



Towards a Great India

A magazine of the Freedom Team of India

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Volume 2, Number 5

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Care for India? Then lead India.

It will take at least 1500 high quality leaders to reform India's governance. India can be reformed and get an ethical government, but the best Indians must come together and agree to a common platform, first.

If you wish to lead India as part of a team of high quality leaders, consider joining the Freedom Team.

Target/ achievement

Year	Number of leaders wanted (excluding observers)	Number of initial FTI members (including observers)
2008	100	38
2009	500	86*
2010	1500	
2011	2500+	

*It is likely that less than half will ultimately join the Team as formal members, given strict membership requirements.

Join the war against corruption and bad policy

<http://freedomteam.in>

info@freedomteam.in

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Message from the Team

I want an India where talent and energy can find scope for play without having to cringe and obtain special individual permission from officials and ministers, and where their effort will be judged by the open market in India and abroad.

- C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji)

Independent India was extremely fortunate to have votaries of freedom like Rajaji and many others, including Minoo Masani. Because of men like them, India remained a liberal democracy despite the strong socialist leanings of Nehru. Rajaji and Masani are remembered today as founders of the Swatantra Party, India's first liberal party, formed in 1959 to oppose Nehru's socialist policies. This year marks the 50th anniversary of the formation of Swatantra Party. It is a good time for all of us to ponder over what India could have been with a liberal party at its helm, and to light the flame of liberty once again.

The Swatantra Party was to become India's largest opposition party with 44 seats in the 1967 Lok Sabha. But it finally dissolved in 1974 – about an year after Rajaji's death in December 1972. Col. H.R. Pasricha analysed its rise and fall in a book, *The Swatantra Party - Victory in Defeat*, published posthumously by The Rajaji Foundation in 2002. This issue carries two summaries of the learnings from this book, to guide liberal efforts today.

Adharshila

Recently, **Adarshila** was transferred from the India Policy Institute (IPI) to the Freedom Team of India (FTI) with the consent of IPI's Board of Directors. Adharshila's frameworks are outlined in this magazine – please get involved!

Detailed rules and Basic Principles

The Rules of FTI are now being reviewed to also incorporate FTI's Basic Principles. A *Handbook for New Members and Key Strategies* will also be published in the coming months.

Outreach programs in Mirzapur and Allahabad

This issue carries two reports from Anil Sharma on the outreach programs he led in Mirzapur and Allahabad. Please help us organise more such efforts.

Speakers Panel

FTI has launched a Speakers Panel to support our outreach efforts. Our current speakers: Swaminathan S. Anklesaria Aiyar, Pavan Choudary, Atanu Dey, Gurcharan Das, Barun Mitra, S.V. Raju, Ramesh Ramanathan, Mohit Saytananda and Parth Shah. For details including how to get involved, see: <http://freedomteam.in/blog/speakers-panel>.

How to contribute to FTI's expanding efforts

Please click [here](#) (or go to our website) for opportunities to find good leaders for FTI. There are many others ways you can get involved as well. We will also shortly open a bank account and you'll be able to contribute funds as well.

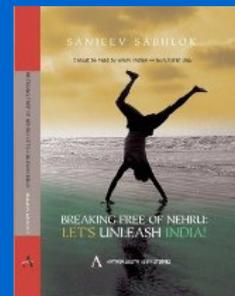
Recommended readings

1. **Capitalism and Freedom** by Milton Friedman
2. **Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal** by Ayn Rand, Nathaniel Branden, Alan Greenspan and Robert Hessen
3. **The Ultimate Resource II** by Julian Simon
4. **Breaking Free of Nehru** by Sanjeev Sabhlok
5. **Economics in One Lesson** by Henry Hazlitt
6. **The Use of Knowledge in Society** by F.A. Hayek
7. **The Constitution of Liberty** by F.A. Hayek
8. **India Unbound** by Gurcharan Das
9. **On Liberty** by John Stuart Mill
10. **The Law** by Frédéric Bastiat

11. **Liberalism** by Ludwig Von Mises
12. **Two Treatises of Government** by John Locke
13. **The Triumph of Liberty** by Jim Powell
14. **Growth Triumphant** by Richard Easterlin
15. **Roots of Freedom** by John W. Danford
16. **Good to Great** by Jim Collins

Breaking Free of Nehru – Let's Unleash India!

This book (published in December 2008 by Anthem Press) introduces the idea of a **Freedom Team of India** and proposes policies that such a Team could consider. <http://bfm.sabhlokcity.com/>



Indian institutes that promote liberty

- India Policy Institute (indiapolicy.org)
- Centre for Civil Society (ccs.in)
- Liberty Institute (libertyindia.org)
- Janaagraha (janaagraha.org)

International institutes that promote liberty

- Ludwig von Mises Institute (mises.org)
- The Mont Perlin Society (montpelerin.org)
- Institute of Economic Affairs (iea.org.uk)
- Centre for Independent Studies (cis.org.au)

Political parties broadly aligned with policies of liberty

Lok Satta, Jago Party, Bharatiya Democratic Party, Yuva Party, Lokayat

Note: FTI does not necessarily endorse all policies of these parties.

Articles by Team Members

Only FTI members write for this magazine (for non-members who wish to write on policy issues, please contribute to [India Policy Update](#)). Given resource constraints (FTI members are volunteers), and to ensure freedom of expression of our members, these articles are either not edited at all, or very lightly edited. Views expressed in these articles may not represent the views of the Freedom Team.

Press coverage of the Mirzapur and Allahabad Outreach Efforts

More snippets of the press coverage received by the August and September outreach efforts are provided on FTI's [website](#). Also a number of photographs.



1. Report on the Mirzapur outreach effort



Anil Sharma is a member of the Freedom Team of India. He can be contacted at: aks321@gmail.com

Freedom Team of India (FTI) conducted an outreach meeting in Mirzapur on 30th August 2009. The meeting was conducted by Anil Sharma, a member of Freedom Team of India. It was organised in the well equipped and furnished meeting hall of the Mirzapur Nagar Panchyat building.

The invitations were distributed a week in advance and the target audience comprised mainly from the bar association, teachers & professors, social and political activists from Mirzapur town and the surrounding rural areas.



The meeting was presided over by the ex chairman of Mirzapur Nagar Panchyat Shri Gopalji Chunahe; Shri Bhagwati Prasad Chaudhari Ex MLA was the chief guest; Shri Harihar Prasad Singh, a senior advocate and Smt. Binita Goenka a social worker were distinguished guests. The meeting started with floral tributes to Mother India and lighting the sacred lamp.

After the introductions the meeting started in right earnest with Anil Sharma delivering the main speech. The speech discussed the multifarious nature of problems that ails India's viz. poverty, corruption, inadequate infrastructure, education, pollution, population, health, justice, law and order, terrorism etc. But the heart of the problems or root cause of these issues boils down to one single factor and that is the failure of governance at every level. The cause of failure of governance is easier to trace into the socialist policies that has been pursued by the governments since the formation of our nation over six decades ago. For any serious effort to tackle the issues ailing India it has to strike at the root that is the governance meaning providing a new political alternative, a new political leadership. Freedom Team of India was introduced thus as that platform where able leadership committed towards the ideals of classical liberalism and freedom gather to provide this change.

The meeting was then opened for questions and discussions with the audience. There is a huge undercurrent and burning desire amongst the populace for change. It's an understatement that people are fed up with corruption and misgovernance. They are looking for alternative solutions but not quite sure as to how this change needs to be brought about. Some thought that it has to be a social change, others argued that if all the individuals change then India will change; then there are others who think more government intervention will help. The FTI message was reiterated that the change has to be political in nature on a broad based liberal ideology. To a greater extent this message did find acceptance that political change is the only long term viable solution to what ails India.

The basic tenets of liberalism viz. limited government and private enterprise; these ideas are not something that comes easily to a lot of people even the most educated ones also because of decades of socialist ideas that have been imposed in every walk of life. The expectation from government is very huge, from employment to education to any thing under the Sun. People are quite skeptical about private enterprise, "Punjivaad" (Capitalism) is a dirty word in their thinking and experience. To discuss how private enterprise brings the best, some examples were provided like the communication sector, mobile phones etc as to how privatisation has helped to make the mobile network of India one of the best and economical in the world. Another example of voucher system was detailed as to how that can minimise government intervention and promote private enterprise for better education.

Once the imperative need of political change is understood then the next questions were the approach to bring about this change that FTI wants to follow. There was a lot of emphasis on "Sangharsh ki Rajniti" meaning grassroots activism. Many people were skeptical about leadership imposed from the

top, they want the leadership to evolve from bottoms up doing grassroots work. It was emphasised that the problem India faces is that of leadership, grassroots work will have to come later only when we have a critical mass of leadership assembled. There is no question of parachuting or imposing the leadership from top because once we have the leadership assembled then grassroots work will begin in right earnest.

2. Report on the Allahabad outreach effort

By Anil Sharma, a member of the Freedom Team of India. He works as an IT consultant in London and can be contacted at: aks321@gmail.com

Freedom Team of India (FTI) conducted an outreach meeting in Allahabad on 2nd September 2009. The meeting was conducted by Anil Sharma, a member of Freedom Team of India. It was organised in the auditorium of Hindustani Academy. The audience turnout was low due to many reasons ranging from local politics to personal bereavement of key participant.

The meeting was presided over by a senior advocate and social activist Mr Anand Mohan, a crusader against corruption. The meeting started with floral tributes to Mother India and lighting the sacred lamp.



The FTI message was delivered by Anil Sharma after the introductions. The imperative need for a new political platform based on classical liberalism and freedom was emphasised. The meeting was then opened for questions and discussions with the audience. The questions were quite similar to the ones raised at Mirzapur program. In essence the skepticism about the private enterprise is the most discussed point. The idea of equal opportunity instead of reservations did find a good appeal amongst the audience. This is more appealing when you bring in the individual dignity and honour vis-à-vis reservations; an individual would appreciate a fair competition if there is a level playing field.

There was one attendee who was not invited but he was passing by the venue and saw the FTI banner at the gates and came in. He had fought as an independent candidate from one of the rural assembly seat of Allahabad in last elections. He was quite impressed with FTI's mission.

3. A liberal policy position on higher education



Sanjeev Sabhlok, PhD, former member of the Indian Administrative Service, currently works as a public servant in Australia. This article was published in the September 2009 issue of *Freedom First*. He can be contacted at sabhlok@yahoo.com.

Liberals generally agree that a government has little justification to deal with matters beyond its (first-order) core functions of defence, police and justice. However, most liberals do make a provision for a government to provide infrastructure and reasonable equal opportunity (second-order core functions), subject to the government doing only to the minimal extent necessary to achieve basic objectives in these areas.

If we agree that these areas establish the boundaries of the role of a government, then there is no scope for government funding of higher education, apart from regulating the sector to prevent fraud. Indeed, tertiary education institutions are fishing nets to 'catch' the society's most talented. Students attending these institutions will, almost invariably, become wealthier than the average taxpayer. Subsidising them would amount to deliberately increasing inequality in society. And there are no natural rights for anyone to be provided higher education by the state, just as no one can demand that every tennis player should be given an 'equal opportunity' to play in the Wimbledon.

Privatisation, but good regulation

The government must therefore completely exit higher education. Institutions owned by government should be sold off broadly on the pattern of school privatisation discussed in the July 2009 issue of

Freedom First, and converted into for-profit corporations with their shares traded on the stock market. With that, the tax revenues saved from higher education could be diverted to the maintenance of law and order and provision of good school education: areas which are in deplorable condition in India today.

But selling off IITs, IIMs, medical colleges and other government-owned tertiary institutes (including vocational) does not mean de-regulation. Apart from accreditation to prevent fraud, some steps must be taken to assure standards (but not to set standards – a task that must be left to the sector to resolve). Such accredited tertiary education institutions would have full operational independence, with the ability to set their own salary and scholarship structures to attract distinguished academics and talented students. They would set their own fees and determine the type, quality and mix of courses to offer. As a result, only that much higher education will be provided as the market needs and is willing to bear.

What about meritorious but poor students?

The issue of funding poor, meritorious students to attend these courses can be easily managed on the pattern of the HECS scheme in Australia (noting that HECS has imperfections that will need to be overcome). Under this model, any Indian citizen admitted to an accredited institution could apply for and get a low interest loan from the government for an amount sufficient to pay their fees as well as cost of living and books. This low interest rate loan (at a rate about one per cent higher than the variable Reserve Bank rate to meet transaction costs) would be repayable over, say, 15 years. Repayment would be through the income tax system after the concerned student gets a job and starts earning an amount greater than, say, three times the poverty line.

As a result, all meritorious students in India could easily pursue higher education and repay the fees when they start earning a sufficient income. Much of this can be outsourced to the private sector, and private competition in the loans market can be encouraged, thus ultimately allowing the government to exit this area completely.

Preventing non-repayment of loans

What if upon completing their studies some students leave India permanently, not repaying the loan? (In a way this has already happened with engineering and medical students who have simply left India. A comparable education in USA would have cost \$100,000 at least). The way out of this would be two fold. One, agreements could be made with countries with similar schemes, to ensure that these educational loans are repaid.

At the least, a system to monitor departing students can be established whereby students leaving India even temporarily would need to furnish a bank guarantee equivalent to the amount of their outstanding loan plus the present value of costs incurred by taxpayers on their school education. Such a bank guarantee would be forfeited should they fail to return within a stipulated time. Students not carrying proof of such a guarantee would be turned back at the immigration check. Of course, this will require linking the loan system with the tax and immigration systems through a well-organised national ID and database.

Raising funds for these loans

How should the government raise the funds needed to issue these student loans? In brief, from the market. This is not as hard as it may sound, since most tertiary-educated workers will earn well, making it relatively easy to recover loans through the tax system. A rolling debt model would be followed. Government-guaranteed bonds (underpinned by these future tax system repayments) can be issued for the amount of student loans expected to be made. Prudent investors and banks will readily buy these risk-free bonds.

These bonds can be retired after ten years using repayments from students most of whom would by then have started working. Not all bond repayments will be met from student loan repayments alone, given potential mismatches of timing between student earnings and the redemption of the bonds and so some fine-tuning of the loan cycles would be needed. In addition, the residual costs of administering this programme, including the difference in interest costs between the effective rate of bonds and the Bank rate, and a write-off for defaults, will need to be charged to the taxpayer, amounting to a (small) subsidy for higher education. This subsidy can be arguably justified as an unavoidable cost to fund meritorious poor to study as well as – for those who take a utilitarian approach and believe that higher education generates positive externalities – to facilitate innovation in society. But these arguments are vague and problematic, and the government should endeavour to get out of this as soon as practicable.

Common objections to such a system

Won't this system lead to astronomical fee levels? No, because of competition in the sector. Students will generally prefer quality education at the lowest possible cost, forcing the fees down. Even the best universities will need to attract high quality students to retain their reputation, and they will have to bid for them through discounts. Will the liberal arts be ousted from the teaching agenda in this free market? Not really. Good private sector corporations recognize the commercial value of a liberal education. Arts graduates often do better in modern businesses than technical graduates because innovation, entrepreneurship, leadership, people management and strategic thinking have little to do with technical skills. Therefore the market won't kill off philosophy, noting that there will be increasing opportunities for philanthropists to fund such disciplines.

I believe that if such a system is implemented, India will get at least a hundred universities of the standard of Harvard University in a few decades.

Freedom Team of India

The Freedom Team of India (<http://freedomteam.in/>), now registered as a Trust, would have opened its bank account by the time this article is published, allowing you to contribute to its efforts even if you can't join it as a member. [Note: this bank account has not yet been opened] In a few months the member category called Freedom Partner will be operationalised. Watch this space!

4. The Swatantra Party -Victory in Defeat

By Sanjeev Sabhlok. These findings from Col. H.R.Pasricha's book, *The Swatantra Party - Victory in Defeat* were published in 2003 by the India Policy Institute as part of a strategy pack for a 2004 workshop. This version has not been edited.

Lesson No.1 : Liberals are no different to other human beings, and we should be humble and accept our individual limitations

Gandhi too had many preconceived notions; the one difference was that he had less of them than others and was willing to continuously learn. He wrote in Community Service News, September -- October, 1946, "I have great concern about introducing machine industry. The machine produces too much too fast, and brings with it a sort of economic system which I cannot grasp. ... **as we grow in understanding, if we feel the need of machines, will certainly have them. ... we shall introduce machines if and when we need them.**" He kept saying that he was a seeker for the Truth and was happy to be corrected. Obviously one man can only learn so much in one lifetime so we can understand why he could not understand the capitalist system of Adam Smith. If he could find the time to understand it, he would have surely changed his views.

Liberals will need to build a political organisation that is based entirely on rigorous thinking, and complete equality.

Lesson No. 2: Never tolerate a person on the Executive Council who does not challenge any view that the person does not agree with. Just because someone says so, does not make a thing true. Even Masani made such an appeal, that eventually destroyed the party. At page 79 Pasricha says, "Mariswamy, the general secretary of the Madras party, was arguing against the alliance [Grand Alliance of 1971] fairly cogently, when Masani interrupted with the remark that Rajaji was in favour of the alliance. A sudden, dramatic change came over Mariswamy. He stopped in midstream and abjectly announced that he withdrew his remarks unreservedly and totally. It struck me as extremely peculiar that the leader of the National Executive level should so abjectly withdraw his considered opinion merely at the mention of Rajaji's opinion. This is a small illustration of the type of leadership the Swatantra party was able to scrounge. Subservience to autocratic "rule", real or perceived, is a more natural state of man than democracy, particularly in India. Never accept a sheep or 'yes men'.

Lesson 3: Nip the evil in the bud

At page 130, Pasricha talks of Masani being "fed up with the state of indiscipline in the party." At page 36, Pasricha points out how the Jan Sangh nipped in the bud any deviationist by expelling him from the party. People who discriminate against women, Harijans, Muslims, etc., etc., need to be blocked at the doorstep, but if they manage to infiltrate, they need to be expelled at the first opportunity.

Lesson 4: Build party workers

Nobody in the party seemed to be bothered about building a set of workers who would proselytise. Apostles were in very short supply. A corps of trained, devoted workers, functioning under the direct control of a centre, could have sown the gospel far and wide and counteracted the prevailing socialistic

rhetoric." "No attempt was made to formulate a detailed scheme for the training of cadres." (p.115)
The party clearly did not have a strategy for the long-term. It was dependent on Rajaji in more ways than one.

Lesson 5: Do not contest elections until fully ready

Repeatedly, Pasricha shows the ill-judged keenness of state leaders as well as National leaders to contest elections well beyond the capacity of the party to organise. Resources need to be spent strategically and very prudently. Recklessness and haste can only destroy. That is one more reason to have 'big picture' strategy to be continuously reviewed.

Lesson 6: Never consort with parties the do not have the same principles

The moment the party compromises its fundamental principles, it is as good as dead. We are liberals. We do not provide Indian citizens with a hodge podge of policies - strictly liberal only.

Lesson 7: Ensure rigorous audit of the party

Tendency of state units to be highly factionalised, based on feudal or caste principles. All the demerits of existing political parties began to rapidly emerge in the State units of the Swatantra party including financial irregularities. A rigorous audit of party membership, funds, processes, etc., is essential for the party to not deteriorate "around the fringes".

Lesson 8 : Place a significant membership fee

By putting a low membership fee, wealthier individuals with political ambitions are able to enroll a significant number of dumb followers by paying for their fees.

Lesson 9: The importance of allowing joint stock companies to fund political parties

5. The Swatantra Party -Victory in Defeat



Mr. Vishal Singh, a member of FTI, works as a Asst Vice President in Polaris Software Ltd., Mumbai. He can be contacted at singh.vishu@gmail.com. In this article, Vishal analyses the findings from the Pasricha's *The Swatantra Party - Victory in Defeat*.

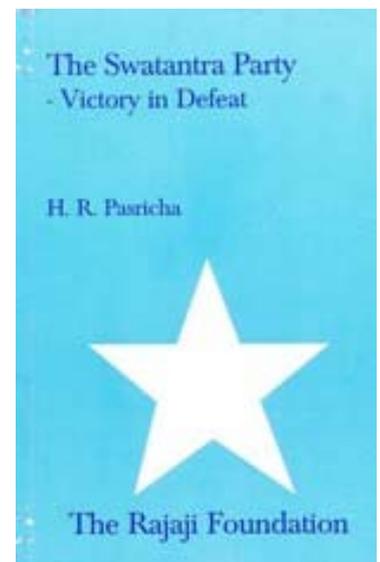
I recently read the book 'The Swatantra Party - Victory in Defeat', by H. R. Pasricha. I write this article from the point of view of what lessons can be drawn from success and failure of Swatantra party. I will focus more on the failures, as that has more value to the current and future liberal parties.

Swatantra party believed in the principles of liberalism. It had many great leaders like Rajagopalachari, Minoo Masani but still the party is no more today. What made a party which stood for individual liberalism die down? After reading the book I can think of the reasons of the downfall of Swatantra Party. I need to add that my understanding about Swatantra party is limited and I may be well wrong in my analysis.

- **Ideology Acceptance** - Swatantra party's core ideas were based on liberalism, which reflected in the 21 principles of the party. It is a question whether the ground workers really understood and believed in liberal ideology. It attracted the Rajas who were feeling threatened by Congress socialism. Many joined because they were threatened by the politics of the day. As opposition to Congress party was the main focus, Swatantra party joined hands with right wing forces. The key point for the Swatantra party became opposition to congress and the ideology probably took a back seat. For every organization the binding force should come from within rather than opposition of another organization.

- **Leadership Pipeline** - There were outstanding leaders in Swatantra party but it can be questioned whether Swatantra party had the infrastructure to produce more leaders as time went by. There have been instances cited in the book where people changed their views when it was learnt that Rajagopalachari - the tallest Swatantra party leader did not support it. Leaders need to stick their neck out even when they face opposition.

The challenges which Swatantra party faced will always be there for any liberal party. How does one convey the message of liberalism? The masses think of Capitalism (*punjiwad*) as exploitation. The majority of middle class is not interested in the politics of the day. Socialistic policies of the last 60



years have pushed many people into poverty. The poor masses are now being trapped in the NREGA and welfare schemes. Sarkar is indeed *mai baap* for the poor today. There is a challenge today in conveying the message of less government and of individual responsibility. I do not have answers to these challenges but I think that one needs to slowly and steadily build a liberal organization. There will be a time in near future when liberalism will be accepted by masses.

A concept note on Adharshila

Why Adharshila? - Adharshila's raison d'être

A large cross section of our society has been starved of a real sense of pride in being truly free. For thousands of years India did not have the active participation of its citizens in running its governments. Power was exercised by authority on the Indian, breaking his spirit, making him subservient with little hope for his true freedom.

Indeed, even after six decades of independence, it is hard for most Indians to break out of this mould of 'ruler worship'. This subservience can often lead them to elect, without thinking, the children of politicians who once 'ruled' India. But beyond that is the limited desire for freedom and independence which must surely course through the veins of modern man if he is to stand proud and tall, making his own future with his own effort. Consequently, two generations after it became independent, India is racked by bad governance, corruption, autocracy, failed socialist policies and a rotten implementation machinery.

Few, if any, ask why India must have such a corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy and why our 'democratic empire' is run by nameless politicians of questionable integrity (or their descendents) who 'come to power' in the name of caste or religion or other divisive accounts of Indian reality. No significant change in the governance of India will be achieved until we all realize that we are ultimately responsible for running our own government, and that we are sovereign and free. India is what it is today because we have failed to take responsibility.

Even educated Indians remain apathetic towards anything relating to government. There is a strong dislike for anything political, even a fear of possible reprisals. Most bright youngsters put in endless hours on outdated textbooks to ace engineering or medical school tests or become IAS officers. No one spends a moment to ask how good leaders for this huge democracy will emerge. Instead when they do spend a moment on this, they expect a (new) Mahatma Gandhi to somehow emerge, someone who will bring about the utopian nirvana they want without their putting in any effort.

Philosophy

Adharshila is committed to the philosophy of liberty and responsibility, which it sees as two sides of the same coin. It is wedded to a broad approach towards liberalism and good governance, permitting the exploration of a range of liberal options including classical liberal, libertarian, and even social liberal.

In advancing its work Adharshila invites the respectful expression and exploration of liberty not necessarily constrained by the knowledge of specific political ideologies or language. This welcoming approach and language of courtesy and mutual engagement and understanding is aimed at fostering a sense of willingness in the community to speak up and participate in debates and social and political initiatives. The language of inclusion under the umbrella of freedom would encourage citizens to take charge of their lives and work towards arriving at solutions to India's many problems through local engagement and resolution instead of engaging in an irresponsible blame game.

Adharshila thus hopes to build a sense of citizenship and demand for freedom and self-respect in India, a demand to take Indians out of the ancient mould of servility and build in Indians a sense of their own sovereignty.

It is, through this process, aimed at creating future leaders for free India, leading India closer to self-governance and Swaraj and contributing towards India's prosperity.

Governance

Adharshila is structured with checks and balances to ensure that untoward incidents and adverse publicity are avoided.

A Steering Committee has been tasked with the job of managing Adharshila and reporting to the FTI Board. Its task is to propose draft Rules, get endorsement from FTI, and to implement these Rules. It also has the authority to issue guidance as appropriate from time to time to Adharshila branches.

It is expected that a formal Constitution and set of Rules, being a subset of FTI Rules, will be prepared over the course of 2010 and adopted by FTI.

The Steering Committee is also tasked with preparing brochures, publicity material and other forms of media for disseminating the conceptions of liberty, good governance, and citizenship across India in all languages. This website will host these materials.

Local Adharshila groups will also have the authority to formulate materials that promote religious tolerance, freedom of expression and the scientific attitude.

How to establish a branch

Pilot branches in 2009-2010

In 2009 a number of pilot branches are expected to be established across India. The learnings from these pilot branches are incrementally expected to be absorbed in developing the concept of Adharshila further.

Leadership of the pilot branches

Each FTI member is expected to establish at least one branch each as part of their outreach program. FTI members are free to invite other local citizens to the branch to take on an active role as Adharshila Leaders. The initial group of 2-3 leaders so assembled should work as a family or team with due care and responsibility.

Size of the branch

Once fully developed, each unit of Adharshila should comprise not more than 20-30 members. At that stage it should hive off into separate units.

Membership requirements

The pilot branches would be established informally, i.e., without formal rules and regulations or membership forms. However, a minimum age of 18 years is prescribed for membership of Adharshila. In due course, with appropriate systems established, this will be lowered to 16 years (Office bearers of Adharshila would have to undergo authorised training in working with children before such a reduction in age limit is allowed).

Only Indian citizens in India will be able to join Adharshila. In due course this requirement may be relaxed, with appropriate qualifications.

To join Adharshila, prospective members would need to commit to a reasonable amount of time to Adharshila activities. In particular, senior liberals (those above 30 years of age) would need to mentor young members and undertake various leadership roles in the organisation.

Logistics of the branch

Meetings would initially be hosted in the residence of office-bearers by rotation (Adharshila branches would need to work like families to the extent possible). Each Adharshila group would be given its own page on this website. They could establish various Google groups to communicate by email if they wish, or simply use the telephone locally.

Funding

Pilot branches would need to raise funds locally, with minimal support from the central team in the pilot phase. In due course, arrangements would be made for all funds collected for Adharshila be deposited into a separate account maintained under the overall account of FTI. An annual budget would then be allocated to each branch, available on reimbursement from FTI.

In due course, local branches would be empowered to establish and operate their own bank accounts as registered subsidiaries of FTI. Annual reporting on all funds would have to be managed centrally through FTI.

Income tax exemptions available to FTI (once obtained) would apply to contributions made for Adharshila.

What can Adharshila branches do?

Consistent with the overall philosophy and approach towards engagement, Adharshila branches can organise a range of activities among the youth and citizens. Examples:

Build awareness in the foundational conceptions of citizenship

- Organise seminars to engage in open discussions on citizenship and liberty with issues taken from the local context
- Organise debates on citizenship and liberty among school children and youth (awards can be created locally, such as Adharshila Good Citizen award for excellent essays and debates.)

Develop leaders

- Identify talented leaders and groom them through mentoring relationships and, where possible, scholarships, into future leadership positions in society.

Engage in local social and political issues

- Engage in local social and political issues from a liberal and non-political perspective including organising public awareness campaigns and other such work leading to resolution of local problems such as corruption or lack of amenities.

Act as a resource centre for liberal education

- Adharshila could set up a local lending library for books on liberty.

Promote a healthy body and ability to defend India

- Adharshila believes that defence of the nation is the first priority of each citizen. The **Indian Territorial Army** is a part-time citizen's force which functions as a vital adjunct to the regular army. Adharshila branches can actively engage with the Territorial Army and offer their member's services for the defence of India should the need so arise. The local National Cadet Corps (NCC) could also be similarly supported. In providing such support, Adharshila can promote concepts of a healthy body in a healthy mind by organising physical training and sports camps.

Organise large events

- Organise *Freedom Melas* that bring together a range of activities related to good citizenship and freedom. These melas could, for instance, sell liberal books and raise funds for the local branch. The melas could distribute 'Your rights and Duties' and other brochures and pamphlets, including brochures of the Freedom Team of India.

Support other liberal efforts

- Support the work of *Jago Re*, Centre for Civil Society, Liberty Institute, Liberal Youth Forum, and other liberal efforts.

Please pass this along!

Let's join hands to break the cycle of apathy among educated Indians.

Supporting FTI is simple: Just pass on this magazine to all your friends and relatives in India so they can help us find the leaders India needs.

Surely, India has 1500 leaders who believe in freedom!



From the Mirzapur outreach



From the Allahabad outreach