeks to break out of their kind of peace will be slaughtered. We do not seek the peace of the prison. We do not seek the peace of the jailhouse. We seek the peace of the open society. We seek the peace that is not passive but rather a peace that is active. A building of constructing, of people living and developing in their own way. We seek a peace in which many peoples of many different philosophies and many different nationalities can live together as neighbors. We do not seek a world in which everyone is alike. We seek what President Kennedy said, a world which is safe for diversity. And not only democracy. And that peace that we seek will be built block by block. But it cannot be constructed in an environment of violence and terror and assassination. First, there must be some understanding that the building of the peace, at least

requires a modicum of law and order. A protection of security. So in Southeast Asia today as we have elsewhere in other days,

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what we seek to do is to bring the peace. And we will bring it through negotiation. We will bring it through de-escalation.

24 We will go, and let me make this promise to you as your Vice

25 President. We will go anywhere under any honorable auspices to meet with anybody at any time without any pre-conditions to discuss with adversaries under any reasonably neutral auspices the conditions of peace. The threat to peace is not in Washington. The roadblock to peace is not in your nation's capitol. The roadblock to peace is in Hanoi and in Peking.

There have been men like the Holy Father Pope Paul, the President of India, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, yes, even Tito, and the non-aligned countries, seventeen of them, that have made the plea to peace and your government, your President on each occasion has said we are ready. Because we know that the scriptures say blessed are the peacemakers.

And we know thatonly in the seeking of a peace are we worthy of being called decent people. And we are willing to walk that extra mile for peace. We are willing to be patient in the pursuit of it. We are willing to negotiate. We are willing to conciliate. We seek the conciliation of nations and philosophies.

But we are not willing to capitulate. We are not willing to withdraw. We are not willing to turn this world over to the bandits. We are not willing to turn this world over to the totalitarians, and I don't think you want us to.

I have taken this time to say it, because I think you ought to know once again the depth of our convictions on these matters. Now I ask you to go forth from this meeting tonight,

and we have kept you too long. To go forth and help the man that has helped you. There is such a thing as reciprocity in life. Public service is hard work. It has its rewards. Primarily, in the wonderful experiences that come from it. And the friends that you make. Maybe some of us feel that our rewards are because possibly sometimes somebody may know that because of a deed or an act that one of us performed, a life was saved, a life was changed, the country was made a little better. A State was improved, a community was better. I think that is maybe the reward that we get.

Well, your Senator has made this a better America. He has fought for it in war, bled for it. He has worked for it in peace. Worked too hard, in fact. He has been thinking for it. He has been praying for it. He has been giving to it. He has given it everything. And now he is being tested.

I am not here to say that those who seek to wrench this position from his grasp, or better yet to take your servant from you, I am not saying that these people are bad people, because they are not. I am not here to condemn. I come to praise, not to condemn. I come to give reward for service beyond the call of duty. Not to demean the other. I am sure that the man that contests with this distinguished Senator is a good man. I am sure that he is a man of conviction. And I am sure he would make a good neighbor. But I want to tell you. I know who makes a good Senator, Paul Douglas.

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Let me give you a charge tonight. You cannot and should not expect Senator Douglas to win this campaign alone. It's wrong for you to do it. He is your leader. He is your Senator. He is your spokesman. He is your statesman. It's your turn now. And if I do anything tonight, I hope that I can convince some one person in this audience, and I hope many. I hope that I can convince you tonight that it is your privilege and your duty and your golden opportunity to go forth and do battle for this giant of a man that has served you.

And I appeal particularly to the mothers in this audience.

Because you, the ladies in this audience, know that this man has served you and your children well. And I appeal to the young in this audience who should honor their father and their mother, and particular their grandfather and grandmother.

Since I am a grandfather, I like to speak up for grandfathers tonight. I ask you to remember the Senator who thought of your parents and who thought of you and who thought of your grandparents.

And I ask every veteran to remember this Senator who has never forgotten you. And asked nothing for himself. And I ask every good American, regardless of his party, to judge this man and judge him fairly. And if you will put the record of Paul Douglas in the state oaks of justice, I haven't any doubt how you are going to vote.

And I predict from this platform in East St. Louis,

Illinois that the people of Illinois will once again for the fourth time express their good judgment by a great victory for the re-election of Senator Paul Douglas on November the 8th. 11. 

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