

Précision The Centre for Independent Studies ANNUAL REVIEW 2012



The Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) is the leading independent public policy think tank in Australasia. Formed in 1976, the CIS continues to be engaged in supporting a market economy and a free society under limited government where individuals can prosper and fully develop their talents. Through positive recommendations on public policy and by encouraging debate among leading academics, politicians, journalists and the general public, the CIS aims to make sure good ideas are heard and seriously considered.

WE PROMOTE

- 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.

WE ARE COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT

- We are funded by private donations from individuals, companies and charitable trusts as well as subscriptions and book sales.
- We are politically non-partisan.
- Our research is not directed by our supporters.

INDEX

From the Executive Director	1
Events Highlights	3
Consilium	7
Events at a Glance	9
Social Foundations	11
Indigenous Affairs	15
Economics	17
Foreign Policy & International Relations	21
Religion & the Free Society	22
Liberty & Society	23
Media & Communications	25
Selected Publications	27
Publications at a Glance	31
Policy Magazine	32
Fundraising	33
Accounts	35
Obituary	36
New Staff	37
New Board Members	38
CIS Staff & Board of Directors	

For the CIS, 2012 has been another great year with the many parts of our ongoing work contributing substantially to the debates on important issues nationwide. Whether it's fiscal issues, child protection, hospital governance, the Asian language debate, nuclear submarines, the National Disability Insurance Scheme, Indigenous education, or the many other topics we have been working on throughout this year, the CIS' work stands out. That's the way it should be as we continue to build on the high standard of work the CIS is known for.

The course of 2012 has given us ample reason to be thankful that independent organisations like the CIS exist. In a year when politics came to dominate our lives more and more, it's critical that people and organisations can stand apart from the unsavoury melee that so much of politics has become in modern democracies, and certainly in Australia, at the moment.

The growth of government is proving to be a bipartisan exercise that shows no sign of abating, but it's more than just an exercise that involves politicians of various hues: It needs the public to be willing participants in the whole affair, and regrettably, that's where we are right now.

How much government do we really want? How much government do we really need? These profound moral questions appeared in the aftermath of the disastrous fiscal situation in Europe and the United States – and are questions that most of the developed world should be asking. We hear a lot about the entitlement mentality affecting people in much of Europe and the United States, but we in Australia also need to be continually reminded of this because we too are not immune from the scourge of welfarism. Even though there's no conspiracy at work, it seems the incoherent quest by parties to outdo each other in their promises has no limits.

It is also a moral issue of considerable significance. While the financial cost of welfarism, however defined, is getting out of control, it is the political, social and individual costs of the whole apparatus that should exercise our thinking as well, and that's what we do at the CIS.

Serious analysis by organisations independent of government, pressure groups, and vested interests is rare. Maintaining that independence is especially difficult, but that's what the CIS has been doing all these years. This independence is guaranteed by the wide range of



supporters committed to this ideal as represented by the CIS. Our gratitude to them is unbounded, and in the years ahead, their investment in ideas for Australia will pay great dividends as we protect what is best in a free society.

As we move into 2013, there will be important developments in the way we present our work to the public and deal with the issues I have outlined above. The growth of government must be curtailed to allow civil society to deal with issues that governments have more and more come to dominate.

Before I finish, I must note that, sadly, the Centre's first Chairman Neville Kennard died in June. It goes without saying that Nev's willingness to back me in those early days was instrumental in the Centre's establishment, development and success. I have more to say about him further in this issue of PréCIS. All of us at the CIS face 2013 with an unwavering commitment to the ideals for which the CIS was founded. Freedom, responsibility and enterprise are key concepts that underpin our work and will receive new emphasis as the year progresses.

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EVENTS HIGHLIGHTS

E ach year, the CIS presents a robust events program to our members and supporters across a range of themes. Our audience enjoy both public and more intimate events that showcase international and Australian policy experts, as well as the CIS research team.

In the first event of 2012, welfare reform took centre stage with a lecture by UK journalist James Bartholomew, author of the influential book *The Welfare State We're In*. Welfare was also discussed at a private business lunch with UK-based CIS scholar **Professor Peter Saunders**, and at the annual CIS Big Ideas Forum, *Welfare Without the State*. Peter was joined by a panel of experts: **Chief Commissioner Manny Jules** from the First Nations band of the Kamloops people in Canada; **Professor John Hirst**, author and historian; **Dr Gary Johns**, associate professor of public policy at the Australian Catholic University; and **Dr Jeremy Sammut**, CIS research fellow. Discussion centred on the almost insurmountable task of taming the welfare juggernaut. **Exposing green socialism** featured on the events program a couple of times, with UK journalist and firebrand **James Delingpole** speaking to a packed house of 400 on *How Environmentalists Are Running the Planet, Destroying the Economy and Stealing Your Jobs*, while **Professor Jeff Bennett** from the Australian National University discussed his new book, *Little Green Lies.*

With continuing instability in the **Middle East**, the question of democracy was the topic of discussion at many events. In *From Tehran to Tahrir Square: Is Freedom Really Sweeping the Middle East?* **Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi** of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies and author of *Iran: The Looming Crisis*, examined whether



democracy has a real chance in the troubled region, as did **Dr Daniel Pipes** – called 'perhaps the most prominent U.S. scholar on radical Islam' by the *Washington Post* – in his *Update from the Middle East* talk. Continuing the theme, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Syria* was discussed at a special breakfast event by visiting Israeli scholar **Dr Jonathon Spyer**, a senior research fellow at the Global Research in International Affairs Center.

Europe's continuing economic malaise drew much media attention during the year and was naturally high on the CIS agenda. CIS scholar **Dr Oliver Hartwich** (now executive director of the think tank The New Zealand Initiative) took to the floor with UK economic writer **Daniel Ben Ami** in *Europe's Existential Funk: An Examination of a Continent in Crisis.* This event followed from Oliver's lecture, *World Economy at the Crossroads: European Disasters and Asian Opportunities.* Discussion of the European debt crisis continued at a business lunch featuring former IMF director **Dr Vito Tanzi**, who offered his predictions on *The Great Recession.* Former banker **Satyajit Das** exposed the behind-the-scenes machinations of greed that led to the global financial crisis in *Extreme Money: The Masters of the Universe and the Cult of Risk,* and CIS research fellows led an in-house roundtable discussion with **Professor Ian Harper** on *Banking After the GFC – Regulation or Strangulation?*



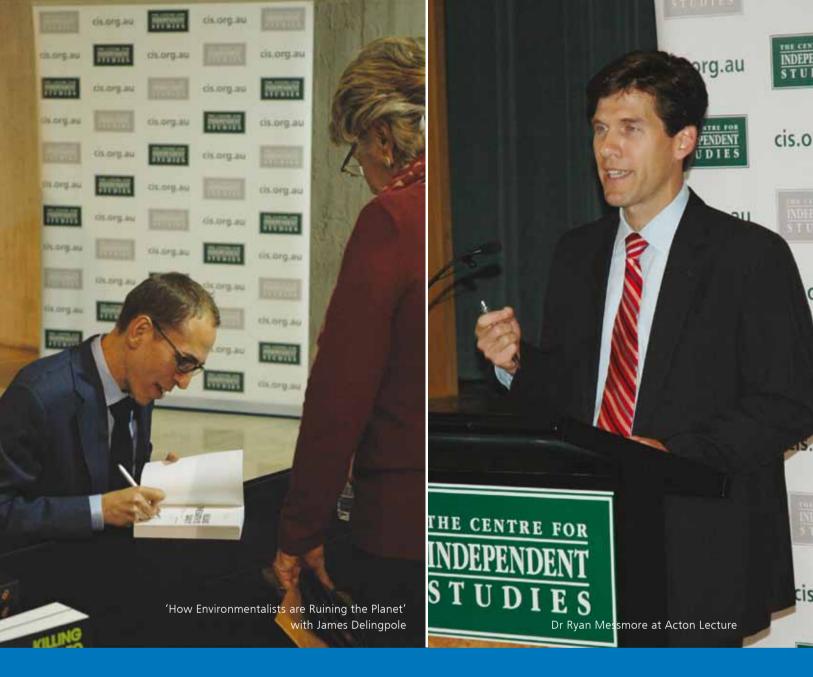
In one of our most popular and timely events of the year, *After the Riots: The Meaning for Multicultural Australia*, CIS researchers **Dr Jeremy Sammut**, **the Rev. Peter Kurti** and **Benjamin Herscovitch** offered their perspectives on the Islamist riots in Sydney. Participants appreciated the opportunity to raise their concerns and discuss issues in a public forum.

This year's annual Acton Lecture on Religion and Freedom featured new Australian resident Dr Ryan Messmore, fresh from the United States and newly settled into his position as president of Campion College, Australia's only liberal arts tertiary education institution. Ryan delivered his address to high acclaim on What Kind of Religion is Free in the Public Square? A Warning from

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the States, drawing on the implications of Obamacare and the state stepping into the private religious sphere.

The Annual John Bonython Lecture was held in November in conjunction with the yearly CIS Gala Dinner. In the grand surrounds of the Hilton Sydney Ballroom, bestselling and controversial author **Dr Charles Murray** held the crowd captive as he examined why capitalism has become an accusation. A long-standing scholar with the American Enterprise Institute, Charles discussed his latest book, *Coming Apart*, and the premise of a culturally, intellectually, educationally and geographically divided class of elites being the catalyst for the rise of widespread dissatisfaction with capitalism.



NSW Premier the Hon. Barry O'Farrell MP offered budget commentary at a business lunch at the CIS; **the Hon. Malcolm Turnbull MP**, federal Member for Wentworth, officiated at the NSW launch of Hal Colebatch's *The Modest Member*, a biography of the influential parliamentarian **Bert Kelly**; and **Dr Andrew Leigh MP**, federal Member for Fraser, spoke with social media expert **Tommy Tudehope** on *Social Media and Politics: A New Spin?*

The popular **Meet the Researchers** series continued in 2012, giving the public the opportunity to engage with CIS researchers and freely discuss policy ideas. Jennifer Buckingham discussed the Gonski review of education; Dr Jeremy Sammut offered his views on Labor's missteps and failings in the NSW health care system; Jessica Brown looked into America's presence in Southeast Asia; Alexander Philipatos discussed the Fair Work Act; Benjamin Herscovitch spoke about Asian literacy in the Asian Century; Sara Hudson shed light on justice reinvestment in Indigenous communities; Andrew Baker revealed the government's budget blowout with incriminating cost figures for the National Disability Insurance Scheme; and Simon Cowan offered insights into Australia's \$40 billion submarine mistake.

CONSILIUM

s the most important public policy event on the Australian calendar, Consilium – from the Latin *deliberatus* or to deliberate – sets the tone for policy conversation at the highest levels of government, business, science, academia and the community. This year's conference was no exception, with critical discussion on issues including combatting discriminatory Indigenous policy, the continuing effects of the global financial crisis and the sovereign debt crisis, social media radically changing the cultural landscape, and the politics behind teaching our children to read and write.

Opening with a dinner address by the brilliant strategist Dr David Kilcullen on how the world will look as the global population continues to expand, the conference sessions started early the following morning with CIS Research Fellow Jennifer Buckingham and Daily Telegraph columnist Miranda Devine debating the War of Words: the Politics of Literacy. Dr Caspar Hewett, director of the UK-based Great Debate, spoke on Geo-Engineering: Sky-High Thinking. The morning continued with plenary sessions Broken People, Broken Families, Broken Society (featuring Dr Jeremy Sammut and Professor Peter Saunders, both CIS researchers; Professor Judith Sloan, contributing economics editor for The Australian; and the Hon. Dr Gary Johns, associate professor of public policy at the Australian Catholic University) and After America: Imagining a World with the US in Retreat (featuring bestselling author John Birmingham; Tom Switzer, editor of Spectator Australia; the Hon. Alexander Downer, former minister for foreign affairs; Dr Kim Holmes from

US think tank The Heritage Foundation; and **Dr David Kilcullen**, speaking for a second time).

The session *Enabling Indigenous Prosperity* wrapped up the first day with talks by Indigenous affairs adviser **Wesley Aird**; University of Western Sydney researcher **Dr Anthony Dillon**; Chief Commissioner **Manny Jules** from Canada's First Nations Tax Commission; and the Centre's own Indigenous Affairs Research Fellow **Sara Hudson**. Wesley also previewed his work on the Secret Business Initiative, a project that is 'looking beyond the street marches and petitions; beyond gestures and tokenism; looking into the truth about our Aboriginal issues and revealing real solutions to the problems that have vexed our society for decades.'

The following morning saw **The Rev. Peter Kurti**, the Centre's research fellow in the Religion and the Free Society Program, consider *Moral Wisdom and the Recovery of Virtue*. In a concurrent session, **Professor Steven Schwartz**, until recently vice-chancellor of



Macquarie University, delivered an eye-opening address on the rapidly changing landscape of higher education delivery in *Reimagining the University*.

By far the most popular session of the conference was *Celebrating Progress: Grand Designs in Engineering*, a fascinating and refreshingly positive look into visionary engineering projects large and small transforming the world as we know it. **Dr Caspar Hewett** spoke again, joining **Dr Andrew Botros**, director of Expressive Engineering; **David Baughen**, director of location and operations at WorleyParsons Ltd; and **Professor Matt Trau**, senior researcher at the Australian Institute for Bioengineering and Nanotechnology.

Livewire social media commentator **Stilgherrian**'s comments tied in well with the eloquence of **Cassandra Wilkinson**, author of *Don't Panic! Nearly Everything is Better than You Think* in the session *Social Creatures: How Social Media Is Changing the Landscape.* They were joined by **Iarla Flynn**, head of public policy and

government affairs at Google Australia, and **Nick Holder**, partner at LEK Consulting.

The final session of the conference was a sobering look at global fiscal policy issues in *Fault Lines: The World Economy in 2012*. Overseas guests for this topic were **Dr Andrew Lilico**, director and principal of Europe Economics, and **Dr Vito Tanzi**, former director of fiscal affairs at the IMF. **Professor Tony Makin**, professor of economics at Griffith Business School, and **Professor Warwick McKibbin**, professor of international economics at ANU, provided domestic perspectives.

The Consilium closing dinner speech — dedicated in memory of staunch libertarian and long-time CIS friend and supporter **Neville Kennard** — was in opposition to the *Limits to Growth* theory and was delivered by **Dr Bjørn Lomborg**, director of the Copenhagen Consensus Center and author of *Cool It* – *The Skeptical Environmentalist's Guide to Global Warming.*

EVENTS AT A GLANCE

DATE	EVENT	ТҮРЕ	SPEAKER	ТОРІС
23/01/12	The Welfare State We're In	Public lecture with Q&A	James Bartholomew	Welfare
07/02/12	World Economy at the Crossroads: European Disasters and Asian Opportunities	Meet the Researcher	Oliver Hartwich	Euro crisis
23/02/12	Private Vice and Public Virtue	Public lecture with Q&A	Eric Crampton	Alcohol regulation
01/03/12	Banking After the GFC – Regulation or Strangulation?	Roundtable	Robert Carling, Ian Harper	Banking regulation
06/03/12	Southeast Asia's American Embrace: Why Washington is Welcome Once Again	Meet the Researcher	Jessica Brown	US presence in Southeast Asia
08/03/12	The Gonski Review: Game Changer or Dust Gatherer?	Meet the Researcher	Jennifer Buckingham	The Gonski review
12/03/12	Europe's Existential Funk: An Examination of a Continent in Crisis	Public lecture with Q&A	Daniel Ben Ami, Oliver Hartwich	Euro crisis
15/03/12	From Tehran to Tahrir Square: Is Freedom Really Sweeping the Middle East?	Public lecture with Q&A	Emanuele Ottolenghi	Iran and the Middle East
03/04/12	In the Court of King Carr	Meet the Researcher	Jeremy Sammut	Failures in health
30/04/12	How Environmentalists are Ruining the Planet, Destroying the Economy and Stealing Your Jobs	Public lecture with Q&A	James Delingpole	Environmentalism
15/05/12	Extreme Money: The Masters of the Universe and the Cult of Risk	Public lecture with Q&A	Satyajit Das	Global financial markets
31/05/12	Revolution and Counter-revolution in Syria	Business breakfast	Jonathan Spyer	Syria
05/06/12	Back to the 'Bad Old Days'? IR Reform and the Fair Work Act	Meet the Researcher	Alexander Philipatos	Industrial relations
27/06/12	Barry O'Farrell Lunch	Business lunch	NSW Premier the Hon. Barry O'Farrell MP	NSW budget commentary
05/07/12	The Clash of Economic Ideas: The Great Policy Debates and Experiments	Public lecture with Q&A	Lawrence H. White	Highlights from book
10/07/12	Asian Literacy in the 'Asian Century'	Meet the Researcher	Benjamin Herscovitch	Australian language policy
01/08/12	Little Green Lies	Book talk with Q&A	Jeff Bennett	Environmentalism
07/08/12	Politics and Social Media: A New Spin?	Public lecture with Q&A	The Hon. Andrew Leigh MP and Tommy Tudehope	Politics and new media
13/08/12	Update from the Middle East	Public lecture with Q&A	Daniel Pipes	The Middle East
20/08/12	Peter Saunders Lunch	Business lunch	Peter Saunders	Welfare reform
23-25/08/12	Consilium	Conference	Various	Various
27/08/12	Welfare Without the State	Annual CIS Big Ideas Forum	John Hirst, Gary Johns, CT 'Manny' Jules, Jeremy Sammut, Peter Saunders	Delivery of welfare



DATE	EVENT	ТҮРЕ	SPEAKER	ТОРІС
28/08/12	Vito Tanzi Lunch	Business lunch	Vito Tanzi	European debt crisis
27/09/12	After the Riot: The Meaning for Multicultural Australia	Public lecture with Q&A	Benjamin Herscovitch, Peter Kurti, Jeremy Sammut	Tolerance, pluralism and liberal democracy
03/10/12	Panacea to Prison? Justice Reinvestment in Indigenous Communities	Meet the Researcher	Sara Hudson	Justice reinvestment
23/10/12	What Kind of Religion is Free in the Public Square? A Warning from the States	The Annual Acton Lecture on Religion & Freedom	Ryan Messmore	Religion in the public square
30/10/12	The New Leviathan: A National Disability Insurance Scheme	Meet the Researcher	Andrew Baker	The National Disability Insurance Scheme
05/11/12	The Future Submarine: Australia's \$40 Billion Mistake	Meet the Researcher	Simon Cowan	Replacing Australia's submarines
08/11/12	Is Tradition Worth Defending? Weighing the Value of Tradition in a Free Society	Public lecture with Q&A	Andrew West	Tradition, politics, education and civic society
19/11/12	Capitalism and Virtue: Reaffirming Old Truths	The Annual John Bonython Lecture and gala dinner	Charles Murray	The image problem dogging capitalism
23/11/12	Benjamin Wyatt Lunch	Leadership lunch	Benjamin Wyatt MLA	Economic development in WA
04/12/12	Bert Kelly Biography Book Launch	Cocktail party	The Hon. Malcolm Turnbull MP	The Modest Member: The Life and Times of Bert Kelly

SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS

The Centre's Social Foundations Program remains at the forefront of public debate on social policy issues, including health, education, child protection and the ever-growing welfare state. With government expenditure expected to rapidly increase, our social policy research is more relevant than ever. The Social Foundations team will continue to make the case for individual freedom under a limited government well into the future.

HEALTH

CIS Research Fellow **Dr Jeremy Sammut** and researcher **David Gadiel** wrote a policy monograph on microeconomic reform and privatising the NSW public hospital system, *How the NSW Coalition Should Govern Health*, which received excellent media coverage. Feedback from stakeholders indicates that the publication has been widely circulated among senior ranks of the NSW health administration.

Jeremy and David's work on health policy under the NSW Labor government (1995 to 2011) was published as a chapter in the book *From Carr to Keneally: Labor in Office in NSW 1955–2011.*

Jeremy gave a presentation on 'Health as An Economic Problem' at the NSW Economics Society's Australian Economic Forum in Sydney, to be published in the Summer 2012 issue of *Policy* magazine. He participated in the welfare session at the Centre's Consilium conference, and was a panellist at the CIS' Big Ideas Forum, *Welfare Without the State.* Jeremy also spoke at the CIS forum After the Riot: The Meaning for Multicultural Australia and wrote the introduction for the paper in which the proceedings of the forum were published. Jeremy also gave a Meet the Researcher lecture discussing the lessons that can be taken from the NSW Labor government's health policy.

Jeremy co-authored with **Dr Paul Cunningham** the article 'Inadequate Acute Hospital Beds and the Limits of Primary Care and Prevention,' in which they examined the public hospital crisis. The article was published in the journal *Emergency Medicine Australia*.

Jeremy is working on a new health policy reform report addressing the financial unsustainability and structural inefficiencies of Medicare.

CHILD PROTECTION

Dr Jeremy Sammut's child protection research was published in the book *Right Social Justice*. His research



on child protection will be published in 2013 in two Issue Analysis reports, *The Fraught Politics of Saying Sorry for Forced Adoption* and *The New Silence: Family Breakdown and Child Sexual Abuse.* He is researching the reasons why substantially more children are adopted from foster care in the United States than in Australia.

SKILLS, LANGUAGES & Culture

Policy Analyst **Benjamin Herscovitch**'s first research report with the CIS, *Australia's Asia Literacy Non-Problem*, showed that large-scale Asian languages programs are not needed because of widespread English literacy in Asia and multicultural Australia's readymade Asia literacy. The report was cited in more than 120 newspaper articles and led to a number of radio interviews.

Benjamin presented his research on language policy in Australia at the *Meet the Researcher* lecture, 'Asian

Literacy in the "Asian Century".' His speech at a wellattended CIS panel discussion on multiculturalism, with fellow CIS researchers the **Rev. Peter Kurti** and **Dr Jeremy Sammut**, was published in *After the Riot*. He offered a defence of multiculturalism on classical liberal grounds and argued that Australia remains a resounding multicultural success story.

Benjamin is now examining the case for upskilling the Australian workforce with 'Asia-relevant capabilities.' He is also studying social mobility in Australia.

NATIONAL DISABILITY Insurance scheme

CIS Policy Analyst **Andrew Baker** has been an active participant in the debate on the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS), claimed to be the biggest reform to social policy since Medicare. He is playing an important role in educating the public about the true cost



of the NDIS. His request under Freedom of Information for the Australian Government Actuary (AGA) to release the results of its review of the cost of the NDIS was a gamechanger; the AGA's figures were reported on the front page of the *Australian Financial Review* in August. The AGA estimated that the cost of the NDIS would be \$22 billion every year once it is fully operational, substantially higher than the \$15 billion figure prevalent in the public debate at the time.

Andrew has written numerous opinion pieces on the NDIS for the *Australian Financial Review*, the *Canberra Times* and *The Punch*. He also wrote a submission on the eligibility criteria for the NDIS.

Andrew gave a *Meet the Researcher* lecture in October and his first research paper for the CIS, *New Leviathan: A National Disability Insurance Scheme*, was published in November. He is now examining policies that could be reformed to control the overall size and cost of the NDIS.

THE WELFARE STATE

Research Fellow **Jessica Brown**'s Overcoming A Culture of Low Expectations was released in April and focused on the many barriers to work that some Australians face. Her work on disability pension was also referenced in the book *Right Social Justice*.

Policy Analyst **Andrew Baker** has been an active participant in the debate on the adequacy of unemployment benefits such as the Newstart Allowance and Parenting Payment, and has published opinion pieces in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Sunday Herald Sun*. He also wrote a submission to the Senate inquiry into the adequacy of working-age welfare payments.

Andrew is researching the growing number of people on unemployment benefits who are not required to look for work.



SCHOOL EDUCATION

Research Fellow **Jennifer Buckingham** is working in a part-time capacity while completing her doctoral degree. Her focus is on school funding – particularly the 'Gonski' report – school choice, and literacy.

This year Jennifer gave two Meet the Researcher presentations and spoke at Consilium on War of Words: The Politics of Literacy. She was a discussant at the ANZSOG Leadership Program, Effective School Systems; a panellist at the Festival of Dangerous Ideas session on Abolish Private Schools?; and a speaker at the seminar titled Illiteracy in the Lucky Country at the Radford College Institute.

Jennifer contributes regularly to such publications as *The Australian*, the *Australian Financial Review*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and *Education Review*.

Her next report will examine the option of using the Finnish education system as a model for education reform in Australia.

Two new staff members joined the Social Foundations Program as policy analysts in 2012:

- Andrew Baker has worked as a researcher and policy adviser to several members of the Australian Senate, including the shadow minister for Disabilities, Carers and the Voluntary Sector.
- **Benjamin Herscovitch** has completed a PhD on federalism and liberalism, and was previously a policy officer at the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

After five years, Research Fellow **Jessica Brown** has left her full-time position to travel and work overseas but continues her association with the CIS as a visiting fellow.

INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

The Indigenous Affairs Research Program continues to examine the unintended consequences of 'race-based' policies for Indigenous Australians and the need for a more effective evidence base for Indigenous policy. The CIS perseveres with its work alongside the residents of Baniyala to implement private homeownership in their community. Indigenous education, employment and high welfare dependency will be the focus of research in 2013.

HEALTH

CIS Research Fellow **Sara Hudson** released her report *Charlatan Training: How Aboriginal Health Workers Are Being Short-changed* in March. The report received excellent media coverage: an article by the Australian Associated Press was reprinted in many mainstream newspapers, and the *Koori Mail* and *National Indigenous Times* also ran news stories. Sara featured as a guest interviewee on ABC Radio and ABC News.

EDUCATION

Senior Fellow **Helen Hughes** and independent researcher **Mark Hughes** released their latest publication, *Indigenous Education 2012*, in June. The report's release was very successful; five different opinion editorials were published in newspapers around the country, including in *The Australian*, the *West Australian* and the *Advertiser*.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

As part of her research on Aboriginal people in the criminal justice system, **Sara Hudson** visited remote towns in outback NSW and spoke to Aboriginal community justice

group coordinators. Sara's research was presented in a *Meet the Researcher* event with officials from the offices of the NSW attorney-general and the minister of justice in attendance. Sara also presented at the session *Enabling Indigenous Prosperity* at Consilium.

Sara is working on her forthcoming report *Panacea to Prison? Justice Reinvestment in Indigenous Communities.*

OVERCOMING INDIGENOUS DISADVANTAGE

Helen Hughes and Mark Hughes are examining the *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* report by the Productivity Commission, and investigating the costs of private houses compared to public houses on Indigenous land, and how to devolve power from land councils to communities.

Sara Hudson spoke at a conference in Sydney in February organised by 3Pillars Network about nurturing Indigneous culture while improving equity.

The Indigenous Affairs team is also preparing a guide to Indigenous social and economic statistics.





CIS Research Fellow Sara Hudson

ECONOMICS

The CIS remains focused on financial and monetary issues in the current period of uncertainty for economies all around the world. Ongoing debt issues in Europe show no signs of improvement, while the US recovery remains weak. In Australia, the Reserve Bank is keeping a close eye on interest rates as commentators predict the end of the mining boom. Meanwhile, governments around the world are getting bigger and bigger, and spending more and more money.

ECONOMIC POLICY & TAX

CIS Senior Fellow **Robert Carling** released an Issue Analysis in September titled *Australia's Future Fiscal Shock*. The report examined the unsustainable fiscal gap reported in the 2010 *Intergenerational Report* and spending measures announced by the government. The publication received strong media coverage, and was featured on the front page of the *Australian Financial Review*. It also received some defensive criticism from a 'senior government source' who alleged that the CIS would use 'whatever dodgy modelling they can rummage up to push the Tea Party agenda.'

Research Fellow Adam Creighton wrote a critique of the Henry tax review from a liberal perspective and analysed the proposed increase in compulsory superannuation in The Henry Tax Review: A Liberal Critique. The economics team also featured in external events. Robert addressed the University of Queensland alumni on *Keynes, Hayek and the Great Recession* in September. Research Fellow **Dr Stephen Kirchner** attended the Mont Pelerin Society meeting in Prague, and was a panellist at the Australian Conference of Economists' session *How Economists Influence Policy*.

Stephen also joined the shadow RBA board run by News Ltd and spoke in October at the Paul Wolley Centre on *Capital Market Dysfunctionality*.

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CIS intern Edward Fang, Policy Analyst Alexander Philipatos and Research Fellow Simon Cowan

BANKING REGULATION & THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Robert Carling co-authored a publication titled *Regulation or Strangulation? Banking After the Global Financial Crisis* based on a roundtable discussion of banking regulation after the financial crisis. This event led on from Robert's research into the global push to re-regulate banking and finance in the wake of the global financial crisis.

Research Fellow **Dr Oliver Hartwich** made frequent public commentary on the world economy and wrote the report *Faraway, So Close: How the Euro Crisis Affects Australia.* It has been a year of transition for the economics team, with research fellows **Dr Oliver Hartwich** and **Adam Creighton** departing from their full-time positions. Oliver is now executive director of The New Zealand Initiative while Adam Creighton is the economics correspondent with *The Australian*.

The economics department welcomed Research Fellow **Simon Cowan** to work on government industry policy and regulation. He has been with the NSW government's industry division and has practised corporate law at top tier law firms in Sydney and London.



SUPERANNUATION & THE SOVEREIGN WEALTH FUND

Robert Carling and **Dr Stephen Kirchner** undertook joint research on sovereign wealth funds, culminating in *Future Fund or Future Eaters?* This policy monograph made the case against a sovereign wealth fund for Australia, and its release coincided with the controversy over the appointment of a new Future Fund chairman. The publication received widespread media coverage and drew a defensive response from the outgoing Future Fund chairman in *The Australian*, to which Stephen replied in *Business Spectator*.

Stephen's research into superannuation was released in a report in November, *Compulsory Super at 20: 'Libertarian Paternalism' Without the Libertarianism.*

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Policy Analyst **Alexander Philipatos** continues his research into Australia's industrial relations system. His report *Back to the Bad Old Days? Industrial Relations Reform in Australia* tracks the process of labour market decentralisation since the 1980s and critically analyses key pillars of the *Fair Work Act*.

Alexander spoke at a *Meet the Researcher* lecture, *Back to the 'Bad Old Days'? IR Reform and the Fair Work Act,* in June and addressed a Young Labor debate on youth wages at the NSW Labor Conference in July.

In 2013, Alexander will focus on unfair dismissal provisions and the award wage system.

INFRASTRUCTURE & DEFENCE

Dr Oliver Hartwich wrote critically about the Clean Energy Fund in *A Waste of Energy: Why the Clean Energy Finance Corporation is Redundant.*

Research Fellow **Simon Cowan** released his first report in October on Australia's \$40 billion future submarine project. The report, *Future Submarine Project Should Raise Periscope for Another Look*, found that nuclearpowered submarines are the best option for Australia's defence future.

Simon is now researching infrastructure and planning.



FOREIGN POLICY & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

IS researchers contribute to the public debate on a wide range of foreign policy issues, including US foreign policy in Asia, the rise of China, and international relations in Southeast Asia.

With the United States' strategic pivot to Asia and China's increasing assertiveness in the region, Australia's regional foreign policy is increasingly contentious. The CIS advocates pragmatic foreign policy settings that can safeguard a peaceful and prosperous Asia-Pacific region.

Policy Analyst **Benjamin Herscovitch** has published numerous opinion pieces on a range of foreign policy issues, including US-China relations, defence spending, and the Syrian civil war.

Of particular note is the series of opinion pieces he wrote defending the ongoing US security presence in Asia in the face of China's rise. He was also interviewed on ABC *News 24* to discuss Australia's bid for a seat in the United Nations Security Council.

Research Fellow **Jessica Brown**'s report *Southeast Asia's American Embrace* was released in April and showed that Southeast Asian governments are strengthening their relationships with the United States in response to China's rise.



RELIGION & THE FREE SOCIETY

The CIS' Religion and the Free Society Program is committed to investigating the implications of a liberal understanding of freedom for religion in civil society. The program also seeks to evaluate the extent and nature of religion as a form of social capital in the public sphere.

Looking forward, the relationship between Islam and the West will continue to raise challenging questions for Australia. Although secular critics dismiss the significance of religion in our society, we need to understand its powerful influence on a substantial section of the population.

In 2012, the CIS continued to focus on the issues of anti-Semitism and religious hatred in Australia. The Religion and Free Society Program called for anti-hatred legislation to be balanced against the freedom of Australian citizens to express their views. CIS research also delved into the implications of the Boycott Divestment Sanctions (BDS) campaign in Australia.

Research Fellow **Peter Kurti**, also an Anglican minister, coordinates the RFS program. Peter contributed opinion editorials to *The Australian*, *The Spectator*, the *Herald Sun*, *ABC Online*, and *The Drum* in 2012. He also appeared on Hope FM 103.2 and the *Religion and Ethics Report* on ABC's Radio National.

Peter featured in the event *After the Riot: The Meaning for Multicultural Australia* on the nature of Islamist protests in Australia, presenting the argument that tolerance is a norm of civil society and must not be confused with neutrality if a multicultural society is to be healthy.

A breakfast session on moral wisdom at Consilium was presented by Peter to explore wider questions of religious meaning and value in contemporary Australian society.

Peter is working on a project evaluating the contribution of religion to the quality of civil society.

CIS Research Fellow the Rev. Peter Kurti cis.org.au cis.org.au cis.org.au 'Is Tradition Worth Defending?' with ABC Presenter Andrew West

LIBERTY & SOCIETY

Liberty & Society (L&S) student conference was held in October. In 2013, we plan to hold two L&S conferences: one introductory and one advanced. As with all CIS activities, we are only limited by the funding so we are very grateful to the individuals and foundations that supported the October conference and have contributed to the 2013 program. We would like to particularly thank the New Zealand CIS supporters who funded three New Zealanders to come across and meet like-minded young people in Australia.

As we only had one conference this year, the demand was high and the quality of applicants was outstanding, with a number of attendees leaning towards a political career. The lecturers made a number of comments about the importance of having a 'real' job first, which was taken on board.

As an example of the value of L&S, we are always able to use ex-L&Sers as lecturers. At the October conference, Associate Professor **Jonathan Crowe** from the University of Queensland (who attended an L&S conference in 2001) took the group through the political philosophy of liberal thinking. It is great to know that there is a small but growing number of academics promoting classical liberal ideas at their universities.

Economics **Professor Geoff Brennan** from the Australian National University (ANU) and **Professor Jim**

Allan from the University of Queensland's law faculty featured as lecturers, while **Professor Jeff Bennett** from the ANU opened the eyes of the group to the realities of current environmental legislation. At the opening dinner, **Andrew Norton**, program director of higher education at the Grattan Institute, presented a thoughtprovoking address on think tanks and his latest report on higher education.

After each L&S conference, the attendees maintain contact with each other and the lecturers through email and Facebook groups. This ongoing interaction assists in maintaining interest in the ideas and friendships that have been formed at the conference. A number of attendees also start writing for *Policy* magazine and interning with the CIS, which often develops into a long-term relationship with the CIS.







'A unique opportunity to engage in intellectual, critical and thought-provoking discussions about law, economics and the environment from a classical liberal perspective.'

- 2012 L&S student

'A must have experience for anyone seriously pursuing a deeper understanding of the size and scope of government responsibility.'

- 2012 L&S student





MEDIA & COMMUNICATIONS

The CIS enjoys a robust and well-respected public profile, and is regularly approached for comment and analysis on television, radio and in print media. Our researchers are known for providing high-quality commentary across a range of issues: economics, social policy, foreign policy, Indigenous affairs, religion, and the civil society.



Publications are the core of our media profile, with 22 publications in 2012 maintaining the Centre's stature as a source of serious and reliable research on public policy.

Events and international speakers also provide a key element to our media presence, with keynote speakers this year including **Charles Murray**, **Ryan Messmore**, **Vito Tanzi**, **Jeff Bennett** and **James Delingpole**, providing the CIS with numerous media mentions and appearances.

Regular newsletters such as our weekly Ideas@TheCentre engage key stakeholders and members with fresh content and commentary.

Our strong digital assets ensure our impact continues to be felt in new areas. The CIS website is our primary online communication tool; in 2012, the website had **84,000 visitors**. We also continue to use social media like Twitter, Facebook and YouTube to actively engage with our supporters and promote our research to a wider audience than ever before.

The CIS research and policy team continue to get strong coverage in the media and we are well placed to capitalise on this coverage going forward.

EVENTS

All public events are available on the CIS website, and all guest reservations can be made via the site. Consilium guests have access to a different online portal where they can find information about the Consilium sessions and events.

Remember to sign up to receive regular events notifications like our Events@thecentre emails to stay informed about upcoming events.

VIDEOS

In case you miss one of our public events, our lectures are recorded and loaded on to our website as soon as possible. You might also catch one of our events on A-PAC and Big Ideas TV.

Our YouTube channel 'CISAus' **youtube.com/user/CISAus** also houses all our videos and is now searchable by theme.

In 2012, we also began live-streaming most of our public events. To access the live-stream for an event, go to the CIS website.



PUBLICATIONS

A complete catalogue of past CIS publications is available on the CIS website. All new publications are added to the website on the day of release, allowing our supporters to easily keep up to date with new developments in our research findings.

Don't forget to sign up to Ideas@thecentre for fresh weekly news content at cis.org.au.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

INDIGENOUS Education 2012

Helen Hughes and Mark Hughes

Indigenous Education 2012 examines the real reasons why government education policies are failing in Indigenous schools and underperforming mainstream schools. The report critiques the hundreds of millions of dollars spent on programs that are not only unsuccessful but also take time and attention away from the classroom teaching essential for literacy and numeracy.

AUSTRALIA'S FUTURE FISCAL SHOCK

Robert Carling

A review of policy announcements and other budget pressures shows that new spending measures adopted in the three years since the 2010 IGR could easily add \$28 billion a year to spending by 2020. Government is facing the arduous task of securing sustainable expenditure, revenue and debt beyond the current fouryear horizon of the budget estimate, says Robert Carling.

FLIGHT OF THE KIWI: Addressing the Brain drain

Various

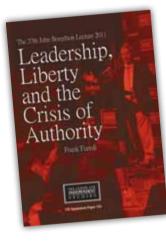
Four New Zealanders discuss the policy reforms that could entice Kiwis home. Issues such as wage disparity, tax structures, streamlining ANZAC business, career prospects, and social and cultural challenges are considered.

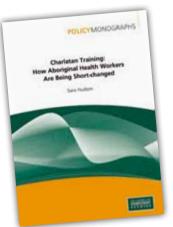












THE NEW LEVIATHAN: A NATIONAL DISABILITY INSURANCE SCHEME

Andrew Baker

The NDIS has been touted as the biggest social reform since Medicare, yet there is only a naive understanding of the scheme. This report makes the case that the NDIS will start big and get bigger and become the new leviathan of the Australian welfare state.

LEADERSHIP, LIBERTY AND The crisis of authority

Frank Furedi

In the 27th John Bonython Lecture, Frank Furedi discussed the distinct lack of leadership needed to deal with the many crises facing the world in the 21st century and replace society's addiction to regulating economic and public affairs with a culture of encouraging people to take up the responsibilities associated with leadership.

CHARLATAN TRAINING: How Aboriginal Health Workers are being Short-Changed

Sara Hudson

Aboriginal Health Workers have been short changed. They have not only been provided with charlatan training but also sold a charlatan role. The amount of training they receive does not match the level of responsibility expected of them, and there are few opportunities for promotion within the profession.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

FUTURE SUBMARINE Project should Raise Periscope For Another Look

Simon Cowan

The Future Submarine Project – replacement of Australia's 6 ailing Collins Class submarines with 12 Future Submarines – has a potential cost of \$40 billion. The Future Submarine is likely to involve a substantial redesign of an existing diesel-powered submarine to meet Australia's needs. This is a mistake; only nuclear submarines have the capabilities Australia needs.

AUSTRALIA'S ASIA Literacy non-problem

Benjamin Herscovitch

New large-scale Asia literacy programs are not necessary for Australia to prosper in the Asian Century. We should be sceptical of calls by commentators and proposals from politicians to spend billions of dollars to solve Australia's Asia literacy non-problem.

HOW THE NSW COALITION Should govern Health: Strategies for Microeconomic Reform

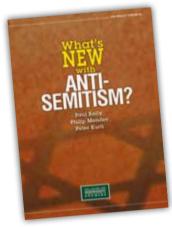
Jeremy Sammut and David Gadiel

29

NSW health policy must focus on the microeconomic reform of the rigid, public service monopoly model of public hospital care. The adoption of market or private sector methods, including greater involvement of private operators in the delivery of public health service, should be encouraged to enhance productivity and improve access to quality hospital services at the least cost.



Should Govern Health: trategies for Microeconomic Reform Direct Gater Jammy Languid







WHAT'S NEW WITH ANTI-SEMITISM?

Paul Kelly, Philip Mendes and Peter Kurti

Criticism of Israeli government domestic policy has intensified in Australia with the emergence of the international Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign here. Paul Kelly, Philip Mendes, and Peter Kurti ask whether a new anti-Semitism is emerging in 21st century Australia.

BACK TO THE BAD OLD Days? Industrial Relations reform in Australia

Alexander Philipatos

Has the *Fair Work Act* thrown industrial relations back to 'the bad old days?' This report analyses the changes in industrial relations reform over the past 20 years and assesses the role each reform has played in furthering labour market liberalisation in reference to wage setting, industrial action, bargaining, and unfair dismissal.

COMPULSORY SUPER At 20: 'Libertarian Paternalism' without The libertarianism

Stephen Kirchner

Dr Stephen Kirchner questions whether compulsory super is the most effective way of promoting household and national saving and reducing future demands on the federal budget from an ageing population. Alternative policy options are considered.

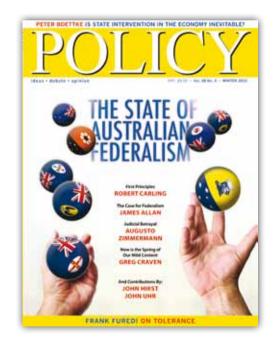
PUBLICATIONS AT A GLANCE

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	06/12/12	Back to the Bad Old Days? Industrial Relations Reform in Australia	Alexander Philipatos
Submissions	Submission	S	
23/03/12 Review of Higher Education Access and Outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Helen Hughes and Sara Hudso	23/03/12		Helen Hughes and Sara Hudson
01/09/12 Newstart Inquiry Andrew Baker	01/09/12	Newstart Inquiry	Andrew Baker
01/09/12 NDIS Eligibility Andrew Baker	01/09/12	NDIS Eligibility	Andrew Baker

POLICY MAGAZINE

Policy is the flagship quarterly magazine of the CIS and is available from **cis.org.au** and select newsagents.







FUNDRAISING

IS raises all of our funds from membership subscriptions, events, book sales and donations from individuals, foundations and the corporate sector. By relying solely on private donations, we are able to freely challenge poor public policy and present practical ideas for reform without the restrictions of toeing a party line. We also do not accept funding for 'paid for' research.

DONATIONS

Once again our members, supporters and donors have shown their commitment to the work that the CIS does by generously giving to our End of Financial Year Appeal and renewing their generous annual support of the CIS.

MEMBERSHIPS

Our members come from a wide range of backgrounds and include many prominent members of the media, politics, academia and the business community.

Membership of the CIS benefits our supporters by giving them access to thought-provoking, high quality, and impartial research that questions how governments manage public policy, and offering solutions that promote a free and open society. Our events give members the opportunity to voice their concerns and access to expert thinkers in the fields of economics, health, Indigenous affairs, society, and foreign policy. We are determined that our ideas reach as wide an audience as possible. Membership of the CIS supports our efforts in this endeavour. We are committed to creating and distributing high quality video of our events, live-streaming where possible, and improving our website so that our research, opinions and ideas are readily accessible to all.

CAPITAL FUND

The CIS Capital Fund was established in 2006 with a five-year target to raise \$5 million and ensure the long-term future of the Centre. All initial Capital Fund pledges have been fulfilled, and with the reinvestment of interest accrued, the Centre has met its initial target. Conservative management of the fund has ensured that our investments have performed well. We continue to welcome contributions to the Capital Fund.

THANK YOU

We thank you for your donations. They are appreciated by all who work for the CIS. The money you give goes directly to funding our research programs and improving the technologies for communicating and broadcasting that research.

BEQUESTS

The CIS has received ongoing interest in bequests from its membership base but would like more supporters to convert that interest into pledges. Supporting the CIS with a bequest – either by a single gift of cash, property, shares or even a percentage of your estate – delivers an opportunity to make a meaningful, tangible and lasting gift that will show your appreciation for the work of CIS. And for those who have supported the CIS over many years, it is a means of supporting the Centre beyond the current membership and donations structure, and in a way that may not have been possible during your lifetime. Donations are the lifeblood of our work, and we therefore ask all our donors for their continued support. Please remember that all donations over \$2 are tax deductible. Every donation makes a difference! For further information on memberships, donations, workplace giving, bequests or the capital fund please call the CIS on (02) 9438 4377, or go to cis.org.au.

ACCOUNTS

The Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) Summary Income and Expenditure Statement Ending Financial Year 30/06/2012.

ΙΝϹΟΜΕ	TO JUNE 2012 AUDITED (\$)
Donations	1,397,028.00
Book Sales and Subscriptions	141,302.00
Consilium/Seminar/Lecture Income	765,937.00
Investment & Sundry Income (includes Capital Fund Income)	309,099.00
TOTAL INCOME	2,613,366.00

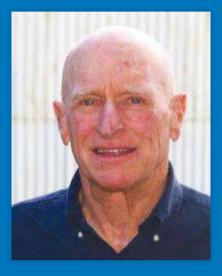
EXPENSES	TO JUNE 2012 AUDITED (\$)
Research, Functions, Publishing	491,070.00
Fundraising & Development	106,602.00
Salaries (includes Research)	1,873,326.00
Administration & Rent	413,143.00
TOTAL EXPENSES	2,884,141.00
SURPLUS/(DEFICIT)	-270,775.00
Capital Fund as at 30 June 2012	\$5,036,715.00

OBITUARY

NEVILLE KENNARD

On 3 June, the Centre's first chairman, Neville Kennard, died after a courageous battle with melanoma.

I first met Nev in 1975. Nev was a highly successful businessman and a classic entrepreneur. He was also a real libertarian. In 1976, as I was thinking about starting what is now the CIS, he was one of the first people I wrote to about my plans and asked if he would support the venture. An organisation dedicated to the intellectual pursuit of freedom greatly appealed to him. He supported the CIS from the beginning in the typical way he encouraged new ideas. When we were incorporated in 1977, we needed a board and Nev was an enthusiastic foundation member and its first chairman. Those were the days when the CIS was a part-time operation and I was still a high school teacher. Having someone like Nev as a mentor and adviser was invaluable to a rank amateur like me who had a good



idea but not much knowledge of running a business. When the CIS went full-time in 1979, Nev made it possible for me to take leave without pay from teaching and not be without some income as I tried to work at getting support for the CIS. By the end of that year, we got sufficient support and I gave up teaching.

Nev remained as chairman for more than eight years and passed on the baton to Maurice Newman. Nev remained on the board for a few more years; more importantly, he remained a good supporter helping the long-term future and development of the CIS. We all owe him a great debt for being willing to back this idea for so long.

Ever restless in his thinking and every other part of his life, Nev was quite an adventurer. He has flown, walked and climbed in parts of the world most people will never see. He was always testing himself and his ideas, and as he got older he became more radical and frustrated about the ways governments everywhere were sucking dry the energy of the economy and the freedom of the individual. The fight is clearly one that has a long time to be played out, and I am truly sorry that Nev is no longer part of the contest.

The board of the Centre thought it appropriate that we honour his contribution to the CIS in an enduring way. After discussions with his son (Sam), brother (Andy) and wife (Gaby), we decided to name the closing address at Consilium as the Neville Kennard Address. The inaugural address was delivered by Bjørn Lomborg this year.

Neville's legacy will endure and the CIS will remain part of that legacy.

Greg Lindsay

NEW STAFF



ANDREW BAKER

Policy Analyst, Social Foundations Program

Andrew's research at the CIS focuses on the National Disability Insurance Scheme, welfare reform, pensions, family payments, parental leave and other social policy issues. Prior to joining the CIS, Andrew worked in a policy research and advisory capacity for several members of the Australian Senate.

AIMEE CORNELIUS

Communications Manager

Aimee is responsible for the dissemination to media outlets of all CIS research and events. She also runs our social media, which includes our Facebook and Twitter accounts. Aimee was previously a Research and Communications Officer at the NSW Minerals Council.



SIMON COWAN

Research Fellow, Economics Program

Simon researches government industry policy and regulation at the CIS. Prior to joining the CIS, Simon practiced corporate law for several years at top-tier law firms in Sydney and London, after which he joined the NSW government's industry division.



BENJAMIN HERSCOVITCH

Policy Analyst, Social Foundations Program

At the CIS, Benjamin is working on social policy issues, including Asia literacy, multiculturalism, social mobility and foreign policy. Before joining CIS, Benjamin was a Policy Officer at the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, where he served on the Pakistan desk and worked on the department's public diplomacy programs.



ALICIA KINSEY

Office Administration

Alicia joined the CIS in 2012 to take up a part-time front desk administration role. Alicia has strong administrative experience, and her last position before joining the CIS was as the Office Manager for the Sports Physio Clinic.



CATHLEEN LY

Accounts Manager

Cathleen is a Certified Practising Accountant and has extensive experience as an Accounts Manager, having worked for many years for Optus and a medical centre.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS



JENNY LINDSAY

General Manager, The Centre for Independent Studies

Jenny is the general manager and coordinator of the Liberty & Society student program at the CIS. Before joining the CIS, Jenny owned and ran Commentary Books, a specialised mailorder book business. Jenny has also worked for many years in management positions in the retail industry and has run her own business as a merchandising consultant and retail trainer.



JAMES PHILIPS

Acting Chairman, Minter Ellison

James Philips heads Minter Ellison's mergers and acquisitions group in Sydney. James is a member of Minter Ellison's board, and chair of its audit committee. He is a visiting lecturer at two universities on equity raising and merger and acquisition law. He has written and comments on corporate law topics, and is a director of several property investment companies.



MICHAEL RENNIE

Managing Partner for McKinsey and Company in Australia and New Zealand

Michael was previously global leader of McKinsey's Organisation Behaviour practice based out of New York. With 26 years consulting experience, Michael has worked behind the scenes on a number of Australia's most noted corporate transformations. He has led five major economic policy projects for two Australian prime ministers and was a member of the Board of the Economic Planning Advisory Commission.

CIS BOARD MEMBERS AT CONSILIUM



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PréCIS Editor Aimee Cornelius

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PréCIS Designer Ryan Acosta



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THE CENTRE FOR INDEPENDENT S T U D I E S

WITH OUR LIVES BEING INCREASINGLY INVADED BY GOVERNMENT, THE CENTRE'S INDEPENDENT RESEARCH, CONSIDERED COMMENTARY, AND ENLIGHTENING EVENTS ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER.

LOCK OUT 2013 FOR THE CIS IN 2013 AS WE INTENSIFY OUR PROMOTION OF FREEDOM, RESPONSIBILITY AND ENTERPRISE FOR ALL AUSTRALIANS

the centre for INDEPENDENT STUDIES

The first lesson of economics is scarcity: there is never enough of anything to fully satisfy all those who want it. The first lesson of politics is to disregard the first lesson of economics.

- THOMAS SOWELL



The Centre for Independent Studies Level 4, 38 Oxley Street, St Leonards, NSW 2065 I PO Box 92, St Leonards NSW 1590 Tel: +61 2 9438 4377 | Fax: +61 2 9439 7310 | Email: cis@cis.org.au | www.cis.org.au ABN 15 001 495 012