

Democracy can only operate when responsibility is clearly assigned to a single individual; that individual after being given the power to discharge his responsibility periodically called to account to the people for this stewardship.

Lower the lines of authority, lower the lines of responsibility, and you diminish the democratic process.

I should like to conclude my few remarks here in presenting this portion of the Majority Report by a quotation from Alexander Hamilton, writing on this precise problem, which arose in the great convention of all times, the Convention that wrote our existing federal Constitution. This question was debated at length, presumably based on the notes of that Convention on the floor of that body, and was subsequently the subject of much debate among the people at the time when the document was up for final ratification.

The root paper perhaps of all in terms of checks and balances is No. 70 of the *FEDERALIST PAPERS*, and with your indulgence, I should like to conclude by reading two brief selections from that document, because it seems to me this puts at rest once and for all this question of the necessity for checks and balances within a single branch of government. Hamilton wrote:

"It is evident from these considerations that the plurality of the executive tends to deprive the people of the two greatest securities they can have for the faithful exercise of any delegated power. First, the restraints of public opinion, and secondly, the opportunity of discovering with facility and clearness the misconduct of the persons they trust."

If you have clear lines of authority, if you have frequent opportunities to call those people to account, then you have true democratic government.

Finally Hamilton says:

"The executive power is more easily confined when it is won; that it is far more safe, there should be a single object for the jealousy and watchfulness of the people; and in a word, that all multiplication of the executive is rather dangerous than friendly to liberty."

I urge this Convention to consider carefully the multi-headed executive branch.

If we do not have an executive competent to meet with dispatch the problems which face the State, to that extent I suggest this body will not have done its job.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any questions of the Vice-Chairman for purposes of clarification? Delegate Malkus.

DELEGATE MALKUS: Mr. President, since we do not have a prepared speech, is it possible that we could have his prepared speech before we question the Vice-Chairman? I refer to that point where he talks about democracy, and it bothers me a little bit. To me, he is talking about autocracy.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Malkus, is your question whether you can have a copy of the text of Delegate Adkins's presentation of the committee report?

DELEGATE MALKUS: Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Adkins, do you have written text that you could make available to Delegate Malkus?

DELEGATE ADKINS: No, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: The answer is No. Is there a further question?

DELEGATE ADKINS: It has not been transcribed.

DELEGATE MALKUS: Mr. President, I mean I know we have just postponed one important subject matter. I know we have plenty of time and plenty of help here, could we have a copy of what my good friend, Dale Adkins, has said, so that we can specifically question him on what he has said?

THE CHAIRMAN: He has just indicated to you that there is no copy available, and we certainly cannot adjourn the Convention until it can be prepared. If we did that, Delegate Malkus, we wouldn't move on any matter.

DELEGATE MALKUS: Is it my understanding of the Chair that anybody can make any statement at all, and we have got to depend on our ears for what we have heard?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think that is true.

DELEGATE MALKUS: Mr. President, of course, everybody knows that you are smarter than I am.

THE CHAIRMAN: That remark is uncalled for, Delegate Malkus.

DELEGATE MALKUS: Well, if you do not mind, sir —

THE CHAIRMAN: The matter before the House now is questions to the Vice-Chairman. Please confine yourself to such questions.