

# PréCIS

ANNUAL REVIEW 2022



Centre for Independent Studies

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**INDEPENDENT**

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**STUDIES**

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# Goals and Aims

## Vision

The Centre for Independent Studies is Australia's indispensable voice providing independent research and policy solutions enabling the pursuit of happiness and the opportunity to live a prosperous life with less government interference.

## Mission

- ▶ Promote evidence-based policy
- ▶ Advance free choice
- ▶ Progress individual liberty
- ▶ Defend cultural freedom
- ▶ Foster the open exchange of ideas

CIS is a not-for-profit think tank with tax-deductible status. As a politically non-partisan organisation for more than 40 years, we are proud to be Australia's independent voice in public policy research.

Crucial to our independence is that CIS does not accept government funding, nor undertake commissioned research. Our funding comes solely from members, donors, business and foundations.

*CIS promotes evidence-based policy, which advances free choice, individual liberty, defends cultural freedom and the open exchange of ideas.*

# From the Executive Director

During 2022, there has been no shortage of analysis of why the nine-year Coalition government lost power in May, and no shortage of advice on how Australia can weather the coming economic storm. But underlying this analysis has been the media and political class's failure to recognise that the ostensibly small-government Liberal Party expanded the size and scope of the state, and that Canberra's failure to implement productivity-enhancing reforms since the Howard-Costello era has left us vulnerable to the next global contagion.

As CIS scholars have made clear, all the non-Covid spending on health and education as a percentage of GDP (fully backed by the Labor Party) has put the nation's economic agenda in jeopardy. The National Disability Insurance Scheme is financially unsustainable, while higher Gonski education funding has not prevented declining school performance. Rarely do our political leaders on either side of the aisle explain how growth comes from the private sector, entrepreneurship and innovation.

Sadly, this mindset appears to be an experience common to much of the liberal democratic world. Ministers and public servants have quickly become used to exercising power with a heavy hand and seem reluctant to stop. It is as if the economic ideas of Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, which so profoundly influenced Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan – and which helped influence Australia's economic

reform agenda in the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s – had never happened.

We now seem to live in a risk-averse society – not just one that is reluctant to expose its people to catching a virus that we have found can be contained by a successful vaccination program, but which wishes to deter people from taking the risks inherent in setting up any business.

This is fatal to a free society for two main reasons. First, if we deter enterprise, we discourage wealth creation and, ultimately, pursue economic ruin. The second danger is that once you expand government it is exceptionally hard to contract it.

Huge government departments and regulatory bodies become self-perpetuating. The state becomes an end in itself rather than an enabler to private citizens, which is what its role should be.

In many Western countries, the genie was let out of the bottle by the pandemic furlough scheme. And it was financed by a promiscuous attitude to the money supply, whose grotesque expansion under central banks across the globe has led to exceedingly high inflation.

What we have seen in the West in recent years is an insane desire to pump money into the economy's unproductive sectors rather than into its productive ones.

To the extent these trends continue, our present standards of living will become a fantasy, and our very political systems will come under threat if decline becomes precipitate.



Throughout 2022, CIS scholars and contributors, most notably **Simon Cowan, Robert Carling** and **Peter Tulip**, have been making these banal points, but our commitment to liberalism goes beyond the basic rules of free-market economics.

Our education team, led by **Glenn Fahey**, continues to champion better teacher training and more discipline in classrooms to lift school standards in numeracy and literacy (see pages 8-9). Our culture team, led by **Peter Kurti**, continues to defend our Western cultural heritage and Australia's liberal secular democracy while engaging fully in the key cultural questions of the day (see pages 10-11).

Our Indigenous team, led by **Nyunggai Warren Mundine**, supports work to end the soft bigotry of low expectations for Indigenous Australians in remote communities (see pages 12-13). This year also saw the election to the Senate of our long-time colleague **Jacinta Nampijinpa Price**, whose maiden address to the 47th Parliament will be remembered as one of the great political performances in the Upper House.

At the same time, CIS remains an outlet for giving safe space to outstanding intellectual talent. This year, we hosted events with leading figures such as former prime ministers **John Howard, Kevin Rudd** and **Tony Abbott**, federal and state frontbenchers **Angus Taylor** and **Sarah Mitchell**, and leading education experts **Eddie Woo, Sarah Powell, Ollie Lovell** and **Greg Ashman**.

With borders finally open, we have also been thrilled to host sound international speakers, from "Britain's strictest headmistress" **Katharine Birbalsingh** to leading demographer **Nicholas Eberstadt** to former UK Supreme Court Justice **Lord Jonathan Sumption**. Not to mention this year's annual John Bonython Lecturer, **John Bolton**, the prominent US Republican foreign policy figure who warned of the strategic consequences of the China-Russia entente (see page 20).

A special thanks to all our supporters, who help us try to make Australia a free, better and more prosperous place in 2023 and beyond.

*Tom Switzer*

 **25**  
Publications

**60**   
Events &  
Livestreams

 **5,000+**  
Email subscribers

**70,000+**  
 Online  
followers

**255,000**  
 YouTube  
hours watched

**1.04 million**  
 YouTube views

**19 million**  
 Social media &  
website impressions

# Economics

*CIS continues to make the case for fiscal discipline, for the relaxation of planning controls to improve housing affordability, and for greater accountability and less discretion in monetary policy.*

## HOUSING

Housing affordability was one of the leading political issues of the year. CIS has argued that a relaxation of planning restrictions is needed to make housing more affordable. While this is largely a State government responsibility, there is much that the Federal government can do to improve incentives for more supply.

- ▶ Our arguments were picked up and emphasised in two major government reports into housing by the Falinski Inquiry and the Productivity Commission. CIS made substantial submissions to both inquiries and our Chief Economist **Peter Tulip** appeared in hearings before them and discussions with their staff. Both reports repeatedly commented favourably on our work.

Peter gave several presentations on the subject, including to the Australian Conference of Economists in Hobart, and a keynote presentation to the Urban Development Institute of Australia.

The arguments we have been making about the harm done by planning restrictions now frequently appear in newspaper editorials, op-ed columns and other media stories, a welcome advance on a few years ago.

Unfortunately, this progress is yet to convince many politicians. The Federal election campaign saw both parties emphasise housing affordability as an issue while proposing policies that would do little to improve it. We actively made this point in the media, with widespread public interest but, alas, little evident impact on policy platforms. We will keep trying.



Peter Tulip

## MONETARY POLICY

CIS has been a longstanding and prominent advocate of reform of Australia's monetary policy framework. Building on earlier CIS research by **Stephen Kirchner**, **Peter Tulip** published an Analysis Paper in April on *Structural Reform of the Reserve Bank of Australia*. This argued that the RBA exercises too much discretion and makes too many mistakes. Stricter constraints are needed on the RBA's mandate, accountability and transparency. Peter discussed these arguments in the media and professional forums, including a panel discussion organised by the Economic Society of Australia.

In July the Treasurer announced a high-level external Review of the RBA. The terms of reference emphasised the issues we have been raising. CIS has made a major submission to the Review and Peter appeared before the Review panel. The Review will be a major focus for us in 2023.

Peter was also invited to join the "Shadow RBA Board" organised by the Australian National University. This is a panel of a dozen experts which makes monetary policy recommendations each month.

Our work was supplemented by **Warren Hogan's** February Analysis Paper, *The Return of Inflation: What it means for Australia*, which warned that a substantial tightening of monetary policy would be needed if inflation accelerated. Warren followed-up with an op-ed in the *Australian Financial Review (AFR)* arguing that the RBA needed to raise interest rates sooner rather than later.





Simon Cowan and Jo Masters at Consilium



Robert Carling with the October budget papers

## OTHER RESEARCH

CIS continued to scrutinise fiscal policy. In the March POLICY Paper, *A Sea of Red: Tracking Australia's debt iceberg*, Senior Fellow **Robert Carling** pointed out that the Federal and State budgets were being prepared against the backdrop of entrenched deficits and an enormous public debt burden, warning that this debt poses a risk to economic growth and reduces fiscal flexibility and the capacity to respond to future crises. The paper was cited in *The Australian*, the *AFR* and across the Fairfax metro network.

Late in the year, we also published **Gene Tunny's** POLICY Paper, *Wages Growth in Australia: Evidence and policy evaluation*. It found that the slowdown in real wages has been mainly due to lower productivity, so a return to industry-wide bargaining would be counter-productive.

## EVENTS AND COMMENTARY

CIS was strongly represented in budget commentary during the regular budget in late March and the mini-budget in October, with **Simon Cowan** featuring on Radio National's budget night commentary both times. Simon also continued his fortnightly syndicated column with the *Canberra Times* throughout the year.

In September, the Federal opposition Treasury spokesman, **Angus Taylor**, spoke at a CIS breakfast. This was one of the first major events for the Shadow Treasurer and was very well attended.

At our annual conference Consilium, held in late October, Simon and Robert joined economist **Jo Masters** and *AFR* Economics Editor **John Kehoe** on a panel to discuss the need for a new reform agenda in the face of massive deficits, debt and rising inflation and interest rates. Simon also spoke at a breakfast session with **Katharine Birbalsingh** on equality of opportunity versus equity of outcomes.

## OTHER NEWS

In July, we farewelled Research Assistant **Yuki Cheng**, who provided data support to both Robert and Peter. Yuki left CIS to take up an offer with Deloitte.

In 2023 **Peter Tulip** plans to release a research paper on housing targets for local councils and international experience with zoning reform. Other major issues for Peter will include the government's responses to the Review of the RBA and the Productivity Commission's Report on Housing.

**Robert Carling** continued with his prestigious appointment to the Parliamentary Budget Office panel of expert advisors on policy costings and fiscal analysis. Robert also plans to contribute to the 'national conversation' on government expenditure and taxation issues foreshadowed by Treasurer Jim Chalmers.

# Education

*The CIS education program continues to expand its reach and influence through insightful commentary, accessible research and engaging events.*

Under the leadership of Program Director, **Glenn Fahey**, education remains among CIS's key priority areas of research. In a productive year, the program produced 14 opinion articles in major media and 7 research publications as well as many television and radio appearances. In June, Glenn was also joined by Policy Analyst **Valerian Zaitsev**, who brings a range of experiences as a STEM educator to the role.

Education policy throughout 2022 has been heavily dominated by concerns about the state of the teacher workforce. For this reason, the program has placed special focus on this issue in analysis and commentary.

In a March Research Report, *Teacher Workforce: Fiction vs fact*, **Glenn Fahey** provided a comprehensive analysis of the evidence concerning the quantity and quality of Australia's teacher workforce. As he pointed out, much of the conventional narrative, and what is pursued by education's vested interests, is not consistent with the weight of evidence.

In an August breakfast event at CIS, NSW Education Minister **Sarah Mitchell** discussed the government's reform agenda and highlighted our alignment on several key priorities. As she argued, the problem is not so much a lack of teachers in the school system, but that there can be mismatches between the teachers we have and the teachers we need. An account of the Minister's comments was covered across several news outlets.



Tom Switzer, Dominic Perrottet, Katharine Birbalsingh, Glenn Fahey

▶ We are pleased to note that the NSW government and several other major stakeholders have increasingly joined CIS in recognising the need to reform initial teacher education, to promote diverse and flexible pathways to enter teaching, and to see an increased role for on-the-job training for teachers with prioritisation of school-based practicum.

Prosecuting our policy positions on these issues, CIS made submissions to the NSW Parliament, Productivity Commission, and Australian Department of Education. Glenn also provided evidence to the NSW Parliament's Education Committee, with the Committee's Chair, **Mark Latham**, later joining him to discuss the size and skill of the teacher workforce on our livestream program, *On Liberty*. In addition to many media appearances on this issue, Glenn spoke at the September National Catholic Education Commission conference, along with several other private events.

## OUTREACH AND EVENTS

CIS hosted three private roundtables with key policy stakeholders. In Melbourne, Productivity Commission Chair **Michael Brennan** discussed the implications of the interim report reviewing the National School Reform Agreement, and Chair of ACARA and panellist on the Quality Initial Teacher Education Review, **Derek Scott**, outlined ways to improve teacher training. And in Sydney, UK educator **Katharine Birbalsingh** discussed opportunities to scale-up best practice in Australia's schools.



Valerian Zaitsev



Jenny Donovan, Glenn Fahey, Eddie Woo, Greg Ashman



Glenn Fahey at the Science of Learning Leadership Accelerator

During her stay in Australia, Katharine also met with a range of politicians, policymakers and school teachers. At our annual Consilium conference and at an October CIS event, Katharine delivered an outstanding lecture on the success of her internationally acclaimed London-based school. Her CIS address was later published as *Holding the Line to Benefit the Child: How progressive teaching is failing students*. Katharine’s key messages – for policymakers, practitioners and parents – are that school success comes from explicit instruction, traditional values, and a disciplined school culture; all of which have long been key to CIS advocacy.

Further providing leadership on the pressing issue of effective classroom management, CIS hosted a webinar with the UK’s school behaviour expert, **Tom Bennett**, who shared lessons for Australian schools. We are pleased that the NSW government has announced that it plans to appoint a schools behavioural advisor and look forward to this coming into force.

### OTHER RESEARCH AND EVENTS

Complementing our research focussed on education policy, CIS research has also contributed to education practice. In February, Professor **John Sweller** authored *Some Critical Thoughts About Critical and Creative Thinking* and in March, Professor **David C Geary** provided insights into the key drivers of students’ early mathematics proficiency in the Analysis Paper, *Setting the Preschool Foundation for Success in Mathematics*. Glenn further highlighted the need for early intervention in securing long-term engagement and achievement in maths when addressing the annual conference of the Australian Mathematical Sciences Institute.

In August, a trio of US researchers then authored the Analysis Paper, *Myths That Undermine Maths Teaching*. Over the coming year, we look forward to producing further evidence-based and accessible resources that can support teachers’ work, especially in advancing the practice of maths teaching.

CIS also held two engaging events focussed on improving mathematics education. In May, Glenn hosted high-profile educators **Eddie Woo** and **Greg Ashman** to discuss quality maths teaching. And in September, Glenn hosted a discussion on debunking myths in maths teaching with educator **Ollie Lovell** and Associate Professor **Sarah Powell**.

Supplementing our own events at CIS, Glenn has contributed to many external teacher-focussed events, including Sharing Best Practice, Science of Learning Leadership Accelerator, Science of Learning and Teaching Australia, and the researchED Sydney conference. Glenn also took part in the annual international conference of the Mathematical Cognition and Learning Society.

Finally, the program’s work was not limited to school education, with Adjunct Scholar **Salvatore Babones** authoring *Expand University Places Without Blowing Out Budgets* in March, and education policy expert, **Rob Joseph**, making the case for (re) creating one-year postgraduate teaching pathways to help improve teacher supply in an early December paper.

In 2023, the program will bring special focus toward improving the teaching of maths in schools and addressing the challenges of the teacher workforce (especially maths teachers), among several other priorities.

# Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society

*Established in mid-2018 to ensure CIS engages fully in the key cultural questions of the day, this program aims to articulate, defend and promote the principles and institutions that underpin Australia's secular liberal democracy.*



Peter Kurti

The CP&CS team this year comprised **Peter Kurti** and **Robert Forsyth**. We were also pleased to welcome Dr **Gary Johns** in the program as an Adjunct Fellow in mid-August.

A major focus of our work in 2022 was on critical theory, which underpins what has become known as 'cancel culture'. Following his 2021 Analysis Paper, *Cancelling the Culture: Critical theory and the chasm of incoherence*, in early April Program Director **Peter Kurti** published the Analysis Paper *Raging Against the Past: Guilt, justice and the postcolonial reformation*. The third instalment in a series on cancel culture, it examined postcolonial theory and the dangers it poses to intellectual and historical inquiry in contemporary Australia.

The paper was accompanied by a webinar Peter conducted with distinguished British judge and historian, **Jonathan Sumption (Lord Sumption)**, on the weaponisation of history and guilt about the past. The video has since notched up some 11,000 views on CIS's YouTube channel.

Peter also conducted webinars in March with Human Rights Commissioner **Lorraine Finlay** and former Commissioner and then member for Goldstein, the Hon **Tim Wilson**, discussing the state of civil liberties in Australia; in May with University of Notre Dame Professor of Bioethics, **Margaret Somerville**, examining the moral framework in which discussions about public policy take place; and in September with CIS Fellows Professor **Steven Schwartz** and Dr **Gary Johns**, investigating the topic of meritocracy and equality.

The program also published a number of Occasional Papers by external contributors: *Radical Conservatism: Tradition as a guide for managing change* by PM Glynn Institute scholar **Damien Freeman**; *Defining Democracy Down: Political judicialisation, judicial politicisation* – a timely paper given the mid-year decision by the United States Supreme Court to overturn *Roe v Wade* – by UK-based legal scholar and author **Helen Dale**; and *Teaching National Shame: History and citizenship in the school curriculum* by founder of UK think tank CIEO **Joanna Williams**. We rounded out the year with the publication of *Rule of Law in a Time of Crisis* by **Lord Sumption**, an edited version of a CIS lecture that he delivered in mid-October (see page 22).

In 2023, Peter plans to revisit the status of religious freedom in Australia after Essendon Bombers CEO, Andrew Thorburn, was forced to step down because he also chairs a Christian church that promotes a particular view of the faith.

Peter will also revisit the prospects for religious discrimination legislation; the process was derailed when the then Morrison government withdrew the bill after it became clear that Senate amendments would have fundamentally changed the nature of the protection being offered.

## EVENTS AND CONFERENCES

With the resumption of international travel, **Peter Kurti** flew to Hungary in mid-February to speak at a conference on values and education organised by the Mathias Corvinus Collegium



Peter Kurti at the Battle of Ideas in London



Robert Forsyth at *Where is Australia Headed?* (see page 22)

(MCC) in Budapest and appeared on a discussion panel with US scholar **Heather Mac Donald**. Peter was invited because his work on multiculturalism, religious liberty, and cancel culture was known and admired by the Collegium.

He also delivered a keynote address at an event hosted by the new MCC campus in Cluj-Napoca, Transylvania, on the topic of *Tradition, Tolerance and Ambiguity: Making Competent Citizens*. The lecture generated a lot of interest from students, staff and local media.

In early October, he was in the United Kingdom to lead a week-long Consultation for clergy on ethics held at Saint George's House, Windsor; he also appeared on a panel discussing the social impact of Covid at the Academy of Ideas' annual Battle of Ideas at the invitation of Baroness **Claire Fox**.

Peter returned from the UK in time to host a CIS event with visiting US scholar, **Mary Eberstadt**, who spoke about her most recent book, *Primal Screams: How the sexual revolution created identity politics*. This event was replicated at a breakfast at our annual conference Consilium one week later, where Peter also moderated a panel discussion on the new political re-alignment featuring **Waleed Aly, Henry Olsen, Richard Tice** and **Sophie Scamps**.

### **LIBERALISM IN QUESTION**

**Robert Forsyth** continued to develop the *Liberalism in Question* podcasts, which have been well-received. The series asks people who are both sympathetic to, and critical of, classical liberalism about its nature, value, limits and future.

Season Three aired weekly from September to November and featured conversations with nine guests including former New Zealand Finance Minister and liberal reformer **Ruth Richardson**; Australian Lead for Young Voices **Emilie Dye**; biblical theologian **Mike Bird**; *Quillette* founding editor **Claire Lehmann**; chair of Freiblickinstitut e.V. **Sabine Beppler-Spahl**; Canadian author on Athenian democracy **Roslyn Fuller**; and Australian Human Rights Commissioner **Lorraine Finlay** as well as our own **Tom Switzer** and **Steven Schwartz**.

**Past episodes can be found at [cis.org.au/commentary/](https://cis.org.au/commentary/) podcasts or on all major podcast platforms.**

# Indigenous Forum

*CIS continues to challenge the dominant narrative of victimhood that privileges symbolic gestures over action on the real causes of Indigenous disadvantage.*

The Indigenous Forum kicked off the year by welcoming back members and supporters to CIS's first in-person event for 2022. Held on 25 January, journalist and author **Stan Grant** sat down with Forum Director **Nyunggai Warren Mundine** for a lunch-time discussion on *Symbolism or Action in the Lead-Up to Australia Day* and whether we'll ever get closer to Closing the Gap.

Warren followed-up in mid-March with a plain-speaking plea in *The Australian* to talk openly and honestly about the violence and dysfunction plaguing so many Indigenous families and communities. That same month, he travelled to Brisbane for another live event with Executive Director **Tom Switzer** to discuss critical issues facing Indigenous Australians ahead of the federal election in May.

Warren then teamed up with Catholic University scholar **Anthony Dillon**, arguing in a post-election op-ed for *The Australian* that a "new mindset of action" to address profound disadvantage in remote communities must replace "grand symbolic gestures" like the Indigenous Voice to Parliament. The newspaper was inundated with letters in response to the article.

Warren explained why he opposes the Voice in a steady stream of op-eds for the remainder of the year, arguing — for instance — in the *West Australian* that Indigenous Australia cannot be spoken for by a single Voice and castigating "woke corporates" in the business community for supporting it. As he asked in the *Australian Financial Review*:



Nyunggai Warren Mundine

*Can any of them explain what the Voice is or what it will achieve? How will it end violence in remote communities; lift disadvantaged Indigenous people out of poverty; or deliver economic prosperity? ... How will it inform government decision-making any better than the vast number of Indigenous organisations and individuals who already advise government and even design policy?*

Warren then put the case against the Voice between two covers as co-editor — with **Peter Kurti** — of the Connor Court book, *Beyond Belief: Rethinking the Voice to Parliament*. Published in late November, the book comprised 12 essays by contributors such as **Tony Abbott**, **Janet Albrechtsen**, and **Anthony Dillon** as well as Warren himself, Senior Fellow **Scott Prasser** and Research Assistant **Neenah Gray**.

CIS also commissioned an Occasional Paper by *The Australian's* **Greg Sheridan** on why he is so opposed to the Voice. Entitled *Liberalism's Universal Vision Better Than a Race-based Voice*, the paper was published in late November.

Finally, CIS Research Assistant **Neenah Gray** — who joined the team earlier in the year — also wrote and presented two short YouTube videos setting the record straight on Indigenous citizenship and voting rights. They were both released in mid-November.



Neenah Gray and Nyunggai Warren Mundine



Neenah Gray presenting a CIS YouTube video

### RESEARCH NEWS

Late January saw the release of the groundbreaking Analysis Paper, *Renewables Offer Economic Development Potential for Indigenous Communities*, reflecting the kind of “new mindset of action” that Warren and Anthony have called for. As energy and utilities expert **James Reynolds** argued, remote communities potentially have access to vast tracts of land suitable for large-scale renewable energy generation, but – as he explained in an op-ed for the *Australian Financial Review* – native title is preventing Indigenous owners from sharing in the wealth creation of the emerging green economy.

CIS also continued to raise awareness about the deep-seated problems bedeviling some remote Indigenous communities with two hard-hitting papers. In June, former health practitioner **Richard X Davey** outlined the base Indigenous health issues, the key causes, and how they can be rectified in the Analysis Paper *Decoding the Gap: Australia’s ongoing struggle to address Indigenous health outcomes*.

Then, in a late August Analysis Paper, *The Territory Gap*, development researcher **Peter Gregory** revealed – through a comparative analysis of available Census data – that the Northern Territory has the worst economic outcomes for remote and very remote Indigenous communities of any state or territory in Australia. He argued that institutional arrangements in the Territory such as land rights legislation and powerful regional land councils were contributing to such poor outcomes.

Further research on the dire economic conditions in some remote Indigenous communities is slated for early 2023.

### OTHER NEWS

▶ CIS was delighted to congratulate our former Indigenous Affairs Program Director **Jacinta Nampijinpa Price**, who was elected at the federal poll to represent the Northern Territory in the Australian Senate. A former deputy mayor of Alice Springs and member of the Country Liberal Party, Jacinta is a proud Warlpiri woman and Celtic Australian who has spent almost two decades working in the Territory to bridge the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

Jacinta rose to prominence in 2015 when she delivered an address to CIS entitled *Homeland Truths: The Unspoken Epidemic of Violence in Indigenous Communities*. A powerful call to end the violence against women and children that predominantly Indigenous men inflict, Jacinta has continued to tell unpalatable truths about the real causes of Indigenous dysfunction. As she put it in her memorable maiden speech to the 47th Parliament in late July:

*My goal is to halt the pointless virtue-signalling and focus on policies that bring real change ... that change the lives of Australia’s most vulnerable citizens. Policies that give them real lives, not the enduring nightmare of violence and terror they currently live.*

Jacinta also acknowledged the support of CIS and those members who have generously dedicated financial support to our Indigenous research program.



Jacinta Nampijinpa Price

# China and Free Societies

*This program aims to raise awareness of the threat China poses to free and democratic societies and to propose ways to bolster their resilience.*

Established in 2019, CIS's China program has played an outsized role in alerting Australians to the threat China, led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), poses to free and democratic societies including Australia itself. Now that people are more aware of CCP attempts to undermine democratic institutions and processes — with Australians also refusing to buckle in the face of comprehensive economic coercion — we plan to focus the program's research on the lessons learned for smaller fellow democracies in the Indo-Pacific region that are vulnerable to malign CCP influence.

Across the Indian Ocean from Australia's west coast, the island state of Sri Lanka descended into chaos in 2022 after civil society rose in revolt against their government, and explicitly against its cosy relationship with China. In an early December Analysis Paper, *Sri Lanka: Democracy in Crisis*, analyst **Anjali Nadaradjane** identified some pathways back to democracy before outlining how Australia can support civil society groups in their push for greater transparency, accountability and integrity in Sri Lanka's political processes.

Further research is slated for early 2023 on the threat the CCP poses to Solomon Islands democracy and broader CCP efforts to undermine democratic societies throughout the Pacific Island region. Paralleling our approach with Sri Lanka, this research will identify ways to bolster the resilience of relatively small and poor countries through the promotion of classical liberal principles like government transparency, freedom of speech, media freedom and — crucially — the application of market mechanisms to the delivery of development assistance.



Salvatore Babones and Tony Abbott

## EVENTS AND ROUNDTABLES

In 2022 the China program continued to network at the highest levels with political leaders and diplomats. In mid-August, on the eve of India's 75th anniversary of independence, we hosted former Prime Minister the **Hon Tony Abbott**, who played a key role in kicking off trade negotiations that led to the Australia-India Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement. Following opening remarks by former CIS intern, **Aarti Seksaria**, Mr Abbott joined newly-appointed Program Director, **Salvatore Babones**, to discuss India's potential as Australia's democratic alternative to trade dependence on authoritarian China as well as growing concern about an illiberal turn under Prime Minister Modi.

In late October, Salvatore also moderated a plenary session on the nature of the China threat at our annual conference, Consilium, featuring **John Lee**, **Lavina Lee**, **Yun Jiang** and **Rowan Callick**. A week later, CIS hosted the Japanese Ambassador to Australia, **Shingo Yamagami**, who outlined his concerns about China's trajectory at an exclusive CIS roundtable. His Excellency is known for being unusually frank for a diplomat and he did not disappoint.

We rounded out the year by hosting another former Prime Minister, **Kevin Rudd**, who joined Executive Director **Tom Switzer** before a full house for a conversation about his new book, *The Avoidable War: The Dangers of a Catastrophic Conflict Between the US and Xi Jinping's China*.

In 2023, CIS will continue to keep a close eye on the strategic big picture as Sino-American competition intensifies.



# Intergenerational

*This new program's focus is on research aimed at improving the economic mobility of young Australians and removing barriers to their prosperity and progress.*

Despite the 30-year economic boom that preceded the Covid pandemic, there is growing evidence that younger Australians have not shared in the benefits to the same extent as generations before them. Many young Australians' incomes have flat-lined, and the poorer among them have less wealth and far lower rates of home ownership than earlier generations had at the same age. This has created a social and economic divide that presents immense challenges – not only to government, but also to society as a whole.

To address this vital issue, CIS has appointed **Matthew Taylor** as the Director of our new program covering intergenerational challenges and solutions. Matt is no stranger to CIS, having worked here from 2013 to 2015. He is returning after a stint in policy research at the Australian National University.

Under his direction, our Intergenerational program will question the notion that the fiscal challenges posed by an ageing Australia require higher taxes and bigger government, while recognising the legitimate concerns of young Australians arising from increasing intergenerational inequality.

As the nation grapples with the dilemma of \$1.2 trillion in government debt, and a dwindling number of working-age Australians to pay it back, it is imperative that the electorate – especially younger voters burdened with the task of budget repair – make informed decisions at the ballot box. Rather than waiting five years for Treasury's Intergenerational Report, CIS will develop the modelling capability to calculate the fiscal burden that current – and future – government expenditure policies are leaving for future generations.



Matthew Taylor

We will also gather evidence on the extent of intergenerational inequality in Australia, using existing Australian data. This will be complemented with surveys commissioned by CIS to gain a deeper understanding of the diversity of preferences and aspirations within and across generations.

The program's research will be accompanied by work commissioned from leading experts in Australia and overseas. The first of these commissioned reports, *Generation Next: Unleashing youth aspiration and upward mobility* by **Mikayla Novak**, was published in early November. A Senior Fellow in the F.A. Hayek Program at the Mercatus Center at George Mason University, Dr Novak argues that rather than directing the lives of younger generations, the government should seek ways to empower young Australians to discover their own pathways to prosperity, fulfilment and self-actualisation by improving the institutions and policies that are currently hindering them. We look forward to Dr Novak's follow-up paper on intergenerational policy early next year.

The inception of this new program is timely. Our policy research will provide a much-needed counterpoint to the left-wing 'tax-and-spend' policies too often proposed as the panacea for intergenerational inequality. The program will contribute to public policy debate through the development of policy solutions consistent with the classical liberal values of free markets, open economies and small government.

Rather than increasing the tax burden of younger Australians, and future generations of Australians, CIS believes governments should pursue policy that unlocks young people's full potential so they can face the fiscal challenges ahead.

# Scholar-in-Residence

*Our 2022 Max Hartwell Scholar-in-Residence was US-based China researcher Alice Han.*

Named in honour of the distinguished economic historian and freedom advocate, Ronald Max Hartwell, CIS inaugurated the Scholar-in-Residence program in 2014. Since then, we have showcased scholars from the US, UK and Canada including Cato Institute Senior Fellow, **Doug Bandow** (2020), Canadian-Chinese human rights advocate **Anastasia Lin** (2019), and UK journalist and author **James Bartholomew** (2018). After a hiatus in 2021 owing to pandemic travel restrictions, we finally welcomed Australian-born analyst, **Alice Han**, as our Scholar-in-Residence for 2022.

Alice is Director of China Research for the US-based, global macroeconomic and geopolitical advisory firm Greenmantle.



Alice Han

She specialises in Chinese macro and political economy in addition to global fintech and crypto research, and has published in the *Financial Times*, the *Wall Street Journal* and *Foreign Policy*. She is also the author of a chapter on China's blockchain strategy for a forthcoming Cambridge University Press publication.

A graduate of both Harvard and Stanford University, Alice previously worked as a research assistant to US Ambassador **Nicholas Burns** at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government's Belfer Center and to historian – and past CIS guest and John Bonython Lecturer – **Niall Ferguson** at Stanford's Hoover Institution.

Alice kicked off her residency in late October when she led a breakfast session on China's tech ecosystem at our annual conference Consilium. Her remarks focussed on the implications of Xi Jinping's recent campaign against private enterprise for China's massive fintech footprint, led by firms like Ant Financial and Tencent. The big risk, she warned, is that the campaign ends up suppressing much of the entrepreneurial energy that has powered China's boom and years of innovation.

In early November, she was interviewed on the ABC's Radio National about the Sino-American battle for high-tech supremacy. This is set to intensify after the Biden administration slapped sanctions on advanced semiconductor exports to China in early October in a bid to knee-cap its high-tech sector. Alice explained the significance of the US move with an analogy: semiconductors are to digital networks what oil once was to energy networks. Later that same month, she also delivered the Vote of Thanks to former Prime Minister **Kevin Rudd's** CIS lecture on *The Avoidable War* between the US and China.

**Our 2023 Scholar-in-Residence will be leading diplomatic historian of Sino-American relations and award-winning journalist, James Mann.**

# Liberty & Society Student Program

*Now in its 27th year, this long-running CIS program aims to identify, nurture and support young people who are interested in exploring the foundations of a free society.*

After several delays owing to government pandemic restrictions, we finally held a successful 2022 student conference on May 6-8 at the View Hotel in North Sydney.

It was a wonderful weekend, which brought together 30 bright young minds from across Australia and New Zealand. Indeed, it was cause for optimism. Knowing that there is a generation of thinkers coming up, who support the principles CIS stands for, strengthens our commitment to this unique program.

We aim to create an intellectual environment where ideas and opinions about what makes a free society are debated frankly and robustly. The live-in format of the conference also provides a great opportunity for university students to meet, debate and network with like-minded people, many of whom stay engaged with CIS and form part of our large L&S alumnus.

This year we were delighted to welcome one such L&S graduate, Australian Human Rights Commissioner, **Lorraine Finlay**, who delivered the opening night address and led a discussion session on liberal law. Our other lecturers were historian and libertarian **Dr David Hart**, who navigated our young cohort through the key tenets of classical liberal philosophy; **Professor Gary Banks AO**, who led a lively session on economics, 'free' markets and public policy; and, last but not least, **Associate Professor Salvatore Babones**, who led the closing session on liberalism and democracy. CIS Education Program Director, **Glenn Fahey**, acted as conference moderator.



Lorraine Finlay

Student participation in the conference is by application only, and participation is free thanks to scholarships funded by donations from our generous supporters that cover all conference costs.

Applicants can be studying any subject at university. It is not a prerequisite to have in-depth knowledge about classical liberalism. We are interested in people who are inquisitive about society and how it works, and who

may be questioning the consensus views on social, political and economic issues.

If you want to get involved in the future, as either a participant or a supporter, please reach out to our events team at [events@cis.org.au](mailto:events@cis.org.au)

**Our next L&S conference is scheduled to take place in May 2023. Apply online at [cis.org.au/events](https://cis.org.au/events)**



# Consilium

*Derived from the Latin word for deliberation, Consilium has grown from humble beginnings in 2000 to become one of Australia's most prestigious conferences.*

After a two-year break, our annual flagship conference Consilium returned on October 27-29 at Chateau Elan in the Hunter Valley. Over three days of glorious weather after months of rain and flooding, we drew together leaders from business, politics, academia and the wider community for intensive deliberation on major issues facing Australia and the world.

Since our last conference in 2019, global events – not least the pandemic – have shaken and redefined our politics, economy and society. At Consilium this year, the conference agenda sought answers to this new 'norm' we are now experiencing with over ten discussion sessions on topics ranging from the new political alignment and the need for a new economic reform agenda to the growing China threat, the collapse of classroom discipline, the crisis of mainstream media and global demographic trends.

Keynote speakers included leading international thinkers such as demographer **Nicholas Eberstadt**, and his wife, cultural historian **Mary Eberstadt**; British and American political commentators **Isabel Oakeshott** and **Henry Olsen**; and UK education reformer **Katharine Birbalsingh**, in addition to *Quillette* founder **Claire Lehmann**, China analyst **Yun Jiang**, and economics journalist **John Kehoe**. Our discussion sessions also featured educators **Lorraine Hammond** and **Greg Ashman**, economist **Jo Masters**, veteran journalist **Paul Kelly**, UK politician **Richard Tice** and Independent MP **Sophie Scamps**, along with broadcaster **Waleed Aly** and China experts **Rowan Callick**, **John Lee** and **Lavina Lee**.

Highlights included an outstanding address by the aforementioned **Katharine Birbalsingh** on the success of her internationally acclaimed London-based school. Ahead of the session "Have We Lost Control of Our Classrooms?", Katharine explained how her school has defied the progressive dogma on education that gives students excuses to fail by returning to 'no-nonsense' teaching methods, traditional values and strict discipline – with outstanding results.

Another highlight was our Friday casual dinner, where delegates were treated to an inspirational session with **Nick Coatsworth**, **Larisa Labzin** and **Matt Trau**. The trio – a deputy chief health officer, a virologist/immunologist and a nanotechnologist – outlined some of the stunning findings and breakthroughs that have occurred since the global scientific community mobilised like never before to confront the Covid pandemic. We are now poised to usher in an entirely new era of modern medicine that will profoundly impact all human diseases including cancer.

Consilium delegates also had the pleasure of listening to our longest-serving Treasurer, **Peter Costello**, deliver the Neville Kennard Address at the closing dinner. Peter's analysis of the current state of the Australian economy was masterfully done – thoroughly informed, judicious, very witty and at times irreverent – capping off a wonderful three days of intellectually rigorous discussion and debate in an open and congenial atmosphere.

**If you're interested in getting more information about CIS events, please visit [cis.org.au/events](https://cis.org.au/events)**



Dr Nick Coatsworth



Salvatore Babones, Lavina Lee, Rowan Callick, Yun Jiang and John Lee



Tom Switzer and Nicholas Eberstadt



Isabel Oakeshott and Henry Olsen



Jo Masters



Lorraine Hammond



Larisa Labzin



Peter Costello



Katharine Birbalsingh



Yun Jiang



Lavina Lee



Nicholas Moore



Michael Darling

Claire Lehmann and Paul Kelly

# John Bonython Lecture and Gala Dinner

*Now in its 38th year, CIS celebrated the return of our annual keynote lecture with an outstanding address by US strategic veteran John Bolton.*

After a two-year hiatus owing to pandemic travel restrictions, CIS was delighted to welcome back members, supporters and friends to our premier annual John Bonython Lecture (JBL) and Gala Dinner on August 24.

First held in 1984 in honour of founding Chairman of the CIS Board of Trustees, John Bonython, the JBL is a highly-anticipated event on the CIS calendar and this year's guest speaker, Ambassador **John Bolton**, did not disappoint. In front of a capacity crowd at the Strangers Room at NSW Parliament House, the former National Security Adviser to US President Donald Trump – and author, most recently, of *The Room Where It Happened: A White House Memoir* – set out the dangers of the new Russia-China entente, arguing that the United States must prevent this growing entente from becoming a Eurasian axis. He also warned against the US pivoting to Asia at the expense of Europe and the Persian Gulf because China is not a regional threat but a global one.

John's lecture was followed by a very rigorous and engaging Q&A with award-winning journalist and author **Stan Grant**. CIS board member, **Melinda Conrad**, then wrapped up the evening with the Vote of Thanks.

John's views on China, Taiwan, Russia, Australia and Trump were cited in front-page stories in the *Australian Financial Review*, *The Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

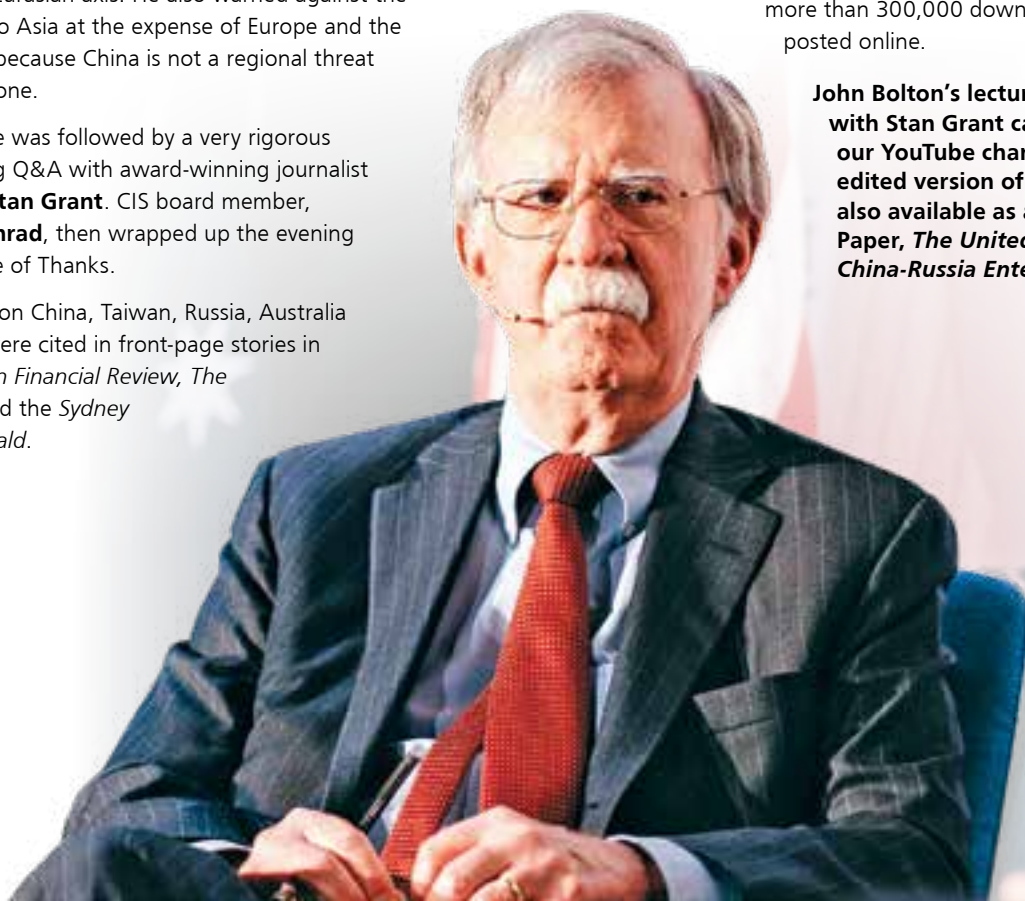
He was also interviewed on the ABC's *7.30 Report* about the FBI raid of his former boss Donald Trump's Mar-a-Lago home.

During his whirlwind three-day visit, John met with former prime ministers **John Howard**, **Tony Abbott** and **Malcolm Turnbull** as well as the editorial boards of major Australian newspapers. He also led an exclusive roundtable at CIS ahead of the main event, the JBL.

Before returning home, John appeared on **Tom Switzer's** Radio National program, *Between the Lines*, and was typically scintillating on issues ranging from Donald Trump and America's internal problems to the crises in Ukraine and Taiwan to the threats posed by Russia, China and Iran – and how the emerging multipolar strategic terrain affects Australia.

The ABC's summary of their exchange attracted more than 300,000 downloads after it was posted online.

**John Bolton's lecture and Q&A with Stan Grant can be viewed on our YouTube channel, whilst an edited version of the lecture is also available as a CIS Occasional Paper, *The United States vs China-Russia Entente*.**



John Bolton



Tom Switzer, John Bolton, Stan Grant and Melinda Conrad



John Bolton and Stan Grant



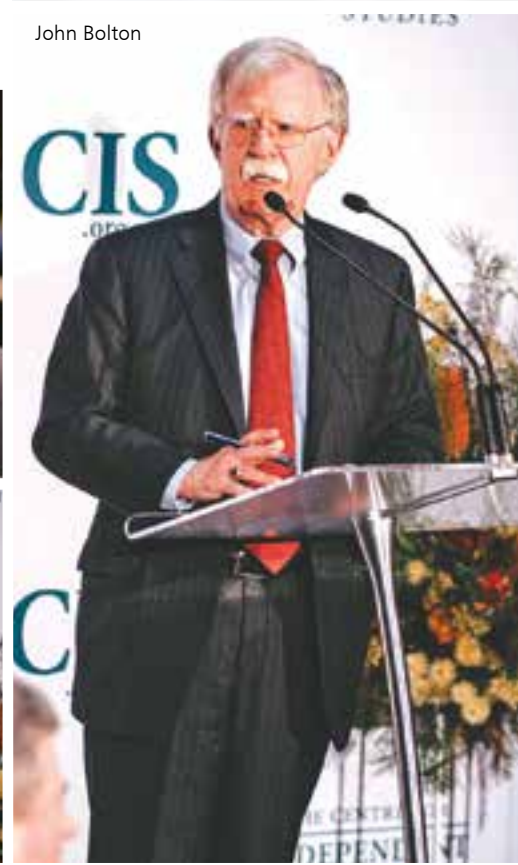
John Bolton and Peter Costello



James Philips



John Bolton and Tom Switzer



John Bolton



Strangers Room



John Bolton and Nicholas Moore

# Event Highlights

*With the lifting of Covid restrictions, CIS held an array of sold-out in-person events whilst continuing to reach new audiences online with a series of webinars.*

CIS hosted nearly 60 events, webinars and livestreams throughout 2022, with the return of in-person events drawing capacity crowds to our debates, discussions, breakfasts and book launches.

We kicked off the year with our first in-person – and sold-out – event on January 25, featuring CIS Indigenous Forum Director, **Nyungai Warren Mundine**, and journalist **Stan Grant** in conversation on symbolism or action in the lead-up to Australia Day.

The following month, we held another sold-out event with Senior Fellow **Robert Forsyth** moderating a debate between CIS Chairman **Nicholas Moore** and Executive Director **Tom Switzer** on *Where Is Australia Headed?* Nicholas made the case for optimism while Tom explained why what he dubbed the four Cs – Covid, China, climate change and cancel culture – have turned him into a pessimist. Former CIS Policy Analyst **Anjali Nadaradjane** gave the Vote of Thanks.

As the year progressed, we were delighted to host several former Prime Ministers: **Tony Abbott** on the state of Indian democracy after 75 years of independence (see page 14); **John Howard** in conversation with leading journalist **Ticky Fullerton** at the sold-out launch of his new book, *A Sense of Balance*; and **Kevin Rudd** in conversation with **Tom Switzer** at yet another sold-out event on his recent book *The Avoidable War: The Dangers of a Catastrophic Conflict Between the US and Xi Jinping's China*.

We also held two very well-attended breakfast sessions with federal and state frontbenchers, Shadow Treasurer **Angus Taylor** and NSW Education Minister **Sarah Mitchell**.

Highlighting our commitment to evidence-based research, CIS hosted some

outstanding panels on education in 2022. Leading maths educators, **Eddie Woo** and **Greg Ashman**, joined Education Program Director, **Glenn Fahey**, in mid-May to discuss how to turn around Australia's poor maths results. In September, Glenn hosted US Associate Professor **Sarah Powell** and Australian educator **Ollie Lovell** on debunking myths about maths teaching. Then, in late October, the inspirational founder and head of the acclaimed London-based Michaela Community School, **Katharine Birbalsingh**, shared her insights into how to create world-class schools before a sold-out room – on a Sunday afternoon no less.

Other international guests included prominent UK critic of government lockdowns, **Lord Jonathan Sumption** – at another sold-out event on the rule of law in a time of crisis – and US scholar **Mary Eberstadt** in conversation with **Peter Kurti** on standing firm against identity politics.

## WEBINARS

CIS continued to reach new audiences online with a series of engaging webinars including **Lord Sumption** on cancel culture, Professor **Margaret Somerville** on ethics in the public sphere, and UK school behaviour expert **Tom Bennett** on classroom discipline.

Such online events, alongside videos of our in-person events, have helped to boost our digital reach, and in early October we passed the significant milestone of 50,000 subscribers to our YouTube channel – a testament to the growing interest in the topics we cover.

**A full listing of our events appears on page 24. Further details can be found at [cis.org.au/](https://cis.org.au/) events or on our social media and YouTube channels.**



Alan Tudge,  
Katharine  
Birbalsingh and  
Glenn Fahey





Nyunggal Warren Mundine and Stan Grant



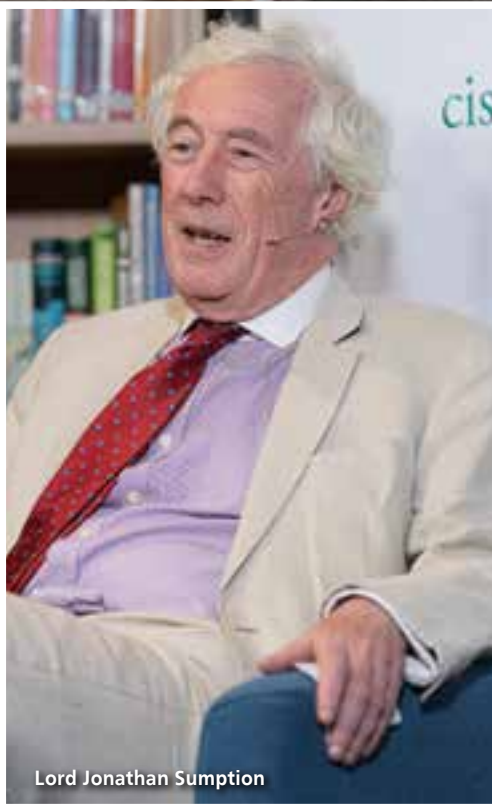
Ollie Lovell and Sarah Powell



Mary Eberstadt and Peter Kurti



Angus Taylor



Lord Jonathan Sumption



Tom Switzer and Nicholas Moore



Sarah Mitchell



Anjali Nadaradjane

John Howard and Ticky Fullerton



Eddie Woo



Aarti Seksaria, Salvatore Babones, Rahul Jethi and Tony Abbott

# Events at a Glance

JANUARY

## Balancing China in the Indo-Pacific

Sue Windybank, C. Raja Mohan, Renato Cruz De Castro  
Webinar • 18 January

## Symbolism or Real Action in the Lead-Up to Australia Day?

Nyunggai Warren Mundine, Stan Grant  
Lunch • 25 January

## Where is Australia Headed?

Nicholas Moore, Tom Switzer, Rob Forsyth, Anjali Nadaradjane  
Debate • 16 February

## What's Next for Human Rights in Australia?

Lorraine Finlay, Tim Wilson, Peter Kurti  
Webinar • 2 March

## Symbolism or Real Action in the Lead-Up to Australia Day? (Brisbane)

Nyunggai Warren Mundine, Tom Switzer  
Discussion • 24 March

## Australia's Universities: Can They Reform?

Salvatore Babones, Simon Haines, Glenn Fahey  
Book Launch • 30 March

## Raging Against the Past: Why Apologise for History?

Lord Sumption, Peter Kurti  
Webinar • 31 March

## Diplomatic: A Washington Memoir

Joe Hockey, Simon Cowan, James Morrow  
Book Launch • 12 April

## Liberty & Society

Lorraine Finlay, Salvatore Babones, David Hart, Gary Banks, Tom Switzer  
Conference • 6 May

## Ensuring Australia's Maths Teaching Adds Up

Eddie Woo, Greg Ashman, Glenn Fahey  
Panel • 16 May

## Ethics, Values and Moral Humility in a Changing World

Peter Kurti, Margaret Somerville  
Webinar • 18 May

## Reclaiming our Classrooms from Disruption

Tom Bennett, Glenn Fahey  
Webinar • 23 June

## Breakfast with NSW Education Minister Sarah Mitchell

Sarah Mitchell, Glenn Fahey  
Discussion • 2 August

## Lindsay Society Launch

Greg Lindsay, Tony Abbott, Tom Switzer, Deb Henderson  
Morning Tea • 4 August

JUNE

AUGUST

## Indian Democracy at 75: Troubled or Triumphant?

Salvatore Babones, Tony Abbott, Aarti Seksaria  
Panel • 11 August

## John Bonython Lecture & Gala Dinner

John Bolton, Stan Grant  
24 August

## A Sense of Balance

John Howard, Ticky Fullerton  
Book Launch • 30 August

## Can We Depend on Merit?

Gary Johns, Steven Schwartz, Peter Kurti  
Webinar • 7 September

## Debunking Maths Myths

Sarah Powell, Ollie Lovell, Glenn Fahey  
Panel • 13 September

## Breakfast with Shadow Treasurer Angus Taylor

Angus Taylor, Tom Switzer  
Discussion • 27 September

## The Rule of Law in a Time of Crisis

Lord Sumption, Tom Switzer  
Lecture • 11 October

## How to Make Australian Schools World Class

Katharine Birbalsingh, Glenn Fahey  
Discussion • 23 October

## Standing Firm Against Identity Politics

Mary Eberstadt, Peter Kurti  
Discussion • 24 October

## Consilium Conference

Various • 27–29 October

## Roundtable with Japanese Ambassador to Australia

His Excellency Shingo Yamagami  
Discussion • 3 November

## Lindsay Society Launch (Melbourne)

Greg Lindsay, Anthony Adair, Tom Switzer, Deb Henderson  
Lunch • 16 November

## The Avoidable War

Kevin Rudd, Tom Switzer  
Discussion • 24 November

## Prudence and Power: The Writings of Owen Harries

Paul Kelly, Michael Easson, Tom Switzer, Sue Windybank  
Book Launch • 29 November

DECEMBER

# On Liberty

*Our regular livestream series continues to attract a loyal following online and has helped to boost CIS's digital reach and profile.*



Host Salvatore Babones

Launched in April 2020 during the first Covid lockdown, *On Liberty* gives members and other viewers the opportunity to put questions to expert analysts in real time.

Our regular host this year has been **Salvatore Babones**, supported by producer **Nikko Malyon**, with recurring guest hosts **Glenn Fahey**, **Simon Cowan**, **Peter Kurti** and **Tom Switzer** making the show a truly organisation-wide program. Together they delivered 26 half-hour episodes in 2022 — after switching from weekly to fortnightly broadcasts mid-year — bringing an impressive line-up of talent into your offices and onto your phones.

Season Six opened on February 23 with **Stephen Loosley**, who is widely known as a political pundit but aspires to be a film critic too. Little did we know that the film we would end up discussing was *Dr Strangelove*. Although Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24, shots had already been fired by airtime and Stephen gave us an impromptu analysis of the events unfolding in real time.

This year we've also featured politicians, journalists, scientists and scholars on topics ranging from China's trajectory under Xi Jinping (with Professor **Elizabeth Larus**) to ethical farming and animal rights (with the Hon **Emma Hurst**), whilst columnist **Janet Albrechtsen** helped us dissect the teal backlash against the Liberals at the May federal election. Guest host **Glenn Fahey** (Director of the CIS education program) also brought in some of the best thinkers on educational theory and practice,

like La Trobe University Professor **Pamela Snow** and UNSW Professor **John Sweller**. And when it came time to talk money, we lined up CIS Research Director **Simon Cowan** to interview economist Dr **Mikayla Novak** and the *Australian Financial Review's* economics editor **John Kehoe** on the federal budgets in late March and October respectively.

For the really big headline-making news, however, we called in the boss: Executive Director **Tom Switzer**. This year, he talked to journalist **Chris Uhlmann** about the fraught energy transition and Stanford University Professor **Kathryn Stoner** about the Ukraine war, with the latter episode taking out top spot in the rankings. To celebrate our 100th episode on September 28, Tom also treated us to a very special guest: regular host **Salvatore Babones**.

A special thanks to all our other guests in order of appearance: **David Alder**, **Gerd Schröder-Turk**, **James Allan**, **Xavier Boffa**, **Bob Catley**, **Mihai Sora**, **Deyi Wu**, **Simon Breheny**, **Eliza Owen**, **Mark Latham**, **Pete Gregory**, **Jack MacGuire**, **Yun Jiang**, **Melissa Monteiro** and **Matthew Taylor**.

Past episodes of *On Liberty* can be found at [youtube.com/CISAus](https://youtube.com/CISAus) or on your podcast platform of choice.



Kathryn Stoner (Ep. 81)



Elizabeth Larus (Ep. 86)



Janet Albrechtsen (Ep. 90)



Chris Uhlmann (Ep. 93)

Partisan games stir up a nation in turmoil

TOM SWITZER



Labor and Treasurer Jim Chalmers have a long way to go to address inflation

By Steve Connor

This week's economic statement from Treasurer Jim Chalmers has answered some pressing economic questions, but it

FINANCIAL REVIEW Opinion No black holes, except Labor's spending

Labor hasn't inherited any hidden budget surprises. It is spending monomaniacally created their last period in office that now need to be taxed.

Newly named Federal Treasurer Jim Chalmers and Finance Ministers Kate Gillard have hit the ground

FINANCIAL REVIEW Opinion There is no great resignation of teachers

Teaching is an attractive profession that many want to enter. The problem is there are too many barriers in the way.

Education leaders say there are too many teachers leaving the profession, but the real problem is a

FINANCIAL REVIEW Opinion Why the government has to make the case for stage 3 tax cuts

These tax cuts are both affordable and essential if incentive is to be improved and bracket creep contained. Labor cannot just let them fade.

THE EPOCH TIMES Viewpoints Our Vote, Their Values

A person casts their vote during Australia's general election at a polling station at Bondi Beach in Sydney.

Peter Kurti

THE AUSTRALIAN New mindset of action must replace grand symbolic gestures



FINANCIAL REVIEW Opinion Liberals have regressed to big government

During the recent era of Coalition rule, the party of Howard and Costello rarely explained how growth comes from the private sector, entrepreneurship and innovation.

Tom Switzer

FINANCIAL REVIEW Opinion Can woke corporates tell us what the Voice will achieve?

My plea to the Australian business community is to stop seeing this campaign as easy ESG points and sit down with Indigenous people who oppose it and try to understand why.

Ngungai Warren Munding

Last week, the chairman of CSL and the CEO of Lendlease gave their support behind the referendum to implement an Aboriginal and Torres

Daily Telegraph Looking for racism goes against the fabric of Australian society

DETERMINED to portray Australia in the drab colours of bigotry and prejudice, anti-racism warriors are digging deep again to reinvigorate how truly racist we all really are.

But when there's money in fighting racism, then racism must be found. Funding for this year's outcast of the AHRIC's long-running campaign comes from the fallout of the ruse that which embroiled Collingwood Football Club in 2021.

While the right, left, and centre-right have all made the same mistake, it is the government's responsibility to make the most challenging decisions that will ensure a bright future for all.



Peter Kurti

THE MORNING STAR RESULTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES 'BRITAIN'S STRICTEST HEADMISTRESS' RESPONDS TO CRITICS

FINANCIAL REVIEW Opinion Reserve Bank must be made accountable for inflation mistakes

Resetting the official target is beside the point when the major issue for the central bank review should be making its process more transparent.

Peter Tulip

THE AUSTRALIAN There's a lesson to be learnt in robbing Peter to pay Paul

STEVEN SCHWARTZ

The Canberra Times Discipline is the missing part of the school jigsaw

A problem with schools is that they are not disciplined. It is not that they are not disciplined, but that they are not disciplined enough.

Glenn Farney

There is a discipline problem in our schools. It is not that they are not disciplined, but that they are not disciplined enough.

Simon Cowan

July 16 2022 - 5:30am

THE AUSTRALIAN Backs-to-the-wall Budget



The federal budget is a far more difficult balancing act for the Coalition in 2022 than it was in 2019

Robert Carling

Center for Independent Studies says 80,000 extra uni places could be created at no cost



# Media and Communications

*The Centre for Independent Studies has a longstanding reputation for developing rigorously researched and insightful policy ideas, and promoting them to the public through events and the media.*

In 2022, CIS published more than 180 op-eds, and (with syndication) was cited in more than 14,000 news stories, radio and TV broadcasts across networks.

Research is developed on the foundation of CIS's principles and message, and is the main focus for the media and communications work in broadcasting policy proposals and helping raise the CIS profile.

Research promotion this year was focussed on a total of 25 publications, including 2 Research Reports, 4 POLICY Papers, 8 Occasional Papers and 10 Analysis Papers, as well as 5 submissions to government.

# 14,000+

**News stories**

# 180+

**Op-eds**



# Publications

*Our rigorous research papers form a crucial part of CIS's public profile and efforts to promote policy reform. In 2022, CIS published a total of 25 publications including 2 Research Reports, 10 Analysis Papers, 4 POLICY Papers, 8 Occasional Papers, 1 Public Submission to Government and also co-published 1 book.*

*A full list appears below.*

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## Occasional Papers 2022

### Expand University Places Without Blowing Out Budgets: The 1/1 policy for undergraduate reform

**Salvatore Babones**

28 March • OP186

This paper outlines a budget-neutral path to the expansion of university opportunities that all major political parties put forward in the lead-up to the federal election.



### Radical Conservatism: Tradition as a guide for managing change

**Damien Freeman**

13 July • OP188

This paper revisits philosopher Edmund Burke to distil a "cast of mind" that is peculiarly suited to contemporary politics and the need to restore confidence in democratic institutions and the liberal values that underpin them.



### The Shadow Pandemic: Three reforms for the post-pandemic mental healthcare system

**Megan Cornforth**

29 June • OP187

The Covid-19 pandemic has led to increased mental distress and ill-health, exposing critical operational gaps in mental healthcare provision and the need for reform at all levels of government.



### Teaching National Shame: History and citizenship in the school curriculum

**Joanna Williams**

28 July • OP189

Changing approaches to the teaching of history and citizenship in Australian and UK schools have contributed to a loss of pride in national identity, weakening the nation-building role that schools once played.



## The United States vs China-Russia Entente: 2022 John Bonython Lecture

**John Bolton**

18 October • OP190

The United States must prevent the growing China-Russia entente from becoming an axis and should not focus on Asia at the expense of Europe and the Persian Gulf because China is a global threat.



## Holding the Line to Benefit the Child: How progressive teaching is failing students

**Katharine Birbalsingh**

15 November OP192

Based on an address to CIS, in this paper educator Katharine Birbalsingh explains why she returned to traditional teaching methods, with a focus on discipline, at her London-based school, arguing that the results speak for themselves.



## Rule of Law in a Time of Crisis

**Lord Jonathan Sumption**

8 November • OP191

Based on a lecture given at CIS, this paper discusses the erosion of democracy and the dangers of cancel culture, as well as government overreach during the pandemic and the fundamental problem with Brexit.



## Liberalism's Universal Vision Better Than a Race-Based Voice

**Greg Sheridan**

25 November • OP193

This paper argues that the Indigenous Voice to Parliament contradicts liberalism's commitment to universal and equal citizenship, giving rise to the idea that democratic institutions are inherently deficient when dealing with ethnic and cultural diversity.



## Research 2022

### Renewables Offer Economic Development Potential for Remote Indigenous Communities

**James Reynolds**

24 January • AP31

Regional and remote Indigenous communities potentially have access to vast tracts of land suitable for large-scale renewable energy generation, but native title may be preventing them from participating in the emerging green economy.



### The Return of Inflation: What it means for Australia

**Warren Hogan**

28 February • AP33

With inflation on the rise post-pandemic, monetary normalisation and fiscal discipline will become an essential part of reducing the inflation risk over the next three years.



### Some Critical Thoughts About Critical and Creative Thinking

**John Sweller**

7 February • AP32

This overview of human cognitive architecture argues that creative and critical thinking (CCT) cannot be taught because such skills are innate. Educators should focus instead on providing students with an extensive knowledge base and CCT will largely follow naturally and automatically.



### Teacher Workforce: Fiction vs fact

**Glenn Fahey**

3 March • RR43

Teachers are key to lifting Australia's deteriorating education outcomes, but many factors commonly assumed to result in improved teacher quality are not supported by evidence. This report finds that better teaching training is a significant predictor of teacher effectiveness.



## A Sea of Red: Tracking Australia's debt iceberg

**Robert Carling**

21 March • PP45

Australia's government debt increased sharply during the pandemic, posing a risk to economic growth and reducing fiscal flexibility and the capacity to respond effectively to future crises. Expenditure restraint must be exercised.



## Structural Reform of the Reserve Bank of Australia

**Peter Tulip**

28 April • AP36

The Reserve Bank of Australia (RBA) exercises too much discretion and makes too many mistakes. This paper argues that stricter constraints are needed on the RBA's mandate, whilst requiring the Bank to be more accountable and transparent.



## The Need for Reform of Land Use Policy: Submission to the Productivity Commission

**Peter Tulip**

23 March

More new housing is needed, especially high-density near transport hubs and in inner-city suburbs. Planning decisions need to stop over-weighting the objections of nearby residents and start respecting the interests of renters and future generations of home buyers.



## Decoding the Gap: Australia's ongoing struggle to address Indigenous health outcomes

**Richard X Davey**

2 June • AP37

This paper outlines the base Indigenous health issues, the key causes, and how they can be rectified. It warns that remote living is having a profound impact on Indigenous communities, resulting in poor life expectancy and childbirth outcomes.



## Setting the Preschool Foundation for Success in Mathematics

**David C. Geary**

24 March • AP34

This paper presents the results of a four-year longitudinal study designed to identify the early quantitative competencies that predict readiness to learn maths at school entry.



## Defining Democracy Down: Political judicialisation, judicial politicisation

**Helen Dale**

21 July • PP46

The overruling of *Roe v. Wade* by the US Supreme Court highlights how the role of rights in the American legal system undermines democracy, unlike the UK and Australia where abortion is a matter for parliaments not the courts.



## Raging Against the Past: Guilt, justice and the postcolonial reformation

**Peter Kurti**

7 April • AP35

Postcolonial theory weaponises history in the name of addressing the immorality of the past. This threatens the integrity of intellectual and historical enquiry as well as Enlightenment conceptions of reason, tolerance and liberty.



## Myths That Undermine Maths Teaching

**Sarah Powell, Elizabeth M. Hughes, Corey Peltier**

11 August • AP38

Myths about learning and teaching maths plague classroom practice despite a lack of evidence demonstrating positive outcomes for students. This paper debunks seven common myths and provides recommendations for improving maths teaching.





## The Territory Gap: Comparing Australia's remote Indigenous communities

**Peter Gregory**

25 August • AP39

This analysis of Census data found that the Northern Territory has the worst economic outcomes for remote and very remote Indigenous communities of any state or territory in Australia, with institutional arrangements a likely explanation for this gap.



## Sri Lanka: Democracy in crisis

**Anjali Nadaradjane**

1 December • AP40

This paper examines the internal drivers that have undermined Sri Lankan democracy, making it vulnerable to malign foreign influences, before assessing prospects for reviving democratic norms and how Australia can help.



## Generation Next: Unleashing youth aspiration and upward mobility

**Mikayla Novak**

2 November • RR44

Growing concern about the economic fortunes of young Australians often results in calls for more taxpayer spending to raise their mobility. This report argues that their fortunes can instead be lifted by reforming the institutions and policies currently hindering them.



## Fast-Track Teacher Education To Increase Supply

**Rob Joseph**

8 December • PP48

This paper makes an evidence-based case for (re)creating standards-based, one-year postgraduate teaching pathways to help improve teacher supply in Australia, especially in STEM subjects and rural schools.



## Wages Growth in Australia: Evidence and policy evaluation

**Gene Tunny**

24 November • PP47

This paper finds that low real wages over the past decade are mainly due to lower productivity growth, so a return to industry-wide bargaining to boost wages would be counter-productive.



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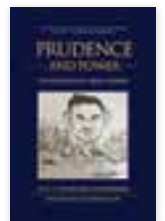
## Special Publication

### Prudence and Power: The Writings of Owen Harries

**Tom Switzer and Sue Windybank (editors)**  
**With an introduction by Michael Easson**

November • Connor Court Publishing and the Centre for Independent Studies

This collection of essays, op-eds and lectures by the late Owen Harries (1930-2020) showcases the breadth and depth of his contribution to intellectual life in both Australia and the United States. A former professor, foreign policy adviser and ambassador, Owen joined CIS as a Senior Fellow in 2001 after 16 years as founding editor of the leading Washington-based foreign policy journal, *The National Interest*.



# Membership and Development

*2022 has been a year of renewed engagement and excitement as we welcomed back our flagship in-person events, bringing all our dedicated supporters together for the long-awaited opportunity to reconnect. Our members and donors have also continued to give generously throughout the year, particularly during our End of Financial Year campaign.*

In preparation for national growth over the next five years, we welcomed our new Membership and Development Director, **Judy Foster**, to the fundraising team in September. Based in the Sydney office, Judy has been busy working alongside our Strategic Development Adviser, Deborah Henderson, to build the team and membership offering, ensuring that our members enjoy even greater engagement and exclusive benefits.

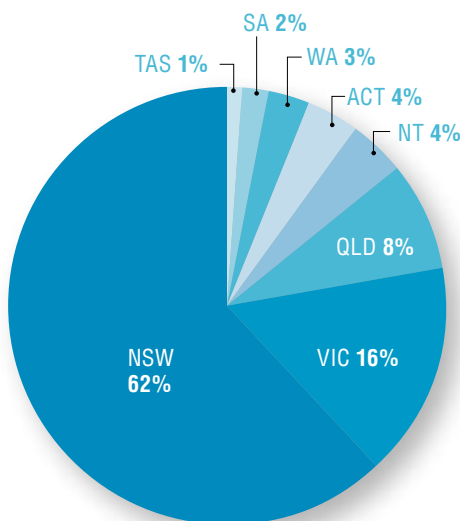


Although long delayed by the pandemic, we were thrilled to host a members-only cocktail evening in Melbourne in late March. Hosted at the beautiful South Yarra home of one of our generous supporters, it was a joy to see so many of our Victorian members – and to welcome some new members – and to have them meet some of our staff and research team.

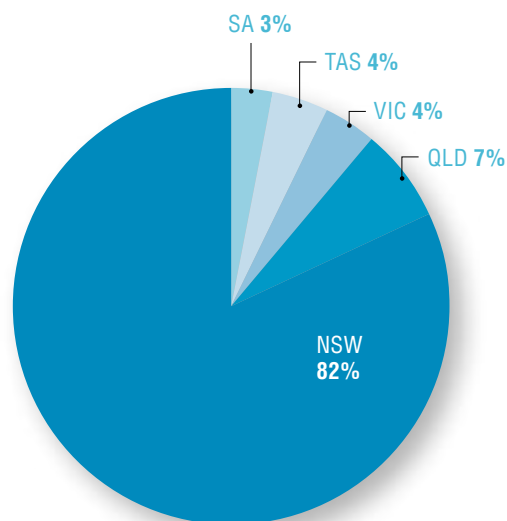
Thanks to your commitment to CIS, we have emerged from the pandemic of the last two years in a strong financial position. Your investment ensures that CIS continues to be an independent voice for free markets, limited government and individual responsibility at a time when we face daunting new challenges that threaten our prosperity and freedom.

We greatly look forward to seeing you in 2023 with many exciting things planned, including an enhanced membership offering with benefits such as the opportunity to connect with peers through our extensive events program.

## MEMBERS BY STATE



## NEW MEMBERS BY STATE





Sydney launch of the Lindsay Society



CIS founder Greg Lindsay, then and now, at the Sydney launch of the Lindsay Society

### INDEPENDENCE SOCIETY

We are delighted to have formally launched our Independence Society at the home of our Chairman **Nicholas Moore** and his wife **Helen** this year, the first of a series of structured giving clubs we are introducing to CIS. If you would like any information on these clubs or would just like to get in touch with our Membership and Development Director, you can contact **Judy Foster** at [jfoster@cis.org.au](mailto:jfoster@cis.org.au).



From left: Glenn Fahey, Peter Tulip, Simon Cowan, Nyungai Warren Mundine and Nicholas Moore at the Sydney launch of the Independence Society.

### THE LINDSAY SOCIETY

We are very grateful to supporters who have committed to be part of our growing Legacy Society by making CIS an important part of their will. The Society is named in honour of our founder **Greg Lindsay** and his wife **Jenny** and it was wonderful to see three generations of the family at the Sydney launch along with former Prime Minister the **Hon Tony Abbott AC**. It also gives us the opportunity to thank members for their gifts in their lifetime.

We finished the year on a high with our Melbourne Lindsay Society luncheon featuring keynote speaker **Anthony Adair**, who succinctly captured the essence of CIS:

*Its great strength is that its ideas are contestable but not its integrity.*

A bequest to the Centre for Independent Studies will allow the continuation of the policy research you currently support. For more information, or to request a booklet about the Lindsay Society, please contact us.

**Donations, memberships and other forms of support are the lifeblood of our work, and we thank all our contributors for their continued generosity. All donations over \$2 are tax-deductible, and all support makes a difference! For more information, please call us on (02) 9438 4377 and ask for our Membership and Development Director, Judy Foster, or go to [cis.org.au/donate](http://cis.org.au/donate)**

# Research Staff

## Associate Professor Salvatore Babones *(from August)*

### Director, China and Free Societies

Salvatore is a political sociologist at the University of Sydney and an elected member of the National Committee on US-China Relations. This year he authored the Occasional Paper, *Expand University Places Without Blowing Out Budgets: The 1/1 policy for undergraduate reform*. He was also the regular host of the CIS livestream series, *On Liberty*.



## Simon Cowan

### Research Director

Simon heads the research team and manages the report writing process. He writes a regular column for *The Canberra Times* and is a frequent commentator on super and the Budget.



## Professor Gary Banks AO

### Senior Fellow

Gary was Chief Executive and Dean of ANZSOG, and Chairman of the Productivity Commission from its inception in 1998 until 2013. Among his current roles, Gary chairs the OECD's Regulatory Policy Committee and is on the board of Macquarie Bank. He has headed national inquiries on a variety of significant public policy and regulatory topics. For many years, he chaired the COAG Steering Committee for the Review of Government Services, was the Convenor for the Review's Working Group on Indigenous Disadvantage, and had responsibility for overseeing the Commonwealth's regulation-making processes through the Office of Regulation Review.



## Glenn Fahey

### Director, Education Program

Glenn came to CIS from the OECD. In 2022, Glenn published the Research Report *Teacher Workforce: Fiction vs fact*. He was also a frequent commentator on Australia's deteriorating student results, NAPLAN, teacher training, and school discipline.



## Robert Carling

### Senior Fellow, Economics Program

Robert's expertise is in fiscal policy, taxation and federalism. In 2022, he published the POLICY Paper *A Sea of Red: Tracking Australia's debt iceberg*. He was also a frequent media commentator on tax reform, super, public debt and government spending.



## The Right Rev. Robert Forsyth

### Senior Fellow in the Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program

A former Anglican Bishop of South Sydney, this year Rob hosted Season Three of the podcast series *Liberalism in Question*, which aired from late September to late November.



## Yuki Cheng *(until July)*

### Research Assistant, Economics Program

A commerce and economics student at UNSW, Yuki provided research and data support to the Economics team. She left CIS to join Deloitte.



## Neenah Robyn Gray *(until December)*

### Research Assistant, Indigenous Forum

Neenah has a Bachelor of Ancient History and Philosophy and is completing her Honours in Theology at the Australian Catholic University. In 2022, she provided research support to the Indigenous Forum director and also wrote and presented two short YouTube videos on Indigenous citizenship and voting rights. She left CIS to join the NSW Treasury.



### The Hon Dr Gary Johns (from August)

#### Adjunct Fellow in the Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program

Gary is an Adjunct Professor at the University of Queensland and author of more than six books on issues ranging from intergenerational welfare to Indigenous affairs. He served in the House of Representatives from 1987 to 1996 and was Special Minister of State and Assistant Minister for Industrial Relations from 1993 to 1996. He then served as an Associate Commissioner of the Productivity Commission (2002-2004) and was the Australian Charities and Not-for-Profits Commissioner from 2017 to 2022.



### The Rev. Peter Kurti

#### Director of the Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program

An Adjunct Associate Professor of Law at Notre Dame University, in 2022 Peter published the CIS Analysis Paper, *Raging Against the Past: Guilt, justice and the postcolonial reformation*. He was also a frequent commentator on religious freedom and the dangers of identity politics.



### Barry Maley

#### Senior Fellow

Barry's research focuses on social policy with particular attention to family and taxation. Other areas of interest include cultural change, ethics, and civil society.



### Dr Fiona Mueller

#### Adjunct Fellow, Education Program

After teaching foreign languages and English for 20 years, Fiona joined the then NSW Board of Studies before gaining her doctorate and teaching at two universities. She became Head of ANU College and then Director of Curriculum at the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) from 2016-17. She is now the Commonwealth Minister for Education's nominee on the ACARA Board.



### Nyungai Warren Mundine

#### Director, Indigenous Forum

A former deputy mayor of Dubbo, national president of the ALP, and chair of the Abbott government's Indigenous Advisory Council, Warren was a frequent media commentator on Indigenous affairs throughout 2022 including making the case against an Indigenous Voice to Parliament.



### Scott Prasser

#### Senior Fellow in the Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program

Scott trained as a political scientist and served as education adviser to two federal education ministers.



### Professor Steven Schwartz

#### Senior Fellow

Professor Schwartz is a former Vice Chancellor of Macquarie University. His expertise is in higher education.



### Matthew Taylor (from October)

#### Director, Intergenerational Program

A former Research Fellow in the CIS Economics Program from 2013 to 2015, Matt returned to CIS after a stint in policy research at the Australian National University.



### Peter Tulip

#### Chief Economist

Peter came to CIS from the Reserve Bank. His focus is on housing affordability and monetary policy. This year, he made a public submission to the Productivity Commission's Inquiry into Australia's Productivity Performance, entitled *The Need for Reform of Land Use Policy*, and authored the Analysis Paper *Structural Reform of the Reserve Bank of Australia*. He was also a frequent media commentator on both housing and Reserve Bank reform.



### Kitae Yoo (until July)

#### Research Assistant, Education Program

Kitae provided support for data analysis as well as assisting with the review of education research and policy literature. He left CIS to pursue postgraduate study in London.



### Valerian Zaitsev (from June)

#### Policy Analyst, Education Program

Valerian is an award-winning academic, having taught physiology and anatomy at the University of Melbourne and Monash University respectively. His research focus at CIS is on ways to improve Australia's STEM education.



# Staff

**Tom Switzer**  
Executive Director



**Jane Black**  
General Manager



**Karla Pincott**  
Communications Director



**Deborah Henderson**  
*(until December)*  
Strategic Development Adviser



**Judy Foster**  
*(from September)*  
Membership and Development Director



**Sophie Causer**  
*(until July)*  
Development and Membership Manager



**Trish Murray**  
*(from November)*  
Development Executive



**Tim Black**  
*(from July)*  
Membership Co-ordinator



**Annalisa Paparo**  
Executive Administration Officer



**Max Hawke-Weaver**  
Event Director



**Nikko Malyon**  
Event Officer



**Emily Holmes**  
Social Media



**Ryan Acosta**  
*(until July)*  
Design and Production Manager



**Will Pearce**  
*(from September)*  
Desktop Publishing and Graphic Designer



**Sue Windybank**  
*(until August)*  
Commissioning Editor



**Ian Moore**  
*(from October)*  
Editorial Manager



**Cathleen Ly**  
Accounts Manager



**Sheena Gulati**  
Accounts Officer



# Board of Directors

**Nicholas Moore**  
Chairman



**Sir Rod Eddington AO**



**Prof Cav. Simon Mordant AM AO**



**Chris Roberts**  
Deputy Chairman



**Dr Peter Farrell AM**



**April Palmerlee**



**Michael Rennie**  
Deputy Chairman



**Ross Grant**



**James Philips**



**Philippa Stone**  
Deputy Chairman



**John M. Green**



**Steven Skala AO**



**Tom Switzer**  
Executive Director



**Sam Kennard**



**Rob Skeffington**



**Mark Barnaba AM**



**Greg Lindsay AO**  
Founder



**Alison Watkins AM**



**Dr Jennifer Buckingham**



**Peter Mason AM**



**Dr Gary Weiss AM**



**Michael Chaney AO**  
(until July)



**Robert McLean AM**



**Christopher D. White**



**Melinda Conrad**



**Rohan Mead**



**Steven Wilson AM**



**Sir Bill English KNZM**



# Accounts

## The Centre For Independent Studies Ltd

Income & Expenditure Statement

Ending Financial Years 30/06/2022 and 30/06/2021

INCOME	To June 2022 AUDITED (\$)	To June 2021 AUDITED (\$)
General Donations	3,482,488.00	3,482,949.00
Building Fund Donations	–	–
Book Sales and Subscriptions	148,832.00	165,262.00
Consilium/Seminar/Lecture Income	16,322.00	40,993.00
Interest & Sundry Income (Includes Capital Fund Income)	323.00	68,851.00
<b>TOTAL INCOME</b>	<b>3,647,965.00</b>	<b>3,758,056.00</b>

EXPENSES		
Research, Functions, Publishing	238,247.10	222,898.25
Fundraising & Development	92,394.62	139,673.70
Salaries Incl. Research	2,577,335.66	2,295,447.47
Administration & Rent	756,957.62	695,527.58
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>3,664,935.00</b>	<b>3,353,547.00</b>

<b>SURPLUS (DEFICIT)</b>	<b>-\$16,970.00</b>	<b>404,502.00</b>
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<b>CAPITAL FUND AS AT 30 JUNE 2021</b>	<b>\$339,973.00</b>
<b>DRAWINGS</b>	<b>\$157.00</b>
<b>CAPITAL FUND AS AT 30 JUNE 2022</b>	<b>\$340,130.00</b>



# Alan McGregor Fellows

Ms Janet Albrechtsen  
Mr Gary Banks AO  
Mr Andrew Buttfield  
Mr Robert Carling  
Mr Peter Coleman AO (1928-2019)  
Ms Katrina Grace Kelly  
Mr Peter Costello AC  
Professor Greg Craven  
Mr Michael Darling  
Mr Frank Devine (1931-2009)  
Dr Anthony Dillon  
Hon Sir Roger Douglas MP  
Right Hon Sir Bill English KNZM  
Right Reverend Robert Forsyth  
Hon John Howard OM AC  
Professor Helen Hughes AO (1928-2013)  
Mr John Hyde  
Professor Wolfgang Kasper  
Mr Paul Kelly  
Mr Roger Kerr CNZM (1945-2011)  
Mr Bill Leak (1956-2017)  
Mr Barry Maley  
Mr Djambawa Marawili AM  
Mr Nyunggai Warren Mundine AO  
Ms Jacinta Nampijinpa Price  
Ms Bess Nungarrayi Price  
Professor Suri Ratnapala  
Ms Ruth Richardson  
Professor Steven Schwartz AM  
Professor Judith Sloan

# Distinguished Fellows

Professor Ray Ball  
John Calvert-Jones AM  
Michael Chaney AO  
Michael Darling  
David Darling (1925–2012)  
Dr Roderick Deane  
Alan Gibbs  
Ross Graham-Taylor (1919–2010)  
Professor R. M. Hartwell (1921–2009)  
Andrew Kaldor  
C. R. Bert Kelly CMG (1912–1997)  
Neville Kennard (1937–2012)  
Barry Maley  
Alan McGregor AO (1936–2005)  
Hugh Morgan AC  
Dame Elisabeth Murdoch AC DBE (1909–2012)  
Maurice Newman AC  
Professor Ross Parish (1929–2001)  
Ian Roach AO (1925–2003)  
Professor Peter Saunders  
Dr Ben Teh (1941–1998)

## **Honorary Auditors**

KPMG



**Centre for Independent Studies**

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**ABN 15 001 495 012**