

THE CENTRE FOR INDEPENDENT STUDIES

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We must make the building of a free society once more an intellectual adventure, a deed of courage... Unless we can make the philosophic foundations of a free society once more a living intellectual issue, and its implementation a task which challenges the ingenuity and imagination of our liveliest minds, the prospects of freedom are indeed dark. But if we can regain that belief in the power of ideas which was the mark of liberalism at its best, the battle is not lost.

Friedrich Hayek

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Goals and Aims

The Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) is Australia's leading independent public policy research think tank.

Founded in 1976, the CIS has been a long-standing advocate for the market economy and a free civil society under a democratic government. The CIS promotes a strong civil society in which liberty is paramount, families and education are valued, economic freedom and property rights are assured, and individual responsibility and initiative are encouraged.

Through a rigorous research program and wide-ranging event activities, the CIS encourages serious debate among academics, politicians, media and stakeholders with the aim of assisting in the formulation and development of evidence-based policy recommendations for Australia's future prosperity and wellbeing.

The CIS promotes:

- 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.

The CIS and its research are:

- funded by private donations—from individuals, companies, charitable trusts and foundations

 as well as subscriptions, events and book sales
- politically non-partisan
- driven by the Executive Director and the research team. The CIS does not undertake commissioned research

Independence is of utmost importance to us.

From the Executive Director

Nearly 42 years on from the birth of the Centre for Independent Studies, I find myself reflecting on what sparked the idea. Even as a high school mathematics teacher in Sydney's west, I could see at the time that there was much to do — issues that were putting the prosperity and freedoms of this wonderful country at risk. And many questions about the right paths to address those issues. Enough other people thought so too, as trying to answer those questions has been sustained by them for all this time.

Recently, I spoke at a 'Think Tank Luminaries' session at the Atlas Network's annual conference in New York. It was an informal Q&A event with the other two speakers being Michael Walker from the Fraser Institute and Kris Mauren from the Acton Institute — like me, long-term think tank heads. I got the first question: what would your advice be to someone thinking of starting a think tank? "Give it a shot," I said. I suppose this marks me as some sort of entrepreneur, and that's exactly how I have always seen myself. I saw something that seemed to be missing in the intellectual marketplace in support of the free society and I just felt I had to do what I could to fill the gap.

The 60s and 70s — those decades that helped form my views on the world — were a mixture of inward-looking dull conformism and government meddling, through to wild experimentation and government adventurism. I thought there must be a better way of doing things. Surely history has shown us that markets and limited government have led to freer and more prosperous societies. Surely those lessons can't have been forgotten. Well, yes — if not completely, then partially ... and we were paying the price. So, what then are the elements of the better way and how to get there?

Different strategies could be adopted, but I always thought bad ideas needed replacing with better ones;



and that was a research and educational exercise. So, CIS was born. Throughout its history it has dealt in ideas; some directly policy-related and others of a bigger picture philosophical nature. Hayek reminds us that "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." That's been our adventure at CIS and it's been my signal privilege to lead the organisation for all those years.

Looking back at the library of published works we have produced — the words, the ideas we have made available to all — they number in the thousands of books and articles. Then there are the platforms of all kinds we have provided to speakers from Australia, and other parts of the world, arguing for the ideas so central to the CIS mission. At a time when freedom of speech is being compromised by governments and other forces,

'protecting the platforms' — as Ayaan Hirsi Ali said to CIS last year — is assuming an even greater importance.

Communicating the ideas to the wider public has always been a critical part of what we do, but in this new disruptive world of social media and changing traditional media, it's ever more so. Getting out the message to 'challenge our liveliest minds' and in the many new ways available to us will be a continuing focus with increased emphasis.

So, the core elements of our mission? 'The Centre for Independent Studies seeks to create a better Australian society through ideas, research and advocacy that support individual liberty and responsibility, free enterprise, the rule of law and limited, democratic government.' We remain eve true to this.

And so, the whistle has blown fulltime for me in my current role; and after much of a lifetime engaged in fostering the arguments of liberty in my current position, it's time to hand over. With Tom Switzer becoming Executive Director in January 2018, the next phase in the life of CIS will begin. Tom takes the reins at a time when some key challenges face CIS.

Many of the issues I thought had been argued out, and understood, have popped back onto the national agenda and could become policy (depending on who is in government). That then means the CIS role is no less important and may well be enhanced, as our independence leaves us in a unique position to influence those intellectual tides. I am pleased to say that our various programmes remain strongly in place and we have spent the last few months of 2017 working on strengthening our economics team.

So many people have been engaged in maintaining the positive and secure face of CIS. The Board, particularly chairman Peter Mason and immediate past chairman Michael Darling, my work colleagues in all their roles, and of course those many supporters who have made it possible. To all of them, as I sign out of this part of my CIS life, I offer my heartfelt thanks.

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Onward! There's still much to do.















Education

CIS continued its strong work in education research during the year, with rigorous reports and considerable media attention on our policy proposals regarding school spending.

The research report *The Fantasy of Gonski Funding: The ongoing battle over school spending* by Blaise Joseph challenged the common notion that 'Gonski funding' was consistent with the original Gonski Report into school funding. It showed that the current school funding benchmark is unreasonably high, and found that the majority of Australian school students are classified as disadvantaged and receive additional funding. The report also outlined several fundamental issues with the Gonski report and proposed viable alternative school funding options.

Getting the most out of Gonski 2.0: The evidence base for school investments also by Blaise Joseph, reviewed the evidence for school investments. The report proposed schools use the extra Gonski 2.0 money to invest in early literacy and numeracy, giving teachers fewer classes and more time outside the classroom, and classroom management training for teachers. It also found that the common school investments — reducing class sizes and increasing education technology — are not supported by the evidence.

Media output in TV, radio, print, and online has been strong. Dr Jennifer Buckingham remains a key national source of commentary on school education matters, and Blaise has established a reputation as a



Blaise Joseph and Dr Jennifer Buckingham

commentator on school funding and evidence-based education policy.

Blaise made two substantial submissions this year: to the Senate Education and Employment Committee Inquiry into *The Australian Education Amendment Bill* 2017 and the *Review to Achieve Educational Excellence* in Australian Schools.

July's seminar on student behaviour featured Tom Bennett, advisor to the UK Government, UNSW education academic Dr Sue O'Neill, and school principal Kylie Hedges.

FIVE from FIVE literacy program

The FIVE from FIVE project has continued to grow and reach more parents, teachers and policy makers, in order to further child literacy.

The profile and influence of the FIVE from FIVE project have continued to rise, boosted by the report of the government's Expert Advisory Panel on a Year 1 National Literacy and Numeracy Check, chaired by Dr Jennifer Buckingham — who was also invited to chair an expert panel to advise the South Australian government on a trial of the phonics check in 54 schools. In December, state education ministers will decide on the adoption of the phonics check screening in their states.

Much of the work of FIVE from FIVE over the year has been public speaking and behind-the-scenes advocacy and briefings to senior executives, ministers, politicians, and advisors. Jennifer has spoken at many events, both nationally and internationally. She travelled to the UK in May and July to speak with reading researchers, brief the UK government on the progress of the Phonics Check in Australia, and observe the Phonics Roadshows.

Key presentations were held at ResearchEd in Melborne, Dyslexia SPELD International Literacy Conference in Perth, Australian College of Educators, Melbourne, National Catholic Education Commission, Independent Schools QLD, Federal Department of Education, Canberra, UNSW Institute for Educational Research. Numerous professional development seminars for NSW, VIC and QLD teachers were also organised.

Three education events were hosted at CIS, including April's presentation:



FIVE From FIVE aims to have all Australian children taught to read properly

Facing facts in education: what evidence says about improving schools, with the Rt Hon Nick Gibb MP, UK Minister of State for School Standards, Mr Mark Scott AO, Secretary of NSW Department of Education, the Hon Rob Stokes MP, NSW Minister for Education. In September, Professor Rhona Stainthorp spoke at a breakfast event for senior education executives and policy writers on phonics in teaching reading.

The FIVE from FIVE alliance has continued to grow steadily. Julie Mavlian's focus on social media — including the creation of widely watched and shared videos and video animations — has seen engagement triple. Visits to the website have grown significantly. Jennifer has also written more than 12 opinion pieces in a variety of major media, centring around the phonics check and on teacher training.

Economics

The CIS Economics Program argues for policy reform for economic growth, including free trade, deregulation, lower taxes, increased competition and privatisation, reduced government duplication and waste, and increased personal responsibility and self-reliance.

With growing concern over housing affordability, CIS provided a much-needed counter to mistaken views with Michael Potter's report *Reforming Social Housing: financing and tenant autonomy*. Senior Fellow Robert Carling released the *Report Card on State Finances* that looked at the progress State governments had made in tackling their debts. The CIS also attacked the government's proposed bank levy in *The Major Bank Levy: we are all going to be hit*.

Welfare continued to be an issue of importance for the CIS economics team and the TARGET30 program. Simon Cowan released an Occasional Paper: Welfare Reform beyond decades of dependence, 'dole bludgers' and 'double dipping' that looked at the philosophical underpinnings of the welfare system. He also released a TARGET30 research report that took apart the arguments for a UBI, Universal Basic Income is an Unbelievably Bad Idea.

Robert Carling and TARGET30 program director Simon Cowan had numerous opeds and news articles. The CIS also welcomed Senior Fellow and distinguished economist Gary Banks to its economics team.

Robert Carling participated in a multi-country study on fiscal reform that was coordinated by the Macdonald Laurier Institute of Canada.



Simon Cowan and Robert Carling

The CIS econoics team hosted Mannkal Foundation scholar, Herman Toh, in January and February.

Events included the economics sessions at Consilium in 2017: Shifting Tectonic Plates: Global Economic Policy & Protectionist Drift, The Decline of Work & Society; A Populist Lament, and Rise of Robots: Existential Threat or Boon to Mankind?

John Slater delivered the 2017 Helen Hughes Lecture on Industrial Relations in Australia: A Handbrake on Prosperity. In July, CIS hosted a budget breakfast that took a deeper policy angle on some of the budget announcements. The CIS also hosted a number of Leadership Lunches with an economic theme.

Simon Cowan spoke at a well-attended panel debate hosted by the Australian Treasury and also spoke at the Empowering Ideas Forum in Bangkok, which looked at the role of think tanks in the Asia-Pacific region.

Healthcare Innovation Program

The Health Innovation Program continues to focus attention on key structural issues that increase the cost and lower the quality of Australian healthcare. The program proposes politically-feasible and practical reforms to improve the health system's cost-effectiveness and sustainability.

Dr Jeremy Sammut's report **Real Choice for Ageing Australians: Achieving the Benefits of Consumer- Directed Care in the New Economy** set out a 'to-do' list of reforms the federal government should undertake to maximise the provision, value, and quality of 'home care' services for elderly Australians.

Jeremy's report *Fiscal Fiction: The Real Medicare Levy* showed that the official Medicare Levy covers only a fraction of the actual cost of Medicare.

Jeremy also published, with Senior Fellow David Gadiel, Medi-Mess: Rational Federalism and Patient Cost-Sharing For Public Hospital Sustainability in Australia, which argues that state governments must lead the way on reform of federal-state financial relations to safeguard their budgets from Medicare.

Dr Jessica Borbasi's report *Life Before Death: Accessing Palliative Care in Australia* examined the lack of access to palliative care services.

Recent work in the Health Innovation Program will also be presented early next year as an edited collection titled *The Future of Medicare*.

The case for choice-based Health Savings Accounts as a politically feasible way to achieve health reform was the



Dr Jeremy Sammut and Dr Jessica Borbasi

subject of a chapter by Jeremy on health policy in the book *Making Australia Right: Where to From Here*.

Jeremy spoke at the Melbourne Institute and The Australian's 2017 Economic and Social Outlook Conference: New Directions In An Uncertain World, on a panel discussing 'The Future of Medicare' with Shadow Federal Health Minister, Catherine King MP and Federal President of the Australian Medical Association, Dr Michael Gannon.

CIS will also continue advocating a comprehensive solution for Medicare's unsustainability in an ageing Australia by allowing Australians to voluntarily opt-out of Medicare, cash-out their taxpayer-funded health entitlements, and opt-in to Health Savings Accounts to save and spend their own health dollars.

Indigenous Prosperity Project

The Indigenous Prosperity Project has a dual focus — identifying and assessing the factors that can drive Indigenous economic development, and understanding the issues that contribute to Indigenous disadvantage, such as domestic violence.

In 2017, the focus has been on the effective evaluation of Indigenous programs and strategies to promote Indigenous-owned businesses as a means of boosting the participation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians in the economy.

To give context and gather data, Sara Hudson and Charles Jacobs made several fieldwork trips throughout the year to remote communities. Sara's research report, *Evaluating Indigenous Programs: A Tool Kit for Change* gained national coverage. Subsequently, she was consulted by the NSW government on procurement policy and evaluation strategies. She was also consulted by the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet on the Indigenous Advancement Grants Policy framework, cited in the QLD Productivity Commission's draft report on remote service delivery, and invited to join ANZ's Indigenous Advisory Council. In October, Sara participated in a panel at the Indigenous Data Sovereignty Symposium, and her report snapshot was included in the conference pack.

Charles' report *Risky Business: the problems* of *Indigenous business policy* was released in November, receiving coverage in The Australian and on the ABC. He gave a presentation to the Northwood University in Michigan, USA.



Sara Hudson and Charles Jacobs

Research Associate Jacinta Price made regular appearances on the Drum and appeared on ABC TV's Q&A, 2GB's Alan Jones show and a host of other national media, and presented an address at the LibertyFest conference.

Events throughout the year included: a public lecture by Sara Hudson and Nicholas Gruen on evidence-based policy; a private roundtable attended by members of the Productivity Commission and department of Prime Minister and Cabinet; and a public lecture by Josephine Cashman for the release of her paper on *Impact Investing: Harnessing Capital Markets to Solve Societal Problems*.

In 2018, the Indigenous Prosperity Project will continue to focus on identifying success factors for Indigenous economic development.

Religion & Civil Society

The CIS's Religion & Civil Society program explores the contribution that religion and religious practice make to a liberal society and evaluates the ways in which religion enhances social capital in civil society.

The principal contributor to the program is Research Fellow Peter Kurti who was joined earlier this year by Senior Fellow, Bishop Robert Forsyth.

Peter's publication *The Tyranny of Tolerance: Threats to Religious Liberty in Australia* brings together a series of research reports looking at issues of religious liberty. Successful events for the book were held in Brisbane and Sydney, and it received considerable public attention.

He also published two Occasional Papers: Terror in the Name of God: Confronting Acts of Religious Violence in a Liberal Society, and Reason, Repentance, and the Individual: Recovering the Religious Roots of Western Civilization.

Peter delivered the fifth *Robert Iles Memorial Lecture* in Adelaide in October and spoke at the Mannkal Economic Foundation Conference on Western Civilization in Perth in November.

The 2017 Acton Lecture: Civil Virtues and the Politics of 'Full Drift Ahead' was delivered by Professor Iain Benson, Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame, Sydney.

The Religion and Civil Society program — on behalf of CIS — made a submission to the Joint Standing



Robert Forsyth and Peter Kurti

Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade inquiring into the status of the human right to freedom of religion or belief.

Opinion pieces and commentary on religion and civil society have been sought by a broad range of major mainstream and specialist media, across televison, radio, print and online.

Pressure to enforce tolerance and avoid offending minority groups means that patterns of Australian religious practice may change. The RCS program will continue to explore the influence and impact of religion on civil society in Australia, and to defend the religious foundations of liberty.

Scholar-in-Residence

The 2017 CIS Max Hartwell Scholar-in-Residence was noted American writer and commentator Kay S. Hymowitz.

Kay Hymowitz is the William E. Simon Fellow at the Manhattan Institute and a contributing editor of City Journal, and writes extensively on childhood, family issues, poverty, and cultural change — including recently a focus on the gentrification of suburbs, and on the role women played in support of, and the movement against, Donald Trump.

She is the author of (among others): The New Brooklyn: What it Takes to Bring a City Back; Manning Up: How the Rise of Women Has Turned Men into Boys; Marriage and Caste in America: Separate and Unequal Families in a Post-Marital Age; and Liberation's Children: Parents and Kids in a Postmodern Age. She has also written for the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, The New Republic, and a wide range of other publications.

While in Australia for her residency at CIS, she was sought for appearances on ABC TV's The Drum panel show and a range of other interviews.

Kay delivered addresses at CIS events, most notably with Warren Mundine on the topic *Trump Voters and*



Kay S. Hymowitz addressing a CIS event

Greyhound Bans: Meet the Real 'Deplorables' of the US and OZ, and with Judith Sloan on the topic: Faux Feminism: Traffic Light Equality, are we missing the point?

While in residence at CIS, she also worked with our researchers in exploring a range of issues that are being experienced both in the United States and here in Australia — including gentrification and housing affordability — for which she was able to offer invaluable insights.

Liberty & Society Student Program

The Liberty & Society Student Conference has just completed its 22nd year. It continues to be a rare opportunity for open minded students to gather for a weekend of discussion, debate and engaging conversations about topical and societal issues from a classical liberal and libertarian viewpoint.

CIS recognises the importance of exposing, challenging and supporting young people who have an interest in exploring the foundations of a free society. L&S student conferences are highly regarded with many participants saying the weekend was pivotal in building their personal, philosophical framework.

The 2017 L&S Conferences were held in Melbourne in May, and in Perth in August. The conferences comprised a wide range of students from across Australia and New Zealand, with lecturers including; Andrew Norton (Grattan Institute), John Thrasher (Monash University), Dr Darryn Jensen (Australian National University), Professor Sinclair Davidson (RMIT Melbourne), Greg Sheridan (The Australian) and Michael Keenan MP.

As universities become more and more adverse to upholding freedom of speech, rigorous exploration of ideas, and challenges to other schools of thought, there will be continued demand for events such as Liberty & Society.

2018 will see a changing of the guard with a number of younger staff taking on, running and revitalising the program.

Consistent support from individual donors and foundations including the Lyngala Foundation and



Students discuss the classical liberal ideas presented in the Liberty and Society lecture program

Mannkal Economic Education Foundation, allows us to offer generous scholarships to attendees to ensure that all students are able to apply and attend L&S.



Consilium

Consilium — deriving from the Latin word for deliberation — is an annual invitation-only conference that brings together influential business, political and academic leaders to debate key issues and shape public policy debate in Australia.

The recent fractious state of political and civic life featured in our 2017 Consilium session on *The Decline of Work & Society: A Populist Lament*. CIS Executive Director Greg Lindsay AO was flanked by economist Professor Jeff Borland from Melbourne University; Minister for Social Services the Hon Alan Tudge MP; and Jon Williams from PwC. Key themes were the growing schism in western societies and the working class' disenfranchisement.

The Guardian Australia's Political Editor Katharine Murphy, The Australian's Editor-at-Large Paul Kelly, and IPA Executive Director John Roskam also explored the tumultuous state of Australian politics in a forthright discussion about lack of philosophical clarity, fragmented representation, and the toxic work environment politicians and their staffers toil in – major threats to our democracy and governance.

In Rise of the Robots: Existential Threat or Boon to Mankind?, automation, big data and artificial intelligence were discussed by Dr Rodney Brooks, MIT Emeritus Professor of Robotics and founder of Rethink Robotics; ABC RN Breakfast program's Technology Editor Peter Marks; and Data61 CEO and technology entrepreneur Adrian Turner. While all speakers identified as cyber-optimists, opinions differed on potential issues. Dr Brooks recommended that cyber-alarmists stop panicking, noting the media dramatically overstates the speed at which AI will become a reality.

Firebrand journalist Rowan Dean, Editor of The Spectator Australia, explored the importance of cultivating resilience in our session on True Grit with UK speaker Frank Furedi, Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the University of Kent; and psychologist Dr Tanveer Ahmed. As Calvin Coolidge said, "Nothing in this world can take the place of persistence. Talent will not; nothing is more common than unsuccessful people with talent. Genius will not; unrewarded genius is almost a proverb. Education will not; the world is full of educated derelicts. Persistence and determination alone are omnipotent."

The End of Pax Americana? was hotly debated by American foreign policy expert Ying Ma; Peter Jennings PSM, Executive Director of ASPI; Dr Peter Dean, Senior Fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre; and CIS incoming Executive Director Tom Switzer, formerly a Senior Fellow with the US Studies Centre.

Professor Gary Banks AO, former Chairman of the Productivity Commission, spoke in his new capacity as a CIS Senior Fellow. The disturbing topic was Shifting Tectonic Plates: Global Economic Policy & Protectionist Drift, on anti-globalisation forces that have recently emerged as a political force. He was joined by Meghan Quinn PSM, Deputy Secretary of Federal Treasury's Structural reform Group; Michael Stutchbury, Editor-in-Chief of The Australian Financial Review, and Warren Hogan, ANZ's former Chief Economist. Anti-globalisation sentiments are partly the result of a widespread lack of trust created by crony capitalists and point-scoring politicians.

This issue was raised again in *The Slow Decay of Trust*, featuring Oxford philosopher and former Royal Marines commando Dr Tom Simpson; former Anglican Bishop of South Sydney and now CIS Research Fellow, The Right Reverend Robert Forsyth; and senior journalist Paul Kelly. According to the annual Edelman Trust Barometer, "The implications of the global trust crisis are deep and wide-ranging... The consequence is virulent populism and nationalism as the mass population has taken control away from the elites."



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- 1 Professor Frank Furedi
- 2. Member of the European Parliament, Daniel Hannan MEP
- Assistant Minister for Cities and Digital Transformation, Hon. Angus Taylor MP
- High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Hon. Alexander Downer
- 5. Former Trade Minister, Hon.
 Andrew Robb AO
- 5. Dr Jennifer Buckingham
- The late Bill Leak, his wife Goong, and entertainer Barry Humphries (as Sir Les Patterson)
- 8. Minister for Human Services
 Hon. Alan Tudge MP
- 9. Minister for Social Services, Hon. Christian Porter MP
- 10. Hon. Senator David Coltar
- 11. Professor Henry Erga
- Former High Court Judge, the Hon. Dyson Heydon AC QC
- Notre Dame University Professor of Law, Iain Benson, delivers the 2017 Acton Lecture



Event Highlights

The CIS had another full year of activities, lectures, roundtables and business lunches.

This year, we have organised more than 60 events, ranging from the *Helen Hughes Lecture for Emerging Thinkers* to program-based events, and — perhaps one of our more memorable evenings — the book launch for the late Bill Leak's collection of cartoons.

Public Lectures and Panels

Throughout 2017 we held a wide range of public lectures and panel events with topics ranging from Foreign policy talk on Russia, The EU and NATO to trade, populism, and neo-protectionism with speakers including Andrew Robb AO, Professor Henry Ergas and Josephine Cashman.

The year began with one of our most successful and well attended events held in-house, *Trump in Oz!*Could 'The Donald' happen here? Tom Switzer, Louise Clegg and Ross Cameron vociferously debated whether Australia's political landscape could become dominated by populist politics. Perhaps an omen for the year?

Kay Hymowitz, our 2017 Max Hartwell Scholar-in-

Residence (see page 12), spoke on several occasions while at the CIS. Kay shed light on the rise of Trump, and offered contextual and insightful perspectives on 'The Deplorables' (Trump's voter base), feminism and

the decline of marriage, sharing the podiums with Nyunggai Warren Mundine in Sydney and Judith Sloan in Melbourne.

Our 17th annual *Acton Lecture* featured Professor Iain Benson, from the University of Notre Dame, who spoke on civic values, virtues and shared community morals. John Slater, former director of the HR Nicholls Society and frequent contributor to the Spectator, delivered our second *Annual Helen Hughes Lecture for Emerging Thinkers*. John spoke on industrial relations reform and on what steps he believes would allow Australia to unlock its full economic potential.

Education and Dr Jennifer Buckingham's FIVE from FIVE program were a strong focus of several of our private roundtables, public lectures, breakfasts and panel events. April was a particularly key month as it was marked by the visit of UK Schools Minister Hon Nick Gibb MP. At a strongly-attended event, Facing facts in education: What the evidence says about improving schools, held in-house at the CIS, Minister Gibb delivered a speech advocating for the benefits of introducing a phonics screening check for children in Year 1, alongside NSW Education Minister Rob Stokes and Secretary of the NSW Department of Education, Mark Scott

Either side of our annual Consilium conference, we hosted events providing our members and the public an opportunity to engage with some of the international Consilium speakers. Professor Tom Simpson delivered an engaging speech on *Liberty and Surveillance: What should governments and private corporations know about you?*



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Professor Frank Furedi, a long-time friend of the CIS, spoke alongside former vice-chancellor Professor Steven Schwartz and Professor Marguerite Johnson on the infantilisation of universities, trigger warnings, cultural appropriation, suppression, 'safe spaces' and the suppression of free speech and ideas on campuses.

Leadership, Members and Public Lunches

Our popular, invitation-only Leadership Lunch series continued with a selection of influential political and business leaders speaking on crucial issues. The introduction of Members' and Public lunches also saw a new event format allowing greater networking and discussion on key issues.

This years' topics ranged from tax, welfare and benefits reform to the work of the Productivity Commission and Fair Work Commission, domestic security, globalisation, Brexit and our final event on *The State of the Australian Economy*.

Some of 2017's speakers included; Kelly O'Dwyer MP, Gary Banks AO, Professor Jack Mintz, Graeme Watson, Tony Abbott MP, AP Dr Razeen Sally, Alan Tudge MP, Alexander Downer AC; Christian Porter MP, Michael Pezzullo, Angus Taylor and Dr Philip Lowe.

Book Launches

The CIS launched *Trigger Warning: Deplorable Cartoons* by the late Bill Leak, to an audience of some of Bill's closest friends, family and colleagues. Gatecrashed by iconic comedian Barry Humphries as the famed vulgarian Sir Les Patterson, it was an evening to remember — with Nick Cater, Tony Morris QC and Calum Thwaites also speaking on more serious notes about freedom of speech (and cartoons).

Peter Kurti's *Tyranny of Tolerance — Threats to Religious Liberty*, with a foreword by former Prime Minister John Howard, was launched by Dyson Heydon AC QC in Sydney, and by Professor James Allen in Brisbane. The CIS also launched *The Struggle Continues — 50 years of tyranny in Zimbabwe* by Senator David Coltart with a speech by Mr Howard.

Breakfasts

The Centre held a new breakfast-format event, *Politics and the Budget: Down the Slippery Slope*, in June. It was hosted by Robert Carling alongside Tony Shepherd AO, *The Australian*'s Editor-at-Large Paul Kelly, and Professor David Gallagher, and focused on 2017's federal budget and subsequent issues.

In September, Dr Jennifer Buckingham hosted Professor Rhona Stainthorp and education professionals on the topic of *Phonics, Literacy and Education*.

Working Lunches

The Centre also held several working lunches allowing open dialogue with guests including: prominent Eurosceptic and British MEP Dan Hannan; Professor Richard Baldwin; UK Schools Minister, The Hon Nick Gibb; American political journalist John Fund; and Eran Lerman, former Deputy for Foreign Policy and International Affairs at Israel's National Security Council.

A full event listing appears on pages 20–21, and further details and videos of some of 2017's activities may be found on cis.org.au and our Youtube channel.

Events at a Glance

PUBLIC LECTURE

Trump in OZ! Could 'The Donald' Happen Here?

Mr Ross Cameron, Ms Louise Clegg & Mr Tom Switzer

LEADERSHIP LUNCH

Reward for Effort:

Encouraging enterprise through tax reform

The Hon Kelly O'Dwyer MP

WORKING LUNCH

Professor Richard Baldwin

ROUNDTABL

Cancer for the cure

Professor Matt Trau, Ass. Professor Martin Berry & Ass. Professor Kerwyn Foo

PUBLIC LUNCH

Captured Courts and Tribunals: A Threat to Democracy

Mr Graeme Watson

PUBLIC LECTURE

Europe, NATO and Mother Russia: Life in Post-Soviet Europe

Mr Janusz Onyszkiewicz & Mr Marek Burdajewicz

CONFERENCE

L&S Melbourne

PUBLIC LECTURE

People, Politics and the new Populism

Professor Henry Ergas AO

WORKING LUNCH

Mr Steve Davies

PUBLIC LECTURE

Education Expert panel

The Rt Hon Nick Gibb, Ms Mandy Nayton OAM, Professor Pamela Snow, Dr Jennifer Buckingham, & Mr Steven Capp

WORKING LUNCH

Education Working Lunch

The Rt Hon Nick Gibb

WORKING LUNCH

Mr Grover Norquist

ROUNDTABLE

Palliative Care Roundtable

Dr Jeremy Sammut & Dr Jessica Borbasi

WORKING LUNCH

Daniel Hannan MEP

LEADERSHIP LUNCH

Of lists undone: too hard or not trying?

Professor Gary Banks AO

BOOK LAUNCH

Trigger Warning by Bill Leak

Bill Leak, Barry Humphries AO, CBE, Mr Nick Cater and Anthony Morris QC

PUBLIC LUNCH

Australia dithers while Canada acts?
Tax reform in the World of Trump

Professor Jack Mintz

PUBLIC LECTURE

Trump Voters and Greyhound Bans:
Meet the Real 'Deplorables' of the US and OZ

Ms Kay Hymowitz & Mr Nyunggai Warren Mundine AO

PUBLIC LECTURE

Faux Feminism: Traffic Light Equality, are we missing the point?

Ms Kay Hymowitz, Professor Judith Sloan & Mr Anthony Adair

DINNER

Supporter Dinner

Ayaan Hirsi Ali

PUBLIC LECTURE

Facing facts in education:

What the evidence says about improving schools

The Rt Hon Nick Gibb, The Hon Rob Stokes & Mr Mark Scott

ROUNDTABLE

Education Round Table

The Rt Hon Nick Gibb

PUBLIC LECTURE

100 Days On: Trump and Trade - The Impact of Neo-Protectionism on Australia

Hon Andrew Robb AO

WORKING LUNCH

Mr John H. Fund

PUBLIC LECTURE

2017 Acton Lecture: Civic Virtues and the Politics of 'Full Drift Ahead'

Professor lain Benson

PUBLIC LECTURE

2017 Helen Hughes Lecture for Emerging Thinkers. Unlocking Australia's economic potential; IR Reform

Mr John Slater

BOOK LAUNCH

The Tyranny of Tolerance Book Event Brisbane Rev Peter Kurti & Professor James Allan

PUBLIC LECTURE

Taking control of the classroom: How teachers and principals can improve behaviour in schools

Mr Tom Bennett, Dr Sue O'Neill & Ms Kylie Hedger

BREAKFAST LECTURE

Politics and the Budget: down the slippery slope we go!

Tony Shepherd AO, Mr Paul Kelly, Mr Robert Carling, Professor David Gallagher

CONFERENCE L&S Perth

BOOK LAUNCH

The Struggle Continues

Hon Senator David Coltart, The Hon John Howard OM AC

PUBLIC LECTURE

Evidence-based policy: Why is progress so slow?

Mr Nick Gruen, Ms Sara Hudson

LEADERSHIP LUNCH

Welfare Reform

The Hon Christian Porte

MEMBERS LUNCH

CIS Members Lunch with Michael Pezzullo, Secretary of the Department of Immigration and Border Protection

Mr Michael Pezzullo

CONFERENCE Consilium 2017

BREAKFAST LECTURE

Phonics Breakfast

Professor Rhona Stainthorp

PUBLIC LECTURE

Impact Investing: Harnessing Capital Markets to Solve Societal Problems

Ms Josephine Cashman

LEADERSHIP LUNCH

The State of the Australian Economy

BOOK LAUNCH

The Tyranny of Tolerance Book Event Sydney

Rev Peter Kurti & John Dyson Heydon AC QC

LEADERSHIP LUNCH

Submarines: Why settle for second best?

The Hon Tony Abbott MP

MEMBERS LUNCH

Razeen Sally on the UK results, Brexit and what it means for the Asia Pacific

Associate Professor Dr Razeen Sally

LEADERSHIP LUNCH

Beyond Income Support: The enduring problems with poverty in Australia.

The Hon Alan Tudge MP

LEADERSHIP LUNCH

Reflections from our High Commissioner on Brexit

The Hon Alexander Downer AC

WORKING LUNCH

Shifting Alliances in the Middle East

Dr Eran Lerman

HACKATHON

Health Hackathon Weekend: Save Time, Save Lives

ROUNDTABLE

Policy Evaluation Roundtable

WORKING LUNCH

Chinese Delegation and Visit

Guests from the Research Centre of the State Council

PUBLIC LECTURE

Liberty and Surveillance: What should governments and private corporations know about you?

Associate Professor Tom Simpson

PUBLIC LECTURE

What's happened to the University?

Professor Frank Furedi, Associate Professor Marguerite Johnson, Emeritus Prof Steven Schwartz AM

LEADERSHIP LUNCH

The Digital Economy

The Hon Angus Taylor

MEMBERS FUNCTION

CIS 2017 Members Christmas Soirée

DECEMBE











FINANCIAL REVIEW

State spending report card: As good as it gets for NSW and bad news for WA



Damned for Spurning the Blind Eye



ome things just can't be said without incurring the wrath of those with a vested in





Ten warning signs your child is struggling at school

Jennifer Buckingham and Greg Ashman, The Sunday Telegraph

THE AUSTRALI

\$6bn a year fails to help Aborigines, says **CIS** report

Indigenous affairs spending worth \$5.9 billion a year is not delivering results







Centre for Independent Studies

Building Indigenous competitive



WINEWS

advantage

by NAPLAN bands

FINANCIAL REVIEW Public companies are already demonstrably diverse, why sign up to extra pledges?

Herald Sun

MINEWS





A testing time for students



Threats anew to freedom of

religion, speech

The Sydney Morning Herald

Why the world can't give up its nuclear weapons Tom Switzer 😄

ome bad ideas never die. After those who lived through the onsequences of them are gone, the fallacious policies reappear, mbraced by a new generation convinced it is smarter than its

it is with the United Nations. Last week, the internat ning a treaty to ban nuclear weapons, which 122

FINANCIAL REVIEW

Gonski schools funding: much more money in search of a rationale



by Blaise Joseph

When two people say the complete opposite, you can conclude either that one of them is wrong or the truth lies somewhere in between.

Media and Communications

3,809
NEWS STORIES

I49

I, OI4

BROADCASTS

I25

The Centre for Independent Studies has a long-standing reputation for developing rigorously researched and insightful policy ideas, and assiduously promoting them to both government and the public. Our researchers are seen as experts in their fields, frequently being called upon for commentary on the issues of the day.

In 2017, CIS published 149 op-eds, was cited in 3809 news stories, and researchers appeared in 1014 radio broadcasts and on 125 TV shows, with an overall 23% rise in media.

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

Research promotion in 2017 focused on a total of 30 publications, including 12 Research Reports (of which 3 were TARGET30 papers), 8 Occasional Papers, and 5 submissions to government.

Another key focus for media liaison is promotion of CIS events, with widespread coverage given in 2017 to high-profile Australian and international speakers for a range of events. In addition to media coverage, CIS is continually exploring ways to increase its use of direct and electronic communications, including further growing its social media profile, and improving and enhancing its digital newsletters and video and multimedia production.



yahoo7.com.au/sunrise

The Sydney Morning Herald Comment

Why those scorned by the political elites chose a wrecking ball

Simon Cowan

ADE 25



In his acceptance speech as president-elect, Donald Trump talked of the need for Republicans and Democrats to come together as one

Publications

Our rigorous research publications form a crucial part of the foundation of the CIS's public profile and endeavour to promulgate policy proposals. During 2016, CIS published 13 Research Reports, 7 Submissions, 8 Occasional Papers, and 4 editions of the CIS quarterly journal, POLICY, focusing on new ideas, debates and opinion.









CIS Occasional Papers 2017

From Reform to Retreat: 30 Years of Australian Fiscal Policy

Robert Carling



Industrial Relations in Australia: a Handbrake on Prosperity

John Slater



Reason, Repentance, and the Individual: Recovering the Religious Roots of Western Civilisation

Peter Kurti



Acton Lecture 2017: Civic Virtues and the Politics of 'Full Drift Ahead'

lain Benson



The History Wars Matter

Jeremy Sammut



Terror in the Name of God: Confronting acts of religious violence in a liberal society

Peter Kurti



Impact Investing: harnessing capital markets to solve societal problems

Josephine Cashman



Welfare reform beyond decades of dependence, 'dole bludgers' and 'double dipping'

Simon Cowan



CIS Research Reports 2017

Risky Business: The Problems with Indigenous Business Policy

Charles Jacobs

The Commonwealth's Indigenous
Procurement Policy (IPP) has
achieved its targets, but there are
issues – namely, the way success
is measured and figures can be
manipulated. Its impact on open market tendering
must also be questioned. It is also clear that the
impact of Government procurement is limited to
certain industries, and purchasing requirements
are relatively narrow.



Jessica Borbasi

Myths like the problems associated with modern death and dying can be solved by allowing more Australians to die at home, and that most people want to die at home, but don't, undermine the broader benefits that good palliative care can provide for patients.



Jeremy Sammut

The changes to child protection services in NSW are a blueprint for genuine systemic change and are designed to address the unsustainable trajectory of OOHC services. If the NSW reforms are emulated, this will allow other state and territory governments to successfully negotiate the cultural politics and end the 'adoption wars'.



UBI – Universal Basic Income is an Unbelievably Bad Idea

Simon Cowan

UBI advocates argue that 47% of jobs are at risk from advances in machine learning and robotics. But, there is little evidence of technological unemployment, and UBI would be unaffordable and would involve additional taxation.



Getting the most out of Gonski 2.0: The evidence base for school investments

Blaise Joseph

Schools should invest in evidencebased, cost-effective policies to improve literacy and numeracy results. Reducing class sizes and increasing education technology are not supported by evidence.



Medi-Mess: Rational Federalism and Patient Cost-Sharing for Public Hospital Sustainability in Australia

David Gadiel; Jeremy Sammut

State governments have yet to understand how their best interests would have been served by levying a state income tax to fund their health services.



The Major Bank Levy: We're all going to be hit

Michael Potter

The proposed major bank levy is flawed, and will likely: harm business investment; have minimal impact on Australia's AAA credit rating; and increase financial market risk.



Evaluating Indigenous programs: a toolkit for change

Sara Hudson

The federal government recently announced the allocation of extra funds to strengthen the evaluation of Indigenous programs. It must now adopt a developmental and a



co-accountability approach that embeds an overarching evaluation framework into a program's design as part of a continuous quality improvement process.

Fiscal Fiction: The Real Medicare Levy

Jeremy Sammut

An alternative approach to hiking taxes and increasing the Medicare Levy is to seeking efficiencies in health spending by undertaking reforms that can produce substantial savings. This



report provides details about the 'real' Medicare levy – the actual proportions and rate of income tax that funds Medicare entitlements and other health-related government expenditure.

The Fantasy of Gonski Funding: The ongoing battle over school spending

Blaise Joseph

The Gonski Report has not been implemented – there is no such thing as 'Gonski funding.' The current school funding benchmark is unreasonably high. There were several fundamental issues with the Gonski Report to begin with. There are viable alternative school funding options which should be considered instead.



Reforming Social Housing: financing and tenant autonomy

Michael Potter

The government is proposing to address financing issues in social housing by establishing a subsidised bond aggregator. Instead, funding to the States under the National



Affordable Housing Agreement should be reformed, largely replaced by rent assistance being paid to public housing tenants.

Real Choice for Ageing Australians: Achieving the Benefits of the Consumer-Directed Aged Care Reforms in the New Economy

Jeremy Sammut

The consumer-directed aged care (CDC) could fall short of their promise and fail to optimise

the potential outcomes due to lack of follow up and follow through reforms. This report encourages the federal government to implement a 'to do' list of additional reforms to promote real choice and greater improvements in the efficiency and effectiveness of consumer-driven aged care in the new economy.

Report Card on State Finances

Robert Carling

In aggregate, since plunging heavily into deficit after 2007, the states' fiscal position has improved markedly in recent years, marked by a return to net operating surpluses, much reduced fiscal deficits, and



stabilization of net debt. However, no state is in a position to be complacent and all of them need to keep a tight rein on operating expenses.

External Engagement

CIS robustly engages with the world beyond our doors with the aim of strengthening our voice in public policy.

We connect, collaborate and advocate with many of Australia's leading organisations, building important relationships across the policy spectrum. These relationships allow our researchers to gain new perspectives and share their expertise.

We meet with MPs, senators and senior bureaucrats to present our research and make the case for evidencebased policy development. Our central office location, in the CBD area of Sydney, and our purpose-built and flexible function room have given us a greater capacity to host high-level roundtable discussions, seminars, forums and presentations.

These gatherings have proved ideal for generating and sharing thought-provoking ideas, and provide the basis for creating solutions for the future.

Fundraising

We deeply value and appreciate your ongoing support. Your donations, membership and subscriptions all play a critical role in making possible our research, communications and events, and allow us to continue arguing for improved public policy, liberty and enterprise.

Donations and Membership

We are grateful to our donors and members who have shown their support by taking up or renewing their memberships, and/or by donating generously towards annual giving and the End of Financial Year Appeal. The 2017 End of Financial Appeal was one of our highest achieving appeals to date.

We are also enormously appreciative of the individuals and organisations who have provided us with special program funding.

In particular, the FIVE from FIVE literacy initiative and The Prosperity Project: Strategies for Indigenous Economic Development have been well funded.

In 2018, we will be seeking support for our Economics and Religion and Civil Society programs, the latter of which investigates the implications of a liberal understanding of freedom of religion in a civil society.

We could not do this important work without you — so thank you!

Donations, memberships and other forms of support are the lifeblood of our work, and we thank all our contributors for their continued support. All donations over \$2 are tax deductible, and all support makes a difference! For further information on memberships, donations, bequests or the capital fund and building fund please call us on **(02) 9438 4377** or go to **www.cis.org.au**.

Researchers

Professor Gary Banks

Senior Fellow

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



Research Associate, Healthcare Innovation Program (To Dec, 2017)

Jessica published the research report

Life Before Death: Improving Palliative

Care for Older Australians, exploring the

myths around death and dying in Australia, with a focus
on palliative care.



Senior Research Fellow and Director of FIVE from FIVE literacy campaign

Jennifer's main area of work is school education, particularly literacy. The FIVE from FIVE campaign is growing, and Jennifer is frequently consulted on literacy policy at the national level, is a board member of AITSL, and chaired the federal government's expert panel on the need for a literacy check for school students.



Senior Fellow, Economics Program

Robert's expertise is in fiscal policy, taxation and federalism. This year he published *Report Card on State Finances* and *From Reform to Retreat: 30 Years of Australian Fiscal Policy.*



Simon Cowan

Research Manager and TARGET30 Program Director

Simon manages the research report process and co-ordinates the TARGET30 government spending program. In 2017, he published Welfare reform beyond decades of dependence, 'dole bludgers' and 'double dipping' and Universal Basic Income: An Unbelievably Bad Idea.



Research Fellow and Indigenous Prosperity Project Manager (To Nov, 2017)

In 2017, Sara published the research report, *Evaluating Indigenous programs:* a toolkit for change.



David Gadiel

Senior Fellow, Social Foundations Program

This year, David co-authored the research report *Medi-Mess: Rational Federalism and Patient Cost-Sharing for Public Hospital Sustainability in Australia.*



The Right Rev. Robert Forsyth

Senior Fellow, Religion and Civil Society Program

Robert Forsyth was the Anglican Bishop of South Sydney, from 2000 to 2015. He has been extensively involved in the areas of religious freedom and public policy.



Charles Jacobs

Policy Analyst, Indigenous Prosperity Project

In 2017, Charles published the research report *Risky business: the problems* of *Indigenous business policy*, which proposed strategies to foster Indigenous business.



Blaise Joseph

Policy Analyst, Education Program

This year, Blaise published the research reports The Fantasy of Gonski Funding: The ongoing battle over school spending and Getting the most out of Gonski 2.0: The evidence base for school investments.



Research Fellow, Religion and Civil **Society Program**

In 2017, Peter published the papers Terror in the Name of God: Confronting acts of religious violence in a liberal society and Reason, Repentance, and the Individual: Recovering the Religious Roots of Western Civilisation, plus the book The Tyranny of Tolerance: Threats to Religious Liberty in Australia.

Barry Maley

Senior Fellow

Barry in 2017 contributed to Welfare reform beyond decades of dependence, 'dole bludgers' and 'double dipping'.

Michael Potter

Research Fellow, Economics Program (To Aug, 2017)

Michael authored the 2017 papers The Major Bank Levy: We're all going to be hit and Reforming Social Housing: financing and tenant autonomy.

Jacinta Nampijinpa Price

Research Associate, Indigenous Program

Jacinta had several opinion pieces published in major media, and was sought after for broadcast interviews and panels.



Dr Jeremy Sammut

Senior Research Fellow, Healthcare **Innovation Program**

Jeremy's work in health, history and child protection continued in 2017 with The History Wars Matter, Medi-Mess: Rational Federalism and Patient Cost-Sharing for Public Hospital Sustainability in Australia; Fiscal Fiction: The Real Medicare Levy; Real Choice for Ageing Australians: Achieving the Benefits of the Consumer-Directed Aged Care Reforms in the New Economy; and Resetting the Pendulum: Balanced, Effective, Accountable Child Protection Systems and Adoption Reform in Australia.



Professor Steven Schwartz

Senior Fellow

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



Tom Switzer

Senior Research Fellow, incoming **Executive Director**

Tom is the incoming Executive Director (starting in January 2018), and is a prominent commentator and media figure, with experience across major Australian newspapers and broadcasting. He is sought after for commentary on both domestic politics and international affairs.





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Accounts

The Centre For Independent Studies Ltd

Income & Expenditure Statement

Ending Financial Years 30/06/2017 and 30/06/2016

INCOME	To June 2017 AUDITED (\$)	To June 2016 AUDITED (\$)
General Donations	2,909,625.00	2,374,557.00
Building Fund Donations	275,700.00	1,397,444.00
Book Sales and Subscriptions	191,149.00	221,888.00
Consilium/Seminar/Lecture Income	526,539.00	524,671.00
Investment & Sundry Income (includes Capital Fund Income)	13,539.00	88,954.00
TOTAL INCOME	3,916,552.00	4,607,514.00

EXPENSES	To June 2017 AUDITED (\$)	To June 2016 AUDITED (\$)
Research, Functions, Publishing	467,072.00	750,630.53
Fundraising & Development	87,317.00	46,911.29
Salaries (includes Research)	2,416,576.00	2,452,212.15
Administration & Rent	641,499.00	564,258.03
TOTAL EXPENSES	3,612,464.00	3,814,012.00
SURPLUS/(DEFICIT)	304,081.00	793,502.00

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