Atlas Network's quarterly review of the worldwide freedom movement

# FREEDOM'S CHAMPION

**WINTER 2018** 

# MARISOL

BY DANIEL ANTHONY

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#### FREEDOM'S CHAMPION

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## **Marisol**By Daniel Anthony

Our exciting new storytelling project, generously supported by the John Templeton Foundation, was unveiled to a standing-room only crowd in New York recently with stories from Peru and Argentina featuring the real people whose lives are made better by our partners' work. One such person is Marisol in Pamplona Alta (on the outskirts of Lima, Peru), who lacks access to running water. Learn how our partner, Asociación de Contribuyentes del Perú, is working to change that and doing development differently. As part of this project we were honored to get to work with Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer Rodrigo Abd. Page 6.

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## 2018 Templeton Freedom Award Winner Helps Create a Better Egypt

By AJ Skiera

The Cairo-based Egyptian Center for Public Policy Studies has been selected as this year's winner of Atlas Network's prestigious \$100,000 Templeton Freedom Award for its "Better Budget for a Better Egypt" initiative, which helped bring about the country's 25-point jump in the Open Budget Survey, fostered greater civic engagement, and occurred amidst the Egyptian government's decision to cut all energy subsidies after 2019. The award, generously supported by the Templeton Religion Trust, was presented during Atlas Network's Freedom Dinner on Nov. 8 in New York City at the Intrepid Sea, Air & Space Museum. Page 24.



#### Overcoming Serbia's Haunting Past | Alumni in Focus: Petar Čekerevac

The current culture in Serbia "has been shaped by a violent 20th century, 50 years of communist one-party rule, 10 years of dictatorship and mafia state, and 18 years of slow and incomplete transition toward a free society," writes Petar Čekerevac, executive manager of the Serbia-based think tank Libek. Čekerevac has recently won two major Atlas Network Think Tank Shark Tank competitions. In this issue of Alumni in Focus he writes about how he's using the winnings from those competitions to provide a classical liberal counterbalance to Serbia's haunting past. Page 16.



**Pro-Markets or Pro-Business?** 

By Roberto Salinas León

To be pro-markets or pro-business? This is the question "at the heart of a crucial public debate concerning the prospects of free markets throughout Latin American nations," writes Dr. Roberto Salinas León, the director of Atlas Network's Center for Latin America. The new center's goal will be to tackle questions like this and many more in an effort to encourage a more prosperous and freer Latin America. Page 20.



## Impact Case Study: Opportunity and Justice — Rethinking Ohio's Criminal Justice System

The Buckeye Institute was recently named the winner of Atlas Network's inaugural North America Liberty Award. The Buckeye Institute was singled out for its work advancing meaningful criminal justice reform in Ohio and for shining a light even further into the dark crevices of injustice. Their work on the issue, detailed in this case study, is the result of years of powerful left-right coalitions and offers greater protections for the rights of the accused while reducing the cost of the criminal justice system for all citizens. Page 28.

#### **ABOUT ATLAS NETWORK**

Arlington, Va.-based Atlas Network is a nonprofit organization that strengthens the worldwide freedom movement by connecting more than 475 independent partners in over 90 countries that share the vision of a free, prosperous, and peaceful world where limited governments defend the rule of law, private property, and free markets. Visit us at AtlasNetwork.org

On the cover: Marisol smiles in front of her house after washing her hair, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/Rodrigo Abd)

# FREEDOM'S CHAMPION

#### **An Atlas Network Publication**

Editor-in-Chief Daniel Anthony | Graphic Designer Teresa O'Leary | Managing Editor AJ Skiera | Editor Melissa Mann



prosperity by strengthening a global network of independent civil society organizations that promote individual freedom and remove barriers to human flourishing.

MISSION: Atlas Network increases opportunity and

**OVERARCHING STRATEGY**: Atlas Network cultivates a network of partners that share a vision of a free, prosperous, and peaceful world where the rule of law, private property, and free markets are defended by governments whose powers are limited. To accelerate the pace of achievement by its partners in their local communities, Atlas Network implements programs within its Coach, Compete, Celebrate strategic model.

**Coach:** Atlas Network provides world-class training and mentoring to inspire professionalism and improve performance among its independent partners.

**Compete:** Atlas Network offers grant and prize competitions that fuel its partners' efforts to achieve extraordinary outcomes.

**Celebrate**: Atlas Network fosters camaraderie and stokes ambitions among its partners by celebrating their greatest accomplishments through its events, communications, and media outreach.



Atlas Network has been a four-star Charity Navigator member since 2008.



Atlas Network is a GuideStar Exchange Platinum–Level Participant.



Atlas Network's donation payment processor is certified to PCI Service Provider Level 1, the most stringent level of certification available.



#### Brad Lips, CEO of Atlas Network

#### {MESSAGE FROM THE CEO}

#### FREEDOM'S RAINDROPS

2018 is nearly at an end, and I want to send my grateful thanks to you for all that you do to ensure that Atlas Network continues to grow and prosper. Your investment makes it possible for our partners all around the world to aim higher and higher as we work together to advance our shared values of individual liberty, free enterprise, and peace.

There are so many exciting results to share with you from this year, and they all build on one simple idea: increases in economic freedom correlate with reductions in poverty. Consider some of the recent victories our partners have achieved:

- Cutting government spending in Egypt.
- Passing criminal justice reform in Ohio.
- Reining in police corruption in India.
- Cutting fees for setting up a business in Burundi.
- Simplifying rules for tax compliance in Peru.
- Protecting business from a culture of bribery in Ukraine.
- Ending restrictions on female employment in Sri Lanka.

These aren't the sort of seismic shifts that you're going to hear about on the evening news. But for

the millions of people impacted by lower taxes, fewer impediments to starting a business, or even just the opportunity to find a job...well, these changes mean everything.

And you are helping to make this possible.

I'm reminded of the role that Atlas Network's generous donors play every time I hear about a new victory that one of our partners has achieved, and I'm encouraged by how these small victories can lead to greater change. Atlas Network's founder, Sir Antony Fisher, used to quote a bit of childhood wisdom to remind people that their role, however small, could make a huge difference for liberty. He'd say,

"What if the little rain should say, 'So small a drop as I Can ne'er refresh a drooping earth, I'll tarry in the sky."

We all have a part to play in advancing freedom. Thank you for being one of the raindrops that refreshes our belief in liberty and brings renewed life to our efforts.

On behalf of the Atlas Network team, I wish you and those you love a wonderful, happy holiday season and all the best in 2019.

Brad

# MARISOL'S DAILY STRUGGLE FOR WATER IN PAMPLONA ALTA, PERU

By Daniel Anthony



Marisol washes her face, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/Rodrigo Abd)

Marisol lives with her three children and 74-yearold mom in Pamplona Alta, on the desert mountainside on the outskirts of Lima, Peru.

An estimated 200,000 people live in the Pamplona region, and a vast majority don't have running water. This daily struggle affects everything Marisol and her family does. They spend so much time thinking about it, working around it, and struggling to get it.

And when the water trucks do finally decide to visit her block, she's forced to pay at least ten times more than what the average Lima city-dweller pays.

But Marisol is brave.

She raises her family in a home that is only 150 square feet. She sells her home-cooking to the neighbors and makes extra money by sewing.

MARISOL HAS DECIDED TO FIGHT FOR CHANGE. BECAUSE SHE KNOWS THAT IF SHE DOESN'T VOICE HER CONCERNS, SHE AND OTHERS LIKE HER WILL BE LEFT IN THE MARGINS.

And even though she can never really get ahead financially, that concern always takes a back seat to the fact that she doesn't have running water.

Marisol has decided to fight for change. Because she knows that if she doesn't voice her concerns, she and others like her in Pamplona Alta will be left in the margins.

(Top Right) Marisol, doing her laundry, rings the water out of the clothes and her son Ronald plays nearby, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/Rodrigo Abd)

(Bottom Right) Marisol hangs clothes. Her village of Pamplona Alta in view, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/ Rodrigo Abd)

(Below) Marisol with her mom in front of their house, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/Rodrigo Abd)









Marisol carries her family's water bin down to where the water truck will deliver water for the day, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/Rodrigo Abd)



Photograph from an overhead drone picturing the water truck slowly making its way up to Marisol's home, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/Rodrigo Abd)



Marisol next to her family's water bin being filled by the local water truck operator, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/Rodrigo Abd)

So now she's asking the tough questions — questions that often get people silenced in Peru. Like why is the state-run water service so obtuse and inefficient? And why can't it adopt more public and private partnerships that could help deliver running water to her family and neighbors?

Jose Beteta met Marisol a couple of years ago. He and his small but talented think tank team at Asociación de Contribuyentes del Perú — one of Atlas Network's independent partners in Latin America — are dedicated to amplifying Marisol's voice and championing her cause. Jose and his team are doing the rigorous research and advocacy work to push for public-private partnerships. And they're advocating for a more transparent process in the complex infrastructure issue of water services for the people of Pamplona Alta.

On the day the Atlas Network team visited with Marisol, she and her mom spent an intense 5 hours waiting for the water truck. That same water truck accidentally ran over a child directly in front of her a few months ago. The child died.

These water trucks have all the power. They usually charge a set fee, but really they can charge anything they want. They sometimes keep a set schedule, but really they come whenever they want. And today, the truck was late.

The entire process is chaotic. Completely inefficient. And words alone can't describe just how disheartening the whole situation is for the entire community.

That's why Atlas Network wants to share her story — and that's why Doing Development Differently, our new initiative to give people the tools they need to lift themselves out of poverty — is so important.

ATLAS NETWORK AND TALIES IN NEXUSPRESENT

# LIGHTS, CAMERA, LIGHTS, CAMERA



"Whether it's to board members, who are pretty much insiders, or donors or the media or lawmakers, I feel as if the tools we've been given here [Lights, Camera, Liberty training] will help us communicate much more clearly and powerfully to virtually every audience we're trying to reach."

-RANDY HICKS, PRESIDENT & CEO, GEORGIA CENTER FOR OPPORTUNITY

MARCH 21 - 24, 2019. ON LOCATION LOS ANGELES

ATLASNETWORK.ORG/LCLLA



Jose Beteta of Asociación de Contribuyentes del Perú with Marisol's family in their home along with Jose's colleague Sophia Wong in back, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo/Rodrigo Abd)

#### PERU NEEDS FREE-MARKET SOLUTIONS TO ITS WATER IN-FRASTRUCTURE PROBLEMS. AND PEOPLE LIKE MARISOL NEED ASOCIACIÓN DE CONTRIBUYENTES DEL PERÚ TO BE SUCCESSFUL ADVOCATES FOR THEM.

Marisol's situation is an urgent one. Her 74-year-old mom is sick from malnutrition. Her 4-year-old son Ronald has a severe tooth infection from the lack of water for dental hygiene. But Ronald and his siblings are the bright light for Marisol. She lights up when she talks about the joy she feels from raising her children and supporting her mother.

And yet she never once said she was poor.

Peru needs free-market solutions to its water infrastructure problems. And people like Marisol need Asociación de Contribuyentes del Perú to be successful advocates for them. Over the last few years, Atlas Network's investment in their research and advocacy has given them the resources they need to take their work to the next level. Their efforts to improve water access through public-private partnerships is their latest effort to reform public policy.

#### ABOUT THE PROJECT: DOING DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENTLY

Doing Development Differently is Atlas Network's initiative to give people the tools they need to lift themselves out of poverty by supporting a global network of locally grown solutions to poverty alleviation.

#### THANK YOU TO OUR PRIMARY PROJECT SPONSOR

Atlas Network would like to thank this storytelling series project's unbelievably generous primary sponsor, the John Templeton Foundation. They are helping people like Marisol and her family amplify their voices as they call for more free-market solutions to poverty.

#### ABOUT THE PHOTOGRAPHER: RODRIGO ABD

Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer Rodrigo Abd, originally from Argentina, currently lives in Lima and travels extensively to capture the essence of some of our world's most complex human-interest stories. Rodrigo partnered with Atlas Network to photograph Marisol's story along with the stories of many more individuals and small entrepreneurs in Peru, Argentina, and Costa Rica, all of which will be shared on AtlasNetwork.org/Difference soon.



Marisol hugs Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer Rodrigo Abd goodbye, in Pamplona Alta, Peru, Sunday, Oct. 21, 2018. (AtlasNetwork.org Photo)

# The best of Atlas Network's biweekly World10 email report.

#### 1 Sri Lanka lowers its tax on women

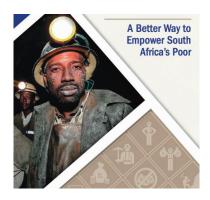
For poor women in Sri Lanka, affording their monthly requirements of sanitary napkins is a struggle due to the high costs imposed by excessive taxes. Advocata Institute has publicized this issue, and the Sri Lankan government has since ended a 30 percent import tariff on these products.

Subscribe at: AtlasNetwork.org/World10



## South African Institute of Race Relations seeks to empower forgotten populations

The history of apartheid has left South Africa scarred by inequality. However, current attempts to fix these injustices have left out 87 percent of the black South African population. In response, the South African Institute of Race Relations put forth its plan for an alternative route to economic empowerment. Their new plan will focus on four 'Es' – rapid economic growth, excellent education, more employment, and the promotion of vibrant and successful entrepreneurship.



## 3 New 'Indian School of Public Policy' launched by Centre for Civil Society

The New Delhi-based think tank's most ambitious project yet will offer a year-long, Masters-equivalent program in Policy, Design, and Management and is founded as an institution committed to nurturing future policy leaders to improve governance in India. This provides a much-needed flagship public policy program in the country.



#### 4 Why aren't there more Sikhs in the U.S. military?

Washington-based Becket answered this question and won Atlas Network's 2018 Lights, Camera, Liberty Film Festival Award with its video "Why there aren't more Sikhs in the U.S. military." This short film asks viewers what they would do if they had to choose between serving their god and serving their country by telling the story of Captain Simratpal Singh's journey through West Point Military Academy and his career in the armed services. The military has a policy against facial hair and non-official headgear but frequently gives special ac-



commodations based on circumstances. However, the military would not give one to Singh despite the fact his beard and turban are central to his religion. In this film Becket tells a moving story that draws attention to a military policy that has discriminated against the world's fifth largest religion for decades.

## 5 Estonia, Latvia, New Zealand lead in 5th International Tax Competitiveness Index

A product of the U.S.-based Tax Foundation, the annual index measures the extent to which the 35 nations of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's tax systems adhere to two important aspects of tax policy: competitiveness and neutrality. Estonia, Latvia, New Zealand, in that order, are in the top spots; the U.S. and Belgium improved, and France came in dead last, again.



#### 6 Greeks are burdened by taxes, can souvlaki save them?

Greeks love their souvlaki, but they're paying more than they know for it. The hidden ingredient? Value-added taxes, or VAT. Greek Liberties Monitor has launched a project using social media, videos, memes, and more to expose this hidden ingredient and turn the national conversation toward limited government and lower taxes.



## Over a dozen classical liberal organizations meet at first classical liberal summit in Ecuador

The participants developed a shared strategy along four strategic axes so their efforts to advance economic freedom in concert with one another will have a greater impact for the country that recently fell 3 places on the Fraser Institute's *Economic Freedom of the World Report*.

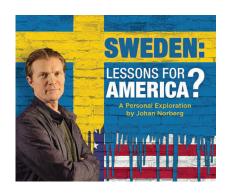




The best of Atlas Network's biweekly World10 email report. Subscribe at: AtlasNetwork.org/World10

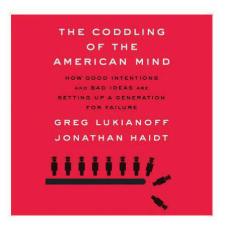
#### 8 Sweden's success is the story of markets, not socialism

"...Sweden is the country of pension reform, school vouchers, free trade, low corporate taxes and no taxes on property, gifts, and inheritance," said renowned economist Johan Norberg, who stars in Free to Choose Network's most recent documentary. "Sweden affords its big welfare state because it is more free-market and free trade than other countries. So if they want to redistribute wealth they also have to deregulate the economy drastically to create that wealth."



## • New book takes on 'catastrophizing' and 'coddling' of American minds

Why have American colleges become so hostile to free speech and a diversity of ideas? FIRE President Greg Lukianoff and social psychologist Jonathan Haidt contend that this problem stems from a generation of young people that have been conditioned to perceive disagreement as an attack and speech as violence in their new book *The Coddling of the American Mind*.



#### 10 Israeli Freedom Movement project recognized at G10 Summit

As a result of her leadership in the Freedom Index Project — a tool developed by the Israeli Freedom Movement — Knesset (Israeli legislature) Member Sharren Haskel addressed German Chancellor Angela Merkel and other world leaders in September at the 2018 Group of 10 (G10) conference in Berlin. MK Haskel was one of ten participants in this highly selective, highly influential conference. As a participant, Haskel was able to argue for greater market solutions around the globe and express her growing concern over the big-government policies of many European countries.



To learn more about any of the stories in this issue of This Quarter in World10, visit AtlasNetwork.org/FCWinter2018World10



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Please let us know if you've remembered us in your future gift planning!

To learn more about Atlas Network's Fisher Legacy Society, please contact

#### Melissa Mann

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or visit

atlasnetwork.plannedgiving.org



#### **{ALUMNI IN FOCUS}**

#### **OVERCOMING SERBIA'S HAUNTING PAST**

By Petar Čekerevac, Executive Manager of Libek (Serbia)

Serbia's past still haunts it today.

The current culture in my country has been shaped by a violent 20th century, 50 years of communist one-party rule, 10 years of dictatorship and mafia state, and 18 years of slow and incomplete transition toward a free society. Many issues from the past have not been resolved, and many people go back to them, especially in times of crisis.

This turbulent past has created a very polarized society. It has created space for extremists of various kinds, and it seems like they are just waiting for the right opportunity to capitalize on conflict and adversity.

While we recognize the importance of Serbia's past, we can't get sidetracked by it, like so many in the country do. But we help them avoid the pitfalls of

relying on many of the failed ways of the past by pointing out a path out of apathy and disappointment and toward prosperity.

And a big way we do this is through our exciting online platform, Talas.

Talas communicates the ideas of liberty at scale and in a practical way — by applying libertarian views and ideas to the political and economic reality of Serbia. This way we reach people we have not been able to reach before. We do this by meeting their need for high-quality political content — providing them with daily opinion and commentary on topics they care about, in contrast to most other media, which are repetitive, and government-controlled.

We like to think of Talas as a fresh stream of ideas on key economic and political problems, and a plat-

# WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF SERBIA'S PAST, WE CAN'T GET SIDETRACKED BY IT, LIKE SO MANY IN THE COUNTRY DO.





Čekerevac delivers his \$25,000-winning pitch for the Talas media outlet in the 2018 Think Tank Shark Competition on Nov. 8 at the Intrepid Museum in New York City.

form for discussion of the future of the country.

We have always thought that the ideas of liberty can and should resonate with wider audiences, and with Talas we wanted to make that happen for Serbia and beyond.

When Libek started in 2008, there were only a few of us in our college classes promoting and openly embracing classical liberal ideas. Today, we're thrilled to see that there are several organizations and student groups in our movement, our experts appear in mainstream media, and we're constantly meeting new people who want to be part of creating a more prosperous Serbia.

We at Libek have benefited directly from Atlas Network's support and training. Its training programs have improved our ability to focus and maintain the right managerial mindset while at the same time providing us with key strategies, tactics, and tools that we use in our everyday work and that are necessary for organizational development and growth.

We have also been able to learn a lot from other groups around the world, while Atlas Network's strategic grants have been of key importance for our ventures in public policy and public communication work. One of the best things about Atlas Network's training and support is that it is custom-made to fit the needs of your organization, and you always come out of training with actionable outputs.

Petar Čekerevac is an alumnus of Atlas Network's Leadership Academy and winner of two of Atlas Network's new idea pitch competitions: Think Tank Shark Tank Global Competition held during Atlas Network's annual Liberty Forum & Freedom Dinner in New York, November 2018, and Think Tank Shark Tank Europe Regional Competition held during Atlas Network's 2017 Europe Liberty Forum in Budapest. During each of the pitch competitions his proposal was for scaling the Talas media outlet to become the biggest independent online media in the country.



Atlas Network is proud to announce the creation of Rainbow@Atlas, a special fund dedicated to the principles of inclusivity, tolerance, and diversity. We believe that no one should ever be excluded from participating in the benefits of liberty on the basis

volatile change. With a \$100,000 matching grant made possible by Rainbow@Atlas, the Center will provide management training, project support, intellectual networking, and peer-to-peer learning opportunities for leaders in the region.

# RAINBOW@ATLAS WILL ASSIST OUR PARTNERS AROUND THE WORLD WITH GRANTS AND AWARDS THAT RECOGNIZE AND ENCOURAGE THE GROWING MULTICULTURALISM AND VARIETY THAT EXISTS IN THE GLOBAL LIBERTY MOVEMENT.

of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, or sexual orientation. Rainbow@Atlas will assist our partners around the world with grants and awards that recognize and encourage the growing multiculturalism and variety that exists in the global liberty movement.

Rainbow@Atlas played a central role in the launch of Atlas Network's new Center for Latin America, which is dedicated to promoting peace, justice, and opportunity for all in a region in the midst of

"Rainbow@Atlas is an exciting addition to Atlas Network's ability to reach out to our partners with the message that we are all part of the global movement for freedom," said Brad Lips, CEO of Atlas Network. "The generosity behind this fund is powering new levels of engagement with friends of liberty all over the world, and it's an excellent way to emphasize our belief in inclusivity while building the intellectual case for a free, prosperous, and peaceful world."

If you would like to learn how you can be involved in Rainbow@Atlas please email Melissa Mann, Atlas Network's Director of Partnerships at Melissa.Mann@AtlasNetwork.org or visit AtlasNetwork.org/Rainbow



Each year, Atlas Network hosts regional liberty forums in cooperation with local organizing partners to support partner organizations in their desires to learn more from each other and to accelerate the sharing of best practices through training and friendly competition.



#### **Asia Liberty Forum**

February 28-March 1 | Colombo, Sri Lanka



#### **Europe Liberty Forum**

May 9-10 | Athens, Greece

Discover Santorini Island - Wonder of the Aegean, Transatlantic CEO Summit



#### **Latin America Liberty Forum**

June 27-28 | Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic

CEO Summit of the Americas, The Inaugural Retreat of the Center for Latin America's Council of Ideas



#### **Africa Liberty Forum**

August (Days TBD) | Nairobi, Kenya

More information coming soon at AtlasNetwork.org/RLF

#### PRO-MARKETS OR PRO-BUSINESS?

By Roberto Salinas León

Below is the text of Dr. Roberto Salinas León's Cornerstone Talk, delivered on June 15, 2018, at Atlas Network's Latin America Liberty Forum in Santiago, Chile.



Aerial view of Morelia, Mexico.

The question "should businessmen/women be pro-market or pro-business?" seems silly at best and confusing at worst. Yet, it is at the heart of a crucial public debate concerning the prospects of free markets throughout Latin American nations. My own country, Mexico, faced this debate amid a confrontational electoral episode, which took place on July 1st. And, sadly, the image of big business as "mafia in power" is winning the day.

Wherein lies the problem? Consider the modern "socialist." She is, in most cases, a young person governed more by the emotion of the moment

than the logic of a well-reasoned argument. She takes an Uber to the local Starbucks, to meet her like-minded friends, dressed in hip-hop tennis shoes and the latest fashion in jeans, obtained a few days ago in an informal market. Upon arrival, she uses her smartphone to log onto free Wi-Fi, to post a message in her favorite social media, on why capitalist barbarians exploit the poor and destroy civility. A discussion ensues on why we need caring elites to instruct us on how to live our lives, and erase the income gaps generated by a-moral market forces.

The gathering ends with praise for Naomi Klein, Noam Chomsky, or Paco Taibo II—and why we should heed their calls to incarcerate rotten "neo-liberal" reformers.

Note that all of this is accomplished in a very short timeframe, and only as a result of the great leap forward in technological innovation. Our millennial self-proclaimed socialist is, *de facto*, a typical creature of globalization and comparative advantage, one that engages in capitalist acts between consenting adults.

Yet, voices calling for wholesale transformation of society are usually right, albeit for the wrong reasons. In Latin American countries, business is synonymous with corruption and cronyism, not with

this is precisely what constitutes a fertile breeding ground for larger-than-life *caudillos*, figures that promise instant redemption, the complete reconstruction of a new social order and the transformation of the course of history.

The modern populist, like other creatures of intolerance, presumes to have special access to the true nature of the political order. In this context, debate and dialogue are rendered impossible: *everything* that conflicts with the will of the *líder* is ruled out as "neo-liberal" conspiracy. Voices of dissent can no longer appeal to reaction or education or argument; and continued disagreement will be met with forced silence if not outright torture. This is, as experience in Latin America shows, the beginning of the end for the prospects of open markets and a free society.

# AS CLASSICAL LIBERALS, WE SHOULD NOT SHY FROM EMPHASIZING THE INSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS OF MARKETS — NAMELY, EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, TRANSPARENCY, COMPETITION, OR A RELIABLE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES.

entrepreneurship. This folk wisdom gained significant traction in the aftermath of the 2008 crisis, amid comments about the end of capitalism and the "fat cats" responsible for the exploitation of the working classes.

In Mexico, the great critic Octavio Paz famously denounced *patrimonialism* — a pyramid arrangement between the private and public sectors, founded on a complex web of favors, exemptions, legal discrimination against new competitors, all at the expense of consumers and citizens. Patrimonialism is, of course, just another form of mercantilism. But

This suggests a strategic need for entrepreneurs and current business leaders to champion the cause of open markets and open societies, and not of business per se. It is an issue of communication. Any message or claim that is seen as harboring a vested interest will be summarily dismissed as neo-liberal treason. Many prominent pro-market advocates have gone at length to articulate this idea. John Tomasi, our distinguished keynote speaker at this Liberty Forum, begins his marvelous reflection on free market fairness with a sharp distinction between free markets as enabling a framework that empowers people with an "equal right to compete for po-



Dr. Roberto Salinas León delivered the Atlas Club Briefing prior to Freedom Dinner 2018. Atlas Network's director of partnerships, Melissa Mann, conducted a Q&A with him.

sitions on the basis of their talents and ambitions," versus mercantilist systems based on "preferment and patronage," where everyday exchanges are "constrained by the biases...of the politically powerful." Also, as Raghuram Rajan & Luigi Zingales argue in Saving Capitalism from the Capitalists, modern capitalists have reasons to "fear markets;" and, alas, often work hard to subvert competition. Capital markets are "problematic," they say, "because they provide resources to newcomers, who can then ... make markets" more competitive.

So construed, our friends turn out to be our own worst enemies. Imagine!

In this debate, some economists recommend avoiding "normative" judgments, and insist on a defense of markets based solely on the grounds of supply and demand, comparative advantage, and efficiency gains. Yet this seemingly reasonable viewpoint clashes with the fact that populism, old and new, sells instant utopia and free lunches; and that it sells such wishful thinking by simultaneously indicting outside forces such as free immigration, the 1%, Wall Street, foreign corporations, or know-it-all technocrats.

Consequently, as classical liberals, we should not shy from emphasizing the institutional requirements of markets — namely, equality before the law, transparency, competition, or a reliable system of checks and balances. If these and other requirements are secured, the chances of achieving prosperity are increased. The challenge, as Muso Ayau taught us, is

to learn to fully understand the meaning of open markets — not as static systems reducible to sophisticated formulae, but as dynamic, adaptable processes that generate vast numbers of everyday exchanges between producers and consumers. Muso was a brilliant exponent on how, in a process of voluntary trade, one party benefits *only if* the other party benefits.

In addition, we need to sharpen defensive strategies and acknowledge our responsibility in being repetitive — in stating and in re-stating how the vanity of instant redemption leads to misery, repression, and loss of life. By definition, free markets are not utopian; they have limits, imposed by our own flaws and fallibilities, as agents participating in a spontaneous market order.

Consider the rise (or rather, recognition) of informal economies in Latin America. These show how commercial virtue and enterprise can survive the most discriminatory settings; and why everyday trade is a natural human activity, not an ideology or political doctrine. To be sure, informal economies are local and limited. Counterfactually, we can imagine how millions of individuals could harness the prosperity of an extended market order, if only such exchanges were governed by simple rules for a complex world, or the force of free finance, or the remarkable benefits of well-defined property rights.

To repeat: the anti-capitalist mentality gathers strength when those who are successful products of open markets (properly understood) suddenly become rent-seekers, lobbying political friends for a tariff, tax break, or subsidy; or worse, a bail-out. The entrepreneur that risks capital and know-how in the realm of wealth-generation must also do so in the realm of conversation and civilized dialogue; and, such leaders must also learn to see this exercise as a valuable investment in our common future on behalf of a free society.

Bill Emmott, former editor of *The Economist*, characterizes the defense of freedom as one grounded in "the belief in tolerance, freedom and experimentation" over the imposition of solutions from above. The free and voluntary exchange of ideas is not merely a source of edification. As Octavio Paz observed, defending criticism and civilized conversation is, *in itself*, an act of liberty. In an open society, assent and dissent are governed by logic and evidence, persuasion, and presentation; sometimes by irony and allegory, other times by the rhetoric of liberty. Sparta and the populists, contrariwise, aim to conquer discourse and impose a preconceived pattern of virtue; and recur to terror, silence, and subjugation as preferred instruments to win debate.

This is why, among other reasons, we champion this Liberty Forum. In the words of the popular wisdom in Latin America, "hablando se entiende la gente."

#### ABOUT ATLAS NETWORK'S CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICA

Dr. Roberto Salinas León is the director of Atlas Network's new Center for Latin America. The center promotes peace, justice, and opportunity for all in a region in the midst of volatile change. Building on decades of collaborative work in the region, Atlas Network will strengthen and leverage a partner network of more than 80 independent civil society organizations based in the countries of Latin America. These organizations are ideally positioned to develop and implement locally grown solutions to poverty and other public policy challenges. To learn more, visit: AtlasNetwork.org/Center-For-Latin-America

# 2018 TEMPLETON FREEDOM AWARD WINNER HELPS CREATE A BETTER EGYPT

By AJ Skiera



Atlas Network CEO Brad Lips presents Ahmed Ragab and Mahmoud Farouk of the Egyptian Center for Public Policy Studies with the 2018 Templeton Freedom Award.

After the dust settled following the Arab Spring in 2011, Egypt's score fell dramatically on the Open Budget Index, which measures government transparency and citizen engagement in the budget-making process.

Seeking a more transparent and accountable state, the Egyptian Center for Public Policy Studies, or ECPPS, developed a program to tackle three long-standing problems in Egypt's budgeting process, which were: a lack of transparency; limited citizen inclusion in the budget-making process; and out-of-control energy subsidies, which accounted for a third of all government expenditures.

After four years working on the project partnering with various stakeholders and the Ministry of Finance to address each issue, Egypt's score on the

Open Budget Index increased 25 points from 16 to 41 in 2017, citizen participation in the budget exists for the first time, and the Egyptian government announced that it will cut all energy subsidies after 2019. Energy subsidies had constituted one of the most alarming expenditures in the budget. This became a widely discussed problem and, after the International Monetary Fund weighed in, the Egyptian government announced its decision to cut them.

In recognition of its impressive work promoting greater government transparency and civic engagement, ECPPS was announced as the winner of Atlas Network's prestigious Templeton Freedom Award at the Intrepid in New York City on Nov. 8 during Freedom Dinner.

"The hope that accompanied the Arab Spring in 2011 went unrealized because moderate voices in civil society went unheard," said Brad Lips, CEO of Atlas Network. "How tremendously encouraging that ECPPS has answered the call and inspired the Egyptian government to move toward transparency and inclusiveness!"

#### Identifying the problem and providing a solution

The concept of the Overton Window — that which encompasses the range of ideas tolerated in public discourse — was first presented to ECPPS Founder Mahmoud Farouk during his 2015 Smith Fellowship with Atlas Network. Farouk then went back to his organization with that concept in mind, and ECPPS subsequently guided its work along the Friedmanian mantra of developing alternatives to

respected Open Budget Survey/Index (OBI) to benchmark progress in increasing transparency of the budget process, and in the intervening years between the 2015 OBI and the 2017 OBI collaborated with the Ministry of Finance to meet deadlines for publishing budget information and also to transform data from the budget into an easily readable format for journalists, academics, and the public. A major part of that work was ECPPS' creation of the "Citizen Participation in the Budget Report," which measures citizens' needs and budget item prioritization.

"All other organizations just draft laws ... ECPPS provides substance and rigor," said Mohamed Fouad, Member of the Egyptian Parliament and Member of the Planning and Budget Committee. "They actually examine the policies and alternatives.

# "HOW TREMENDOUSLY ENCOURAGING THAT ECPPS HAS ANSWERED THE CALL AND INSPIRED THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT TO MOVE TOWARD TRANSPARENCY AND INCLUSIVENESS!" – BRAD LIPS, CEO OF ATLAS NETWORK.

existing policies and keeping them "alive and available until the politically impossible becomes the politically inevitable."

ECPPS identified groups that had access to the state and influence on public opinion and then conducted a multi-level action plan to create an environment in which the media, government ministries, and Parliament would consider ECPPS's recommendations as the way forward when considering budget reform. ECPPS' appropriately measured approach allowed it to get buy-in from all interested parties.

Two years into the project, the Ministry of Finance recognized the work of ECPPS and reached out to discuss possible changes to the existing budget process. ECPPS suggested using the credible and

ECPPS is providing true substance. What they are providing is actual research that bridges the gap between the legislative and the ground ... ECPPS went to the governorate level [for the citizen participation in the budget], did actual research, and presented that to Members of Parliament. No one else is doing that. They ask 'What is the delta between perception and actual reality?"

ECPPS' report collected its data by interviewing and sampling individuals in 23 of Egypt's 27 governorates (provinces) on what citizens felt needed more or less spending in the allocated budget — a colossal undertaking. The report also measured the level of knowledge people had about the state budget and the availability of services in these governorates.

While presenting information to the people in a way they could understand, ECPPS' survey of the 23 governorates helped to foster citizen participation in the budgeting process. The Citizen Participation report was made available to the Ministry of Finance in time for the creation of a new budget, and the Ministry of Finance's engagement in many levels of the project gave more credibility to ECPPS's work.

"ECPPS is sharp and analytical," said David Robins, program officer at the International Budget Partnership. "They were very responsible partners and guided us through the process. The Survey is from the citizens' point-of-view. It is an assessment of whether the citizens can engage in the budgeting process — whether they can access that information. The technical ability and advocacy ability of ECPPS are equal, which is somewhat uncommon."

The most recent Open Budget Survey was published in January 2018, and Egypt scored 41 (the global average score is 42). The International Budget Partnership credits Egypt's increased availability of budget information since 2015 to three factors: 1) publishing the Executive's Budget Proposal online in a timely manner, 2) increasing the information provided in the Enacted Budget, and 3) publishing the PreBudget Statement and Citizens Budget. ECPPS was heavily involved in obtaining those three outcomes.

ECPPS also published the "citizens' budget," a simplified version of the official budget. This first-of-its-kind document prompted a thank you letter from the Ministry of Finance for ECPPS' work to increase transparency and citizens' inclusion.

"I've known ECPPS a very long time now ... their greatest recent work is with citizen participation in the budget, outreach, and education on the budget," said Karim Badr, advisor to Egypt's Minister of Investment and International Cooperation. "We've had a great jump in our ranking in the OBI, and ECPPS is responsible for that ... With the resourc-



ECPPS educated citizens about Egypt's budget in an effort to increase civic participation.



ECPPS trained NGO staffers from different governorates of Egypt about citizen participation in Egypt's budget as part of the organization's wider effort to increase civic engagement in Egypt's budgeting process.



Atlas Network's AJ Skiera with Ahmed Ragab (executive director of ECPPS) and Mahmoud Farouk (founder and board member of ECPPS).



The Egyptian Ministry of Finance's engagement in many levels of the project gave more credibility to ECPPS' work.

#### THIS PROJECT MEANS GREATER GOVERNMENT TRANSPAR-ENCY, BETTER CIVIC ENGAGEMENT, AND MORE OPPORTU-NITIES FOR CIVIL SOCIETY TO HAVE A VOICE IN EGYPT.

es they [ECPPS] have, they do a great job of introducing classical liberal and free-market ideas into the public domain — both to public discourse and to government policymakers. It wasn't on the table before. It is now."

At a time when budgeting reform in Egypt seemed politically impossible, ECPPS helped make it politically inevitable. And at the end of the day, this project means greater government transparency, better civic engagement, and more opportunities for civil society to have a voice in Egypt.

"In a politically challenging environment such as the one we're dealing with in Egypt, the most difficult challenge for a think tank is to find a way to drive positive change that is concrete, measurable and, above all, sustainable," said Ahmed Ragab, executive director of ECPPS. "This task is even harder if you have a classical liberal agenda. With 'Better Budget for a Better Egypt,' ECPPS found the perfect balance between practical success ... and finding a

space for classical liberal ideas in the public debate in Egypt, with near-daily visibility in the media and closer ties with lawmakers and opinion leaders."

The Egyptian Center for Public Policy Studies' winning of the 2018 Templeton Freedom Award is a thorough demonstration of the productive role that think tanks can play in the public policy sphere. It's an inspiration to independent civil society organizations around the world working to remove the barriers to opportunity and human flourishing and in keeping free-market ideas 'alive and available' so that they may be implemented when the time is right.

#### About the Templeton Freedom Award:

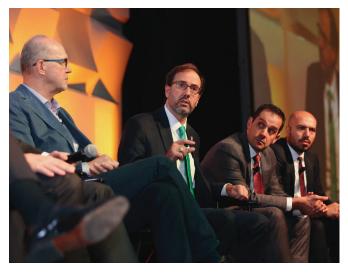
Awarded since 2004, the Templeton Freedom Award is named for the late investor and philanthropist Sir John Templeton. The award annually honors his legacy by identifying and recognizing the most exceptional and innovative contributions to the understanding of free enterprise, and the public policies that encourage prosperity, innovation, and human fulfillment via free competition. The award is generously supported by Templeton Religion Trust.

# OPPORTUNITY & JUSTICE: RETHINKING OHIO'S ENTIRE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

In a Rust Belt swing state where "tough on crime" has been the norm for decades, The Buckeye Institute has dared to challenge preconceived notions about crime, ex-offenders, and why it's so important for a state's economy to tap into a segment of human capital that has been squandered for far too long. In recognition of its efforts, Buckeye won Atlas Network's inaugural 2018 North America Liberty Award.

The Buckeye Institute's criminal justice reform campaign began in earnest back in 2014, and over the past several years has led to the most substantial state-based criminal justice reforms being implemented in the country. Not only that, but years of research, legislative analysis, and coalition building has allowed Buckeye to understand what issues matter – and how to effect policy change that really counts.

Because Buckeye was entering a crowded field with a lot of existing players the team knew it needed to be strategic in making alliances to be able to



Buckeye Institute President and CEO Robert Alt speaks on the panel of finalists for the 2018 Templeton Freedom Award at Liberty Forum & Freedom Dinner in New York City, Nov. 8, 2018.

quires the government to prove that the defendant had the requisite mental state for each element of the crime committed. Without Buckeye's determination, this reform would have collapsed – instead, it made its way through the legislature just in time.

# BECAUSE OF BUCKEYE'S EFFORTS, OHIO IS NOW SPENDING CORRECTIONS DOLLARS ON PROGRAMS THAT RESTORE HARMONY TO THE SYSTEM, NOT JUST INCARCERATING OFFENDERS.

have any impact. To that end, members of the organization began communicating with members of the loosely aligned coalition of groups working on criminal justice reform in Ohio. Buckeye's leadership within this coalition was cemented in 2014, when it was Buckeye who kept all stakeholders at the table to negotiate *mens rea* reform, which re-

Two years later, Buckeye created a reform package that effectively ended civil asset forfeiture in Ohio by requiring a criminal conviction before the government can seize private property valued at less than \$15,000 (which constitutes a majority of the property seized through asset forfeiture).



In a May 2017 panel on criminal justice reform in Ohio, Buckeye Institute President and CEO Robert Alt (seated far right) speaks with Holly Harris, executive director of Justice Action Network (seated far left), Gary Mohr, former director of the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction (left), and Maurice Clarett (right), former national champion Ohio State University running back who, after being convicted, turned his life around and has become a nationally-recognized advocate for criminal justice reform.

Since then, Buckeye has continued to focus on legislative changes that will refocus Ohio's criminal justice system on rehabilitation instead of simply locking up offenders and throwing away the key. They've done this through shepherding reforms that make it easier for nonviolent ex-offenders to find work. And because of Buckeye's efforts, Ohio is now spending corrections dollars on programs that restore harmony to the system, not just incarcerating offenders.

Because of Buckeye Institute research and work generating public awareness, state policymakers codified legislation to divert nonviolent, nonsexual offenders sentenced to less than one year to be rehabilitated through treatment programs, probation, jail, and other local programs. Ohio's Department of Rehabilitation and Correction is now granting money back to the counties — resulting in savings by reducing the costly expense of housing low-level offenders in prison. As a result, Ohio's prison admissions are now at their lowest levels in 27 years, and taxpayers are seeing huge savings because the

state has no need to build additional prison facilities.

Additionally, in June 2018, Ohio state lawmakers passed Senate Bill 66, which expands eligibility and opportunity for record sealing to give nonviolent offenders a chance at a fresh start, increases opportunities for treatment rather than punishment, and makes rehabilitation a top priority so ex-offenders do not continue to cycle in and out of prison because of struggles with addiction.

Buckeye continues to build on its policy successes. Today, Buckeye is leading the fight to reform Ohio's broken cash bail system, working with policymakers on additional reforms that would move Ohio away from an arbitrary cash bail system and give judges more flexibility and more information to detain dangerous defendants before trial.

Read the full case study on the Buckeye Institute's criminal justice reform work at www.atlasnetwork.org/case-studies.

#### LIBERTY FORUM & FREEDOM DINNER 2018

This year's Liberty Forum & Freedom Dinner, #LFFD18, brought together over 700 people from 56 countries to celebrate the victories toward freedom made in the past year, to discuss shared challenges, and to learn from one another how to most effectively advance free-market reforms. This important gathering was made possible by the generosity of many donors, with a special thanks to the Smith Family Foundation, John Templeton Foundation, and Templeton Religion Trust for funding key Atlas Network programs highlighted during Liberty Forum & Freedom Dinner. We also welcomed a number of freedom champions whose attendance had been underwritten by Alan Gibbs, Freda Utley Foundation, and The Lilly Endowment.





Freedom Dinner 2018 was held at the Intrepid Sea, Air & Space Museum to accommodate a record-breaking crowd of over 700 people.



Former Atlas Network President Alex Chafuen delivers the 6th annual Liggio Lecture.



The 2018 class of Think Tank MBA.



Rejoice Ngwenya of Coalition for Market and Liberal Solutions (Zimbabwe) hands out 100-trillion Zimbabwean dollar bills when speaking about sound money.



Atlas Network supporter Fred Young serves as one of the judges of this year's Think Tank Shark Tank Competition.



Overstock CEO Patrick Byrne (right) delivered the annual Toast to Freedom during Freedom Dinner at the Intrepid Sea, Air & Space Museum.



Fernando Henrique de Sousa Miranda of Students For Liberty Brasil (Brazil) holds up a shirt of Che Guevara in his winning pitch during the annual John Blundell Elevator Pitch competition.



Atlas Network COO Matt Warner presents Atlas Network CEO Brad Lips with a commemorative record honoring Lips' 20 years of service at Atlas Network (with a nod to Lips' history as a writer for music magazines).



New to Liberty Forum & Freedom Dinner this year was Think Freely Media's Great Communicators Tournament, which featured three individuals competing to deliver the most eloquent defense of classical liberal ideals. Peter Lipsett won the \$10,000 first prize.



Ahmed Ragab (center left) and Mahmoud Farouk (center right) of the Egyptian Center for Public Studies (Egypt) accept the 2018 Templeton Freedom Award. From left to right: Robert Alt of the Buckeye Institute (United States), Patrick McLaughlin of the Mercatus Center at George Mason University (United States), Ahmed Ragab, Mahmoud Farouk, Zoran Löw of Lipa Taxpayers Association (Croatia), Agustín Etchebarne of Libertad y Progreso (Argentina), and Charles Mitchell of the Commonwealth Foundation (United States).



From left to right: Atlas Network supporters Judge Douglas Ginsburg, Stephanie Lips, and Tom and Suzy Beach.



Roberto Salinas León, director of Atlas Network's Center for Latin America, delivers the Atlas Club Briefing prior to Freedom Dinner on "The Future of Mexico – Will AMLO Steer Mexico Down the Road to Serfdom."



John Stossel, former host of Fox Business' Stossel, who has been on the Board of the Central Park Conservancy since 2004, delivers a special tour of Central Park following Liberty Forum & Freedom Dinner.

#### {INSIDE ATLAS NETWORK}

#### **GLOBAL POLICY PERSPECTIVES EVENT SERIES**



Ma Junjie, pictured left in the photo on left, gave the talk "Defender of the Market of Ideas in China" on Oct. 25 at the Cornell Club in New York City. (Right) Yeonmi Park's talk, "North Korea: The Human Rights Crisis That Remains" was delivered on Sep. 4, also at the Cornell Club in New York City.

Atlas Network's regular New York event series, Global Policy Perspectives, brings world-class think tank leaders to Manhattan to deliver talks on timely and topical policy issues affecting their countries. In September and October, Atlas Network hosted Yeonmi Park of Freedom for North Korea and Ma Junjie of Unirule Institute of Economics and ENC Centre for Global Affairs (China).

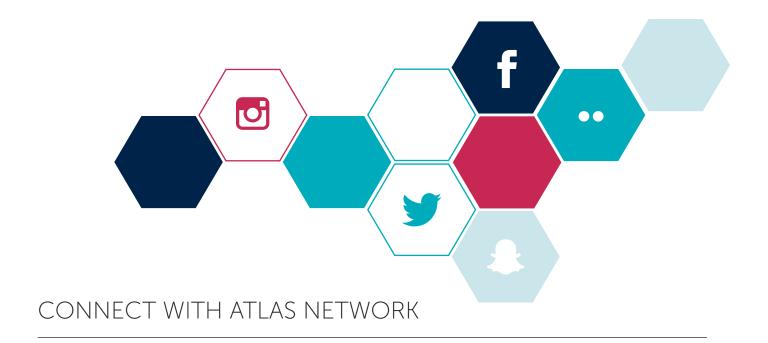
Park, a well-known human rights activist and North Korean refugee, mentioned a few questions people often ask her, among them a question asking why North Koreans don't rise up against the regime. Her response: "How can you fight for your freedom when you don't know you are a slave?"

Since her own personal story is widely known, Park focused on the conditions of roughly 300,000 North

Korean defectors currently living in China — most of them women. She also said that despite a recent détente in U.S.-North Korean relations and a public relations "charm offensive" at the 2018 Olympics, conditions for the North Korean people remain at abysmally low levels. Respect for human rights remains nonexistent, and several of Park's relatives have disappeared in recent years as she has become a vocal critic of the regime and wider-known advocate for human rights protections in the country.

In addition to speaking on the history of Unirule from its founding up to the present day, Junjie's talk touched on the current political environment in China and how he and others are working to promote ideas of a free society within the country's borders despite a government that is growing increasingly hostile to civil society.

To learn more about these and upcoming events visit AtlasNetwork.org/Events



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#### SUPPORT THE VISION

Your generous gift today will help Atlas Network cultivate a highly effective and expansive global network of independent partners committed to advancing our shared vision of a free, prosperous, and peaceful world where the rule of law, private property, and free markets are defended by governments whose powers are limited. Make your tax-deductible donation at AtlasNetwork.org/donate or email Director of Development Al Canata at Al.Canata@AtlasNetwork.org.

