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ADDRESS: GERALD R. FORD, M.C.

National Convention: American Farm Bureau  
Chicago, Illinois December 10, 1963

May I, at the outset, thank you for affording me the

opportunity of meeting with you, the representatives of American  
agriculture and of a great farm organization. This is the first

time that I have been privileged to attend a national convention  
of the American Farm Bureau but I have been present at innumerable

Farm Bureau community group meetings and county conventions. Less

than a month ago, in fact, I spent an evening with a group at a

farm home near Caledonia, Michigan. Arrangements had been made by

Mrs. Glenn Clark who had written me to say:

"The South Kent Farm Bureau will be looking  
forward to your speaking to us on November 13th....  
Our meeting will be held at the home of Elton Smith."

That evening I drove up to a typical rural home of my

long-standing friend, Elton Smith, a first-class dirt farmer who

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underway with approximately 40 folks present sitting in the living

as a fellow  
Bureau member

Let me congratulate  
your Bureau by Federation  
on reaching all time  
high in membership

In my judgment  
your organization  
has the best record  
of integrity & principle  
in legislative recommendations

1) You were right  
on the tax bill.  
no cut in take  
without a  
reduction in  
spending

2) You have been  
the A.F.B. has  
been so effective  
in its efforts  
toward balanced  
budgets & fiscal  
responsibility

3) On farm  
legislation - you  
have been right

You have been  
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room, dining room, and family room, many on folding chairs brought from the church not too far away.

It is always a pleasure to listen to the various committee reports and hear the constructive suggestions that are made by and to the Farm Bureau members. The chairman of the womens' committee reported on a recent meeting of the county group she attended. The moderator handled a discussion of the topic for the evening. Here in the give-and-take among friends, I saw true democracy at work.

It was like old times to be with these home folks with whom I had met on probably 13 or 14 previous occasions. It always impresses me how pleased and appreciative local Farm Bureau members are to hear about what is going on in Washington and to have an analysis of some of the problems facing us in the Congress. Before the evening closed, of course, we had our refreshments and you can imagine what delicious pumpkin, apple, and mince pies we had along with coffee, ice cream, nuts, and candy. I ate too much, as I am sure everybody did.

Since that meeting near Caledonia we have witnessed, as perhaps never before in our history, unprecedented tragic events.

The assassination of the President has removed from our midst a man of great charm, great dignity, and great courage.

I first met Jack Kennedy in January 1949 when I came to Congress and was assigned an office across the corridor from his on the third floor of the Old House Office Building. Frequently during the ensuing four years we walked and talked together as we went to and from the House Chamber. Although on many fundamental issues we held different viewpoints, I always respected his ability and valued his friendship.

From 1953 to 1960 while Mr. Kennedy served in the Senate I saw him less frequently, ~~but whenever we met he was most cordial and congenial.~~ Following his election to the Presidency in 1960 I had several close and intimate contacts with him. In the summer of 1961 during the consideration of the controversial foreign aid authorization bill, Mr. Kennedy asked me to come to his office in the White House for a conference on the legislation. This half-hour session with the President on an important legislative problem will remain one of the highlights of my experience in the Nation's Capital. For 30 minutes

just the two of us talked about his proposal to finance the development loan part of the mutual security program by the "back-door-spending" method. He was friendly and extremely well informed on the technical details of our differences. Although we didn't see eye to eye on the controversy, I well remember his fairness and kind consideration of my views. The memory of that discussion in the President's office was vivid as we stood in the East Room of the White House on that solemn Saturday afternoon following his tragic passing.

In full realization that I vigorously disagreed with President Kennedy on many basic issues of public policy, I did appreciate his friendship and I do commend to all people as a fitting tribute to his memory these words of his eloquent inaugural address:

"And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: Ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man."

This is hardly the time, nor would you want me to indulge in a partisan political attack on the old or new Administration.

Nor am I going to discuss the "farm problem" with which you are

much more familiar than I. But before you are farmers, you are

Americans and you are citizens of the United States. <sup>2</sup> Furthermore <sub>1</sub> You are highly

respected leaders in your communities. Therefore, I would like to

think with you for a little while this afternoon about a basic and

very fundamental issue in American life today: The appropriate roles

of the legislative and executive branches of government in determining

public policy and the areas of responsibility of our state and federal

governments.

Most of you probably know what the aeronautical engineer

said after someone gave him the blueprint for a bumblebee. "It'll

never fly," he said. Well, for 188 years now a lot of people around

the world, and some right here at home, have been having the same

reaction when it comes to our form of representative government.

It'll never work, they say.



Maybe in theory they have something. It's not a very efficient form of government. It not only gives every Tom, Dick and Harry the chance to express his political sentiments, it even encourages him to become a part of the political system itself.

Funny thing, though. Bumblebees do fly. And as Winston Churchill has observed, "Democracy is the worst form of government except for any other that has ever been tried." *It can be said without hesitation* <sup>✓</sup> Our form of *recreation* <sub>1</sub> representative government has made our people more free and more prosperous than any other people on earth.

Maybe it's about time to start thinking and thinking hard about why it has worked and about what we can do to keep it working. Unless we do, we could easily fall prey to the glib suggestions that what America has just isn't good enough for these times, that we need streamlining to achieve efficiency, that we need new ways of government to achieve progress.

At the heart of all these suggestions is the assumption that government can be judged the same way you judge a cornfield or a car



factory--by how much it produces every year.

To people who feel that way, the product of government is programs, programs, and more programs. If it produces more, it's good. If it produces less, it's bad. <sup>These cynics</sup> So ~~they~~ say.

<sup>What is</sup> The function of government? <sup>1</sup> So, first, to protect the lives and liberties of the citizens, to maintain <sup>the</sup> sort of social order that permits the widest expressions of individual talent, aspiration, and action without harm to others, and, second, to perform those services which are both clearly needed by the people and incapable of performance by any other means.

I remember, for instance, what Woodrow Wilson had to say on the subject. Here was one of the great liberals of our history-- but at a time when "liberal" had a quite different meaning than it has today--and here is his memorable statement of the relationship between liberty and government:

"The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of government power, not the increase of it. When we resist..concentration of power, we are resisting the powers of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties."



-8-  
That which has permitted 13 poor, struggling colonies to grow to a nation of 50 states - the most successful, most progressive  
In our form of government we have built in a resistance to

the concentration of power by the clear separation of government into three equal and coordinate branches: the judicial, the legislative, and the executive branches. Each is assigned a specific role and responsibility. Not one is assigned a superiority.

Even though equal, however, it was clear that even our Founding Fathers recognized that one of the branches had a special importance when it comes to representative government. James Monroe, our 5th President, put it this way: "...the legislative, from the nature of its powers, all laws proceeding from it, and the manner of its appointment, its members being elected immediately by the people, is by far the most important. The whole system of the national government may be said to rest essentially on the powers granted to this branch. They mark the limit within which, with few exceptions, all the branches must move in the discharge of their respective functions."

But what do we hear today? Let me quote the exact recent words of a United States Senator, Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania.



He wrote: "I have no hesitation in stating my deep conviction that the legislatures of America, local, state, and national, are presently the greatest menace to the successful operation of the democratic process." I respect and would defend the right to make the statement, but I vigorously disagree with the viewpoint.

How does the Senator propose to remove this menace? His first recommendation is that "the executive should be strengthened at the expense of the legislative." In short, says a member of the Congress of the United States, don't trust the representatives of the people, of the fifty states, with power. NO. Put that power in the hands of the executive! Don't spread power out among all the people, majority and minority alike, says Senator Clark. Put that power at the disposal of the mathematical majority, concentrate it in the single hands of a single branch of government. Does the Senator know that "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

When President Johnson first appeared before the Congress as President, ~~just 12 days ago~~, he very properly stressed his

awareness that the Executive and Legislative branches of the government are separate and that each must respect the other's prerogatives.

The President himself said, "Our American unity does not depend on unanimity." This is a cardinal principle that has and must be continued to guide our people. Yet there are many today in high places who demand that the legislative branch forget its past objections to highly controversial legislation and promptly move to pass -- lock, stock and barrel without change -- the programs sponsored by the Executive branch of the government.

*2 respectfully say*  
Dissent and debate are the touchstones of the American experience. National unity does not mean national conformity.

*a difference of opinion does not mean disrespect.*

A responsible Congress, one which deliberates in order to produce prudent judgments rather than just flurries of statistics, can never be a rubber stamp: not for the Executive branch, not for any particular economic interest, and not even for the sudden surges of well-intentioned public emotion which sometimes are poured upon it. The dangerous notion that the work and worth of Congress



can be kept like a bowler's scorecard, misses the great point of the legislative process and of the American political genius which had its birthplace in Independence Hall.

Actually, rejecting programs and proposals or amending them may be as productive as any roll-over, play dead action in the Congress. But, to view it that way, you must view the role of Congress as being mainly involved in serving the general interests of the republic, not just the selfish appetites of some particular segment of it, as serving ~~and~~ preserving the freedom of the American people, and not just in taking over more and more of their responsibilities.

The present Congress is criticized because allegedly it has not done enough.

Well, let's see what it could have done if it just wanted to build up a record along the lines of the scorecard view of history.

In the Senate and the House <sup>part</sup> ~~this~~ session alone we have been faced with more than 11,000 public and private bills. We have enacted about 300.



But we have also filed more than 1,500 reports from our various committees--the reports of hearings and deliberations which are so vitally necessary to really understand a bill before we vote on it. It is significant to note that during the first six months of this <sup>part</sup> session of Congress the President made 207 requests for monies and 70 requests for Presidential powers.

Suppose we had just rubber-stamped everything that came before us? Would we have been serving your best interests? Would we have been serving the nation's present and future welfare?

We would not! We would, instead, have plunged this nation into a red tape nightmare of regimentation and controls, mortgaged our future, and renounced our responsibility.

Then, ~~and~~, much of the work of Congress--your Congress, never forget--is in areas other than actual legislation.

Congress is your watchdog over the entire federal bureaucracy, over the entire five-and-a-half million civilian and military <sup>employed in</sup> personnel ~~of~~ the executive branch of the government. Except for the President, this vast bureaucracy cannot be made directly



accountable to the voters. But they can be made accountable by and through the Congress. And they should be, unless you believe that the largest business in the land, the Executive Branch of the government, should be permitted to operate beyond control, beyond restraint, and beyond responsibility to the people it is supposed to serve.

Through its committees, Congress is chief investigator in respect to every sector of public affairs. And, again, its role is solely on behalf of the electorate, not on behalf of a political party or faction, for its committees are diversified in membership, sectional outlook, and political philosophy. These committees are far more diversified than ever is possible within the more rigid structure of the executive branch.

Congress, also, is our chief public forum for the criticism and evaluation of every aspect of public life. Watched closely by the press, not shielded by the protective armor of executive branch secrecy and privilege, its deliberations are always under a penetrating spotlight and because of that never-ending scouting

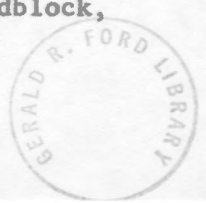
serve as a truly public platform of debate.

Without Congress, or with a Congress that was only a rubber stamp, there is no question that the national government would be more efficient in a cold, mathematical sense. ~~Any~~ Many efforts to streamline the Congress today are aimed in that direction and based on that false premise. It is well to remember that the legislative body of the Soviet Union, if you can call it such, is most efficient; there is no delay, no dissent, no debate - but neither is there the life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which we treasure.

Any close observer has noted in the last 3 or 4 decades a concerted effort to weaken or discard our traditional system of checks and balances. The common argument, as put forward by Professor ~~James H.~~ Byrnes, is that "our government was set up to be a divided government with internal checks at a time when we did not need a strong national government." This of course assumes that we have reached the stage in our national development where we do need a strong national government. The next assumption is that a strong national government means a strong executive government and that

anything which impedes the will of the executive is old fashioned and detrimental. From these assumptions have arisen the efforts to reduce substantially the effective power of Congress or any other legislative body elected by the people.

Those who are so critical of the Congress completely overlook, and certainly not unknowingly, that the House of Representatives probably has the closest kinship with the electorate <sup>(you people)</sup> of any segment of the federal government. Every one of the 435 members of the House must put his record on the line and obtain the approval of his constituents every two years. I do not mean to imply that the Congress should not be criticized or that members of any legislative body always reflect fully the views of their constituents. On the other hand, it is the House of Representatives, and those of us who are elected periodically, who do go directly to the people for a mandate, ~~and the authority to continue our government service.~~ We are on the firing line and expect to receive our share of the sniping. It is not the criticism that troubles me but the aura of distrust generated by it; the feeling that Congress is a roadblock,



halting progress, and failing to fulfill its role and, therefore, should relinquish some of its authority to the executive.

What are some of the specific criticisms levied at the Congress. You see them enumerated in the newspapers and hear them on radio or television fairly often.

INSERT

Those who point the accusing finger at the legislative branch often say the Congress is a negative body, obstructing justice. I contend that in certain instances any legislative body after proper deliberation makes the best decision for the people when it rejects unwise and poorly thought out programs. It will be an evil day indeed when it is wrong to say "NO."

From the viewpoint of those who crave power, who want to determine your destiny by their will and whim, the Constitution is negative. This historic document is negative in many instances--often a "go slow" or "stop" sign. Frequently it says "hold on a minute" to those that govern. Its foundation is laid on the basic belief that a government not controlled by the people will control the people. Affirmatively, this means there is a basic faith in the electorate and in elected representatives.



The accusing finger waved at the Congress frequently alleges there are evils in the seniority system for committee chairmen. Directly or otherwise they condemn Congressman Carl Vinson of Georgia, who as chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services has contributed significantly to the military security of America. These critics also condemn a system which has produced Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, a statesman whose efforts to achieve economy in government and fiscal responsibility has saved our nation billions of dollars.

What is offered in place of the seniority system? Each alternative suggested in one way or another would raise the ugly menace of behind-the-scenes politics or closed-door deals in the selection of committee chairmen. To abandon the seniority system for committee chairmen would place another weapon in the hands of the executive for it could use its influence to pick a chairman who would <sup>later-on</sup> bow to White House domination. All substantial evidence <sup>1</sup> leads one to the conclusion that a system which has given us the Vinsons, and Byrds, and other renowned and respected chairmen is the best.



Those who point the accusing finger at the elected representatives complain about the appropriation process, alleging it hampers the operations of the multitude of federal agencies, bureaus, and departments. Of course those who seek to place maximum authority in the executive really seek authority to spend those hard-earned tax dollars without restriction or limitation.

Yes, the appropriation process in the Congress does take time but in the next session of the Congress do you want your Senators and Representatives to rubber stamp a \$100 billion federal budget? Do you want the Congress next year to appropriate to the Department of Agriculture for its many operations and programs over \$6 billion in a lump sum to be used as the Secretary of Agriculture determines at his discretion?

Isn't it better for America that the Congress does scrutinize the President's budget with care and deliberation?

The answer is crystal clear--in the past 10 budgets submitted by <sup>several</sup> the President, Congress has cut over \$34 billion from the executive department spending demands. As we look back at this past decade no one would honestly contend that the bureaucrats in Washington



needed that extra \$34 billion plus to run our government. Most Americans would agree that the collective judgment of your elected representatives, the watchdogs of the public purse, did our nation a service in trimming the spending schemes of those who never put their record to the test of the ballot box.

With the current attempts to downgrade the Congress and strengthen the power of the Executive bureaucracy, there is a companion force at work to weaken the states and local units of government by expanding federal authority.

Unfortunately few Americans <sup>today</sup> realize the numerical strength of decision makers in the federal government. Today Uncle Sam employs approximately 2,500,000 civilians and the army of bureaucrats is supplemented by 2,700,000 men on active duty with the Armed

Forces. The annual payroll for over 5 million federal employees

<sup>approximately</sup>  
is \$32 billion.

*The White House recently announced a proposed reduction of 25,000 federal employees. May I remind you this is a drop in the bucket, if it is carried*

federal government in the Executive Branch of the national government

*Pres. Johnson's  
\$99 billion  
budget - only  
attainable  
because  
Congress  
lost account  
cut \$6.5  
billion*



there are about 5-1/2 million employees who are never really "called to account" by the voters. The President representing the Executive branch, it is true, puts his record on the line once every four years and the voters in a broad sense pass judgment on an Administration whether it be Republican or Democratic. On the other hand a vast, entrenched and potentially arbitrary bureaucracy backed up by the power of \$100 billion a year in federal funds never really puts its record to the test of the ballot box.

We in Michigan have recently seen a dramatic and discouraging example of the abuse of <sup>federal</sup> executive authority and the helplessness of a state government in meeting unwarranted bureaucratic power from the Nation's Capital.

At the request of Governor Romney the state legislature passed a law covering aid to dependant children of the unemployed. The bill had been carefully drawn by experts in the field who consulted with officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to make certain that the bill satisfied all Departmental



regulations. These officials approved the bill. Moreover, the Congress had said specifically in the basic legislation that the definition of unemployed parents was to be "determined by the states." Nevertheless, after the Michigan bill became law, Secretary Celebrezze refused to release federal funds to Michigan, alleging that Michigan's definition of an "unemployed person" was discriminatory. While it was perfectly clear from the federal law and congressional debate, that the definition was to be left to the states, Michigan to date has not received one cent of federal funds for this program of aid to dependent children solely because of the arbitrary action of a federal agency.

The lesson for all Americans could not be more clear. The

more extensive the federal aid, the more likely and more serious the

*We should never forget - a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.*  
federal dictation. And fundamentally, Michigan's experience

dramatizes an erosion of the basic strength of our federal system,

which is the opportunity for conformity of purpose and action on

national issues with a diversity of policy and methods on state and

local affairs.



If we are to preserve the best in our way of life, the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches of government must be strengthened.

Of course, the question arises at this point, why should the imbalance be redressed? What evils will flow from presidential supremacy? What dangers are attached to this concentration of authority and power?

There is no easy answer to these questions and there has been much speculation about the likely consequences of these trends. If we believe the maxim, deeply held by our founding fathers, that the concentration of all power in the hands of one or the few is the very definition of tyranny, the future is not promising.

First, there is the increasing danger of arbitrary government. Eventually, if the trend toward concentration of power continues, there will be no centers of power in our institutional fabric capable of withstanding the presidential will. When this occurs, those who may disagree with a President, for whatever reason,

will not have to be consulted nor will compromise with their position be necessary.

Those who persist in their resistance to the Executive, largely because the Executive can claim to present the "general will", will doubtless face the charge of being obstructionists or representatives of vested interests. I ask this question: Was the Farm Bureau an obstructionist or did it in reality represent the general will when it opposed the Secretary of Agriculture on the wheat referendum?

Secondly, decision-making in our society will without question be more secretive. As matters stand now the President is at least forced by Congress to give reasons for his decisions and to present rational arguments for his proposed programs. Such debate and the ensuing deliberation might well disappear when there is no one with the power or authority to call a President to account. There are examples of this in the foreign policy area, particularly in connection with our World War II agreements with the Soviet Union.

Finally, local self-government, an ideal highly cherished by most of the nation's founders, stands absolutely no chance of survival. Differences in policies, values, and beliefs between communities will be transferred to the national arena of public debate, and we can hardly expect a national majority to show the restraint necessary to allow local diversity on important matters of public policy ~~to flourish~~.

Centralism will be checked only when national leaders refuse to encourage the "easy way" of federal assistance, and state and local leaders assume the responsibility and privilege of local action and control. The answer is not a call to easy living but an opportunity for strength through struggle.

The big issue 100 years ago was whether the excess sovereignty of the states was going to destroy the Union and the Constitution. One big issue today is whether the excess concentration of Federal power and sovereignty is going to destroy state, local and individual freedom and responsibility.

Another, the issue of executive absolutism, whether achieved

by artifice, device, "purchase," or by our own complacency, is a great threat to our country today. Much has been said recently about the rantings and ravings and dangers that confront us from the "fanatical left" and the "fanatical right." I am not so concerned about the "fanatical left" and "fanatical right" as I am about the "complacent center" and the "power hungry top."

You and your local officials throughout the country have the answer. When in concert, local and state leaders proclaim loudly and clearly "we will do the job," the first step will be taken. But one more thing is essential. You and I, all of us who are concerned, must continue to show our citizens, the voters, the significance of this issue and that those political candidates who promise the most from Washington are not the most deserving of our support. Beware of the man who promises to bring "free gifts" from the banks of the Potomac. Likewise let us beware of those who promote distrust by the people of the elected representatives of the people.

I close as I opened-- with the Farm Bureau community group

meeting at the Elton Smith home near Caledonia. There was the source of America's strength; there was the answer to the troublesome American problems; there were citizens at home working together for constructive purposes; there were the people sending up the ladder their recommendations for positive group action.

Policy-formulation from the bottom up rather than from the top down; the willingness of citizens to assume positions of leadership; careful choice combined with faith in elected representatives; and a determination to preserve the integrity of the states and local communities through responsible and often difficult endeavor--this will keep America strong.

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May I as a fellow Bureau member at the outset, thank you for affording me the opportunity of meeting with you, the representatives of American agriculture and of a great farm organization. Let me congratulate the Farm Bureau Federation on reaching an all-time high in membership. In my judgment your organization has the best record of integrity and principles on legislative recommendations. (1) You were right on the tax bill; no cut in taxes without a reduction in spending. (2) The American Farm Bureau has honestly and effectively favored balanced budgets and fiscal responsibility. (3) On farm legislation-- you have been right. You have been right because Farm Bureau recommendations come from the grass roots. This is the first time that I have been privileged to attend a national convention of the American Farm Bureau but I have been present at innumerable Farm Bureau community group meetings and county conventions. Less than a month ago, in fact, I spent an evening with a group at a farm home near Caledonia, Michigan. Arrangements had been made by Mrs. Glenn Clark who had written me to say:

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successful dairy farm. The meeting had just gotten underway with approximately 40 folks present sitting in the living room, dining room, and family room, many on folding chairs brought from the church not too far away.

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In our form of government--that which has permitted 13 poor, struggling colonies to grow into a nation of 50 states--the most powerful, most prosperous--we have built in a resistance to the concentration of power by the clear separation of government into three equal and coordinate branches: the judicial, the legislative, and the executive branches. Each is assigned a specific role and responsibility. Not one is assigned a superiority.

Even though equal, however, it was clear that even our Founding Fathers recognized that one of the branches had a special importance when it comes to representative government. James Monroe, our 5th President, put it this way: "...the legislative, from the nature of its powers, all laws proceeding from it, and the manner of its appointment, its members being elected immediately by the people, is by far the most important. The whole system of the national government may be said to rest essentially on the powers granted to this branch. They mark the limit within which, with few exceptions, all the branches must move in the discharge of their respective functions."

But what do we hear today? Let me quote the exact recent words of a United States Senator, Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania. He wrote:



"I have no hesitation in stating my deep conviction that the legislatures of America, local, state, and national, are presently the greatest menace to the successful operation of the democratic process." I respect and would defend the right to make the statement, but I vigorously disagree with the viewpoint.

How does the Senator propose to remove this menace? His first recommendation is that "the executive should be strengthened at the expense of the legislative." In short, says a member of the Congress of the United States, don't trust the representatives of the people, of the fifty states, with power. NO. Put that power in the hands of the executive! Don't spread power out among all the people, majority and minority alike, says Senator Clark. Put that power at the disposal of the mathematical majority, concentrate it in the single hands of a single branch of government. Does the Senator know that "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

When President Johnson first appeared before the Congress as President, he very properly stressed his awareness that the Executive and Legislative branches of the government are separate and that each must respect the other's prerogatives.

The President himself said, "Our American unity does not depend on unanimity." This is a cardinal principle that has and must be continued to guide our people. Yet there are many today in high places who demand that the legislative branch forget its past objections to highly controversial legislation and promptly move to pass -- lock, stock and barrel without change -- the programs sponsored by the Executive Branch of the government.



I respectfully say dissent and debate are the touchstones of the American experience. National unity does not mean national conformity. A difference of opinion does not mean disrespect. A responsible Congress, one which deliberates in order to produce prudent judgments rather than just flurries of statistics, can never be a rubber stamp: not for the Executive Branch, not for any particular economic interest, and not even for the sudden surges of well-intentioned public emotion which sometimes are poured upon it. The dangerous notion that the work and worth of Congress can be kept like a bowler's scorecard, misses the great point of the legislative process and of the American political genius which had its birthplace in Independence Hall.

Actually, rejecting programs and proposals or amending them may be as productive as any roll-over, play dead action in the Congress. But, to view it that way, you must view the role of Congress as being mainly involved in serving the general interests of the republic, not just the selfish appetites of some particular segment of it, as serving and preserving the freedom of the American people, and not just in taking over more and more of their responsibilities.

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Well, let's see what it could have done if it just wanted to build up a record along the lines of the scorecard view of history. In the Senate and the House this past session alone we have been faced with more than 11,000 public and private bills. We have enacted about 300.



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We would not! We would, instead, have plunged this nation into a red tape nightmare of regimentation and controls, mortgaged our future, and renounced our responsibility.

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Congress is your watchdog over the entire federal bureaucracy, over the entire five-and-a-half million civilian and military personnel employed in the Executive Branch of the government. Except for the President, this vast bureaucracy cannot be made directly accountable to the voters. But they can be made accountable by and through the Congress. And they should be, unless you believe that the largest business in the land, the Executive Branch of the government, should be permitted to operate beyond control, beyond restraint, and beyond responsibility to the people it is supposed to serve.

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Any close observer has noted in the last 3 or 4 decades a concerted effort to weaken or discard our traditional system of checks and balances. The common argument, as put forward by Professor Byrnes, is that "our government was set up to be a divided government with internal checks at a time when we did not need a strong national government." This of course assumes that we have reached the stage in our national development where we do need a strong national government. The next assumption is



that a strong national government means a strong executive government and that anything which impedes the will of the executive is old fashioned and detrimental. From these assumptions have arisen the efforts to reduce substantially the effective power of Congress or any other legislative body elected by the people.

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system which has given us the Vinsons, and Byrds, and other renowned and respected chairmen is the best.

Those who point the accusing finger at the elected representatives complain about the appropriation process, alleging it hampers the operations of the multitude of federal agencies, bureaus, and departments. Of course those who seek to place maximum authority in the executive really seek authority to spend those hard-earned tax dollars without restriction or limitation.

Yes, the appropriation process in the Congress does take time but in the next session of the Congress do you want your Senators and Representatives to rubber stamp a \$100 billion federal budget? Do you want the Congress this year to appropriate to the Department of Agriculture for its many operations and programs over \$6 billion in a lump sum to be used as the Secretary of Agriculture determines at his discretion?

Isn't it better for America that the Congress does scrutinize the President's budget with care and deliberation? The answer is crystal clear--in the past 10 budgets submitted by the several Presidents Congress has cut over \$34 billion from the executive department spending demands. As we look back at this past decade no one would honestly contend that the bureaucrats in Washington needed that extra \$34 billion plus to run our government. Most Americans would agree that the collective judgment of your elected representatives, the watchdogs of the public purse, did our nation a service in trimming the spending schemes of those who never put their record to the test of the ballot box. President Johnson's \$99 billion budget only attainable because Congress last session cut \$6.5 billion.



With the current attempts to downgrade the Congress and strengthen the power of the Executive bureaucracy, there is a companion force at work to weaken the states and local units of government by expanding federal authority.

Unfortunately few Americans today realize the numerical strength of decision makers in the federal government. Today Uncle Sam employs approximately 2,500,000 civilians and the army of bureaucrats is supplemented by 2,700,000 men on active duty with the Armed Forces. The annual payroll for over 5 million federal employees is approximately \$32 billion. The White House recently announced a proposed reduction of 25,000 federal employees. May I remind you this is a drop in the bucket, if it is carried out. The fundamental point, however, is that working for the federal government in the Executive Branch of the national government there are about 5 1/2 million employees who are never really "called to account" by the voters. The President representing the Executive branch, it is true, puts his record on the line once every four years and the voters in a broad sense pass judgment on an Administration whether it be Republican or Democratic. On the other hand a vast, entrenched and potentially arbitrary bureaucracy backed up by the power of \$100 billion a year in federal funds never really puts its record to the test of the ballot box.

We in Michigan have recently seen a dramatic and discouraging example of the abuse of federal executive authority and the helplessness of a state government in meeting unwarranted bureaucratic power from the Nation's Capital.



At the request of Governor Romney the state legislature passed a law covering aid to dependent children of the unemployed. The bill had been carefully drawn by experts in the field who consulted with officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to make certain that the bill satisfied all departmental regulations. These officials approved the bill. Moreover, the Congress had said specifically in the basic legislation that the definition of unemployed parents was to be "determined by the states." Nevertheless, after the Michigan bill became law, Secretary Celebrezze refused to release federal funds to Michigan, alleging that Michigan's definition of an "unemployed person" was discriminatory. While it was perfectly clear from the federal law and congressional debate, that the definition was to be left to the states, Michigan to date has not received one cent of federal funds for this program of aid to dependent children solely because of the arbitrary action of a federal agency.

The lesson for all Americans could not be more clear. The more extensive the federal aid, the more likely and more serious the federal dictation. We should never forget--a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have. And fundamentally, Michigan's experience dramatizes an erosion of the basic strength of our federal system, which is the opportunity for conformity of purpose and action on national issues with a diversity of policy and methods on state and local affairs.

If we are to preserve the best in our way of life, the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches of government must be strengthened.



Of course, the question arises at this point, why should the imbalance be redressed? What evils will flow from presidential supremacy? What dangers are attached to this concentration of authority and power?

There is no easy answer to these questions and there has been much speculation about the likely consequences of these trends. If we believe the maxim, deeply held by our founding fathers, that the concentration of all power in the hands of one or the few is the very definition of tyranny, the future is not promising.

First, there is the increasing danger of arbitrary government. Eventually, if the trend toward concentration of power continues, there will be no centers of power in our institutional fabric capable of withstanding the presidential will. When this occurs, those who may disagree with a President, for whatever reason, will not have to be consulted nor will compromise with their position be necessary.

Those who persist in their resistance to the Executive, largely because the Executive can claim to present the "general will," will doubtless face the charge of being obstructionists or representatives of vested interests. I ask this question: Was the Farm Bureau an obstructionist or did it in reality represent the general will when it opposed the Secretary of Agriculture on the wheat referendum?

Secondly, decision-making in our society will without question be more secretive. As matters stand now the President is at least forced by Congress to give reasons for his decisions and to present rational arguments for his proposed programs. Such debate and the ensuing de-



liberation might well disappear when there is no one with the power or authority to call a President to account. There are examples of this in the foreign policy area, particularly in connection with our World War II agreements with the Soviet Union.

Finally, local self-government, an ideal highly cherished by most of the nation's founders, stands absolutely no chance of survival. Differences in policies, values, and beliefs between communities will be transferred to the national arena of public debate, and we can hardly expect a national majority to show the restraint necessary to allow local diversity on important matters of public policy.

Centralism will be checked only when national leaders refuse to encourage the "easy way" of federal assistance, and state and local leaders assume the responsibility and privilege of local action and control. The answer is not a call to easy living but an opportunity for strength through struggle.

The big issue 100 years ago was whether the excess sovereignty of the states was going to destroy the Union and the Constitution. One big issue today is whether the excess concentration of Federal power and sovereignty is going to destroy state, local and individual freedom and responsibility.

Another, the issue of executive absolutism, whether achieved by artifice, device, "purchase," or by our own complacency, is a great threat to our country today. Much has been said recently about the rantings and ravings and dangers that confront us from the "fanatical left" and the "fanatical right." I am not so concerned about the "fanatical left" and



"fanatical right." as ~~the~~ "complacent center" and the "power-hungry top."

You and your local officials throughout the country have the answer. When in concert, local and state leaders proclaim loudly and clearly "we will do the job," the first step will be taken. But one more thing is essential. You and I, all of us who are concerned, must continue to show our citizens, the voters, the significance of this issue and that those political candidates who promise the most from Washington are not the most deserving of our support. Beware of the man who promises to bring "free gifts" from the banks of the Potomac. Likewise let us beware of those who promote distrust by the people of the elected representatives of the people.

I close as I opened--with the Farm Bureau community group meeting at the Elton Smith home near Caledonia. There was the source of America's strength; there was the answer to the troublesome American problems; there were citizens at home working together for constructive purposes; there were the people sending up the ladder their recommendations for positive group action.

Policy-formulation from the bottom up rather than from the top down; the willingness of citizens to assume positions of leadership; careful choice combined with faith in elected representatives; and a determination to preserve the integrity of the states and local communities through responsible and often difficult endeavor--this will keep America strong.



ADDRESS: GERALD R. FORD, M. C.

National Convention: American Farm Bureau  
Chicago, Illinois December 10, 1963

May I as a fellow Bureau member at the outset, thank you for affording me the opportunity of meeting with you, the representatives of American agriculture and of a great farm organization. Let me congratulate the Farm Bureau Federation on reaching an all-time high in membership. In my judgment your organization has the best record of integrity and principles on legislative recommendations. (1) You were right on the tax bill; no cut in taxes without a reduction in spending. (2) The American Farm Bureau has honestly and effectively favored balanced budgets and fiscal responsibility. (3) On farm legislation-- you have been right. You have been right because Farm Bureau recommendations come from the grass roots. This is the first time that I have been privileged to attend a national convention of the American Farm Bureau but I have been present at innumerable Farm Bureau community group meetings and county conventions. Less than a month ago, in fact, I spent an evening with a group at a farm home near Caledonia, Michigan. Arrangements had been made by Mrs. Glenn Clark who had written me to say:

"The South Kent Farm Bureau will be looking forward to your speaking to us on November 13th.... Our meeting will be held at the home of Elton Smith."

That evening I drove up to a typical rural home of my long-standing friend, Elton Smith, a first-class dirt farmer who operates a

successful dairy farm. The meeting had just gotten underway with approximately 40 folks present sitting in the living room, dining room, and family room, many on folding chairs brought from the church not too far away.

It is always a pleasure to listen to the various committee reports and hear the constructive suggestions that are made by and to the Farm Bureau members. The chairman of the womens' committee reported on a recent meeting of the county group she attended. The moderator handled a discussion of the topic for the evening. Here in the give-and-take among friends, I saw true democracy at work.

It was like old times to be with these home folks with whom I had met on probably 13 or 14 previous occasions. It always impresses me how pleased and appreciative local Farm Bureau members are to hear about what is going on in Washington and to have an analysis of some of the problems facing us in the Congress. Before the evening closed, of course, we had our refreshments and you can imagine what delicious pumpkin, apple, and mince pies we had along with coffee, ice cream, nuts, and candy. I ate too much, as I am sure everybody did.

Since that meeting near Caledonia we have witnessed, as perhaps never before in our history, unprecedented tragic events. The assassination of the President has removed from our midst a man of great charm, great dignity, and great courage.

I first met Jack Kennedy in January 1949 when I came to Congress and was assigned an office across the corridor from his on the third floor of the Old House Office Building. Frequently during the ensuing

four years we walked and talked together as we went to and from the House Chamber. Although on many fundamental issues we held different viewpoints, I always respected his ability and valued his friendship.

From 1953 to 1960 while Mr. Kennedy served in the Senate I saw him less frequently. Following his election to the Presidency in 1960 I had several close and intimate contacts with him. In the summer of 1961 during the consideration of the controversial foreign aid authorization bill, Mr. Kennedy asked me to come to his office in the White House for a conference on the legislation. This half-hour session with the President on an important legislative problem will remain one of the highlights of my experience in the Nation's Capital. For 30 minutes just the two of us talked about his proposal to finance the development loan part of the mutual security program by the "back-door-spending" method. He was friendly and extremely well informed on the technical details of our differences. Although we didn't see eye to eye on the controversy, I will remember his fairness and kind consideration of my views. The memory of that discussion in the President's office was vivid as we stood in the East Room of the White House on that solemn Saturday afternoon following his tragic passing.

In full realization that I vigorously disagreed with President Kennedy on many basic issues of public policy, I did appreciate his friendship and I do commend to all people as a fitting tribute to his memory these words of his eloquent inaugural address: "And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can

do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: Ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man."

This is hardly the time, nor would you want me to indulge in a partisan political attack on the old or new Administration. Nor am I going to discuss the "farm problem" with which you are much more familiar than I. But before you are farmers, you are Americans and you are citizens of the United States. Furthermore you are highly respected leaders in your communities. Therefore, I would like to think with you for a little while this afternoon about a basic and very fundamental issue in American life today: The appropriate roles of the legislative and executive branches of government in determining public policy and the areas of responsibility of our state and federal governments.

Most of you probably know what the aeronautical engineer said after someone gave him the blueprint for a bumblebee. "It'll never fly," he said. Well, for 188 years now a lot of people around the world, and some right here at home, have been having the same reaction when it comes to our form of representative government. It'll never work, they say.

Maybe in theory they have something. It's not a very efficient form of government. It not only gives every Tom, Dick and Harry the chance to express his political sentiments, it even encourages him to become a part of the political system itself.

Funny thing, though. Bumblebees do fly. And as Winston Churchill has observed, "Democracy is the worst form of government except for any other that has ever been tried." It can be said without hesitation or

reservation our form of representative government has made our people more free and more prosperous than any other people on earth.

Maybe it's about time to start thinking and thinking hard about why it has worked and about what we can do to keep it working. Unless we do, we could easily fall prey to the glib suggestions that what America has just isn't good enough for these times, that we need streamlining to achieve efficiency, that we need new ways of government to achieve progress.

At the heart of all these suggestions is the assumption that government can be judged the same way you judge a cornfield or a car factory-- by how much it produces every year.

To people who feel that way, the product of government is programs, programs, and more programs. If it produces more, it's good. If it produces less, it's bad. So these cynics say.

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What is the function of government? First, to protect the lives and liberties of the citizens, to maintain the sort of social order that permits the widest expressions of individual talent, aspiration, and action without harm to others and, second, to perform those services which are both clearly needed by the people and incapable of performance by any other means.

I remember, for instance, what Woodrow Wilson had to say on the subject. Here was one of the great liberals of our history--but at a time when "liberal" had a quite different meaning than it has today--and here is his memorable statement of the relationship between liberty and government:

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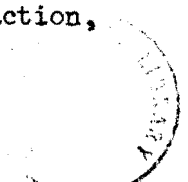
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The accusing finger waved at the Congress frequently alleges there are evils in the seniority system for committee chairmen. Directly or otherwise they condemn Congressman Carl Vinson of Georgia, who as chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services has contributed significantly to the military security of America. These critics also condemn a system which has produced Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, a statesman whose efforts to achieve economy in government and fiscal responsibility has saved our nation billions of dollars.

What is offered in place of the seniority system? Each alternative suggested in one way or another would raise the ugly menace of behind-the-scenes politics or closed-door deals in the selection of committee chairmen. To abandon the seniority system for committee chairmen would place another weapon in the hands of the executive for it could use its influence to pick a chairman who would later on bow to White House domination. All substantial evidence leads one to the conclusion that a

system which has given us the Vinsons, and Byrds, and other renowned and respected chairmen is the best.

Those who point the accusing finger at the elected representatives complain about the appropriation process, alleging it hampers the operations of the multitude of federal agencies, bureaus, and departments. Of course those who seek to place maximum authority in the executive really seek authority to spend those hard-earned tax dollars without restriction or limitation.

Yes, the appropriation process in the Congress does take time but in the next session of the Congress do you want your Senators and Representatives to rubber stamp a \$100 billion federal budget? Do you want the Congress this year to appropriate to the Department of Agriculture for its many operations and programs over \$6 billion in a lump sum to be used as the Secretary of Agriculture determines at his discretion?

Isn't it better for America that the Congress does scrutinize the President's budget with care and deliberation? The answer is crystal clear--in the past 10 budgets submitted by the several Presidents Congress has cut over \$34 billion from the executive department spending demands. As we look back at this past decade no one would honestly contend that the bureaucrats in Washington needed that extra \$34 billion plus to run our government. Most Americans would agree that the collective judgment of your elected representatives, the watchdogs of the public purse, did our nation a service in trimming the spending schemes of those who never put their record to the test of the ballot box. President Johnson's \$99 billion budget only attainable because Congress last session cut \$6.5 billion.

With the current attempts to downgrade the Congress and strengthen the power of the Executive bureaucracy, there is a companion force at work to weaken the states and local units of government by expanding federal authority.

Unfortunately few Americans today realize the numerical strength of decision makers in the federal government. Today Uncle Sam employs approximately 2,500,000 civilians and the army of bureaucrats is supplemented by 2,700,000 men on active duty with the Armed Forces. The annual payroll for over 5 million federal employees is approximately \$32 billion. The White House recently announced a proposed reduction of 25,000 federal employees. May I remind you this is a drop in the bucket, if it is carried out. The fundamental point, however, is that working for the federal government in the Executive Branch of the national government there are about 5 1/2 million employees who are never really "called to account" by the voters. The President representing the Executive branch, it is true, puts his record on the line once every four years and the voters in a broad sense pass judgment on an Administration whether it be Republican or Democratic. On the other hand a vast, entrenched and potentially arbitrary bureaucracy backed up by the power of \$100 billion a year in federal funds never really puts its record to the test of the ballot box.

We in Michigan have recently seen a dramatic and discouraging example of the abuse of federal executive authority and the helplessness of a state government in meeting unwarranted bureaucratic power from the Nation's Capital.

At the request of Governor Romney the state legislature passed a law covering aid to dependent children of the unemployed. The bill had been carefully drawn by experts in the field who consulted with officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to make certain that the bill satisfied all departmental regulations. These officials approved the bill. Moreover, the Congress had said specifically in the basic legislation that the definition of unemployed parents was to be "determined by the states." Nevertheless, after the Michigan bill became law, Secretary Celebrezze refused to release federal funds to Michigan, alleging that Michigan's definition of an "unemployed person" was discriminatory. While it was perfectly clear from the federal law and congressional debate, that the definition was to be left to the states, Michigan to date has not received one cent of federal funds for this program of aid to dependent children solely because of the arbitrary action of a federal agency.

The lesson for all Americans could not be more clear. The more extensive the federal aid, the more likely and more serious the federal dictation. We should never forget--a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have. And fundamentally, Michigan's experience dramatizes an erosion of the basic strength of our federal system, which is the opportunity for conformity of purpose and action on national issues with a diversity of policy and methods on state and local affairs.

If we are to preserve the best in our way of life, the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches of government must be strengthened.

Of course, the question arises at this point, why should the imbalance be redressed? What evils will flow from presidential supremacy? What dangers are attached to this concentration of authority and power?

There is no easy answer to these questions and there has been much speculation about the likely consequences of these trends. If we believe the maxim, deeply held by our founding fathers, that the concentration of all power in the hands of one or the few is the very definition of tyranny, the future is not promising.

First, there is the increasing danger of arbitrary government. Eventually, if the trend toward concentration of power continues, there will be no centers of power in our institutional fabric capable of withstanding the presidential will. When this occurs, those who may disagree with a President, for whatever reason, will not have to be consulted nor will compromise with their position be necessary.

Those who persist in their resistance to the Executive, largely because the Executive can claim to present the "general will," will doubtless face the charge of being obstructionists or representatives of vested interests. I ask this question: Was the Farm Bureau an obstructionist or did it in reality represent the general will when it opposed the Secretary of Agriculture on the wheat referendum?

Secondly, decision-making in our society will without question be more secretive. As matters stand now the President is at least forced by Congress to give reasons for his decisions and to present rational arguments for his proposed programs. Such debate and the ensuing de-

liberation might well disappear when there is no one with the power or authority to call a President to account. There are examples of this in the foreign policy area, particularly in connection with our World War II agreements with the Soviet Union.

Finally, local self-government, an ideal highly cherished by most of the nation's founders, stands absolutely no chance of survival. Differences in policies, values, and beliefs between communities will be transferred to the national arena of public debate, and we can hardly expect a national majority to show the restraint necessary to allow local diversity on important matters of public policy.

Centralism will be checked only when national leaders refuse to encourage the "easy way" of federal assistance, and state and local leaders assume the responsibility and privilege of local action and control. The answer is not a call to easy living but an opportunity for strength through struggle.

The big issue 100 years ago was whether the excess sovereignty of the states was going to destroy the Union and the Constitution. One big issue today is whether the excess concentration of Federal power and sovereignty is going to destroy state, local and individual freedom and responsibility.

Another, the issue of executive absolutism, whether achieved by artifice, device, "purchase," or by our own complacency, is a great threat to our country today. Much has been said recently about the rantings and ravings and dangers that confront us from the "fanatical left" and the "fanatical right." I am not so concerned about the "fanatical left" and

"fanatical right." as I ~~am~~ about the "complacent center" and the "power-hungry top."

You and your local officials throughout the country have the answer. When in concert, local and state leaders proclaim loudly and clearly "we will do the job," the first step will be taken. But one more thing is essential. You and I, all of us who are concerned, must continue to show our citizens, the voters, the significance of this issue and that those political candidates who promise the most from Washington are not the most deserving of our support. Beware of the man who promises to bring "free gifts" from the banks of the Potomac. Likewise let us beware of those who promote distrust by the people of the elected representatives of the people.

I close as I opened--with the Farm Bureau community group meeting at the Elton Smith home near Caledonia. There was the source of America's strength; there was the answer to the troublesome American problems; there were citizens at home working together for constructive purposes; there were the people sending up the ladder their recommendations for positive group action.

Policy-formulation from the bottom up rather than from the top down; the willingness of citizens to assume positions of leadership; careful choice combined with faith in elected representatives; and a determination to preserve the integrity of the states and local communities through responsible and often difficult endeavor--this will keep America strong.

Most of you probably know what the aeronautical engineer said after someone gave him the blueprint for a bumblebee. It'll never fly, he said. Well, for 188 years now a lot of people around the world, and some right here at home, have been having the same reaction when it comes to our form of representative government. It'll never work, they say.

Maybe in theory they have something. It's not a very efficient form of government. It not only gives every Tom, Dick, and Harry the chance to express his political sentiments, it even encourages him to become a part of the political system itself. *And as Winston Churchill has observed, "Democracy*

*is its worst* - - - It isn't ~~even~~ a very fair system in a strictly mathematical sense. If fifty-one percent of the people decide on something it still <sup>leaves +</sup> permits the other 49 percent to protect themselves and their interests. In that sense it isn't even a democracy!

And look at the way it tries to hamper the work of the politicians-- those all-wise fellows who, in a lot of countries, have the power to go right ahead and run things as they feel best without having to put up with a lot of guff from the sidelines.

Funny thing, though. Bumblebees do fly. And our form of representative government has made our people more free and more prosperous than any other people on earth. Maybe it's about time to stop listening to all the reasons this form of government won't work--maybe it's time to start thinking and thinking hard about why it has worked and about what we can do to keep it working. Unless we do, we could easily fall prey to the glib suggestions that what America has just isn't good enough for these times, that we need streamlining to achieve efficiency, that we need new ways of government to achieve progress.

At the heart of all these suggestions is the assumption that government can be judged the same way you judge a cornfield or a car factory--by how much it produces every year.



- 2 -

To people who feel that way, the product of government is programs, programs, and more programs. If it produces more, it's good. If it produces less, it's bad.

~~From my side of history, the product of government, the best and really only desirable product, is human freedom.~~ <sup>+</sup> ~~From my side of history,~~ I'd say that the function of government is, first, to protect the <sup>live and</sup> liberties of the citizens, to maintain the sort of social order that permits the widest expressions of individual talent, aspiration, and action without harm to others and, second, to perform those services which are both clearly needed by the people and incapable of performance by any other means.

I remember, for instance, what Woodrow Wilson had to say on the subject. Here was one of the great liberals of our history--but at a time when "liberal" had a quite different meaning from what it has today--and here is his memorable statement of the relationship between liberty and government:

"The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of government power, not the increase of it. When we resist..concentration of power, we are resisting the powers of death, because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties."

In our form of government we have built in a resistance to the concentration of power by the clear separation of government into three equal branches, the judicial, the legislative, and the executive branches. Each is assigned a <sup>(specific)</sup> role. <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>responsibility</sup> Not one is assigned a superiority.

Even though equal, however, it was clear that even our Founding Fathers recognized that one of the branches had a special importance when it comes to representative government. James Monroe put it this way: "...the legislative, from the nature of its powers, all laws proceeding from it, and the manner of its appointment, its members being elected immediately by the people, is by far the most important. The whole system of the national government may be said to rest essentially on the powers granted to this branch. They mark the limit within which, with few exceptions, all the branches must move in the discharge of their respective functions."

*Source*

But what do we hear today? Let me quote the exact recent words of a United States Senator, Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania. He wrote: "I have no hesitation in stating my deep conviction that the legislatures of America, local, state, and national, are presently the greatest menace to the successful operation of the democratic process."

And how does Senator Clark propose to remove this menace? His first recommendation is that "the executive should be strengthened at the expense of the legislature." In short, says a member of the Congress of the United States, don't trust the representatives of the people, of the fifty states, with power. No. Put that power in the hands of the executive! Don't spread power out among all the people, majority and minority alike, says Senator Clark. Put that power at the disposal of the mathematical majority, concentrate it in the single hands of a single branch of government.

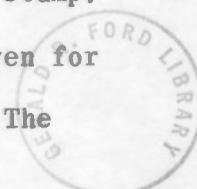
*Illustration  
2 members of*

When President Johnson first appeared before the Congress, as President, *just 13 days ago* he very properly stressed his awareness that the Executive and Legislative branches of government are separate and that each must respect the other's prerogatives.

*that selfful statement* Almost immediately after ~~that~~, however, he sounded a *disturbing* note. For the sake of unity and progress he asked that the Legislative branch forget its past *its highly controversial legislation* objections and promptly move to pass, lock, stock, and barrel, the *without change* Administration's *sponsored by the executive branch of the government* programs.

There could be no better example of the sort of governmental double standard which today afflicts our Federal system and to which, time of tragedy or no, we must pay serious attention or risk eroding the very Federal system which we all profess to strengthen and to serve.

A responsible Congress, one which deliberates in order to produce prudent judgments rather than just flurries of statistics, can never be a rubber stamp: not for the Executive branch, not for any particular interest, and not even for the sudden surges of *well intentioned* public emotion which sometimes are poured upon it. The



dangerous notion that the work and worth of Congress can be kept like a bowler's scorecard, misses the great point of the legislative process and of the American political genius *which had its birthplace in Constitution Hall*

Actually, rejecting programs and proposals or amending them may be as productive as ~~any positive action in~~ *supine rubber stamping* the Congress. But, to view it that way, you must view the role of Congress as being mainly involved in serving the general interests of the republic, not just the ~~appetites~~ *selfish* of some particular segment of it, as serving and preserving the freedom of the American people, and not just in taking over more and more of their responsibilities.

~~Take the present Congress--and I know that a lot of political pundits~~ *the self appointed*  
~~have been saying that you can take it (and that you know what to do with it)~~  
The present Congress is criticized because ~~it~~ *allegedly* has not done enough.

Well, let's see what it could have done if it just wanted to build up a record along the lines of the scorecard view of history. In the Senate and the House this session alone we have been faced with more than 11,000 ~~bills~~ *public affairs*. ~~We have enacted 175.~~ *We have enacted about 300*

But we have also filed more than 1,500 reports from our various committees-- the reports of hearings and deliberations which are so *vital* necessary to really understand a bill before we vote on it.

*Suppose we had just rubber-stamped everything that came before us? Would*

*we have been serving your best interests? Would we have been serving the nation's present & future welfare?*  
~~best interests?~~

We would not! We would, instead, have plunged this nation into a red tape nightmare of regimentation and controls, mortgaged our future, and renounced our responsibility.

Then, too, much of the work of Congress--your Congress, never forget--is in areas other than actual legislation.



8 Summary on page

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your watch dog

Congress is the ~~watchdog~~ over the entire Federal bureaucracy, over the entire five-and-a-half million civilian and military personnel of the executive branch of government. Except for the President, this vast bureaucracy cannot be made directly accountable to the voters. But they can be made accountable through the Congress. And they should be, unless you believe that the largest business in the land, the Executive branch of government, should be permitted to operate beyond control, beyond restraint, and beyond responsibility to the people it is supposed to serve.

efficiency of freedom of the person of life & liberty, and the pursuit of happiness

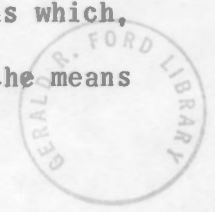
Through its Committees, Congress is chief investigator in respect to every sector of public affairs. And, again, its role is on behalf of the electorate, not on behalf of party or faction for its committees are diversified in membership, sectional outlook, and political philosophy. I might add that they are far more diversified than ever is possible within the more rigid structure of the executive branch.

Congress, also, is our chief public forum for the criticism and evaluation of every aspect of public life. Watched closely by the press, ~~and~~ not shielded by the protective armor of executive branch secrecy and privilege, its deliberations are always under a <sup>penetrating</sup> spotlight and because of that, <sup>never ending scrutiny</sup> serve as a truly public platform of debate.

Without Congress, or with a Congress that was only a rubber stamp, there is no question that the national government would be more efficient. And many efforts to streamline the Congress today are aimed in that direction and based on that <sup>false premise</sup> proposition. It is well to remember that the legislative body of the United States is most efficient; there is no delay, no dissent, no debate.

Communist type of legislation of the United States

And without a Congress, the national government might even be representative, in a very crude sense, of bare majorities and on simple yes-or-no issues. But without Congress, the national government would not and could not represent the balanced, reflective judgment of national consensus, the sort of consensus which, when formed, even if slowly and painfully, always has given this nation the means of doing its public business without inflicting grievous private wounds.



*of 2 Congresses ruled*

Without Congress, we might be well ruled in this nation. But we would not be self-governing, we would not be free, we would not know liberty as we have known it and loved it.

The American political system, since the Civil War, has undergone another great shift besides the one that has brought such pressure to bear on Congress. *on the 535 elected representatives in the legislative branch of the govt*  
We find that the states, once charged with the performance of important governmental functions, have *in recent* ~~over the~~ years assumed a distinctly secondary role to the *octopus of* national government. Powers, once solely within the domain of state authority, have been taken over gradually by the national government until today, in many respects, the states are little more than subordinate *dying* administrative units.

One of the major reasons for the erosion of the position of the states in our federal system has been the Supreme Court's interpretation of the "due process" and "equal protection" clauses of the fourteenth amendment. There is scarcely any area of state policy that has not been subject to the scrutiny of the Supreme Court. The net result has been enforcement of standards of uniformity upon the states in many areas of public policy where previously diversity had been the rule. Religious practices of communities such as recitation of prayers in the public schools and procedures of the states in criminal trials have both been major areas where the Court has acted to produce uniformity. In sum, the fourteenth amendment has provided the Court with the means to enforce its will upon the fifty states and recent history shows us clearly that it is not reluctant to do so.

The national government can use and has used its taxation and commerce powers to achieve ends reserved to the state governments by the tenth amendment. By placing a prohibitive tax upon articles or forbidding their shipment in interstate commerce, the national government has on many occasions encroached upon the "police powers" of the states. Furthermore, the Court's interpretation of the scope of the commerce powers to include regulation of those activities which even indirectly affect interstate commerce has served to remove decision-making authority from the states.



In all these matters, it should be noted, the Supreme Court is the final arbiter and the Court, as an agency of the national government, has not shown itself to be an "impartial" arbiter of competing state and national claims. For the most part, it has shown a definite predisposition to favor the contentions of the national government at the expense of the states.

In fact, because of the Court's liberal view toward the extent of national taxation and commerce powers, it is difficult to conceive of any program that the National government could not enact no matter how much the program might evade <sup>invade</sup> the province of the states' police powers.

While in theory our system is federal with a division of powers between the state and national government prescribed in the Constitution, it is in fact, because of the commerce and taxation powers, a unitary system with the national government exercising complete discretion concerning what policy decisions are to be left to the states and which are to be made and enforced by the national government.

But these are by no means the only reasons for the decline of <sup>each of our</sup> the states. The national government with its power to impose progressive taxes on personal income has preempted the <sup>most effective</sup> best means of obtaining revenue, leaving to the states less desirable and productive sources of revenue. Increasingly since the turn of the century the states and municipal governments have found that they are in the midst of a financial crisis, unable to perform adequately those responsibilities which are thrust upon them. This contention can be borne out merely by surveying the increasing rate of indebtedness since 1946 of both the state and local governments.

Partially in response to this problem the national government has undertaken in the last fifteen years more extensive grant-in-aid programs to the states. Here we note that federal grants to the states have increased more than eight times since the end of World War II. In this process it is clear that the states have suffered. Monies which would otherwise be available to them are taken by the



national government and then redistributed to them for specific programs which the states may or may not need.

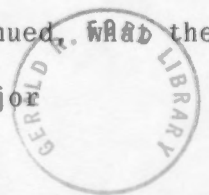
In addition, there are with almost every federal grant program fairly stringent rules regulating the purposes to which the money can be put, what the hiring and firing policies of the state must be for those connected with the grant programs, along with ~~fairly~~ stringent supervision by federal officials. Indeed, these programs have tended to reduce the role of the states to that of administrative subordinates of the national government.

While this trend toward national supremacy vis-à-vis the states seems to have about run its course, <sup>the movement</sup> ~~that toward~~ executive supremacy is still, to some extent, unfulfilled. It is difficult, however, to exaggerate the concerted movement in this direction, particularly since 1933. Consider the following developments:

*looked up by many to wear two hats, chief executive &*  
The President is now, by any standard, the "chief legislator." ~~He is~~  
*He drafts*  
~~responsible for drafting~~ a comprehensive legislative program which is then considered at great length by Congress.

*initiative or*  
Not only has congressional ~~power to initiate~~ legislation passed to the President, it is becoming increasingly difficult for Congress to say "No" to the major items on the President's legislative agenda; for a recalcitrant Congress is no match for the presidency *with support of the press so preoccupied with the omnipotence of executive.*  
The President can and does take his "case" to the American people or he can use any one of a number of "weapons" such as patronage, defense contracts, personal favors, or party loyalty to overcome stubborn resistance to his programs. There does not exist any one center of power in Congress which is strong enough to resist successfully a determined Executive.

In this connection, we should note just how far Congress has fallen. The "great debates" in Congress no longer concern themselves with the truly significant questions of whether a given program ought to be initiated or discontinued, ~~what~~ the general purposes and ends of our foreign policy ought to be, or the major



considerations which ought to guide us with respect to our military posture. Seldom do such "strategic" questions find their way into the congressional debates. Rather, Congress more and more frequently concerns itself with the question, how much? *(or does the Administration suffocate this)*

On foreign aid, for instance, the debates center upon how much certain programs should be reduced or increased and not upon the crucial question of whether certain aid programs ought to be discontinued entirely. The important questions, it would seem, are handled by the Executive while Congress "adds" or "subtracts" a little, always within the bounds of the program designed by the Executive branch.

The Constitution, to be sure, vests certain important powers with Congress. Indeed, the Constitution vests Congress with the most substantial powers exercised by the national government. But we would gain an entirely inaccurate picture of the operations of our national government if we confined our attention to what the Constitution prescribes.

For example, the Senate is supposed to share in the President's appointment power. Yet there is not one case in history of the Senate ever having failed to confirm a presidential appointment to an ambassadorship.

There are only nine cases of the Senate failing to approve a presidential appointment to his Cabinet. Since 1930, there has been no Senate rejection of a presidential nomination to the Supreme Court, which is most significant because, increasingly over the past thirty years, the court is by all standards highly disposed to share the same values as the President and evidences a strong ~~predisposition~~ *inclination* to favor increased executive predominance in our institutional fabric.

The record is scarcely any more impressive when it comes to the Senate's participation in the treaty-making process. Since the end of World War I, only three treaties have been rejected by the Senate, which should serve to give some picture of the extent to which the President has a free and unrestrained hand in foreign affairs. If we add to this the power of the President to make executive



agreements--such agreements having the same legal force and effect as treaties and not requiring the majority consent of either or both houses of Congress--we can see why the President not only has unchallenged supremacy in the foreign policy area but also why some observers feel checks and controls on the President's powers in this area are necessary.

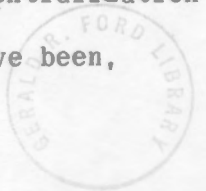
Surprisingly, Congress itself has, particularly since 1933, contributed the growth of executive powers. Unable to formulate suitable standards for many areas of regulation, Congress has seen fit to set forth general policy goals and to delegate to the President or some executive agency the authority to regulate in accordance with these goals.

Since 1933, such Congressional delegations of authority have <sup>regularly</sup> become commonplace. Such delegations have come very close to abdication of the legislative function, particularly during wartime. Yet it is doubtful, on the basis of past performance, whether the Supreme Court, in order to preserve the constitutional balance, would ever invalidate any delegation of authority.

In general, the Court seems to have formulated standards which would even permit Congressional abdication of its authority so long as Congress specifies some general standard for executive performance, no matter how vague and ill-defined this standard is.

The President as "commander-in-chief," in the context of our far-reaching treaty commitments, can, and in fact has, committed American forces to large-scale warfare without so much as consulting key Congressional leaders. Indeed, Roosevelt's policies in the late thirties and early forties show the extent to which the President can actually lead the nation into war by pursuing policies in clear violation of existing laws. Such examples are, to be sure, found in our earlier history but today there are many who willingly accept and justify such practices.

There has been a strong reaction against these trends toward centralization of power. The strongest resistance has come from the states. There have been,



within the last ten years, several instances of state protest against federal actions.

In 1958, an overwhelming majority of the Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts issued an unprecedented attack upon the Supreme Court of the United States for its decisions in those cases involving state-national relations. The justices noted and censured the Court for its consistency in upholding national claims.

The famed Southern Manifesto signed by the Southern delegation in Congress after the Court's school segregation decisions is also another landmark in the growing protest against increased national power.

More recently, the Assembly of the Council of State Governments by a majority vote recommended three constitutional amendments which would have the effect of reducing drastically the power of the Supreme Court in deciding cases involving national-state relations. Most observers are surprised at the number of state legislatures that have endorsed these amendments which would, in fact, change long-established practices and procedures. Yet, there is no doubt that such state reaction is the result of continued frustration with the decisions of the Supreme Court which, it is felt, deal with matters best handled by the states.

At the national level, there has been some protest, though not as strong or as unified, against both the Supreme Court and the President. Individual Representatives and Senators have on isolated occasions disputed or questioned certain aspects of presidential and judicial authority. But in the last ten years there have been only two concerted efforts to curb executive or judicial powers: the Bricker Amendment, which allegedly would have limited the President's authority to make treaties and executive agreements, and the Jenner-Butler bill, which would have removed from the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court certain types of cases having to do with the "Communist" question.

Both of these efforts narrowly failed (one vote in both instances in the Senate) against determined executive resistance which, again, indicates the strength

of dissatisfaction with the present institutional "balance."

There is a tendency to view the two trends toward centralization independently from one another. Yet they are interrelated. On the whole the problem comes to this: the states and Congress, for the most part, stand on one side of the "battle line" and the President and the Supreme Court on the other.

When the Court acts as, for example, in the desegregation decisions, the President feels obliged to use his powers to implement its decisions. On the other hand, Congress, though possessed of the power to act on desegregation and reapportionment--two matters dear to the hearts of the states--does not act. In a word, the Supreme Court rushes into those areas where Congress fears to tread and the Court is inevitably supported by the President.

Consequently, from the viewpoint of those who wish to redress the balance, the strategy is obvious: Congress must reassert itself. That is, if the "imbalance" evident at the national level could be redressed through positive action by Congress that would reduce the policy-making authority of the President and the Court, this would go a long way toward assuring that the states would regain authority over those policy areas which are now within the purview of the Supreme Court. Revitalization of Congress would not only reduce, if not eliminate, the "imbalance" in executive-congressional relations but also tend to weaken the power of any "alliance" between the Executive and the Court.

While the strategy is clear, its implementation is not. Presently in both public and academic circles the state-congressional alliance is on the defensive and, it would seem, on the brink of complete defeat. There is no scarcity of suggested "reforms" of Congress, but virtually all such "reforms" have as their objective the complete subjugation of Congress to the will of the President. Masquerading as programs for a "more effective" Congress, these reforms frequently gain the support of those who like to redress the present imbalance between our institutions. Clearly, however, the bulk of such reforms would only serve to reduce Congress to a "rubber stamp" for Executive-initiated legislation.



elevated to the national arena of public debate, and we can hardly expect a national majority to show the restraint necessary to allow diversity on important matters of public policy to flourish. Here we can expect recalcitrance on the part of the local minorities even to the point of violence. While we have seen this more than once in the United States, such occurrences will become commonplace.

Because these trends in the American political system would not only undermine those principles upon which our system was built but would create potentially dangerous conditions for the survival of democratic institutions and ways of life, they certainly deserve our attention and continued study.

More than that, they deserve our dedicated action. They deserve our understanding and require the rejection of impatience. They require a re-evaluation of our own responsibilities and a rejection of the temptation to foist those responsibilities on others.

They require patient understanding of the fact that political dissent, or even inaction, in our Congress is not a threat to our way of life but may instead be the very means of preserving it.

It requires our rededication to truly representative government and a rejection of regimentation in the name of efficiency, of coercion in the name of progress.

It boils down to this. We will get from government what we are willing to let government give us. If we are willing to let it give us orders, in return for catering to greeds rather than real needs--then order us it will. And, like prisoners, we will be fed, but not free. I say, instead, let it give us liberty--liberty to live our lives and earn our way. Let government give us that and we then can give to government our trust.



People do not normally lose their liberties totally and in an instant. Neither can the impending loss be perceived clearly. This is especially true where power is obtained through promises of benefits to particular groups of citizens. Nor is liberty lost necessarily because of the evil intentions or instincts of those who seeking power cause the loss. It is usually the case that those who seek undue power have good intentions and truly believe that they are acting in the best interests of those whom they seek to benefit and to control. This was so in Germany, in Italy, in Russia, and perhaps even in Cuba. But liberty lost because of the beneficent instincts of any power-seeking authority is nonetheless lost and when the fragile checks and balances of our constitutional system are unduly disturbed loss of liberty is the certain result.

Secretary Udall recently undertook to use the powers of the Executive Department to block the construction of an apartment building in Virginia. (Note: See Ex. 1 attached). I am sure his motives are good and his intentions sincere, but a serious question exists as to whether his desire, and the desire of his neighbors, to enjoy a view of the Potomac is a proper matter for the exercise of federal executive power.

There are many other instances that come to mind where executive power has been unduly extended or improperly used. Often the legislative branch of the Government has contributed to the extension. My purpose here is not to defend the Congress but to point out to you the dangers of excessive power in the executive branch.



There is a grave need for all of us in our home communities to insure by persuasion, and by our vote, that Congress will not permit undue concentration of powers in the Executive. Our actions in this regard at the local level are sometimes less than perfect. I am afraid that frequently groups of our citizens are controlled in their actions, particularly in the exercise of their electoral rights, by actions of the executive in giving or withholding of rewards, by promises of such giving or withholding and by threats of punishment.

I think that the actions of the Executive Department at the time of the steel price increases speak volumes on the subject of excessive use of executive power. At that time the Executive had <sup>no</sup> ~~no~~ authority to fix wages or to fix prices for products. The use of ~~the~~ Executive Powers through the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Treasury Department, the Defense Department, , and other executive departments of the Government, and the promises of reward and threats of punishment, is to me an utterly inappropriate procedure for the Executive and, if not tyranny itself, is close to tyranny.

There is another aspect of the use of excessive power that is frightening to me. I refer to the fact that when the Executive seeks and obtains power over the most minute activities of our citizens <sup>through promises of rewards</sup> there arises an inertia among our citizens to act or speak for themselves. Furthermore, the conduct of the affairs affecting our citizens' lives become so complex that no executive or executive department or even the people themselves can bring about action

required to carry out functions that would otherwise be carried out by the citizens on a local basis. Promises of an extended social security program including Medicare result in citizens refraining from protecting themselves through medical insurance or making other provision for their dependents or their own old age. Promises of federal aid in the building of colleges, hospitals, and other institutions which have normally been financed when needed by our citizens at the local level, induce the citizens themselves to refrain from taking the action that is required to create the additional facilities. Promise that our citizens in every aspect of their lives have the right to look to the Federal Government for their well-being and their security in all matters which historically have been the proper province of the citizens themselves or their local governments, ~~to act~~, only lead our people down the road to serfdom and destroy their initiative to act for themselves. I commend you and the great and fine group that you represent for being, I believe, ~~the~~ most acutely aware of the dangers of which I speak and of having forthrightly spoken out against the undue exercise of power which I believe to be so threatening to our institutions and our people's liberties.

Dependence upon federal largesse (whereby the citizen sells his liberty for his own tax dollars) creates many problems. In Detroit many years ago a large area was cleared in the federal redevelopment program. Since then that land has laid idle and unused because the problems in connection with its use are so complex and the interests of different groups of people so varying, that no agreement can be

reached as to its proper use.

In the past few days out in my home state of Michigan, a city council of one of Michigan's cities instituted litigation against the State of Michigan over an issue involving the United States Bureau of Public Roads, an executive agency. (See Ex. 2 attached) The question involves the width of the bridge ~~lands~~ for a bridge over a river in connection with freeway construction. How long it will take to settle this issue no one knows, nor how costly it will be. When the Federal Government undertakes to control not only the lives of the individual citizens but the states and the sub-divisions of the states, conditions arise which are costly, time-consuming, unproductive, and vastly expensive of the treasury of our country.

As another example of the dangers and problems that already exist where there is excessive executive control, I would like to mention the fight which my own State of Michigan has made to establish a program for benefits under the ADC-U program. (See Ex. 3, attached). Under this program the Federal Government provides funds for aid to dependent children of the unemployed. We in Congress thought that the standards established in the legislation would be reasonably interpreted by the Executive Department to permit the different states to participate in the program and to meet the varying needs of the different states by varying and different standards established by the states. Now in my home state, lead by Michigan's great Governor, the

legislature adopted a program that it was believed was plainly within the intentions of Congress in adopting the act. The Executive Department of the Federal Government for reasons that I believe are solely and purely political, has refused to permit my state to participate in this program. Secretary Celebrezze has made a finding that the will of the people of the State of Michigan, as expressed in the state's legislative enactment, does not meet the standards of the federal Act. Again I point out to you the danger of excessive power in the Executive branch of the Federal Government. This particular problem is one we intend to do something about, and soon. Amendments to the Administrative Procedure Act will permit some appeal from a determination such as that which was made by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in connection with Michigan's ADC-U Program.

Many policies of our Government are established, not through the direct grant of power or usurpation of power by the Executive branch, but through the Executive's inducements to create a servile Congress that will extend power to the Executive. The result has been the creation of some situations that Gilbert and Sullivan on <sup>day</sup> their brightest/could not conceive.

A day or two ago Congress passed a subsidy bill in response to urgings of Secretary Freeman<sup>(?)</sup> providing subsidies for textile manufacturers for whom I have great sympathy. And how did we get about to having a need for a subsidy to the textile manufacturers? (See Ex. 4 attached) Simply by this method: We provided a system for price support subsidies to cotton growers, a price of 32-1/2 cents per pound. The support price is such that our cotton growers cannot compete with foreign cotton fiber selling in the world market at 24 cents

per pound. So the Government then subsidized the exporters of cotton by the amount of the difference between the artificial domestic and the world price. But our own textile mills cannot compete with foreign mills buying our U. S. cotton at the world price of 24 cents per pound and who use the cotton in manufacture of finished goods shipped back to this country. So now we must subsidize the textile manufacturers with a third subsidy to permit them to compete with the foreign manufacturers. The next logical step, of course, is to subsidize the American consumer of the finished products manufactured from U. S. cotton and which he must purchase at a price already inflated by three separate subsidies which have been paid for by himself and other American taxpayers. This is one example of why I think the haphazard Freeman Farm Program, a hodgepodge of promises of great rewards without risks to every producer of any farm product, really is an utterly inexcusable and frightening program to be seriously proposed to any group of American people. And I commend your organization for the forthright stand that you have taken in opposing ~~The~~ Freeman Follies. (See Ex. 5, attached). There are other examples that I could cite, many of which are known to you and which are so numerous as to not only exhaust the time allotted to me, but, I am afraid, your patience as well.

There are any number of other examples of usurpation of power by the Executive . We in Government have increasingly witnessed actions by executive departments that are insubordinate to and in complete disregard of the will of the people as expressed through the Congress of the United States. Two examples have come to mind and with which I am intimately familiar. ( See Ex. 6 attached). They are

the cancellation by Defense Department of the RS-70 Reconnaissance Plane Program and the cancellation of the Nuclear Aircraft Carrier Program. Both of these actions were taken in open defiance of the Congress of the United States and the express legislation of the Congress.

The Estes fraud finds its origins in the Executive Department and in the confusion and corruption that comes from the presence of undue power in a single authority unable to cope with the complexities of the situation. (See EX. 7-~~FF~~A)

We have also witnessed recently the unhappy use by Executive Department personnel of electronics eavesdropping devices in order to obtain "evidence" against a State Department <sup>in retaliation</sup> employee <sup>for</sup> revealing information to an official body of the United States Congress. Not only were such devices used, but the employee himself was discharged. (See Ex. 7-~~FF~~B)

I will give you just one more example of what is to me the threatening portent of an Executive Department which has, or believes itself to have, a right to intrude in any sphere of activity and to use the tremendous powers at its disposal to impose its will upon the people. (See Ex. 8) There exists in this country a committee known as the "National Right to Work Committee", which espouses the doctrine that right to work laws are proper and that they protect "the freedom of the individual worker". Now, regardless of whether the work of this committee is good or bad, or whether it is right or wrong, it seems to me ~~it~~ has a right to exist and to espouse and

*a group of citizens*



promote the principles in which it believes as does your organization or any other. But not so with the Executive Department of the United States Government. The tremendous power of the Executive Department through the Secretary of Labor (and I am sure the instances of the political barons who head the AFL-CIO) has recently undertaken a suit in Federal Court to interfere with and destroy the activity of this non-governmental citizens' organization, the National Right to Work Committee.

Joey:

Can you get in something about Steelworkers  
bill to ~~teach~~ appropriate funds to teach  
the people how to conduct political  
campaigns. Wouldn't that be the  
damndest in the hands of the  
Democrats in Michigan? And  
why is it needed with PAC,  
ADA and the UAW's "educa-  
tional" department?



### Conclusion

Our forefathers, with fine ideals and ~~D~~ivine guidance, conceived an instrument under which we might be governed that has served us well. The framers of the Constitution were guided greatly in their deliberations, and were profoundly influenced, by the great French philosopher Montesquieu, who sought to substitute political liberty for royal absolutism in France and who advocated the separation of powers as a device to make government safe for the governed. Montesquieu's philosophy may be summed upon the following words which were familiar to our forefathers and which are the very heartbeat of our Constitution:

"In every government there are three sorts of power: the legislative; the executive in respect to things dependent on the law of nations; and the executive in regard to matters that depend on the civil law. By virtue of the first, the prince or magistrate enacts temporary or perpetual laws, and amends or abrogates those that have been already enacted. By the second, he makes peace or war, sends or receives embassies, establishes the public security, and provides against invasions. By the third, he punishes criminals, or determines the disputes that arise between individuals. The latter we shall call the judiciary power, and the other simply the executive power of the state. . . . When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty;



because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner. Again, there is no liberty, if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control; for the judge would be then the legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with violence and oppression. There would be an end of everything were the same man or the same body, whether of the nobles or of the people, to exercise those three powers, that of enacting laws, that of executing the public resolutions, and of trying the causes of individuals."

I <sup>believe</sup> ~~conceive~~ that the issue of executive absolutism, whether achieved by artifice, <sup>"purchase"</sup> or device, or by our own complacency, is the great issue which faces our country today. Much has been said recently about the rantings and the ravings and dangers that confront us from the "fanatical left" and "fanatical right." I am not so concerned about the "fanatical left" and "fanatical right" as I am about the "complacent center" <sup>and, complete the power hungry "top"</sup>. If we are complacent when assaults are made upon the very life-blood of our political institutions; if we are willing to succumb to the temptation of being owned by authoritarian masters who would buy us with our own tax dollars; if we are so blind as to succumb to the



seductive inducements of "something for nothing," then it ~~will~~ be comes time for us to truly fear the "fanatical left" and the "fanatical right." It is only when we as citizens, and we as leaders, exhibit the courage to speak up against those who assert that "wrong is right" and "right is wrong" that ~~are~~ <sup>our</sup> free institutions will be secure. ~~§~~

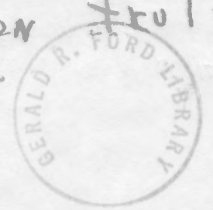
I can think of so many pious platitudes that I have heard in recent days about hate and violence ~~in~~ America from those who have succumbed to the kind of tempting blandishments of which I warn you. I am reminded that from my own state there is a citizen, George Edwards, formerly state Supreme Court Justice, later Police Commissioner and now nominee for the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, who was a leader in the late 1930's in the labor movement in Michigan which was punctuated by violence, disorder and unlawful acts and yet I heard him say recently, at the time of the late President's assassination, "There is too much violence in America today". In the group which led this violent movement and continued its violence in later years <sup>(and continue it yet)</sup> were such people from my own State of Michigan as Walter Reuther, Emil Mazey and Soapy Williams. These men too have mouthed the platitudes of which I spoke and yet I recall that it was they who continued a course of conduct characterized, ~~if you please,~~ by the <sup>Criminal</sup> activities of another Michigan citizen, a man by the name of Guanaca. Guanaca was sent to Wisconsin at the time of the Kohler strike and there committed violent and unprovoked assaults upon citizens of the State of Wisconsin; returning to the State of Michigan, he was given sanctuary by the Governor of the State of Michigan and at



★ I have heard more "hate" <sup>20.</sup> preached by political leaders - including candidates for President (who became President) and Governor - in Cadillac Square than from the ~~barren~~ <sup>barren</sup> call of the fanatical right.

the instigation of Walter Reuther and Emil Mazey. Despite the repeated requests for extradition, Soapy Williams defied the <sup>requests of Wisconsin's Governor</sup> simple <sup>and ignore</sup> constitutional mandate, that Guanaca be "surrendered up" for trial in the State of Wisconsin, for many years. <sup>and</sup> It was only when the political pressures became too heavy that <sup>Williams</sup> he did surrender <sup>Guanaca</sup> him for trial, where Guanaca was ultimately found guilty of his crimes and served out a term in the Wisconsin penitentiary.

We have heard much over the past years of the "new deal," the "fair deal," the "square deal" and the age of the "common man." I would like to suggest that if we take to heart the ideals of Montesquieu, if we accept in truth and not just in form, the principles that our forefathers had when they wrote the Constitution, and if we resist the temptation to be misled or to be bought, we may still have time to seek the ideals that our forefathers set before us, namely a free nation of free men <sup>and we shall become a nation of "UNCOMMON MEN".</sup> Perhaps the ideals that we seek are not totally obtainable but they can always be totals sought. If we resist the oppressions of those who seek to master us, we may be masters of ourselves. Oppression unopposed by each of us makes each of us an oppressor and an oppressed. The truths embodied in our Constitution will become distorted and destroyed unless we are willing to protect them. We must protect them with vigilance, with understanding and with active support. The uncommon age of the uncommon man, free from oppression, can be attained but only to the extent that we are willing to make the sacrifices necessary to protect the precious and precarious framework of our government and preserve the rights of the governed, and as Montesquieu foresaw create a government that is "Safe for the Governed" - Then truly we will be "Uncommon Men" -



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Ex 1



**DREW PEARSON**

## *Atomic Rays Soon To Preserve Food*

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON — Radioactivity, usually thought of as a killer, soon will be preserving food.

sold the home, Merrywood, for about \$700,000 for a high rise apartment. When the neighbors opposed the sale, Jackie was so irked at some of them that she said she would not attend the wedding of Ambassador Angier Biddle

# City Seeks Injunction to Bar Change in Bridge Refuges

From Our City-County Bureau

Legal action to bar the State Highway Department from starting a \$25 million high-level bridge over the

reduced by the state in violation of an agreement with Wayne County and Detroit to consult on all major changes in the bridge design.

Bids for the substructure of

90 percent of the finance rejected full-width lanes accepted a state revision to seven-foot lane on each inside shoulder and a 5.6-foot lane each outside shoulder, he s

The first real test of President Johnson's farm-bill wizardry is likely to come when the cotton measure starts to roll in the Senate early next year. There the whole drama will shift completely. To appreciate the new President's role, it's helpful to review the background in some detail:

As with many crops, the Government pays cotton growers a price-support subsidy that allows them a fatter return than they'd get in a free market. At the support price of 32½ cents a pound for a key grade, however, domestic cotton can't compete with foreign-grown fiber selling in the world market at about 24 cents a pound. So the Government subsidizes cotton exports, currently paying exporters the 8½-cent difference between the domestic and world price. But recently U.S. textile mills and apparel manufacturers have suffered when foreign concerns bought U.S.-grown cotton at 24 cents, turned it into yarn, shirts and sheets and resold those goods in this country cheaper than domestic manufacturers can afford to sell. The inevitable result has been textile industry demands for a third subsidy that would in

Please Turn to Page 17, Column 2

## Johnson's Farm Role: Background, Skills May Ease Way for Farm Bills

*Continued From First Page*

effect cut the mills' cost for domestic cotton to the same price the foreigners pay.

A bill to meet the industry's demands is what's up for a House vote today. In effect, he bill proposes a third subsidy to offset the effects of the first two subsidies. Advocates say the measure would cost the Government about \$250 million during the next three years. Opponents claim the additional expense would be about \$635 million.

Complicated? Indeed. That's why two influential Democratic Senators, Talmadge of Georgia and Humphrey of Minnesota, would like to tear down the whole system and substitute a simple, direct subsidy to the growers for some of their crop to offset lower prices stemming from expected expanded production. This approach has wide support in the Agriculture Department. But a direct-payment plan raises the picture of some large grower with several hundred thousand acres being handed a U.S. Treasury check for a few million dollars. Thus, it's feared that some liberal lawmaker might tack onto such a law a limit on the size

wanted to try marketing controls based on bushels or pounds. But Congress generally proved unwilling to go along.

When Congress did allow wheat growers to vote on stricter controls last May, the farmers overwhelmingly rejected the Administration approach. By doing so, they also voted to reduce their own price supports sharply. The immediate White House reaction was to let the farmers live with the prospect of lower prices and income.

Even before the change of Presidents, however, this line was softening. Mr. Johnson is expected to soften it even more as he strives, probably harder than Mr. Kennedy would have, for the votes of rural Midwesterners. It's conceivable the new President will try early next year to patch together a wheat bill that would return to higher supports with little control. Almost certainly he will seek to avoid the stronger-controls thicket that trapped his predecessor.

Notwithstanding his alliance with the old-guard Congressional farm leaders, the new President must be cautious of their counsel. The trend in Congress is away from the rural

EX. 4  
Wall St.  
Journal  
12-4-63

Ex 6

## HAYDEN IN WASHINGTON

# Executive Errors

By JAY G. HAYDEN

Of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19. —

Opening of political careers by George Romney, governor of Michigan, and Robert S. McNamara, national secretary of defense, remarkably coincide.

Alike these two got their start in phenomenally triumphant business careers, Romney by lifting American Motors to success as the first U.S. exponent of the small car; McNamara as president of the Ford Motor Co. at age 45.

By most standards applied to executive, across-the-desk, performance in their political

"If I had a big job to let he's the first man I would go after; but I certainly would not want to work under him."

The same member disapproved of the word "arrogant" as fair description of the manner of the secretary of defense, but added:

"He sure don't like to be badgered by people who haven't done their home work and don't know in the least what they are talking about."

One of McNamara's earlier quarrels arose from his cancellation of the RS-70 reconnaissance plane, a particular pet of Rep. Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Defense Committee.

# Washington Turns EX 7 Testy, Fearing Storm of Scandal

*Continued From First Page*

plane contract to General Dynamics Corp. Also due to be questioned on the TFX award—probably this week—is Deputy Defense Secretary Roswell Gilpatric, former partner in a New York law firm that had represented General Dynamics.

✓ The revelation that Rep. John W. Byrnes, Wisconsin Republican, holds some

10-C Monday, Dec. 2, '63  
DETROIT FREE PRESS V

# The Issue: Open Shop Or Closed?

WASHINGTON — What is the philosophy behind "right-to-work" laws now on the books in 20 states and being actively pushed in 30 others?

The question, likely to be a hot issue in the 1964 presidential election, gets some sharply differing answers:

"The freedom of the individual worker," replies the National Right to Work Committee.

"Evil anti-unionism," retorts the AFL-CIO.

"The government at any level should stay out of it," says

A bill he introduced in January would outlaw compulsory union membership except in states which already have, or subsequently pass, laws permitting the union shop.

The right to Work Committee, which says its sole financial support comes from its 15,000 members, declares its only function is educational and that it will not endorse any candidate in the president race.

However, several "Goldwater in 64" signs are prominently displayed on its office walls. There are none for Rockefeller.

The AFL-CIO charges the committee is "a front for big business."

"We're not a big business operation," replies the committee, which was formed in 1955 and is now headed by S. D. Cadwallader, who was kicked out of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in 1952 for opposing what he called compulsory unionism.

Reed Larson, the committee's executive vice president, says its budget runs about \$450,000.

## INTERVIEW

With PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN FARM BUREAU,  
Charles B. Shuman

# "REGULATED PEASANTRY"—FATE OF FARMERS UNDER KENNEDY PLAN?

What's wrong with Kennedy's farm plan, as opponents see it? Why do they think it would lead to "peasantry" for the farmer?

Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, came to the conference room of "U. S. News & World Report" for an interview on the farm problem

and the Administration's proposed solution.

In his answers to questions, Mr. Shuman brings out the major issues of a growing argument, in Congress and among farm groups, over basic farm policy.

On page 84—main points of Kennedy's plan, with Secretary Freeman's comments.

**Q** Mr. Shuman, what is your view of the Kennedy Administration's so-called "omnibus farm bill"?

**A** If this proposed bill is passed, we're going to have a regulated, subsidized, controlled, comfortable peasantry. That's where the Cochrane-Freeman approach leads.

**Q** Why do you call it the Cochrane-Freeman approach?

**A** Because Prof. Willard Cochrane, who is Secretary Freeman's economic adviser, wrote a book, "Farm Prices, Myth or Reality," in which he outlined the Administration farm bill now before Congress.

It's the public-utility approach to agriculture, with nationwide commodity cartels. It's the same pattern that the Justice Department is complaining about in the electrical industry. On one hand, we have Attorney General Robert Kennedy prosecuting the electrical companies because they fixed prices; on the other hand, Professor Cochrane and Secretary Freeman are saying, "Let's fix prices, commodity by commodity."

**Q** What does the Kennedy bill provide?

**A** It's very similar to last year's Poage-McGovern bill, which provided for national marketing quotas.

What it does is give the Secretary of Agriculture authority to name a committee to propose a scheme of some kind for each and every farm commodity in the United States. Each proposal would go to Congress, and, if they did not veto within 60 days, a referendum of so-called eligible producers would be held. The Secretary determines which farmers will vote and, if two thirds of those voting approve the plan, it goes into effect. It reverses the traditional and constitutional procedure of legislation by the Congress and veto by the President. It's a national commodity-marketing-quota scheme that could regiment the producers of all 250 of the major U. S. farm products.

**Q** In what way would it apply control of production?

**A** There would be strict controls, based on units of production—acres, bushels, bales, barrels, cows, sows and hens. It would mean a vast army of federal employees just to do the counting, weighing and watching.



CHARLES B. SHUMAN, 54, is an Illinois stock and grain farmer who has headed the American Farm Bureau Federation since 1954. With 1.6 million families as members, the federation is the largest of all farm organizations. It has been a force in shaping farm policies at national and State levels. The federation also runs many big enterprises including marketing, buying and insurance co-operatives.

# S ADC-U FIGHT

## *9 Million Gain For Michigan*

**Governor Seeks Laws  
To Qualify for Funds**

Lansing Bureau Staff

LANSING — Gov. Romney, still reeling from his defeat on tax reform, gave up his fight on the ADC-U issue Tuesday.

# Romney Gives Up ADC-U Struggle

• Continued from Page One •

new legislation meeting the Federal standards.

\* \* \*

**THE FIGHT** between Romney and Anthony J. Celebrezze, secretary of health, education and welfare, centered on a provision of the Michigan bill that would limit payments to persons who have been eligible for unemployment compensation since Jan. 1, 1958.

Celebrezze argued that the use of unemployment compensation as a qualification was "arbitrary, discriminatory and unreasonable" and that unless it was changed, the State would not receive Federal money under the ADC-U pro-

communities with varying financial help from the State.

Shifting these families from general welfare rolls to ADC-U rolls, which are supported financially by the State and Federal governments, would mean a great saving to local governments.

ADC-U recipients would get an average of \$138 a month, compared to the \$106 they now get under general welfare assistance.

\* \* \*

**STATE ATTORNEY** General Frank Kelley, who ruled earlier that the original State law violated the U.S. Constitution and both the old and new State

# Fugitive

Continued from  
and then Gunsell  
way back to pris

"How long will  
will they let him  
King sobbed.

There was no  
Much is known  
Gunsell's past, a  
years he posed  
King. But the fu  
sell or King is a

As Gunsell, t  
early. When he  
in 1938, he was  
car theft in Flin  
probation for th  
year later, he wa  
handed in a bi  
fessed to 18 oth  
convicted of bre  
tering in the nig

He got a 7½  
sentence and ser  
before he was

**NEW CHAIRMAN** of the House Armed Services Committee will be Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D., S.C.). He won't take over until the end of next year when Rep. Carl Vinson retires.

**HE IS GOING** to retire Jan. 1 and that will end the 26-year stormy career of Col. Robert Helny, Jr., in the Marine Corps. Helny, 47, has been a prolific writer of articles and books, a couple of which embroiled him in difficulties with officialdom.

## SHOWERS

Cloudy, little change.  
High 53-57, low 40-44.

Map and Details on Page D-7

### HOURLY TEMPERATURES

3 p.m. 55	7 p.m. 47	11 p.m. 45
4 p.m. 54	8 p.m. 46	12 mid. 43
5 p.m. 51	9 p.m. 46	1 a.m. 42
6 p.m. 50	10 p.m. 45	2 a.m. 41

# The Detroit Free Press

Wednesday, November 20, 1963

On Guard for 132 Years

Vol. 133—No. 200

METRO FINAL  
Markets, Sports

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## *Yields to U.S. Terms*

# ROMNEY DROPS ADC-U FIGHT