

PréCIS

The Centre for Independent Studies



ANNUAL REVIEW 2019

THE CENTRE FOR
INDEPENDENT
STUDIES

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We must make the building of a free society once more an intellectual adventure, a deed of courage... Unless we can make the philosophic foundations of a free society once more a living intellectual issue, and its implementation a task which challenges the ingenuity and imagination of our liveliest minds, the prospects of freedom are indeed dark. But 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.

— Friedrich Hayek

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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

Our Independence

The 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.

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

From the Executive Director

There are intellectual battles you think you've won, only to discover you need to fight them all over again. Look around and you can see them everywhere: from fiscal policy and productivity-enhancing reform to school choice and religious freedom.

In recent years, federal Labor has supported tax increases on property investors, self-funded retirees and higher-income earning wealth creators. At the same time, the Coalition has surrendered to the Opposition's health and education narrative that it is inputs — not outcomes — that matter for patients and students.

Meanwhile, those on the Green Left think living within one's means is a moral outrage. In the name of reducing inequality, our ideological opponents want to raise government obstacles to the kind of risk-taking and hard work that allowed many Australians to climb the income ladder so rapidly.

Abroad, the policy narrative is becoming even more interventionist. America's Democrats and Britain's Labor Party are unashamedly embracing socialism. From healthcare to education to taxes to nationalisation, the Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warrens and Jeremy Corbys want to party like it's 1969.

On the cultural front, as this year's CIS John Bonython lecturer Lionel Shriver made clear in several keynote addresses, many serious subjects now cannot be debated openly without inspiring immediate hysteria. Unfortunately, it is not just certain subjects or works of fiction that are off-limits. Comedians, artists and novelists are also in the firing line.

All this makes supporters of classical liberalism naturally despair. It's been 30 years since the end of the Cold War, but it seems that advocates of a free society are on the back-foot more than ever.



Still, we at the Centre for Independent Studies are eternal optimists. Australia, after all, is a clear example of the success of market economics. From the mid-1980s until the 2000s, our leaders and policymakers pursued reforms that improved incentives to work and save. The result has been nearly three decades of sustainable economic growth and higher living standards for ordinary Australians. As our head of research Simon Cowan reveals in a forthcoming CIS book, Australia has adapted much better to the creative destruction of capitalism than most Western nations.

Although social media outlets try to create a climate of politically correct opinion, things on the battleground are not so dire. Take the most recent federal election. In the privacy of the voting booth last May, “quiet Australians”, as Prime Minister Scott Morrison calls the silent majority, decided that their interests lay in a low-tax and resource-rich market economy.

Look further at policy and there are grounds for optimism. The passage of the federal government's tax-cut legislation — a subject our scholars have spent many years advocating — could mark a return to the politics of growth and aspiration and a flatter personal income tax structure that increases incentives to work harder, save more and invest in the future. The hope now is that Canberra's tax plan could re-ignite a broader reform agenda that will strengthen long-term growth in the economy and living standards.

We continue to make the case that more tax dollars are not necessarily the answer to failing schools: Blaise Joseph's research into disadvantaged schools that become high achievers shows that other factors are more important in overcoming the odds. It has also been heartening to hear the federal education minister, Dan Tehan, talk about changing the policy curriculum settings to ensure that all teachers learn to teach phonics and English grammar. We have been passionately making these arguments for years and we can't think of a better way of giving disadvantaged children the assistance they need. The upshot is that we are watching a big ship slowly start to turn around.

This year CIS re-entered the China policy debate, and we were honoured to host the US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who addressed Australia's dilemma of reconciling relations between China and the US (see page 15). In Canberra, in front of more than 500 guests, we hosted a great debate between two of the world's leading strategic thinkers — political science professors John Mearsheimer from the University of Chicago and Hugh White from the Australian National University. And in a widely-reported paper, Salvatore Babones highlighted the extent to which Australia's higher education sector is dependent on Chinese students.

At the same time, we are front and centre in the debates surrounding anti-Semitism, hate speech laws, corporate social responsibility, and freedom of religion (see pages 10-11).

Our job at CIS is never done. There are no permanent victories in the battle of ideas and we can't make substantial policy progress without the wonderful encouragement of our members and supporters across the nation. Thanks to all who continue to support our efforts to make Australia a freer, better and more prosperous place.

Tom Switzer

28 publications 

44 events 

8,010 email subscribers 

413,000 YouTube views 

6,500,000 YouTube minutes watched 

4,400,000 social media and website impressions 

23,000 social media followers 

Education

The profile of the CIS education team continues to expand, reflected in significant media interest and increasing policy influence – a nod to confidence in CIS research and the expertise of the team.

2019 saw the departure of **Dr Jennifer Buckingham**, following over 20 years of service as Senior Research Fellow in education. Her wise counsel has made her a highly effective advocate for improvements to government policy and professional practice. She is now a member of the CIS Board.

Jennifer's work in literacy – especially her advocacy of phonics for reading instruction through the FIVE from FIVE program – has had a significant impact on policy at state and federal levels:

- ➔ South Australia introduced the Year 1 phonics check in 2018.
- ➔ This year the NSW government announced it would introduce a phonics trial.
- ➔ The federal government has also announced its intention to make phonics a core component of initial teacher education courses for primary teachers.

These policy changes were the subject of an ABC *Four Corners* program in mid-November, alongside the impact of digital technology on literacy.

In July, **Dr Fiona Mueller** joined CIS as Program Director. Fiona, a former Director of Curriculum at ACARA, taught at schools and universities for over twenty years. She was named one of the five most powerful people in education in the *Australian Financial Review* Magazine's annual Power List for 2019.



Fiona Mueller introduces a CIS panel debate on parental school choice

Fiona joins CIS Research Fellow **Blaise Joseph** and new CIS researchers **Glenn Fahey** (Research Fellow) and **Scott Prasser** (Senior Fellow). Glenn, a specialist in school funding and governance, has come to CIS from the OECD. Scott trained as a political scientist and served as education adviser to two federal education ministers.

Publications, events and submissions

In February, Jennifer published a POLICY Paper titled *Reading Recovery: A failed investment*. She and **Blaise Joseph** made a submission to the NAPLAN Reporting Review 2019 in March, which impacted on the terms of reference and recommendations of the review. Blaise has defended the NAPLAN test regime in numerous articles and citations, and he has provided expert commentary on NAPLAN performance following the annual release of students' results.

Also in March, Blaise released *Overcoming the Odds: A study of Australia's top-performing disadvantaged schools*. Based on a year-long project involving extensive data analysis and primary school visits, this research report received positive responses from several governments across the country as well as endorsement from the federal minister for education during his address at *The Age* Schools Summit in Melbourne.

Blaise published a follow-up paper in July titled *Overcoming the Odds 2: Where are Australia's top-performing disadvantaged secondary schools?* Work is underway to research high-achieving schools that have high enrolments of Indigenous students.

During the May federal election campaign, Blaise was quoted in various media regarding education campaign promises and school funding, and in June he responded to questions about the OECD's global survey of teachers and school leaders as well as the literacy and numeracy tests administered to trainee teachers.

Blaise and **Fiona Mueller** both presented at the UK-based *researchED* event held at Brighton Grammar School in Melbourne in August. The conference is among Australia's premier opportunities for teachers to hear from senior policymakers and researchers. Blaise summarised his work on high-performing disadvantaged schools. Fiona's presentation identified the causes of the inter-generational decline in literacy.

In September, Fiona Mueller released a research paper, co-authored with Eugenie Joseph, titled *What Do Parents Want?: Polling on preferences and attitudes to childcare in Australia*. The paper attracted considerable media attention. The following month, Fiona spoke at *The Age Schools Summit* in Melbourne about strategies for improving Australian students' academic performance.

In November, **Glenn Fahey** and Fiona hosted a panel debate at CIS on school choice. Glenn also presented the findings of his research into parental decision-making, *What Do Parents Want From Schools?*, released the same day as a POLICY Paper.

The NSW government invited Glenn to provide expert advice to parliamentary hearings regarding plans for a new, outcomes-based approach to school funding. He also contributed to reviews by the National School Resourcing Board into school funding arrangements, whilst Fiona Mueller made a submission to the NSW Curriculum Review in early December.

The team finished the year doing extensive print, radio and television media on Australia's slide in the 2019 PISA rankings, with some of their commentary making front-page news.

With the overarching goal of 'lifting all students', the 2019-2022 program of research will address policy issues relating to national academic standards, teacher quality and school resourcing.



Blaise Joseph addresses the *researchED* conference in Melbourne



Fiona Mueller, Blaise Joseph and Glenn Fahey

"Everything the CIS writes [on education] is read by the Coalition and finds its way into government policy."

— Australian Financial Review Magazine's Power 2019 List

Economics

It's been a year of highs and lows (or deficits and surpluses if you prefer) for the CIS economics team and despite being small on numbers, we've had some huge successes on the policy front.

Senior Fellow **Robert Carling**'s continuous and tireless efforts over the past decade in the service of tax reform were rewarded in the budget this year with the government announcing a second tranche of tax cuts. These reforms — the most substantial tax cuts in the past decade — were passed by the Senate in a significant win for believers in smaller government.

Robert also played a leading role in some of the most significant policy debates in the economic space this year.

- ➔ His advocacy against Labor's proposed changes to negative gearing and capital gains tax included the publication of *Myth vs Reality: The case against increasing Capital Gains Tax*, which received strong coverage in the media.
- ➔ He was also a leading voice against the proposed changes to dividend imputation credits, publishing *Dividend Franking Credit Refunds: Principle vs revenue*. Drawing on a submission last year to a Parliamentary Committee on the issue, the paper addressed the deficiencies of a policy that would have introduced a deeply unfair disadvantage against self-managed super funds.

These policies would have had a significant negative impact on Australia's economy, and there is little doubt Robert's work influenced public opinion.

In recognition of the substantial contribution that Robert has made to CIS, and to the economic policy community in Australia, he was awarded an Alan



Macgregor Fellowship at our annual Consilium conference this year. He is also on the prestigious Panel of Expert Advisors to the Parliamentary Budget Office.

Publications and outreach

This year we farewelled **Eugenie Joseph** who, after making a fantastic contribution to our team, has moved on to bigger and better things with the NSW Treasurer. We also want to acknowledge the efforts of **Tom Coppel**, who did excellent work for the 'left behind' project.

The CIS economics program was significantly boosted by contributions from several external authors this year.

Research Associate **John Humphreys** produced two papers for CIS that utilised dynamic tax modelling to provide a more accurate view of the costs and benefits of tax reform. His analysis of the 2019 budget, *Budget 2019: Why the long-term tax cuts should be fast tracked*, released two days after the budget, was a triumph that attracted significant attention.

His longer paper, *Jumpstart Productivity: New modelling pinpoints better tax cut program*, released in October, was an important corrective to media claims of the need for more spending as 'stimulus'. John was part of the pushback against progressive Keynesianism.

Steve Kates released the engrossing POLICY Paper *I, Mechanical Pencil: Why a socialist economy can never work* in February. Timed for the commencement of the university year, the paper aimed to combat the baffling enthusiasm for socialism amongst millennials.

In September, long-term friend of CIS and former Secretary of the NSW Treasury, **Percy Allan AM**, released *Reform, Retreat and Relinquishment: Lessons from historic state ownership of businesses in NSW*. This fascinating paper looked at the efforts of the NSW government to corporatise and privatise businesses in the 1990s, and drew on Percy's detailed inside knowledge of the process.

And speaking of inside knowledge, this year we were again fortunate enough to have **Peter Costello** address our traditional post-budget lunch. Hosted in Melbourne, a packed room heard Costello's take on the last budget of last term, as well as his thoughts on the May federal election and future economic prospects.

In late May, CIS Research Director **Simon Cowan** released a strong publication, *Millennials and Super: The case for voluntary superannuation*. The paper addressed some of the inconsistencies in compulsory super and made the case that super was primarily benefiting providers, not savers. Attracting some interest in the media, it contributes to a growing body of work opposed to increasing the compulsory guarantee rate.

Simon also made his debut appearance on the ABC's Q&A this year, as well as making numerous appearances on the ABC's *The Drum* and Sky TV and maintaining his regular fortnightly pieces in *The Canberra Times*.

With Simon's book from the 'left behind' project due out next year and with several more external contributions in the pipeline for 2020, the CIS economics team will keep bringing you insights not only from experts on our staff but also a variety of highly qualified contributors as well.



Peter Costello discusses the Budget with Simon Cowan



Robert Carling and Simon Cowan

Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society

The Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society program was established in mid-2018 to ensure the CIS engages fully in the key cultural issues and questions of the day. It aims to articulate, defend and promote the fundamental principles that underpin Australia's secular liberal democracy.

The CP&CS team in 2019 consisted of Jeremy Sammut (until early October), Monica Wilkie, Rob Forsyth, Lukas Opacic (from early October) and Peter Kurti. Carlos D'Abreu continues to serve as a Research Associate.

The year began with the publication of **Jeremy Sammut's** short book from Connor Court's *Snowflake Chronicles* series, *Corporate Virtue Signalling: How to stop big business from meddling in politics*. This book, a revised and updated version of his 2018 CIS Analysis Paper, *Curbing Corporate Social Responsibility*, was well-received and Jeremy spoke at a number of promotional events in Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney.

In June, Senior Research Fellow **Peter Kurti** published a new Analysis Paper, *Cracking Up?: Culture and the displacement of virtue*, which warned of the dangers of the displacement of reason by emotivism. The paper formed the basis for *Culture, Conscience and Belief*.



Religious liberty and the crisis of moral authority, the St Edmund Campion Lecture that he delivered at Campion College, also in June.

Policy Analyst **Monica Wilkie** published her Analysis Paper, *Criminalising Hate Speech: Australia's crusade against vilification*, in September. Monica argued that moves to expand vilification laws are unnecessary because victims of vilification already have recourse to legal remedies; expansion of such laws will result in unacceptable speech restrictions. In May, Monica addressed the Friedman Conference in Sydney, where she talked about the historical development of vilification laws in Australia.

Monica also conducted two prominent interviews during the year. In February, she interviewed **Dave Rubin**, host of the *Rubin Report* and prominent classical liberal, when he was in Sydney on why the Left are wrong. In September, she interviewed author and commentator, **Lionel Shriver**, at the annual John Bonython Lecture gala dinner in Sydney, and at a subsequent event in Melbourne. Videos of the interviews can be viewed at youtube.com/user/CISAus

In November, **Peter Kurti** published a POLICY Paper that looked at the problem of left-wing antisemitism. *Toxic Mutation of an Ancient Hatred: Left-wing antisemitism* was a greatly expanded version of the paper he gave at CIS's annual Consilium conference in August (see page 19). The paper generated considerable debate in the media.

In early December, **Monica Wilkie** and Senior Fellow **Robert Forsyth** co-authored a POLICY Paper entitled *Respect and Division: How Australians view religion*. The paper drew on polling specifically commissioned by the CIS from YouGov, which asked, among other questions: Is respecting religion important in a multicultural society? And does religion divide society?

Jeremy, Monica and Peter made numerous media appearances throughout the year and also contributed opinion pieces to the *Australian Financial Review*, *Daily Telegraph* and *The Australian*.

The team in 2020

The CP&CS program had a significant change of personnel in early October when **Jeremy Sammut** left CIS after 12 years to join the *Australian Financial Review* as leader writer and deputy opinion page editor. Peter Kurti assumed the role of program director, and Lukas Opacic, who joined CIS in July to work on the Indigenous program with Jacinta Price, came across to the CP&CS program as Senior Policy Analyst.

Lukas Opacic is currently completing a PhD in Law at the University of Sydney, entitled *Realism and Moralism in Political Thought*. He is also researching an Analysis Paper concerning human rights in Australia with the working title: *Why Australia Does Not Need a Human Rights Act*. In 2020, he will revisit CIS work done on civility some years ago and publish a paper bringing this work up-to-date.

In early 2020, the program will be promoting a new publication, *Forgotten Freedom No More: Protecting religious liberty in Australia*, a collection of essays about religious freedom edited by **Robert Forsyth** and **Peter Kurti**. Events will be held in Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra.

Peter Kurti discusses antisemitism at Consilium



Lukas Opacic, Monica Wilkie and Robert Forsyth

Religious freedom will continue to be a key topic of enquiry for the CP&CS program in 2020. It will track progress of the Morrison government's suite of religious discrimination bills through the Commonwealth Parliament. Particular attention will be paid to the forthcoming report from the Australian Law Reform Commission evaluating the scope of exemptions in religious anti-discrimination legislation.

Indigenous Affairs

In order to begin to solve the issues facing Australia's most marginalised citizens, the narrative must change – it must become based on facts, not popular opinion or political correctness.

Since the 1970s, governments and NGOs have been motivated by good intentions to overcome Indigenous disadvantage. However, the billions of tax dollars spent have not appeared to close any measurable gap.

Particular failure is evident in the high levels of imprisonment and domestic abuse as well as low levels of education, employment and health outcomes.

To begin to solve the issues faced by Australia's most marginalised citizens, the narrative must change – and must become one built on evidence-based public policy.

The Centre for Independent Studies' *Changing the Narrative* Indigenous research program is committed to developing the pathways to practical and sustainable problem-solving.

Under the guidance of Program Director **Jacinta Nampijinpa Price**, the research and activities being undertaken will focus on the key issues that need to be addressed in order for real change to take place.

These issues will include the high rates of family and sexual violence in Indigenous communities, alcoholism, substance abuse, and other forms of abuse and neglect.

This program aims to improve outcomes for Indigenous women and children by bringing together the community, researchers, policymakers and corporates to bridge the gaps between research, policy and practice.

It intends to change the narrative to one based on a clearer understanding of the internal cultural drivers that contribute to the family violence and sexual abuse epidemic within some Indigenous communities.

By more honestly and effectively articulating a description of these drivers, we will create opportunities for communities to develop strategies to overcome the crippling issues they face.

The program will also investigate factors that lead to disadvantage, including lack of education, employment and opportunity, and will facilitate a better-informed national conversation about Indigenous policy.

In critiquing current policy affecting Indigenous Australians, the program will explore ways in which better partnerships and better policies can be implemented.

It will also provide a platform for voices within the Australian community – in particular Indigenous Australians – that seek to change the narrative and foster deeper understanding in order to reach practical solutions and meaningful outcomes.

In turn, government, policymakers, NGOs and community leaders will then be in a much better position to address these, and other, important issues, such as Indigenous incarceration and Indigenous economic development.

The work of Jacinta Nampijinpa Price already offers a unique perspective on the most important issues in remote Indigenous communities that suffer persistent social disadvantage.

Her authentic combination of deep personal experience and first-hand knowledge of the challenges confronting the most marginalised Indigenous people — combined with her passionate awareness of key policy questions and her compelling communication skills — make Jacinta one of the most important speakers and writers on Indigenous affairs in the nation.

The *Changing the Narrative* program will help Australians fully understand the key issues and challenges facing Indigenous communities through research papers, print, television and radio appearances, and via social media platforms.

It will also directly engage in crucial conversations about the direction of Indigenous policy in conference auditoriums, boardrooms and parliamentary offices throughout the country.

The program's publications, events and activities will build on the foundations of the Centre for Independent Studies' long-term commitment to improving social outcomes for Indigenous Australians across vital areas including welfare, education, housing and economic development.

Jacinta Price at a remote community in the Northern Territory



Jacinta Price and Prime Minister Scott Morrison

China and Free Societies

This new CIS program aims to address how Australia can best reconcile its trade and economic ties with China given the increasingly stark divergence in values and security interests.

CIS re-entered the policy debate over China in 2019 with some outstanding events featuring US political science professor, **John Mearsheimer**, and we also hosted US Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo** (see Highlights opposite). In addition, we held five other public events on China throughout the year and released three papers by external contributors.

Former *Policy* editor **Sue Windybank** re-joined CIS as Program Convenor in early March, with Executive Director **Tom Switzer** also playing a key role. In May we welcomed Associate Professor **Salvatore Babones** on board as an Adjunct Scholar.

Sue moderated four events on China, the first being the program launch in mid-April featuring a debate between China experts John Lee and James Laurenceson over whether we in the West have been naïve about the PRC. She then chaired a panel discussion in mid-August with Anastasia Lin, Jason Yat-sen Li and Salvatore Babones on whether Australia could afford to get tougher with the PRC. Sue also chaired a panel discussion on China at the Friedman conference in May and moderated a session on China at Consilium in late August (see page 19).

On the publications front, mid-July saw the release of a big-picture Analysis Paper by public law professor and longtime friend of CIS, **Suri Ratnapala**. Titled *Defending Liberal Democracy and Liberal Peace in*

Former foreign minister Julie Bishop



the Time of Rising Populism and Fascism, it included a substantial section on fascism and the case of China under Xi Jinping. Later that month, CIS released a very timely paper by leading China expert **Rowan Callick** called *The China Challenge*, which raised questions that go to the heart of Australia's China dilemmas. Both papers were well-received.

In late August we released a major Analysis Paper by **Salvatore Babones** called *The China Student Boom and the Risks it Poses for Australian Universities*. The paper made news in metropolitan and regional media outlets across the country, drawing responses from the federal Education Minister, the Universities Australia chair, and several Vice Chancellors. International media including *The Economist*, *The South China Morning Post* and even *Science* magazine also reported on the paper.

Salvatore also published an essay on the idea of 'performance legitimacy' in China in the November-December issue of the US foreign policy journal *The National Interest*, and authored several op-eds for *The National Interest* and *Foreign Policy* online.

We wrapped up the year in late November with **Tom Switzer** moderating a widely-reported CIS lunchtime discussion on 'Waking Up to the China Challenge' between former foreign minister **Julie Bishop** and leading journalist **Peter Hartcher**.

Highlights

August was a busy month for the China program. One highlight was a conversation between US Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo**, Australian Foreign Minister **Marise Payne** and CIS Executive Director **Tom Switzer**. Held at the NSW State Library Reading Room, they talked about Australia's choices in an increasingly intense security competition between China and the United States. Major news outlets across the country and overseas covered the event.

Another highlight was hosting distinguished Chicago University political science professor, **John Mearsheimer**, author of *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. Mearsheimer spoke at two CIS events in Sydney, moderated by Tom Switzer: a high-level invitation lunch on the rise and fall of the liberal international order and a full-to-(over)capacity public talk on Australia's choice in a US-China conflict. A former CIS intern even flew across from New Zealand for the night to hear him speak.

Mearsheimer then took on leading Australian strategic analyst, **Hugh White**, in a sold-out debate over whether to contain or accommodate the rise of China. Held at the Hyatt Hotel in Canberra, over 500 people attended including many university students. Downloads of the debate video from the CIS YouTube channel have since reached 43,000, the second highest viewing rate ever.

Whilst in Canberra, Mearsheimer — accompanied by Tom Switzer — also led a high-level seminar at the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and met with the Prime Minister's foreign policy team. He then spent an afternoon talking to Canberra grammar high school students, who greeted him like a rock star.

CIS finished the month with the release of a widely-reported paper by Adjunct Scholar **Salvatore Babones** on the extent to which Australia's university sector is dependent on Chinese students (see facing page).



US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo

John Mearsheimer and Hugh White debate China



John Mearsheimer at CIS

Scholar-in-Residence

The 2019 CIS Max Hartwell Scholar-in-Residence was the Canadian-Chinese human rights advocate Anastasia Lin.

Anastasia Lin is an award-winning actress, a Miss Canada beauty pageant titleholder, and an international human rights activist. She is also the Macdonald-Laurier Institute's ambassador for China policy and a senior fellow at the Montreal-based Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights.

In 2015, Lin was denied a visa to attend the 65th annual Miss World contest on the southern Chinese island of Hainan, because of her outspoken advocacy for human rights and religious freedom in China. Since then, she has spoken at the National Press Club in Washington, the Oxford Union, the Geneva Human Rights Summit at the United Nations, and the Oslo Freedom Forum as well as testifying in the US Congress, the UK Parliament, and the Taiwanese Legislative Assembly.

Throughout August, Anastasia spoke at several CIS events including a Leadership Lunch on China and human rights and a panel discussion on whether Australia should get tougher with the PRC. She was one of four expert panellists at CIS's annual conference Consilium in a session on the PRC's growing power and influence and the implications for Australian sovereignty. In Canberra, she gave the Vote of Thanks at a sold-out CIS debate between John Mearsheimer and Hugh White.

In addition, Anastasia was a Distinguished Speaker for the Ramsay Centre for Western Civilisation's Lecture series, in conversation with Ramsay CEO Professor



Anastasia Lin addresses a CIS Leadership Lunch on human rights in China

Simon Haines, and led a discussion of the West, China and basic freedoms at an invitation-only lunch at Ramsay's Sydney office the following day.

She also participated in a Critical Issues Forum debate with Australia-China Relations Institute head James Laurenceson, Sydney University historian James Curran and CIS Executive Director Tom Switzer on whether Australia will have to choose between the US and China in the 2020s.

Anastasia published op-eds in *The Australian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Spectator*. She was profiled in *The Epoch Times* and was the subject of a wide-ranging interview on Sky TV.

Our 2020 Scholar-in-Residence for the month of February is Doug Bandow, former special assistant to US President Ronald Reagan and a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute in Washington.

Liberty & Society Student Program

CIS recognises the importance of exposing, challenging and supporting young people who have an interest in exploring the foundations of a free society.

Now in its 24th year, L&S provides a unique opportunity for free-thinking students to gather for a weekend of discussion, debate and engaging conversations about topical and societal issues from a classical liberal and libertarian viewpoint.

The conference is an opportunity to meet, debate and network with other like-minded people from across Australia and New Zealand. The weekends are divided into lectures, breakout group discussions, general Q&A periods and an evening panel session, which allows free ranging conversation on topics not covered during the lectures.

The 2019 Liberty & Society Student conferences were held in Sydney in May and in Perth in September. The conferences had four lecturers who attended for the whole weekend. In Sydney they were Dr Ben O'Neill, Joshua Forrester, Andrew Norton and Professor Gary Banks. Ben and Joshua also joined Matt O'Donnell and Jeremy Sammut in Perth.



Highlights from L&S 2019 included the Sydney opening dinner address by Claire Lehmann, founder and editor of *Quillette* online magazine; newly-elected Celia Hammond MP (former Vice Chancellor of the University of Notre Dame Australia) at the Perth opening dinner address discussing free speech on university campuses; and CIS Senior Fellow Professor Gary Banks giving the economics lecture in Sydney, providing a practical perspective on achieving economic policy change from a classical liberal viewpoint.

Thanks to the consistent support from individual donors and foundations, including the Lyngala Foundation and Mannkal Economic Education Foundation, we are able to offer generous scholarships to attendees and ensure all students are able to apply and attend L&S.

In 2020, L&S will be held in Sydney over the weekend of May 8-10.





1. John B Taylor delivers the opening address
2. Claire Fox
3. Nicholas Moore
4. Rev Peter Kurti and Ron Manners
5. Janet Albrechtsen delivers the closing address
6. Daniel Pipes
7. Geoff Raby and Anastasia Lin
8. Mike Fay, Floyd Taub and Rob Grenfell
9. Máté Hajba
10. Nicolle Flint

Consilium

This year marked the 20th anniversary of CIS's annual conference Consilium. From humble beginnings in 2000, it has grown to become one of Australia's most prestigious conferences.

Consilium is designed as a retreat to facilitate debate, discussion and networking whilst offering intellectually rigorous content and broad perspectives. To quote the great John Stuart Mill, "He who knows only his own side of the case knows little of that."

Over three days in late August, leaders of business, politics, academia and the wider community were drawn together for intensive deliberation on major economic, social, cultural and geopolitical issues facing Australia. This year's topics centered around six main plenary sessions.

In the first session, 'The devil that will not die: Understanding the new antisemitism', CIS Senior Research Fellow **Peter Kurti** led a panel featuring **Daniel Pipes, Julian Leeser** and **Máté Hajba** to explore resurgent anti-Semitism in Europe, the US and elsewhere. Associated in the past with right-wing extremism, they noted that the new anti-Semitism today is equally likely to come from the left.

To discuss the next session's topic, 'Is there freedom of speech in the Australia-China discussion?', CIS program convenor **Sue Windybank** brought together **Anastasia Lin, Geoff Raby, Alan Dupont** and **Salvatore Babones**. The discussion focused on the increasingly illiberal trajectory of the Chinese state under Xi Jinping and the challenges this poses for liberal values and Sino-Australian relations.

In 'The New Financial Landscape: What should be the target of central banks in a disrupted world?', CIS Research Director **Simon Cowan, John Taylor** (after whom the Taylor Rule is named), **Warwick McKibbin, John Simon** and **Bruce Preston** discussed the role of central banks in devising a better framework for monetary policy that keeps pace with the rapid transformation occurring in societies and economies whilst mitigating systemic risks.

Day Two kicked off with a panel on housing affordability and why prices have risen so much in

capital cities across Australia and New Zealand. 'Order Without Design: Urban planning, housing supply and markets' brought together **Alan Tudge, Alain Bertaud, Oliver Hartwich** and **Paul Maginn** to discuss failures in urban planning that distort markets as well as changing ideas about suburbs.

In 'Disruptive Medicine: Is our medical system ready for the revolution?', **Matt Trau, Rob Grenfell, Floyd Taub** and **Mike Fay** discussed how new technology such as Artificial Intelligence and large-scale automation will soon revolutionise humankind's battle with disease, leading to greater life expectancy for all. However, money, research and time need to go into working with governments and political bodies who are yet to grasp all the ramifications.

In our concluding session, we posed the question 'Has something gone wrong with the humanities?' to a panel curated by **Greg Lindsay** and featuring **Lionel Shriver** (author of *We Need To Talk About Kevin*), **Claire Fox, Salvatore Babones** and **Michael Ondaatje**. Their answer in brief was 'Yes, but not as badly as we make out—and things can be salvaged.'

If you're interested in getting more information on Consilium or attending the conference in 2020, please visit consilium.org.au to register your interest. You'll be in good company.

"The annual CIS Consilium is the single best event in our calendar to stimulate the mind and get inside some of the dominant issues of the day. The speakers are chosen with a keen eye and bring an international as well as Australian perspective. I always leave Consilium enriched and challenged, inspired by the fresh insights it has offered."

*— Paul Kelly, Editor-at-Large at *The Australian**



1. Monica Wilkie and Lionel Shriver
2. Michael Kirby
3. John Lee, James Laurenceson and Sue Windybank
4. Miranda Devine, Mark Latham and David Leyonhjelm
5. Amanda Stoker
6. Peter Costello
7. Bob Carr and Nick Greiner
8. Tim Montgomerie and Alexander Downer
9. Michael Ondaatje and Jeremy Sammut
10. Anna Bligh



Event Highlights

2019 has been a significant year for liberalism, politics and policy. Our events have created forums for deliberation on major economic, social and cultural issues.

Our events mission is to create a philosophically aligned, financially sustainable program of events that facilitate greater engagement, leading to growth in membership and increased awareness of CIS whilst positioning us at the forefront of public policy debates.

Flagship events

The annual CIS **John Bonython Lecture**, our Gala Dinner, is one of the most anticipated events of the year. First held in 1984, it has had a tremendous impact on fostering debate and injecting new ideas into the public realm. Leading thinkers from around the world including Dan Hannan, Thomas Sowell, Francis Fukuyama and Ayaan Hirsi Ali have used the Lecture to discuss the social, economic and political forces that we face.

In September, American-British novelist **Lionel Shriver** addressed our gala dinner at Sydney's Sheraton on the Park hotel. Shriver argued that it's time for those in creative professions to push back against political correctness and return to being iconoclasts willing to risk ruffling feathers.

This year also marked the 20th anniversary of our flagship conference, **Consilium**. Over the years, Consilium has showcased hundreds of speakers, an extensive array of policy topics, and deliberated over ideas central to the advancement of policy in Australia. Read more about this year's conference on page 19.

Event media

Over the past year, we have focused on developing our capabilities and improving the production quality of our videos and podcasts. This year we delivered 33 hours of content, an increase of 75% on 2017-18 and an increase of 120% on 2016-17. This has been accompanied by a sharp rise in all metrics across our YouTube and SoundCloud platforms.

Leadership lunches

Leadership lunches have been a feature of CIS for many years, providing an intimate forum for members and guests to get further involved with CIS and network. This year has seen a significant growth in attendee numbers with topics covering the future of liberalism, challenges for the centre-right, China's rise, stalemate in the US, and Britain after Brexit. We capped off the year with a 2019 review of post-election federal politics.

Lunch speakers this year included Senator **Amanda Stoker**, current LNP senator for Queensland; Australia's longest-serving Treasurer **Peter Costello**; former foreign minister and UK high commissioner **Alexander Downer** alongside **Tim Montgomerie**, founder of the UK centre-right political blog *ConservativeHome*; **Anna Bligh**, Chief Executive Officer at the Australian Banking Association and former Queensland premier as well as **John Mearsheimer**, a world-renowned political science professor at the University of Chicago; human rights activist **Anastasia Lin**, our 2019 Scholar-In-Residence (see page 16), and **Peta Credlin**, host of *Credlin* on Sky News Live and former chief of staff to Prime Minister Abbott.



1. Ticky Fullerton and Karina Okotel
2. Anastasia Lin
3. Peta Credlin
4. Simon Heffer
5. Dave Rubin, Tom Switzer, Jordan Peterson and Claire Lehmann
6. Sir Craig Oliver, Jennifer Hewett and Sir Bill English
7. Richard Alston and John Howard
8. Peter Hartcher, Julie Bishop and Tom Switzer
9. Jason Yat-sen Li, Anastasia Lin and Salvatore Babones
10. John Mearsheimer





Debates, panels and launches

From culture to economics, foreign policy and beyond, our events throughout the year have fostered sound, civil and robust conversations. Primarily held in Sydney, our line-up of debates, panels, lectures and book launches offer members and the general public the opportunity to participate in the conversation. A renewed effort to reach a wider audience saw us expand our horizons to Canberra, Brisbane, Melbourne and Perth by holding ten events interstate this year.

We began the year in earnest with several events covering issues surrounding the 2019 NSW and federal elections. Kicking off the discussion was our panel 'Women in Politics' featuring **Ticky Fullerton**, **Karina Okotel**, **Eugenie Joseph** and **Kristina Keneally**. Then in February, with opinion polls showing that the Coalition and Labor were neck and neck, CIS invited former NSW premiers **Nick Greiner** and **Bob Carr** to sit down and discuss what would differentiate Liberal premier Gladys Berejiklian from Labor Opposition leader Michael Daley. This was followed in March by a panel discussion on whether third parties really matter, featuring former Labor leader and One Nation candidate **Mark Latham**, outgoing Senator **David Leyonhjelm**, Australian Conservatives candidate **Greg Walsh**, and columnist **Miranda Devine** as moderator.

On the ideas front, Canadian psychologist **Jordan Peterson** is a free speech warrior, a revolutionary of our times, who attacks post-modernism and political correctness with logic and reason. CIS held a private members dinner with Peterson and fellow freedom-fighter **Dave Rubin**, whose Prager U video *Why I Left the Left* remains one of the most popular on the channel. Dave, an advocate for the classical liberal philosophies we hold dear, sat down to do a special CIS interview on the sidelines of his tour with Peterson.

In 2019 the world watched as the US-China trade war unfolded, and as British politics descended into votes of no-confidence, changes in leadership, delays to Brexit and a general election. March also marked forty years

since free-market reformer Margaret Thatcher's election to power, yet polls show rising support for socialism, especially among millennials in Australia, the US and Britain.

CIS showcased several prominent US and British scholars to shed light on these events and trends. Centre-right *ConservativeHome* blog founder **Tim Montgomerie** addressed audiences in Sydney and Brisbane on how Britain may look after Brexit and also discussed Thatcher's legacy. In September, we also brought out British columnist and historian, **Simon Heffer**, who was in Australia as escalating political tensions engulfed Westminster. Simon visited Sydney, Brisbane and Canberra to help explain what the Westminster crisis means for conservatism, Brexit, and the future of Australian-British relations.

It's not often that an Australian think tank gets to host the world's leading diplomat, but CIS enjoyed that honour on August 4 when US Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo** addressed a CIS event at the NSW State Library. The event featured an introduction by Australian foreign minister **Marise Payne**, a speech by Pompeo on the US-Australia relationship, and a conversation led by CIS Executive Director Tom Switzer with both Pompeo and Payne.

Then in August, CIS hosted University of Chicago political science professor **John Mearsheimer**, who engaged audiences at sold-out events in Sydney and Canberra including a lunch talk on the rise and fall of the liberal international order and an evening address on why China can't rise peacefully. However, the highlight of the Mearsheimer tour was his debate with one of Australia's leading strategic thinkers, ANU professor **Hugh White**, as discussed on page 15.

A full event listing, which includes the book launches we held this year, appears on pages 24-25. Further details, videos and podcasts from all our events can be found at cis.org.au/events or on our YouTube and SoundCloud channels.

Events at a Glance

JANUARY

Women in Politics

Ticky Fullerton, Kristina Keneally,
Karina Okotel, Eugenie Joseph

31 January

An Evening with Jordan Peterson

Jordan Peterson

18 February

NSW State Election Preview

Nick Greiner, Bob Carr, Brigid Glanville

26 February

Elections 2019:

Do Third Parties Really Matter?

Senator David Leyonhjelm, Mark Latham,
Dr Greg Walsh, Miranda Devine

12 March

Peter Costello on the Budget and Global Economy

Peter Costello, Simon Cowan, Tom Switzer

4 April

Bulletproof Problem Solving

Robert McLean AM, Belinda Hutchinson AM,
Tom Switzer

17 April

Forty Years After Thatcher's Election

Tim Montgomerie, Tom Switzer

1 May

Liberty & Society 2019 (Sydney)

Ben O'Neill, Joshua Forrester, Gary Banks,
Andrew Norton, Claire Lehmann

10 - 12 May

Corporate Virtue Signalling (Brisbane)

Dr Jeremy Sammut, Senator Amanda Stoker

12 June

Corporate Virtue Signalling (Melbourne)

Dr Jeremy Sammut, Senator Amanda Stoker

14 June

Leeward: A Memoir

Geoffrey Lehmann (author), Michael Kirby

31 January

Dave Rubin: The Threats to our Liberty

Dave Rubin, Monica Wilkie, Tom Switzer

19 February

The Future of Liberalism

Senator Amanda Stoker

28 February

Exclusive Members Briefing: Culture Program

Tom Switzer, Dr Jeremy Sammut, Monica Wilkie

26 March

Have We Been Naïve About China?

John Lee, James Laurenceson, Sue Windybank

11 April

Britain After Brexit

Tim Montgomerie, Alexander Downer, Tom Switzer

30 April

How to Reform Capitalism: Thatcherism Four Decades Later (Brisbane)

Tim Montgomerie, Tom Switzer

2 May

Post-election Challenges for the Centre-right

Sir Bill English, Sir Craig Oliver,
Jennifer Hewett, Tom Switzer

22 May

The Banking Sector After Hayne

Anna Bligh, Simon Cowan, Tom Switzer

13 June

Corporate Virtue Signalling

Dr Jeremy Sammut, Maurice Newman

18 June

Fourth of July: Race in America
Dr Jeremy Sammut, Professor Michael Ondaatje
4 July

The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order
Professor John Mearsheimer, Tom Switzer
6 August

China Debate: John Mearsheimer vs Hugh White (Canberra)
Professor John Mearsheimer, Professor Hugh White, Tom Switzer
8 August

China and Human Rights
Anastasia Lin, Tom Switzer
15 August

Consilium 2019 (Byron Bay)
Various
29 - 31 August

Creativity Without Constraint (Melbourne)
Lionel Shriver, Monica Wilkie
4 September

Brexit, Boris and the Future of Britain (Brisbane)
Simon Heffer, Tom Switzer
10 September

Stalemate on Capitol Hill: Transforming Society Through Philanthropy
Karl Zinsmeister, Tom Switzer
16 September

Exclusive Members Briefing: Education Program
Fiona Mueller, Blaise Joseph, Glenn Fahey, Scott Prasser
3 October

Parental School Choice in Australia
Fiona Mueller, Glenn Fahey, Dallas McInerney, Michael Nuttall, Dianne Giblin
20 November

Credlin on 2019
Peta Credlin, Simon Cowan, Tom Switzer
3 December

Members Christmas Party
Steven Schwartz, Monica Wilkie, Tom Switzer
11 December

The Pursuit - Sydney Screening
Emma Dawson, Simon Cowan, Tom Switzer
24 July

Australia's Choice in a US-China Conflict
Professor John Mearsheimer, Tom Switzer
7 August

Exclusive Members Briefing: Indigenous Program
Dr Jeremy Sammut, Jacinta Price
13 August

Time to Get Tougher with the PRC?
Anastasia Lin, Salvatore Babones, Jason Yat-sen Li, Sue Windybank
22 August

John Bonython Lecture: Creativity in an Age of Constraint
Lionel Shriver
3 September

Boris Johnson and British Conservatism
Simon Heffer, Tom Switzer
9 September

Brexit, Boris and the Future of Britain (Canberra)
Simon Heffer, Tom Switzer
12 September

Liberty & Society 2019 (Perth)
Ben O'Neill, Joshua Forrester, Dr Jeremy Sammut, Celia Hammond, Matthew O'Donnell
27 - 29 September

Ten Remarkable Australians
Ian Macfarlane, Tom Switzer
14 November

Waking up to the China Challenge
Peter Hartcher, Julie Bishop, Tom Switzer
28 November

Is There More to Life than Politics?
Richard Alston, John Howard, Tom Switzer
5 December

DECEMBER



The Canberra Times

OPINION NOVEMBER 9 2019 - 4:00AM

It's time to storm the gates on age pension reform

Simon Cowan Latest News

There's always been something of an irony in the invocation of the phrase "an Englishman's home is his castle" by those opposed to changing the tax and pension arrangements around the family home.

After all, the main reason the UK government itself owns so many castles is their death taxes chased all the previous owners out of them.

The Daily Telegraph

Time to take it slowly

A new study shows a growing consensus is building among Australians from all walks of life that it is time to let our schools, roads and hospitals catch up with our high immigration intake

The increased debate about Australia's immigration policy has been a long time coming. It is now time to take it slowly. A new study shows a growing consensus is building among Australians from all walks of life that it is time to let our schools, roads and hospitals catch up with our high immigration intake. The study, which surveyed over 10,000 people, found that 70 per cent of respondents believe that immigration is a net benefit to Australia, but 60 per cent believe that the country's infrastructure is not keeping pace with the influx of new arrivals. This suggests that while most people support immigration, they are also concerned about the strain it places on public services. The study also found that there is a growing divide between those who believe that immigration should be managed more strictly and those who believe that it should be encouraged. This reflects the complex nature of the issue and the need for a balanced approach.

FINANCIAL REVIEW

Opinion Truly clever country shouldn't get short-changed on schooling

Truly clever country shouldn't get short-changed on schooling

The declining performance of Australian students in maths and science proves that sinking more money into schools doesn't improve results.

Gleason Fahy, Commentator

Over the past decade, Australian taxpayers have invested a record \$47.3 billion in schooling. But despite all the money, we have gone backwards in delivering educational results, not only compared to other countries, but even against our own previous levels.

THE AUSTRALIAN

\$20bn flop: schools fail to lift kids

CRITICAL literacy and numeracy skills of Australian students are languishing, despite government spending for schools soaring by more than \$30 billion over a decade.

State and territory education ministers are under mounting pressure to explain a lack of improvement in students' academic results at a time when education spending has hit record levels.

Parliamentary results from the 2019 NAPLAN tests, to be released publicly today, show average national student scores across most age groups and domains have barely budged since testing began more than a decade ago.

They also reveal a stark divide between jurisdictions. Western Australia, Queensland and Northern Territory show sustained improvements, particularly in primary school, but the ACT, which for years has produced some of the highest average scores nationally, has seen scores



Minimum standards are appallingly low. Instead of generally improving results, we have entrenched lower expectations.

BEANS JOSEPH 16

The Daily Telegraph

Banks feel the Hayne

But if things are going to change for the better, our financial institutions and the people who run them will need to improve the very cultures in which they operate

A culture of compliance and risk aversion that has become a defining characteristic of the banking industry has been exposed by the Hayne Royal Commission. The report, which was released last week, found that the industry has a long way to go to meet the expectations of the public. It called for a fundamental reform of the industry, including the introduction of a new regulatory regime. The report also highlighted the need for a cultural change within the industry, one that prioritizes the interests of the public over those of the banks themselves.

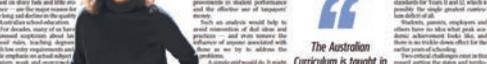


The Daily Telegraph

Why schools are failing

The Australian Curriculum has failed mightily to produce results - but some simple reforms just might

There are no solutions - at least not the ones that are being offered by the current government. The Australian Curriculum has failed mightily to produce results - but some simple reforms just might. The curriculum is too broad and too complex, and it does not take into account the needs of individual schools and students. It is time to simplify the curriculum and focus on the basics. This will allow schools to tailor their teaching to the needs of their students and to focus on the quality of their instruction.



SPECTATOR AUSTRALIA

China is destroying our universities

Lukas Opatoc

China is destroying our universities. The Chinese government is using its vast resources to buy up Australian universities and to influence their curriculum. This is a serious threat to the quality of our higher education and to the values that underpin it. We need to take action to protect our universities from this kind of interference. This includes supporting independent research and scholarship, and ensuring that our universities remain open and accessible to all.



FINANCIAL REVIEW

Opinion Keating finds his inner Keynes

Keating finds his inner Keynes

Is it time to dump the surplus fetish, and return to big government? The truth is we have never left it, writes Tom Switzer.

Tom Switzer, Columnist

One measure of Australia's much-changed economic policy debate is that Paul Keating - architect of the market reforms that helped create our aspirational society and its modern prosperity - now champions big government.

THE AUSTRALIAN

HOMELESS REQUIRE REAL HELP, NOT IDEOLOGY

These in need must focus on getting help, not on arguing about ideology.



FINANCIAL REVIEW

Opinion Income tax plan not last word on reform

Income tax plan not last word on reform

The personal income tax system has been going around in circles, fighting the same battles and reclaiming the same ground over and over.

Robert Carling

In selling its personal income tax cuts to voters, the Morrison government stressed that this plan - once fully implemented in 2024 - would result in 94 per cent of taxpayers facing a marginal tax rate of no more than 30 per cent.

Similar claims have been made for tax cuts in the past. Announcing the 1990

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Media and Communications

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

In 2019, CIS published more than 200 op-eds, was cited in more than 5,000 news stories across networks, and with syndication, researchers were heard and seen in more than 1,500 radio broadcasts and 150 TV shows, with an overall 20% rise in media.

Research is developed on the foundation of the 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 in 2019 focused on a total of 28 publications, including 1 Research Report, 14 POLICY Papers, 3 Occasional Papers, 4 Analysis Papers, and 15 submissions to government.

Another key focus for media liaison is promotion of CIS events, with widespread coverage given in 2019 to high-profile Australian and international speakers for a range of events, held mainly in Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne and Brisbane.

5,000
news stories

200
op-eds

1,500
radio broadcasts

150
tv shows

In addition to media coverage, CIS is continually exploring ways to increase its use of direct and electronic communications, including further growing its social media profile, and improving and enhancing its digital newsletters and video and multimedia production.



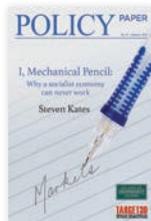
Publications

Our rigorous research publications form a crucial part of the foundation of CIS's public profile and endeavour to promulgate policy proposals. During 2019, CIS published 1 Research Report, 14 POLICY Papers, 4 Analysis Papers and 3 Occasional Papers. A full listing of our publications appears below.

I, Mechanical Pencil: Why a socialist economy can never work

Steven Kates • 6 February

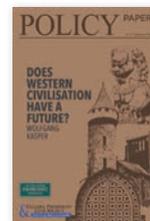
First published in 1958, Leonard Read's *I, Pencil* stressed the importance of a free society in creating the conditions that underpin a prosperous society. This paper develops his ideas, but also outlines six elements that must exist if a productive economy is to emerge.



Does Western Civilisation Have a Future?

Wolfgang Kasper • 19 February

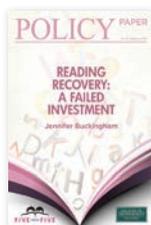
The ideas and institutions that constitute Western civilisation are under internal and external threat. This paper argues that hope for civilisational renewal hinges on systems competition — a hallmark of Western culture — from a resurgent Confucian East, especially China.



Reading Recovery: A failed investment

Jennifer Buckingham • 7 February

Reading Recovery is a widely-used and widely-endorsed early intervention program for Year 1 students who are having difficulty learning to read. Yet numerous studies provide no sound evidence that it has sustained positive effects on reading achievement, despite its widespread use and high cost.



Myth vs Reality: The case against increasing Capital Gains Tax

Robert Carling • 5 March

The Labor Party's federal election proposal to halve the 50% CGT discount effectively increases the tax by 50%. This paper argues that rather than halve the discount, it would be better to either retain the 50% discount or restore cost-base indexation and apply a small discount (say 10–20%) to real gains.



Dividend Franking Credit Refunds: Principle vs revenue

Robert Carling • 12 February

Under the dividend imputation system, taxpayers whose franking credits exceed their tax liability are paid a cash refund of the excess. This paper discusses the impact that the Labor Party's federal election proposal to abolish cash refunds would have had on taxpayers, markets and revenue.



Overcoming the Odds: A study of Australia's top-performing disadvantaged schools

Blaise Joseph • 18 March

This landmark study investigated nine top-performing disadvantaged primary schools in terms of literacy and numeracy results, and found six common policies and practices that could potentially improve other disadvantaged schools without necessarily requiring more taxpayer funding.



Budget 2019: Why the long-term tax cuts should be fast-tracked

John Humphreys • 4 April

The centrepiece of the 2019/20 budget was a proposed doubling of the income tax cuts that were legislated last year. This paper uses a dynamic tax model that factors in behavioural changes to argue that the tax cuts should be fast-tracked.



Taking Back Control: Restoring universalism in the age of identity politics

Amanda Stoker • 16 April

It can feel safer avoiding conversations on social issues that can be landmines at the best of times. But the longer those who believe in freedom and responsibility sit on the sidelines, the longer we give free rein for others to shape the debate.



Millennials and Super: The case for voluntary superannuation

Simon Cowan • 28 May

This paper argues that the compulsory super system does not work for everyone, especially young people aspiring to home-ownership and lower income workers, who often have good reasons to prioritise consumption over savings, or different savings goals over retirement.



Defending Liberal Democracy and Liberal Peace in the Time of Rising Populism and Fascism

Suri Ratnapala • 1 July

Liberal democracies face new-old challenges from rising populism, mercantilism and fascist ambition, with division and dysfunction coinciding with the rise of powerful authoritarian regimes such as China. Together these trends threaten three important underpinnings of the postwar liberal peace.



CRACKING UP?: Culture and the displacement of virtue

Peter Kurti • 9 July

This paper calls for a renewed understanding of culture as that which expresses a shared, common vision for our human and social flourishing — an understanding that is passed on in our traditions to future generations. Only in this way can culture give full meaning to human experience.



Overcoming the Odds 2: Where are the top-performing disadvantaged secondary schools?

Blaise Joseph • 23 July

Only three Australian secondary schools are both disadvantaged and high-achieving. In contrast, 21 Australian primary schools are both disadvantaged and high-achieving. This paper explains why, and also finds that choice of primary school may be just as important as choice of secondary school for a child's academic success.



The China Challenge

Rowan Callick • 28 July

China's rise has helped make Australia rich, but it is also posing challenges to its values, interests, alliances and thus its identity. What can Australia do to promote its interests whilst protecting its values? This paper outlines the key components of a new approach.



The China Student Boom and the Risks It Poses to Australian Universities

Salvatore Babones • 20 August

Revenues have boomed at Australia's universities as they enrol record numbers of international students, particularly from China. This paper establishes the scale of the universities' China risk, assesses the difficulty of addressing it, and proposes steps to reduce it.



Criminalising Hate Speech: Australia's crusade against vilification

Monica Wilkie • 18 September

A range of criminal and civil vilification laws exists to provide recourse for victims of vilification. Yet most states and territories are reviewing their laws because of a reported rise in racial and sectarian violence. This paper argues these claims are misguided and will result in unacceptable speech restrictions.



What Do Parents Want?: Australian childcare preferences and attitudes

Eugenie Joseph, Fiona Mueller
10 September

This paper reports on the results of CIS-commissioned polling into childcare and parental preferences. Government policy focuses on giving mothers every opportunity to enter the workforce, but the formal system has become highly regulated. A more informal approach is needed.



Reform, Retreat and Relinquishment: Lessons from historic state ownership of businesses in NSW

Percy Allan • 24 September

This paper asks what decades of reform, retreat and relinquishment of government-owned enterprises in New South Wales teach us about the role of government in future.



Creativity in an Age of Constraint

Lionel Shriver • 2 October

The proliferating do's and don'ts of political correctness, the predations of 'gotcha' identity politics, and the hypersensitivities of the #MeToo movement are battering and boxing in creativity. It's time the creative professions pushed back.



Jumpstart Productivity: New modelling pinpoints better tax cut program

John Humphreys • 15 October

In contrast to Treasury modelling, this paper's more dynamic modelling shows that bringing forward the government's structural tax reforms would give large benefits at a relatively low cost while keeping the budget in surplus.



Toxic Mutation of an Ancient Hatred: Left-wing antisemitism

Peter Kurti • 13 November

This paper discusses why antisemitism is rising in many Western countries, and urges political leaders of the postmodern left — especially in the Labor Party and Australian Greens — to ensure their commitment to justice and human decency is freed from the taint of this ancient hatred.



What Do Parents Want From Schools?

Glenn Fahey • 20 November

Based on a CIS-commissioned survey, this paper provides important insights into parental perspectives on the current state of school choice and resourcing. The research results reveal the areas of importance to parents and how they and their children could be better served by our education system.



Respect and Division: How Australians view religion

Monica Wilkie, Robert Forsyth
3 December

This paper reports on polling specifically commissioned by CIS from YouGov, which asked, among other questions: Is respecting religion important in a multicultural society? And does religion divide people?



Fundraising & Engagement

We deeply appreciate and value your ongoing support. Your membership and generous donations play a critical role in making possible our research, outreach and events that improve public policy, advance liberty and promote free enterprise.

Your generous contributions matter in the ongoing fight to protect Western culture, defend free markets, improve education standards, and foster a culture that values tolerance and debate.

This past year the **CIS saw a 20% growth in membership** alongside a **33% growth in the number of gifts** made by other concerned Australians like yourself.

Thanks to our board and generous supporters **in 2019 we paid in full for our office on Macquarie Street**. Originally purchased in 2015 to secure our long-term independence, we cannot thank them enough for enabling CIS to own a permanent home in the CBD for generations to come.

There is a thirst for independent debate that seeks to rise above toxic shouting matches and 30-second sound bites. We must protect our institutions that foster freedom of speech and association. This is the only way debate and conversation can flourish, leading Australia to better policy solutions that begin with evidence-based policy.

We are proud to support these ideas but it is your support and desire to grow our vision that makes all this possible.

We could not do this important work without you.

Thank you!

Legacy Society

We welcome you to become a part of our growing Legacy Society by considering making CIS a part of your will.

A bequest is an excellent way to invest in the future and support values that are important to you. Giving to the Centre for Independent Studies will allow the continuation of the policy and research you currently support. Together we will advance our shared mission of advancing free markets, a free society, and sound policy.

Your legacy bequest is an opportunity to make a meaningful and lasting gift to the CIS beyond your current donation structure, and in a way that may not have been possible during your lifetime.

For more information, or to request a booklet about the CIS Legacy Society, please contact Greg Pulscher our Development Director at gpulscher@cis.org.au.

Supporting the CIS through a bequest promotes free choice, individual liberty, cultural freedom, and the open exchange of ideas.

Make Your Impact Heard

You can make a difference today by joining as a member, contributing a tax-deductible gift, or contributing to our Capital Fund. We would love to discuss options and ways for you to make the greatest impact in person.

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 Development Director Greg Pulscher or go to www.cis.org.au/donate

Research Staff

Professor Gary Banks

Senior Fellow

Professor Gary Banks AO 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.



Dr Jennifer Buckingham (to April 2019)

Senior Research Fellow and Director of FIVE from FIVE Literacy Program

Jennifer's main area of work is school education, particularly literacy. The FIVE from FIVE campaign continues with Jennifer's guidance in its new home at MultiLit Pty Ltd. Before leaving CIS Jennifer produced a POLICY Paper called *Reading Recovery: A failed investment*. In recognition of Jennifer's long and invaluable association with the CIS she has been asked and has agreed to join the CIS Board of Directors.



Robert Carling

Senior Fellow, Economics Program

Robert's expertise is in fiscal policy, taxation and federalism. This year he published *Dividend Franking Credit Refunds: Principle vs revenue* and *Myth vs Reality: The case against increasing Capital Gains Tax*. He was awarded an Alan Macgregor Fellowship at Consilium in recognition of the substantial contribution he has made to the economic policy community. He is also on the Panel of Expert Advisors to the Parliamentary Budget Office.



Simon Cowan

Research Director and Economics Program Director

Simon heads the research team and oversees research decisions and the report writing process. He is also a regular media commentator, and in 2019 published *Millennials and Super: The case for voluntary superannuation*.



Glenn Fahey

Research Fellow, Education Program

Glenn joined CIS in mid-June after returning from France where he worked at the OECD. His current focus is on education finance and accountability. In November he published the POLICY Paper, *What Do Parents Want From Schools?*, and also presented at the NSW Inquiry into measurement and outcome-based funding in NSW schools.



The Right Rev. Robert Forsyth

Senior Fellow, Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program

Robert Forsyth was the Anglican Bishop of South Sydney from 2000 to 2015. He has been extensively involved in the areas of religious freedom and public policy, and in 2019 he co-authored the POLICY Paper *Respect and Division: How Australians view religion* with Monica Wilkie.



John Humphreys

Research Associate, Economics Program

Dr John Humphreys is an economist and a sessional lecturer at the University of Queensland. In 2019 he produced the POLICY papers *Budget 2019: Why long-term tax cuts should be fast-tracked* and *Jumpstart Productivity: New modelling pinpoints better tax cut program*.



Blaise Joseph

Research Fellow, Education Program

This year Blaise wrote two influential research reports: *Overcoming the Odds: A study of Australia's top-performing disadvantaged schools* and *Overcoming the Odds 2: Where are the top-performing disadvantaged secondary schools?*. He also made a submission with Jennifer Buckingham to the NAPLAN Reporting Review 2019 and presented with Fiona Mueller at the *researchED* conference in Melbourne.



Eugenie Joseph (to May 2019)

Senior Policy Analyst, Economics Program

In 2019 Eugenie co-authored *What Do Parents Want?: Australian childcare preferences and attitudes* with Fiona Mueller.



The Rev. Peter Kurti

Senior Research Fellow and Director (from Oct 2019), Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program



In 2019, Peter published the papers *Cracking Up?: Culture and the displacement of virtue* and *Toxic Mutation of an Ancient Hatred: Left-wing antisemitism*. He also gave the St Edmund Campion Lecture at Campion College in June.

Barry Maley

Senior Fellow



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

Greg Lindsay AO

Senior Fellow and Founder



Greg founded the Centre for Independent Studies in 1976. He handed over the role of Executive Director to Tom Switzer in 2018. In 2019 he curated CIS's annual conference Consilium.

Dr Fiona Mueller

Director, Education Program



Dr Fiona Mueller joined CIS in July 2019. She has a wide-ranging background in schools, universities and government bodies including working as a Director of Curriculum at ACARA. She co-authored the POLICY Paper, *What Do Parents Want?: Australian childcare preferences and attitudes*, and presented at the *researchED* conference and *The Age Schools Summit* in Melbourne.

Scott Prasser

Senior Fellow, Education Program



Scott trained as a political scientist and served as education adviser to two federal education ministers. He joined CIS in October 2019.

Jacinta Nampijinpa Price

Director, Indigenous Affairs Program



Jacinta joined CIS in July 2019. She has worked as a cross-cultural consultant for nearly 20 years. Her work at CIS is looking at how to change the narrative about domestic violence issues and how to achieve cultural change.

Lukas Opacic

Senior Policy Analyst, Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program



Lukas joined the CP&CS Program in early October 2019. He holds bachelor degrees in Pure Mathematics and Law (USyd), a Master of Laws (USyd), and is completing a PhD in Law at the University of Sydney. He is the author of a forthcoming paper on why Australia does not need a human rights act.

Dr Jeremy Sammut (to Oct 2019)

Senior Research Fellow and Director of the Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program



Jeremy's final work before leaving the CIS after 12 years of invaluable service was to write an important book for publisher Conor Court called *Corporate Virtue Signalling: How to Stop Big Business from Meddling in Politics*.

Professor Steven Schwartz

Senior Fellow



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

Tom Switzer

Executive Director



Tom is a prominent commentator and is sought-after for commentary on both domestic politics and international affairs. He regularly chairs and moderates CIS panel discussions and debates.

Monica Wilkie

Policy Analyst, Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society Program



This year Monica released an Analysis Paper called *Criminalising Hate Speech: Australia's Crusade Against Vilification* and co-authored the POLICY paper *Respect and Division: How Australians view religion* with Rob Forsyth.

Sue Windybank

Convenor, China and Free Societies Program



A former *Policy* editor and CIS foreign policy researcher, Sue commissioned and edited three papers for the China program, and moderated four panel discussions on China throughout 2019.

Staff

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Jenny Lindsay
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Karla Pincott
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Greg Pulscher
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Accounts

The Centre For Independent Studies Ltd

Income & Expenditure Statement

Ending Financial Years 30/06/2019 and 30/06/2018

INCOME	To June 2019 AUDITED (\$)	To June 2018 AUDITED (\$)
General Donations	3,204,628	2,679,936
Membership Subscriptions	139,384	131,398
Building Fund Donations*	271,000	95,100
Book Sales and Copyright	88,739	93,969
Event Income	631,247	515,614
Interest & Other Income	218,805	12,626
TOTAL INCOME	\$4,553,803	\$3,528,643

EXPENSES	To June 2019 AUDITED (\$)	To June 2018 AUDITED (\$)
Salaries & Consultancy	2,635,053	2,613,175
Events	629,406	252,054
Administration including travel, publication cost, rent, etc.	496,219	619,214
Depreciation	416,926	410,134
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$4,177,604	\$3,894,577
SURPLUS (DEFICIT)	\$376,199	(\$365,934)

CAPITAL FUND AS AT 30 JUNE 2018	\$280,581
INCOME	\$31,911
CAPITAL FUND AS AT 30 JUNE 2019	\$312,492

* Thanks to our board and generous supporters in 2019 we paid in full for our office on Macquarie Street. Originally purchased in 2015 to secure our long-term independence, we cannot thank them enough for enabling CIS to own a permanent home in the CBD for generations to come.

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