

PréCIS

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A N N U A L R E V I E W



leadership in ideas

Index

Goals and Aim	2
From the Executive Director	3
Events Highlights.....	4
2010 Events at a Glance.....	8
Social Foundations	9
Population and Economics.....	11
Indigenous Affairs Research Program	12
Foreign Policy & International Relations	13
New Zealand Policy Unit.....	14
Media	15
Selected Publications.....	16
Publications List	17
2010 Sydney Mont Pelerin Society General Meeting	18
Accounts.....	19
Fundraising	20
CIS Website	22
CIS Staff and Board of Directors.....	23

Goals and Aim

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

Our goals

- An economy based on free markets
- Democratic government under the rule of law
- An autonomous and free civil society

Activities

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

Funding and independence

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

Independent in our name means:

- We are politically non-partisan.
- Research is not directed by our supporters.

From the Executive Director

For some, the global financial crisis may be over. For others, the worst may be yet to come. For those of us who have an interest in the world of ideas and try to make sense of what the last few years have wrought, it has been a fascinating time. The fascination is not with the grim prospects for so many, particularly in Europe and possibly the United States, but how intellectual orthodoxies have been hit for six.

The early part of the GFC was characterised by the sledging from social democrat and socialist commentators of all kinds: 'this is a crisis for capitalism,' they gleefully told us; in fact, they more likely hoped that capitalism was in the process of passing away. Attempts were made to apply defibrillators in the form of stimulus spending to save jobs, the banks or whatever seemed to have political advantage. In Australia, a variety of schemes were implemented, many of which, in retrospect, appear to have been unwise and open to massive inefficiencies, mismanagement, and even fraud. The government would have been better off tossing \$50 bills from an aircraft. Even with all the problems, the strength

of the Australian economy was able to withstand this concoction of carefree spending. The reforms of the last generation yet again delivered us from the jaws of distress, and there's a lesson in this for governments everywhere.

Still, the public is starting to get the idea that there is something wrong. Maybe, echoing P.J. O'Rourke, they realise that if you are broke, then spending more money, especially if it's borrowed, is not going to help much. It's like getting a new credit card in the mail when your other one is maxed out. That's now the story of a lot of Europe. The crisis is not of markets and capitalism but of social democracy. Borrowing and spending, at levels that Keynes would run from, have reached the point of enfeebling and impoverishing countries. The market has not been allowed to do what it is supposed to, and as a result the downturn has remained down way too long. The adjustments will need to be made eventually, but the pain will be greater. Even worse, the crisis for too many is in danger of becoming permanent. We have to be sure we don't make the same mistakes.

I may sound like a broken record, but it's critical that we do heed some lessons from the last few years. In particular, so should our leaders, and not only those in politics. Governments are limited in what they can actually achieve, and the bumbling attempts to protect us from aspects of the recent downturn illustrate this only too well. Many people in business have been complicit in this, but I don't blame them. The political class sets the rules and if there's money to be made from bad policy, then there's money to be made. The historians may get the story right one day.

So, my call for government action is going to be one for government inaction: 'don't just do something, stand there!' Oh, and let the markets work.



Geoff Lindsay

Events Highlights

CIS ran 41 events during 2010, some of which were showcased in the June issue of *PréCIS*. Below is a sampling of the highlights from July to December.

Eternal Vigilance: Why We Must Not Take Freedom of Speech for Granted

29 JULY 2010

Various elements such as political correctness, cultural relativism, and naivety are converging to a point where our freedom to speak openly is being quietly eroded. Activist-scholar **Ayaan Hirsi Ali** from the American Enterprise Institute was joined by **Dr Janet Albrechtsen**, columnist at *The Australian*, to discuss the threats to freedom of speech in the Western world.

Held in the PP McGuinness Library at CIS, the sell-out event was opened by the Centre's Executive Director, **Greg Lindsay**, who remarked, *"In various guises, our most fundamental liberty is being eroded."* Dr Albrechtsen picked up this thread and continued, *"That's the whole point of free speech. It's the single most effective mechanism of disposing of bad ideas. Without it, the West simply would not have progressed, and without it, we won't continue to progress. Ideas are not finessed through consensus or bipartisanship."*

Focusing on Islamic suppression of free speech, Ms Hirsi Ali talked about *"...the right to offend within the bounds of the law. In a society, in a civil society, and especially in a democratic one, you sometimes have to share ideas, or oppose and criticize the ideas of others (and policies), knowing that those who feel opposed might be offended."*

Annual Big Ideas Forum: The Future for Europe

2 AUGUST 2010

On a blustery winter night, CIS members, guests and the general public filled the impressive lodge inside the Sydney Masonic Centre to hear a forecast for Europe. Following on from the private forum at Consilium on the same subject, German firebrand and polemicist **Henryk Broder** spoke with compatriot and CIS Research Fellow **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich**, as well as Swedish scholar **Johan Norberg** (author of *Financial Fiasco* and *In Defense of Global Capitalism*) and University of Kent sociologist **Professor Frank Furedi** (author of *Licensed to Hug*, *Invitation to Terror*, and *Politics of Fear*).



The Continuing Evolution of Think Tanks

14 OCTOBER 2010

Taking advantage of visiting international think tank leaders attending the Mont Pelerin Society General Meeting in October, CIS organised a panel forum to discuss the changing nature of think tanks and ask the question, 'What would Hayek suggest for think tanks in 2010?'

The panel, chaired by CIS Research Fellow **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich**, consisted of **Andrew Haldenby**, Director of the UK think tank Reform; **Tom Palmer**, VP for International Programs at the Atlas Economic Research Foundation in Washington, D.C.; and **Bridgett Wagner**, Director of the Heritage Foundation's Coalition Relations Department, also based in Washington, D.C. The conversation spanned social media and new technology marketing techniques, activism, and the unprecedented opportunity in history to deliver the free market message to a new audience eager for commonsense ... and change.

Lazarus Rising

3 NOVEMBER 2010

CIS was pleased to welcome **The Hon. John Howard** in November to discuss his new memoir, *Lazarus Rising*. Mr Howard spoke about his experiences in Parliament, commented on his relationship with former Treasurer Peter Costello, and related domestic and international behind-the-scenes anecdotes to the amusement and amazement of the audience. One enthusiastic supporter travelled all the way from Perth to attend the event!

Remote Indigenous Education and Employment: A Personal Perspective

11 NOVEMBER 2010

With thanks to the Macquarie Group for the generous use of their CBD auditorium, The Centre for Independent Studies hosted Northern Territory MLA **Alison Anderson** for a forthright discussion on the appalling situation of education, housing and employment in remote Indigenous communities. Speaking from firsthand experience, Alison described the shockingly low educational standards set for Aboriginal children and the separatist employment and education policies that offer pseudo jobs and certificates, with little to recommend them in the real world.

Ideas Festivals

Once again, CIS participated in the high-profile *Festival of Dangerous Ideas* held at the Sydney Opera House over the October long weekend, with CIS Policy Analyst **Luke Malpass** speaking at the session *Is Right the New Left?*. He was joined by Per Capita Director **David Hetherington**, lawyer and academic **Waleed Aly**, and Editor of *Spectator Australia*, **Tom Switzer**, for a spirited panel discussion to a 400-strong audience.

New to the ideas scene is the *Woollahra Festival*, which held its inaugural event in November on the theme *Small Spaces, Big Ideas*. CIS foreign policy expert **Dr John Lee** spoke with **Geoff Garrett** of the US Studies Centre and ABC journalist **Mark Colvin** on Chinese-US relations, while CIS Research Fellow **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich** joined a heated debate on mass movement with entrepreneur/adventurer **Dick Smith**, UN refugee expert **Naomi Steer**, and **Tibo Rogers**, a Nigerian refugee and spokesman. Chairman of SBS **Joe Skrzynski** chaired the forum.



Consilium Hyatt Regency Coolum

22 TO 24 JULY 2010

In meteorological synergy with the prevailing global mood, the weather in Coolum for Consilium was uncharacteristically bleak and wet this year.

However, the opening dinner—featuring respected Indigenous leader **Noel Pearson** in conversation with young guns **Joe Procter**, founder of Indigenergy, and **Ben Wyatt** MLA, WA Shadow Treasurer—started proceedings in a positive manner with a robust discussion on *New Decade, New Leadership: Indigenous Australia Beyond 2010*.

Big government took another deserved beating at Consilium, this time in relation to health care. **The Hon. Michael Costa**, former NSW Treasurer, took the floor in the opening session with **Dr Jeremy Sammut**, CIS Research Fellow; **Michael Tanner**, Senior Fellow from the Cato Institute; and **Dr John Graham**, Chairman of the Department of Medicine at the Sydney Hospital and Sydney Eye Hospital. Speakers at the session, titled *Fixing an Ailing Health Care System: Why Big Government is Bad for Health*, discussed the reality and the fiction of 'free and universal' health care.

Restoring the Private Sphere: Civil Society, Voluntarism and Philanthropy paired two Americans with two Australians for a conversation on civil spirit and the importance of community philanthropy over nationalised welfare. **Dr Peter Berkowitz**, political scientist and Senior Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, spoke with **David Billet**, former assistant editor of *Commentary* magazine and Director of Downtown Capital Partners in New York; **John Humphreys**, economist and Director of the

Human Capital project; and **Peter Winneke**, Head of Philanthropic Services at the Myer Family Office. Discussion was led off by **Julie White**, Head of Macquarie Group Foundation.

This year's science session took a philosophical turn with a discussion on bioethics and the self-direction of human evolution in *Human Science: Exploring and Expanding the Human Condition Through Philosophy and Science*. The panel featured **Dr Neil Levy**, Head of Neuroethics at Melbourne's Florey Neuroscience Institutes; **Professor Julian Savulescu**, Director of the Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics at Oxford; and **Dr Michael Selgelid**, Head of the WHO Collaborating Center for Bioethics.

It seems that the debate about population size is growing as fast as our population itself, so the Consilium session on *A Big Australia: Do We Need a Population Policy?* was timely indeed. CIS Policy Analyst **Jessica Brown** was the undisputed star of the session with her commonsense plea for the focus to shift from debating size to developing appropriate infrastructure and policy. Jessica was joined by **Gary Banks AO**, Chairman of the Productivity Commission; **Dr Bob Birrell**, Reader in Sociology from the Arts Faculty at Monash University; and **Professor Peter McDonald**, Director of the Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute at ANU.

Where To For Europe? brought together sociologist and prolific writer **Professor Frank Furedi** and bestselling author and freedom advocate **Ayaan Hirsi Ali** to talk about the grave problems facing the Old World. Previously having shared a stage in 2008 when discussing Enlightenment ideals, they were joined by German CIS Research Fellow **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich** and his countryman



Henry Broder, author and journalist with *Der Spiegel*. With astronomical budget deficits, overblown welfare states, ethnic unrest, problems with Islamic integration, and a rapidly ageing population, the future for Europe appears grim—and Australia should pay close attention to these lessons.

Over tea and scones, **Ayaan Hirsi Ali** also spoke about her new memoir *Nomad*, a follow-up to her earlier bestseller *Infidel*. In an intimate lounge setting, Ayaan spoke about the journey of her life from Africa to America via The Netherlands, and her transition from tribal life to Western culture and values. Answering audience questions, she touched on matters ranging from Islamic education to radicalism and assimilation.

In spite of weather conditions adding to the sombre tone of the conference, the economics session

offered some respite in the form of an optimistic outlook for Australia by economic historian **Professor Niall Ferguson**. Professor Ferguson amused delegates with his comment that only in Australia would we abbreviate a global financial crisis of this magnitude to an acronym that sounds like fried chicken. He was joined by Swedish libertarian and writer **Johan Norberg**; **Professor Ian Harper**, Director of Access Economics; and **Robert Carling**, CIS Senior Fellow, for a discussion on *What's Left of the Crisis?*.

Professor Ferguson also delivered a brilliant closing dinner address, amusing guests by reeling off the names of a Scottish 'Consilium Clan' taken from the delegate listing, and echoing his Bonython Lecture address by stating that the time of the West has passed. Consilium in 2050, he suggested, will have a very different ethnic make-up as we come into the 'Asian Century.'

John Bonython Lecture

28 JULY 2010

Against fiery projections of crumbling civilisation, **Niall Ferguson** delivered the 26th John Bonython Lecture with the stark message that Western supremacy is in decline. Professor Ferguson, bestselling author of the mega-hit *The Ascent of Money*, delivered his address for CIS on *Empires on the Edge of Chaos: The Nasty Fiscal Arithmetic of Imperial Decline*.

Harvard professor and renowned economic historian, Niall Ferguson spoke at the Centre's annual gala dinner to a packed ballroom at the Four Seasons Hotel. Looking dashing in a burgundy CIS tie,

he covered economic profligacy, complex systems theory, and the nature of the rise and fall of empires. Thanking Sydney-siders for making him feel so at home with the distinctly Scottish weather that evening, he implored the audience to be optimistic about Australia's economic situation which, by comparison to America and Europe, is quite good. A prolific contributor to print and electronic media and academic publications around the world, Professor Ferguson attracted a sell-out crowd of 600 guests, with a waiting list that was pages long.

Named by *Time* magazine in 2004 as one of the world's 100 most influential people, Professor Ferguson was in Sydney courtesy of the generous support provided by his 'kinsmen' at Macquarie Group.



2010 Events at a Glance

DATE	EVENT	SPEAKER/S
February 2	<i>Meet the Researchers</i> —Behind the Moral Curtain: The Politics of a Charter of Rights	Elise Parham
February 11	Reconciling God and Mammon: Adam Smith and How Religion Shaped His Ideas	Brendan Long, Gavin Kennedy, Paul Oslington
February 19	Paul Fletcher Round Table Discussion	Paul Fletcher
February 23	Mark Johnson AO Lunch	Mark Johnson
February 25	Bureaucratic Intruders or Prudential Investors? Governments in the Telco Business	Bronwyn Howell
March 2	<i>Meet the Researchers</i> —Constitutional Dilemmas: The Push for Proportional Representation	Luke Malpass
March 15	Is Obama This Century's Wilson, Nixon, Kennedy or Carter?	Ted Galen Carpenter
March 16	Will History Be Kinder to George W. Bush?	Ted Galen Carpenter
March 22	USAF Air War College Visit	Jeremy Sammut, Jessica Brown, Luke Malpass, Oliver Marc Hartwich
April 7	Peter Farrell Lunch	Peter Farrell
April 8	<i>Meet the Researchers</i> —Explaining Big Government: By the People or Against the People?	Stephen Kirchner
April 13	Cultural Cringe: Are Australians the Plebeians of the Western World?	Jens Schroeder, with commentary by Miranda Devine and James Curran
April 29	<i>What If?</i>	Peta Seaton, Percy Allan, Oliver Marc Hartwich, Nick Greiner
May 4	<i>Meet the Researchers</i> —Fatally Flawed: The Child Protection Crisis in Australia	Jeremy Sammut
May 17	Tax Forum	Robert Carling, Alex Robson and Sinclair Davidson
May 26	Rotary Lecture	Oliver Marc Hartwich and John Lee
June 17	Unravelling Australia's Tax Welfare Churn: Reflections on the Henry Review	Jessica Brown, Peter Saunders, Peter Whiteford
July 6	Populate and Perish?	Oliver Marc Hartwich, Jessica Brown
July 20	Acton Lecture	Peter Berkowitz
July 22–24	Consilium	Varied
July 26	Niall Ferguson Media Lunch	Niall Ferguson
July 28	John Bonython Lecture	Niall Ferguson
July 29	Eternal Vigilance: Why We Must Not Take Freedom of Speech for Granted	Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Janet Albrechtsen
August 2	Big Ideas Forum	Oliver Marc Hartwich, Frank Furedi, John Norberg, Henryk Broder
August 3	Should We Fear China's Rise?	John Mearsheimer
August 3	The Dilemma of Tolerance	Frank Furedi
August 11	Why the US is Still Vulnerable to Terrorism a Decade after 9/11	Amy Zegart
August 24	Ideas and the Internet: The Prospects for Liberty	David Hart
August 13	Waiting for the Preacher: Obama's America in World Religious Context	Jack Miles
September 7	<i>Meet the Researchers</i> —The Dragon & the Elephant: Five Myths About the Chinese and Indian Economies	John Lee
September 23	Population Policy Roundtable and Lunch	Oliver Marc Hartwich and Jessica Brown
October 2	Festival of Dangerous Ideas—Is Left the New Right?	Luke Malpass, David Hetherington, Waleed Aly, Tom Switzer
October 10–15	Mont Pelerin Society General Meeting	Varied
October 14	The Continuing Evolution of Think Tanks	Bridgett Wagner, Tom Palmer, Andrew Haldenby (Chair: Oliver Marc Hartwich)
October 21	Society and the Nuclear Question	Professor Wade Allison
November 3	<i>Lazarus Rising: A Personal and Political Autobiography</i>	John Howard AC
November 11	Remote Indigenous Education and Employment: A Personal Perspective	Alison Anderson
November 13–14	Inaugural Woollahra Festival: Small Spaces, Big Ideas	John Lee and Oliver Marc Hartwich (separately)
November 17	Evaluating the Fair Work Act	Judith Sloan
December 2	International Drug Policy	Ethan Nadelmann
December 8	Censoring Santa: Christmas Goes Politically Correct	Oliver Marc Hartwich, Jeremy Sammut, Luke Malpass

Social Foundations

This year, the Social Foundations program has continued to draw attention to the harmful outcomes of welfare dependency, not only for those who are welfare dependent but their families and community.

In the areas of health and education, The Centre for Independent Studies has continued to advocate for government allowing further growth of the private sector and highlight the positive outcomes when health cover and school choice are left to individuals.

In May, CIS Policy Analyst **Jessica Brown's** report *Defeating Dependency: Getting Disability Pensioners into Work* looked at disability pension reform in greater detail. There are now more than 750,000 disability pensioners in Australia. There is bipartisan agreement on the need to reduce this number, but so far interventions from both the Coalition and Labor governments to reduce the growth of welfare dependency have been ineffective. The report concluded that if the number of people on disability pensions is to be significantly reduced, a lot more work needs to be done in getting existing recipients off benefits and into work.

With the release of the *Henry Tax Review*, the CIS held an event titled *Ending the Tax Welfare Churn* with **Professor Peter Saunders** (via video link from the UK) and **Professor Peter Whiteford**, hosted by **Jessica Brown**, to discuss the implications of the review for welfare policy. The successful event and the hour-long follow-up discussion were broadcast live on Radio National.

The Centre for Independent Studies continues to advocate for changes in welfare policy across a variety of forums. **Jessica Brown** attended the *Australian Institute of Family Studies Conference* in Melbourne and the *Wesley Mission Welfare Policy Workshop*

in Sydney. She was also invited to address the *New Zealand Welfare Working Group Forum* in Wellington, where she highlighted what New Zealand policymakers might learn from the Australian reform experience.

In September, the CIS published the bestselling report *The Power and the Responsibility: Child Protection in the Post Welfare State* by **Dr Jeremy Sammut**. The report highlighted the negative role that non-government social service organisations play in impeding necessary reforms and called for ordinary citizens to take greater responsibility by establishing community-controlled child protection agencies.

Twenty-five years of Medicare has conditioned Australians to expect the impossible. No health system can provide 'free' healthcare on-demand, spending only 10% of GDP as we do, and funnelling 70% of health expenditure through government. A dose of realism is needed, particularly concerning elective waiting lists.

— Jeremy Sammut, *The Australian*, 6 August 2010



The report received wide-ranging coverage; news stories in *The Australian* and *The Herald-Sun* featured a lame denial of the report's central thesis by peak NGO lobby in Victoria, prompting the peak lobby group in NSW, the Association of Children's Welfare Agencies, to issue a hostile press release.

Jeremy was interviewed by Radio National's *Counterpoint* program, an extract from which was published in the *Weekend Australian's* Inquirer section. The report has attracted wide interest from policymakers, students, academics, and other professionals involved in child welfare, and is the top seller in the Centre's online bookstore.

In October, *No Quick Fix: Three Essays on the Future of the Australian Hospital System*, with contributions by **Professor Wolfgang Kasper**, **Dr John Graham**, and **Dr Jeremy Sammut**, was published. This collection brought together three groundbreaking policy monographs on the public hospital crisis published by CIS since 2009. The book included a '12-point plan to fix hospitals' plus an introduction by Jeremy discussing the major findings and policy recommendations contained in the 'trilogy' of essays.

In June, **Dr Jeremy Sammut** delivered a paper on advocacy and health policy at the *Royal Australasian College of Surgeons National Surgical Leader Forum* in Melbourne. He also gave a presentation at the *Ramsay Health Annual Conference* at Cairns on the future of Australian health care.

In September, *The Rise in Religious Schools* by **Jennifer Buckingham** debunked the myth that the Howard government was responsible for the largest growth in the number of non-government schools in Australia, and argued that the greatest change in the last two decades has been the diversification of religious schools.

In his 2007 Policy Monograph *The Coming Crisis of Medicare: What the Intergenerational Reports Should Say But Don't* about health and ageing, Dr Jeremy Sammut argued that the Commonwealth Treasury had underestimated the impact of the 'greying of Australia' on health costs and the intergenerational implications for tax and spending. In February 2010, the federal government's third Intergenerational Report admitted that ageing-related demand for health services would unsustainably increase the cost of Medicare to the federal budget in coming decades.

The report argued that school choice, for religious, disciplinary or other reasons, should be a celebrated principle of our multicultural society. Religious schools exist because parents want them, and aggressive secularism or heavy regulation could potentially deny parents this important choice. The report also emphasised that there is no evidence that these schools are a threat to a free and pluralist society. In fact, common complaints that religious schools stop children from learning tolerance or that the teaching of religion is harmful to children have no supporting evidence.

The media coverage across *The Australian*, *The Herald-Sun*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and *The Age* focused on the increase in the numbers of Islamic and Exclusive Brethren schools that Jennifer highlighted in the report.



CIS INTERSHIPS

The CIS has constant requests from undergraduate and postgraduate students to do internships with us. We only accept interns when our researchers have a specific project that an intern can help with and when they have the time to mentor them. Over the 2010/11 summer holidays, we were pleased to offer three internships. **Rebecca Gill** is working with Jessica Brown and Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich on population policy, **Matthew Stockton** with Dr Jeremy Sammut on foster care, and **Charles Cull** with Dr John Lee on energy security in Asia.

Population and Economics

In June, the CIS kicked off its new *Population and Growth* series by hosting an event titled *Populate and Perish?* At this event, **Jessica Brown** and **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich** presented the preliminary findings of their new population research. In September, Jessica and Oliver hosted an exclusive roundtable discussion on population and growth with key business, community and government stakeholders.

The CIS released the first publication of the series, *Populate and Perish? Modelling Australia's Demographic Future*, by **Jessica Brown** and **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich** in October. The report looked at 32 possible scenarios for future population growth in Australia, and concluded that some degree of growth is inevitable. Rather than having public debates about a 'big Australia' or a 'small Australia,' policymakers should turn their attention to determining how to make a growing Australia work.

This report generated significant media coverage, with live television appearances on Sky News Business, ABC2 Breakfast, and ABC24's *The Drum*, and radio appearances on Radio Australia, 2GB, 2UE, 6TR Perth, among others. The report was covered by all major national newspapers and appeared on the front page of the free commuter paper *MX* in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.

More publications on the *Population and Growth* series are lined up for 2011.

Dr Stephen Kirchner is working on a report examining the costs and benefits of migration in Australia, arguing that the benefits outweigh the costs.

Jessica Brown is working on a report that will examine the myths of food and water shortages, and **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich** is writing a report on Europe's failure to integrate migrants and how Australia can avoid some of the problems.

The Centre's Economics Program has engaged in debate on topics ranging from financial regulation and tax policy to population growth and the implications

of the Eurozone crisis. Also, the CIS has continued its commentary from the global financial crisis to how countries are rebuilding their economies. CIS continues to provide a free-market perspective that would otherwise be missed.

In particular, **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich** has been widely sought after as a commentator on the current European crisis. Oliver has appeared on Lateline Business and ABC News 24, and writes a weekly column in *Business Spectator* about the developments in Europe. He also recently addressed the Business Council of Australia and the 6th Annual Ageing Population Summit on this topic.

The CIS hosted a public forum on the *Henry Review Report* chaired by senior CIS economist **Robert Carling** and featuring **Professor Sinclair Davidson** and **Alex Robson**.

As always, our economists have been well represented across the media, publishing opinion pieces in all major national and international newspapers. They are also a regular feature in online news forums, with regular columns in the *Business Spectator* and *The Drum*.

Unfortunately, decades of profligacy and broken promises of fiscal virtue have left credibility in short supply, making nonsense of the view that countries need only lay out plans for future action; they simply won't be believed.

— Robert Carling, *The Age*, 14 October 2010

ATTACKS ON BANKS ARE MISDIRECTED

Australia's interest rates are high because the nation has strong growth prospects

STEPHEN KIRCHNER



IN August 2006, the Reserve

relatively close relationship between official and retail interest rates, because it makes monetary policy much more potent in influencing aggregate demand. However, that closeness has given the false impression that financial institutions should only move their rates in lock-step with the Reserve Bank.

GERMANY PROVES CLUMSY WITH FOREIGN MATTER

The ghosts of multiculturalism are haunting a country that has failed with the concept

OLIVER MARC HARTWICH

LAST weekend, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, in a political class, including Mark

ready, about "third generation" guest workers". By then, many of the guest workers were no longer working but welfare-dependent. In Berlin, three-quarters of all Turkish migrants lack any school qualifications, and nearly half of the unemployed are of Turkish

Population growth is an age-old problem, get used to it



JESSICA BROWN

predictions of doom, this decline will not have come about because of famine or disaster. Instead, as the author Fred Pearce explains in his new book *Profligates*, the much feared population bomb is being defused by human ingenuity and innovation.

While it might seem a bit glib to argue that economists saved the world, the invention of cheap, reliable and easy-to-obtain contraception meant that since the middle of the last century

entered the cash economy, they didn't need as many hands to keep the farms going. In countries as diverse as Brazil and Thailand, fertility has begun to drop to near First World levels.

Malinas, the father of population doom, thought that economic development for the poor was not only a waste of time, but also counter-productive, since poverty-stricken

economic growth as the answer to the challenges of population growth. Under every realistic scenario, Australia's population will grow. Only if we had even net migration and falling fertility would the population shrink. But is this something we really want to strive for?

Even if migration were drastically cut to 75,000 a year - the number advocated by campaigners such as Dick Smith - we would still have a

Indigenous Affairs Research Program

The influence that CIS has had on Indigenous reform was acknowledged by **Noel Pearson** at CIS's annual Consilium conference in a speech that was later published in *The Australian*.

First, the decision to take the predicament of Indigenous Australians seriously and to bring to bear the intellectual weight of The Centre for Independent Studies in a policy zone that had hitherto been owned by progressives, was crucial. Second, the contribution of The Australian has matched the intellectual ballast provided by the CIS. When this country comes to look back on the Indigenous reform story of the early 21st century, the role of the CIS and The Australian will be plain.

— Noel Pearson, 'Adam Smith and Closing the Gap,' *The Australian*, 24 July 2010

Healthy Stores, Healthy Communities: The Impact of Outback Stores on Remote Indigenous Australians by CIS Policy Analyst **Sara Hudson** was released in June. The report generated positive comments from a number of store managers, wholesalers, and Indigenous people. The Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) also invited Sara to discuss the issues she had raised.

In July, Sara visited Western Australia for a week to conduct research for her forthcoming report on alcohol restrictions in Indigenous communities. Sara spent time talking to people personally responsible for introducing alcohol restrictions in Halls Creek and Fitzroy Crossing as well as government staff involved in child protection and health.

Sara Hudson's report *Closing the Accountability Gap: The First Step Towards Better Indigenous Health* is on the reading list at the University of Sydney's Bachelor of Health Science Degree; an extract from Sara's health report *Healthy Stores, Healthy Communities* was also reprinted in a secondary text book, *The Health of Indigenous Australians* in the Issues in Society series (April 2010).

In November, a joint report by **Helen Hughes, Mark Hughes, and Sara Hudson**, *Private Housing on Indigenous Lands*, was released by the CIS. This report argued that the denial of private property rights to Indigenous Australians is a primary cause of their welfare dependence and the consequent erosion of individual and family responsibility in remote Indigenous communities. To kick start private property rights, the report called for the immediate transfer, at no cost, of the ownership of existing social housing to Indigenous tenants who have been in the houses for 10 or more years.

This report generated lots of media attention in key regional Australia areas. The authors of the report were interviewed for National Indigenous Television on the day of its release, and the report was the subject of an editorial in *The Australian*.

The CIS also hosted a talk by Independent Northern Territory MLA **Alison Anderson** on her perspective and experiences of Indigenous education and employment policies in Central Australia. This event was a great success, with many people commenting that it was one of their favourite CIS events of the year.



Foreign Policy & International Relations

In June, the CIS released *Unrealised Potential: India's 'Soft Power' Ambition in Asia* by CIS Research Fellow **Dr John Lee**. The report argued that India is well placed to become a leader in the Asian Century, but it first must fully develop both its 'hard' and 'soft' power credentials. Unlike China, the region does not fear a rising India because New Delhi's re-emergence complements rather than challenges the current strategic, normative and social order in the region.

Ultimately, India has a long way to go, and it may yet go backwards. But with the right mix of cultural diplomacy, social progress, and economic reform, India is well positioned to be a principal leader and shaper of the Asian Century.

Dr Lee, who is also a Visiting Fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C., is working on a report about the future challenges for Malaysia. CIS Policy Analyst **Jessica Brown** is writing a report about the changing dynamics of Indonesian security.

John has also been busy conducting one-on-one policy briefings with foreign ministers, national security advisors, and chiefs of staff from countries all over the world, including America and Taiwan.

This year, John continued his streak as a prolific international opinion piece writer on foreign affairs, publishing in all major national and international newspapers, including *Time* magazine, *Newsweek*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Valor Economico* (Brazil), the *Jordan Times*, *Burma Digest*, the *New Straits Times* (Singapore), and the *Jakarta Post*.

Since the 1990s, Beijing's grand strategy in Asia has been to avoid confrontation with the world's sole superpower while at the same time weakening the regional appetite for the American role in the region. This is why Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's presence at the East Asia Summit in Hanoi this week-and the anticipated invitation for the U.S. to become a permanent member-represents a boon for America and a significant failure for Chinese foreign policy.

– John Lee, *The Wall Street Journal*,
26 October 2010



New Zealand Policy Unit

The New Zealand Policy Unit has had another busy year, raising its media profile with a number of published opinion pieces and expanded media exposure.

The political and policy scene in New Zealand is in a state of flux, as the economy continues to exhibit moribund growth and government seems to lack coherent policy direction. While the cutback in government spending is welcome, which has been in sharp relief to Australia, the will to continue structural economic reform seems weak, at least for now. In this environment, the temptation to adopt mercantilist policies is becoming stronger. The Centre's New Zealand Policy Unit continues to be a voice for the efficacy of markets, individual choice, and responsibility.

CIS Policy Analyst **Luke Malpass** continues to be in demand, commenting on issues such as NZ Rail, electoral systems, government subsidies (particularly film subsidies), and NZ/Australian policy comparisons. His articles, and responses to criticism, have appeared in the *NZ Herald*, *Dominion Post*, *The Australian*, *Spectator Australia*, *Business Spectator*, *National Business Review*, *Sunday Star Times*, and *The American*.

Last year's *KiwiRail: Doomed to Fail* report continued to make an impact this year. The Key government, after being initially critical of the report, has now adopted or is adopting most of its key recommendations. Luke continues to be interviewed and quoted on the matter.

In October, Luke had a feature article titled **New Zealand's Great Regression** in *The American*, the journal of the American Enterprise Institute. In this lengthy piece, he argued that any sort of economic reform necessary for long-term prosperity will be difficult to kick start due to the nature of New Zealand society and politics.

Luke continued working on raising the public profile of the New Zealand unit this year. He spoke at the *Festival of Dangerous Ideas* at the Sydney Opera House and appeared on ABC TV, TV One Breakfast, and a range of New Zealand radio stations.

Kevin Rudd's leadership was ultimately lost because he didn't understand the limitations of centralised power, mistook process for progress, and used overblown rhetoric for some pretty meagre policy changes. In the end, he sacrificed long-term policy integrity for short-term popularity. His is a lesson that should be learned by all those in New Zealand politics.

— Luke Malpass, *The National Business Review*, 25 June 2010



Media

The CIS publishes opinion pieces across a variety of international, national and local newspapers. The Centre is a regular contributor to ABC News 24, with our researchers appearing on panel programs, including the popular new opinion show *The Drum*.

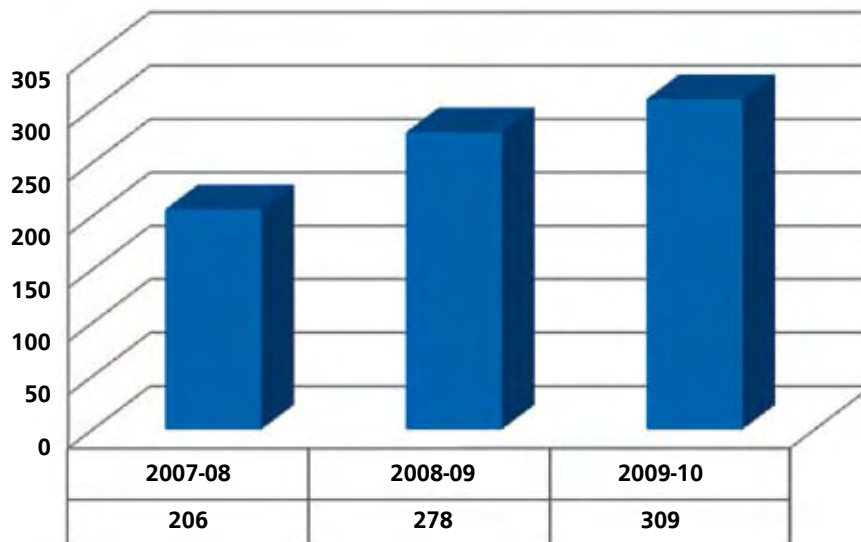
In July, as a guest of the CIS, **Professor Niall Ferguson** had more than 30 separate media exposures on radio, television and the print media that directly mentioned the Centre. There were many more online references to the John Bonython Lecture and the CIS. The footage of the John Bonython Lecture was also screened numerous times on ABC2 and ABC News 24 and featured on APAC.

The report *Populate and Perish?* generated more than 40 separate media mentions in local and national papers, television, and radio stations the day it was released. More and more people are talking about it online as public debate on this hot issue continues.

The Centre's media division has joined the new age of social networking with Twitter and Facebook accounts. Journalists and supporters can now follow our latest tweets about media releases and opinion pieces, events and reports, and also comment on them.

From October 2009–October 2010, the CIS had **309** opinion pieces, **183** radio interviews, and **278** mentions in newspapers across the country. Not only has our media presence increased but we are appearing in more and more regional and local newspapers.

CIS Published Opinion Pieces



Broad outlook breeds a new kind of Niall-ism

A true polymath branches out to tackle the difficult Kissinger era of US history

STEPHEN MATCHETT



PLENTY of pundits fancy they are polymaths but Niall Ferguson is the real deal: an energetic and

public sphere is to bring historical knowledge to bear on contemporary issues and get them into the hands of the key decision-makers. In the financial crisis, key decision-makers know nothing about the Great Depression.

And he points to ways that a failure of intellectual firepower can snatch political defeat from the jaws of victory. In World War

Chilling message of America's rapid decline

Paul Sheehan

WHEN 600 people filled the ballroom of the Four Seasons hotel last night to hear the famous economic historian Professor Niall Ferguson, he delivered a message as chilling as the weather lashing the streets outside.

After thanking his hosts for providing "Scottish weather" - Ferguson grew up in Glasgow

Professor Ferguson, professor of history at Harvard University and the Harvard Business School, used the annual Bonython lecture for the Centre for Independent Studies to deliver a speech called "Empires on the Edge of Ruin".

"Imperial falls are associated with fiscal crises - sharp imbalances between revenues and expenditures, and the mounting cost of servicing a mountain of



"What is even more terrible ... the CBO projects net interest payments rising from 9 per cent of revenue to 20 per cent in 2030 ... By any meaningful measure, the position of the United States is currently worse than that of Greece."

US defence spending decline, he said. Half the debt in public hands is held by foreign creditors, the biggest creditor, China.

Selected Publications



The Power and the Responsibility: Child Protection in the Post Welfare State Era

Jeremy Sammut

Government-run child protection services in Australia are plagued by systemic problems, including a misguided emphasis on family preservation. This report examines the cultural, political and ideological impediments to change. Recent flawed 'reform' programs in NSW and Victoria have highlighted these problems, especially the negative role played by non-government interest groups. This suggests the political process is unlikely to deliver genuine reform without undertaking a radical re-organisation of the child protection system based on the liberal principles of citizenship and civil society. Drawing upon the writings of John Stuart Mill, the report suggests that ordinary citizens must take back the power and responsibility for child protection from state bureaucracies.



Populate and Perish? Modelling Australia's Demographic Future

Jessica Brown and
Oliver Marc Hartwich

Should Australia's population grow to more than 35 million people by the middle of the 21st century? The 2010 *Intergenerational Report* sparked a controversy over its suggestion that we are heading for a 'Big Australia' in the coming decades.

This report looks behind the headline figures to highlight potential outcomes based on different assumptions about fertility, longevity and migration. It shows that there while there is a wide variety of potential population outcomes, Australia should start preparing itself for both population growth and population ageing. It also reveals how little control governments have over the variables of demography.



No Quick Fix: Three Essays on the Future of the Australian Hospital System

Wolfgang Kasper, John
Graham and Jeremy Sammut

The trilogy of essays in this collection describes the negative effects of the bureaucratisation of the public hospital system on staff and patients in the last 30 years. Unless accountable pro bono boards are put back in charge, the ability of public hospitals to meet the health needs of the community will continue to be compromised by waste and inefficiency.



John Bonython Lecture

Niall Ferguson

In the 26th John Bonython Lecture, Professor Niall Ferguson, one of the world's leading geo-economic thinkers and best-selling author of *The Ascent of Money* and *The War of the World*, discussed the complexity behind great national powers and whether the rise and fall of empires is cyclical or arrhythmic.

POLICY Magazine

The CIS's flagship quarterly magazine *POLICY* continued to attract a variety of high quality contributors. This year, *POLICY* tackled the issue of marriage in Australia, concerns about North Korea, economic history, and the influence of radical Islam in the West.



Publications List

DATE	TITLE	AUTHOR
January	Behind the Moral Curtain: The Politics of a Charter of Rights	Elise Parham
February	Shooting the Messenger: The Ban on Short Selling	Stephen Kirchner (ed)
	Indigenous Employment, Unemployment and Labour Force Participation: Facts for Evidence Based Policies	Helen Hughes and Mark Hughes
March	The Unfinished Business of Australian Income Tax Reform	Robert Carling
	Superseding MMP: Real Electoral Reform for New Zealand	Luke Malpass and Oliver Marc Hartwich
April	Indigenous Education 2010	Helen Hughes and Mark Hughes
	Defeating Dependency: Moving Disability Support Pensioners Into Jobs	Jessica Brown
May	The Fantasy of Taming China's Rise	John Lee
	Towards a Red Tape Trading Scheme: Treating Excessive Bureaucracy as Just Another Kind of Pollution	Oliver Marc Hartwich
June	Unrealised Potential: India's 'Soft Power' Ambition in Asia	John Lee
	Healthy Stores, Healthy Communities: The Impact of Outback Stores on Remote Indigenous Australians	Sara Hudson
September	After the Wall—Reflections on the Legacy of 1989	Oliver Marc Hartwich (ed)
	The Power and the Responsibility: Child Protection in the Post-Welfare State Era	Jeremy Sammut
	The Rise of Religious Schools in Australia	Jennifer Buckingham
October	Populate and Perish? Modelling Australia's Demographic Future	Jessica Brown and Oliver Marc Hartwich
	No Quick Fix: Three Essays on the Future of the Australian Public Hospital System	Jeremy Sammut (ed)
November	Private Housing on Indigenous Lands	Helen Hughes, Mark Hughes and Sara Hudson
	Europe's Programmed Decline: An Essay on the Decline of the Old World	Oliver Marc Hartwich
December	Tax Reform: For Economic Growth or Bigger Government?	Robert Carling (ed)
	Empires on the Edge of Chaos: The Nasty Fiscal Arithmetic of Imperial Decline	Niall Ferguson
	Constitutional Conservatism	Peter Berkowitz
	Ludwig von Mises—Primer	Eamonn Butler
	Reconciling Modernity with Tradition in a Liberal Society	Chandran Kukathas
	The Multi-layered Hayek	Oliver Marc Hartwich (ed)

All these publications (pdf and hard copies) are available for purchase at the CIS online bookstore.

2010 Sydney Mont Pelerin Society General Meeting

The CIS hosted the first ever General Meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society (MPS) to be held in Australia. MPS was founded in 1947 and has eight Nobel Prize winners among its members. The common thread among the MPS membership is concern about the expansion of government, not least in state welfare, in the power of trade unions and business monopoly, and in the continuing threat and reality of inflation. For more information about the society, please visit www.montpelerin.org.

The meeting ran from 10 to 15 October at the Sydney Hilton. It was a great success, with the program being lauded as one of the best ever. The value of hosting the meeting to the CIS was threefold. It showcased our organisation and researchers to a large number of overseas visitors; it encouraged a number of Australian and New Zealand academics, and a number of young people who attended as fellows, to re-engage with the public debate about free markets and individual liberty; and it started the process of reorienting MPS, through the structure of the program and the papers presented, to consider a wider academic and geographic focus.

The meeting attracted 324 attendees from 38 different countries. The quality of the speakers was outstanding

and included academics such as **Harold Demsetz** from UCLA, **Peter Boettke** from George Mason University, and **Xianian Xu** from Shanghai; **Steven Schwartz** from Macquarie University, **Peter Rathjen** from Melbourne University, and **Terence Kealey** from Buckingham University, UK; authors **Amity Shlaes**, **Ayaan Hirsi Ali**, and **John Kampfnr**; neuroscientist **Peter Whybrow** and former Prime Minister **John Howard**, among others.

The Centre sponsored 30 young academics, thinkers and activists to attend the meeting. The majority were from Australia and New Zealand, and all left the meeting full of enthusiasm to propagate the ideas at their universities and workplaces.

Ten **Liberty & Society** alumni also came to the meeting and volunteered for us. They paid for their own travel, while we organised accommodation for them with the support of generous CIS members. Most stayed for the whole week. The volunteers sat in on some of the sessions and met with conference attendees. They all loved the experience and saw it as a great opportunity. They were a wonderful group of young people, and the MPS meeting would not have been the success it was without their tireless work.



2010 Sydney Mont Pelerin Society (cont.)



Accounts

Income and Expenditure Statement

Ending FY 30/06/2010 and 30/06/2009

	To June 2010 Audited	To June 2009 Audited
INCOME	\$	\$
Donations	1,796,863	1,612,731
Book sales and Subscriptions	139,475	151,233
Consilium/Seminar/Lecture Income	557,250	911,473
Interest & Sundry Income	22,400	66,655
TOTAL INCOME	2,515,988	2,742,092
EXPENSES	\$	\$
Research, Functions, Publishing	447,882	592,374
Fundraising & Development	59,159	139,889
Salaries Incl. Research	1,826,121	2,157,753
Administration & Rent	229,231	238,254
TOTAL EXPENSES	2,562,393	3,128,270
SURPLUS/(DEFICIT)	- 46,405	- 386,178

Capital Fund as at 30 June 2009	4,914,330
Investment Income	225,762
Capital Fund as at 30 June 2010	5,140,092

Fundraising

The CIS fundraising team has continued to innovate this year by implementing new fundraising programs that not only tap into new technologies but enhance the capabilities of CIS to attract future funding, contributing to its goals for expansion and increased longevity.

With several Foundation grants coming to the end of their cycle, it has been imperative to capture both renewed donations—from domestic and international donors—and first-time donors via new methods of fundraising in an effort to continue to promote the core values at the heart of CIS and strengthen its capacity as a truly independent voice, which is key to contributing to public policy debates on issues that affect our way of life.

Donations

Funding levels have steadied since the beginning of 2010, with funds being received predominantly from Australian/New Zealand donors (97%) and a small minority from overseas donors (3%); however, it is likely that 2011 will continue to be a tight year economically as several Foundation pledges to specific policy programs near a close.

The breakdown of donations per donor category over the past 12 months has been fairly even; however, corporate and foundation support—which fell in 2008–09 as result of the global financial crisis—has slowly been picking up.

- Individual Donations: 41%
- Foundation Donations: 31%
- Corporate Donations: 28%

Capital Fund

The CIS Capital Fund was established in 2006 as a five-year program designed to ensure the long-term future of the Centre. The Capital Fund pledges are now close to being fulfilled. Including investment income, the Centre has amassed more than \$5 million in its Capital Fund. Conservative management of the fund has ensured good returns on our investment.

Workplace Giving

Our Workplace Giving program was officially launched in September, offering donors a simple yet powerful way to donate regularly to CIS. Partnering with the **Charities Aid Foundation** (CAF) and the **Australian Charities Fund** (ACF), Workplace Giving is a program that enables our supporters to make regular donations to the Centre via payroll deduction. Additionally, as many employers dollar match staff contributions, this is an excellent way of effectively doubling contributions to the CIS.

Even a small amount donated at each pay cycle by a number of employees can go a long way towards ensuring that the CIS continues its valuable work.

Find out if your organisation has a Workplace Giving program and can double your giving capacity to the CIS.





Bequests

The CIS has received ongoing interest in bequests from its membership base but needs more supporters to convert that interest into actual pledges. One loyal donor this year pledged his support in the form of a gift of cash to help sustain the longevity of the Centre, stating:

The future belongs to the young. Leaders of tomorrow need greater awareness of government decisions, better access to government policy, and the leadership of an organisation such as the CIS that will debate policy reform, advocate change, and, more importantly, communicate this to its membership base, the public, industry leaders, policymakers, and the youth.

— CIS Bequest Donor, June 2010

This donor's legacy: to secure the type of world he wants his children and grandchildren to inherit.

Will this be yours?

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 our work. 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.

Memberships

Although predominantly from Australia and New Zealand, the Centre currently has individual members from more than 15 different countries, showing the merit and international applicability of our intellectually rigorous public policy research. Our supporters have told us that in their busy lives, it is invaluable to be involved with an organisation that can devote the necessary time to a meticulous and logical analysis of critical issues, and have access to its output. Our membership program continues to be an important component of our overall funding model, providing us with a sustainable income base.

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!**

We would like to thank all our members, supporters and donors who have contributed to the Centre's growing intellectual capacity. You have given us the strength and resources necessary to expand our activities, providing pragmatic solutions to public policy issues that affect our families and communities across the nation. **Thank you.**

For further information on memberships, donations, workplace giving, bequests or the capital fund please call the CIS on (02) 9438 4377, or go to **www.cis.org.au**.

CIS Website

Our new website was launched in July with favourable reactions from users. The first indication of the improvement in the site's reach was on Alexa rankings. From being 1,117,721 on the list of websites from all over the world, the Centre was up to 840,000 in November.

Some the areas showing noticeable improvement are:

- Increase in the number of free downloads of publications and sales of pdfs and hard copies.
- The online event registration program has made the site more customer friendly and reduced the workload for our administration staff.

- Real time payment has streamlined the payment process for membership, books and events.
- Archival material such as *POLICY* magazine articles and out-of-print publications is now available online.
- All CIS radio and video material from events and interviews are available for free download.

The website is a continually evolving project, and we will be adding more interactive options and continue to work on improving user accessibility.

CIS CONTRIBUTES TO IMPORTANT POLITICAL DEBATES IN AUSTRALIA AND ABROAD

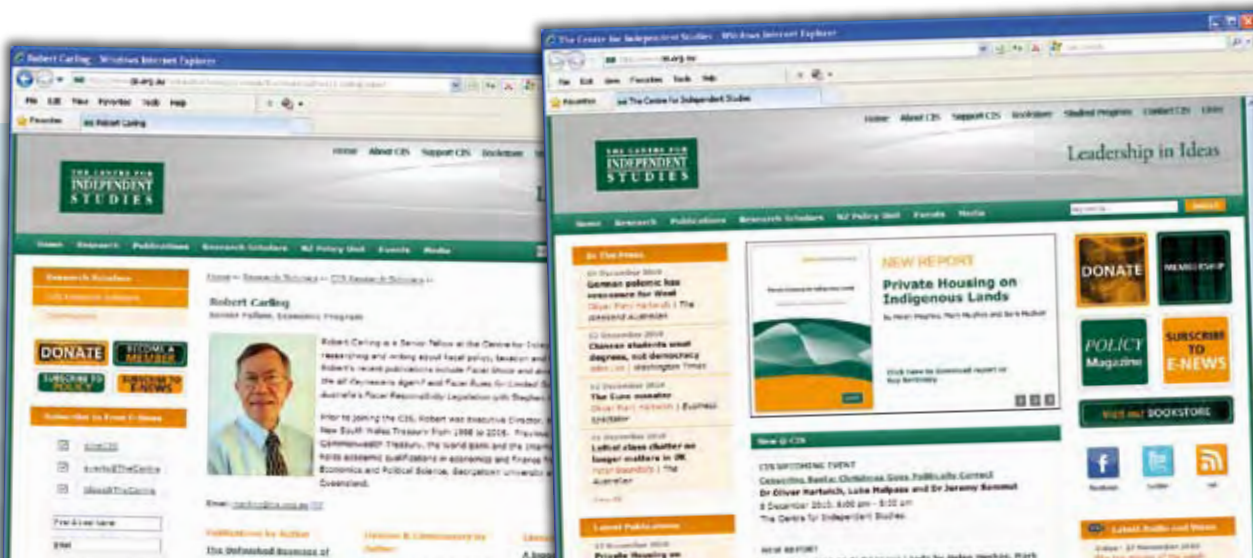
Throughout the year, CIS researchers have been engaged in numerous issues across different media.

For a long time, there has been controversy over whether Australia should include a bill of rights in the Constitution. CIS Policy Analyst **Elise Parham** entered the debate with her report *Behind the Moral Curtain*. In this timely publication, she explained how such an addition to the Constitution could be exploited by interest groups to drive their agenda past elected representatives. Shortly after the report came out, the proposed charter of rights was shelved.

Equally controversial as the bill of rights in Australia is the topic of electoral reform in New Zealand. After almost two decades of a mixed member proportional system (MMP), New Zealanders will soon decide whether their country should return to the traditional 'first past the post' system. AS CIS Policy Analyst **Luke Malpass** argued in *Superseding MMP*, such a change on its own would not do. New Zealand should also look at creating a second chamber of Parliament to provide another layer of checks and balances.

One topic that dominated global economic news throughout the year was the European financial crisis. As an economist from Germany, CIS Research Fellow **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich** became a much sought after commentator in the Australian media on European affairs. If his predictions are anything to go by, there are even greater crises for Europe on the horizon for 2011, with unforeseeable consequences for the world economy and Australia.

Among the hottest domestic debates in Australia was the 'Big Australia' question. Triggered off by then PM Kevin Rudd in the wake of the government's Intergenerational Report, the nation has been divided in its attitude towards further population growth. CIS researchers **Jessica Brown** and **Dr Oliver Marc Hartwich** entered the debate with their report *Populate and Perish?*. Their research has attracted great attention, including a front page story in the widely read *MX* newspaper. Further reports in the population growth series are scheduled, and we expect to become the first port of call for journalists wishing to cover all subjects related to the 'Big Australia' discussion.



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

— F. A. HAYEK



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