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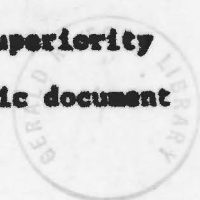
**SPEECH DELIVERED BY REP. GERALD R. FORD BEFORE THE 40TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF  
ROUND TABLE INTERNATIONAL ON JUNE 27, 1966.**

In my substantive remarks this evening, I will discuss two cornerstones of our American political system and indicate my deep concern that each is in some jeopardy in this crucial period in our national and global history. There may be other fundamental American political concepts or principles that are suffering from the serious erosion of an "imbalance in government," but I will limit my observations to the following:

1. The system of "checks and balances" in the federal government, or the division of responsibilities between the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial branches;
2. The relationships between the federal government and the 50 states.

Each of these two cornerstones have contributed significantly to America's freedom and progress. <sup>Both of them</sup> ~~are~~ but one are constitutionally ordained. Their importance to the strength of our political fabric must not be underestimated. The wide swing of political pendulums and public opinion, which oftentimes creates an imbalance in government or on parts of it, must not destroy either one of them.

The first cornerstone was built by the wise drafters of our federal constitution under the theory of separation of powers. In those deliberations in Constitution Hall almost 200 years ago they made an important decision to give specific responsibilities to each branch of the national government... to give each of them strength and authority, but I hasten to add not superiority over anyone of the other. The finely <sup>tuned</sup> ~~crafted~~ provisions in this historic document



were designed to be a lasting bulwark against the concentration of power in the hands of one man, one group within our society or one segment of our government.

The architects of the federal Constitution were understandably concerned with concentrations of power and the tragic dangers that flow inevitably from its misuse because most of them, or their forefathers, had fled from tyranny, oppression and autocracy in Western Europe. They had suffered severe privation and maximum danger to find and establish a new land of freedom. Therefore, in the document for the governing of this newly-established nation there had to be safeguards. Although it was obvious from their deliberations that we should have a strong President heading the Executive branch, a strong Congress representing the Legislative branch and a strong Judicial branch headed by the Supreme Court, it was equally certain that in the document there was woven the essential checks and balances predicated on three co-equal branches of the government.

In my judgment, today we find an erosion of the power and prestige of the Legislative branch, a change of the intended direction of the Judiciary and an awesome build-up of strength and use of this power in the Executive arm.

In this situation there is a modern-day parallel with the story of David and Goliath, Congress, the Legislative branch, is David. The Executive--the White House and all its agencies--is Goliath.

On the side of David are 535 elected officials--100 Senators, 435 Representatives--with a comparatively small number of employees representing the American voters in each of the 50 states. The Legislative branch has a relatively small operating budget compared with that of Goliath--the Executive branch. Most importantly, however, those in the Congress regularly go to



their constituents for approval or rejection. Their "record" is put "on the line." Each member is responsive to the views, the opinions of those "back home" they represent.

In contrast, the Executive branch today has over 24 million civilian employees with an annual payroll of approximately \$17 billion. In addition, there are about 2 million 800 thousand military personnel also under the Commander-in-Chief. The current yearly payroll for those in uniform in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines approximates another \$16 billion. The net result--about 5 million 300 thousand employees under the Chief Executive--a 12-month payroll of over \$33 billion and a total federal budget to be spent by them for this year of \$127 billion.

This vast army of employees working in the Executive branch of the federal government is really isolated and immunized from the American voter. Out of the vast bureaucracy in the Executive branch only the President and the Vice President put their records on the line at election time and then only once every 4 years.

There is a growing apprehension that there is a potential and real danger in the burgeoning power of the federal government's Executive branch with all this manpower and such vast funds. However, I have faith that the minds of many of our people and the good judgment of Americans will cut down Goliath to proper size by strengthening the power and prestige in the Congress. Balance in this aspect of government will be restored.

I am pleased to report that the Congress itself is conscientiously, and I believe constructively, working toward that end. Early in 1965 a Joint House-Senate, bi-partisan committee was appointed to analyze our procedures, our internal legislative structure, in fact, all aspects of the Legislative branch. This study, these recommendations, should be most beneficial so that



Congress can and will do a better job--hopefully helping to re-establish its proper place as a co-equal branch in our federal government.

Let me add a word on the relationship of the Legislative arm vis-a-vis the Judicial branch. It is my judgment that today the Judicial branch is to some unfortunate extent arbitrarily elbowing its way into spheres not intended at the time the Constitution was drafted.

I subscribe to the views of the late Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter who so convincingly espoused the philosophy of "judicial restraint." I believe he also soundly raised an arm of caution to the courts suggesting they might wisely stay out of the "thicket" of political matters relying in such cases on the "ultimate sound judgment of the conscience of the voters." Quite frankly, I favor a strong and firm attitude by our courts in those areas where their "arm" can bring reason, order and respect for law to our system.

In retrospect is it fair to ask: "Have the Frankfurter words of caution been wrong?"

Another cornerstone in America's political fabric is the relationship between our respective states and the national government. Those who met in Constitution Hall in the City of Philadelphia represented sovereign states or commonwealths. Their purpose was to put together a document for the new nation that would permit the federal government to assume those responsibilities essential for the national welfare such as the common defense, a postal system and the like. Such powers were delegated, but to the sovereign states the traditional role of local government was retained.

In recent years there has been a growing abdication of this role and these responsibilities with a corresponding expansion of the influence of the federal establishment. The shrinking potency of the states can be

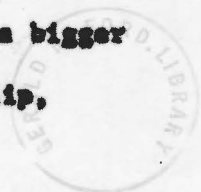
attributed in part to archaic state constitutions, inadequate sources of revenue, and a lack of dynamic and resourceful leadership at the state level. Whatever the cause, the result has been a federal octopus moving steadily forward making vast inroads into the functions initially carved out for your state and for mine. For example, today we find our states by-passed by substantial federal funds controlled by multiplying federal officials going directly to local communities. In many instances these substantial federal arrangements also by-pass responsible local authorities.

The new pattern for the extension of federal control is most vividly illustrated by the President's poverty program, but there is a similar trend developing in the area of primary and secondary education. Under legislation enacted by Congress in 1965 your state education officials can, and undoubtedly will, be by-passed as the federal authorities gradually extend their encroachment.

Fortunately many of our Governors, Democrats and Republicans, are showing a growing concern. During the consideration of the poverty legislation in 1965 thirty-seven Governors objected strenuously to the elimination of a provision in the law that gave to our Governors some control and responsibility in the administration of the vast sums allocated to their states for the attack on the problems of poverty.

In addition, citizens in many of our states appreciate the need for the modernization of state constitutions to meet the challenge of burgeoning populations. Michigan's outmoded constitution was supplanted by one that gives new and better tools to elected state officials. In my travels this year to forty of our states, I note a realization that the state constitutions of the past are not adequate for the solution of the problems of the future.

Yes, I am convinced that we need not accept the inevitability of a bigger federal government and a lesser role for our states. Dynamic leadership,



up-to-date constitutions, sufficient local revenue, combined with a resolution to do the job at home, in your state and mine, can stem the drive to federalize completely the republic.

Most of our citizens would agree with the late statesman Sir Winston Churchill who said, "...democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

There is an ever-growing realization that our system is the finest in the history of mankind. We believe in our Constitution. Those wise men who put it together almost 200 years ago created a historic document that has made it possible for 13 poor, struggling colonies to grow to a Nation of 50 states that today is at the pinnacle industrially, agriculturally, militarily, and more importantly spiritually.

In concluding, I recall a statement made by Benjamin Franklin the day work was completed on our Constitution. He was asked, "What have we got--a monarchy or a republic?" Franklin answered, "A republic--if you can keep it!"

The responsibility for the American people then...as it is now...is to keep our Republic... to keep it strong, progressive, free. We have in the past; we will in the future.

Thank you.

