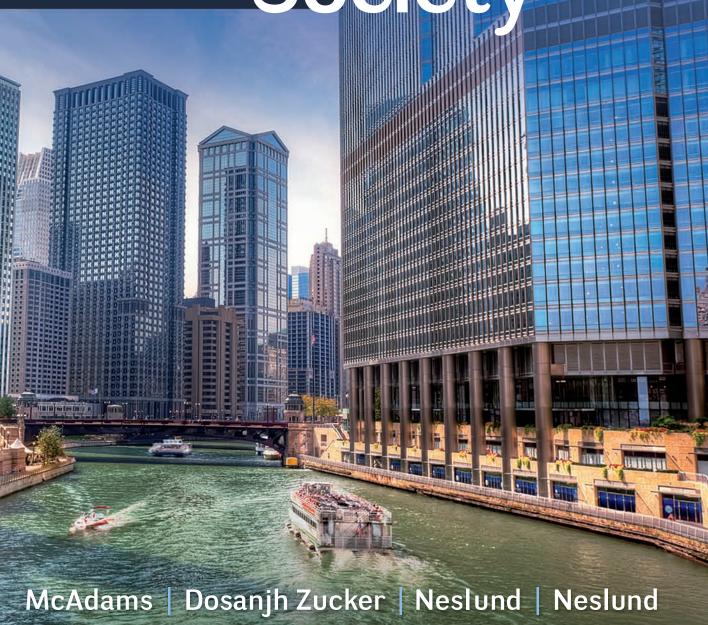
Eleventh Edition

Law, Business, and Society



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LAW, BUSINESS, AND SOCIETY, ELEVENTH EDITION

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Preface

Broadly, our adjustments for this eleventh edition were designed to refresh the book and achieve increased reader interest, but more specifically this edition is directed to the nation's ongoing debate about how much government we need in our lives, particularly in our business lives. Although the general structure and philosophy of the book are unchanged, we have made significant revisions.

WHAT'S NEW

Chapter 1, a survey of the economic continuum from capitalism to collectivism and their various mutations, has been thoroughly rewritten and updated to reflect the striking economic developments of recent years in the United States and around the world.

Chapter 1 includes discussions of the subprime mortgage fallout and the law's response, as well as the critics' views of big banks and their treatment as being "too big to fail." Recent Wall Street alleged abuses are also discussed, and new data on the wealth gap, poverty, and overall quality of life in the United States are offered. China's ongoing balance between the free market and state oversight is also explored.

Chapter 2 explores the recent financial crisis as an ethics scandal and legal challenge. Various new vignettes, anecdotes, questions, and other features aid this exploration.

Chapter 3 offers a critical view of expanding corporate power addressing tax avoidance, state incentives, and politics. Corporate social responsibility issues such as guns and gun sales are explored, along with the Toyota sudden acceleration case, and fast-food labor issues, which are explored from a legal perspective in subsequent chapters as well.

Chapter 4 includes a discussion of the Rutgers University cyberbullying case and questions that will elicit student discussion on the controversial sentence, as well as antibullying legislation. "Stand your ground," the George Zimmerman trial for the killing of Trayvon Martin, and the "Castle Doctrine" are the subject of a Practicing Ethics box. Critics' views of the Roberts Court are updated, along with discussion of the Walmart class action aftermath, firms' billing practices, and access to justice. Service of process through social media and the use of small claims to sue big corporations is also explored, along with an updated look at the Japanese practice of law.

Chapter 5's discussion of the ongoing Federalism debate is updated, and its analysis of free speech has been simplified and clarified, and the takings debate is revisited. Along with a new search and seizure case discussion, changes in the law governing gay and lesbian rights, including marriage, are discussed.

Chapter 6 offers updates on the Facebook ownership and Huffington Post blogger pay disputes, a clarified example of unjust enrichment, and questions on recent cases such as the *Modern Family* cast's contract dispute. Also covered are the recent claims against Lance Armstrong by his former sponsors following his television admissions of wrongdoing. Further, the Uniform Electronic Transactions Act (UETA) and websites' terms of sale are added subjects.

Chapter 7 includes updates and an accompanying question regarding the Walmart trampling death for the opening Practicing Ethics section, as well as an update on the battery charge against a Valdosta State University professor for shutting a laptop on a student's fingers. A discussion of the 2014 jury verdict in a defamation lawsuit stemming from Yelp postings, and a 2013 negligence case involving an assault in a bowling alley parking lot have also been added. The closure of Blitz, the red gasoline can maker, is discussed to raise the larger question of whether litigation or corporate greed are to blame for the pressures facing high-risk businesses. The recent legal issues raised by video game makers' use of college football players' images are discussed in light of recent developments. The Toyota saga as it extends to electric throttle systems is also discussed.

Chapter 8 explores the 2012 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius*, and its view of the commerce clause versus taxation power of the U.S. Congress. A new case on indecency is included. TARP and Dodd–Frank developments are reviewed.

Chapter 9 includes discussion of "distorporations," as well as discussions of the SEC's recent social media guidance on Regulation FD, its approach to settlements, its lift on the ban to advertise for unregistered securities, and new approach to settlements. Recent white-collar criminal cases against SAC and Goldman Sachs' Rajat Gupta are also discussed, as is Delaware's attempt to gain exclusive jurisdiction over incorporation.

Chapter 10 includes a recent Robinson–Patman case: The intersection between antitrust and intellectual property is further explored and clarified.

Chapter 11 updates antitrust developments with Apple, Google, and Microsoft and provides an overview of recent legal scrutiny applied to mergers.

Chapter 12's drug testing sections are reorganized for clarity and flow, and a new "privacy at work" case highlights personal privacy in the small, private-sector workplace. Recent legal developments are highlighted, such as updated discussions on the 2010 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, the EEOC 2012 criminal background check guidelines, and a recent case raising questions on the utility of such pre-employment measures in preventing workplace violence, a 2012 U.S. Supreme Court decision impacting the FMLA rights of state workers, updated examples including a new example of constructive discharge, as well as more recent surveys and statistics.

Chapter 13 includes the U.S. Supreme Court's recent decisions impacting retaliation and employers' affirmative defense for sexual harassment, which is, in turn, highlighted by a 2014 federal case. An updated discussion on sexual-orientation discrimination protections that includes the Spring 2014 social-media-fueled, successful campaign to oust a CEO who had contributed to an anti-gay marriage political group, as well as the EEOC's GINA Enforcement Guidance, is offered. Updates on the cases against A&F found in the opening Practicing Ethics discussion, as well as updated survey results and statistics, are offered. The discussion of the EEOC's "right to sue" letters is clarified as well.

Chapter 14's discussion of unfair labor practices in management is reorganized to include a fuller discussion of recent applications of the NLRA, to, for example, at-will employment clauses, dress codes, and social media postings. The good-faith bargaining explanation has been clarified and updated, as well as the Boeing dispute.

Chapter 15 offers a discussion of the consumer protection issues associated with forprofit schools. Legal and ethical issues raised by payday loans operations are also explored. Chapter 16 offers an updated discussion of free speech, encompassing social media and Internet service providers. Emerging issues of effective regulation of multinational enterprises are discussed, as well as the SEC's extraterritorial powers under the Dodd–Frank Act. Updates on accounting standards, including the status of the convergence project between IFRS and GAAP and the PCAOB on the global stage, are also included.

Chapter 17 sheds light on the complexity of environmental issues through current examples, such as the impact of burning of forests in Indonesia to accommodate palm oil plantations on air pollution levels in Singapore and southern Malaysia. Cap-and-trade programs, tax incentives, "green growth" examples, and updated statistics and enforcement settlements are also discussed.

Chapter 18 updates include cybersecurity, the digital divide, the FCC's recent rules on net neutrality, legal issues stemming from "revenge porn" websites, price discrimination, cross-device tracking, market response to the use of copyrighted material, top-level domain name sales (TLDS) as an ethical issue, and the effort to make state sales tax uniform to support interstate, online sales transactions.

OVERVIEW

This text is directed to courses at both the upper-division undergraduate and masters levels in the legal environment of business, government and business, and business and society. Authors of textbooks in these areas often rely on a single discipline (for example, law, economics, or management) as the foundation for their efforts. In this text we take an inter-disciplinary approach, using elements of law, political economy, international business, ethics, social responsibility, and management. This large task necessarily requires certain trade-offs, but we hope the product will more accurately capture the fullness of the business environment.

Our primary goal is to produce an interesting, provocative reading experience. Naturally, accuracy and reasonable comprehensiveness cannot be sacrificed. Our feeling, however, is that a law text can be both intellectually and emotionally engaging without sacrificing substantive ends. To meet our objective we have presented the bulk of the book in the form of contemporary legal and ethical conflicts emerging from today's news. We have provided scholarly results, surveys, polls, data, anecdotes, and other specific details that lend credibility, immediacy, and interest to the reading experience.

The book is divided into five units, as follows:

Unit I—Business and Society. We do not begin with the law. Rather, in Chapter 1 (Capitalism and the Role of Government), Chapter 2 (Business Ethics), and Chapter 3 (The Corporation and Public Policy: Expanding Responsibilities), we describe some of the economic and social forces that shape our legal system.

The goals of Unit I are to (a) enhance student awareness of the many societal influences on business, (b) establish the business context from which government regulation arose, and (c) explore the roles of the free market, government intervention, and individual and corporate ethics in shaping business behavior.

The student must understand not merely the law but the law in context. What forces have provoked government intervention in business? What alternatives to our current "mixed economy" might prove healthy? These considerations help the students respond to one of the critical questions of the day: To what extent, if any, should we regulate business?

Unit II—Introduction to Law. Chapter 4 (The American Legal System) and Chapter 5 (Constitutional Law and the Bill of Rights) survey the foundations of our legal system. Here we set out the "nuts and bolts" of law, combining cases and narrative. Then with Chapter 6 (Contracts) and Chapter 7 (Business Torts and Product Liability), we examine the foundations of business law.

Unit III—Trade Regulation and Antitrust. Chapter 8 (Government Regulation of Business) raises the book's central policy inquiry: When should the government intervene in business practice? Chapter 9 (Business Organizations and Securities Regulation), Chapter 10 (Antitrust Law—Restraints of Trade), and Chapter 11 (Antitrust Law—Monopolies and Mergers) survey the core of government oversight of business.

Unit IV—Employer–Employee Relations. Chapter 12 (Employment Law I: Employee Rights), Chapter 13 (Employment Law II: Discrimination), and Chapter 14 (Employment Law III: Labor–Management Relations) are intended not only to survey the law in those areas, but also to introduce some of the sensitive and provocative social issues that have led to today's extensive government intervention in the employment relationship.

Unit V—Selected Topics in Government–Business Relations. Two of the closing chapters of this book—Chapter 15 (Consumer Protection) and Chapter 17 (Environmental Protection)—emphasize the dramatic expansion of the public's demands for socially responsible conduct in business. Chapter 16 (International Ethics and Law) provides an overview of the legal and ethical issues emerging from global business practice, and Chapter 18 (Internet Law and Ethics) surveys some cyberlaw and ethics problems.

ACCREDITATION

Our text conforms to Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) International accreditation standards.

Two chapters are devoted exclusively to ethics, and ethics themes emerge throughout the book. The chapter on employment discrimination should be quite helpful in aiding students' understanding of diversity issues.

Furthermore, as required by the rapidly changing nature of commerce and as recommended by the AACSB, the text devotes extensive attention to legal and ethical issues arising from international business. Various topics throughout the text (for example, comparative economic systems, the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, and global pollution) afford the student a sense of the worldwide implications of American business practice, and Chapter 16 is entirely devoted to international themes.

PHILOSOPHY

As noted, our primary goal is to provoke student thought. To that end, we place heavy emphasis on analysis. We consider the questions we ask more important than the answers to those questions. We introduce the student to existing policy in the various substantive Our book takes a strong public policy orientation. Attention in Unit I to political economy and ethics is a necessary foundation on which the student can build a logical understanding of the regulatory process. Thereafter, those business and society themes persist throughout the book. In virtually every chapter, we look beyond the law itself to other social and environmental forces. For example, in the antitrust chapters economic philosophy is of great importance. Antitrust is explored as a matter of national social policy. We argue that antitrust has a good deal to do with the direction of American life generally. Law is at the heart of the fair employment practices section, but we also present material from management, sociology, history, and popular culture to treat fair employment as an issue of public policy rather than as a series of narrower technical legal disputes. These multidimensional approaches characterize most chapters as we attempt to examine the various topics as a whole and in context. At the same time, the law remains the core of the book.

KEY FEATURES/DEPARTURES

Approximately 150 "boxes" and ethics vignettes place the law in a practical context and offer many provocative opportunities for discussion.

Ethics and social responsibility are at the heart of the text rather than an afterthought to meet accreditation standards.

International issues receive extensive attention.

Law cases are long enough to clearly express the essence of the decision while challenging the reader's intellect.

The law is studied in the economic, social, and political context from which it springs.

Critics of business values and the American legal system receive attention.

Approximately 200 selected websites, including suggested online videos, appear in this edition, and each chapter includes at least one Internet Exercise.

Perhaps the key pedagogical tactic in the book is the emphasis on questions rather than on answers.

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL

A package of supplementary materials is included in the instructor's manual. Those materials include (1) chapter outlines, (2) general advice regarding the goals and purposes of the chapters, (3) summaries of the law cases, (4) answers for the questions raised in the text, and (5) a test bank.

TEST BANK

Instructors can test students using a vast bank of test questions divided by chapter.

POWERPOINTS

This edition's revised PowerPoints contain an easy-to-follow lecture outline summarizing key points for every chapter.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Completion of the eleventh edition of this book depended, in significant part, on the hard work of others.

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SUGGESTIONS

The authors welcome comments and feedback from all readers.

Kiren Dosanjh Zucker

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Links to Brief Videos for Classroom Use

The following video links appear in the body of the text in conjunction with the subject matter of the videos.

Chapter 1

Trailer *Atlas Shrugged* documentary movie [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v= Tv29SXnd2dk&feature=related].

Trailer *Inside Job* documentary movie. Oscar winner 2011 [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzrBurlJUNk].

Steve Croft, "The Case Against Lehman Brothers," 60 Minutes, CBS News, April 22, 2012, at www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=7406224n

Martin Smith, "The Untouchables," Frontline, PBS, January 22, 2013, at [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/untouchables/]

Chapter 2

2009 Harvard MBA Ethics Oath, *The Daily Show with John Stewart* [http://www.thedailyshow.com/watch/wed-august-12-2009/mba-ethics-oath].

Trailer, "The Company Men" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xa5qg7cB1ZQ
Trailer, Wall Street: Money Never Sleeps, at [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HcMFA2SHES4]

Chapter 3

Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders, "A scandal" (a Senate speech criticizing corporate tax loopholes) [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sknt-UBRhxo].

Trailer Wal-Mart: The Corporation [http://www.thecorporation.com/index.cfm?page_id=46] The High Cost of Low Price documentary movie [http://www.walmartmovie.com].

Chapter 4

"What Is Mediation?" (a brief overview of mediation and arbitration) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLdia39awl0]. (The final two characters in this URL are a lower case l, as in law, and a zero.)

Chapter 5

"1967 ABC News Report on Loving Case" (application of due process and equal protection principles to Virginia anti-miscegenation statute) [http://abcnews.go.com/video/playerIndex?id=3278653](upper case I in Index).

Chapter 6

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[http://www.aclu.org/lgbt-rights hiv-aids/new-aclu-video-shows-need-transgenderinclusive-enda].

Chapter 14

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Chapter 15

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Chapter 18

Video Essay: "What Is the 'Digital Divide?'" [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v= **fCIB** vXUptY]. (In CIB, the middle letter is a capital I, as in Iowa.)

Business and Society

- 1 CAPITALISM AND THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT
- 2 BUSINESS ETHICS
- 3 THE CORPORATION AND PUBLIC POLICY: EXPANDING RESPONSIBILITIES

Capitalism and the Role of Government

After completing this chapter, students will be able to:

- 1. Describe capitalism and its relationship to individual rights.
- 2. Compare and contrast capitalism and collectivism.
- 3. Differentiate between communism and socialism as collectivist philosophies.
- 4. Evaluate arguments regarding government's proper role in the global, technology-based economy.
- 5. Describe the primary characteristics of a "mixed economy."
- Analyze the impact of capitalism on equality, fairness, and community in American and global society.
- 7. Discuss the theory and practice of privatization.
- 8. Discuss the current state of capitalism in China and Russia.
- 9. Describe the income and wealth gaps in America.

Part One—Introduction

Are you a capitalist?

Are you a capitalist? If so, what role, if any, should the law play in your business life? How much government does America need? These themes, examining the relationship between government and

business in America, are the core of this text. Since the fall of the Soviet Union and the general decline of communist influence, free market reasoning has dominated worldwide economic discourse. Indeed, noted theorist Francis Fukuyama argued that capitalism and Western democracy had so thoroughly proven their worth that the capitalism/collectivism debate was over. Democracy and markets, Fukuyama claimed, were so clearly triumphant that no new forms of civilization are likely to emerge. Thus, he said, we are at the end of history. Events, however, have challenged Fukuyama's bold thesis. The Great Recession, including the subprime mortgage crisis, the stunning power of the Wall Street banks, and the continuing turmoil of globalization have raised grave doubts about the economic

reliability of capitalism. Likewise, government's failure to send corrupt bankers off to jail, rampant greed, and the Occupy Wall Street movement have magnified longstanding doubts about the morality of capitalism.

Capitalism Challenged: Economics

We will briefly examine the economic and moral turmoil of contemporary American capitalism, but more detail on most of these topics will be provided in subsequent chapters.

The Great Recession

In late 2008, America's financial markets seemed near collapse. Lending had essentially frozen. A powerful Wall Street bank, Lehman Brothers, went broke while Bear Stearns and Merrill Lynch, also Wall Street titans, faced failure and were sold. American and global financial markets panicked and appeared unable to correct themselves. Fearing a Great Depression as occurred in the 1930s, the federal government had, during both the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations, essentially flooded the market with cash, took on much of the debt held by endangered banks, and, through its Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), bailed out failing giants such as Goldman Sachs, General Motors, and Chrysler: companies that were deemed "too big to fail." Additional stimulus measures included tax reductions, bond sales, infrastructure and "green" projects, and enhanced unemployment benefits. Depending on how the word *stimulus* is defined, government expenditures to prop up the endangered economy ranged from perhaps \$1.7 trillion² to \$4.7 trillion³ or more. Most of the TARP money has been repaid, but economists differ both on the need for the stimulus efforts and on their success.

Subprime Mortgages

The nation's housing bubble burst.

The financial community's near collapse had been most directly ignited by the subprime mortgage crisis; a situation in which the nation's housing bubble burst and millions of Americans were no longer able to pay their home mortgages. Instead of continuing their

sometimes meteoric rise in value, those homes had plunged in price and much of the total real estate market had essentially imploded. The resulting mountain of bad debt could not be managed by the American financial institutions that were holding it; fear paralyzed the lending markets, and the government felt obliged to step in to prevent a greater financial tragedy. Whereas greed and inept management were instrumental in the subprime debacle, the role of financial fraud remains unclear. Some big civil penalties have been imposed, and criminal investigations undertaken.



[For a critical examination of the 2008 financial meltdown, see the trailer for the 2011 Oscar-winning best documentary, Inside Job, at http://www.youtube.com /watch?v=FzrBurl,JUNk]

Big Banks

America's biggest banks were deemed "too big to fail."

America's biggest banks, including the five largest—JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America, Citigroup, Wells Fargo, and Goldman Sachs—were deemed "too big to fail" during the subprime mortgage crisis, and they remain a grave threat should the economy falter again. In 2001, the assets of the five biggest American banks totaled about 25 percent of all U.S. bank assets whereas today that number exceeds 50 percent.⁴ The Dodd–Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (see Chapter 8) includes provisions designed to reduce the likelihood of big bank failures, but implementation of the new law has been troubled. Federal regulators in 2013 proposed requiring the biggest banks to increase their capital on hand substantially to guard against unexpected losses and reduce the risk to the American economy.

Globalization

Globalization represents the international flowering of capitalism; the power of free markets has been embraced, enthusiastically or reluctantly, almost everywhere on Earth. That power raised new threats, of course, including the spread of America's corporate influence and values around the globe (see Chapter 3). Now, however, globalization seems to be entering a new phase. In a "hyper-connected," "flat" world, we are all linked together in an economic and cultural intimacy scarcely imaginable a few decades back, but new evidence suggests that a period of "de-globalization" may be emerging. International trade and money flows are slowing or actually declining. Globalization has succeeded in raising wages significantly in emerging powers such as China and India. As a result, manufacturing jobs are returning to America in surprising numbers. Of course, globalization is not vanishing, but its economic advantages are shifting and new nationalistic urges threaten to slow the pace of global linkages.

Capitalism Challenged: Morality

Beyond fears about capitalism's economic performance, particularly its instability and harshness, critics point to capitalism's indecencies.

Wall Street Abuses

Many Americans are angered by the government's inability to criminally punish the big banks and bankers. Certainly many Americans are puzzled, if not angered, by the government's inability to criminally punish the big banks and bankers who profited so handsomely in the events that led to the nation's economic collapse and who, in several cases, had to be bailed out with public money following the collapse. (For more, see Chapter 2.) Those same bankers have not only escaped jail, but they con-

tinue to earn stunning sums of money. Responding, however, to harsh publicity, among other factors, some of the big banks have either cut or curbed executive pay. In 2013, at Goldman Sachs and JPMorgan Chase, compensation costs were falling and Morgan's high-profile CEO, Jamie Dimon, took a 2012 pay cut of 50 percent, down to \$11.5 million. The cut, at least in part, served as a signal to regulators and investors that the board of directors was in charge following a troubled year that included a \$6 billion trading loss.⁶

Greed

CEO salaries for the top 200 U.S. corporations (not limited to bankers) rose 16 percent in 2012. Among those top 200 CEOs, the average income was 273 times the income of the average worker—up from a 20 to 1 ratio in 1965. The average CEO's *daily* salary at those 200 biggest

firms now exceeds the average annual salary of their workers.8 Actual salaries have often remained limited or flat in recent years, but stock-based pay has fueled an overall rise.

Congress showed its concern about CEO pay in a Dodd-Frank provision requiring the Securities and Exchange Commission to give shareholders a "say on pay" by writing new rules requiring periodic shareholder voting on executive compensation. At this writing, "say on pay" seems to have encouraged attention to CEO pay, but a shareholder backlash has not yet materialized.9

Anger with corporate greed and perceived abuse of power led to a grassroots global protest movement labeled Occupy Wall Street. Hundreds of peaceful protesters (mostly young,

Occupy Wall Street

often college-educated and jobless) camped in New York's financial district in late 2011 to "restore democracy" while denouncing the "greed" and "corruption" of the "upper 1 percent." The movement then spread to many other American cit-

ies and around the globe. Occupy Wall Street gained enormous publicity as a leftist assault on corporate America and the wealthy, but the movement sputtered—perhaps for want of a clear, coherent message. Occupy Wall Street continues its efforts, but at least for the present, the attention of the broader American public has been lost. (See occupy.org.)



[For an overview of the Lehman Brothers banking collapse and a critique of the government's regulatory oversight, see Steve Croft, "The Case Against Lehman Brothers," 60 Minutes, CBS News, April 22, 2012, at www.cbsnews.com/video /watch/?id=7406224n]. [For an investigation of "why no Wall Street execs have been prosecuted for the financial crisis," see Martin Smith, "The Untouchables," Frontline, PBS, January 22, 2013, at www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/untouchables/].

Questions

- 1. Thomas Hoenig, a member of the board of directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, observed: "[Americans] realize that more must be done to address a threat that remains increasingly a part of our economy: financial institutions that are 'too big to fail."10 Do you agree that our concentrated financial sector is a threat that must be addressed? Explain.
- 2. Journalist/lecturer Richard Doak laments what he believes to be unfair and excessive pay to executives: "Executive greed has perverted risks, rewards. . . . The American system has been rigged to over-enrich those at the top." What do you think? Is greed the culprit? Has the system been "rigged," or can we continue to count on the market to properly distribute pay? Explain.

Capitalism Challenged: America in Decline?

The economic and moral challenges to our capitalist system, the rise of China, and the ongoing political dysfunction in Washington, DC, have combined to shake our faith in America's future. When asked in a 2013 Gallup Poll if the nation's best days are ahead of us or behind, Americans were split with 47 percent seeing the best as yet to come whereas 50 percent said we have already witnessed our peak. ¹² Some critics attribute the nation's problems to fundamental flaws in capitalism and in the American character. Michael Moore's 2009 documentary movie, Capitalism: A Love Story, assails capitalism as "evil." 13 Moore was questioned about his movie:

Wall Street Journal: Why call the movie "Capitalism: A Love Story?" You don't seem to love very much about capitalism. Mr. Moore: It is a love story about the well-to-do. They happen to love their money very much. Now they love our money and they want all our money and our homes. It's about their love. 14

Capitalism drags us into decadence.

Political scientist Benjamin Barber believes that capitalism drags us into decadence by encouraging us to buy as many unnecessary products as we can manage, thus replacing historical principles of hard work and deferred gratification with infantile hungers for anything that might promise comfort. In

America's version of capitalism, as Barber sees it, we find liberty in commerce. We can buy whatever we want; therefore, we are free. 15 But that undemanding vision of liberty means we have no sense of obligation for social and political ideals greater than self-satisfaction. 16 Asking no more of us than unbridled consumption may undermine democracy itself, as columnist Rod Dreher argues:

Democracy requires virtue. So does a healthy capitalism. A nation that cannot govern its own appetites will, in time, be unable to govern itself. An economy that divorces economic activity from the restraining virtues that make for good stewardship will implode.¹⁷

Vast Resources

Although America has been grievously shaken by the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the Great Recession, shouldn't we find encouragement in the nation's extraordinary strengths and resources? We remain dominant in economic, military, and international affairs, and, as Goldman Sachs recently told its clients, we should recognize "the key economic institutional, human capital and geopolitical advantages the U.S. enjoys over other economies."18 In particular, Goldman pointed to America's attractiveness as a location for investment, the nation's vast natural resources (especially arable land, oil, and gas), a workforce that is younger and more energetic than those of our chief rivals, and our continuing leadership in innovation. 19 Commentator David Brooks says that America is merely in one of its periodic economic pauses, but he is sure that: "The gospel of success will recapture the imagination."20 Brooks summarized our fundamentally commercial nature:

Walt Whitman got America right in his essay, "Democratic Vistas." He acknowledged the vulgarity of the American success drive. He toted up its moral failings. But in the end he accepted his country's "extreme business energy," its "almost maniacal appetite for wealth." He knew that the country's dreams were all built upon that energy and drive, and eventually the spirit of commercial optimism would always prevail.²¹

Questions

British Labour Party leader Ed Miliband asked in 2012 if 20th century capitalism is failing 21st century society.

- 1. What did he mean?
- 2. Answer his question. See Ed Miliband, "At Davos, Debating Capitalism's Future," New York Times, January 26, 2012 [http://www.nytimes.com/].

Purpose: What Do We Hope to Accomplish?

Until this point, we have provided a brief reminder of some of the big challenges facing America's capitalist system. The balance of this chapter more carefully examines the philosophical nature of free market capitalism, introduces some alternatives to the free market, and asks where America's political economy is headed. Chapter 1 thereby serves as a foundation for the book's detailed investigation of the following questions:

- 1. What is the proper ethical/social role of business in American life?
- 2. How much, if any, government regulation of business is necessary to secure that role?

Markets and Governments

We certainly cannot understand America's system of laws without a firm appreciation for the principles of capitalism from which those laws spring. We have embraced an evolving capitalist, democratic approach to life. Other cultures have placed less faith in the market and more in government planning.

In this chapter we will explore the full economic spectrum, moving from a laissez-faire, free market approach on the extreme right to a brief reminder of command economy principles on the far left. The bulk of our attention, however, will rest where the world is at this moment. Most nations are practicing varying combinations of markets and rules that we can label mixed economies.

The pure free market approach assumes that we can operate our business system and our society at large free of all but foundational legal mechanisms such as contract and criminal law. The wisdom of the market—our individual judgments, in combination with our individual consciences—would "regulate" American life. Most forms of government including regulatory agencies, consumer protection, environmental rules, occupational licensure, zoning restrictions, antitrust law, and all but the most basic government services would be eliminated.

Of course, today's global debate is not so much about capitalism versus communism as about the mixed economy—that is, about what combination of capitalism and government best serves the needs of America and the world. Substantially open markets have shown themselves to be the stronger vehicle for productivity, efficiency, and personal freedom. Are open markets also the stronger vehicle for improving living conditions for all citizens, for maximizing democracy, for discouraging crime and corruption, and for building strong communities? Are America and the world best served by the speed and efficiency of largely unrestrained markets, or do we still need the "civilizing" influence of government rules?

Law

Finally, this chapter should be read as a platform for the study of law that commences in Chapter 4. Once a society settles on some broad political and economic principles, it employs the law as a primary method of social control. So to understand the law, we need to understand its roots in the economic, political, and social preferences of America and the world.

Questions—Part One

- 1. The John Templeton Foundation recently asked a number of prominent thinkers the following question: "Does the free market corrode moral character?" Answer that question. [See www.templeton.org/market]
- 2. Former Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2009 said a "new era is starting" after the "definite defeat of capitalism." 22 Is capitalism dead (or dying)? Explain.
- 3. Scholar Robert Skidelsky applauds capitalism for overcoming scarcity, organizing production, and lifting many out of poverty, but he thinks capitalism, at least in rich countries like the United States, has also produced a culture where our main occupation has become the production and consumption of unnecessary goods. He asks whether capitalism can succeed if it continues to produce "more of the same, stimulating jaded appetites with new gadgets, thrills, and excitements? . . . Do we spend the next century wallowing in triviality?"²³ What do you think?

Part Two--Capitalism: Reduce Government?

Capitalism in America was built on the strong philosophical foundation of personal freedom and private property rights. Our great natural resources and personal ambition led to extraordinary prosperity. Monopolistic abuse followed, however, and government grew to curb the power of big business. Thus, America's substantially free market was gradually constrained by government regulation. The proper balance between open markets and government intervention remains perhaps the central public policy debate in American life.

Should we consider a return to a purer form of capitalism; largely free of government oversight? Can we, in large measure, do without government regulation of business? The controversial philosopher and novelist Ayn Rand was an uncompromising advocate of free market principles. She believed the necessary categories of government were only three in number: the police, the armed services, and the law courts. Rand's philosophy of Objectivism contends that the practice of free market principles is necessary for a rational, moral life. Rand's views and the quality of her writing are heavily criticized, but she has been cited as a powerful influence by some of America's leading corporate and political figures. Her books, including Atlas Shrugged and The Fountainhead, are among the best-selling novels of all time. Indeed, Atlas Shrugged is one of the most influential business books in history, and according to a national survey, has been read by over 8 percent of American adults.²⁴



[For the trailer of a 2011 documentary treatment of Atlas Shrugged, see http://www .youtube.com/watch?v=Tv29SXnd2dk&feature=related]

Big business leaders are the great heroes of Rand's writing.

Big business leaders, who so often are the villains of contemporary American life, are the great heroes of Rand's writing, in which she championed "the virtue of selfishness" and rejected self-sacrifice. Commentator Stephen Moore explained Rand's core theme in *Atlas Shrugged*:

Politicians invariably respond to crises—that in most cases they themselves created—by spawning new government programs, laws and regulations. These, in turn, generate more havoc and poverty, which inspires the politicians to create more programs . . . and the downward spiral

repeats itself until the productive sectors of the economy collapse under the collective weight of taxes and other burdens imposed in the name of fairness, equality and do-goodism.²⁵

[See the Center for the Moral Defense of Capitalism at http://www.moraldefense.com] [For a brief look at major league baseball player Orlando Cabrera's devotion to Atlas Shrugged and a journalist's criticism of Rand's admirers, see http://hardballtalk.nbcsports.com /2011/06/23/orlando-cabrera-is-john-galt/]

READING

Man's Rights

Ayn Rand

If one wishes to advocate a free society—that is, capitalism one must realize that its indispensable foundation is the principle of individual rights. If one wishes to uphold individual rights, one must realize that capitalism is the only system that can uphold and protect them.

Every political system is based on some code of ethics. The dominant ethics of mankind's history were variants of the altruist-collectivist doctrine which subordinated the individual to some higher authority.

Under all such systems, morality was a code applicable to the individual, but not to society. Society was placed outside the moral law, and the inculcation of self-sacrificial devotion to social duty was regarded as the main purpose of ethics in man's earthly existence.

Since there is no such entity as "society," since society is only a number of individual men, this meant, in practice, that the rulers of society were exempt from moral law; subject only to traditional rituals, they held total power and exacted blind obedience—on the implicit principle of "The good is that which is good for society . . . "

This was true of all statist systems, under all variants of the altruist-collectivist ethics. . . . As witness: the theocracy of Egypt, with the Pharaoh as an embodied god—the unlimited majority rule or democracy of Athens—the welfare state run by the Emperors of Rome—the Inquisition of the late Middle Ages—the absolute monarchy of France—the welfare state of Bismarck's Prussia—the gas chambers of Nazi Germany—the slaughterhouse of the Soviet Union.

All these political systems were expressions of the altruistcollectivist ethics-and their common characteristic is the fact that society stood above the moral law. . . . Thus, politically, all these systems were variants of an amoral society.

The most profoundly revolutionary achievement of the United States of America was the subordination of society to moral law.

The principle of man's individual rights represented the extension of morality into the social system—as a limitation on the power of the state . . . The United States was the first moral society in history.

All previous systems had regarded man as a sacrificial means to the ends of others, and society as an end in itself. The United States regarded man as an end in himself, and society as a means to the peaceful, orderly, voluntary coexistence of individuals. All previous systems had held that man's life belongs to society, that society can dispose of him in any way it pleases, and that any freedom he enjoys is his only by favor, by the permission of society, which may be revoked at any time. The United States held that man's life is his by right, that a right is the property of an individual, that society as such has no rights, and that the only moral purpose of a government is the protection of individual rights.

A "right" is a moral principle defining and sanctioning a man's freedom of action in a social context. There is only one fundamental right (all the others are its consequences or corollaries): a man's right to his own life . . .

America's inner contradiction was the altruist-collectivist ethics. Altruism is incompatible with freedom, with capitalism, and with individual rights . . .

It was the concept of individual rights that had given birth to a free society. It was with the destruction of individual rights that the destruction of freedom had to begin.

A collectivist tyranny dare not enslave a country by an outright confiscation of its values, material or moral. It has to be done by a process of internal corruption. . . . The process entails such a growth of newly promulgated "rights" that people do not notice the fact that the meaning of the concept is being reversed . . .