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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., AT THE VIRGINIA  
PUBLIC RELATIONS CONFERENCE, THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 7, 1968,  
AT WILLIAMSBURG. VIRGINIA.

TONIGHT I AM GOING TO DO SOMETHING WHICH COULD BE QUITE DANGEROUS. I AM GOING TO LEAVE MY OWN FIELD OF COMPETENCE--FOR A TIME, AT LEAST--AND TALK WITH YOU ABOUT YOUR SPECIALTY, PUBLIC RELATIONS.

I THINK ALL OF YOU WOULD AGREE IT IS DIFFICULT TO DEFINE THE TERM, PUBLIC RELATIONS. IF YOU DISSECT IT INTO ITS SIMPLEST FORM IT MEANS, OF COURSE, THE RELATIONSHIP THAT AN INDIVIDUAL OR COMPANY OR OTHER ENTITY HAS WITH THE PUBLIC.

FOR MANY YEARS IT WAS THOUGHT THAT ALL A COMPANY NEEDED TO BE LOVED BY THE PUBLIC--OR, AT LEAST, NOT TO BE VIEWED WITH DISTRUST--WAS TO HIRE A PUBLIC RELATIONS SPECIALIST. THE JOB OF THE "PR" MAN WAS MIGHTY TOUGH IF THE COMPANY MANAGEMENT WAS INSENSITIVE TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST.



SINCE THAT TIME MOST BUSINESS LEADERS HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT INTEREST IN THE COMMUNITIES IN WHICH THEY OPERATE AND AN ACTIVE ROLE IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF THOSE COMMUNITIES IS GOOD FOR THE COMPANY--THAT THIS IS THE BEST KIND OF PUBLIC RELATIONS. IN THAT CONNECTION, I BELIEVE THE BEST KIND OF PUBLIC RELATIONS SPECIALIST IS THE MAN OR WOMAN WHO SELLS THE DUBIOUS COMPANY PRESIDENT ON ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS BY COMPANY OFFICERS AND BY EMPLOYEES.

IF I ASKED FOR A VOTE ON THE PREMISE I HAVE THUS FAR ADVANCED, I PROBABLY WOULD NOT HEAR ONE DISSENTING VOICE. IN ANY CASE, I WON'T CHANGE IT. I WILL JUST SAY "SO FAR, SO GOOD"--AND THEN TELL YOU THAT THIS IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH. THE REASON I SAY IT IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH IS THAT BUSINESS HAS A LONG WAY TO GO IN FULFILLING ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR HELPING TO SOLVE COMMUNITY PROBLEMS.



IT ALSO IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH BECAUSE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS FAR FROM SOLD ON THE CAPABILITY OR THE DESIRE OF BUSINESS TO SOLVE THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THIS COUNTRY.

*The responsibility is on the government*  
THE UPSHOT IS THAT MOST AMERICANS LOOK TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO REMEDY ALL OF THIS NATION'S ILLS. AND THIS IS A MAJOR WEAKNESS OF OUR SOCIETY. NOW IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT FEDERAL DOLLARS ALONE WILL NOT SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS. AND SO I TAKE HOPE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL RECOGNIZE THIS FALLACY.

THIS IS THE CHIEF FACTOR IN AMERICA'S CONTINUING INABILITY TO SOLVE ITS MOST VITAL PROBLEMS--ITS TOTAL RELIANCE ON FEDERAL SOLUTIONS, THE TENDENCY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO LOOK TO THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY AND TO FEDERAL DOLLARS FOR THE ANSWERS TO ALL THEIR WOES.

THIS OF COURSE SOUNDS LIKE OLD HAT TO MANY AMERICANS



WHO HAVE CLOSED THEIR EARS TO IT IN THE PAST. BUT THE ALARM BELLS ARE RINGING ALL OVER AMERICA TODAY AND I AM HOPEFUL THAT THE PEOPLE WILL AWAKE.

THE ALARM HAS BEEN SOUNDED BY THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS.

WE DO NOT ALL HEAR THE SAME AND WE DO NOT ALL SEE THE SAME. BUT THE MESSAGE FROM THE COMMISSION IS UNMISTAKABLE FOR ALL OF US. WE ARE HEADED FOR A WAR BETWEEN THE RACES IN THIS COUNTRY UNLESS WE ACT NOW TO MOVE THIS NATION DOWN A DIFFERENT ROAD THAN THE ONE WE HAVE BEEN TRAVELING.

I AGREE WITH THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS THAT WE HAVE BEEN MOVING TOWARD A POLARIZATION OF THE TWO RACES, A DIVISION OF THE RACES INTO TWO WARRING CAMPS.

THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH NEEDED SAYING--AND THE SAYING OF IT IS PERHAPS THE COMMISSION'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TOWARD



SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

I SAY THAT BECAUSE THE COMMISSION HAS NOT HELPED IN ONE VERY VITAL AREA OF CONCERN. THE COMMISSION IN FACT HAS ERECTED BARRIERS TO SOLVING PROBLEMS OF INEQUALITY BETWEEN THE RACES BY FALLING BACK ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS THE FOUNTAINHEAD FROM WHENCE ALL SOLUTIONS FLOW.

THE PRIMARY EMPHASIS IN THE REPORT IS ON FEDERAL DOLLARS, AS THOUGH THEY WERE IN INEXHAUSTIBLE SUPPLY AND AS THOUGH ALL OF OUR RACIAL PROBLEMS WOULD VANISH IF ONLY CONGRESS APPROPRIATED UMPTEEN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO DEAL WITH THEM.

FOR ALL OF THE GOOD ASPECTS OF THE REPORT--AND THERE ARE MANY--THIS IS A SERIOUS FLAW. THERE IS EXAGGERATED EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND INSUFFICIENT ATTENTION PAID TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR.


TONIGHT I WOULD LIKE TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT.



CERTAINLY THE CONGRESS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST ACT TO HELP REPAIR THE NEGLECT OF DECADES AND TO HELP THE DISADVANTAGED BECOME USEFUL, FULLY COMPETITIVE CITIZENS. BUT UNLESS THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, <sup>is given the opportunity & does</sup> ASSUMES THE LEADERSHIP IN THAT EFFORT IN PARTNERSHIP WITH GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS, EVEN THE MOST MASSIVE INJECTIONS OF FEDERAL AID ARE DOOMED TO FAILURE.

I SUBMIT THAT AMERICA WILL REMAIN DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF AS LONG AS THE NATION'S TOP LEADERSHIP PREACHES TOTAL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS AND AS LONG AS THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY FAILS TO MEASURE UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITY.

I THINK IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE REPORT BY THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS TENDED TO PERPETUATE RELIANCE ON FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS BY, IN EFFECT <sup>if not by name</sup> ENDORSING PRESENT AND PROPOSED JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS. TO THAT EXTENT, AT LEAST, THE REPORT WAS A POLITICAL DOCUMENT.



IT IS IRONIC THAT THE COMMISSION CONTINUES TO PREACH A PRE-EMINENT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ROLE IN THE SOLUTION OF AMERICA'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND YET MAKES IT UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR THAT ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF THE NATION'S NEEDY ARE BEING REACHED BY THE FEDERAL BILLIONS ALREADY SPENT OR APPROPRIATED.

IS THE COMMISSION INDICTING THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION IN ITS CATALOG OF FAILURE OR LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR GREATLY EXPANDED DEMANDS UPON THE FEDERAL TAXPAYER?

TO ME IT READS LIKE A LISTING OF NEAR-HITS AND MOSTLY MISSES BY THE FEDERAL BLUNDERBUSS IN THE HANDS OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION. *federal bureaucracy*

CONSIDER THESE FACTS COMPILED BY THE KERNER COMMISSION:  
THREE MAJOR RIOT CITIES--DETROIT, NEWARK AND NEW HAVEN--RECEIVED SUBSTANTIAL FEDERAL FUNDS IN 1967. YET MOST





OF THE PROGRAMS REACHED LESS THAN HALF OF THOSE FOR WHOM THEY WERE INTENDED.

IN DETROIT, WHOSE MAYOR CAVANAGH WAS ALWAYS IN ON THE GROUND FLOOR FOR FEDERAL AID, LESS THAN HALF OF THE UNEMPLOYED WERE HELPED BY THE \$19.6 MILLION IN FEDERAL JOB-TRAINING FUNDS OBLIGATED FOR THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1967.

THE HOUSING SITUATION IN DETROIT REVEALS AN EVEN MORE INEFFECTIVE RESULT. ONLY 758 LOW-INCOME HOUSING UNITS WERE BUILT WITH FEDERAL AID IN THE LAST DECADE. BUT SINCE 1960 ABOUT 8,000 LOW-INCOME UNITS HAVE BEEN DEMOLISHED IN THE NAME OF URBAN RENEWAL.

HOW MUCH MORE SENSE IT MAKES TO CUT LOW-PRIORITY FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND TO PUMP ADDITIONAL FUNDS INTO THE REPUBLICAN RENT CERTIFICATES PROGRAM AND TO FULLY FUND ~~THE~~ REPUBLICAN BILLS TO STIMULATE AND EXPAND CONSTRUCTION OF LOW-COST HOUSING

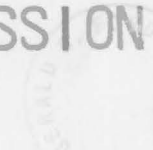


UNDER A SPECIAL PROGRAM TO MAKE HOME OWNERSHIP POSSIBLE FOR  
SLUM FAMILIES!

HOW MUCH BETTER WE COULD COME TO GRIPS WITH HARD-CORE  
UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT IN THE CENTRAL CITIES IF TAX  
CREDITS WERE USED TO MOBILIZE INDUSTRY IN A DRIVE TO PROVIDE  
MEANINGFUL TRAINING AND JOBS WITH DIGNITY!

THE IRONY IN THE KERNER COMMISSION'S REPORT DEEPENS  
AS THE COMMISSION PROCEEDS TO RECOMMEND THAT BILLIONS UPON  
BILLIONS OF FEDERAL DOLLARS BE POURED ON TOP OF THE BILLIONS  
THAT HAVE FAILED TO REACH THE POOR UNDER GREAT SOCIETY PRO-  
GRAMS.

AND THEN THE COMMISSION QUILTS SKIRTING THE MARK AND  
COMES IN ON TARGET IN ITS DISSECTION OF THE ANATOMY OF THE  
1967 RIOTS. THE PIECES FALL INTO PLACE WHEN THE COMMISSION  
DESCRIBES WHAT THEY CALL "THE TYPICAL RIOTER."



THE TYPICAL RIOTER IS A NORTHERN-BORN TEENAGER OR YOUNG ADULT WHO HAS HAD HIS HOPES AROUSED BY ALL THE FEDERAL BETTERMENT PROGRAMS AND THE ORATORY OF ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN--AND THEN HAS HAD THOSE HOPES DASHED. HE MAY HAVE A JOB BUT IT IS PROBABLY MENIAL AND TEMPORARY. IN SHORT, HE IS UNDEREMPLOYED. HE IS PROUD. HE IS HOSTILE TOWARD BOTH WHITES AND MIDDLE-CLASS NEGROES, AND HE HAS NO USE FOR THE "SYSTEM."

HOW DO YOU REACH THIS TYPICAL RIOTER? HOW CAN HIS BASIC ATTITUDES, HIS HOSTILITY, BE ALTERED?

I THINK THE ANSWER IS ONE THAT REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN SEEKING TO IMPRESS ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THREE LONG YEARS--AN ANSWER THAT HAS BEEN SMOTHERED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION'S TOTAL GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS UNTIL THE RIOTS BLEW THE LID OFF.



THE PRIMARY ANSWER IS JOBS. GOOD-PAYING JOBS. JOBS THAT REQUIRE TRAINING--TRAINING THAT ONLY INDUSTRY CAN GIVE. JOBS THAT GIVE A MAN A STAKE IN OUR SOCIETY. JOBS THAT GIVE A MAN PRIDE IN HIMSELF.

FOR THREE YEARS HOUSE REPUBLICANS HAVE URGED THAT INDUSTRY BE ENLISTED THROUGH A SYSTEM OF TAX CREDITS TO TRAIN THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED AND THE UNDEREMPLOYED AND PLACE THEM IN GOOD JOBS. FOR THREE YEARS THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION AND THE MAJORITY PARTY HAVE SIMPLY IGNORED THIS PLEA.

*AS* A COROLLARY TO THIS PROPOSED HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT, HOUSE REPUBLICANS HAVE SOUGHT TO REVAMP THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM WITH PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON JOB TRAINING AND JOB PLACEMENT THROUGH CREATION OF AN INDUSTRY YOUTH CORPS. THIS PROGRAM OFFERED A DIRECT FEDERAL OUTLAY TO HELP PAY FOR JOB TRAINING BY INDUSTRY. IT WAS AIMED RIGHT AT THE GHETTO YOUTH



NOW TICKETED BY THE KERNER COMMISSION AS THE TYPICAL RIOTER--  
THE YOUNG MAN PROUD OF HIS RACE AND SUSPICIOUS OF THE  
SYSTEM, EMPLOYED AT MENIAL TASKS AND RESENTING EVERY MINUTE  
OF IT. BUT THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION AND THE MAJORITY PARTY  
IN THE CONGRESS RODE ROUGHSHOD OVER REPUBLICAN ATTEMPTS TO  
GIVE THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM THIS PRIVATE INDUSTRY JOB  
ORIENTATION.

NOW--AND THIS RECOMMENDATION BY THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL  
DISORDERS HAS BEEN LARGELY OVERLOOKED--NOW THE KERNER COM-  
MISSION MAKES A STRONG PITCH FOR THE REPUBLICAN APPROACH.

THE KERNER COMMISSION URGES THAT THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE A SYSTEM OF TAX INCENTIVES TO GET  
PRIVATE INDUSTRY TO HIRE AND TRAIN THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED,  
GIVE THEM MEANINGFUL JOBS AND ASSURE THEM FAIR OPPORTUNITY  
FOR ADVANCEMENT. IF CONGRESS FAILS TO ADOPT THE TAX CREDIT

APPROACH, THE COMMISSION DECLARES, ANY LARGE-SCALE JOBS PROGRAM WILL BE BADLY BLUNTED.

I DON'T LIKE SAYING "I TOLD YOU SO," BUT I MUST. AND I WOULD ADD THAT CONGRESS ALREADY IS THREE YEARS BEHIND SCHEDULE ON VOTING TAX CREDITS FOR JOB TRAINING AND JOB PLACEMENT.

ALL AMERICA SHOULD KNOW THAT THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION AND THE MAJORITY PARTY IN CONGRESS HAVE CONSISTENTLY AND REPEATEDLY BLOCKED EVERY REPUBLICAN ATTEMPT TO LICK HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE GHETTOES THROUGH TAX CREDITS.

I AM FULLY CONVINCED, THEREFORE, THAT AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO FALL SHORT OF SOUND SOLUTIONS IN THE AREA OF UNEMPLOYMENT ~~AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY~~ UNTIL A CONGRESS <sup>which</sup> AND A NEW LEADERSHIP WHICH THOROUGHLY BELIEVES IN THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM <sup>is</sup> ARE VOTED INTO OFFICE.



I DO NOT, OF COURSE, SUBSCRIBE TO EVERY RECOMMENDATION IN THE KERNER COMMISSION REPORT. BUT I BELIEVE THAT EVERY ONE OF THE COMMISSION PROPOSALS WHICH CALLS FOR FEDERAL IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD RECEIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION BY THE CONGRESS.

THE CHALLENGE THAT IS FACING US AT HOME TODAY IS ONE THAT SHOULD STIR EVERY AMERICAN RIGHT DOWN TO HIS TOES.

THE CHALLENGE WILL NOT BE MET--AND DISASTER WILL ENGULF US--IF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA FAIL TO TAKE THE RIGHT PATH IN THIS TIME OF DEEP CRISIS.

AMERICA WILL MISS THE RIGHT PATH UNLESS THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY STEPS FORWARD AND TAKES UPON ITSELF THE MAJOR BURDEN OF HELPING DISADVANTAGED INDIVIDUALS IN THIS COUNTRY HELP THEMSELVES.

MANY BUSINESS CONCERNS ARE DOING THIS, BUT NOT ENOUGH.



THE STORY OF WHAT IS BEING DONE IS BEING TOLD, BUT THE MESSAGE IS BURIED UNDER AN AVALANCHE OF WHITE HOUSE MESSAGES DEMANDING THAT MORE AND MORE BILLIONS OF FEDERAL DOLLARS-- ALL BORROWED DOLLARS WITH HIGH INTEREST COSTS--BE THROWN AT OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS A LARGE ROLE TO PLAY IN MEETING THE CRISIS OF THE CITIES. BUT THAT ROLE NOW IS GREATLY DISTORTED. IT SHOULD BE PRIMARILY THAT OF PROVIDING GUIDANCE AND INCENTIVE AND GUARANTEES. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD LURE BUSINESS OUT OF THE WINGS AND ONTO CENTER STAGE.

DO SOME OF OUR BUSINESS LEADERS NEED MORE THAN TAX INCENTIVES TO ENTER THE FRAY? LET PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTORS AND OTHER "PR" PERSONNEL EXERCISE THEIR CHARM AND EMPLOY THEIR POWERS OF PERSUASION ON THEIR BOSSES. PERHAPS PUBLIC RELATIONS PEOPLE NEED TO DO A SELLING JOB ON THEIR TOP





MANAGEMENT IF AMERICA IS TO LAUNCH AN ALL-OUT ATTACK ON HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT AND GHETTO JOB BARRIERS. [ I APPEAL TO YOU TONIGHT TO LEND ALL OF YOUR TALENTS TO THE TASK.]

IS AMERICA DEAF AND BLIND TO THE POWER FOR GOOD THAT LIES IN THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM?

OPEN UP THOSE EYES AND EARS. TELL AMERICA HOW SOME FIRMS ALREADY ARE GOING INTO THE GHETTO WITH MOBILE EMPLOYMENT OFFICES, PROVIDING COUNSELING SERVICE, MAKING CONTACT WITH MINORITY GROUPS AND PERSUADING GHETTO YOUTHS TO ACQUIRE MARKETABLE SKILLS. MUCH MORE CAN BE DONE, MUST BE DONE. AND THE GOOD WILL MULTIPLY AS THE STORY IS TOLD.

THERE IS A LESSON OF ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST IN THE CURRENT CHALLENGE, [ JUST AS THERE WAS IN EARLIER DAYS WHEN INDUSTRY OPENED ITS FACTORY GATES TO COMMUNITY PROBLEMS AND FOUND THIS WAS THE BEST OF PUBLIC RELATIONS.]



AS GEORGE CHAMPION, BOARD CHAIRMAN OF CHASE MANHATTAN BANK, HAS POINTED OUT, BUSINESS NEEDS TO ASSURE ITSELF OF A CONTINUING AND GROWING SUPPLY OF TRAINED MANPOWER TO MEET BOTH PRESENT AND FUTURE NEEDS. IT THEREFORE IS SIMPLY GOOD BUSINESS FOR INDUSTRY TO CAST ITSELF IN A MAJOR ROLE AS ON-THE-JOB TRAINER OF THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE UNDEREMPLOYED.

IF WE UPGRADE OUR WORKERS, WE WILL BE UPGRADING AMERICA. IT NOT ONLY IS GOOD BUSINESS FOR INDUSTRY TO TRAIN MASSIVE NUMBERS OF WORKERS IN NEEDED SKILLS, IT ALSO IS A BUILDING BLOCK TOWARD GOOD GOVERNMENT.

ALL AMERICA BENEFITS TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN MAKE TAXPAYERS OF TAX EATERS. ALL AMERICA BENEFITS WHEN WE MAKE USEFUL CITIZENS OF POTENTIAL RIOTERS.

SOME WOULD ANSWER HOSTILITY WITH HOSTILITY. DOES THIS HELP? IS THIS THE PATH THAT WILL MOVE AMERICA FORWARD, THAT

WILL PLACE US ON THE ROAD TO TRUE NATIONAL GREATNESS AND FULLER REALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM? I THINK NOT. AND I M SURE YOU DON'T, EITHER.

I'M NOT PREACHING SOFTNESS. <sup>far from it</sup> I'M TALKING FIRMNESS-- FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT, FIRMNESS IN PRESERVING LAW AND ORDER, AND FIRMNESS IN DOING WHAT IS HEALTHY FOR ALL AMERICANS.

THAT'S WHY WE HAVE TO "TELL IT LIKE IT IS," SOMETHING THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT BEEN DOING FOR SEVEN LONG YEARS. THAT'S WHY EVERYONE IN THIS NATION WHO IS IN A POSITION TO POINT OUT THE RIGHT ROAD TO PROGRESS--ONE AMERICAN HELPING ANOTHER AND BUSINESS ASSUMING ITS RIGHTFUL BURDEN FOR NATIONAL ADVANCEMENT--MUST TELL THE STORY SO ALL AMERICANS WILL TAKE THE RIGHT PATH.

IT DOES NO GOOD TO FUZZ THE FACTS, AS THE VICE-PRESIDENT DID IN QUARRELING WITH THE KERNER COMMISSION'S

WARNING ABOUT POLARIZATION OF AMERICA INTO TWO WARRING CAMPS.

LET'S TELL IT LIKE IT IS--AND WHEN WE DO I FEEL SURE  
OUR PEOPLE WILL RESPOND.

AMERICANS ARE A GOOD PEOPLE, A DECENT PEOPLE, A MORAL  
PEOPLE. THEY WANT THE TRUTH. AND WHEN THEY HEAR IT THEY  
ALWAYS MEASURE UP.

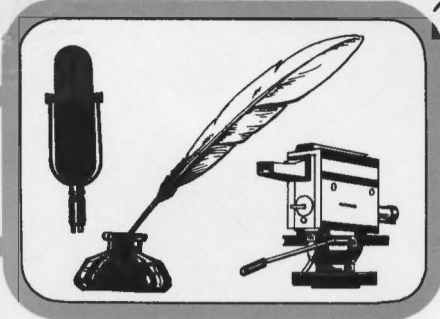
YOUR JOB IS TO GET THE MESSAGE ACROSS. THANK YOU.

-END-



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Mailing 3/7/68 evening*

*M Office Copy*



CONGRESSMAN  
**GERALD R. FORD**  
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 P.M. THURSDAY--  
March 7, 1968

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., AT THE VIRGINIA PUBLIC RELATIONS CONFERENCE, THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 7, 1968, AT WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

Tonight I am going to do something which could be quite dangerous. I am going to leave my own field of competence--for a time, at least--and talk with you about your specialty, public relations.

I think all of you would agree it is difficult to define the term, public relations. If you dissect it into its simplest form it means of course the relationship that an individual or company or other entity has with the public.

For many years it was thought that all a company needed to be loved by the public--or, at least, not to be viewed with distrust--was to hire a public relations specialist. The job of the PR man was mighty tough if the company management was insensitive to the public interest. Since that time most business leaders have come to realize that interest in the communities in which they operate and an active role in solving the problems of those communities is good for the company--that this is the best kind of public relations. In that connection, I believe the best kind of public relations specialist is the man or woman who sells the dubious company president on active participation in community affairs by company officers and by employees.

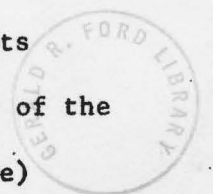
If I asked for a vote on the premise I have thus far advanced, I probably would not hear one dissenting voice. In any case, I won't chance it. I will just say "so far, so good"--and then tell you that this is not good enough. The reason I say it is not good enough is that business has a long way to go in fulfilling its responsibility for helping to solve community problems.

It also is not good enough because the American public is far from sold on the capability or the desire of business to solve the major problems of this country.

The upshot is that most Americans look to the Federal Government to remedy all of this Nation's ills. And this is a major weakness of our society. Now it is becoming increasingly evident that federal dollars alone will not solve our problems. And so I take hope that the American people will recognize this fallacy

This is the chief factor in America's continuing inability to solve its most vital problems--its total reliance on federal solutions, the tendency of the

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American people to look to the federal bureaucracy and to federal dollars for the answers to all their woes.

This of course sounds like old hat to many Americans who have closed their ears to it in the past. But the alarm bells are ringing all over America today and I am hopeful that the people will awake.

The alarm has been sounded by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

We do not all hear the same and we do not all see the same. But the message from the Commission is unmistakable for all of us. We are headed for a war between the races in this country unless we act now to move this Nation down a different road than the one we have been traveling.

I agree with the Commission on Civil Disorders that we have been moving toward a polarization of the two races, a division of the races into two warring camps.

This is something which needed saying--and the saying of it is perhaps the commission's greatest contribution toward solution of the problem.

I say that because the commission has not helped in one very vital area of concern. The commission in fact has erected barriers to solving problems of inequality between the races by falling back on the federal government as the fountainhead from whence all solutions flow.

The primary emphasis in the report is on federal dollars, as though they were in inexhaustible supply and as though all of our racial problems would vanish if only Congress appropriated umpteen billions of dollars to deal with them.

For all of the good aspects of the report--and there are many--this is a serious flaw. There is exaggerated emphasis on the role of the federal government and insufficient attention paid to the private sector.

Tonight I would like to set the record straight. Certainly the Congress and the Federal Government must act to help repair the neglect of decades and to help the disadvantaged become useful, fully competitive citizens. But unless the business community assumes the leadership in that effort in partnership with government at all levels, even the most massive injections of federal aid are doomed to failure.

I submit that America will remain divided against itself as long as the Nation's top leadership preaches total federal government solutions and as long as the business community fails to measure up to its responsibility.

I think it is unfortunate that the report by the Commission on Civil Disorders tended to perpetuate reliance on federal government solutions by in

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effect endorsing present and proposed Johnson Administration programs. To that extent, at least, the report was a political document.

It is ironic that the commission continues to preach a pre-eminent federal government role in the solution of America's social problems and yet makes it unmistakably clear that only a small fraction of the Nation's needy are being reached by the federal billions already spent or appropriated.

Is the commission indicting the Johnson Administration in its catalog of failure or laying the groundwork for greatly expanded demands upon the federal taxpayer?

To me it reads like a listing of near-hits and mostly misses by the federal blunderbuss in the hands of the present Administration.

Consider these facts compiled by the Kerner Commission:

Three major riot cities--Detroit, Newark and New Haven--received substantial federal funds in 1967. Yet most of the programs reached less than half of those for whom they were intended.

In Detroit, whose Mayor Cavanagh was always in on the ground floor for federal aid, less than half of the unemployed were helped by the \$19.6 million in federal job-training funds obligated for the first nine months of 1967.

The housing situation in Detroit reveals an even more ineffective result. Only 758 low-income housing units were built with Federal aid in the last decade. But since 1960 about 8,000 low-income units have been demolished in the name of urban renewal.

How much more sense it makes to cut low-priority federal programs and to pump additional funds into the Republican rent certificates program and to fully fund the Republican bills to stimulate and expand construction of low-cost housing under a special program to make home ownership possible for slum families!

How much better we could come to grips with hard-core unemployment and underemployment in the central cities if tax credits were used to mobilize industry in a drive to provide meaningful training and jobs with dignity!

The irony in the Kerner Commission's report deepens as the commission proceeds to recommend that billions upon billions of federal dollars be poured on top of the billions that have failed to reach the poor under Great Society programs.

And then the commission quits skirting the mark and comes in on target in its dissection of the anatomy of the 1967 riots. The pieces fall into place when the commission describes what they call "the typical rioter."

The typical rioter is a Northern-born teenager or young adult who has had

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his hopes aroused by all the federal betterment programs and the oratory of Administration spokesmen--and then has had those hopes dashed. He may have a job but it is probably menial and temporary. In short, he is underemployed. He is proud; he is hostile toward both whites and middle-class Negroes and he has no use for the "system."

How do you reach this typical rioter? How can his basic attitudes, his hostility, be altered?

I think the answer is one that Republicans have been seeking to impress on the American people for three long years--an answer that has been smothered under the Administration's total government solutions until the riots blew the lid off.

The primary answer is jobs. Good-paying jobs. Jobs that require training--training that only industry can give. Jobs that give a man a stake in our society. Jobs that give a man pride in himself.

For three years House Republicans have urged that industry be enlisted through a system of tax credits to train the hard-core unemployed and the underemployed and place them in good jobs. For three years the Johnson Administration and the majority party have simply ignored this plea.

As a corollary to this proposed Human Investment Act, House Republicans have sought to revamp the anti-poverty program with primary emphasis on job training and job placement through creation of an Industry Youth Corps. This program offered a direct federal outlay to help pay for job training by industry. It was aimed right at the ghetto youth now ticketed by the Kerner Commission as the typical rioter--the young man proud of his race and suspicious of the system, employed at menial tasks and resenting every minute of it. But the Johnson Administration and the majority party in the Congress rode roughshod over Republican attempts to give the anti-poverty program this private industry job orientation.

Now--and this recommendation by the Commission on Civil Disorders has been largely overlooked--now the Kerner Commission makes a strong pitch for the Republican approach.

The Kerner Commission urges that the Federal Government institute a system of tax incentives to get private industry to hire and train the hard-core unemployed, give them meaningful jobs and assure them fair opportunity for advancement. If Congress fails to adopt the tax credit approach, the commission declares, any large-scale jobs program will be badly blunted.

I don't like saying "I told you so," but I must. And I would add that Congress already is three years behind schedule on voting tax credits for job

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training and job placement.

All America should know that the Johnson Administration and the majority party in Congress have consistently and repeatedly blocked every Republican attempt to lick hard-core unemployment in the ghettos through tax credits.

I am fully convinced, therefore, that America will continue to fall short of sound solutions in the area of unemployment and equality of opportunity until a Congress and a new leadership which thoroughly believe in the free enterprise system are voted into office.

I do not, of course, subscribe to every recommendation in the Kerner Commission report. But I believe that every one of the commission proposals which calls for federal implementation should receive careful consideration by the Congress.

The challenge that is facing us at home today is one that should stir every American right down to his toes.

The challenge will not be met--and disaster will engulf us--if the people of America fail to take the right path in this time of deep crisis.

America will miss the right path unless the business community steps forward and takes upon itself the major burden of helping disadvantaged individuals in this country help themselves.

Many business concerns are doing this, but not enough. The story of what is being done is being told, but the message is buried under an avalanche of White House messages demanding that more and more billions of federal dollars--all borrowed dollars with high interest costs--be thrown at our social problems.

The Federal Government has a large role to play in meeting the crisis of the cities. But that role now is greatly distorted. It should be primarily that of providing guidance and incentive and guarantees. The government should lure business out of the wings and onto center stage.

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I'm not preaching softness; I'm talking firmness--firmness in the right, firmness in preserving law and order and firmness in doing what is healthy for all Americans.

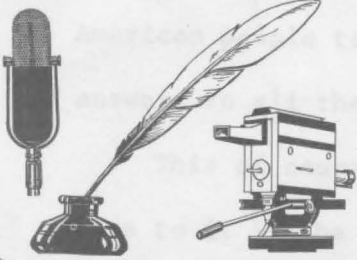
That's why we have to "tell it like it is," something the present Administration has not been doing for seven long years. That's why everyone in this Nation who is in a position to point out the right road to progress--one American helping another and business assuming its rightful burden for national advancement--must tell the story so all Americans will take the right path.

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Your job is to get the message across. Thank you.



CONGRESSMAN  
**GERALD R. FORD**  
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 P.M. THURSDAY--  
March 7, 1968

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., AT THE VIRGINIA PUBLIC RELATIONS CONFERENCE, THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 7, 1968, AT WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

Tonight I am going to do something which could be quite dangerous. I am going to leave my own field of competence--for a time, at least--and talk with you about your specialty, public relations.

I think all of you would agree it is difficult to define the term, public relations. If you dissect it into its simplest form it means of course the relationship that an individual or company or other entity has with the public.

For many years it was thought that all a company needed to be loved by the public--or, at least, not to be viewed with distrust--was to hire a public relations specialist. The job of the PR man was mighty tough if the company management was insensitive to the public interest. Since that time most business leaders have come to realize that interest in the communities in which they operate and an active role in solving the problems of those communities is good for the company--that this is the best kind of public relations. In that connection, I believe the best kind of public relations specialist is the man or woman who sells the dubious company president on active participation in community affairs by company officers and by employees.

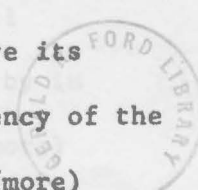
If I asked for a vote on the premise I have thus far advanced, I probably would not hear one dissenting voice. In any case, I won't chance it. I will just say "so far, so good"--and then tell you that this is not good enough. The reason I say it is not good enough is that business has a long way to go in fulfilling its responsibility for helping to solve community problems.

It also is not good enough because the American public is far from sold on the capability or the desire of business to solve the major problems of this country.

The upshot is that most Americans look to the Federal Government to remedy all of this Nation's ills. And this is a major weakness of our society. Now it is becoming increasingly evident that federal dollars alone will not solve our problems. And so I take hope that the American people will recognize this fallacy

This is the chief factor in America's continuing inability to solve its most vital problems--its total reliance on federal solutions, the tendency of the

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American people to look to the federal bureaucracy and to federal dollars for the answers to all their woes.

This of course sounds like old hat to many Americans who have closed their ears to it in the past. But the alarm bells are ringing all over America today and I am hopeful that the people will awake.

The alarm has been sounded by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

We do not all hear the same and we do not all see the same. But the message from the Commission is unmistakable for all of us. We are headed for a war between the races in this country unless we act now to move this Nation down a different road than the one we have been traveling.

I agree with the Commission on Civil Disorders that we have been moving toward a polarization of the two races, a division of the races into two warring camps.

This is something which needed saying--and the saying of it is perhaps the commission's greatest contribution toward solution of the problem.

I say that because the commission has not helped in one very vital area of concern. The commission in fact has erected barriers to solving problems of inequality between the races by falling back on the federal government as the fountainhead from whence all solutions flow.

The primary emphasis in the report is on federal dollars, as though they were in inexhaustible supply and as though all of our racial problems would vanish if only Congress appropriated umpteen billions of dollars to deal with them.

For all of the good aspects of the report--and there are many--this is a serious flaw. There is exaggerated emphasis on the role of the federal government and insufficient attention paid to the private sector.

Tonight I would like to set the record straight. Certainly the Congress and the Federal Government must act to help repair the neglect of decades and to help the disadvantaged become useful, fully competitive citizens. But unless the business community assumes the leadership in that effort in partnership with government at all levels, even the most massive injections of federal aid are doomed to failure.

I submit that America will remain divided against itself as long as the Nation's top leadership preaches total federal government solutions and as long as the business community fails to measure up to its responsibility.

I think it is unfortunate that the report by the Commission on Civil Disorders tended to perpetuate reliance on federal government solutions by in

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effect endorsing present and proposed Johnson Administration programs. To that extent, at least, the report was a political document.

It is ironic that the commission continues to preach a pre-eminent federal government role in the solution of America's social problems and yet makes it unmistakably clear that only a small fraction of the Nation's needy are being reached by the federal billions already spent or appropriated.

Is the commission indicting the Johnson Administration in its catalog of failure or laying the groundwork for greatly expanded demands upon the federal taxpayer?

To me it reads like a listing of near-hits and mostly misses by the federal blunderbuss in the hands of the present Administration.

Consider these facts compiled by the Kerner Commission:

Three major riot cities--Detroit, Newark and New Haven--received substantial federal funds in 1967. Yet most of the programs reached less than half of those for whom they were intended.

In Detroit, whose Mayor Cavanagh was always in on the ground floor for federal aid, less than half of the unemployed were helped by the \$19.6 million in federal job-training funds obligated for the first nine months of 1967.

The housing situation in Detroit reveals an even more ineffective result. Only 758 low-income housing units were built with Federal aid in the last decade. But since 1960 about 8,000 low-income units have been demolished in the name of urban renewal.

How much more sense it makes to cut low-priority federal programs and to pump additional funds into the Republican rent certificates program and to fully fund the Republican bills to stimulate and expand construction of low-cost housing under a special program to make home ownership possible for slum families!

How much better we could come to grips with hard-core unemployment and underemployment in the central cities if tax credits were used to mobilize industry in a drive to provide meaningful training and jobs with dignity!

The irony in the Kerner Commission's report deepens as the commission proceeds to recommend that billions upon billions of federal dollars be poured on top of the billions that have failed to reach the poor under Great Society programs.

And then the commission quits skirting the mark and comes in on target in its dissection of the anatomy of the 1967 riots. The pieces fall into place when the commission describes what they call "the typical rioter."

The typical rioter is a Northern-born teenager or young adult who has had

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his hopes aroused by all the federal betterment programs and the oratory of Administration spokesmen--and then has had those hopes dashed. He may have a job but it is probably menial and temporary. In short, he is underemployed. He is proud; he is hostile toward both whites and middle-class Negroes and he has no use for the "system."

How do you reach this typical rioter? How can his basic attitudes, his hostility, be altered?

I think the answer is one that Republicans have been seeking to impress on the American people for three long years--an answer that has been smothered under the Administration's total government solutions until the riots blew the lid off.

The primary answer is jobs. Good-paying jobs. Jobs that require training--training that only industry can give. Jobs that give a man a stake in our society. Jobs that give a man pride in himself.

For three years House Republicans have urged that industry be enlisted through a system of tax credits to train the hard-core unemployed and the underemployed and place them in good jobs. For three years the Johnson Administration and the majority party have simply ignored this plea.

As a corollary to this proposed Human Investment Act, House Republicans have sought to revamp the anti-poverty program with primary emphasis on job training and job placement through creation of an Industry Youth Corps. This program offered a direct federal outlay to help pay for job training by industry. It was aimed right at the ghetto youth now ticketed by the Kerner Commission as the typical rioter--the young man proud of his race and suspicious of the system, employed at menial tasks and resenting every minute of it. But the Johnson Administration and the majority party in the Congress rode roughshod over Republican attempts to give the anti-poverty program this private industry job orientation.

Now--and this recommendation by the Commission on Civil Disorders has been largely overlooked--now the Kerner Commission makes a strong pitch for the Republican approach.

The Kerner Commission urges that the Federal Government institute a system of tax incentives to get private industry to hire and train the hard-core unemployed, give them meaningful jobs and assure them fair opportunity for advancement. If Congress fails to adopt the tax credit approach, the commission declares, any large-scale jobs program will be badly blunted.

I don't like saying "I told you so," but I must. And I would add that Congress already is three years behind schedule on voting tax credits for job

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training and job placement.

All America should know that the Johnson Administration and the majority party in Congress have consistently and repeatedly blocked every Republican attempt to lick hard-core unemployment in the ghettos through tax credits.

I am fully convinced, therefore, that America will continue to fall short of sound solutions in the area of unemployment and equality of opportunity until a Congress and a new leadership which thoroughly believe in the free enterprise system are voted into office.

I do not, of course, subscribe to every recommendation in the Kerner Commission report. But I believe that every one of the commission proposals which calls for federal implementation should receive careful consideration by the Congress.

The challenge that is facing us at home today is one that should stir every American right down to his toes.

The challenge will not be met--and disaster will engulf us--if the people of America fail to take the right path in this time of deep crisis.

America will miss the right path unless the business community steps forward and takes upon itself the major burden of helping disadvantaged individuals in this country help themselves.

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