

# CIS Leadership in ideas



A year in review

# The Centre for Independent Studies

The Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) is Australasia's leading public policy research institute or think tank. Founded in 1976 by Greg Lindsay, the Centre's major concern is with the principles and institutions underlying a free and open society, with particular focus on Australia and New Zealand.

## **Our goals**

- individual liberty and choice, including freedom of association, religion, speech and the right to property;
- an economy based on free markets;
- democratic government under the rule of law;
- an autonomous and free civil society.

## **Activities**

- Research
- Publishing
- Lectures and seminars
- Liberty & Society student programme

## **Funding and independence**

CIS is funded by private sector donations—from individuals, companies and charitable trusts—as well as subscriptions and book sales.

'Independent' in our name means:

- we are politically non-partisan
- research is not directed by our supporters

# From the Executive Director

**W**ith the new Parliament in session following the Australian election on 9 October, a number of the new members have given their maiden speeches. All of them have been interesting, but I thought I might quote from one by Michael Keenan, the Member for Stirling in Western Australia.

*Australia is full of strong individuals and robust communities. In the main, these people are perfectly capable of taking care of themselves. They do not need governments to lecture them or meddle in their lives unless it is absolutely necessary to fulfil a greater good. Our society should be free to evolve at its own pace without legislators using their considerable powers to try to remake it in their own image. We should never assume that parliament is the repository of all wisdom and we need to carefully consider how we can manage Australia's affairs so that people are given every chance to express their personal preferences . . .*

Now that is pretty darn good and worth mentioning for its content alone. But importantly for the CIS and its supporters, Michael is a graduate of the Centre's Liberty & Society student programme. In fact he attended the inaugural Liberty & Society back in 1996 and the Advanced Liberty & Society just last year. Ideas do have consequences and the L&S programme at CIS is a critical part of the ideas generation and dissemination process.

Is CIS the most influential think tank in the country? Some certainly think so, so we'll claim the title for now. *The Bulletin* magazine on 28 September was unequivocal in stating so. Sure, there's so much we would want to see changed to reinforce the philosophy articulated nicely by Michael Keenan, but we always knew that it was a long process.

2004 has certainly been a record active year for the Centre as our various programmes have continued and expanded. The reports in this issue of *PreCIS* are a testament to a dedicated and hardworking team. All supporters of the CIS should be pleased with our achievements and the commitment of the Board and staff to ensuring that this high level of activity is maintained.

There has been some movement on the Board this year with a number of new appointments and a number of retirements. Regrettably, long-serving Chairman, Alan McGregor, resigned because of illness earlier in the year and we wish him the very best as he fights his way back to good health. Alan presided over a period of strong growth at the CIS and remains absolutely committed to our work and ideas. I am delighted that Deputy Chairman Michael Darling has succeeded Alan as Chairman and I look forward to working with him as we look ahead to another year of achievement.

None of what the Centre achieves can happen without its supporters and I can't express strongly enough our appreciation. Some have been with us for the entire period of the Centre's existence and their understanding of the importance of the battle of ideas in making sure that our freedoms are maintained and enhanced is of incalculable value.

On now to 2005.

*Greg Lindsay*



# Board of Directors

## New CIS Chairman

Michael Darling, former CIS Deputy Chairman, was appointed Chairman of the Centre in May 2004. He is the second longest serving director, having joined the board in 1986.

## New Appointments



**Bob Day AO** is National Vice President of the Housing Industry Association, Founder and Chairman of Independent Contractors of Australia, a member of the National Work for the Dole Advisory Committee, Chairman of North East Vocational College and Founder of Oz Homes Foundation. His company, Home Australia, owns some of Australia's best known brands in the housing industry.



**Dr Don Turkington** was Executive Director of Forsyth Barr from 2001-03 and before that was Managing Director of Cavill White Securities and Morgan Grenfell New Zealand. He is a member of the New Zealand Exchange Appeal Panel and is a trustee of The University of Auckland Foundation, Parenting with Confidence Inc., and the Auckland Philharmonia Foundation.



**Geoff Ricketts** is a consultant to Russell McVeagh Solicitors in New Zealand and is Chairman of Lion Nathan. Mr Ricketts is also a director of several companies in both Australia (Promina Group and Spotless Group) and New Zealand (Taylors Group and The Todd Corporation).



**Chum Darvall** is the Chief Executive Officer of Deutsche Bank Australia/New Zealand. He is also a Board Member of Australian Theatre for Young People, a Council Member of the Business Council of Australia, and Deputy Chairman of the International Banks and Securities Association.



**Steven Wilson** is Executive Chairman of Wilson HTM Investment Group. He is also a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Queensland. Steven is Chairman of South Bank Corporation and a member of the Brisbane City Council Business Advisory Board.



**Chris Roberts** is Chairman of Amcor Ltd and Cockatoo Ridge Wines Ltd. He is a Director of Australian Agriculture Ltd, an Advisor to Control Risks Group PLC, and Governor of Winifred West Schools Ltd.

## Other Board Changes

Long serving CIS Chairman **Alan McGregor AO** retired from the Board of Directors in May. Alan became a Trustee in early 1990, Chairman of the Board of Trustees in 1991, and Chairman of the Board of Directors in 1995. In 2003 he was made a CIS Distinguished Fellow and continues to be a passionate supporter of CIS.

**Don Morley** resigned from the Centre's Board of Directors in September 2004, having been a Director since 1993. His 11 years as a member of the Board have seen the Centre grow in size and influence, and CIS is grateful for his involvement and enthusiasm over this time. Don Morley is currently Chairman of Alumina Limited, and before this was Director of Finance at WMC.

**Mr M. John Phillips AO** who was a member of the Centre's Board of Directors since March 1999, retired from the board in October. Mr Phillips is Chancellor of the University of Western Sydney and was recently awarded a Papal knighthood from His Holiness, Pope John Paul II for his contribution to the Church and community. CIS congratulates him on this achievement and thanks him for his contribution to the Board.

# The CIS Big Ideas Forum

**The Welfare Revolution** • Frank Field, Lawrence Mead, Peter Saunders  
3 August 2004 • Sydney

Three of the world's leading experts on welfare policy and welfare reform gathered in Sydney to discuss recent developments overseas and the relevance of these new ideas for Australia.

The Right Hon. Frank Field MP, Labour member for Birkenhead and Minister for Welfare Reform in the 1997 Blair government, outlined the recent attempts at welfare reform in the United Kingdom. He spoke about the need to reform the welfare system when the economy is booming and argued that welfare reform must go one step further and address the demise of social values within society. Lawrence M. Mead, Professor of Politics at New York University and influential writer on poverty and welfare in the United States, discussed welfare reform in the US and its implications for Australia. He spoke about the successful reform of single mothers welfare payments in the US and acknowledged that while barriers do exist, many people can find jobs and support themselves without government help.

Professor Peter Saunders, Social Research Director at CIS, argued that welfare reform in Australia should largely focus on working age people. He stated that welfare expenditure is still rising and claimed that this is unsustainable. He also reasoned that tax and workplace reform must be a priority alongside welfare reform in order for it to be effective.



From left: Peter Saunders, Lawrence Mead and Frank Field

# The Acton Lecture on Religion and Freedom

**Rendering Unto Caesar: New Challenges for Church and State**

Samuel Gregg • 18 May 2004 • Sydney

'At the heart of liberty is religious liberty', according to Dr Samuel Gregg. In this lecture, he outlined the disturbing trends throughout the West in the treatment of religious liberty. Traditionally, faith communities have cooperated with civil society and, in some cases, with state bodies to deal with issues such as poverty. However, with the expansion of secularism, the situation today is rather different. He argued that believers and non-believers should be able to act in the public square according to their religious beliefs, subject only to the legitimate demands of public order. Dr Gregg asserted that faith communities are essential in building up and replenishing moral and social capital in democratic societies.

The annual Acton Lecture examines the contribution of religion to free societies, and is delivered annually by eminent individuals from all faiths and denominations. This lecture was published as Occasional Paper 90 and is available online from the CIS website [www.cis.org.au](http://www.cis.org.au)



From left: Professor Ian Harper, Dr Samuel Gregg, Bishop Robert Forsyth and Greg Lindsay

**Dr Samuel Gregg** is the Director of Research at The Acton Institute for Religion and Freedom in Grand Rapids, Michigan, US. He has written and spoken extensively on questions of ethics in public policy, jurisprudence, bioethics, and ethics in business. Dr Gregg was formerly the Director of CIS's *Religion and the Free Society* Programme.

*'Everyone benefits from religious liberty, believers and non-believers alike. The diminishment of religious liberty diminishes us all, both as human beings and as people who want to live in societies that are truly free.'*

# Consilium 2004

29 July - 1 August 2004  
Hyatt Regency Coolum, Queensland



The annual CIS conference, Consilium, is a unique forum for leading decision makers to present and discuss the big-picture issues facing Australia and the world. This was CIS's largest Consilium to date with leading business executives, academics, politicians, independent scholars, bureaucrats and journalists coming together at the picturesque Hyatt Regency in Coolum.

The programme for the fifth Consilium covered a wide range of topics, such as the future direction of American foreign policy, the failures of the welfare state, the development of biotechnology, the economic future of China and India, upcoming elections around the world, Australia's demographic destiny, and the Scottish Enlightenment.

The Governor-General of Australia, His Excellency Major General Michael Jeffery AC, gave the opening address, and outlined a long-term vision for Australia and the need for goal-based policy solutions.

The 'Welfare Isn't Working' session was a stand out this year with ACT New Zealand's Deputy Leader Muriel Newman's informative and passionate presentation which drew attention to the dire welfare situation in New Zealand and called for urgent reform. Other speakers included British Labour MP Frank Field who explained welfare reform in Britain and linked this with the broader issue of behaviour; Professor Lawrence Mead of New York University who explained the measures taken to reform the welfare system in America; Patrick McClure, CEO of Mission Australia, who provided an update of the reform process in Australia and emphasised that government will and courage is needed to continue the process; and Professor Peter Saunders who presented a three step reform process to ease Australia off welfare dependency.

Baroness Susan Greenfield's vibrant presentation in 'The Biotechnology Revolution' session focused on the importance of expanding science into all facets of society: politics, the media, education and the private sector. In 'The Scottish Enlightenment and the Birth of the Modern World' session, Arthur Herman put forward the notion that the Scottish Enlightenment of the 18th century was the most powerful and influential



*'Consilium ... reputedly the most significant intellectual gathering in this country'*

Diana Bagnall, *The Bulletin*, September 2004

intellectual development of our time. In this philosophical session speakers included Federal Minister for Health, Tony Abbott who discussed the importance of values, tradition and honour in society, and historian Geoffrey Blainey who described the significance of the Scottish influence on Australia and New Zealand.

The 'American Grand Strategy: Where to Now?' session focused on American foreign policy and the implications of the Iraq invasion. The then Shadow Defence Minister Kim Beazley spoke about the need to properly define the character of the main threat; NSW Premier Bob Carr argued that Iraq needs to build up its security forces and avoid becoming a struggling or failed state; Senior Associate with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Anatol Lieven argued that the invasion of Iraq seems to have been a tactical success for Al-Qaeda; Director of the Middle East Forum Dr Daniel Pipes questioned whether everybody in the world believed in the ideals of peace, democracy and free markets; and foreign policy expert Owen Harries discussed the analogy of the Suez Crisis of 1956 in relation to the current debate over Iraq.

'The Dragon and the Cobra: Two Economic Powerhouses?' session discussed the economic potential of China and India. Shadow Foreign Minister Kevin Rudd emphasised the importance of Australia's dealings with these emerging economies; Steven Xu from The Economist Corporate Network argued against the view that China's economy is overheating and presented a more optimistic prediction about the future of China's economic growth and reform; and *The Hindustan Times* Foreign Editor Pramit Pal Chaudhuri spoke about the different economic paths that have led China and India to where they are today.

The breakfast sessions again proved to be a popular part of the programme for early risers. Dr Daniel Pipes provided an update on 'Militant Islam' and John O'Sullivan CBE discussed 'The Reagan Legacy'.

The closing dinner address was given by the Editor-in-Chief of *The National Interest*, John O'Sullivan CBE, who entertained guests with a humorous and light-hearted finale to another highly successful Consilium.



*'The Centre for Independent Studies' reputation for excellence in research and analysis is well deserved'*

His Excellency Major General Michael Jeffery AC, Governor General of Australia, Opening Dinner, Consilium



# 21st Annual John Bonython Lecture



## America & the World: The Crisis of Legitimacy

9 November 2004 • Grand Hyatt, Melbourne

America is suffering a crisis of international legitimacy. Although it possesses unprecedented military and economic power, legitimacy is an intrinsic aspect of overall power and it is not something the United States can provide itself. So where will it find it? Will Europe give the United States the legitimacy it now lacks, in return for a greater say in world affairs and greater control of America's use of power?

These were some of the questions answered by eminent American foreign affairs commentator **Robert Kagan** at the 21st Annual John Bonython Lecture, held in Melbourne's Grand Hyatt on Tuesday 9 November.

Kagan warned that for the United States, a steady denial of international legitimacy by fellow democracies would become debilitating and perhaps even paralysing. According to Kagan the danger is that 'Europeans might succeed in debilitating the United States but since they have no intention of supplementing its power with their own, in doing so they would only succeed in weakening the overall power that the liberal democratic world can wield in its defence—and in defence of liberalism itself.'

*'In their effort to constrain the superpower, they [the Europeans] might lose sight of the mounting dangers in the world, which are far greater than those posed by the United States.'*



**Robert Kagan** is senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and author of the foreign policy bestseller *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (2003). Kagan also writes a monthly column on world affairs for *The Washington Post* and is a Contributing Editor at both *The Weekly Standard* and *The New Republic*. He served in the State Department from 1984-88 as a member of the Policy Planning Staff, as principal speech writer for Secretary of State George P. Shultz, and as Deputy for Policy in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.

The John Bonython lecture was supported by



This lecture will be published as Occasional Paper 93 and will be available online from the CIS website [www.cis.org.au](http://www.cis.org.au)





# CIS Lectures



## **Promoting Effective Fatherhood** • Wade Horn

14 April 2004 • Macquarie Bank, Sydney

In Australia, high rates of separation and divorce are keeping many natural fathers from their children. The part that fathers should play in the rearing and socialisation of their children and in establishing 'role models' for their sons, in particular, has accordingly become an urgent social issue.

Dr Wade Horn's role as Assistant Secretary for Children and Families in the Bush administration puts him at the centre of a variety of programmes that seek not only to promote effective fatherhood, but also to advance the wellbeing of children and youth on many fronts. In this lecture, Dr Horn discussed policy initiatives and explained why the most effective way to promote responsible fatherhood is to strengthen healthy marriages.

## **Environmental Fundamentalism: Now a Part of Australian Public Policy** • Jennifer Marohasy

12 May 2004 • CIS, Sydney

Environmentalists, often reporting on behalf of key government institutions, continue to forecast impending catastrophes based on the hypothetical. In this lecture Dr Jennifer Marohasy, Director of the Environment Unit at the Institute of Public Affairs, asserted that it is time we started demanding a rational evidence-based approach to public policy on environmental issues.



## **Tax, Welfare and Labour Reform**

Peter Saunders

16 June 2004 • Mallesons Stephen Jaques, Melbourne

Welfare dependency has increased fivefold in the last 40 years, however increased welfare spending has not solved the issue of poverty in Australia. In this lecture Professor Peter Saunders linked welfare reform proposals to a radical programme of tax reform, so that it pays people to move from welfare to work, and labour market reform, to ensure there are jobs for them to do.

## **Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Publication in Australia of Hayek's 'Road to Serfdom'** • Chandran Kukathas

7 July 2004 • CIS, Sydney

Professor Chandran Kukathas, author of *Hayek and Modern Liberalism* (1989), spoke about the continuing relevance of Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*, and highlighted the corrupting effects, though seldom noticed, of central planning. It was first published in the UK in March 1944, followed soon after with the Australian edition in July of the same year.



## **China and India: The Political and Economic Outlook**

Steven Xu and Primit Pal Chaudhuri • 2 August 2004 • CIS, Sydney

Steven Xu, of The Economist Corporate Network, provided a positive snapshot of the booming Chinese economy. He also acknowledged that there are problems with the policy responses of the Chinese government, but stated that 'a flawed democracy is seen as worse than a dictatorship'. Primit Pal Chaudhuri, of *The Hindustan Times*, began by discussing the surprising recent election results in India. He went on to describe India's economy to be service sector based, remarkably different from the Chinese/Japanese model fuelled by FDI and manufacturing. India has also undergone a shift towards a foreign policy focus, establishing a series of 'strategic partnerships' with many other countries.



# Foreign Policy Events

## **Human Trafficking: Combating an International Crisis** • April Palmerlee 26 October 2004 • CIS, Sydney

April Palmerlee has previously served as a senior official at the US Department of State. In this lecture, as Visiting Fellow at CIS, she focussed on the trafficking of women and children into prostitution and forced labour. Although initiatives have been put in place at the source of trafficking in less developed countries, Palmerlee emphasised that real advances can also be made when developed host countries take a serious, no-nonsense approach to trafficking and recognise their responsibility in combating human trafficking from the demand side.



The **CIS Foreign Policy Forum** series aims to identify trends and issues in world politics and how they affect Australia's place in the international affairs. The first two forums held in 2004 addressed timely issues for our world today.

## **American Policy and the Muslim World: 'They Hate Us Because of What We Are, Not What We Do'**

Anatol Lieven, Daniel Pipes, Owen Harries  
28 July 2004 • Macquarie Bank, Sydney

Two distinguished analysts, Daniel Pipes, Director of the Middle East Forum, and Anatol Lieven, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, debated the claim that it is America's very nature that has made it a target for Islamic extremism and a focus for rising frustration and anger in parts of the Muslim world. It is America's freedom, success and prosperity that is resented, not their foreign policy in the Middle East and elsewhere. Owen Harries moderated the lively question-and-answer session that followed.



## **Australia's Alliance with America: Indispensable Ally to the Indispensable Nation?**

Robyn Lim, Owen Harries, Paul Kelly  
8 September 2004 • ABN AMRO, Sydney

Robyn Lim, an Australian Professor of International Relations at Nanzan University in Japan, and Owen Harries, Senior Fellow at CIS, debated Australia's ever-closer relations with the United States. Lim warned that we have almost been free-riding for the past 53 years and risk taking the alliance for granted unless we start to seriously pull our weight. By contrast, Harries argued that an Australia that is too eager to be part of every American-led operation, no matter where, when or why it takes place, risks being taken for granted as the ally that can't say no. Distinguished journalist and international affairs commentator Paul Kelly moderated the discussion that followed.



A transcript is available from the CIS website [www.cis.org.au](http://www.cis.org.au) on the 'Events' link.

*'He is a prolific writer, a compelling conversationalist, and he remains intimately plugged into the currents of thought that shape the international behaviour of the US.'*

Geoffrey Barker on Owen Harries, *The Australian Financial Review*, May 2004



# Roundtables and Symposia

## **Roundtable discussion with Dr Wade Horn: Promoting Effective Fatherhood**

14 April 2004 • CIS, Sydney

This roundtable gave various policy experts an opportunity to discuss the crisis facing many families both here and in the United States. Dr Wade Horn is the Assistant Secretary for Children and Families in the US Department of Health and Human Services' Administration for Children and Families, which is responsible for programmes that promote the social and economic wellbeing of families. Representatives from government, the media, academia, and fathers' groups participated.



## **Samuel Huntington's 'Denationalisation of the American Elite' Symposium**

19 May 2004 • CIS, Sydney

CIS has initiated a series of occasional symposia which bring together a small group of participants to discuss a topic or published article of intellectual weight and contemporary relevance. The discussion of Samuel Huntington's *Dead Souls: The Denationalisation of the American Elite* was the first in the series and provided a unique opportunity for free and wide-ranging discussion.



## **Arthur Herman: The Scottish Enlightenment Symposium**

28 July 2004 • CIS, Sydney

Arthur Herman led a discussion about the importance of the Scottish Enlightenment to the progress in economic and political institutions today. Author of the bestseller *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World*, Herman fielded questions from historians, economists and other like-minded individuals.

## **Robert Kagan: The Neoconservative Moment Roundtable**

8 November 2004 • CIS, Sydney

This roundtable provided an opportunity for various foreign policy experts to meet and speak with leading neoconservative commentator and scholar Robert Kagan. Kagan visited Australia to present the 21st Annual John Bonython Lecture for CIS. Discussion ranged from the current discord between the United States and Western Europe, brilliantly analysed by Kagan in his recent book *Of Paradise and Power*, to the tension between realism and idealism traditions in American foreign policy.



**CIS Media Lunches** provide opportunities for key media professionals to hold discussions with visiting international scholars. In 2004, CIS hosted lunches with Samuel Gregg, Lawrence Mead, Frank Field, Steven Xu, Robyn Lim and Robert Kagan.

## **The Art of War in the 21st Century** • Lieutenant Colonel David Kilcullen

21 July 2004 • CIS, Sydney

Australia is being drawn into an increasing number of strategic engagements and commitments. This more assertive stance reflects the changing nature of national security in a globalising world. Our economic, political and technological interdependence with the rest of the world means that our interests and sovereignty can be seriously threatened without an attack upon, or invasion of, our territory. Terrorists in particular can cause enormous damage and suffering with little warning and in ways that circumvent conventional military defences.

How should Australia respond to these trends? How do you fight a shadowy enemy who does not play by the rules? What does it all mean for defence strategy? To answer these questions and more, CIS hosted a special presentation by Lieutenant Colonel David Kilcullen from the Australian Army's leading think tank, the Land Warfare Studies Centre. He was joined by Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm McGregor and Colonel Tim McOwan in a discussion afterwards of their concept of complex warfighting.



*From left: Greg Lindsay, David Kilcullen, Susan Windybank, Malcolm McGregor, Tim McOwan.*

## CIS News



### **Helen Hughes presented with Economic Society of Australia Distinguished Fellow Award**

At a dinner in Sydney on 28 September, The Economic Society of Australia presented Professor Helen Hughes with their 2004 Distinguished Fellow award. The award honours distinguished Australian economists for their contribution to the development of the profession and signifies the recognition of Helen's work by her peers. The award focused on Helen's contribution in the economics of development, Australian economic policy and to institutions that further economic knowledge and debate. In accepting the award Helen remarked that her 'best working experience has undoubtedly been the most recent—in a think tank'.

### **New CIS Distinguished Fellow Awards to Dame Elisabeth Murdoch AC DBE and Mr David Darling**

In 1996, The Centre for Independent Studies established a special category of supporters, known as Distinguished Fellows, who in various ways have made a significant contribution to the Centre and its work over the years.

At a special lunch in Melbourne in March, former CIS Chairman Alan McGregor presented the CIS Distinguished Fellow award to two very worthy recipients, Dame Elisabeth Murdoch and Mr David Darling.

Both Mr Darling and Dame Elisabeth have been wonderful supporters of the Centre's work and their generosity and long-sightedness have been central to the development of the Centre's research and other activities. Both supported the establishment of the Liberty & Society programme and CIS's social policy work in its earliest stages, and have made an outstanding contribution to the overall success of these programmes.



*From left: Greg Lindsay, Dame Elisabeth Murdoch, David Darling and Alan McGregor.*

# Liberty & Society



3-5 September 2004

Over the first weekend of September, 29 students from around Australia and New Zealand gathered in Sydney to explore liberal thinking from its theoretical background to practical application.

The students were joined by political philosopher Dr Jeremy Shearmur, economist Professor Wolfgang Kasper, law academic Dr David Morrison and sociologist Professor Peter Saunders. These generous lecturers spent the weekend engaged with the students discussing and arguing various aspects of liberal thinking.

The lecturers are vital to the success of the programme and, as seen from the students' comments below, they stimulated and inspired the participants.



'Dr Shearmur gave a detailed account of classical liberalism so that I had a basis that assisted in understanding topics presented by the lectures. It became apparent that it is not a clear cut and dry belief, but instead a collection of various specific ways of thinking. I think that was a very important point to grab early on in the conference.'

'I thoroughly enjoyed Professor Kasper's presentation, especially the rejection of classic economic models based on the assumption of perfect knowledge. This new starting point allowed me (as someone who really dislikes economics) to view both markets and the discipline of economics in a completely different way. The lectures that he gave were excellently structured and he engaged me as a student.'



'Dr Morrison's lectures were definitely the most entertaining of the weekend. The idea of common law being superior to legislative law quite apparently challenged many people there—especially the law students I noted, who seemed to have an issue with potential judicial activism. I thought his point and the whole thrust of his message was tremendous and certainly quite radical.'

'The issues Peter dealt with had the greatest currency. Welfare in particular was a constant theme of the conference, and kept coming up in the breakout groups. I really admire Peter's work and it was great that he conveyed a sense of his own convictions when he spoke.'



Finally here is a comment from a student from Sydney which sums up why the CIS considers the programme to be so important for our society.

'I think Liberty and Society addresses a need. That is, a need I have and other young people have to test and define their beliefs in an intellectually rigorous environment; a need for ideas to flow and be discussed, between people of different generations, and including ideas that are (currently) off the political agenda; and a need to create a space for that discussion to take place in a face-to-face, interactive environment.'

Thank you for an excellent conference.

## L&S News

Congratulations to Michael Keenan who is the new Member for Stirling, Western Australia. Michael attended the very first L&S in 1996 and the Advanced L&S in 2003. He has a BA in Political Science from ANU and a Master Phil. in International Relations from the University of Cambridge. He has worked for both Alexander Downer and Amanda Vanstone as an advisor.



# Social Foundations

The *Social Foundations* programme focuses on four core areas of social policy: families, education, social welfare and 'civil society' (e.g. crime, incivility and personal responsibility). In each of these areas, the programme documents contemporary trends, analyses their causes and consequences, and develops new policy proposals designed to enhance people's liberty and wellbeing without expanding the role that government plays in their lives.

The programme has achieved a high public profile since it began in 2001. In addition to publishing a steady stream of books and papers, the research team has regularly aired issues in newspaper articles, argued its case on radio and television, participated in academic and professional conferences, made submissions to government inquiries and discussed policy proposals with politicians, public servants and policy professionals. This year, the researchers have given on average three radio interviews and published one newspaper opinion piece each week, as well as appearing several times on television.

The programme, led by Social Research Director Peter Saunders, has just reached the end of its initial three year cycle of funding, and the research team is undergoing a restructure. Senior Fellow Barry Maley (specialist in family policy) has retired, and Policy Analysts Kayoko Tsumori (labour market) and Jennifer Buckingham (schools and education) have both left to take up other positions (Jennifer is now Schools Editor at *The Australian*). Researchers of this calibre will be difficult to replace, but as new staff are recruited, so new research directions will be opened up.



## Making the Case for Tax Reform

Much of *Social Foundations* work in recent months has focused on the case for reforming income tax. Australia must increase the rewards and incentives for working, both at the bottom end of the income distribution (where people moving from welfare into employment, or from part-time to full-time work, often find their take-home pay is little better than before) and higher up the scale (our top marginal rate cuts in at one of the lowest levels of earnings in the western world).

At the end of 2003, two tax roundtables (one in Sydney and one in Melbourne) were convened to bring together tax experts from the political, business and academic worlds. The result has been the *Perspectives on Tax Reform* series of tax policy monographs, seven of which have appeared so far (for details, see p. 19). All of these papers have attracted strong media interest, and more are planned. The push for radical tax reform also involved Peter Saunders addressing the Melbourne Institute's quarterly Canberra lunch in March, and speaking at the joint World Taxpayer Associations and Taxpayers Australia conference in Queensland in November.



## Book Launch *Australia's Welfare Habit: And How to Kick it*

Peter Saunders' book, co-published with Duffy and Snellgrove, was launched on 3 August 2004 at a reception at NSW Parliament House in Sydney.

*'A formidable analysis of the Australian welfare problem. It is comprehensive, expert and clear.'*

Professor Lawrence Mead, New York University



## Continuing the Arguments for Welfare Reform

Just as tax reform is needed to improve the incentive to work, so welfare reform is needed to nudge people off benefits when they should not be on them. Working-age welfare dependency has increased by more than 500 per cent in 40 years, and tackling this problem has been a major focus of work on the *Social Foundations* programme.

In July/August Professor Lawrence Mead (America's leading welfare reform researcher) and the Rt Hon Frank Field (former Minister for Welfare Reform in the UK Blair government) visited CIS. They were the speakers in the Big Ideas Forum on welfare reform in Sydney. They also held discussions with various federal politicians and bureaucrats, and both impacted strongly on the media. With Peter Saunders and the ACT New Zealand MP, Muriel Newman, they participated in a lively session on welfare at Consilium.

While in Sydney, Professor Mead also launched Peter Saunders' new book on welfare reform, *Australia's Welfare Habit: And How to Kick it*. The book analyses the growth in working-age welfare dependency and outlines a package of reforms to tackle it. It has already attracted widespread attention and interest. *The West Australian* wrote, 'Welfare reform will be the most interesting question in serious policy for the next few years, and Saunders' book will be the best guide to it that we can have', and Paul Kelly in *The Australian* praised the book as 'a full frontal assault on Australia's welfare policies, their values and the political lobby that upholds an unsustainable system.'

In addition to this book, Peter Saunders has published three more *Issue Analysis* papers on welfare and poverty issues, plus an article in *Policy* on 'fairness' in social policy. He also delivered lectures on welfare reform in Sydney, Melbourne and Wellington, New Zealand.

## Breaking the back of a yobbo culture



Muriel Newman MP presents at Consilium

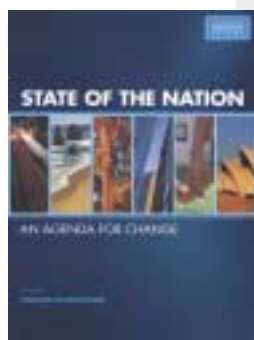
## Other Areas of Policy Reform

While most of CIS's attention in recent months has been devoted to the need for radical tax and welfare reform, the Centre recognises that for people to escape state dependency and achieve self-reliance, policy changes will also be needed in other areas. In particular, it is crucial to ensure that young people gain a good education, and that government regulation of the labour market does not choke off the creation of new jobs. Both of these issues have been major concerns for the *Social Foundations* programme in the past, and we have kept these issues alive in recent months with various publications. Kayoko Tsumori's Policy Monograph, *The Road to Work: Freeing up the Labour Market*, explains how over-regulation destroys jobs and presents proposals for reform of the award system, the minimum wage and the unfair dismissal laws. *Boys Education: Research and Rhetoric* by Jennifer Buckingham updates evidence on how some state schools are failing to meet the needs of boys.

We have also kept up our concern with the need to reduce and deter crime. Caspar Conde published a paper reviewing evidence on the effectiveness of CCTV, and Nicole Billante published *Preventative Policing* as well as answering her critics in a *Policy* article reviewing the effectiveness of police numbers and penal policy in reducing serious crime.

Finally, all members of the *Social Foundations* team collaborated in writing the fourth edition of the successful *State of the Nation: An Agenda for Change* which reviews Australian social trends and was edited by Jennifer Buckingham.

Now and into the future, the *Social Foundations* programme continues to provoke and cajole our political and intellectual leaders to reflect critically on the received wisdoms which too often blinker thinking in the area of social policy.



# Foreign Policy and International Relations

CIS has played a major role in illuminating the economic and social policy reform agenda that has made Australia a more robust and prosperous country. In an era in which new security issues (such as international terrorism) have joined and complicated old strategic concerns (such as war in the Taiwan Straits), we believe the expertise that we have built up across economic, social and political fields over the past 28 years will come into its own in seeing the bigger picture.

## The Pacific

Last year two CIS *Issue Analysis* reports—*Papua New Guinea on the Brink* and *Aid Has Failed the Pacific*—sparked a long overdue debate about Australian policy towards the region. The reports identified the root causes of economic decline and government dysfunction and demonstrated how aid has contributed to the region's problems.

This year our focus has been on solutions: that is, new thinking about development strategies that will put Pacific island countries on the path to economic growth and political stability. Senior Fellow Helen Hughes outlined a radical reform agenda in two CIS *Issue Analysis* reports: *Can Papua New Guinea Come Back from the Brink?* (13 July 2004) and *From Riches to Rags: What are Nauru's Options and How Can Australia Help?* (18 August 2004). Both reports advocated comprehensive macro- and micro-economic reforms to raise living standards and simplify and reduce the costs of government. They received extensive media coverage, with the Nauru report forming the basis of an ABC TV *Four Corners* investigation.

Steven Gosarevski, Helen Hughes and Susan Windybank also co-authored an article called 'Is Papua New Guinea Viable?' for the *Pacific Economic Bulletin's* special issue on Papua New Guinea (PNG) in March. It drew a critical response from ANU academic Dr Jim Fingleton, who objected to our argument that PNG must start moving from communal land tenure to secure and individualised private property rights. CIS's reply to Fingleton will be published in the December issue.

Reform in PNG and the Pacific will not be easy but if it does not take place Australian aid will continue to be wasted and living standards will continue to stagnate.

## Phosphate-rich island squanders its wealth



## Only harsh medicine can save Nauru



## The US Alliance

The Howard government has broadened and deepened our ties to the United States in ways that will outlive the controversy over Iraq and the passing from office of both Howard and Bush. Our investment in the US joint strike fighter project, our willingness to cooperate on missile defence and to host a joint military training facility, and our commitment to a free trade agreement with America are all structural changes that tie Australia much closer to American strategy.

To discuss where the US alliance is leading us, CIS held a Foreign Policy Forum on 8 September with Robyn Lim, Professor of International Relations at Nanzan University in Japan, and Owen Harries, CIS Senior Fellow. Distinguished journalist and international affairs commentator Paul Kelly moderated the discussion that followed.

Professor Lim warned that those Australians who advocate greater independence vis-à-vis the United States should be careful what they wish for. Our leverage in the alliance is declining not increasing. If we make ourselves irrelevant to America's strategic interests, we risk being 'set free' to look after our own security as best we can. Harries argued that the issue is not whether the alliance should continue but what *kind* of alliance is appropriate in the conditions now prevailing and likely to prevail in the immediate future.







Peter Hartcher, Political Editor at *The Sydney Morning Herald* (left) and Greg Sheridan, Foreign Editor at *The Australian*, discuss foreign policy at Consilium 2004.



Prime Minister John Howard meets with John Bonython lecturer, Robert Kagan.

## The New Asia

The changing nature of Australia's alliance with America is not the only issue that the controversy over Iraq has obscured. As former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wrote recently, in 20 years time when we look back at today's preoccupation—Iraq—it may well pale in comparison to other tectonic upheavals as the centre of gravity in world affairs moves to the Asia Pacific. He was referring to the 'New' Asia of India and China. With a combined population more than a third of the world's total, these two countries could become economic powerhouses on a scale never before seen in the region.

To discuss the rise of these two giants, CIS hosted a visit to Australia by two leading regional commentators: Steven Xu, Director of Advisory Services China with The Economist Group, and Pramit Pal Chaudhuri, Foreign Editor of *The Hindustan Times* in New Delhi. They analysed the strengths and weaknesses of both countries at CIS's annual conference, Consilium, in Queensland in late July and at a special function for CIS members at our Sydney offices. Xu was also the guest of honour at a private lunch hosted by Minter Ellison in Sydney and Pal Chaudhuri was also a guest at a Deutsche Bank lunch.

Contrary to speculation that China is growing too quickly and risks overheating, Xu maintained that China is not growing fast enough. Pal Chaudhuri conceded that India's growth was less spectacular than China's but argued that it may turn out to be more sustainable over the longer term.



## 'The West' and 'the Rest'

The claim that terrorists target the United States not because of what America *does* but because of what it *is*—'they hate us because of what we are not what we do' is the refrain, one echoed by our own Prime Minister—was the subject of spirited debate at our inaugural CIS Foreign Policy Forum in mid-July. Featuring two distinguished analysts, Daniel Pipes, Director of the Middle East Forum, and Anatol Lieven, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the question-and-answer session that followed their remarks was moderated by Owen Harries.

Turkey's credentials as a secular democracy and majority Muslim society located between Europe, Asia and the Middle East are frequently used to counter fears of an impending 'clash of civilisations' between Islam and the West. But Turkey is not a model that Muslim Middle Eastern countries can easily emulate, as discussed in Susan Windybank's interview with leading Turkish liberal Atilla Yayla in the Spring 2004 issue of *Policy*.

Over the next six months we will be looking more closely at the idea 'the West', a concept central to Australian thinking about the world and itself. The Iraq war has revived questions about whether the values and institutions of the liberal West can be transferred to the non-West, or whether the West is 'unique, not universal' as Huntington once famously put it. The answers to these questions matter because they have real policy consequences. They provide the intellectual justification for the new liberal interventionism and the promotion of democracy as a foreign policy goal as well as aid conditionality and even Australia's new approach to the Pacific.



# Issue Analysis



## **The Open Front Door: Tourism, Border Control and National Security** *William Maley* (No. 42)

Immigration expert, Professor William Maley, warns that terrorists could easily exploit a serious weakness in Australia's border protection regime. Far from being rigorously protected, Australia's borders actually contain a gaping hole.

## **Valuing Education: A Response to the Australia Institute Report *Buying an Education***

*Jennifer Buckingham* (No. 43)

The Australia Institute report dismisses the value of non-government schools, claiming they are irrelevant to student achievement. The report is seriously flawed, and ignores greater problems in Australian education today.

## **How Union Campaigns On Hours and Casuals Are Threatening Low-Skilled Jobs**

*Kayoko Tsumori* (No. 44)

Trade union campaigns to reduce working hours and limit casual employment threaten to destroy jobs for low-skilled and low-paid workers. Instead, unions must allow individual employers and employees to work out their respective problems at workplace levels.

All *Issue Analysis* papers are available for download from [www.cis.org.au](http://www.cis.org.au)

## **Sweet and Sour Pork Barrelling: The Case of Queensland Sugar**

*Alex Robson* (No. 45)

The Queensland sugar industry is once again pleading for more government assistance. This paper argues that such 'assistance' does more harm than good and that the best course of action may be to abandon the notion of targeted regional assistance altogether.

## **Lies, Damned Lies and the Senate Poverty Inquiry**

*Peter Saunders* (No. 46)

The March 2004 Senate Report claims that poverty in Australia is widespread and getting worse. However, its use of evidence is partial and selective and it draws misleading conclusions which can only ultimately serve to disadvantage the poor.

## **Why We Should Reform the Disability Support Pension (DSP)**

*Peter Saunders* (No. 47)

In recent years there has been a marked increase in the number of people claiming DSP, and at least half of these claimants are capable of holding down a job. Saunders argues that the rules should be tightened up, and some of the money saved should be diverted to those who genuinely need it.

## **The Long Eye of the Law: Closed Circuit Television (CCTV), Crime Prevention and Civil Liberties**

*Caspar Conde* (No. 48)

CCTV has a positive role to play in crime prevention and detection. Conde argues that the collection of information via CCTV is acceptable to the public so long as it is not put to sinister purposes. The real issue is not the collection of information, but the way it is used.

## **Can Papua New Guinea Come Back From the Brink?**

*Helen Hughes* (No. 49)

In addition to restoring law and order, Papua New Guinea needs to implement economic reforms to put it on a growth path of the 7% a year needed to raise living standards. This report identifies the principal problems that face Papua New Guinea and outlines a reform agenda that would lead the country out of stagnation.

## **Riches to Rags: What Are Nauru's Options and How Can Australia Help?**

*Helen Hughes* (No. 50)

Thirty years after enjoying the world's second highest per capita GDP, Nauru is on the verge of bankruptcy. Unless Nauru undertakes immediate basic reforms to deliver healthy and modest living standards, it risks becoming a poverty and ill-health stricken Pacific beggar and pariah.

## **Only 18%? Why ACOSS is Wrong to be Complacent About Welfare Dependency**

*Peter Saunders* (No. 51)

A new report by ACOSS says that Australia still spends less on welfare than many other developed countries, and argues we should expand rather than cut back welfare. Saunders says that the report is complacent, for mass welfare dependency *is* a problem, not only financially, but in its debilitating effect on claimants.

## **A Voluntary Free Trade Alliance: How to Overcome Hurdles in the Path of Traders and Investors**

*Wolfgang Kasper* (No. 52)  
This paper outlines an exciting new initiative for a 'Global Free Trade Alliance', a voluntary association of free market economies between which all border controls on trade and investment are dropped. Candidates for joining are nations that already enjoy a high degree of economic freedom, including Australia.



## **The Pacific Is Viable!**

*Helen Hughes* (No. 53)

With aid running at more than \$1.5 billion a year to cushion the effects of stagnation, Pacific governments continue to opt for inaction. In this report Hughes argues that all Pacific islands could be viable at high standards of living within a generation if they adopted policies that match their endowments.

# Perspectives on Tax Reform Series



## Perspectives on Tax Reform 1

### **The Tax Wilderness: How to Restore the Rule of Law**

Geoffrey de Q. Walker

Tax legislation has become so complicated and extensive that many taxpayers fail to understand what the law is and what it means. Walker says, 'Uncertainty in the law is a major factor in undermining the rule of law, and tax law is riddled with it ... Taxpayers and their advisors are unanimous in pleading for tax law to be made shorter and clearer.'

## Perspectives on Tax Reform 2

### **The Taxation of Shared Family Incomes**

Terry Dwyer

While the welfare system assesses needs at a family level, individuals are taxed separately on their own earnings, irrespective of how many other people eventually share that income. Dwyer argues this is unfair and inefficient and says that 'a logical and truly neutral tax system should accept income transfers between family members.'

## Perspectives on Tax Reform 3

### **Tax Reform to Make Work Pay**

Peter Saunders and Barry Maley

For too many people it does not pay to work. 'If you are earning between \$25,000 and \$45,000, it can sometimes feel as if the government simply does not want you to work harder and raise your income.' Saunders and Maley argue that the only logical solution is to raise tax thresholds and stop means-testing family payments.



## Perspectives on Tax Reform 4

### **Who Pays the Lion's Share of Personal Income Tax**

Sinclair Davidson

'It is a common yet misguided belief that "the rich" do not pay their fair share of tax.' Davidson argues not only that income tax in Australia is high by international standards, but also that higher rate taxpayers are paying much more than their fair share. 'Evidence clearly shows that the tax burden has increased for the top end of the income distribution.'

## Perspectives on Tax Reform 5

### **Will You Still Vote For Me in the Morning?**

#### **Why Politicians Aren't Rushing to Increase Taxes**

Andrew Norton

Norton explains why Australia's politicians are right to be wary of opinion polls indicating that voters want more spending on health and education instead of tax cuts. 'Polls do not show evidence of pro-tax ideological change. Rather, because people's incomes have been rising, they feel more prosperous and are willing to spend more, including on services provided by the government.'

## Perspectives on Tax Reform 6

### **The Very Idea of a Flat Tax**

Lauchlan Chipman

This paper makes a compelling moral and philosophical case for a flat tax and demonstrates that this is a much fairer, more efficient and more transparent system. 'A flat tax is a constant proportional rate of income taxation. High income earners pay more than low income earners, but they each pay the same proportion of their income in tax.'

## Perspectives on Tax Reform 7

### **How Highly Taxed Are We?**

#### **The Level and Composition of Taxation in Australia and the OECD**

Peter Burn

Advocates of higher taxation often point to OECD figures suggesting Australia enjoys lower than average tax levels. Burn reveals these claims are misleading and argues that we must take account of the sizes of countries before calculating average tax levels across the whole OECD. When we do this, a very different picture emerges.

The *Perspectives on Tax Reform* series are available for download from [www.cis.org.au](http://www.cis.org.au)

# Books



## **State of the Nation: An Agenda for Change (4th Edition)**

Edited by Jennifer Buckingham • Special Publication 6

This book, now in its fourth edition, offers independent views on Australia's progress across a range of indicators which show that government has become increasingly interventionist, with some undesirable consequences. Topics covered include population and immigration, family and fertility, school and higher education, health, welfare, economic growth, and aid and development.

## **Australia's Welfare Habit: And How to Kick It**

Peter Saunders • Co-published with Duffy & Snellgrove

Welfare reform would do more to improve the lives of Australians than any other achievable policy. Saunders sets out the facts and outlines a bold programme of radical reform to break this debilitating and costly habit. With the right mix of tax and welfare policies, most of us could look after ourselves with little help from the government.



## **The Road to Work: Freeing Up the Labour Market**

Kayoko Tsumori • Policy Monograph 64

Australia's economic landscape has been transformed over the past century with the rise of globalisation, and freer trade. However, the current industrial relations system has not kept pace, and cumbersome regulations not longer have relevance in today's economy. Labour market regulations which are intended to protect workers often have the the 'unintended consequences of increasing joblessness among the low-skilled, the most vulnerable of all workers.'

## **Preventative Policing**

Nicole Billante • Occasional Paper 88

Over the past 30 years in Australia, the growth rate of serious crime has outstripped the increase in police tenfold. Billante explores ways to combat the problem of rising crime in Australia, looking particularly at the initiatives carried out in New York in the 1990s under Mayor Rudolf Giuliani. Cracking down on petty incivilities contributed to a radical decrease in the crime rate. Similar preventative policing tactics can be implemented in Australia.



## **Boys' Education: Research & Rhetoric**

Jennifer Buckingham • Occasional Paper 89

Boys' declining achievement and engagement in school have been acknowledged as real and important problems. In this paper, Buckingham puts forward recommendations for schools—in particular for teachers—which would help provide an environment conducive to learning and achievement for boys.

## **Rendering Unto Caesar: New Challenges for Church and State**

Samuel Gregg • Occasional Paper 90

Gregg argues that there is a steady erosion of religious liberty in the West. Many nations are now drifting from being non-confessional states towards a kind of 'doctrinaire secularism.' Given this, religious communities may need to reassess their relationship with the state if they are to maintain the integrity of their religious beliefs and traditions and pass them onto future generations.



## **Conspicuous Compassion: Why Sometimes it Really is Cruel to be Kind**

Patrick West (with Introduction by Paul Comrie-Thomson) • Occasional Paper 91

This controversial book questions the trend in contemporary culture in which people show 'concern' through dramatic public displays which have very little to do with genuine compassion. The Australian edition of the book is published with an introduction by Paul Comrie-Thomson who illustrates West's arguments with reference to our own National Sorry Day and repeated attacks on John Howard's government for not 'caring'.

Just prior to the Winter 2004 issue, the editorship of *Policy* passed back to Andrew Norton, who edited the magazine between 1994 and 1997 and has been book review editor since 1999. Sue Windybank, editor since 2000, will continue as a contributor on international relations.

A change of editor does not signal a change in direction. *Policy* will continue to cover economic, social and foreign policy, publish articles on philosophy and culture, and review books. While most *Policy* articles are newly commissioned and appear first in its pages, we will continue to include book extracts and article reprints of likely interest to our readers.

Ongoing newsagent distribution means that *Policy's* print circulation remains well above what it was when it was a subscription-only journal. A joint subscription deal with *Quadrant* has also helped boost print numbers. However putting *Policy* on the CIS website has been more significant in increasing access and readership. When a link to a *Policy* article appears on a major website such as Arts and Letters Daily (aldaily.com) the number of page views rapidly increases. For example, Paul Kelly's article from the Winter issue, 'Punching Above Our Weight' had received more than 10,000 page views by November 2004.

On the production side, Chai Lim, who had worked on design and layout since 1999, left the CIS in September.Carolynn Chen, who had been editorial assistant, took over this role.



From left: Andrew Norton, Editor of *Policy* and John O'Sullivan CBE, Editor of the Washington-based foreign policy journal, *The National Interest*.

# CIS in the Media

*'In sheer column inches, they eat their competitors'*

This quote appeared in an extensive profile of CIS Executive Director, Greg Lindsay, published in the September 28 issue of *The Bulletin* magazine. This acknowledgement of our growing media profile refers to the record number of opinion pieces by CIS authors that have appeared in major daily newspapers on a weekly basis over the past year. One of the aims of CIS has always been to work with the media, the 'second hand dealers in ideas', who provide an essential forum to inform public opinion. As Greg Lindsay noted, 'We always saw ourselves as the artillery, namely firing shells into the distance, trying to soften up the ground ... It's a long slow process of persuasion.'

This 'long slow process of persuasion' stepped up a notch in 2004, with the Centre's continuing influence in the Pacific debate. Helen Hughes' undisputed expertise on Nauru and the release of *From Riches to Rags: What Are Nauru's Options and How Can Australia Help?* led to a media blitz in the Australian, Pacific and European media. This culminated in a ABC *Four Corners* investigation on Nauru in which Helen was interviewed at length by award-winning journalist Chris Masters. Nauru television aired the half hour *Four Corners* programme nightly for two weeks preceding the election, and, according to the Nauruan health minister Dr Keiren Keke, it served to confirm the rumours and suspicions that people on Nauru had held about their country. Helen Hughes also penned an open letter to the people of Nauru, published in *The Australian* and distributed by supporters of government reform to every household in Nauru the day before the October election. These were both key to informing voters and no doubt bore some influence over the result which saw the election of a reformist government.

The expansion of our foreign policy programme was also reflected in the wall-to-wall coverage that the 21st Annual John Bonython Lecturer, Robert Kagan, received in early November. Extracts from his lecture were published in *The Australian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Australian Financial Review*, *The Courier Mail*, and *The Herald Sun*. Amongst others, Tony Jones from ABC's *Lateline* interviewed Kagan during his brief visit to Australia. The intense media interest in Kagan recognises the Centre's ability to attract 'exceptional talent'.

In gaining media coverage, the *Perspectives on Tax Reform* series of papers has been particularly successful. To date, seven papers have been released, attracting widespread coverage in the Australian press, radio and television. Highlights included appearances on Channel 7's *Sunrise* with David Koch, an interview on 2GB with Alan Jones and a programme dedicated to tax reform on SBS's *Insight*. Influential opinion writers such as Peter Ruehl and Brian Toohey from *The Australian Financial Review*, Christian Kerr from *Crikey*, David Koch in the *Sun-Herald* and Tony Rutherford from *The West Australian* continue to recognise CIS's important contribution to the tax reform debate. 'The Centre for Independent Studies is one of a number of voices demanding tax reform and this think tank has cleverly started putting the debate into the Australian context.' (Mark Pownall, *WA Business News*, April 2004).

The influence of CIS in the media stretched far and wide in 2004 with an unprecedented rise in international press coverage. The *New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Financial Times* and *Boston Globe* were among the many foreign newspapers that reported on CIS ideas.



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The CIS media memo ezine alerts the media to the latest CIS initiatives before they happen. Media professionals can subscribe to media memo by contacting [media@cis.org.au](mailto:media@cis.org.au)

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*'We must make the building of a free society once more an intellectual adventure, a deed of courage. If we can regain that belief in the power of ideas which was the mark of liberalism at its best, the battle is not lost.'*

F.A. Hayek

*Leadership in ideas since 1976*



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