FREEDOM'S CHAMPION

FALL 2019

Atlas Network's quarterly review of the worldwide freedom movement

SUPPORTER SPOTLIGHT
ROY SPENCER: MAKING THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE

POVERTY & FREEDOM
By Matt Warner

2019 FINALISTS
TEMPLETON FREEDOM AWARD

ALUMNI IN FOCUS
A VOICE FOR FREEDOM
By Casey Given

LATIN AMERICA & AFRICA LIBERTY FORUMS 2019
Cover: The Indian government’s reclassification of bamboo as a grass rather than a tree has allowed businesswoman Rekha Dey and her company Tanjun Wonder Bamboo to produce thermally insulated bamboo homes in Uttarakhand, India. The social enterprise-turned-small business came into existence thanks to the successful advocacy of the Centre for Civil Society, which brought awareness to the issue. (Photo: Bernat Parera)
Summer is ending, and the rites of September are upon us—among them is the first day of school.

Stephanie and I just dropped off our youngest, Peter Dylan, at school for the very first time. He’s attending a new school in our hometown that is affiliated with Acton Academy, a pioneer in child-centered learning. With two teenaged sisters and a brother who’s now a junior at Hillsdale College, P.D. put on his new shark-themed backpack and told us all about his big plans of catching up fast with his older siblings!

I’m so grateful that we’ve found good choices for our kids’ different needs in school. I’m all too aware that many families do not have nearly as many choices or opportunities.

In August, I was in Kenya for our annual Africa Liberty Forum and met so many bright and friendly people who, in different ways, are stuck in difficult circumstances—some political, some economic, some cultural. I talked with entrepreneurs with ideas about how to profitably address big problems, like the lack of access to sewer systems—a huge problem that plagues the majority of people in Nairobi. The determination of these entrepreneurs is inspiring, especially when they face so many roadblocks to doing business.

Their stories remind me of what Harvard economist Lant Pritchett said on Russ Roberts’ EconTalk podcast awhile back: “Mostly in the world, there are not poor people; there are people in poor places.” In other words, most of those in poverty could lift themselves out of it—if economic opportunities were present in their communities.

As you will see in our cover story by Atlas Network President Matt Warner, our partner network can play a game-changing role in removing roadblocks to opportunity, thereby creating hope where there now is poverty.

Thank you for sharing Atlas Network’s vision of the independent think tank as a powerful agent of change. We all have big plans for the future (even if we don’t all have cool shark backpacks like P.D.), and I am optimistic that someday we all live in a world where we can achieve our dreams. With your help, Atlas Network is creating opportunities for prosperity for people all around the world.

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Brad Lips
Chief Executive Officer
Atlas Network
Rolling blackouts and billions spent on subsidies to a failing state-owned electricity company have been facts of life in Lebanon for years. Government losses from managing the problem account for 45 percent of Lebanon’s total debt, putting the country on the brink of a Greek-style bankruptcy. This year, the Lebanese Institute for Market Studies’ three-year campaign to keep the lights on in Lebanon has succeeded in opening up the sector to private competition, thanks to the Lebanese Cabinet’s recent approval of a plan to overhaul the energy sector. The success of their campaign will save US$5.4 billion, which translates to an additional $125 saved by the average taxpayer each month. Now the power market is open to private competition, and the people of Lebanon can look forward to less government waste—and more light.
Pacific Legal Foundation
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, UNITED STATES

Using their national platform as one of the United States’ preeminent pro-liberty public interest law firms, Pacific Legal Foundation’s Center for the Separation of Powers is working to overturn the unconstitutional regulatory state. PLF’s strategy is to use strategic litigation to challenge government overreach by fully restoring the nondelegation principle; ending judicial deference to the regulatory state and reviving proper due process protections; and holding agencies accountable for abuse. As a result of their victories before the U.S. Supreme Court, they are protecting the property and livelihoods of U.S. citizens and constraining the unconstitutional power of federal agencies.

Atlas Network’s Templeton Freedom Award honors the legacy of the late investor and philanthropist Sir John Templeton 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. The 2019 awards, which are generously supported by Templeton Religion Trust, will be presented during Atlas Network’s Freedom Dinner in New York City on November 7.

The winner of the 2019 Templeton Freedom Award will receive $100,000 in recognition of their outstanding work. Each of the five runners-up will receive $20,000.

Platte Institute
OMAHA, NEBRASKA, UNITED STATES

Nebraska is one of many states that have made it difficult to earn a living with burdensome licensure laws. In practice, these requirements protect entrenched special interests at the expense of both consumers and aspiring entrepreneurs. The Platte Institute is playing a central role in reducing these laws and setting precedents that can be used as a regulatory reform model across the United States. With the Platte Institute’s advocacy leading the way, the Nebraska legislature has adopted licensing reforms for more than fifteen professions, including barbers, cosmetologists, car salesmen, hair braiders, and others. Their efforts are also helping Nebraskans with past criminal convictions find out if they are eligible for licensure before wasting time and money on training. Platte’s signature model legislation has been praised by the Wall Street Journal editorial board as a standard for the nation.

Reason Foundation
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, UNITED STATES

As retiree benefit costs begin to crowd out revenue available for core public services—including schools, roads, and public safety—policymakers across the country are beginning to acknowledge the severity of the problem and move towards a defined contribution retirement model. Reason’s Pension Integrity Project seeks out these motivated customers and equips them with detailed technical assistance as they tackle systemic retirement benefit reform that puts governments on the path to financial solvency. In Arizona, Michigan, and Colorado, Reason’s team helped create bipartisan coalitions that have reduced taxpayer risk, stabilized costs, and enhanced retirement security.
In the 1800s, the U.S. Forest Service began observing a strict, zero-tolerance policy toward forest fires, believing that proper care of nature meant stopping anything from dying by flame. We have since learned that small fires in a forest actually play an important role in preventing larger, more catastrophic fires because, in part, they clear away old growth in manageable doses. By introducing interventions like small fire prevention, forest experts managed to achieve the very opposite of their aim, leaving forests much more vulnerable.

When it comes to doing good by intervention, this kind of linear thinking can be hard to resist. We continue, for example, to think that the way to end poverty is to transfer wealth and expertise from one place to another. There’s a simplicity to this thinking that appeals to our sense of moral urgency but it foolishly underestimates the complexity of the ecosystem we hope to see thrive.

As a result, poor places become more vulnerable to permanent poverty. In the same way that small fires allow forests to reorient themselves for new growth, unfettered economies allow communities to reorient themselves over time toward new, sustainable development. This iterative process makes them less susceptible to catastrophic events.
Given this complexity, the challenge is how to help from the outside without making things worse. What can we do to help?

Mauricio Miller won the MacArthur Genius grant in 2012 for his radical rethinking of poverty. Up to that point, he spent 35 years in Oakland, California, working with a traditional, transfer-based aid model for low-income populations until he started to realize that, as he puts it, “most of what [we] believe about poverty is wrong.” In his recent book, he writes “Government and private philanthropy are good at talking and planning, but…they never consider the possibility that their top-down solutions and plans will never solve poverty or create economic mobility.”

For Miller, the big mistake we make as outsiders is overstepping. We falsely believe our own knowledge and resources represent the bulk of what is needed to solve long-term economic problems on behalf of others and so, despite good intentions, we tend to assume far too much of a leadership role in their affairs.

Miller believes that at the heart of this tendency is our failure to take the idea of human dignity seriously enough. It is our failure to see that those who live in poverty are neither our victims nor our charges, dependent on us to save them. They are our equals—and his key message is that they are the rightful leaders when it comes to figuring out how to improve their lives, not the outsiders who are trying to help them.

A common criticism of any approach that prizes individual initiative is to point out that no one truly succeeds on their own—no man is an island—so it’s wrong to expect those in poverty to solve their own problems. Much has been said and written about the “bootstrap myth”—criticizing the idea that all low-income people need to do is pull themselves up by their bootstraps and solve their own problems. It’s certainly true that social networks and social capital play an important role in achieving individual success in prosperous communities and so, indeed, it would be a mistake to ignore this important fact when it comes to helping people in poverty.

However, Miller discovered a nuance that serves to reconcile the respective roles of individual initiative and social capital in poverty reduction. He learned that when trying to help people in poor places, who they rely on and the nature of those social ties make all the difference. Miller realized he and his team were actually undermining social ties in low-income communities by strengthening their ties to social service agencies and other outside, professional “experts.” That dependency approach wasn’t working and it was sabotaging better alternatives.

For those who advocate increased economic freedom in poor places, there is a growing consensus among thoughtful and experienced aid, poverty, and economic development experts that cautions outsiders, broadly defined, to
take care not to impose their ideas and plans on others, particularly on those most vulnerable to suffering by our mistakes. This caution brings to focus a serious dilemma, “the outsider’s dilemma,” that any outsider must grapple with: how can we help without mistakenly doing more harm than good?

Atlas Network would like to see that consensus grow, and so we propose a set of modest principles designed to resolve that dilemma in a way that we hope transcends ideological diversity in the spirit of “Doing Development Differently.”

Principle #1: Ensure outsiders are not substantively leading local change and recognize that governments, even domestic governments, often behave as outsiders when it comes to interfering with individual agency and choices. Economic freedom must be at the center of any viable poverty-reduction strategy. To succeed, any strategy must be pursued within a culturally authentic context.

Poverty & Freedom is available on Amazon.com for preorder through November 1, 2019.
Celebrate liberty around the world with Atlas Network in New York City!

**LIBERTY FORUM:**
Crowne Plaza Times Square Hotel
Wednesday–Thursday, November 6–7, 2019

**FREEDOM DINNER:**
Intrepid Sea, Air, and Space Museum
Thursday, November 7, 2019

And the winner of the prestigious $100,000 Templeton Freedom Award is...

Be inspired by freedom champions from around the world at the most exciting freedom event of the year!

Visit [AtlasNetwork.org/LFFD19](http://AtlasNetwork.org/LFFD19) to register today!
Roy Spencer never expected to be an entrepreneur—but from the time he was able to earn a few dollars to help out his family, the young Indiana-born businessman washed cars, mowed lawns, and did everything he could to make sure that his mom, a single parent, didn’t have to worry. “I always used to say I grew up poor,” Spencer, who is a member of Atlas Network’s Atlas Club, told a packed room at this year’s Africa Liberty Forum in Nairobi. “But then I saw what it’s like in other places around the world.”

The skills Spencer learned as a young man have been invaluable as he’s built a career grounded in integrity, compassion, and a desire to create value for others. Today, Perma-Seal, the Chicagoland below-ground waterproofing business Roy started in 1979 with a truck and
a shovel, employs more than 250 dedicated professionals and serves more than 10,000 customers every year. “We aspire to make the world a better place,” he says. “I know that sounds pretty ambitious for a company that is focused on waterproofing, but we believe that all of our employees are part of our mission to do the right thing for our clients and our community, and we work hard to make that happen.”

Spencer credits his wife Laura Ann, Perma-Seal’s chief operating officer and the guiding light behind the company’s unique vision, for helping to define and codify the core values that have strengthened his growing team. As an aspiring entrepreneur in the late 1970s, Spencer wasn’t impressed with the professional ethics of his competitors, and he decided that he would embrace the responsibility of providing his customers with honest, high-quality work. He built his business steadily, using twentieth-century technologies like the local PennySaver and terrestrial radio to build word of mouth. He attracted employees who shared his commitment to hard work and outstanding service. And from his first days in business, he made it a point of honor to give back to his community, believing that investing in the success of his employees as well as supporting charitable causes was a critical part of his moral responsibility to others.

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With more than 400,000 satisfied customers in the last 40 years, Spencer’s “tribe,” as he calls his dedicated team of service professionals, has dealt with every possible type of flooding, including a disaster in their own offices. “That’s when you know that your tribe cares—when they’re responding to the needs of others first,” he said.

Spencer sits on the advisory board of Conscious Capitalism Chicago and works with other entrepreneurs to advance their shared values of voluntary exchange, freedom to trade, trust, and collaboration. These values are at the heart of Perma-Seal’s corporate culture, and they are part of what attracted him to Atlas Network.

Spencer is passionate about free markets, and over the last year, he’s traveled around the world with Atlas Network as a featured Regional Liberty Forum speaker, most recently in Nairobi, where he shared his commitment to inspiring, engaging, and energizing others through capitalism. “We all deserve opportunity,” he says quietly, clearly aware that most people in the world are denied the simple chance that changed his life—the chance to create value by building a successful business. “I’ve been very fortunate, and now I am able to share both my knowledge and my resources beyond just my immediate community.”
**01 SWIPE LEFT ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING**

In the world of social media, apps where users can swipe left or swipe right make it easy for people to make their preferences known. Argentina-based Fundación Libertad decided to let people swipe left or right on how their tax dollars are being spent with a new app, “Gastar o No Gastar” (“To Spend or Not to Spend”), which lets Argentines voice their opinions on public spending while also improving government transparency.

**SERBIA’S TAX FREEDOM CALCULATOR MEASURES EACH TAXPAYER’S SHARE OF GOVERNMENT COSTS**

How long do you have to work to pay off your country’s tax bill for the year? In Serbia, taxpayers work until May 28—also known as Tax Freedom Day. Libertarian Club Libek has released a Tax Freedom Calculator that evaluates the exact number of hours any Serbian has to work before they’ve paid their share of the government’s operating expenses.

**03 REMOVING RESTRICTIVE LICENSING ON HAIRSTYLISTS IN ARIZONA**

Until April, Arizona required expensive, time-consuming licensing in order to professionally wash, dry, and style hair. This massive barrier prevented stylists like Holli Christensen from doing what she loved—but after three years of advocacy on the overregulation of stylists by the Goldwater Institute, Arizona Governor Doug Ducey signed a law removing the licensing requirement.

**OPPORTUNITY IS SWEET IN COSTA RICA**

Small businesses in Costa Rica often struggle to comply with export infrastructure, high taxes, and government mandates. Fighting regulations that stifle small businesses like Turrones de Costa Rica is just one of the ways that IDEAS—an Atlas Network partner in Costa Rica—is helping entrepreneurs succeed. Today, people all over the world can enjoy Luis Diego Soto’s award-winning nougat—and this sweet success means more jobs and greater prosperity for Costa Rica. Read more of Luis Diego’s story at PovertyandFreedom.org.

**05 NICKI MINAJ CANCELS SAUDI ARABIA SHOW AFTER PUSHBACK FROM HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION**

Hip-hop artist Nicki Minaj, one of the world’s most influential female rappers, was scheduled to perform in Saudi Arabia, but canceled her appearance after learning more about the country’s record of human rights violations. What changed her mind? The New York-based Human Rights Foundation sent her a letter explaining that a performance in a country with such discriminatory laws would be the same as passively approving them.
West Virginia welcomes charter schools, educational freedom with help of the Cardinal Institute

West Virginia Governor Jim Justice has signed House Bill 206 into law, expanding school choice in the Mountain State. This win for students came after years of advocacy by the Cardinal Institute for West Virginia Policy via informational op-eds, appearances on radio and television shows, and expert testimony to the state legislature. Students will now have access to better public schools and have the chance to attend charter schools within the state.

New law removes barriers for Uruguayan businesses

Entrepreneurs in Uruguay have historically dealt with red tape and high startup costs just to get a business off the ground, but thanks in large part to the research and advocacy of Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo, the process will be easier in the future. The Uruguayan Chamber of Deputies has passed new legislation to curtail bureaucratic hurdles and reduce costs in order to make it easier for entrepreneurs to enter the market.

Learning Week brings African scholars together in Tanzania

During the week of June 25–29, a group of young African scholars gathered in Tanzania to gain a deeper understanding of liberty with Tanzania-based Atlas Network partner Liberty Sparks. Learning Week—which attracted nearly 300 students from Malawi, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania—focused on rule of law, individual rights, limited government, and the free market. Organizer Evans Exaud hopes that these young advocates will have an impact on Africa’s future.

Brexit and the Freedom Movement, three years later

Three years, and two Prime Ministers have gone by since the Brexit referendum, and leaders in the European freedom movement remain divided on whether Brexit is a positive/negative event for the trajectory of liberty on the continent. Atlas Network recently caught up with some of those leaders we profiled in our 2017 article on the vote (AtlasNetwork.org/News/Brexit), and opinions remain split.

AELSO Academy champions free and open society in the Middle East

The Afghanistan Economic and Legal Studies Organization (AELSO) continues its heroic march toward achieving tolerance, prosperity, and freedom in Afghanistan. Despite numerous challenges to civil society in the country, AELSO formally launched the AELSO Academy on June 27, featuring seminars, webinars, and radio programs. The organization aspires to train approximately 400 people on the benefits of a free society.
By Casey Given
Executive Director of Young Voices

From my earliest days as a libertarian, I have been obsessed with answering one important question: how can liberty go mainstream? That is to say, how can the movement effectively market to the masses the world-changing ideas that our brightest minds regularly produce?

From my earliest days as a libertarian, I have been obsessed with answering one question: *how can liberty go mainstream?*

My libertarian career has been focused on this question since its beginning, even if I did not know it at the time. My journey began at UC Berkeley, where I founded the university’s only libertarian student organization at the supposed “Home of the Free Speech Movement.” I was fascinated with the idea of marketing liberty to an infamously liberal student body and made some inroads to the point that I became the political columnist for *The Daily Californian* student newspaper during my senior year.

This collegiate introduction to the liberty movement inspired me to pursue a full-time career in ideas, and so I shipped off to Washington, D.C. immediately after graduation in 2012. Shortly thereafter, Students For Liberty invited me to join their staff full-time to co-manage a project they had recently launched called Young Voices, with the aim of making liberty mainstream through promoting libertarians under 30 in the media. It was a career match made in heaven.
Young Voices provides media mentorship and public relations services to talented young writers knowledgeable in the classical liberal tradition. After a rigorous application process, accepted contributors gain access to Young Voices’ copyediting and public relations capabilities. Our staff works as each contributor’s personal communications team, editing and pitching his or her work for publication and TV/radio opportunities.

In 2016, Students For Liberty invited me to spin-off Young Voices to an independent 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. One of the first calls I made after accepting the challenge was to Atlas Network. Three years later, I cannot imagine where Young Voices would be without the training, mentorship, and grant support that Atlas Network has provided.

In particular, my participation in Atlas Network’s Think Tank MBA training program in 2017 helped me develop a multi-year strategic plan that has been critical to the growth of Young Voices over the past two years through the launch of issue-specific policy fellowships. To date, Atlas Network has helped fund three of these fellowships, including most recently one for writers in developing countries interested in promoting markets as a means of alleviating poverty.

Atlas Network’s Mentorship Program connected me with Lindsay Craig, president of the National Review Institute, whose advice I greatly cherished as a more senior executive in the movement working for an organization with a similar mission of promoting liberty through the written word. Today, I am fortunate to share two board members with Atlas Network, Scott Barbee and Dan Grossman, to help govern Young Voices as a growing organization.

The work of making liberty mainstream isn’t easy, but Young Voices has made some important strides. Today, Young Voices averages 57 media hits per month—37 in print and 17 on TV/radio—including regular placements in major media outlets including Fox News and USA Today. Several of our alumni have gone on to become editors, senior policy analysts, and college professors—laying the groundwork for lifelong careers promoting the ideas of liberty. And this is just the beginning. With the continued mentorship and support of Atlas Network and other allies, Young Voices hopes to shift the political conversation through cultivating thought leaders for liberty with the potential to make the 21st century the freest one humanity has seen.
The problems of populism, the future of Venezuela, and the need to educate larger audiences about the benefits of liberty were key themes at Atlas Network’s Latin America Liberty Forum 2019, which was held June 27–28 in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. More than 280 think tank professionals from 23 countries across the region came together for an enthusiastic and energetic event full of engaging speakers, interactive workshops, competitions and awards, and fantastic camaraderie. Fundación Eléutera won the 2019 Latin America Liberty Award for their tireless efforts to inculcate the rule of law through small business regulatory reform in Honduras, and Emma García-Prieto of CREO won the Think Tank Shark competition (TTST) for her proposal to create La Libertad va al Cine (Freedom Goes to the Movies), a five-day, liberty-themed film festival in El Salvador.
AFRICA LIBERTY FORUM 2019

1: An unforgettable traditional performance by the Rambolo Dance Group was a highlight of the 2019 Africa Liberty Awards dinner.

2: Mehmet N’diaye accepts the 2019 Africa Liberty Award on behalf of Côte d’Ivoire’s Audace Institut Afrique for the “Liberating Rural Land’s Potential in Côte d’Ivoire” land titling project.

3: Alex Njeru, Dia Dickel, and Oluwafemi Ogunjobi show off their elegant traditional clothing during the 2019 Africa Liberty Awards dinner.

4: John Mustapha Kutiyote of Students’ Organization for Liberty and Entrepreneurship (SOLE) was awarded the 2019 Think Tank Shark Tank prize for SOLE’s project to promote property rights for widows in South Sudan.

5: Linda Kavuka and Kerry Kagiri smile for the cameras.

6: Attendees hit the ground running at Crowdsource Networking, making new connections and building opportunities to collaborate with peers from around the region.


8: Atlas Network’s Dr. Tom Palmer, Magatte Wade, and Brad Lips flank Mehmet N’diaye after he accepted the 2019 Africa Liberty Award on behalf of Côte d’Ivoire’s Audace Institut Afrique.
Nearly twenty years ago, the Ukrainian government awarded plots of land—about 5 hectares per person—as a means of compensating years of labor to those who toiled on collective farms. The caveat, however, was that these people would be prohibited from selling that land. In the ensuing decades the seven million people who received such land have aged. Many are retired, many have died, and most simply want the right to sell their land. The tracts of land were awarded with little regard for how those receiving the land might use it, and with the limited means of the landowners, it is more common than not that landowners are unable to properly use it.

Several efforts to end the ban by building top-down pressure for legislative reform have failed year after year, until the free-market think tank EasyBusiness got involved. EasyBusiness likewise engaged in pushing for top-down reform with its involvement in coalitions, working groups, and publishing research reports on the economic impact of the moratorium, but it was not until it turned to building bottom-up pressure for reform did they reach a critical mass.

EasyBusiness took its fight to the courts, working directly with the people who stood to benefit from the moratorium’s repeal. It created a user-friendly online platform to

THINK TANK IMPACT CASE STUDY

OVERCOMING ONE FINAL LEGACY OF COMMUNISM IN UKRAINE

EasyBusiness’ strategic litigation to end 20 years of denying Ukrainian landowners of their rights
give Ukrainian landowners the tools they needed to appeal to their local officials and the European Court of Human Rights, or ECHR, creating bottom-up pressure for the reform. This tool helped landowners to make appeals to the ECHR, which actually heard two such cases.

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The ECHR ruled that the ban on selling land violated the human rights of landowners and that the Ukrainian government had to take appropriate measures to remedy the situation or else pay US$50 billion in damages to the landowners affected. Ending the moratorium is now a stated priority for the newly elected government of the only democratic country in the world that currently restricts such rights.

“Courts can become very helpful partners in supporting important reforms,” said Andrew Shpakov, CEO of EasyBusiness. “They are usually seen as independent and external parties that are capable of presenting an unbiased view of the problem in question. In our case, it worked out perfectly. Both the general public and politicians saw that the necessity of the free farmland market is not a libertarian fiction, but a direct requirement of the recognized international body that protects property rights. This decision made it easier to advocate for the implementation of the land reform.”

Read the full case study on EasyBusiness’ work to end the moratorium on the sale of agricultural land in Ukraine at www.AtlasNetwork.org/case-studies.
“As a businessman, I believe that it is my moral responsibility to make the world a better place—and philanthropy has always been a big part of that.”

— ROY SPENCER