

Pegasus



A newsletter for the Caux Round Table Network
looking at business above the clutter and confetti

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Moral Capitalism At Work

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Pegasus

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INTRODUCTION

This April issue of Pegasus is distributed after the passing of Lady Thatcher in London and after the terror attack at the Boston Marathon. The theme for the issue is, indirectly, virtue. Virtue as needed in our search for real happiness in life and virtue as needed for success in free market economies.

The commencement by the United Nations of an annual Day of Happiness gives us time to reflect each year on what brings happiness. Is it ours to secure or must others bring it forward to us? Surely there can be no happiness when violence and injustice are perpetrated by those with no or with only a twisted moral sense.

Since the question of “happiness” comes to the heart of the Caux Round Table mission with respect to business enterprise, I thought it meet to provide you with some background on the UN General Assembly’s decision to create an International Day of Happiness.

Then, since Lady Thatcher was an articulate advocate of the dependency of free republics and free markets on virtues, I also thought it meet to provide for you one of her notable speeches in this regard.

Stephen B. Young
Global Executive Director

STATEMENT IN CELEBRATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF HAPPINESS

BY NASSIR ABDULAZIZ AL-NASSER
UN HIGH REPRESENTATIVE FOR
THE ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS

The new International Day of Happiness has several important associations with the Caux Round Table. The CRT Global Executive Director was present at a dinner in Monaco during the 2012 annual meeting of the Convention of Independent Financial Advisors when the then President of the UN General Assembly, H.E. Amb. Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser of Qatar, decided to seek UN adoption of an international day of happiness.

Present at the dinner and encouraging General Assembly President Al-Nasser was Matthieu Ricard, a Buddhist priest and colleague of the Dalai Lama. Matthieu spoke to the point that human happiness depends on more than material wealth. If our standard of “the good” is happiness more than wealth, we can be more successful in promoting human well-being.

Matthieu echoed to me, then sitting across from him, the teachings of Jesus Christ that we “do not live by bread alone” and the Qur’anic guidance that our alignment with the most high comes from “having faith and doing good works”.

That launch of the International Day of

Happiness is now commemorated with a plaque at the Hotel Hermitage in Monaco.

The International Day of Happiness is celebrated throughout the world on 20 March. It was established by the United Nations General Assembly on 28 June 2012. Assembly Resolution A/RES/66/281 states in pertinent part:

The General Assembly,[...] Conscious that the pursuit of happiness is a fundamental human goal,[...] Recognizing also the need for a more inclusive, equitable and balanced approach to economic growth that promotes sustainable development, poverty eradication, happiness and the well-being of all peoples, Decides to proclaim 20 March the International Day of Happiness, Invites all Member States, organizations of the United Nations system and other international and regional organizations, as well as civil society, including non-governmental organizations and individuals, to observe the International Day of Happiness in an appropriate manner, including through education and public awareness-raising activities[...]

Speaking at the High Level Meeting on “Happiness and Well-Being: Defining a New Economic Paradigm,” convened during the sixty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the Secretary General Ban Ki-moon stated that the world “needs a new economic paradigm that recognizes the parity between the three pillars of sustainable development. Social, economic and environmental well-being are indivisible. Together they define gross global happiness.” The meeting was convened at an initiative of Bhutan, a country which recognized the supremacy of national happiness over national income since the early 1970s and famously adopted the goal of Gross National Happiness over Gross National Product.

Marking the first ever International Day of Happiness, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon called on the international community to commit to an inclusive and sustainable human development that will improve the well-being of those who lack the basic services needed to pursue happiness.

“People around the world aspire to lead happy and fulfilling lives free from fear and want, and in harmony with nature,” Mr. Ban said in his message for the Day.

“Yet, basic material well-being is still elusive for far too many living in extreme poverty. For many more, recurring socio-economic crises, violence and crime, environmental degradation and increasing threats of climate change are an ever-present threat.”

“When we contribute to the common good, we ourselves are enriched. Compassion promotes happiness and will help build the future we want.”

Happiness rather than material wealth as a goal of social justice is a constructive evolution in civilization, befitting the emergence of a more compassionate consciousness among all peoples and religions that human dignity is to be validated by all of us.

In its own small way, the CRT has always

sought to contribute to this vision of a culture that puts materialism in its proper place – vital yet not by any means the summum bonum of human striving.

To reflect again for a moment on the New Testament teachings of Jesus Christ, while we do not live by “bread alone”, it is meet that we pray each day for our “daily bread.” Happiness is therefore a blend of the material and the spiritual, the real and the aspirational, worldly power and the more transcendental vision of justice.

Aristotle advised that happiness is not possible without the possession of virtue. Happiness cannot flow from selfishness alone. Happiness is not indulgence; nor is it satiation of the senses or giving in to our fears. Happiness is finding connection where the self lives within a calling of higher purpose; happiness is finding our special place in our time for making our lives more worthwhile in the mind of eternity.

For business, corporate social responsibility, or business ethics, mediates between the material and the aspirational in the space we call happiness. CSR seeks to bridge the gap between what is and what might be better. Good stewardship of economic power and resources leads to happiness for the steward and his or her beneficiaries.

*Stephen B. Young
Global Executive Director*



(From Left) Hoa Pham Young, Stephen B. Young, H.E. Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser

Dear Mr. Pierre Cristodoulis, President of CIFA
 Dear Mr. Jean-Pierre Diserens, Secretary
 General of CIFA
 Distinguished Representatives of Civil Society,
 Dear Friends and Colleagues,
 Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great honor for me, in my capacity
 as High Representative of the Alliance of
 Civilizations, to address this unique audience,
 in this wonderful place on the occasion of the
 first celebration of the International Day of
 Happiness! I sincerely thank CIFA for hosting
 this innovative event, here in beautiful Monaco!

The International Day of Happiness is an
 initiative, which aims to promote happiness as
 a universal goal for all. The enabling resolution
 (A/66/L.48) was adopted on 28 June 2012,
 by consensus at the United Nations General
 Assembly, during my tenure as GA President.

But happiness is not the monopoly of the
 United Nations, or of any country or individual
 philosopher. Before any government existed, the
 ancient scriptures remind us of the Garden of

Eden where Adam and Eve were enjoying a life
 of bliss and happiness. Happiness is therefore
 the most basic legacy from civil
 society with deep roots in human spirituality,
 rather than a gift from governments or from
 international organizations. For example,
 the initial documents of the United Nations,
 such as the Charter, do not even make specific
 reference to human happiness as an overriding
 goal of international institutions. The Charter
 does however specifically mention the “untold
 sorrow” and misery brought upon mankind by
 the “scourge of war.” It makes explicit provision
 for promoting “social progress and better
 standards of life in larger freedom,” which are
 pre-requisites for promoting human happiness.
 But, the entire framework and impetus for
 better international arrangements to promote
 peace and human progress do bring in mind
 ideas that have roots in the Enlightenment and
 the writings and actions of such men as John
 Locke, Thomas Jefferson and Jean-Jacque
 Rousseau, among others. These thinkers
 helped to establish life, liberty and the pursuit
 of happiness as a transcendent statement of
 modern human rights and existence.

The International Day of happiness grew out of a high level meeting addressing: “Happiness and well-being: defining a New Economic Paradigm” convened by the Kingdom of Bhutan and myself, President of the GA. The Secretary-General, for his, saw this initiative as a new paradigm, which recognizes a linkage with the pillars for sustainable development: “Social, economic and environmental well-being are indivisible”. For my part, I stated during that high level meeting that: “It is imperative that we build a new creative guiding vision for sustainability and our future, one that will bring a more inclusive, equitable and balanced approach that will promote sustainability, eradicate poverty and enhance well-being and happiness”.

Indeed, I am very proud that the General Assembly under my leadership acknowledged that in order to attain global happiness in humanity, a balance between family and work must accompany social development. *“The development and general well-being, for economic family has an irreplaceable role for the happiness of its members, for peace and social cohesion, for educational growth and social integration.”* Let’s preserve that happiness!

There is, at last, an awakening from the government side that happiness does not depend exclusively on a solid economic structure, but must also rely on a sustainable development that is more equitable. Protecting our own natural environment contributes to our well-being.

While the 193 member States called it a *“holistic approach to development that promotes sustainable happiness and well-being”*, let’s give back the credit for this initiative to the Bhutan, a small Kingdom in the Himalayas, which is the only country that experimented since the 1970’s on a Gross National Happiness (GNH) index. This index is constructed around nine broad categories: psychological well-being, health, education, time use, cultural diversity and resilience, good governance, community vitality, ecological diversity and resilience, and

living standards. Since then, similar initiatives and Happiness indexes are being experimented in the UK, France, OECD and other civil society entities.

Alliance of Civilizations:

I am glad to see that several of these domains are also found in the priorities of the “Alliance of Civilizations”.

The *Alliance of Civilizations* is a platform on which the international community can build greater understanding and communication to stem the tide of intolerance and misunderstanding, which is sometimes deliberately promoted for political ends. It can offer the family a new perspective of hope and peace for security and development.

Let me also call attention to gathering the role of sports, arts, music and other forms of collective expressions of human values. These celebrations of humanity’s noble yearnings can foster the culture of peace, and the Alliance of Civilizations should make every effort to use them to that end. I am deeply convinced that in a world with so much violence, intolerance, xenophobia, marginalization, tensions and conflict, the Alliance of Civilizations teaches us how to cultivate peace.

Happiness as a personal Odyssey!

What brings happiness? Philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, and many others found it difficult to agree on what constituted human happiness since each offered different criteria for judging happiness. In recent times, we have taken a more pragmatic, survey-oriented approach. In 1999, before adopting the 2000 Millennium Declaration, the United Nations conducted the world’s largest ever public opinion poll with 57,000 adults from 60 countries. On the question *“What matters most in life?”* people from everywhere valued good health and a happy family life more highly than anything else (doc. A/54/2000 of 27/3/2000).

In that survey, the 2nd highest priority was job creation.

Not surprisingly, we can observe in the landmark 2000 Millennium Declaration signed by 191 heads of States and governments, as well as in the 2001 roadmap for the 8 Millennium Development Goals, the great emphasis given to health and the basic needs of the family, such as: water, food, primary education, child mortality, empowerment of women, eradication of extreme poverty. This is where, for a billion of human beings, happiness can begin, and where we must contribute our collective support. In 2015, these 8 UN millennium development goals, known as MDGs, will become SDGs or sustainable development goals, which is where “happiness” can start for millions of people.

One can find happiness in doing something for others, in valuating friendship and family as the meaning of life, putting some cheerfulness in the work place. Celebrating by giving back to others! Being creative, being together, opening up to people, keep smiling, back to basic: say hello! Finding your soul mate, continually growing and expanding. In the end, happiness may simply be having a purpose in life.

In 2013, the predominant factor listed in surveys by young people as being integral to their happiness is a positive relationship with their family. As we can observe, happiness has not changed since the 1999 survey! Let's preserve that happiness!

The great religions of the world converge in their ideas of happiness. In Buddhist philosophy the stress is on “karunâ” and “bikkhu” which are forms of solidarity and compassion and are close to « *zakat* », a pillar of Islam, or to the « *tsedeka* » in Judaism (which also means « justice »!). These have the same tonality as love and charity in Christianity. These concepts are as old as humanity and they constitute the basis for human well-being, solidarity and happiness. These universal concepts simply give a purpose in life from whatever cultural background we



H. E. Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser, High Representative of the UN Alliance of Civilizations

come from! Let's embrace them with passion... beginning with the eight UN millennium development goals as the basic principles for sound, equitable, just and happy societies.

While Aristotle held virtue to be necessary for a person to be happy, Plato saw the human soul consisting of three parts: reason, will and desire. He was convinced that “a man is happy when all three parts of the soul are in balance.” But in closing we may turn to our friend Matthieu Ricard since every thing at the CIFA Forum last year on the issue of “happiness” started with him! If we are truly happy, writes Ricard, “*We can change the world because of our compassion for others and our desire to end hatred and bring happiness even to those we don't like*”.

Let me conclude that the pursuit of compassion and happiness has never been the monopoly of a philosopher, of a government, or of a specific international organization, but it is certainly a common goal shared by the whole international community through its civilizations and spiritual search for the “Eden” and nirvana...on earth! Thank you.

ALTRUISM & HAPPINESS

BY MATTHIEU RICARD

FRENCH BUDDHIST MONK

Modern life confronts us with a number of unique challenges, each with its own temporality and priority. There is a vital thread that links the economy in the short-term, life satisfaction in the mid-term, and the environment in the long-term. That thread is altruism.

Altruism is not just a noble, somewhat naïve ideal or a luxury only the affluent can afford. Now, more than ever, altruism is a necessity for the well-being of all.

If we were more altruistic, if we were more considerate of others, we would not indulge in wild speculations with the savings of investors who placed their trust in us.

If we were more considerate of the quality of life of those around us, we would make sure that working conditions, family of life, and many other aspects of society were improved.

Finally, if we were more considerate of future generations, we would not blindly sacrifice the environment they are inheriting from us in favor of our short-lived wants and needs.

Economists have based their theories on the assumption that human beings exclusively follow their own personal interest. Although this hypothesis is mistaken, it has been for too long the foundation of the current economic systems. Modern economists are now increasingly calling for acknowledging the role altruistic propensities in every aspects of human life, including economy. For example, Dennis Snower, the founder of the GES (Global Economic Symposium) has stressed that along the “voice of reason,” economists, politician, and individuals alike must now also speak with the “voice of care”.

Evolutionists also remind us that we should not forget the emphasis placed by Darwin on the vital importance of cooperation in the world of living beings. Evolutionists and Harvard professor Martin Nowak, among other, reminds us: “Cooperation is the architect of creativity throughout evolution. Without cooperation there can be neither construction nor complexity in evolution. Cooperation — not competition — underpins innovation.”

Goodness is not a doctrine or a principle. It is a way of living. Biological altruism is inherited

from evolution. It is based on the parental care and is inherent to our nature and needs no instruction. But it is limited and partial. At the opposite, extended altruism that is directed to all beings is free from such bias. However, for most of us, this is not instinctive and requires some instruction and training.

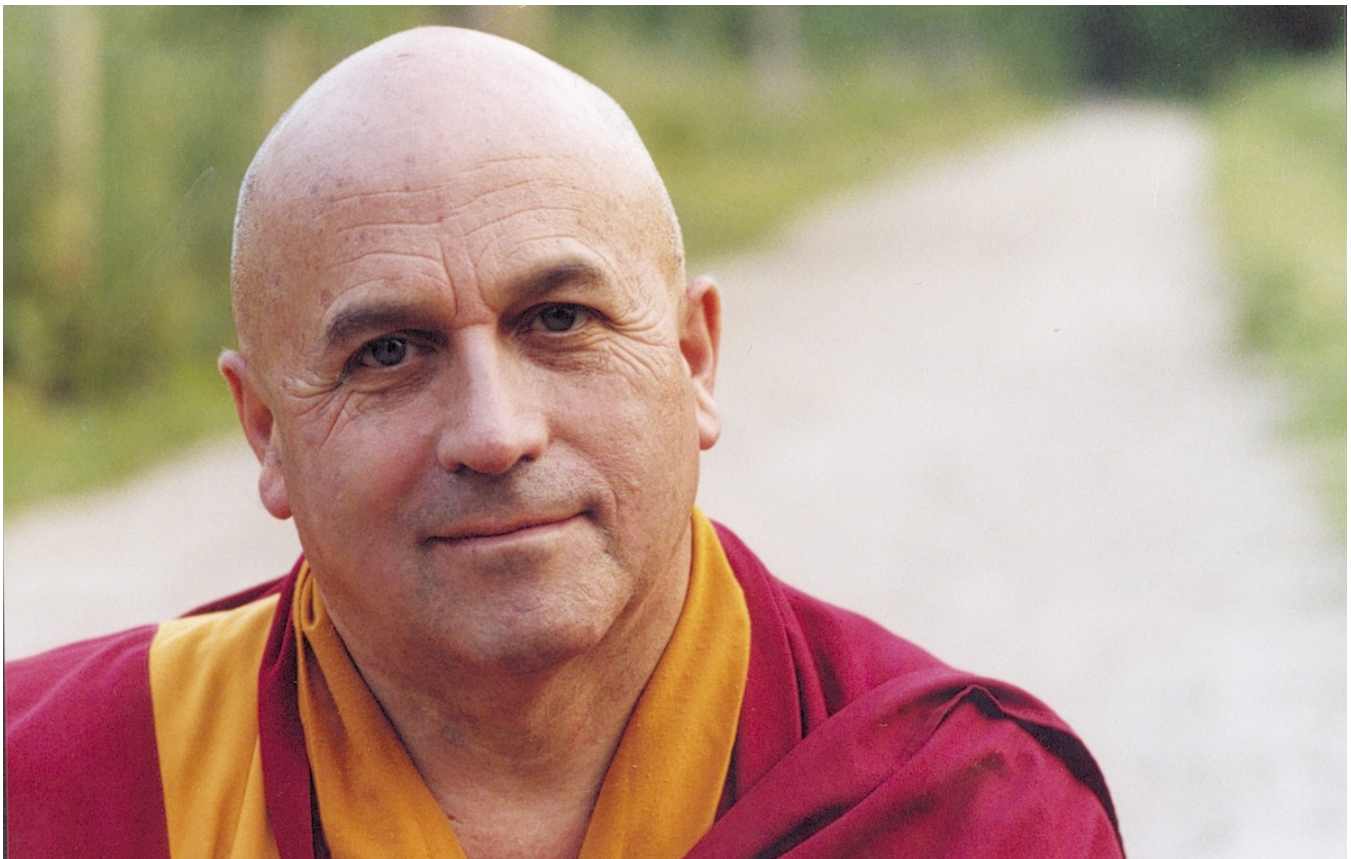
The research in neuroscience and psychology also indicates that loving-kindness and compassion are among the most positive of all positive emotions or mental states and can be trained as skills

Many studies have also highlighted the link that exists between altruism and well-being and have shown that the joy of undertaking an act of disinterested kindness provides profound satisfaction.

Altruism, thus, appears to be most direct way to accomplish both the happiness of other and ones own. It, therefore, seems that promoting altruism and compassion not only in one's

personal life, but also within education and in society at large is a much needed and direct way to address the challenges of the modern world.

Let's remember the words of Albert Schweitzer:
"Every person I have known who has been truly happy has learned how to serve others."



Matthieu Ricard. Source: TED.com

THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY

BY MARGARET THATCHER

FORMER PRIME MINISTER,
GREAT BRITAIN

Lady Thatcher was not always loved or admired. Like other people with strong wills and deeply felt opinions as to right and wrong, she stood apart from many. She had the inner convictions that support leadership; she was not for “turning” and she was not afraid. Virtues more than pleasures were important to her; stepping out of British middle class Methodism which seeks to unite reason and vital piety.

She was stereotyped as a rugged, take-no-prisoners capitalist, but that was wrong. Unlike true Social Darwinists, Lady Thatcher believed in the moral sense as had Adam Smith among others long before her. Her remarks below make this commitment to values in the midst of markets very clear.

Her policy contributions to Great Britain and her intellectual contributions to the world as an advocate of moral freedom and responsibility should not pass into history unheeded and un-appreciated by those of us who remember her words and her deeds.

MARGARET THATCHER was born in 1925 and went on to earn a degree in chemistry from Somerville College, Oxford, as well as a Master of Arts degree from the University of Oxford. For some years she worked as a research chemist and then as a barrister, specializing in tax law. Elected to the House of Commons in 1953, she later held several ministerial appointments. She was elected leader of the Conservative Party and thus leader of the Opposition in 1975. She became Britain’s first female prime minister in 1979 and served her nation in this historic role until her resignation in 1990. In 1992, she was elevated to the House of Lords to become Baroness Thatcher of Kesteven. The first volume of her memoirs, *The Downing Street Years*, was published in 1993 by HarperCollins.

In November 1994, Lady Thatcher delivered the concluding lecture in Hillsdale Center for Constructive Alternatives seminar, “God and Man: Perspectives on Christianity in the 20th Century” before an audience of 2,500 students, faculty, and guests. In an edited version of that lecture, she examines how the Judeo-Christian tradition has provided the moral foundations of America and other nations in the West and



Margaret Thatcher (1925-2013). Source: Margaret Thatcher Foundation

contrasts their experience with that of the former Soviet Union.

The Moral Foundations of the American Founding

History has taught us that freedom cannot long survive unless it is based on moral foundations. The American founding bears ample witness to this fact. America has become the most powerful nation in history, yet she uses her power not for territorial expansion but to perpetuate freedom and justice throughout the world.

For over two centuries, Americans have held fast to their belief in freedom for all men—a belief that springs from their spiritual heritage. John Adams, second president of the United States, wrote in 1789, “Our Constitution was designed only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate for the government of any other.” That was an astonishing thing to say, but it was true.

What kind of people built America and thus prompted Adams to make such a statement? Sadly, too many people, especially young people, have a hard time answering that question. They know little of their own history (This is also true in Great Britain.) But America’s is a very distinguished history, nonetheless, and it has important lessons to teach us regarding the necessity of moral foundations.

John Winthrop, who led the Great Migration to America in the early 17th century and who helped found the Massachusetts Bay Colony, declared, “We shall be as a City upon a Hill.” On the voyage to the New World, he told the members of his company that they must rise to their responsibilities and learn to live as God intended men should live: in charity, love, and cooperation with one another. Most of the early founders affirmed the colonists were infused with the same spirit, and they tried to live in accord with a Biblical ethic. They felt they weren’t able to do so in Great Britain or elsewhere in Europe. Some of them were Protestant, and some were Catholic; it didn’t matter. What mattered was that they did not feel they had the liberty to worship freely and, therefore, to live freely, at home. With enormous courage, the first American colonists set out on a perilous journey to an unknown land—without government subsidies and not in order to amass fortunes but to fulfill their faith.

Christianity is based on the belief in a single God as evolved from Judaism. Most important of all, the faith of America’s founders affirmed the sanctity of each individual. Every human life—man or woman, child or adult, commoner or aristocrat, rich or poor—was equal in the eyes of the Lord. It also affirmed the responsibility of each individual.

This was not a faith that allowed people to do whatever they wished, regardless of the consequences. The Ten Commandments, the injunction of Moses (“Look after your neighbor as yourself”), the Sermon on the Mount, and the Golden Rule made Americans feel precious—

and also accountable—for the way in which they used their God-given talents. Thus they shared a deep sense of obligation to one another. And, as the years passed, they not only formed strong communities but devised laws that would protect individual freedom—laws that would eventually be enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.

Freedom with Responsibility

Great Britain, which shares much of her history in common with America, has also derived strength from its moral foundations, especially since the 18th century when freedom gradually began to spread throughout her society. Many people were greatly influenced by the sermons of John Wesley (1703-1791), who took the Biblical ethic to the people in a way which the institutional church itself had not done previously.

But we in the West must also recognize our debt to other cultures. In the pre-Christian era, for example, the ancient philosophers like Plato and Aristotle had much to contribute to our understanding of such concepts as truth, goodness, and virtue. They knew full well that responsibility was the price of freedom. Yet it is doubtful whether truth, goodness, and virtue founded on reason alone would have endured in the same way as they did in the West, where they were based upon a Biblical ethic.

Sir Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, wrote tellingly of the collapse of Athens, which was the birthplace of democracy. He judged that, in the end, more than they wanted freedom, the Athenians wanted security. Yet they lost everything—security, comfort, and freedom. This was because they wanted not to give to society, but for society to give to them. The freedom they were seeking was freedom from responsibility. It is no wonder, then, that they ceased to be free. In the modern world, we should recall the Athenians' dire fate whenever we confront demands for increased state

paternalism.

To cite a more recent lesson in the importance of moral foundations, we should listen to Czech President Vaclav Havel, who suffered grievously for speaking up for freedom when his nation was still under the thumb of communism. He has observed, "In everyone there is some longing for humanity's rightful dignity, for moral integrity, and for a sense that transcends the world of existence." His words suggest that in spite of all the dread terrors of communism, it could not crush the religious fervor of the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

So long as freedom, that is, freedom with responsibility, is grounded in morality and religion, it will last far longer than the kind that is grounded only in abstract, philosophical notions. Of course, many foes of morality and religion have attempted to argue that new scientific discoveries make belief in God obsolete, but what they actually demonstrate is the remarkable and unique nature of man and the universe. It is hard not to believe that these gifts were given by a divine Creator, who alone can unlock the secrets of existence.

Societies Without Moral Foundations

The most important problems we have to tackle today are problems, ultimately, having to do with the moral foundations of society. There are people who eagerly accept their own freedom but do not respect the freedom of others—they, like the Athenians, want freedom from responsibility. But if they accept freedom for themselves, they must respect the freedom of others. If they expect to go about their business unhindered and to be protected from violence, they must not hinder the business of or do violence to others.

They would do well to look at what has happened in societies without moral foundations. Accepting no laws but the laws of force, these societies have been ruled by totalitarian ideologies like Nazism, fascism, and communism, which do not spring from

the general populace, but are imposed on it by intellectual elites.

It was two members of such an elite, Marx and Lenin, who conceived of “dialectical materialism,” the basic doctrine of communism. It robs people of all freedom—from freedom of worship to freedom of ownership. Marx and Lenin desired to substitute their will not only for all individual will but for God’s will. They wanted to plan everything; in short, they wanted to become gods. Theirs was a breathtakingly arrogant creed, and it denied above all else the sanctity of human life.

The 19th century French economist and philosopher Frederic Bastiat once warned against this creed. He questioned those who, “though they are made of the same human clay as the rest of us, think they can take away all our freedoms and exercise them on our behalf.” He would have been appalled but not surprised that the communists of the 20th century took away the freedom of millions of individuals, starting with the freedom to worship. The communists viewed religion as “the opiate of the people.” They seized Bibles as well as all other private property at gunpoint and murdered at least 10 million souls in the process.

Thus 20th century Russia entered into the greatest experiment in government and atheism the world had ever seen, just as America several centuries earlier had entered into the world’s greatest experiment in freedom and faith.

Communism denied all that the Judeo-Christian tradition taught about individual worth, human dignity, and moral responsibility. It was not surprising that it collapsed after a relatively brief existence. It could not survive more than a few generations because it denied human nature, which is fundamentally moral and spiritual. (It is true that no one predicted the collapse would come so quickly and so easily. In retrospect, we know that this was due in large measure to the firmness of President Ronald Reagan who said, in effect, to Soviet leader

Mikhail Gorbachev, “Do not try to beat us militarily, and do not think that you can extend your creed to the rest of the world by force.”)

The West began to fight the moral battle against communism in earnest in the 1980s, and it was our resolve—combined with the spiritual strength of the people suffering under the system who finally said, “Enough!”—that helped restore freedom in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—the freedom to worship, speak, associate, vote, establish political parties, start businesses, own property, and much more. If communism had been a creed with moral foundations, it might have survived, but it was not, and it simply could not sustain itself in a world that had such shining examples of freedom, namely, America and Great Britain.

The Moral Foundations of Capitalism

It is important to understand that the moral foundations of a society do not extend only to its political system; they must extend to its economic system as well. America’s commitment to capitalism is unquestionably the best example of this principle. Capitalism is not, contrary to what those on the Left have tried to argue, an amoral system based on selfishness, greed, and exploitation. It is a moral system based on a Biblical ethic. There is no other comparable system that has raised the standard of living of millions of people, created vast new wealth and resources, or inspired so many beneficial innovations and technologies.

The wonderful thing about capitalism is that it does not discriminate against the poor, as has been so often charged; indeed, it is the only economic system that raises the poor out of poverty. Capitalism also allows nations that are not rich in natural resources to prosper. If resources were the key to wealth, the richest country in the world would be Russia, because it has abundant supplies of everything from oil, gas, platinum, gold, silver, aluminum, and copper to timber, water, wildlife, and fertile soil.

Why isn't Russia the wealthiest country in the world? Why aren't other resource-rich countries in the Third World at the top of the list? It is because their governments deny citizens the liberty to use their God-given talents. Man's greatest resource is himself, but he must be free to use that resource.

In his recent encyclical, *Centesimus Annus*, Pope John Paul II addressed this issue. He wrote that the collapse of communism is not merely to be considered as a "technical problem." It is a consequence of the violation of human rights. He specifically referred to such human rights as the right to private initiative, to own property, and to act in the marketplace. Remember the "Parable of the Talents" in the New Testament? Christ exhorts us to be the best we can be by developing our skills and abilities, by succeeding in all our tasks and endeavors. What better description can there be of capitalism? In creating new products, new services, and new jobs, we create a vibrant community of work. And that community of work serves as the basis of peace and good will among all men.

The Pope also acknowledged that capitalism encourages important virtues, like diligence, industriousness, prudence, reliability, fidelity, conscientiousness, and a tendency to save in order to invest in the future. It is not material goods but all of these great virtues, exhibited by individuals working together, that constitute what we call the "marketplace."

The Moral Foundations of the Law

Freedom, whether it is the freedom of the marketplace or any other kind, must exist within the framework of law. Otherwise it means only freedom for the strong to oppress the weak. Whenever I visit the former Soviet Union, I stress this point with students, scholars, politicians, and businessmen—in short, with everyone I meet. Over and over again, I repeat: Freedom must be informed by the principle of justice in order to make it work

between people. A system of laws based on solid moral foundations must regulate the entire life of a nation.

But this is an extremely difficult point to get across to people with little or no experience with laws except those based on force. The concept of justice is entirely foreign to communism. So, too, is the concept of equality. For over seventy years, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had no system of common law. There were only the arbitrary and often contradictory dictates of the Communist Party. There was no independent judiciary. There was no such thing as truth in the communist system.

And what is freedom without truth? I have been a scientist, a lawyer, and a politician, and from my own experience I can testify that it is nothing. The third century Roman jurist Julius Paulus said, "What is right is not derived from the rule, but the rule arises from our knowledge of what is right." In other words, the law is founded on what we believe to be true and just. It has moral foundations. Once again, it is important to note that the free societies of America and Great Britain derive such foundations from a Biblical ethic.

The Moral Foundations of Democracy

Democracy is never mentioned in the Bible. When people are gathered together, whether as families, communities or nations, their purpose is not to ascertain the will of the majority, but the will of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, I am an enthusiast of democracy because it is about more than the will of the majority. If it were only about the will of the majority, it would be the right of the majority to oppress the minority. The American Declaration of Independence and Constitution make it clear that this is not the case. There are certain rights which are human rights and which no government can displace. And when it comes to how you Americans exercise your rights under democracy, your hearts seem to be touched by something greater than yourselves. Your role in democracy does

not end when you cast your vote in an election. It applies daily; the standards and values that are the moral foundations of society are also the foundations of your lives.

Democracy is essential to preserving freedom. As Lord Acton reminded us, "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." If no individual can be trusted with power indefinitely, it is even truer that no government can be. It has to be checked, and the best way of doing so is through the will of the majority, bearing in mind that this will can never be a substitute for individual human rights.

I am often asked whether I think there will be a single international democracy, known as a "new world order." Though many of us may yearn for one, I do not believe it will ever arrive. We are misleading ourselves about human nature when we say, "Surely we're too civilized, too reasonable, ever to go to war again," or, "We can rely on our governments to get together and reconcile our differences." Tyrants are not moved by idealism. They are moved by naked ambition. Idealism did not stop Hitler; it did not stop Stalin. Our best hope as sovereign nations is to maintain strong defenses. Indeed, that has been one of the most important moral as well as geopolitical lessons of the 20th century. Dictators are encouraged by weakness; they are stopped by strength. By strength, of course, I do not merely mean military might but the resolve to use that might against evil.

The West did show sufficient resolve against Iraq during the Persian Gulf War. But we failed bitterly in Bosnia. In this case, instead of showing resolve, we preferred "diplomacy" and "consensus." As a result, a quarter of a million people were massacred. This was a horror that I, for one, never expected to see again in my lifetime. But it happened. Who knows what tragedies the future holds if we do not learn from the repeated lessons of history? The price of freedom is still, and always will be, eternal vigilance.

Free societies demand more care and devotion than any others. They are, moreover, the only societies with moral foundations, and those foundations are evident in their political, economic, legal, cultural, and, most importantly, spiritual life.

We who are living in the West today are fortunate. Freedom has been bequeathed to us. We have not had to carve it out of nothing; we have not had to pay for it with our lives. Others before us have done so. But it would be a grave mistake to think that freedom requires nothing of us. Each of us has to earn freedom anew in order to possess it. We do so not just for our own sake, but for the sake of our children, so that they may build a better future that will sustain over the wider world the responsibilities and blessings of freedom.

