

The Centre for Independent Studies ANNUAL REVIEW 2018

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

It has been a year of development and determination at The Centre for Independent Studies. We engaged deeply with more young Australians, including many university undergraduates and recent graduates. I have commiserated with them, because they are fed a regular diet of confected doom and gloom: alleged rampant inequality, economic insecurity, intergenerational debt, mass poverty, nuclear proliferation, catastrophic climate change, energy crisis ... and so on.

Meanwhile, trust in our democratic institutions, both here and abroad, is dissipating. Support for market economics is also in sharp decline. In 2018, CIS commissioned YouGov to gauge the public-policy attitudes of the Millennial generation (born between 1982 and 1998). Among other things, we found that about 60% view socialism in a favourable light, with a similar number believing that capitalism has failed and more government intervention is justified. The pessimism reflects Western trends.

With Millennials now making up a third of Australian voters, and almost 35% of the global workforce, it seems to me that our future leaders can do with a bit of cheering up. As believers in technological innovation and the entrepreneurial spirit, CIS is well placed to introduce a little reality into the debate about the world's trajectory. We are optimists in various ways. In recent years, for instance, Swedish intellectual Johan Norberg, U.K. House of Lords member Matt Ridley, and Singaporean scholar Kishore Mahbubani have been CIS guests, setting out a persuasive antidote to the apocalyptical school of academia and journalism. They inform us that by any measure — poverty, sanitation, malnutrition, literacy, security, child labour, infant mortality, personal liberty — life has improved dramatically for the vast majority of humans.

My colleagues, including most notably Eugenie Joseph, have spelt out the benefits of capitalism in their writings and various media appearances. For instance, two centuries ago, 94% of people lived on \$2 a day (in today's dollar value); today, only 10% do. In the early 1980s, nine in 10 Chinese lived in extreme poverty;



today, after more than three decades of market reforms, just one in 10 do. And since Soviet communism collapsed in 1989-91, extreme poverty across the globe has decreased from 37% to less than 10%.

In 2000, the United Nations announced several Millennium Development Goals. One was to halve the number of people in extreme poverty by 2015. That target was met seven years early — to far too little media fanfare — in 2008. In 1900, average life expectancy globally was just 31 years; today it is 71. The gains, by the way, are not just in the length of life but also the quality of life. Just think of the smartphone, online streaming, cheaper goods and services in real terms and, of course, faster cures for illnesses and diseases.

The Cassandras, to put it mildly and politely, are incapable of understatement. In the 1970s, for instance, prominent Greens were fretting and wailing about overpopulation and mass starvation. In more recent times, according to the UN, population growth estimates have declined and biodiversity advances have found ways to feed more people than the alarmists imagined.

Why? Human ingenuity, economic growth and technological progress saved the day. As a result, things have been getting better for almost everyone, including in developing nations, by almost any measure: life expectancy, infant mortality, literacy, access to cleaner water, air and land. Sure, extreme weather events still occur, but the turmoil and economic impact are much smaller than in the past. As nations grow richer, we are better able to handle natural disasters.

Nowhere is the prosperity more evident than in Australia. In the early-to-mid 1980s, we remained economically insular, weighed down by protectionism, over-regulation, inflationary public spending and a lack of consumer choice and freedom. This year, Australia entered its 27th year of uninterrupted economic growth. Why? By giving more play to market forces as the most reliable generator of wealth, Labor and Coalition governments — especially from 1983 to 2007 — transformed the way we did business. From the interventionist mindset that delivered genuine turmoil a few decades ago, we moved to an era of sounder policy and more durable prosperity.

Meanwhile, as the Productivity Commission pointed out this year, sustained growth has delivered higher living standards across all income groups across Australia. Casualisation in the workplace, despite union scaremongering, is around the same level since the mid-1990s. And according to the Business Council of Australia, involuntary job loss as a proxy for job insecurity has halved in the past two decades. The lesson: good policy really matters.

Nothing lasts forever. Reform fatigue has been evident in Canberra for about a decade. And it's true the socioeconomic transformation of recent decades has led to painful adjustment for the losers of globalisation and rapid technological change. Then again, the same forces that have bred this insecurity, both at home and abroad, cannot be stopped.

Now more than ever, a counter-argument is needed: governments can't create optimism, wealth and jobs; only the private sector can do it. Innovation and progress spring not from bureaucracy but from the brilliance of individuals. And our civil society should be vibrant enough to tolerate all people of whatever ethnic, gender or religious persuasion.

All this is precisely what CIS has been championing during the past four decades. It remains our determined mission.















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.

Blaise Joseph released a Research Report in May — Why We Need NAPLAN— defending the national literacy and numeracy tests. He also co-authored a Policy Paper in June with Dr Jennifer Buckingham — What the Gonski 2 Review got wrong — responding to the 'Gonski 2' review on schooling.

CIS continues to have a strong presence in the mainstream print media and has been actively extending that into more areas, including the Today show, Sky News, Q&A, and The Conversation.

Jennifer and Blaise have met with MPs, senators, ministers, and advisors from major and minor parties, as well as being invited to attend and present at various stakeholder forums. Blaise moderated a panel on education at the Friedman Conference in May, and was a panel member at the Australian Financial Review Higher Education Summit in Melbourne in August. Key





external speaking engagements for Jennifer included ResearchED in Auckland, and the Network of Education Associations in Tasmania.

The education program's powerful influence on the policy debate was demonstrated in our response to the Gonski 2.0 report, released at the end of April. Jennifer and Blaise had opinion pieces in all major daily print media and were cited in dozens of articles. Jennifer was interviewed with Minister Birmingham, by Miranda Devine on the day of the report's release — and many of Jennifer and Blaise's criticisms were echoed in commentary in the ensuing days from people across the political and ideological spectrum, including politicians, journalists, academics, principals and teachers.

In September, Blaise had numerous media appearances discussing the Morrison government's changes to school funding, drawing on his earlier research on school spending.

Throughout May to October, Blaise worked on a primary research project for 2019 about high-achieving disadvantaged schools in Australia, visiting schools and successfully negotiating and confirming approvals from state departments of education.



FIVE from FIVE

The FIVE from FIVE flagship policy — a Year 1 Phonics Check — which was adopted by the federal government in 2016, has now been adopted by the South Australian government and implemented in government schools across the state in 2018.

The Phonics Check is also on the Victorian Liberal party platform for the next state election, and was trialled by Queensland Catholic Education this year.

FIVE from FIVE has been expanding both its reach and impact. Julie Mavlian has led the development of a new section of the website aimed at teachers, which has been released progressively throughout the year.

In a survey of website users, 98% of respondents — most of whom were teachers — said they found the site useful or very useful.

FIVE from FIVE has published several short papers called Research Briefs, with accompanying animated videos.

A partnership with NewsCorp and Evidence 4 Learning produced special education features (2.5 million copies in print, plus online), and collaborations have taken place with the Australian College of Educators, Macquarie University, and the NSW Department of Education.

The key events for FIVE from FIVE were the Phonics Debate in July and the Phonics Roadshows in October and November. The Phonics Debate — held at the Wesley Centre on 31 July — was co-hosted by the Australian College of Educators, opened by the NSW Education Minister Rob Stokes, and attended by around 450 people. It was a decisive point in the wider public



debate over phonics, and is continuing to have an influence.

The first four Phonics Roadshows have taken place in NSW, Victoria and South Australia. Kate Watt joined the team to organise these full-day professional learning events for teachers.

They proved to be very popular, with 350 places booking out within 24 hours of their announcement and several hundred people on the waiting lists.

The events follow an innovative peer-to-peer model which has been very successful. Participant feedback has been extremely positive and we are now facilitating further coaching and mentoring among schools.

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.

Economics Team

The Economics team has had a busy year, with some significant highpoints and challenges to overcome, especially the departure of Senior Research Fellow Matthew O'Donnell and Policy Analyst Charles Jacobs, who have left the CIS to pursue new career objectives.

Publications and Submissions

The CIS made a submission against the government's anti-free speech, foreign and political donations bill. This argument was further developed in Simon Cowan's





Policy Paper, *Let Money Speak*, which focused on the case for deregulating political donations.

Company tax cuts were the subject of Robert Carling's March submission on the 'Commitment to the Senate' issued by the BCA. Simon and Matthew O'Donnell subsequently testified on the issue in front of the Senate Committee.

The theme of personal income tax relief was taken up in Robert's April Policy Paper, Cutting income tax: can we add the bacon to the hamburger and milkshake tax cuts? and the June release by Robert and Matt of the Policy Paper, Too Little, Too Late: Personal Income Tax Reform in Australia, which analysed the tax changes in the 2018/19 budget. This was developed from a submission referenced several times by the Committee in their subsequent report.

In May, Simon's Policy Paper Defending the Dual Citizen Ban argued the case for retention of the current version of Section 44(i) of the Constitution, developed from his earlier submission — which was featured prominently in the Committee's Minority Report.



Also in June, Eugenie Joseph made a submission on the effect of Red Tape on Childcare. The submission and testimony before the Committee, by Eugenie and Jennifer Buckingham, was extensively quoted in the Committee's interim report.

Another key June publication was the Policy Paper, Millennials and Socialism: Australian youth are lurching to the left, by CIS Executive Director Tom Switzer and Charles. It attracted considerable media attention, receiving blanket coverage across the major mastheads and networks.

Also in August, Eugenie released her first major CIS Research Report: Why Childcare is not Affordable. The report was a detailed examination of the supply side problems in the childcare market, and had a significant media impact.

In September, Robert and Terrence O'Brien — a former public servant in the Commonwealth Treasury, Office of National Assessments, Productivity Commission, who also worked at the OECD and World Bank (and is a long-time friend of the CIS) — released the Policy Paper Voting for a living: A shift in Australian Politics from selling policies to buying votes?, which presented an intriguing case about shifting politics.

In October, Robert lodged a submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Economics' inquiry, into the implications of removing refundable franking credits. He and Simon appeared before the committee in subsequent public hearings.

Media

The CIS Economics Team continued its strong record in the press, with a significant number of opinion pieces and news articles placed in all the major newspapers. Some of the highlights include Robert's AFR piece on voting for a living, Eugenie's pieces in The Daily Telegraph on Childcare, and Simon in The Australian on tax and in The Canberra Times on the budget.



Eugenie was also interviewed about her research on The Today Show and Weekend Sunrise, while Simon yet again made regular appearances on ABC's The Drum throughout the year.

Select Presentations and Events

Robert briefed the Parliamentary Budget Office's Panel of Expert Advisors on policy costings, fiscal policy analysis and the PBO's research program. Robert is an inaugural member of the Panel.

Eugenie, together with visiting CIS Scholar in Residence James Bartholomew, defended capitalism from the charge that Capitalism is Destroying Us at a packed IQ2 debate at Sydney's Town Hall.

In early October, Simon and Robert participated in a CIS event titled Does Inequality Matter? which drew an interested crowd that also heard presentations from Jonathan Coppel of the Productivity Commission, and the Chief Executive of CEDA, Melinda Cilento.

Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society

The Culture, Prosperity & Civil
Society program has been
established to ensure the CIS is
fully engaged in the key cultural
battles of our times, and defends
and promotes the traditional
values and principles of a free and
democratic society in Australia.

The CP&CS program was launched in July at a sold-out event at the CIS office, A Conversation about Culture — during which former Prime Minister John Howard, Tom Switzer and Dr Jeremy Sammut discussed a range of topics from identity politics and political correctness to universities and immigration.

In May, Peter Kurti published the CP&CS program's first Analysis Paper on religion and economics, A Shy Hope in the Mind: Secularisation and the Diversity of Australia's Religious Economy.

The paper used a supply-side analysis of the Australian religious market and the behaviour of religious consumers to argue that the health of religion in Australia is more robust then frequently allowed by its critics.

In May, Jeremy and Peter gave evidence in Sydney before The Joint Standing Committee On Foreign Affairs, Defence And Trade inquiry Into The Status Of The Freedom Of Religion Or Belief.



Also in May, Jeremy gave evidence in Canberra before the Standing Committee on Social Policy and Legal Affairs inquiry into local adoption.

In July, Robert Forsyth published A Test of Maturity: the liberal case for religious freedom, which argued that a federal Religious Freedom Act would guarantee religious liberties under threat from anti-discrimination law, and protect true diversity of views and values in Australian society, consistent with the long-standing traditions of liberal democracy.



That same month, Robert and Jeremy spoke about the report and the CIS's submission to the Ruddock Inquiry into Religious Freedom, in Brisbane at a lunch at the Connor Court Book Room, and at an evening forum organised by the Australian Christian Lobby.

Also in July, Jeremy interviewed Claire Lehmann, founder of internationally recognised online platform Quillette, as part of the 2018 Helen Hughes Memorial Lecture for Emerging Thinkers, with the fascinating topic of the rise of Cultural Marxism in universities.

In August, Jeremy published Curbing Corporate Social Responsibility: Preserving Pluralism – and Preventing Politicisation – in Australian Business. This argued that the introduction into corporate governance of a new institutional framework — the Community Pluralism Principle — could limit meddling in politically-contentious social issues by public companies in the name of CSR.

Jeremy gave a presentation on the report at the meeting of the Australian Business Integrity Council in Sydney in November.

In October, Jeremy published University Freedom Charters: How Best to Protect Free Speech on Australian Campuses, which argued the federal government should consider introducing financial penalties to spur Australian universities to adopt international best practice policies, to defend the right to freedom of thought and expression for all.

The report was covered by The Australian, which led to an extract being published in The Inquirer section of the newspaper. In November, the government announced they would review freedom of speech in universities.



Also in October, Peter released a new book, Euthanasia: Putting the Culture to Death?, published by Connor Court as part of a series examining contemporary contentious topics.

The book argues that legalising euthanasia and assisted suicide threatens to enshrine in law a rejection of the duties we owe to others and the claims others have upon us.

Peter also contributed a chapter titled 'A Fundamental right under threat' to a book of essays, responding to the Hon Dyson Heydon's 2017 PM Glynn Lecture.

Scholar-in-Residence

The 2018 CIS Max Hartwell Scholar-in-Residence was noted British writer and commentator James Bartholomew.

James Bartholomew is a London-based author and columnist with UK Telegraph, who coined the term 'virtue signalling'. James has published two books: The Welfare of Nations and The Welfare State We're In.

He also has a keen interest in Communism, and through his Museum of Communist Terror, highlights knowledge and understanding of the deaths, terror and economic failure that has taken place under Communist regimes in the 20th century.

While in Australia, James continued work on a project for the Museum, recording stories from people who have lived under Communist regimes such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Romania and the Soviet Union.

In addition, he performed numerous interviews and made appearances on several radio and television programs, including ABC TV's Q&A.

Throughout October, James spoke at CIS events in Melbourne and Brisbane — and at a leadership Lunch in the CIS's Sydney offices — on the topic of 'Millennials' dangerous ignorance of Communism'.



He also delivered an address on 'Communism: What the Young Should Know', at an event presented in partnership with the Sydney Institute.

In the IQ2 debate at Sydney's Town Hall — presented in partnership with the Ethics Centre— he and CIS Senior Policy Analysis, Eugenie Joseph, confronted the notion 'Capitalism is destroying us'.

At the CIS' 2018 Annual John Bonython Lecture, James made the introductory remarks for guest speaker, Daniel Hannan — the leading British writer and journalist, former member of European Parliament, and prominent pro-Brexit campaigner.

Liberty & Society Student Program

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

The 2018 Liberty & Society Student Conference was held in Sydney in May. Now in its 23rd year, it provides a rare opportunity for free thinking students to gather for a weekend of discussion, debate and engaging conversations about topical and societal issues from a classical liberal and libertarian viewpoint.

The conference is an opportunity to meet, debate and network with other like-minded people from across Australia and New Zealand. CIS recognises the importance of exposing, challenging and supporting young people who have an interest in exploring the foundations of a free society.

In 2018, The Australian's Economics Editor, Adam Creighton spoke at the opening dinner. The conference had four lecturers who attended for the whole weekend. Dr John Thrasher, from Monash University, gave the political philosophy lectures, explaining the foundations of classical liberalism. Professor Jonathan Crowe, from Bond University's School of Law, spoke about classical liberal approaches to law, while CIS Research Fellow Matthew O'Donnell gave the economics lecture. The final lecture by Andrew Norton, of The Grattan Institute, gave a practical perspective on achieving policy change from a classical liberal perspective in higher education.

The weekend was broken up into lectures, breakout group discussions, general Q&A periods, and an evening panel session which allowed free ranging conversation on topics not covered during the lectures.

In 2019, L&S will be held in Sydney, over the weekend of May 11-12. Thanks to the consistent support from



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





- 2. Peter Dutton and Mark Dreyfus in conversation with Paul Kelly
- 3. Kishore Mahbubani and Tom Switzer ask, has the west lost it?
- 4. David Goodhart speaks on his recent book.



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.

2018 showcased a fascinating combination of topics and speakers, and a wide range of delegates.

Consilium is the CIS's invitation-only annual conference, where critical issues facing the world are deliberated in the truest sense of the word, and ideas are shared in an open and congenial atmosphere. Conversation is robust but civil, with leading thinkers from business, politics, policy, academia and the community convening to inform, challenge and debate. The meeting also provides opportunity for informal contact among participants, and time for relaxing and enjoying the surrounds of NSW's Byron Bay region.

CIS recognises the importance of involving the next generation in these debates, and in 2018, we were pleased to offer an additional 'Gen Y' category that allowed delegates to introduce a young guest.

Sessions brought together international experts, scholars and politicians, providing a forum to challenge — and be challenged on — ideas. In addition to the plenary sessions, guests had the opportunity to hear from current and former politicians, including Sir Bill English KNZM, the Hon Peter Dutton MP and the Hon Mark Dreyfus QC MP, and the younger generation of thought leaders. Following is a brief description of our major plenary sessions.

In Disrupted Economics; Disrupted Politics: The Challenges Ahead, the Hon Chris Bowen MP, the Hon Dominic Perrottet MP, Sir William English KNZM and Professor Gary Banks AO led a wide-ranging discussion showcasing a range of views across party lines, from speakers with different policy responsibilities and perspectives.

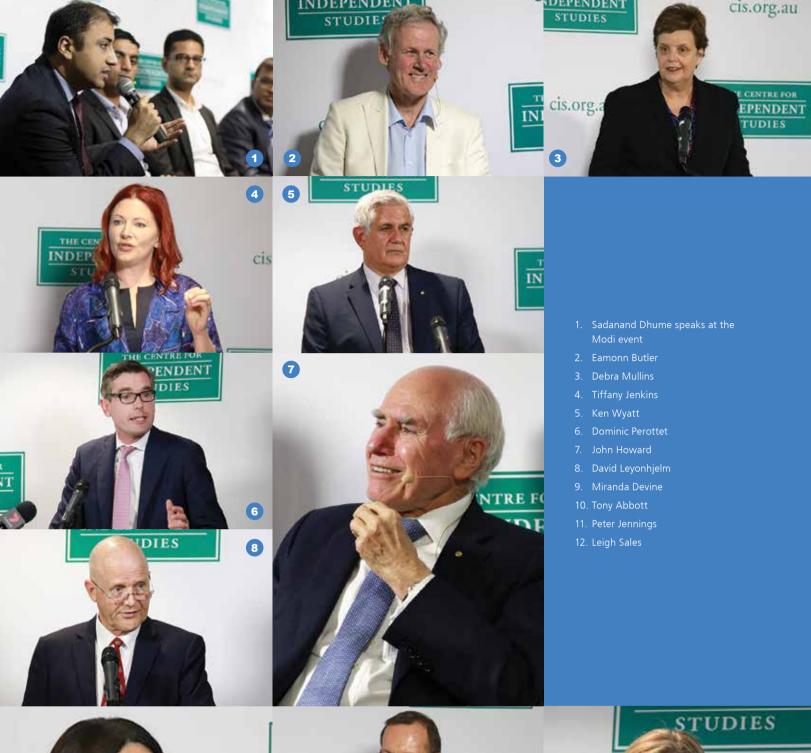
For Will China Displace America in Asia? our Executive Director, Tom Switzer, Kishore Mahbubani, Michael Thawley AO, and Peter Varghese AO, looked at American strategic dominance; which for many decades has ensured peace and prosperity in Asia. They explored the question of whether Washington's influence is waning amid China's expanding power.

The session entitled Left Behind? – Intersections on the Road to Somewhere, hosted discussion from Simon Cowan, David Goodhart, Matthew Taylor, and Sam Kennard, which explored the ways globalisation, immigration, education, and inequality is fundamentally altering the balance in Western society. They attempted to make sense of these changes and predict how our societies will look as these forces unfold.

The Blockchain Revolution featured Ian Love, Professor Jason Potts, Kate Sills, Dr Joseph Clark, and Melinda Conrad, and explored the opportunities blockchain technology offers for free societies and decentralisation. This session provided a layman's explanation of the technology, and offered a balanced perspective between the tech-savvy true believers and the Cassandras heralding doom.

In A Good Death: The Emotions, Ethics & Economics of Palliative Care, Dr Timothy Ihrig MD MA, Dr Stephen Judd BA PhD FAICD, and Rohan Mead, approached this taboo topic in one of our most touching and well received sessions of the past 20 years. An ageing population will continue to increase healthcare costs, and the strain on existing services and health infrastructure, making it imperative that we have a mature national conversation about delivery of end-of-life care.

Have We All Gone Mad? The Snowflake Epidemic & Repercussions for Intellectual Freedom looked at the troubling phenomenon of self-censorship and closemindedness that threatens to spread from Western university campuses — with Dr Tiffany Jenkins, Claire Lehmann, Emeritus Professor Steven Schwartz AM, Lindsay Shepherd, and John Green. It sought to identify the reasons behind the rise of this behaviour and what we might do to start addressing the problem.





Event Highlights

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

The event program continued to position CIS at the forefront of public debate, with the 2018 program featuring more than 50 important lectures, debates and discussions. We also hosted several book launches for authors from outside the CIS who write on important issues and topics.

Flagship events

In addition to this vast array of content and topics, we held: our John Bonython Lecture, with international guest speaker Daniel Hannan MEP; our flagship Consilium conference; our Acton Lecture on Civil Society with Justice Debra Mullins QC; and the Helen Hughes lecture with Claire Lehmann — the founding editor of Quillette.

With 2018 done and dusted, we have managed to reshape events at the CIS, changing their perception and image, and striving to create experiences that welcome new faces, thank members, and deliver a better end-to-end production.

Debates, Panels and Conversations

The year we have diversified our event formats and generally moved away from solo figures at the lectern, to debates, conversations and panel discussions.

From culture to economics, foreign policy and beyond, topics have varied vastly — and so too has our speaker line-up. We've welcomed speakers, debaters and panellists from all sides of the political divide, to ensure we cultivate robust, civil and engaging content.

The year began by hosting an Oxford debate on the notion; Australia Day: move or stay? with prominent speakers including Jacinta Price, Peter Fitzsimons and Anthony Dillon.

We delivered events that challenged the conventional wisdom on foreign policy.

With a focus on China, we presented The audacity of Xi Jinping with noted foreign correspondent and commentator Rowan Callick.

Looking across at New Zealand's politics and economics, we presented An update from across the Tasman with Dr Oliver Hartwich.

And developments in the UK were explored in Manager May or Commie Corbyn? with Dr Eamonn Butler; and later Is Brexit over? with Andrew Neil.

Modi, a transformative figure? analysed the impact of the political change in India with Sadanand Dhume.

Leonid Petrov, Peter Jennings and Michael Danby gave a fascinating exploration in Is Putin's Russia a great strategic foe?

And we were the first think tank in the world to host an event on the United States mid-terms (starting just a few hours after the polls closed) in A Democratic wave or Trump triumph?

Fightback! 25 years on from the Liberals' supposedly 'unlosable election' saw a fascinating discussion with John Hewson, Miranda Divine, Troy Bramston and Paul Kelly giving insights into the result and its impact.

A Conversation on Culture delved into the issues facing Australia today — and featured former Prime Minister John Howard to launch our newly formed Culture, Prosperity and Civil Society program.

In August, following tumultuous events in Canberra that led to a change of leaders, former prime minister Tony Abbott joined Tom at the CIS for a conversation on the state of Australia's political landscape.

IAcross the western world, more and more people are concerned about rising inequality as well as immigration and national populations. Here at home, similar



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sentiments are echoed. Yet, how much is based on fact and how much is based on the general narrative?

In March we held a debate on the notion Slash Immigration or Big Australia? With Mark Latham, Judith Sloan, Glenn Withers and Adam Creighton.

In October, off the back of a Productivity Commission report, which concluded that while inequality increased, Australia has retained a high degree of economic mobility, the CIS held Does Inequality Matter? With PC commissioner, Jonathan Coppel, Melinda Cilento and CIS researchers, Robert Carling and Simon Cowan.

One of the largest, and most anticipated events was our panel Have We All Gone Mad? The Snowflake Epidemic. Drawing on a session from our Consilium conference, we brought together Dr Tiffany Jenkins, Claire Lehmann, Professor Steven Schwartz AM Senior Fellow, and Lindsay Shepherd for a lively discussion.

Leadership Lunch Series

This year's Leadership Lunch series has featured speakers from business, government and media. In 2018, speakers have included The Hon. Chris Bowen MP, who spoke on the state of reform debate in Australia and budget surplus, and Leigh Sales, who spoke on the growth of social media and its implications for the public policy landscape.

The Hon. Ken Wyatt AM, MP and Audrey Zibelman, Senator David Leyonhjelm, Dominic Perrottet MP, and our Scholar-in-Residence James Bartholomew also presented to the Leadership Lunch series throughout the year.

Breakfasts

In what is becoming an annual tradition, the CIS held its annual budget breakfast. With his wealth of experience and expertise, former Treasurer, Peter Costello, told us what we really need to know about the 2018/19 Budget and Australia's fiscal direction.

Amid debate about Chinese influence in Australia, NSW Minister for Education, The Hon. Rob Stokes MP, joined us for a breakfast and sat down with Tom Switzer to discuss a range of issues crucial to the future of free speech in Australian universities; including the sector's heavy reliance on fee-paying international students — especially from China.

Book Launches

In 2018 we hosted several book launches. These events showcase authors and speakers from outside the CIS who write on important issues and topics. The year's launches included; Peter Hendy's Why Australia Slept: How the Australian community sleep-walked across the decades jeopardising its abundant natural blessings (Connor Court), Greg Sheridan's God Is Good For You (Allen & Unwin), Patrick Mullins' Tiberius with a Telephone: the Life and Stories of William McMahon (Scribe) and Geoffrey Lehmann's Leeward: A Memoir (NewSouth).

A full event listing appears on pages 20–21, and further details and videos of some of 2018's activities may be found on cis.org.au and our Youtube channel.

Events at a Glance

24 JANUARY 2018

Australia Day: move or stay?

Jacinta Price, Peter Fitzsimons, Anthony Dillon, Geoffrey Winters, Norma Ingram, Jeremy Sammut

20 FEBRUARY 2018

Leigh Sales Leadership Lunch

Leigh Sales

1 MARCH 2018

An update from across the Tasman with Dr Oliver Hartwich

Dr Oliver Hartwich, Tom Switzer

6 MARCH 2018

Modi, a transformative figure?

Sadanand Dhume, Balesh Singh, Manoj Sheoran, Rahul Jethi

15 MARCH 2018

Fightback! 25 years on from the Liberals' unlosable election

John Hewson, Paul Kelly, Miranda Devine, Troy Bramston

10 APRIL 2018

Ken Wyatt Leadership Lunch

The Hon. Ken Wyatt MP

24 APRIL 18

Audrey Zibelman Leadership Lunch

Audrey Zibelman

5-6 MAY 2018

Liberty & Society Student Conference

John Thrasher, Jonathan Crowe, Matthew O'Donnell, Andrew Norton

14 MAY 2018

Costello takes on the Budget

Peter Costello AC, Simon Cowan

30 MAY 2018

Dominic Perrottet Leadership Lunch

The Hon. Dominic Perrottet MP

27 JUNE 2018

Sleepwalking into the future?

Peter Hendy, Micahel Stutchbury, Tom Switzer

30 JANUARY 2018

Chris Bowen Leadership Lunch

The Hon. Chris Bowen MP

20 FEBRUARY 2018

Manager May or Commie Corbyn?
Dr Eamonn Butler at The CIS

Dr Eamonn Butler, Tom Switzer

5 MARCH 2018

Debating the Economic Effects of a Company Tax Cut

Professor Peter Swan, Chris Murphy

13 MARCH 2018

Young Liberals Event

Senator James Paterson

21 MARCH 2018

Big Australia or Slash Immigration?

Mark Latham, Judith Sloan, Professor Glenn Withers, Adam Creighton

12 APRIL 18

Without Fear or Favour: Practising your Faith and your Profession

The Hon. Justice Debra Mullins

4 MAY 2018

Liberty & Society Opening Dinner

Adam Creighton

11 MAY 2018

Young Liberals Event

Tom Switzer

17 MAY 2018

The audacity of Xi Jinping

Rowan Callick, Tom Switzer

5 JUNE 2018

David Levonhjelm Leadership Lunch

Senator David Leyonhjelm

10 JULY 2018

John Howard: A conversation on Culture

The Hon. John Howard OM AC, Jeremy Sammut, Tom Switzer

18 JULY 2018

Is Putin's Russia a great strategic foe?

Peter Jennings, Michael Danby, Kirill Nourzhanov, Alexy Muraviev, Leonid Petrov

27 JULY 2018

What Is Marx's 'Conflict Theory' Doing to Our Politics?

Claire Lehmann, Jeremy Sammut

2 AUGUST 2018

Greg Sheridan: A conversation about God

Greg Sheridan, Peter Kurti

10-12 AUGUST 2018

Consilium

Various Guests

21 AUGUST 2018

Young Liberals Event

Dr Zachary Gorman

6 SEPTEMBER 2018

Australia, Brexit, and Populism

Andrew Neil, Tom Switzer

10 OCTOBER 2018

James Bartholomew Leadership Lunch

James Bartholomew

17 OCTOBER 2018

Melbourne: Millennials' dangerous ignorance of Communism

James Bartholomew, Tom Switzer

23 OCTOBER 2018

IQ2 debate: Is Capitalism Destroying Us? In conjunction with the Ethics Centre

James Bartholomew, Eugenie Joseph, Kween G, Alan Schwartz

1 NOVEMBER 2018

2018 Annual John Bonython Lecture

Daniel Hannan MEP, Nick Cater, Tom Swizter

6 NOVEMBER 2018

Luke Foley Leadership Lunch

Luke Foley

20 NOVEMBER 2018

Bill McMahon, an eccentric economic reformer?

Patrick Mullins, Paul Kelly, The Hon. John Howard OM AC

6 DECEMBER 2018

Political correctness and its discontents

Brendan O'Neill, Jeremy Sammut

24 JULY 2018

Young Liberals Event

The Hon. Rob Stokes MP

31 JULY 2018

Phonics Debate - in conjunction with the Australian College of Educators

Natasha Robinson, The Hon Rob Stokes MP, Dr Jennifer Buckingham, Professor Anne Castles, Mr Troy Verey, Professor Robyn Ewing, Dr Kathy Rushton, Mr Mark Diamond

8 AUGUST 2018

Has the West lost it?

Professor Kishore Mahbubani, Tom Switzer

16 AUGUST 2018

Have we all gone mad? The snowflake epidemic

Lindsay Shepherd, Claire Lehmann, Dr Tiffany Jenkins, Professor Steven Schwartz AM

27 AUGUST 2018

The state of Australia's political landscape

The Hon. Tony Abbott MP, Tom Switzer

3 OCTOBER 2018

Does Inequality Matter?

Jonathan Coppel, Melinda Cilento, Robert Carling, Simon Cowan

11 OCTOBER 2018

Young Liberals Event

The Hon. Dominic Perrottet MP

22 OCTOBER 2018

The Manchurian Campus? Threats to Free Speech in Higher Education

The Hon. Rob Stokes MP, Tom Switzer

30 OCTOBER 2018

Brisbane: Millennials' dangerous ignorance of Communism

James Bartholomew, Tom Switzer

5 NOVEMBER 2018

Niall Ferguson Breakfast

Niall Ferguson

7 NOVEMBER 2018

A Democratic Wave or Trump Triumph?

Greg Sheridan, Bob Carr, April Palmerlee, Tom Switzer

22 NOVEMBER 2018

The crisis of democracy

Luca Belgiorno-Nettis, Glenn Barnes, Janet Albretchtsen, Matthew Lesh

13 DECEMBER 2018

2018 CIS Christmas Party

Professor Steven Schwartz AM

DECEMBER

choice

Blaise Joseph

Funding fight highlights

importance of school

NAPLAN under attack because it exposes the truth

By Steven Schwartz and Blaise Joseph

generation war

MATTHEW O'DONNELL

The latest skirmish in the never-ending war against NAPLAN is being fought on the grounds of "comparability". According to American consultants commissioned by the NSW Teachers' Federation, this year's



Younger Australians may rejoice that the

latest tax grabs by the major political

parties have targeted retirees, landlords



FINANCIAL REVIEW



Tax on retirees: no winners in Bill Shorten keeps tax system in a state of halfpregnancy



Labor's long-running fairness-and-equality show needs to be continually refreshed with new acts.

Tax and spend gets us nowhere

By SIMON COWAN 1:00PM NOVEMBER 1, 2018 - . 29

Does Australia need more tax revenue to provide social welfare, health, education and public goods? Too many people have an instinctive answer that likely bears little relationship to how much the country spends in those areas.

If you lean Left, odds are your answer is yes; and even if we doubled spending in those areas, for most of the Left it would probably still be yes. In fact, we can be

Why the New Testament shouldn't come with trigger warnings

Peter Kurti



1 December 2018 7:51 AM

Demands for the New Testament and Koran to



CHILDCARE CRISIS

AUSTRALIA'S CHILDCARE SYSTEM IS OVERPRICED ACCORDING TO A NEW REPORT



#QandA



SPECTATOR



The Sydney Morning Herald

Beware of overusing Indigenous business targets



The Indigenous business sector is booming.

The real test of religious freedom today

By Robert Forsyth

Prime Minister Scott Morrison's pledge to take action to protect religious freedom should not be interpreted as caving in to Liberal Party's conservative base, let alone as serving the vested interests of the Pentecostal community of which he is a

Daily Telegraph 🕹 🔍

TOM SWITZER

Director, Centre for Independent Studies

Should Australia cut immigration levels?

We're more united about immigration than we think



Monica Wilkie

The renewed debate about

THE AUSTRALIAN

Culture can never be used as an excuse for abuse of children



No child protection regime is perfect, so it is plausible that the case of a two-year-old indigenous girl allegedly raped at Tennant

Media and Communications

3.358NEWS STORIES

The Centre for Independent Studies has a long-standing reputation for developing rigorously researched and insightful policy ideas, and assiduously promoting

In 2018, CIS published 171 op-eds, was cited in 3358 news stories, and with syndication across networks, researchers were heard and seen in 1343 radio broadcasts and on 140 TV shows, with an overall 20% rise in media.

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

Research promotion in 2018 focused on a total of 28 publications, including 3 Research Reports (of which 1 was a TARGET30 paper), 13 POLICY Papers, 8 Occasional Papers, 3 Analysis Papers, and 9 submissions to government.

Another key focus for media liaison is promotion of CIS events, with widespread coverage given in 2018 to high-profile Australian and international speakers for a range of events, held mainly in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.

I7I

I,343
BROADCASTS

I40

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



Publications

Our rigorous research publications form a crucial part of the foundation of the CIS's public profile and endeavour to promulgate policy proposals. During 2018, CIS published 2 Research Reports, 13 POLICY Papers, 3 Analysis Papers, 7 Submissions, 8 Occasional Papers, and 2 editions of the CIS quarterly journal, POLICY. Winter 2018 was the last edition of our quarterly magazine. In its place, CIS started the new publication series, POLICY Papers.





Event publications 2018

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

Tom Simpson



John Howard: A Conversation on Culture

John Howard, Tom Switzer, Jeremy Sammut



What's happened to the University?

Frank Furedi, Marguerite Johnson, Steven Schwartz



Conflict vs Mistake: Academic cultures and explanatory conflict

Claire Lehmann



Red tape and Australia's economic malaise

Michael Potter



Have We All Gone Mad? The Snowflake Epidemicy

Steven Schwartz, Lindsay Shepherd, Claire Lehmann, Tiffany Jenkins



Without Fear or Favour: Practising your Faith and your Profession

Debra Mullins



Why God is good for you

Greg Sheridan



Research 2018

Cutting income tax: can we add the bacon to the hamburger and milkshake tax cuts?

Robert Carling

The key problems in personal income tax are excessive marginal rates and an increasing overall average tax rate as bracket creep goes unchecked.



Too Little; Too Late: Personal Income Tax Reform in Australia

Robert Carling, Matthew O'Donnell

The main thrust of the Government's proposed personal income tax changes is welcome, but could be improved to better promote economic efficiency.



Let Money Speak

Simon Cowan

The government's proposal to ban foreign donations and limit political contributions from charities is a flawed and rash proposal that would undermine democracy



What the Gonski 2 Review got wrong

Jennifer Buckingham, Blaise Joseph

The Gonski 2 Review failed to examine the evidence regarding the most effective teaching and learning strategies, and to provide advice on how the extra federal government funding for schools should be used to improve student achievement.

Defending the Dual Citizen Ban

Simon Cowan

The High Court has rightfully resisted calls to read subjective elements into section 44(i) in order to keep the current crop of ineligible politicians in their seats.



Millennials and socialism: Australian youth are lurching to the left

Tom Switzer, Charles Jacobs

Nearly two-thirds of Millennials view socialism in a favorable light, with similar number believing that capitalism has failed and more government intervention is warranted.



A Viable Option: A National Adoption Framework

Jeremy Sammut

Implementation of the National Child Protection Accountability Framework would correct the bias towards 'early intervention and prevention' evident in the existing National Framework.



A Shy Hope in the Mind: Secularisation and the Diversity of Australia's Religious Economy

Peter Kurti

There are few facets of human society untouched by the influence of religion. Yet those who oppose it argue it has no part to play in modern society.



Why childcare is not affordable

Eugenie Joseph

A more flexible approach to regulation would go far in promoting greater affordability in childcare.



Why We Need NAPLAN

Blaise Joseph

The National Assessment Plan -Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) is a crucial national assessment, but is coming under increasing criticism.



Curbing Corporate Social Responsibility: Preventing Politicisation - and Preserving Pluralism - in Australian Business



Jeremy Sammut

Social issues campaigns in the name of Corporate Social Responsibility have led critics to argue that companies should "stick to their knitting."

A Test of Maturity: The liberal case for action on religious freedom



Robert Forsyth

Australia has long enjoyed religious freedom in practice without robust legal protections. However freedom of religion remains vulnerable to accusations of prejudice.





Robert Carling, Terrence O'Brien

Growth of government has become self-sustaining via a segment large enough that political parties shape policies to curry its favour.



University Freedom Charters: How best to protect free speech on Australian campuses



A 'university freedom charters' policy with penalties for noncompliance might spur universities to address anti-free speech pressure.



Australian Attitudes to Immigration: Coming Apart or Common Ground?

Jeremy Sammut, Monica Wilkie

Australia has largely avoided significant political disruptions over immigration. However, as immigration levels continue to remain high, politicians and policy makers must ensure they address issues of concern for the electorate.



Eugenie Joseph

Capitalism has become a controversial idea in recent years; yet it is responsible for lifting millions of people out of poverty, improving global quality of life, and creating shared prosperity.

Mapping Migrants: Australians' wide-ranging experiences of immigration

Charles Jacobs

Statistically, the wealth of the postcode we live in can have a major impact on the type of interaction we may have with migrants.

Dying with Their Rights On: The myths and realities of ending homelessness in Australia

Carlos D'Abrera

Proposals to reduce genuine homelessness and the wide range of health, social and physical risks and harms that cause, and are caused by, 'rough sleeping'.



Fundraising & Engagement

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

Donations and Membership

Your generous contributions matter in the ongoing fight to protect western culture, free markets, and a culture that values tolerance and debate.

This past year we have seen CIS members from across Australia draw a line in the sand to make their voices heard on the most crucial cultural debates of our time.

In 2019 we are excited to announce the growth of our Education program's Five from Five literacy project after tremendous initial success. Our Economics program's Left Behind? project is advancing the first of its kind research in economic mobility in Australia. And our Culture Prosperity, and Civil Society program is cementing its role as Australia's foundation for debate to fight back against polarising politics.

Your contributions can mean the world to families looking for choice in the classroom, help create opportunities in an ever competitive job market, and

ensure the longevity of western values. We could not do this important work without you — thank you!

Make your impact heard

You can make a difference today by joining as a member, contribute a tax deductable gift, or contribute to our Capital and Building funds. A legacy bequest can also positively impact Australia for generations to come. We would love to discuss options in person.

External Engagement

CIS robustly engages the world beyond our doors, aiming to strengthen and grow our voice in public policy. We connect, collaborate and advocate alongside many of Australia's leading organisations, building important relationships across the policy spectrum.

These relationships ensure our researchers gain new perspectives and share their expertise. They meet with MPs, senators and senior government officials to present our research, making the case for evidence based policy development.

Our central office location in the Sydney CBD, and our purpose-built 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, injecting evidencebased debate into the discussion, and providing the basis to create solutions for the future.

We hope you can connect with us at one of our many upcoming events and join in on the important conversation for our future.

Donations, memberships and other forms of support are the lifeblood of our work, and we thank all our contributors for their continued generosity. All donations over \$2 are tax deductible, and all support makes a difference! For more information, please call us on (02) 9438 4377 and ask for our Development Manager Greg Pulscher or go to www.cis.org.au/donate.

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.



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. In 2018 she coauthored the paper What the Gonski 2 Review got wrong.

Robert Carling

Senior Fellow, Economics Program

Robert's expertise is in fiscal policy. taxation and federalism. This year he published Too Little, Too Late: Personal Income Tax Reform in Australia: and

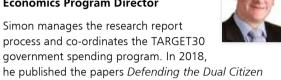
Cutting Income Tax: Can we add the bacon to the hamburger and milkshake tax cuts? and co-authored Voting for a Living: A shift in Australian politics from selling policies to buying votes?.



Simon Cowan

Research Manager and **Economics Program Director**

process and co-ordinates the TARGET30 government spending program. In 2018, he published the papers Defending the Dual Citizen Ban; and Let Money Speak.



David Gadiel

Senior Fellow, Social Foundations Program

This year, David co-authored the book The Future of Medicare: Health Innovation in 21st Century Australia.



The Right Rev. Robert Forsyth

Senior Fellow in the Culture, **Prosperity 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. In 2018 he published the paper A Test of Maturity: The liberal case for action on religious freedom.



Policy Analyst (to November 2018)

Charles wrote the paper Mapping Migrants: Australians' Attitudes to Immigration and co-authored Millennials and Socialism: Australian youth are leaning to the left.



Blaise Joseph

Policy Analyst, Education Program

This year. Blaise wrote the paper Why We Need NAPLAN and co-authored the paper What the Gonski 2 Review got wrong.



Eugenie Joseph

Senior Policy Analyst, Economics Program

Eugenie in 2018 wrote Why Childcare is not Affordable, and Why We Should Defend Capitalism.



The Rev. Peter Kurti

Research Fellow in the Culture, **Prosperity and Civil Society Program**

In 2018, Peter published the paper A Shy Hope in the Mind: Secularisation and the Diversity of Australia's Religious Economy; and the book Euthanasia: Putting the Culture to Death?



Barry Maley

Senior Fellow

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



Greg Lindsay AO

Senior Fellow and Founder

Greg founded the Centre for Independent Studies in 1974. He handed over the role of Executive Director to Tom Switzer in 2018



Dr Jeremy Sammut

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

This year, Jeremy wrote papers on University Freedom Charters: How to best protect free speech on Australian campuses; Curbing Corporate Social Responsibility: Preventing Politicisation and Preserving Pluralism in Australian Business; A Viable Option: A National Adoption Framework; and Australian Attitudes to Immigration: Coming Apart or Common Ground? and co-authored the book The Future of Medicare: Health Innovation in 21st Century 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. **Executive Director**

Tom is a prominent commentator and is sought after for commentary on both domestic politics and international affairs. In 2018 he co-authored Millennials and Socialism: Australian youth are leaning to the left.



Monica Wilkie

Policy Analyst in the Culture, **Prosperity and Civil Society Program**

Monica co-authored the paper Australian Attitudes to Immigration: Coming Apart or Common Ground?



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Accounts

The Centre For Independent Studies Ltd

Income & Expenditure Statement

Ending Financial Years 30/06/2018 and 30/06/2017

INCOME	To June 2018 AUDITED (\$)	To June 2017 AUDITED (\$)
General Donations	\$2,679,936	\$2,909,625
Building Fund Donations	\$95,100	\$275,700
Book sales and Subscriptions	\$225,367	\$191,149
Consilium/Seminar/Lecture Income	\$515,614	\$526,539
Interest & Sundry Income (Includes Capital Fund Income)	\$12,626	\$13,539
TOTAL INCOME	3,528,643.00	3,916,552

EXPENSES	To June 2018 AUDITED (\$)	To June 2017 AUDITED (\$)
Research, Functions, Publishing	\$530,214	\$467,072
Fundraising & Development	\$105,419	\$87,317
Salaries Incl. Research	\$2,613,175	\$2,416,576
Administration & Rent	\$645,769	\$641,499
TOTAL EXPENSES	3,894,577	3,612,464
SURPLUS/(DEFICIT)	-365,934*	304,081

CAPITAL FUND AS AT 30 JUNE 2017	\$301,267
DRAWINGS	-\$20,686
CAPITAL FUND AS AT 30 JUNE 2018	\$280,581

^{*} Explanation: During the 2017-18 year, the founder and Executive Director, Greg Lindsay, retired (Januaryuary 2018). Tom Switzer was employed in 2017 firstly to work and travel with Greg Lindsay during a transition period and then to take over as the new Executive Director in Januaryuary 2018. The funds earmarked for the transition process were received in the 2016-17 financial year and expensed during 2017-18. The Building Fund income was significantly less in 2017-18 than in the previous two years when a successful campaign was undertaken to support the purchase of the Macquarie St premise. It is also important to note that due to timing, some general support earmarked for use in 2017-18 appears in the previous financial year.

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Professor Peter Saunders

Dr Ben Teh (1941–98)





The Centre for Independent Studies

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