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## 3. Infrastructure in the elections

### 3.1 Coalition

#### Overview

The NSW Government’s abysmal approach to infrastructure has been discussed elsewhere.[[1]](#endnote-1)

Their Federal colleagues treated infrastructure as pork barrelling, making no attempt to relate proposals to wider public policy. The Port Macquarie tidal pool, location still unknown weeks later, is one example of its approach.[[2]](#endnote-2)

#### East-West Link

Another example was the promise for an East-West link road in Melbourne. This had been rejected several times, including at two elections. One election was called a ‘referendum’ on the topic. The State Labor Government took office on a platform opposing the road. Its opposition continues.[[3]](#endnote-3)

The promise raised another problem. The Commonwealth does not have powers over roads and is generally unable to fund roads – except through the States. A promise of Commonwealth support for a project opposed by a responsible State Government is deceptive and destructive. [[4]](#endnote-4)

The episode raises questions about whether some Federal election candidates are fit for office.[[5]](#endnote-5)

#### Fast-rail

Another project offered funding by the Coalition was fast-rail Melbourne-Geelong. [[6]](#endnote-6)

It was tacked on to a ‘policy’ of studies into potential fast-rail projects from regional areas to Melbourne, Sydney etc. Its addition was incongruous - not merely for its $2,000m - but for being practically the only fast-rail proposal that hasn’t been subject to a government study. Yet despite the Coalition’s silly explanation, it may be a reasonable idea.[[7]](#endnote-7)

#### Inland rail

The Coalition also supported Inland Rail. The project has not been subject to a public inquiry and Infrastructure Australia recommended the project with benefit cost ratio of only 1.1:1.0.[[8]](#endnote-8)

A Labor spokesman claimed it to be a ‘train wreck’ and proposed an inquiry into various aspects such as interactions with stakeholders and why it does not connect to Brisbane’s port.[[9]](#endnote-9)

As the important facts about Inland Rail are known, as it was put to the electorate and is within Commonwealth power, there is no in-principle objection to the project.

Infrastructure Australia noted Inland Rail passes through a coal region. Better rail connections to such a region will assist community adjustment to reduced coal exports. This was overlooked by all.

#### Strategic failure

The pork barrel approach led to an inability to understand important implications of projects. Advisory processes that evolved under the Coalition cement this failure in. This can be seen for Inland Rail which is undermined by Federal and State subsidisation of highway building and trucking. It also was the case for Sydney Metro where the pivotal issue, tunnel size, was not mentioned in Infrastructure Australia’s assessment.

This failure is related to governance problems started by the Coalition mistakenly stressing independence of advisors from government rather than from potential beneficiaries of decisions.[[10]](#endnote-10)

#### Conclusion

Overall the NSW and Federal Coalitions’ election approaches to infrastructure were woeful.

### 3.3 NSW Labor

#### Overview

Throughout the NSW election campaign, as had been the case for years, the Coalition Government floundered in a sea of mistakes and stupidity. Government announcements carried the whiff of panic. There were gaffes galore, including decidedly unholy ones. There was no shortage of expert criticisms of the Government’s infrastructure approach and almost every infrastructure decision.[[11]](#endnote-11)

Yet Labor made little of this. According to the popular press, whatever momentum Labor had was lost with a report its leader made ‘private’ remarks about Chinese people and Australian jobs. Given the absence of substance in its campaign, it is no surprise such comments were big news.[[12]](#endnote-12)

#### Campaign commentary

Labor commentary during the campaign was dominated by (demolition/rebuilding of) a football stadium, delayed construction of a tram line and WestConnex. All are inner-city issues.[[13]](#endnote-13)

These matters point to serious failures by the Government extending beyond those projects. However, outside of the Sydney Morning Herald / ABC view of the world, Labor’s arguments about the projects’ delays and cost overruns were likely viewed as teething problems experienced by a Government struggling to overcome a legacy of 16 years of previous do-nothing administrations.[[14]](#endnote-14)

#### Football stadium, light rail

Stopping demolition of the Sydney Football Stadium was Labor’s ‘signature’ policy. Columnists in the Sydney Morning Herald condemned the demolition/rebuild while others argued its benefits. The Government effectively commenced demolition during the campaign. Claims this would see the Government lose power turned out to be wrong.[[15]](#endnote-15)

The Opposition claimed the Sydney light rail project had been botched, evidenced by repeated delays in construction. However, the key issue of Government negotiating settlement of a lawsuit brought by the constructor – in the order of $600m – did not achieve prominence. Also ignored were reasons for light rail being a laughing stock among the better informed.[[16]](#endnote-16)

#### WestConnex

Labor’s challenge to the Government on WestConnex was unable to resonate across Sydney. The negative impacts of its endless road-building orgy will only be felt in the metropolitan east. People living further west might enjoy some benefit.[[17]](#endnote-17)

Labor had long called for a public inquiry into WestConnex. One was eventually undertaken by the Legislative Council. The report, just before the election campaign, did not deal with the essential issues of Westconnex nor the problem of the Government with-holding critical information. Labor then called for a royal commission, but without condemning the report. Its calls went nowhere.[[18]](#endnote-18)

#### Metro

Labor said little or nothing about the biggest infrastructure issues - which arise from Sydney Metro.

Its small tunnels preclude high capacity trains ever using Metro lines. Its route through the CBD may stop any future high capacity train route in this area, preventing expansion of commuter services anywhere in the metropolitan area.

Government statements have been mostly wrong and often contradictory. Official publications tell lies, the Commonwealth appears to have been deceived, and activities which cover-up the effects compound the damage. There have been calls for an inquiry with royal commission powers.[[19]](#endnote-19)

Labor, however, had virtually nothing to say about these concerns. Indeed, it supported another (inappropriate) Metro style line from the CBD to Parramatta.

It also had little to say about the proposal to run a Metro between St Marys and Badgerys Creek which will cost at least $15bn more – with lower functionality – than long standing alternatives. The reason given for the St Marys etc. Metro - single and double deck trains cannot use the same tracks - defies credulity. The NSW Minister also rejected a rail funding offer of $3bn from Federal Labor on the grounds that Sydney Trains commuter services would be ‘overwhelmed’ by passengers. Labor did not draw attention to such insanity. [[20]](#endnote-20)

#### Newcastle

Newcastle port suffers from a (formerly) secret anti-competitive deal made during its privatisation by the Coalition Government. The deal effectively prevents the port from diversifying away from coal. It reduces job opportunities in the Hunter and contributes to traffic congestion in Sydney. The Australian Competition and Consumer Commission commenced action in the Federal Court against parties to the deal.

While Labor earlier queried the deal, its election campaign did not propose the obvious: repudiation of the arrangement.[[21]](#endnote-21)

#### Roads policy

Labor and the Coalition engaged in claims and counter-claims about roads policy. Labor’s policy – which would have encouraged congestion - was called the ‘worst of the election campaign’.[[22]](#endnote-22)

#### Conclusion

It is not apparent Labor understood the infrastructure issues facing NSW. Its absence of commentary on key issues – like Metro’s CBD route - was extraordinary.[[23]](#endnote-23)

### 3.4 Federal Labor

#### Overview

Federal Labor claimed to have an infrastructure policy. However, this proved not to be the case. Rather, like the Coalition, Labor promoted pork-barrelling.

It presented infrastructure as one of 179 policy areas, and infrastructure spending as a way to create (construction etc.) jobs – rather than to achieve some purpose.

#### The wish list

Labor made a remarkable number of supposedly ‘nation building’ infrastructure spending promises prior to the campaign. Examples include: Maribyrnong River bike path extension; a business case for extension of a rail line Springfield-Ipswich; Pinjarra Heavy Haulage deviation; a bus interchange upgrade at Westlakes; West Tamar highway roundabouts; a shared footpath in Wanniassa. And the Woy Woy station carpark – which is a bipartisan initiative. [[24]](#endnote-24)

There was no explanation why any should be Commonwealth concerns. There was no attempt to identify themes or projects that contribute to *national* character. The promises look like the result of a trawl of constituent and local government ‘ideas’.

Labor’s three highest profile promises were: a high-speed rail authority; $15 billion for rail in Melbourne; $6 billion for rail in Sydney. It also offered thoughts on ‘cities’.

#### High-speed rail

The high-speed rail ‘playbook’ is fundamentally misconceived - as Labor should be aware.[[25]](#endnote-25)

Creating an authority to advance it is arguably worse. The last Commonwealth organisation involved in high-speed rail produced a laughable report.[[26]](#endnote-26)

That Labor did not offer anything on the more sensible regional fast-rail ideas may have been understandable if it criticised the Coalition’s shambolic regional rail announcement. But it didn’t.[[27]](#endnote-27)

#### Melbourne rail loop

Labor offered $15 billion, over 10 years, for the Victorian Government’s proposed (outer) Melbourne rail loop. The proper functioning of such a project depends on transformation of Melbourne.[[28]](#endnote-28)

While the loop concept enjoyed some positive sentiments, its authors are unknown. No one has ventured an opinion on the merit of incurring its costs. There has been scant consultation. Some experts regard the idea as a ‘surprise’.[[29]](#endnote-29)

The loop appears to be at a conceptual stage with matters such as scope, business case, and assessment yet to commence. Cost estimates have varied by as much as $50bn.[[30]](#endnote-30)

#### Sydney Metro

Labor offered $6 billion for Sydney Metro projects. $3bn for a West Metro and $3bn for Western Sydney rail which the State Government says should be a Metro. The State Minister’s earlier rejection of the latter $3bn – on the grounds that resultant ridership would ‘overwhelm’ the Sydney Trains system – did not make Labor headlines (see section 3.3 above).

The projects temporarily cover-up the NSW Coalition Government’s Metro disaster. They exacerbate the damage Metro inflicts on Sydney. [[31]](#endnote-31)

Federal Labor should have known of the problems and that the Metro rail plan for Badgerys Creek is based on such false premises as to warrant formal investigation.[[32]](#endnote-32)

#### Cities

Labor’s claim of a cities policy did not attempt to address the key issue: what is the Commonwealth’s responsibility?[[33]](#endnote-33)

Despite Ministerial ‘portfolios’, neither major party has given any reasons for, or scope of, a Commonwealth cities role. Commonwealth urban ideas have not discernibly advanced for decades. Rather, by ignoring High Court clarifications of Commonwealth powers, they have regressed.[[34]](#endnote-34)

Among the results at the Federal level: nobody takes the matters (sufficiently) seriously; widespread misinformation; rent seeking.[[35]](#endnote-35)

A lack of adequate urban expertise was demonstrated by Labor repeating Coalition propaganda – fabrications - which had been publicly rebutted. Examples include the ’30-minute city’ and a Sydney CBD to Parramatta Metro journey time of 20 minutes.[[36]](#endnote-36)

Labor presented a wish-list of city-gift miscellany. Included were: rebadging the Coalition’s (misleadingly named) ‘city deals’ as ‘city partnerships’; house building, funding and tax matters; funding of restoration of urban rivers, and prospective ‘smart’ and ‘living’ cities ‘strategies’.

Also included was a $7.5 million grant to Blacktown Council because it ‘missed out’ before.[[37]](#endnote-37)

For completeness Labor’s city policy included ‘regions’ i.e. non-cities.

#### Other omissions

The Federal Opposition did not effectively challenge Coalition stupidities such as restrictions on Newcastle port. Nor did it challenge the Commonwealth’s U-turn on road charging or other pressing road policy matters.[[38]](#endnote-38)

It had no interoperability agenda and therefore no national transport plan.[[39]](#endnote-39)

It comments on infrastructure advisors – about Infrastructure Australia etc. – missed the essential points of grossly inadequate advice, misguided assessment processes, unjustifiable assessments and defective governance.[[40]](#endnote-40)

Labor proposed several referendums but omitted the one needed for its urban policies to have effect - a referendum to give the Commonwealth some responsibility for cities.[[41]](#endnote-41)

#### Conclusion

Labor’s assertion there should be a Commonwealth infrastructure policy lacked direction – as if guided only by Jack Sparrow’s compass.[[42]](#endnote-42)

Labor did not understand or care about the effects of policies like Sydney Metro, Newcastle port restrictions, or infrastructure advisory processes.

### 3.5 Conclusions about infrastructure policy

On the basis of election offerings, Commonwealth infrastructure policy has gone so seriously awry as to not deserve its name. Bureaucratic architecture in place for over a decade has manifestly failed and now provides excuses for pork barrelling. It is lucky for some that the Government is not committed to a federal integrity commission.

The source of problems is not a lack of assessments of project proposals but the origins of proposals. This is consistent with a failure to comprehend Australia’s system of government.

One result is NSW and Commonwealth Coalition Governments were not held to account on infrastructure matters. On the key issues, Labor adopted a ‘me too’ position.

## 4. Bonus

### 4.1 Introduction

This article is about the NSW and Federal elections of 2019 – both won by the Coalition.

Section 1 said Labor offered better general economic policies than the Coalition but there was media bias in the campaign. Those who wanted a ‘climate-change’ election should be disappointed.

Section 2 finished with a new opiate of the masses. No doubt that angst will amp up with the latest approvals for the Adani mine. A start is Mr Brown wanting protests to ‘go global’. [[43]](#endnote-43)

Section 3 looked at the infrastructure offerings of the Governments and Oppositions.

This section 4 considers the above in the context of three Labor themes: climate change; a fair go; better government.

### 4.2 Climate change

To recap, the Adani proposed mine might account for a bit below 1.8% of Australian coal production, less than 0.1% of world coal – assuming it doesn’t displace any and if it goes into full production.[[44]](#endnote-44)

#### Make no mistake

Given such (readily available) figures many would be impressed by stoicism and balanced analysis such as in reports of a Queensland Minister being ‘*devastated*’ and having ‘*shed tears*’ over community division. Typical nuanced commentary continues too via, for example:

‘*Make no mistake, Adani means death*’ with its champions inflicting on us ‘*a new sort of nihilism — asking us to take one more step into our collective graves’*. [[45]](#endnote-45)

Perhaps a smaller step towards the crypt than China asks, given its production of 3,555mtpa. Reportedly up 5% - an increase equivalent to 17.8 Adani mines – in 2018.[[46]](#endnote-46)

Reminding the beagle less of the grim reaper than a paragon of understatement, Henny Penny.[[47]](#endnote-47)

Remember Boston, 1844?

*‘To hear their harangues on the eve of the election, one would suppose that the fable of Chicken Little was about to become a truth, and that the sky was actually falling.’[[48]](#endnote-48)*

But before Adani boosters get too smug about that cheap shot, make no mistake about the corollary. A small output means small employment etc. effect. Except, possibly, in a small locality.[[49]](#endnote-49)

#### The Hunter Valley and a shame

The election result saw a 1.4% national swing against Labor for the House of Representatives. It did better in some places. Worse in others, not just Queensland. Like in the Hunter Valley, locality of most of the NSW coal industry.

The swing against Labor in Newcastle city 1.4% was the national average. Some might associate this average performance with gentrification. Especially after looking at swings against Labor in less gentrified parts of the Hunter Valley: Paterson 5.0%, Shortland 10.0%, Hunter 14.0%.[[50]](#endnote-50)

Coal is a major industry in the Hunter electorate of the Hon. Joel Fitzgibbon MP. He had plenty to say about Labor’s performance and even thought of running against Mr Albanese for leadership.[[51]](#endnote-51)

Earlier, we saw Mr Brown’s Adani car convoy not scheduling time in - or a journey through - the Hunter Valley. Even though Newcastle - the world’s largest coal export port which ships at least 20 times the amount the Adani mine might do - would seem a likely place for those itching for a ‘*public showdown*’ with coal mining. As distinct from, say, a public showboat for which the convoy’s stopping points of Canberra and Coffs Harbour are better – and they have mini-windmills to tilt at.[[52]](#endnote-52)

Which, irrespective of the reasons, is a shame. Because if the con-voyagers went to Newcastle, they could have seen how the NSW Coalition Government is preventing the port diversifying from coal.[[53]](#endnote-53)

And they could have challenged the restrictions on the port – like the Australian Competition and Consumers Commission has.[[54]](#endnote-54)

And they could have called on the Greens and Labor to pledge to reverse the restrictions. Which those parties didn’t.

And with such a pledge, ‘debate’ could have run to diversification needed for a post-coal world. Diversification being the type of structural adjustment which Newcastle has quite some experience. It was known as steel city, having the first steelworks in Australia which eventually shut in 1999 in the long aftermath of the Hawke Government’s opening of the economy to global forces.[[55]](#endnote-55)

And the debate could have reflected on what went well and what didn’t go so well about the Hawke Government’s ‘steel plan’.

It could have looked further afield at the textile, clothing and footwear towns in regional Victoria which were also hard hit by global forces. Of the type expected if there is serious international action on coal in the name of climate change.[[56]](#endnote-56)

And that could have given rise to responses to the great ‘moral challenge’ of our times beyond finger wagging from hipsters of Hobart and other exotics with little or nothing to lose from ‘moralising’. Then the reaction of the victims of the tsk-tsking might have been less vehement.

Perhaps swings against Labor in areas like Queensland might have been less – perhaps it could even have won office and progressed the ‘agenda’ beyond the goat’s cheese curtain.[[57]](#endnote-57)

All of which is speculative. Perhaps the election result is due to other factors – which allow solace in the superiority of crusader education levels?[[58]](#endnote-58)

So much for coal and the educated being informed.

#### Henny Penny

Make no mistake, Henny Penny was the original sponsor for the Newcastle Knights football team. Later sponsors included Coal & Allied. Spooky.[[59]](#endnote-59)

### 4.4 A fair go

Recall the big problem with Sydney Metro?

Not ‘privatisation’. Nor operations nor capacity. Or financial cost. Or even the contradictions.

Rather, the problem is it divides Sydney. Because of tiny tunnels unable to take trains with adequate seating – commuter trains - and its route through the city might preclude more commuter lines. Forever limiting commuting from the suburbs to the best opportunities in the metropolitan area.[[60]](#endnote-60)

Replicating what happened in Paris in the late 1800s, which aimed at suburbanites.[[61]](#endnote-61)

Why? There is no public explanation. The problem arises from apparently needless decisions.

The response from Federal Labor? An offer of funding for two other Metro projects. One – between Parramatta and the CBD – will worsen the problem. The other, ludicrously far from the city, and associated with fabrications, temporarily covers-up the problem.[[62]](#endnote-62)

Federal election result: Sydney’s western suburbs are now known as ‘the former heartland’. Which the brains trust will probably find was unrelated to Labor’s attitude on Metro. Whatever say the genii, Labor showed ennui. Was a ‘fair go’ on this single most important issue for western Sydney too boring for think about?

### 4.5 Better government

A compare and contrast section. The State Opposition proposed an inquiry into WestConnex. Just after, and without critique of, a completed Parliamentary inquiry into that topic. Compare that with its unwillingness to demand an inquiry into the much more suspect and damaging Metro.[[63]](#endnote-63)

The Federal Opposition reportedly proposed a clean out of ‘fat cats’ from Infrastructure Australia. Actually, a clean out of its ‘Board’. Actually, one member of its Board who dared suggest his appointment might facilitate more favourable consideration of proposals from his home State. As if his was a novel suggestion.[[64]](#endnote-64)

And Federal Labor would reportedly:

*‘bind itself to business cases presented by Infrastructure Australia on critical road, railway and airport projects before committing billions of dollars in taxpayer funding’.[[65]](#endnote-65)*

Possibly meaning: ‘in Government Labor would only commit to business cases presented to Infrastructure Australia. Cases Infrastructure Australia recommends to the Government.’ Presumably taking a leaf from St Augustine’s book: ‘once we get through the current pork barrel.’[[66]](#endnote-66)

Compare that with some focus on what Infrastructure Australia does and doesn’t do. Which, if it is to play a central role, needs to embody precepts of good government. Raising questions about its:

* governing Board which is incompatible with an advisory body;[[67]](#endnote-67)
* failure to articulate a role for the Commonwealth - a critical matter since the High Court decision in Williams (No.2) in 2014;[[68]](#endnote-68)
* behind-closed-doors practices rather than the public inquiries needed to get to the essence of proposals and give the community confidence in the bona fides of its reports; [[69]](#endnote-69)
* grossly deficient assessments of WestConnex, Sydney Metro and Maldon-Dombarton.[[70]](#endnote-70)

Yet Labor had nothing to say on those questions. It focussed on a ‘political’ appointment of the type that will occur every time a Minister appoints a person to a government authority. Even a Labor Minister.

Meanwhile, it didn’t have much to say about other in-your-face governance problems in infrastructure advising. Like the revolving door at the infrastructure club. Or senior public servants sitting on boards of what some consider lobby groups.[[71]](#endnote-71)

## 5. Finally

Meanwhile, the best infrastructure commentary the experts and the fourth estate came up with was a total monetary cost of some promises. And the predictable moan about lack of assessments. And a plea for a better mousetrap to catch silly ideas. Showing no discernible progress.[[72]](#endnote-72)

Which like much in the State and Federal elections is a shame.

Perhaps it might be better next time?

**26 June 2019**

1. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/doublet-of-ramses.html>

   <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/fit.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. <https://www.liberal.org.au/latest-news/2019/05/09/coalition-deliver-port-macquarie-tidal-pool> [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/east-west-link-battle-lines-still-drawn-over-massive-road-project-20190521-p51pkf.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/commonwealth-urban-transport.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-05-21/federal-election-east-west-link-victoria-and-canberra-possible/11131572> [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/commonwealth-urban-transport.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/regions-unite-on-fast-train-strategy-20190608-p51vsd.html> <https://www.katherinetimes.com.au/story/6207743/ballarat-to-melbourne-in-45-minutes-new-push-from-regions-for-200kmh-trains/?cs=9397>

   <https://www.theage.com.au/politics/victoria/big-projects-bigger-bills-massive-construction-boom-comes-at-a-cost-20190610-p51w5d.html>

   The explanation: <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/how-high-is-the-dome.html>

   A reasonable idea? <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-high-speed-rail-where-to-competing-with-airlines-or-cars/>

   <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/higher-speed-rail-why-newcastle.html> . After the election, some regional local governments offered a proposal for fast-rail which, despite the Victorian Minister’s reaction, appears to be superior to anything else currently on offer in Australia. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. <https://www.infrastructureaustralia.gov.au/projects/files/Final_Inland_Rail_Project_Evaluation_Summary.pdf> [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. <https://anthonyalbanese.com.au/opinion-inland-rail-is-a-train-wreck-this-is-the-only-way-to-get-it-back-on-track-10-daily-monday-29-april-2019>. The questioning of why it does not go to Brisbane port is curious - there is speculation the reasons relate to policy – a ‘cast iron guarantee’ made by the Hon. Peter Beattie, a Labor Premier. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. For example: [https://www.thejadebeagle.com/submission-to-aps-review-2019.html especially part 1](https://www.thejadebeagle.com/submission-to-aps-review-2019.html%20especially%20part%201). [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. E.g. <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-transport-for-an-incoming-nsw-government/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-nsw-farce-rail/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-pain-before-more-pain-and-then-no-gain-in-berejiklians-growing-sydney-transport-mess/>

    and see the Infrastructure Paradise series at the jadebeagle.com.

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/fit.html>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-public-inquiries-into-nsw-infrastructure-projects/> [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-19/nsw-election-labor-leader-michael-daley-foreigners-jobs-video/10914880> [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/fit.html>,. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. E.g. <https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/bob-carr-former-minister-for-nothing-20140411-zqtne.html>

    <https://www.domain.com.au/news/sydneys-infrastructure-still-catching-up-after-the-citys-16-lost-years-federal-infrastructure-and-cities-minister-paul-fletcher-20180313-h0xf5d/>

    Co-incidentally, the Premier against whom the do-nothing charge is laid, who had the opinion Sydney was full – 20 years ago – held the same seat as the NSW Opposition leader. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. See: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-07/sydney-stadium-demolition-despite-injunction/10878428>

    <https://www.afr.com/news/politics/allianz-stadium-safety-claim-disputed-but-demolition-begins-regardless-20190317-h1cgtc>

    <https://www.smh.com.au/sport/daley-wipes-the-floor-with-jones-in-stadium-debate-20190306-p5128o.html>

    <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/upbeat-daley-ends-alp-campaign-at-stadium>

    <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_New_South_Wales_state_election> [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Pre-election: <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/nation/politics/berejiklians-600m-light-rail-deal-to-settle-feud/news-story/2d116d9e5114c73eadc0309d72306c2e>

    The settlement: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-03/sydney-light-rail-bill-passes3-billion-as-compo-settled/11172434>

    Other matters: <http://wellington.scoop.co.nz/?p=114464> [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/macro-micro-westconnex-and-westies.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/urbans-admonition.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/trouble-in-paradise-2.html>

    E.g. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/sydney-metro.html>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-menadue-the-best-of-2018-sydney-metro-a-forty-billion-dollar-deception/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-a-public-inquiry-into-sydney-metro-is-essential-part-2/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-inquiry-into-sydney-metro-part-1/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-sydney-metro-the-60billion-dollar-deception/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-we-need-a-metro-public-inquiry-in-nsw-to-sort-out-the-railway-mess/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-the-sydney-metro-the-doubt-and-mess-continues/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-sydney-metro-again-10billion-more-to-build-something-later/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-sydney-metro-a-disaster-in-store/> [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. E.g. <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-sydneys-transport-mess-will-now-envelop-badgerys-creek-airport/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-bill-shorten-and-western-sydney-rail/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-more-on-the-sydney-transport-mess-the-western-sydney-dud-deal/> [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. E.g. <https://johnmenadue.com/john-menadue-newcastle-port-another-botched-privatisation-a-repost-from-5-september-2016/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/roy-green-world-class-container-terminal-for-newcastle-and-the-investigation-by-the-accc/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-newcastle-port-restriction-action-not-words-please/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-menadue-media-catch-up-on-newcastle-port/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-newcastle-port-some-progress-in-undoing-a-privatisation-fiasco/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/luke-fraser-federal-court-decision-at-port-of-newcastle-a-cut-and-dry-failure-of-bureaucratic-leadership/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-menadue-privatisation-and-the-hobbling-of-newcastle-port/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-how-port-privatisation-will-hobble-newcastle/> [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/fit.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/fit.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. The beagle’s count stopped at 200: <https://www.alp.org.au/media/1902/nation_building_infrastructure.pdf> [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. <https://www.smh.com.au/national/the-tweak-that-could-make-high-speed-rail-to-sydney-a-reality-20190512-p51mkz.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-high-speed-rail-bite-the-bullet-please/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-fast-rail-apologies-please-from-perpetrators/> [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. For example: <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-nsw-farce-rail/> [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. <https://www.theage.com.au/federal-election-2019/game-changer-or-white-elephant-experts-weigh-in-on-suburban-rail-loop-20190513-p51mwo.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. <https://lens.monash.edu/2018/11/18/1364820/building-more-roads-will-not-solve-our-transport-crisis> [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. <https://transport.vic.gov.au/our-transport-future/our-projects/suburban-rail-loop>

    <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suburban_Rail_Loop> [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/dogs-breakfast-for-all.html>

    <https://www.alp.org.au/policies/labors-plan-for-cities/>:

    *‘Sydney:*

    *Invest in Western Sydney Rail to connect the Sydney rail network with the new Western Sydney Airport, whilst reducing congestion.*

    *Invest in Sydney Metro West, which will double the rail capacity between Parramatta and the CBD, while slashing travel times between Parramatta and the City to just 20 minutes, with trains running every two minutes.’* [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/western-sydney-rail-response.html>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-sydneys-transport-mess-will-now-envelop-badgerys-creek-airport/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-bill-shorten-and-western-sydney-rail/> [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/commonwealth-urban-transport.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-and-luke-fraser-urbane-transport-police-part-3-of-3/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-the-high-court-the-williams-case-and-transport/> [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/glory-without-power.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Examples of rebuttals:

    30 minute city <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-and-luke-fraser-urbane-transport-policy-part-1/>

    20 minute travel time <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/rail-gun---the-hamilton-dawdler.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. <https://www.alp.org.au/policies/labors-plan-for-cities/>:

    *‘Labor will expand the Western Sydney City Deal to include Blacktown City Council through our City Partnerships program.*

    *The Western Sydney City Deal was signed in March 2018 and includes the local government areas of Blue Mountains, Camden, Campbelltown, Fairfield, Hawkesbury, Liverpool, Penrith and Wollondilly.*

    *Including Blacktown City Council in our City Partnership for Western Sydney makes strategic sense given its focus on job creation and unlocking a 30-minute city.*

    *Labor will also invest $7.5 million in local priority projects identified by Blacktown City Council, consistent with what the other local councils received and calls on the New South Wales Government to match this commitment.’* [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. The Coalition’s U-turn on road charging involved, among other things, non-appointment of an ‘eminent Australian’ to lead discussion on the matter. See, for example: <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/yawn-reports-about-another-champion-for-road-reform.html>

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/rock-and-road-reform.html>

    Other road charging issues include the enormous fiscal deficit: <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/broken-record.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/all-things-must-pass.html>

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/austral-obscura-2.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Examples are:

    inadequate advice – not identifying Commonwealth responsibilities or powers

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/australian-infrastructure-plan.html>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-priorities-for-infrastructure-australia/>

    weak assessment processes – not conducting public inquiries

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/submission-to-infrastructure-australiarsquos-national-infrastructure-audit.html>

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/urbans-admonition.html>

    unjustifiable assessments –

    WestConnex

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/wonderland-glory-and-evaluation.html>

    Sydney Metro

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/earth-to-canberra-2.html>

    Maldon Dombarton

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/the-dog-that-didnt-bark.html>

    comments about infrastructure advice concerned members of the board

    <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/nation/albanese-vows-clean-out-of-infrastructure-fat-cats/news-story/a9f6cf5fc28348dc66856bf9dcfd2cfc>

    but did not address defective governance

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/governance.html>, <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/submission-to-aps-review-2019.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Referendum topics: republic, indigenous ‘first nations’ voice, republic, Parliamentary terms <https://www.alp.org.au/policies/> [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-the-high-court-the-williams-case-and-transport/> [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. <https://www.1843magazine.com/intelligence/the_big_question/what_is_the_opium_of_the_people_> [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. <https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/politics/queensland/stop-adani-protest-to-go-global-despite-election-backlash-bob-brown-20190615-p51y1c.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. <https://theconversation.com/final-2019-election-results-education-divide-explains-the-coalitions-upset-victory-118601> [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-13/adani-carmichael-coal-mine-approved-water-management-galilee/11203208>

    <https://www.crikey.com.au/2019/06/18/adani-carmichael-drought-violence/>

    <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-energy-coal/china-boosts-coal-mining-capacity-despite-climate-pledges-idUSKCN1R712Z> [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henny_Penny> [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. To finish the quote: *‘but the great mass of the people in reality take very little interest in the matter’*. <https://archive.org/details/moralsoffreedomo00chan/page/28> [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. And that other Queensland mine the so-called master drew attention to? Inaccurately, apparently. Almost but not quite fully approved. As Gorilla would say: close but no cigar. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-13/fact-check-adani-mine-queensland-approval/11191744> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gorilla_Monsoon> [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. <https://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/2019/files/maps/2019-aec-A3-NSW-maps.pdf> [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/jun/04/qa-labor-made-huge-error-in-being-silent-over-coal-joel-fitzgibbon-says> [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/legoblock/47154351311>

    <https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1CHBF_enAU754AU754&q=clog+barn+windmill&tbm=isch&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiy2pC45vviAhXTfCsKHaAuAH4QsAR6BAgAEAE&biw=1366&bih=657#imgrc=TYOk2JxkkSnlFM:> [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Formerly a secret with alleged ‘dissembling’ from the Premier: <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/doublet-of-ramses.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. <https://www.accc.gov.au/media-release/accc-takes-action-against-nsw-ports> [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. Via the floating of the $A and reductions in tariff and quota protection. For example:

    <http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2009/09/25/2696366.htm>

    <http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2009/09/25/2696366.htm>

    <https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp9900/2000RP07>

    <https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;db=CHAMBER;id=chamber/hansardr/2008-09-22/0175;query=Id:%22chamber/hansardr/2008-09-22/0000%22> [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. <https://www.pc.gov.au/inquiries/completed/textile-clothing-footwear-1997/59tcf1.pdf> [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. Bernard Salt, *Life-form line that decided election*, the Australian June 13, 2019. Mr Salt drew attention to two ‘outlier groups in the Australian community: those within 5km of the centre of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and the ACT- inside the ‘goat’s cheese curtain’; those in Bowen Basin (Queensland coal fields) electorates:

    *‘the godless, unmarried, highly educated, public-sector skewed, mostly full-time workers inside the succour and safety of the goat’s chees curtain see the world differently to how life is viewed from the perspective of Rockhampton and Mackay.’*

    There the swing to Labor and the Greens was 3%. However, in the Bowen Basin electorates (Dawson, Capricornia and Flynn) there was a swing towards the Coalition between 8% and 12%. His main point is the Bowen Basin is *‘much closer to the Australian average’:*

    *‘what is emerging in the centre of our capital cities is a unique, somewhat disconnected, privileged community, educated, secure and quite unaffected by the negative repercussions of a shift away from coal.’* [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. <https://theconversation.com/final-2019-election-results-education-divide-explains-the-coalitions-upset-victory-118601> [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. <https://www.theroar.com.au/2017/04/16/newcastle-knights-best-club-nrl-history-heres/>. Henny Penny 1988-90, Coal & Allied 2005-11. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/dogs-breakfast-for-all.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/dogs-breakfast-for-all.html> section 5.8 [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/western-sydney-rail-response.html>

    <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/no-more-pork-barrelling-labor-promises-infrastructure-shake-up-20190405-p51b6r.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. <https://johnmenadue.com/john-menadue-the-best-of-2018-sydney-metro-a-forty-billion-dollar-deception/> [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. <https://anthonyalbanese.com.au/media-release-infrastructure-australia-board-must-be-above-cuts-tuesday-1-april-2019> [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/no-more-pork-barrelling-labor-promises-infrastructure-shake-up-20190405-p51b6r.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. <https://www.ourcatholicprayers.com/St-Augustine-on-prayer.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/submission-to-aps-review-2019.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-the-high-court-the-williams-case-and-transport/> [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/urbans-admonition.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/earth-to-canberra-2.html>

    <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/wonderland-glory-and-evaluation.html><https://www.thejadebeagle.com/the-dog-that-didnt-bark.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. <https://www.thejadebeagle.com/submission-to-aps-review-2019.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. <https://grattan.edu.au/news/transport-promises-for-election-2019-the-good-the-bad-and-the-downright-ugly/>

    <https://johnmenadue.com/john-austen-grattan-institute-on-transport-projects-a-better-mousetrap/> [↑](#endnote-ref-72)