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NETWORK LOOKING AT BUSINESS ABOVE THE CLUTTER AND CONFETTI



Pegasus

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Introduction

While reading the commentaries contained in this issue of Pegasus regarding the recent presidential election here in the U.S., one thought kept washing over me...

They're rooting for us.

I was humbled by all of these visions of hope and faith in our country, especially as it seems like that faith has dwindled in so many of the people here. I invite you to read them and find yourself so moved.

These commentaries are drawn from our international network of leaders — prime ministers, statesmen, business leaders, and educators. They believe the U.S. can regain a position of leadership on the world stage. They believe in our crucial role to play in the future of the world. They hope we can return to being a trusted friend and ally and to negotiate in good faith through trust and respect. Most of all, they believe the people of the U.S. might find a way to extinguish our fires within so that we may participate in building towards a common future with those abroad. These are calls to action.

Also in this issue devoted to the election, our colleague, Richard Broderick, interviews Lord Daniel Brennan and we have final commentary by our Global Executive Director, Stephen B. Young.

Patrick Rhone
Director of Technical and Internet Support
Caux Round Table for Moral Capitalism

VOICES FROM ABROAD

International Commentaries on the 2020 U.S. Presidential Election

Introduction

The pride Americans take in their country's global stature has suffered some hard knocks of late. Is the U.S. still a beacon of hope – a “shining city on a hill,” as William Bradford, one of the signers of the Mayflower Compact, foretold of the New World where the pilgrims had just dropped anchor at Plymouth Rock?

Below, we have compiled some brief answers to these and other questions from those in our global network. We finish with an exclusive interview with Lord Daniel Brennan, Chairman Emeritus of the Caux Round Table.

Democracy in America

By Jan Peter Balkenende

“Nothing is more wonderful than the art of being free, but nothing is harder to learn how to use than freedom.”

These words of Alexis de Toqueville from his *Democracy in America* reminded me of the last U.S. presidential elections. Political freedom is a great good, but how is that freedom dealt with? As far as I am concerned, the American presidential elections are about much more than choosing a president: they are about the value and meaning of democracy, about its significance for geopolitical relations and - closer to home - about cooperation with Europe. This reflection is about these three subjects.

Democracy flourishes when there is a struggle for political ideals, when fundamental democratic rules of the game, such as respect for political opponents, are observed and when politicians, of any color, want to serve the truth. In this sense, recent years have been bad years. Facts were blown away with fake news, humiliation even seemed to become a political virtue and it is bitter to notice that in a country like the United States, there must be a call for “truth-seeking institutions.” At the same time, on the other end of the political spectrum, we saw too much legal focus to get the president out and too little development of future-oriented visions. The president's statements about the election outcome were embarrassing and dangerous. Democracy in the U.S. urgently needs a quality boost: more unity, more dignity, more respect, more vision, more hope. All politicians in the U.S. are responsible for this. Let American democracy become a source of political inspiration again.

Geopolitically, we have noticed in recent years what “America First” has meant. Crooks against autocratic leaders, taking distance from kindred nations, blowing up multilateral cooperation. If we want a world in which there is room for everyone, in which the reality of climate change is faced and in which the enormous inequality is reduced, we cannot escape two crucial choices. The Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations and the climate agreements must become a guideline for all governments, companies and organizations. Global problems also require global strategies. Multilateral organizations, therefore, deserve critical-positive support, instead of ruining them. The world needs American multilateral leadership, not American turn away.

Europe has not been very much on the retina of the United States recently. Much can be said about Europe, including the division between North and South, between West and East and the absurd Brexit. Sure, but in a world of threats, autocracy, human rights violations, violence and terrorism, the U.S. and Europe should find each other and act together.



Hopefully, the recent U.S. presidential election will not end in legal squabbles and political expulsion. I hope that these elections will lead to new and fruitful cooperation with Europe, inspiring multilateral leadership of the United States and the building of American democracy in which freedom and responsibility go hand in hand. I like to repeat De Toqueville: “*Liberty cannot be established without morality, nor morality without faith.*”

Jan Peter Balkenende is the Former Prime Minister of The Netherlands.

A Perception of the U.S. and a Wish List

By Kasit Piromya

Looking across the Pacific from its western side towards the shores of California, the United States of America, one could fathom the trails of destruction caused by divisiveness, polarization confrontational antagonistic rhetoric and seemingly irreconcilable differences.

But there are rays of hope with the incoming new administration equipped with immense knowledge and vast experience and diverse background that can provide a sense of purpose in moderation and decency.

The United States of America cannot move forward as the world’s greatest nation without unity in diversity at home and spirit of dialogues and cooperation.

With internal rebuilding, the United States of America can stand tall again in the eyes of the international community which still very much depends on its leadership, its global presence and its liberal and humanistic values that can help to ensure peace, stability and prosperity for all.

The United States of America is still the most powerful nation. It holds supremacy over other nations in every major aspect of life. It can continue to be so and do so because of its openness, its sense of entrepreneurship, innovation and creativity and pursuit of excellence. The tradition of trilateral cooperation between the public sector, private sector and academic institutions is exceptional and exemplary and unsurpassed, leading to continued advancement in science, technology and management – know how.

The United States of America will retain the lead on all fronts, whether be it political and humanitarian values, military parity, scientific and technological knowhow and knowledge. It means that it will not relinquish its supreme position. It will not allow others to push it out, to replace it, to overtake it or even to belittle it.

The United States of America operates in an open, liberal and democratic environment with abundant national resources and highly qualified human capital that no other countries with similar set-ups can match. And any type of authoritarian nation state cannot compete or emulate for lack of free thinking and conducive surrounding.

Joe Biden, with decades in the political arena, will be coming into the office of the presidency as one of the most politically endowed and experienced in the history of the United States. It would help him to quickly reach out to all players and stakeholders across the board in no time in order to find a common ground, a common cause and obtain consensus for moving the country forward. He will get cooperation because everyone knows already the price of conflict and lack of compromise and goodwill namely, uncertainty and instability and hopelessness.



Concurrently, the international standing, dignity and trust of the United States of America were tarnished and diminishing. Joe Biden is well-versed in both domestic and external politics and has the disposition and temperament to be “one of us,” both domestically and externally. His leadership is expected to be based on mutual respect, cooperation and partnership. Commitments will be honoured. The United States of America will be actively present in both bilateral and multilateral arenas, depending on issues and countries involved.

Setting on the western side of the Pacific, I wish the new U.S. Administration will renew its enthusiasm, its conviction and belief and its desire and determination to help transform every society or country to become open and democratic. The United States of America must put up a strong stand or even a “fight” against the Chinese version of the socio-economic and political development model of one party rule as a successful narrative and alternative to the liberal multiparty system led by the United States of America, together with other successful democracies.

The new U.S. Administration should not only oppose and compete, but should also send a clear message to various aspiring authoritarian regimes and quasi-democratic regimes to open up their respective countries and release their citizens from bondage.

The U.S. must identify and work with all democratic and progressive forces all over the world.

Besides conveying messages across to autocrats and authoritarian rulers, to retract and pave ways for democratic transformation, it should also be backed up by threat of individualized or personalized targeted sanction for non-compliance.

In all, the new U.S. Administration must not allow business interests to blackmail democratic values and the very rationale of being the United States of America. At least a better balance between business interests and the promotion of democracy and human rights must be made. Alternative markets must be found to lessen dependency on countries with non-democratic ways of life.

Democracies must work together, more and more, by providing market investment and exchanges of people. Discrepancies in rules and regulations, in policies and measures can be solved through negotiation and not through coercion and threat of sanctions. It's hope that the new U.S. Administration can make a distinction between sanctioning bad rulers from sanctioning ordinary people as a whole.

Democracy and the market economy must ensure that there will not be concentration of wealth and political power. There must also be a better balance between business and social interests.

The United States of America, under the new administration, can take the lead in the betterment and quality of life of the masses. Capacity building, health and education development should again be part of U.S. foreign policy measures.

There is always goodwill towards the United States of America and the American people. Frankness, straight forwardness and the genuine desire to have a dialogue is a good American trait.

The world awaits with keen interests and eagerness. Joe Biden and Kamala Harris can surely deliver.

Kasit Piromya is the former Foreign Minister of Thailand.

Comments on 2020 U.S. Elections

By George Yeo

It is almost two weeks since the elections. Although the prevailing view is that Joe Biden has won the presidential race, President Donald Trump has not conceded defeat, despite enormous pressure on him to do so. Instead, he and his supporters believe that he has been robbed of re-election by election irregularities. On both sides, thousands of lawyers are now involved in litigation which will go all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Without the Supreme Court having the final say, as in December 2000, there can be no closure. If there is still no closure after that, the institutional stability of the U.S. will be called into question.

American society has probably not been so divided since the Civil War. The divisions have their roots in demographic change, the concentration of power in Washington, the growth of entitlements, unfettered globalisation, widening social inequalities and a cultural war which is not always easy for foreigners to understand. The rise of China has added to American insecurities. These tensions will not go away under a Biden Administration.



Outsiders viewing the current spectacle wonder whether a secular decline of the U.S. is underway. Biden may be able to recover some of the international prestige lost under Trump, but some is permanently lost. Whether friend or foe, every country is re-triangulating its position vis-a-vis the U.S. and others in the world.

For Asians who long saw the Asian dream in America, there are second thoughts. Visas are harder to come by anyhow. More profoundly, many now ask whether they should still look to the U.S. as a beacon of hope and a system to emulate. The inability of the U.S. to mount a coherent response to the Covid-19 pandemic is viewed by many as emblematic.

How American society evolves socially and politically in the coming years will have a huge impact on 21st century world history, as China's. For many decades, the strength and stability of the U.S. maintained a global order which we have gotten used to. This can no longer be assumed. The U.S. dollar as a global measure of value cannot last forever. Sharpening conflict between the U.S. and China will affect everybody.

At critical periods, leadership matters. There is no leader for all seasons. Trump evokes powerful emotions - for and against. Biden is almost a leader by default among Americans, but clearly more welcome internationally. We may be entering a time of troubles.

George Yeo is Chairman and Executive Director of Kerry Logistics Network and former Foreign Minister of Singapore.

An Australian Perspective on the 2020 U.S. Election

By John Little

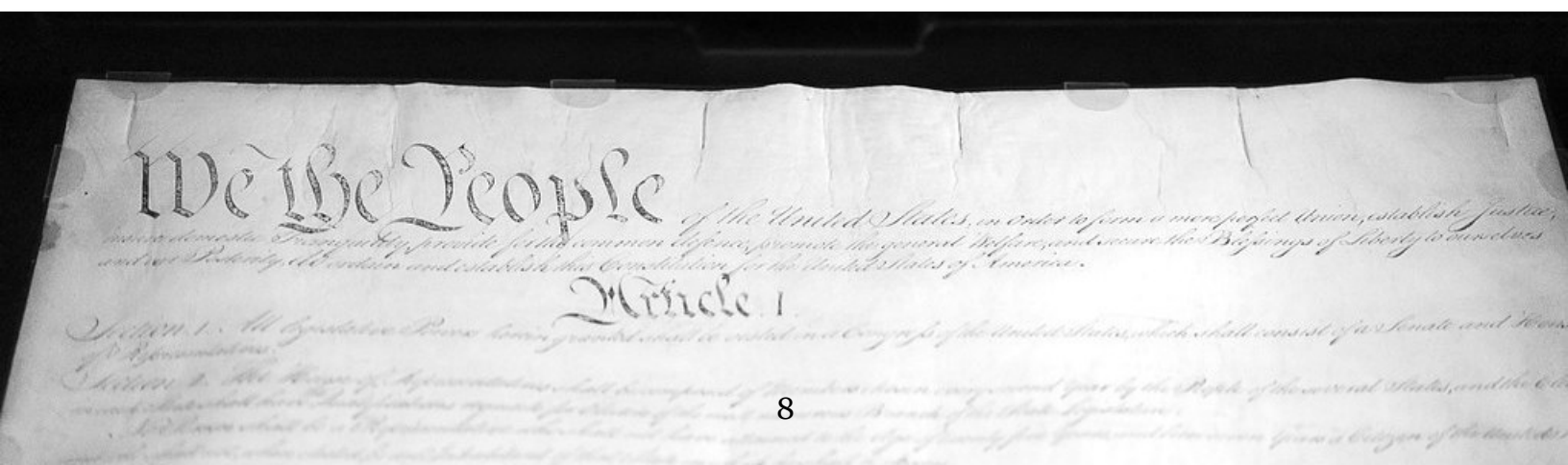
The two political slogans driving this election – “*making America great again*” and “*recovering the soul of America*” - are saying, at depth, the same thing: “something is lost and needs to be found.”

What do ‘great’ and ‘soul’ mean in these aspirational calls? And, given the crisis of division brought on by the election and heightened by Covid, where does opportunity lie to unify, while helping build a better world?

America’s greatness resides, for me an Australian, in its **heritage**: of openness, creativity, abundance, generosity and defense of freedom and opportunity. The soul of America suggests a **unifying force**: of integrity, strength of purpose, spiritual understanding, justice and kindness. I see these attributes in national figures, such as MacArthur, Kennedy, King and Reagan, as well as today in my many American friends.

Disruptions create crises; crises invoke questions for opportunities, learning and constructive change. In the current crisis, I see four possible domains of opportunity where America’s greatness and soul can enliven and offer hope for all.

1. **The Constitution.** An extraordinary strength of America is its Constitution, a unique and unlikely-to-be-repeated “experiment,” as some say – immensely successful so far and without which little can be done to settle social divisions and discord. Christ’s teaching: “render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s and to God what is God’s,” is implicitly embedded by its founders within the Constitution, not only in support of its creative endeavor to define and democratically modify the terms of governance and curtailment of powers, but also in its foundational affirmation of equality and freedom, personal and religious.



2. Character. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, in his novel, *The Gulag Archipelago*, offers a lesson relevant to the crisis: “The line separating good and evil passes not through states, nor between classes, nor between political parties either -- but right through every human heart.” This points to the source of primal conflict within the person and the importance of good character formed through self-knowledge and self-mastery. David Brooks writes of character in *The Second Mountain*. It is the guiding basis for family, community and leadership – and thence, institutional policy and action.

3. China. America’s greatness and generosity has defended and promoted freedom of states and peoples against totalitarian rule – communist, fascist, nationalist and fundamentalist. Its generosity continuing after conflict – such as the Marshall Plan in Europe and constitutional arrangements in Japan - has built lasting peace and friendships. Today, the CCP’s curtailment of freedom in Hong Kong and its explicit threat to Taiwan has presented a challenge for America and her friends who seek open, fair and free trade and cultural exchange with the Chinese people.

4. Collaboration. America’s soul informs its relationship with other nations for mutual benefit, the common good, peace and prosperity. Australians appreciate our unique and abiding relationship and the processes of open collaboration and trust that support it.

Thus, my hope: that, through the present crisis and in these four domains of opportunity, American leadership and creativity will be duly marshaled, focused and directed.

John Little was the Founding Director of the Center for Research into Ethics and Decision-making in Organizations at Australian Catholic University and is a retired business consultant.

American Election and a View from Japan

By Kazuhiko Togo

Conclusion: Although Trump and some surrounding Republicans have not acknowledged defeat, overall direction has been set for Biden’s election. But a deep divide within the country cannot be avoided. That weakens the new administration’s governance domestically and leadership abroad. Japan needs to set a firm course to enhance its national interests and take regional and global leadership.

Trump’s power: Four years ago, fierce anger erupted against the Washingtonian “establishment” by white color workers, realizing that the “American Dream” for them had vanished from the rust belt and other areas. Trump got their support and was elected as President. He became their hero and now enthusiastic Trumpists remained, even if Trump is gone. Based on American history of liberating themselves from British colonial power by their own guns, Trumpists supreme values are “freedom.” Trump’s extraordinary showing of energy met their expectation. They preferred “anything but Obama” and aspired for recreation of America with white-centric law and order.

Biden's power: Being a Senator from 1972 to 2007 and then Vice President from 2009 to 2017, Biden represents everything positive that the Washingtonian establishment can offer. People who were fed up with Trump's "unpredictability" and unfounded attacks against his perceived enemies were so happy to see a normal way of running things. Traditional Democrats' emphasis on "equality" and an "egalitarian society" of protecting the weak are now coming back. "Ethnic and cultural diversity" and recent outcry of "Black Lives Matter" were also a powerful supporting factor for Biden. Kamala Harris is a well-chosen Vice President against this background.

U.S.-China rivalry getting worse: Current U.S.-China rivalry has a strong structural character. Underlying tensions between the U.S. and China will persist and most likely will get worse. This is a fatal collision between the status-quo maritime superpower, the U.S., and a newly appearing continental power rising with an extraordinary speed, China. Current rivalry comprises not only geopolitical collision between the two countries, but also collision faced with digital revolution and fourth industrial revolution, if not the fifth. Adding space and cyber to the traditional battleground of army, navy and air force, neither side knows yet who can be the winner. In that unpredictable situation, a serious mutual decoupling might take place.

In that situation, Japan's position becomes very important in North-East Asia. The U.S. is such an important ally with whom Japan shares security interests and some fundamental values. Whereas China is an irreplaceable neighbor with which Japan shares important economic relations and has deep historical connection, Japan needs to consolidate security ties with the U.S., but at the same time, establish channels of dialogue with China where it expresses its views straightforwardly, especially on issues where opinions differ from each other.

East-Asian politics becoming more difficult: In the situation as described above, it goes without saying that Japan's diplomatic leverage would be enhanced by having good ties with key countries in the region. Given greater sensitivity on human rights issues, Biden's position toward Russia might become tougher than Trump's. That could make Japan's foreign policy objective to improve ties with Putin more difficult.



By the same token, Abe-Suga's tough approach toward South Korea, as a country who just derogates international law, might face less tolerance by Biden because the South Korean position is still deeply rooted in their profound wound caused by Japan's annexation between 1910-1945.

Given Biden's positive approach toward FOIP, his expectation that Japan should take a clearer leadership role might increase.

Global environmental cooperation to be activated: Coronavirus may be the result of excessive urbanization, resulting in direct contact of carrier wild animals with human beings. Destruction of forests was one of prime cause of global warming. The need for environmental protection and imperatives for global cooperation are areas where Japan and Biden might find common ground swiftly.

Kazuhiko Togo is a Professor and Director of the Institute for World Affairs at Kyoto Sangyo University and was Japan's Ambassador to The Netherlands.

Reflections on 2020 U.S. Election

By Andreas Suchanek

I would like to share a rather personal impression of this election. To start with, when I had the first look at the election results, as they were known by that time, I was devastated. Although I knew that counting the ballots of the postal votes might considerably change the picture, which they did, the fact that so many Americans voted for Trump made me deeply sad, even scared me. Let me briefly explain why, using the metaphor of a game: a game consists of *actions* which are coordinated by the *rules* of the game – without rules, no game. Good rules do not determine the actions, but create a framework which enables the players to play the game. And they help to cope or mitigate conflicts which may always happen on the field.

But rules do only work when they are properly understood, accepted and observed, that is, when they are rooted in a *shared understanding* of how to play the game. Put differently: a fair and sustainable game – or sustainable value creation in society – needs to be based on a shared understanding of mutual respect, including respect for the rules and values which constitute the game and enable cooperation, as well as respect for the truth, as manifested in free media and science. In short, respect is the basis of trust, which is the basis of reliable cooperation, which is the basis of sustainable value creation, which is the basis of a good society.

Problems, even deep, destructive conflicts, will occur if an understanding of the game proliferates that is only focused on winning. Those actors might try to use every trick in the box not to lose; they might 'test the limits,' bend the rules and be willing to harm others by lies, threats or undermining those rules and structures which might prevent their 'winning,' thus eroding the game itself.

Donald Trump has demonstrated over decades that he is focused on winning, no matter how harmful this may be to others, to fair competition or democratic institutions, to social norms or the ethical values of respect and truthfulness and he has demonstrated this attitude over the last four years to the whole world as the top representative of the United States of America. In this election, this understanding of the game was also on the ballot, as it were,

since the democratically elected (federal) government represents the collective understanding – culture, if you want – of the electorate. My sadness grew out of the perception that many millions of American citizens sent the signal that they support, maybe unconsciously, an understanding of a game which destroys trust and hence, collaboration (in a time where we need both more than ever).

Most certainly, it is (for me) a beacon of hope that the president-elect represents a very different understanding of the game, but still, it hurts. And then I remembered this (adapted) sentence which I stumbled upon some years ago: “The true mark of maturity is when somebody hurts you and you try to understand their situation.” Since a shared understanding, based on respect, is the basis for the game called a good society.

Andreas Suchanek is a Professor at the HHL Leipzig Graduate School of Management.

Rebuilding Moral, Social and Human Capitals in the U.S.: A European Perspective

By Herman Mulder

Democracy at its best: record voting turnout ever (155 million, 67%), the losing candidate with more votes (73 million) than any previously winning candidate, the winning candidate with the highest ever popular vote (78.5 million), clear majority in the Electoral College (57%) and according to the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “The most secure elections ever.” Moreover, the challenge to reduce current (excessive) partisanship paralysis between the legislative powers is expected to be served: a “hung” Congress with a Democratic majority in the House and a Republican majority in the Senate. The Congress is in urgent need to address the consequences of the last 4 years: pandemic, economic freefall, social unrest and systemic racism, international trade wars and loss of traditional partners (notably in Europe).

President Biden, taking office at the lowest point, has the unique opportunity to restore trust in democratic principles, institutions and procedures and heal the wounds, by coalition-building with the moderate Republicans (many Trump voters did so out of economic self-interest, not out of sympathy for his style or beliefs). The shadow hanging over him is that Trump still has a hold on (factions of) the Republican party and may want to return in 2024.

“Building forward better, together” (not: “building back better!”) has been successfully done before, notwithstanding deep divisions: post WWII creation of EGKS in Europe (1952), German Reunification (1990), South Africa post-Apartheid (1994): all have in common: severe exasperation with the present (it cannot get worse), broad-based desire for much better and wisdom of bipartisan leaders “across the aisle” to focus together on the greater common good. A moment for President Biden to capture!

He may be helped by exogenous factors: every U.S. president has experienced a defining moment for his presidency: some failed (Trump/pandemic), others won (Kennedy/Cuba missile crisis); some were fortunate to have a booming economy (Reagan, Clinton), others had to deal with a major economic crisis (Obama/post GFC). Biden will also face such

“black swan” (Taleb) and/or “white swans” (Roubini).

We in Europe are key stakeholders in the fortunes and stability of the U.S.: for positive cultural and economic reasons, but also for defensive reasons (China, Russia, Middle East). We have been watching the disrupting national and international policies from the U.S. during the last four years with great concern. The blessing in disguise is that it was a wake-up for our political and economic identity: more independent, self-confident, ambitious (the MFF/NextGen Plan), but, in my view, not yet assertive enough. We lost some of our naivety of the Pax Americana, the U.S. umbrella. We also take comfort that the populist movements in Europe lost its U.S. leader.

Europe hopes that President Biden will cross the aisle (like President Ford did after Watergate and Vietnam), restore relationships both nationally (common ground with moderate Republicans: employment!) and internationally strengthen NATO; rejoin “Paris,” WHO, WTO; new START; new JCPOA; away from post-globalization “tribalization” to more mutual interests sharing. Our concern also relates to the two-party system in the U.S. (and the U.K.) with possibility of new disruption in the future; consensus-finding is not a weakness and coalition building is a mindset and an art (like in continental Europe); takes time, but is less disruptive; the period 2016-2020 (Brexit, Trump) was enough warning not to be repeated.

Caux may perhaps set a new ambition: Moral Re-Armament/Initiatives of Change and the Caux Round Table may have a unique opportunity to seek new prominence and influence by mobilizing young professionals in the U.S., Europe and elsewhere to speak out and act on the (one) world of tomorrow, which will be their legacy!

Herman Mulder is Chairman of the Impact Economy Foundation and former Chairman of the Global Reporting Initiative.



A Conversation with Lord Daniel Brennan on the U.S. Election

By Richard Broderick

Rich Broderick (*representing the Caux Round Table*): Lord Brennan, can you offer your initial reaction to the confusion of the most recent presidential election in the U.S. and what you foresee happening in the months ahead?

Lord Dan Brennan: I feel it is beyond belief that there been charges of electoral fraud and that five million votes were forged. At the same time, Biden will be confirmed and take office on January 20. This is how great democracies work.

As for those who make an “originalist” argument that the Constitution of the United States is a sacred script that must be followed as originally conceived, I’m sorry, the constitution of any nation is a living instrument and is not embalmed on the day it is issued. Look at amendments. Americans are living today in a wholly different world from the 18th or 19th centuries. For example, women only gained the vote in the early 20th century. Where parties have the privilege of representing an overwhelming majority of the electorate, this privilege brings with it a heavy burden of responsibility to represent their base respectfully and to treat the democratic process respectfully, as well.

The right to freedom of expression is not synthesized and made sacred by violence in the streets. The right to a democratic society involves responsibility to vote, hold elected officials responsible and to observe the law and act decently.

Broderick: Is the idea that after an election both sides should reconcile and stand by the principal that it is the majority of votes cast by the electorate that determines who will be the next president?

Lord Brennan: In the longer term, the effects on American democracy of the 21st century with the emergence of the internet and social media, etc., has tended to make people think that the democratic world in this age of disparate media is different. It may be wider in scope of distributing information, but that should be adding to democratic responsibilities, not diminishing them because someone can send a tweet. If I were an American Democrat, as I am an English democrat – a small “d” democrat – I’d be saying about America,



which I have visited many times over the past 40 years, why should the American people be subjected to this degree of polarization? It's unhealthy, it's unthinking and it usually ends up with the most vulnerable people suffering the most.

Some older individuals may recall a time when men and women in Congress felt it was their duty to align sentiment into a national commitment, not an economic and political misalignment into a feudal politics of warring factions with no sense of the common good.

I used to go to church when I was traveling in the states and was always struck by the sense of community, as evidenced by the way people met and shared things with fellow congregants. Now, it does not seem the same. For some, it is a self-imposed isolationism, a sense of "I'm going to go onto my porch with my shotgun in-hand and you can find out if you can come to see me, boy." For Democrats, meanwhile, it's "Let's take to the streets as often as we need to get whatever we want implemented." This is not a democratic life. We've got to stop referring to "myself" as an isolated individual and start thinking of "ourselves" as part of a larger community. I think this is absolutely critical for the future of my country and for America.

If you look at bars and charts, the positive attitudes Americans hold of their government reached a height between the start New Deal and the final years of the Vietnam war. That attitude has declined far quicker than anyone could have foreseen and we are not accepting that our society is changing far quicker than in the past and adjusting ourselves to that reality.

Looking at the past, I admire many men who served as president and were members of the Republican Party. Lincoln, of course, was the greatest president of all, but I also would rate Teddy Roosevelt as another of your greatest presidents. He was a straight talker – "Speak softly and carry a big stick." I want to quote now his statement that "In everyday life, what gives meaning to our political system are the qualities of courage, dedication, forbearance and devotion. These are the daily food of democratic life and must never be forgotten." The strife going on now has to stop and political life must return to the norm and America has to move forward. To quote Roosevelt again, "We can all rise together or all go down together."

Broderick: Do you believe that people living in other countries can affect America's opinion of itself?

Lord Brennan: I don't know where the phrase "Make America Great Again" came from. America is a great country. We can keep America as great as it was and as great as it always has been. Like it or not, America is the most powerful role model in the world and you are also a part of the world, an inspiration to others. People admire America. You attract immigrants because America promises fulfillment. It's a privilege to live in America and you must work to sustain that privilege into the future.

This is a greatness you should work to improve. Work to make America as great as it has been and can be in the future.

Broderick: The opinion Americans have of the U.S. is much darker than the opinion of our neighbors overseas. For all its flaws, the U.S. has an unparalleled record of welcoming immigrants and is one of the most, if not the most successful, multi-cultural nation on earth.

Lord Brennan: I agree with you. That record is now reflected in the large population of foreigners in France, Germany and elsewhere. The covid vaccine from Germany is the brainchild of Turkish immigrants. This is the 21st century world where people everywhere have to get together with their overseas neighbors. In the British government, several ministers are offspring of Indian immigrants. We don't live as a nation in the backyard of our country. We are citizens of the world. As Mr. Biden goes to Ireland, I imagine the welcome he receives there will be one that will make America think again about its status in the world. May Ireland make America great again!

Lord Daniel Brennan, Queen's Counsel, is Chairman Emeritus of the Caux Round Table for Moral Capitalism and former Chairman of the Bar of England and Wales.

The American 2020 Presidential Election – *Ethos Anthropos Daimon*

By Stephen B. Young

The ancient observation of Heraclitus that *Ethos Anthropos Daimon* – character is fate – provides perhaps the best explanation of the outcome of the 2020 U.S. presidential election. As of this writing, it appears that while the Republican Party bested Democrat candidates in elections for the House of Representatives, Senate and state legislatures and a racial preference amendment to the California constitution was defeated, President Trump was not re-elected, even though he received more than 10 million more votes than in 2016.

We can say that Donald Trump lost, while his party and policies won. Why?

A sound supposition is that voters made a distinction between Trump the individual and the ideas and policies he advocated and enacted as president. In other words, Trump's character was on the ballot and a majority of American voters did not like it. His character shaped his destiny.

According to one poll, 44% of Biden voters said they were voting more against the other candidate than for their own, compared with only 22% of Trump voters. Trump failed to convince many voters to focus on his policies and overlook his personality. Thus, nearly half the Biden voters were not voting in order to support policies of the Democratic Party, which accordingly, did not win a mandate for implementing its views on the economy and the culture.

There was no mandate for the progressive left wing of that party to govern according to its preferences and prejudices. In races for offices other than the presidency, Democrats easily won among voters (23%) who considered the candidates' "personal qualities" and Republicans won among those (73%) who gave priority to the candidates' positions on the issues.

What was it about Trump's character that seems to have caused him to lose the election?

Here is a list of descriptors I have been collecting for four years from what I have read in commentaries and news reports or heard being used to describe Donald Trump:

irascible; incorrigible; uneducated; childish; center of attention; self-promoting; self-obsessed; blowhard; unwise; rash; belligerent; bully; uncouth; freewheeling; untethered; opinionated; rude; crude; show-off; unmannered; unclubbable; off-putting; inarticulate; loud; untrustworthy; mistrustful; mean; nasty; solitary; autocratic; demeaning; friendless; overbearing; disruptive; only about me; distracting; instinctive; intuitive; domineering; weak moral sense; hollow; broken soul; false-face; pretender; pretentious; huckster; a carney; a music man; empresario; punitive; vengeful; prejudiced; judgmental; harsh; exploitative; keeps everyone guessing and off-balance; forces everyone to react; forces everyone to come to him; needy; fearful; pugnacious; self-seeker; drives events; stays on the offensive; overpromises; misrepresents; unrealistic; slippery exaggerates; fails to disclose all the facts; puffery; braggadocio bullet point thinking; intellectually lazy; unaccountable; grandiose;

megalomaniacal; opportunist; ungrateful; unappreciative; unfit; delusional; mendacious; malevolent; incompetent authoritarian

Now, these are perceptions and impressions only. Without more, they are neither facts nor truth. Perceptions, we know, enter our minds after being screened by prejudices, emotions, heuristics, cognitive biases, personality orientations like mistrust, introversion, narcissism, megalomania, fearfulness, compassion, extroversion, jealousy, envy, sincerity, empathy, need for power, need for affection and on and on.

Perceptions and impressions, in reverse, affect our judgment, thinking and our emotions. They are neither trivial nor superficial, but flow through to our values and our behaviors. What we perceive to be wrong or evil, we most likely will or oppose or not attempt. What we perceive to be honorable and worthy, we most likely will emulate or applaud. Perceptions and impressions are, therefore, most important for politics and other forms of social collaborations.

Whatever creates or structures a perception or an impression was a subject of concern to teachers of rhetoric and oratory. The personal is the political, it has been said. The personal can influence thinking and decisions as much as logic and good argument, sometimes even more.

Quintillian said that a persuasive speaker must be a “good person who speaks well.”

The Stoic Epictetus wrote extensively on powering up the mind to guard against impressions coming in from the world around us. He cautioned us to be wary and careful in accepting impressions at face value, to have the mental discipline to consider them from various standpoints, for coherence with sound facts and to assess them for credibility and usefulness.

Ad hominem arguments showcasing a person’s character are not logical or rational proof of anything, not even of the truth of the accusation or the praise pointed at the person. But ad hominem arguments have impact on our feelings and our preferences. They are part of humanness, for good and for bad.

A candidate’s character is a legitimate consideration for voters under the Caux Round Table’s (CRT) Principles for Government. The principles assert that every public office is a “public trust.” Consequently, every public official is a trustee holding power and authority as a steward, not for any personal benefit.

The authority given an office is not in any way private property or personal power giving what the jurists call “dominion” or a prerogative to use arbitrary personal discretion in official decision-making.

The CRT foundational principle for government holds that:

Public power is held in trust for the community.

Power brings responsibility; power is a necessary moral circumstance in that it binds the actions of one to the welfare of others.

Therefore, the power given by public office is held in trust for the benefit of the community and its citizens. Officials are custodians only of the powers they hold; they have no personal entitlement to office or the prerogatives thereof.

Holders of public office are accountable for their conduct while in office; they are subject to removal for malfeasance, misfeasance or abuse of office. The burden of proof that no malfeasance, misfeasance or abuse of office has occurred lies with the office holder.

The state is the servant and agent of higher ends; it is subordinate to society. Public power is to be exercised within a framework of moral responsibility for the welfare of others. Governments that abuse their trust shall lose their authority and may be removed from office.

A trustee is a fiduciary with a duty to subordinate personal interests and views to loyal service of those who are to benefit from the powers held in trust and to prudent carefulness in deciding how to use those powers in the best interests of those beneficiaries.

Having high character facilitates such stewardship. Having bad character almost guarantees the person serving as trustee will abuse their office.

In the American jurisprudential and political tradition, the ideal of public office as a public trust has roots in both Judeo-Christian and Roman law.

In the Old Testament, the Lord God asks the Prophet Samuel to warn the leaders of Israel about the risk that a king would not be faithful to his duty. The Lord God told Samuel that in choosing to set up a king for themselves, they were turning against God himself. Samuel then said to the elders of Israel:

“This is what the king who will reign over you will claim as his rights: He will take your sons and make them serve with his chariots and horses and they will run in front of his chariots. Some he will assign to be commanders of thousands and commanders of fifties and others to plow his ground and reap his harvest and still others to make weapons of war and equipment for his chariots. He will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. He will take the best of your fields and vineyards and olive groves and give them to his attendants. He will take a tenth of your grain and of your vintage and give it to his officials and attendants. Your male and female servants and the best of your cattle and donkeys he will take for his own use. He will take a tenth of your flocks and you yourselves will become his slaves. When that day comes, you will cry out for relief from the king you have chosen, but the LORD will not answer you in that day.”

Later, the Prophet Ezekiel reported that the Lord God had told him:

“Woe to you shepherds of Israel who only take care of yourselves! Should not shepherds take care of the flock? You eat the curds, clothe yourselves with the wool and slaughter the choice animals, but you do not take care of the flock. You have not strengthened the weak or healed the sick or bound up the injured. You have not brought back the strays or searched for the lost. You have ruled them harshly and brutally. So they were scattered because there was no shepherd and when they

were scattered they became food for all the wild animals. My sheep wandered over all the mountains and on every high hill. They were scattered over the whole earth and no one searched or looked for them. I am against the shepherds and will hold them accountable for my flock. I will remove them from tending the flock so that the shepherds can no longer feed themselves. I will rescue my flock from their mouths and it will no longer be food for them.”

Roman law provided for fiduciary duties when another held delegated authority from an owner; for the obligations of a *fideicommissum*, whereby the property of one deceased was committed to the good faith administration of another; for a *mandatum*, where one party gratuitously promised to execute a commission for another.

In the Confucian tradition, office came with responsibility of duty. What we would after Cicero call an “office,” Confucius used the term “name” or specific social role set in a context of relationships. Thus, he said government happens when “a lord lords; a minister ministers; a father fathers; and a son sons.” Each social role – lord, minister, father, son and by implication all other social roles, such as mother, wife, daughter, policeman, president – has its own special duties. A person in a role was expected to have sufficient virtue or *de* to carry out those duties without fail or complaint or abuse of position. In this sense, having good character was central to the Confucian paradigm of just living with one another.

Among the admonitions of Confucius on the importance of good character are:

“See what a man does. Mark his motives, examine in what things he rests. How can a man conceal his character?” (*The Analects*, BKII Ch X)

“Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue.” (*The Analects*, Bk I, Chpt III)

“If a lordly man abandon virtue, how can he fulfill the requirements of his role?” *The Analects*, Bk IV, Ch V)

“The mind of the lordly man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain.” (*The Analects*, Bk IV Ch XVI)

“Rotten wood cannot be carved.” (*The Analects*, Bk V, Ch IX)

“In transacting business there must be faithfulness; in intercourse with friends there must be sincerity.” (*The Analects*, Bk V, Ch IV)

“Hold faithful ness and sincerity as first principles.” *The Analects*, Bk V Ch VIII)

“In his conduct of himself he was humble, in serving his superiors he was respectful, in nourishing the people he was kind, in ordering the people he was just.” *The Analects* Bk V XV

“To see what is right and not do it is want of courage.” (*The Analects*, Bk II Ch XXIV)

“High station filled without indulgent generosity; ceremonies performed without reverence; mourning conducted without sorrow – wherewith should I contemplate such ways?” (*The Analects*, Bk III, CH XXVI)

Mencius held that a ruler who abused the responsibilities of his office (of his “name”), who “outraged the benevolence proper to his position” or who outraged righteousness could be killed. (*The Mencius* Bk I, Pt. II, Ch. VIII)

In Buddhism, a king was expected to possess 10 virtues in order to better serve his subjects. These virtues are: dana (charity); sīla (morality); pariccāga (altruism); ajjava (honesty); maddava (gentleness); tapa (self-controlling); akkodha (non-anger); avihimsa (non-violence); khanti (forbearance); and avirodhana (uprightness).

Where power and authority are in use, character is there also, for better or for worse.

Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely. The most needed check on those who have any power in any role is a high and noble character. Institutional structures of incentive and restraint are of secondary importance, though still necessary and wise.

John Locke made the link between character and trustworthiness in office explicit: “... a good prince, who is mindful of the trust put into his hands and careful of the good of his people, cannot have too much prerogative, so a weak and ill prince who claims a prerogative ... which he may exercise at his pleasure to make or promote an interest distinct from that of the public, gives the people an occasion to claim their right and limit that power ...” (*Second Treatise*, section 164) Locke asks rhetorically, “Who shall be judge whether the prince or the legislative act contrary to their trust?” ... “I reply: the people shall be judge; for who shall be judge whether the trustee or depute acts well and according to the trust reposed in him, but he who deposes him, and must by having deposed him, have still the power to discard him when he fails in his trust?” (*Second Treatise*, section 242)

In the U.S., a close correlation between holding a public trust and having good character was strongly asserted by a set of essays, the *Federalist Papers*, written to explain and defend the provisions of the proposed constitution for a federal government. *Federalist No. 57* insightfully states that “The aim of every political constitution is, or ought to be, first to obtain for rulers men who possess most wisdom to discern and most virtue to pursue the common good of the society; and in the next place, to take the most effectual precautions for keeping them virtuous whilst they continue to hold their public trust.” “... a faithful discharge of their trust shall [establish] their title to a renewal of it.”

With respect to human character in general, *Federalist No. 49* posits that “reason” not “passion” should sit in judgment. This echoes stoic philosophy on the need for character to contextualize in order to regulate the impacts of perceptions and impressions on the disposition of the mind and heart. *Federalist No. 51* simply notes that “If men were angels, no government would be necessary.”

In discussing the authority of the Senate under the U.S. Constitution to remove officials from office, Hamilton, in *Federalist No. 66*, noted that those could be dismissed “who, by their conduct, shall have proved themselves unworthy of the confidence reposed in them.”

In *Federalist No. 70*, Hamilton expressed the opinion that “Man, in public trust, will much oftener act in such a manner as to render him unworthy of being any longer trust, than in such a manner as to make him obnoxious to legal punishment.” To “render oneself unworthy” is to fail in character for it is our character which makes us worthy. In a republic, Hamilton continued, “every magistrate ought to be personally responsible for his behavior.” Hamilton’s concern for those seeking elected office was that they might often indulge in “the wiles of parasites and sycophants,” set before the people “the snares of the ambitions, the avaricious, the desperate, ...” (*Federalist No. 71*)

The sole and undivided responsibility of one man will naturally beget a livelier sense of duty and a more exact regard to reputation.” In *Federalist No. 74*, Hamilton preferred a president to be a “well-directed man.” *Federalist No. 53* speaks of “an upright intention” and “a sound judgment” as necessary for competence in government service. The proposed Constitution, he wrote, was designed to guard against the “ordinary depravity of human nature” – in other words, to guard against the pernicious effects of bad character. (*Federalist No. 78*)

Conclusion

Where a public trust is concerned, good character is a very just standard by which to measure the fitness of a candidate for the office and the accomplishment of an incumbent in the execution of his due responsibilities. One’s character, therefore, legitimately determines one’s destiny in obtaining and holding public office.

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