

years of natural disaster should not affect a producer's future insurance. Disasters represent abnormal, uncontrollable forces of nature and should not cripple a farmer for years to come with higher insurance premiums and inadequate coverage.

The ultimate goal of the bill is to keep crop insurance as a viable risk management tool for our Nation's farmers. If producers cannot afford crop insurance, or if the insurance will not cover a reasonable yield, then we have left them without a safety net.

Participation in crop insurance has increased since Congress reformed the program in 1994. Farmers have taken more responsibility for their risk management and will have to take even more now that the price safety net has been removed by the 1996 farm bill. Now it is time to improve the program so that we are not slamming the door on a valuable tool responsible producers use to manage their risk. I encourage my colleagues to support this necessary and commonsense improvement in the crop insurance program.

**"FOUR POINTS OF THE COMPASS"
BALINT VAZSONYI'S DIRECTION
FOR AMERICA**

HON. GEORGE P. RADANOVICH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 13, 1997

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, my friend and adviser, Dr. Balint Vazsonyi, delivered a lecture today at the Heritage Foundation, which was entitled "Four Points of the Compass: Restoring America's Sense of Direction." The lecture drew a wide cross section of men and women who are in the forefront of Americans concerned about our constitutional underpinnings. Those taking part included Senator ROD GRAMS of Minnesota, who delivered an insightful evaluation of Dr. Vazsonyi's lecture, Matthew Spalding of the Heritage Foundation, and Daniel McDonald of the Potomac Foundation.

As many of our colleagues know, Dr. Vazsonyi's thesis is one to which I strongly subscribe. Indeed, I am pleased to acknowledge the significant role he has played in helping advance new America, the vision expression that we launched last year. That vision is about restoring civil society through structural reform that focuses on revitalizing society's nongovernment institutions—family, business, religious/civic.

Mr. Speaker, Balint Vazsonyi's lecture is recommended reading for all who are working to assure that government's grasp doesn't exceed its constitutional reach. I am pleased to make it part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

**FOUR POINTS OF THE COMPASS: RESTORING
AMERICA'S SENSE OF DIRECTION**

Although the press appeared not to notice, President Clinton, in his Inaugural Address, called for a new Constitution. He borrowed language from the Declaration of Independence where in 1776 Thomas Jefferson presented the argument for new government. On January 20th, 1997, Mr. Clinton proclaimed, "We need a new government for a new century." He proceeded to set forth all the things this new government would give the American people.

Today, I come before you to argue that we need just the opposite. We, at the Center for

the American Founding, believe that a tool is necessary to guide us back to the path of our existing Constitution. We offer this tool to the decision makers, legislators and judges of America and ask all of you to help us develop it to its full potential. Because it points the way, we think of it as a compass.

What kind of country will exert its best efforts for the benefit of all mankind? Or engage in war without expectation of gain? What kind of country makes it possible that a person who did not grow up in it feel sufficiently at home to step forward with a major initiative? What kind of country has long-time professionals come together to hear a relative novice with a foreign accent speak on national issues? What kind of country? A country which is one of a kind.

As we contemplate the future, it is essential that we keep in mind that America, indeed, is one of a kind. Some believe with all their heart that people, and their aspirations, are the same everywhere. This may be so. But the nation established here more than two hundred years ago has neither precedent nor a parallel in the known history of this planet. Not its capacity for success; not its capacity for strength; not its capacity for goodness. It is one of a kind.

One-of-a-kind. A big word. You hear it and think of Shakespeare. Or Beethoven. Or George Washington. We look at their work and try to understand what makes it so. It is a hopeless endeavor. But with America, there are definite ingredients we can identify quite easily: the rule of law, individual rights, guaranteed property and so forth. A funny thing, ingredients. We acknowledge their importance in all sorts of scenarios, yet ignore them when it comes to matters of life and death. If we eat something memorable, we want the recipe. With food, we know without the shadow of a doubt that the ingredients make the thing.

Chocolate ice cream, for example, takes chocolate, cream and sugar. If, instead, you use ground beef, mustard and "A1" sauce, you don't expect chocolate ice cream to come out of the process. Whatever else it will be, chocolate ice cream it will not be. Ice creams come in many varieties. America is one of a kind. Do we honestly expect it to remain America if the ingredients are changed?

Over the past decades, the Rule of Law has been displaced by something called "social justice." Group rights and arbitrary privileges make a mockery of the constitutional rights of the individual. Where not so long ago all Americans could feel secure in their right to acquire and hold property, government today is no longer discussing whether—only how much of it to confiscate, and how to redistribute it. As you see, the ingredients have already undergone drastic change. Is it reasonable to hope that America will nevertheless remain America?

And the greatest variety of assaults is launched against something I have come to refer to as "national identity." Now, I realize that some people might have a reaction to that phrase because the term has been used by others as a wedge. I use it as a magnet. As such, it is a necessity. Something needs to bind people together, especially when they have converged, and continue to converge upon a place from every corner of the globe.

Identity is about being similar or being different. Since our differences have been amply provided for by nature, we have to agree about those aspects of our lives which will make us similar. For the shared history which other nations have, Americans have successfully substituted a shared belief in, and adherence to, certain principles. A common language took the place of a shared culture. No state religion was established, but a

Bible-based morality taken for granted. Add to this a certain work ethic, an expectation of competence in your field of work (whether you split the atom or sweep the floor), a spirit of voluntary cooperation, insistence on choice, a fierce sense of independence—and you have the ingredients of the American identity. And, if you prefer to call it American character or, as George Washington, "national character," it will serve our purpose so long as we remain agreed about the ingredients. For it is these ingredients that have distinguished us from other societies, and enabled those who sweep the floor today to split the atom tomorrow.

Today, our nation's leaders are engaged in choosing a path to pursue. Yet, all along, we have had a path to follow. It is clearly pointed in the Declaration of Independence and our founders complemented it with a superb road map they called the Constitution of the United States. Add to this the glossary we know as The Federalist Papers and it is hard to see why and how we could have lost our sense of direction. But lost it we have. That is why we need a compass—the compass in the title of these remarks.

Between 1776 and 1791, our compass was calibrated to keep us on the path of betterment—as individuals and as a nation. We even had a kind of "North Star," a magnetic North, in what we call the Rule of Law. But instead, we now have rule by the lawmaker. Every member of the Executive, every member of the Judiciary has become a potential lawmaker and in most cases they use the potential to the hilt.

Yet the Rule of Law stands for the exact opposite. As its basic property, it places the fundamental tenets beyond the reach of politics and politicians. Whereas it confers legitimacy upon subsequent laws that spring from its eternal well, it denies legitimacy to all legislative maneuvers that corrupt its purpose. It holds the makers, executors and adjudicators of the law accountable at all times. Above all, it demands equal application to every man, woman and child. Within its own framework, a prescribed majority may amend the law. But as the law stands in any given moment, it must be applied equally. If accomplished, nothing in the history of human societies can match the significance and magnificence of equality before the law.

The aspiration for equality before the law began with the Magna Carta or even earlier, in King Arthur's court, where knights sat at a round table. But it took Thomas Jefferson to etch the concept in the minds of freedom-loving people everywhere, more permanently than posterity could have etched the words in the marble of the Jefferson Memorial. And even then, after those immortal words of the Declaration of Independence had been written, it took most of two centuries before America, land of the many miracles, almost made it a reality for the first time ever.

But it was not to be. The rule of law, our only alternative to the law of the jungle, came under attack just as it was about to triumph. The attacker displayed the irresistible charm of the temptress, the armament of the enraged avenger, dressed itself in intoxicating clichés, and wore the insignia of the highest institutions of learning. It called itself "social justice."

Let me make it clear: I do not speak of social conscience. That is a frame of mind, a noble sentiment, a measure of civilization. Precisely for that reason, while it has everything to do with our conduct, it has nothing whatever to do with laws. "Social justice," on the other hand, aims at the heart of our legal system by setting an unattainable goal, by fueling discontent, by insinuating a permanent state of hopelessness.

But above all, social justice is unacceptable as the basis for a stable society because,

unlike the Law, it is what anyone says it is on any given day. We need only to move back a few years, or travel a few thousand miles, and one is certain to find an entirely different definition of social justice. At the end of the day, it is nothing more than an empty slogan, to be filled by power-hungry political activists so as to enlist the participation of well-intentioned people.

The Rule of Law and a world according to "Social Justice" are mutually exclusive. One cannot have it both ways.

What have the Rule of Law and the pursuit of "social justice" respectively spawned over time? The Rule of Law gave birth to a series of individual rights. In other words, rights vested solely in individuals. Only individuals are capable of having rights, just as only individuals can be free. We say a society is free if the individuals who make up that society are free. For individuals to be free, they must have certain unalienable rights, and others upon which they had agreed with one another.

Social justice has spawned an aberration called group rights. Group rights are the negation of individual rights. Group rights say in effect, "you cannot and do not have rights as an individual—only as the member of a certain group." The Rule of Law knows nothing about groups, therefore it could not provide for, or legitimize rights of groups. Groups have no standing in the eyes of the Law. And, since their so-called rights are invariably created and conferred by persons of temporary authority, they are "subject to change without notice," as the saying goes, just like the definition of social justice itself.

Individual rights recognize and promote similarity. Group rights promote differences and stereotypes. Individual rights and group rights are mutually exclusive. One cannot have it both ways.

Among our individual rights, the right to acquire and hold property has a special place. If ever a concept came to be developed to protect the weak against the strong, to balance inborn gifts with the fruits of sheer diligence and industry, property inviolate is its name. But who am I to speak, after John Locke, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison have pronounced on this topic. They held that civilized society is predicated upon the sanctity of private property, and that to guarantee it is government's primary function. Without absolute property there is no incentive. Without absolute property there is no security. Without absolute property there is no liberty. The freedom to enter into contract, the freedom to keep what is mine, the freedom to dispose of what is mine underlies all our liberties.

Neither the search for "social justice" nor so-called group rights recognize, or respect, private property. They look upon flesh-and-blood individuals as faceless members of a multitude who, together, create a certain amount of goods. These goods belong to what they call "The Community." Then certain people decide who needs what and, being privy to some higher wisdom, distribute—actually redistribute—the goods. Redistribution is pursuant to group rights expressed in something called entitlement. Entitlements are based neither on law nor on accomplishment. Entitlements are based on membership in a certain group, and we have seen that groups are designated by persons of temporary authority, rather than the law.

The right to property and entitlements through redistribution are mutually exclusive. One cannot have it both ways.

We have been ordered by the prophets of social justice to replace our national identity with something they call "multiculturalism." I will confess that some time in the past, I might have shared the allergic

reaction some of you experience in the face of "national" and "identity." But then I noticed the enormous importance the social-justice crowd attaches to the destruction of the American identity. Just think: bi-lingual education and multi-lingual ballots. Removal of the founding documents from our schools. Anti-American history standards. Exiling the Ten Commandments. Replacing American competence with generic "self-esteem." Replacing voluntarism with coercion. Encouraging vast numbers of new immigrants to ignore the very reasons which brought them here in the first place. The list goes on, and sooner or later will affect national defense, if it hasn't already.

And for those who would point to Yugoslavia as proof of the tragedy nationalism can cause, let me say that a healthy national identity is utterly distinct from nationalism. Like the United States, Yugoslavia was created. But unlike in the case of the United States, ingredients for a national identity were not provided, and Yugoslavia imploded at the first opportunity precisely for that reason. Had it not done so, it would have succumbed to the first external attack, for no Croat would lay down his life for the good of Serbs or Bosnians. Will Americans lay down their lives if America is nothing but a patchwork of countless group identities?

Will the Armed Forces of the United States fight to uphold, defend, and advance the cause of Multi-Culturalism?

This is not a frivolous question.

The questions before us are serious, and legion. We are virtually drowning in what we call "issues," and they are becoming increasingly difficult to sort out. How do we find our position? And, once we find our position, how do we argue its merit? Above all, how do we avoid the plague of serious matters turning into bogus soap operas?

We asked you to hear me today, because the Center for the American Founding has a proposal to submit. We call it "Four Points of the Compass" because these points provide direction, because—in a manner of speaking—they constitute a re-calibration of our compass which the events of the past thirty years have distorted. They are the Rule of Law, Individual Rights, the Sanctity of Property, and the sense of National Identity. As you have seen, they are interconnected, they literally flow from one another, just as the false compass-points which have come to displace them—social justice, group rights, redistribution and multiculturalism—are interconnected and flow from one another. What is multi-culturalism if not a redistribution of cultural "goods"? What is redistribution if not a group right? What is a group right if not the implementation of some political activist's version of "social justice"?

For thirty years, we have acquiesced in a steady erosion of America's founding principles. The time has come to reverse the movement. Rather than contending with countless individual issues, all we need to do is take the debate down a few notches, closer to the core. Let me repeat: we need to take the debate down a few notches, close to the core. We submit that all future policy and legislative initiatives be tested against the four points of the compass. Does the proposed bill negate the Rule of Law? Does it violate individual rights? Does it interfere with the sanctity of Property? Does it constitute an assault on National Identity? Only if the answer is "No" in each case, would the proposal proceed. In other words:

Only if the answers are NO is the bill a GO.

A few items need tidying up. How do we know what the Rule of Law can accommodate, and how far do we take individual rights? The answer, in both cases, comes from Article VI of the Constitution. "This

Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof * * * shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby * * * " It is as uncomplicated as that.

In the coming months, we intend to approach the citizens of this great nation and their representatives at all levels with a call to consider adopting this approach. We will hold panel discussions and town meetings so as to invite, engage and incorporate the wisdom and experience of Americans everywhere. There will be retreats and, by year's end, there will be a book with all the details. We do not understate the magnitude of the step we are proposing, but we honestly believe that it will make life a great deal easier. With a simple stroke, it will become clear that one cannot take an oath upon the Constitution and support group rights. One cannot take an oath upon the Constitution and support the confiscation of property without compensation. One cannot take an oath upon the Constitution and support measures which are clearly at odds with the mandate for national defense.

We cannot have it both ways. We have to choose our compass and remember the four points. They are, as we have seen, inseparable. Therefore: Only if the answers are NO is the bill a GO.

I do not believe that last November the people of this country voted for the lukewarm bath of bi-partisanship. I believe the people of this country said: If you don't give us a real choice, we won't give you a real election. Yes, people probably have grown tired of the "issues," but they are, I am certain, eager to partake in an effort to choose either a return to our original path, or a clean and honest break with the past.

Those who feel that the time has come to change the supreme law of the land should come forward, say so, and engage in an open debate. But let us not continue a pattern of self-delusion. We are heirs to a remarkable group of men who, two hundred plus years ago, had every reason to feel similarly overwhelmed by the number of decisions they had to make. Their response was to make very few laws, for they knew that the fewer the laws, the broader the agreement. They knew people find it hard to agree on everything. So they sought agreement on core principles they held to be non-negotiable.

Today, we propose the four that ought to be non-negotiable. They are, as we have seen, inseparable. We call them the four points of the compass. Together, they can and will restore America's sense of direction.

HONORING MORRIS TISCHLER

HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 13, 1997

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, it is extremely fitting that in honor of Valentine's Day tomorrow I rise to honor the work and outstanding record of achievement of Morris Tischler. As the inventor of the cardiac pacemaker, Mr. Tischler has done more than any other individual to keep the human heart ticking throughout the world.

Morris Tischler, who we are fortunate to have as a resident of the great city of Baltimore, has made medical history. In addition to his pioneering work in developing the pacemaker, he has been instrumental in designing instrumentation for heart surgery, monitoring systems, a nerve stimulator, a blood analyzing monitor, among other innovations.