



Donations to Queensland Political Parties 2016 until election 2017 and ban on developer contributions

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Introduction

Queensland goes to an election in the shadow of CCC recommendations which, in the context of local government elections, suggested that donations from one industry – property development – are tainted, but that other donations are not.

The state government decided to apply this recommendation to state government as well and introduced a bill to ban donations from developers who make town planning applications, and their close associates. They have made that legislation retrospective to Thursday October 12, 2017. While it has not passed the parliament, it appears from election declarations that the parties have behaved as though it is the law.

The legislation¹ contains punitive measures so that if a donation is received from a “developer” or close associate, then a fine, equal to twice the donation, will be levied on a recipient. Furthermore, a recipient is deemed to know (irrespective of whether they do) the source of all donations.

This is a serious breach of civil rights. We should only be held responsible for our own proven misdeeds, not those that someone else is suspected to have committed.

Further, it raises questions as to why the CCC would find that donations from one industry give rise to a suspicion of undue influence, but donations from every other industry don’t, and why this would be applied not just at a local government level, but at a state level.

This paper uses the Electoral Commission Queensland electronic disclosure system to draw a picture of just who, and what industries, fund our political parties. It deals with records between 6/1/2016, when the service begins, and draws a line at 21/10/2017. We analyse the data in the first place to 11/10/2017 when the de facto ban on donations from property developers and associates came into effect, and from 12/10/17 up until 21/11/2017. This allows some comparison between funding with, and without, property developer contributions.

¹ <http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Documents/TableOffice/TabledPapers/2017/5517T2027.pdf>

Executive Summary

This study finds that, with the exception of large union donors, there is little to suggest that political donations in Queensland are corrupt or given for significant influence.

Rather, the bill to ban property donors at a state government level is a brazen attempt by the government to damage the ability of the LNP to raise funds. If donations from any industry were to be banned, it should be from trade unions, as these are the only donations that meet reasonable criteria that they might be corrupt, or give rise to undue influence.

This is because of the size of donations given by individual unions, that they boast about the influence this buys them, and the character and reputation of a number of these unions, particularly the CFMEU and United Voice. As government is their largest employer, they also have a conflict of interest.

Major points in the analysis:

- The ban on donations from property developers and associates has robbed the LNP of \$519,524.45 so far in the election campaign, at the same time that the ALP has taken \$405,083.89 from various unions.
- Political donations are essential for healthy parties with \$11,408,274.81 donated between 1/1/2016 and 11/10/2017. The LNP raises more money than the ALP, but none of the returns show support from volunteers or conscripts, including paid employees, such as union organisers, put to work in campaigns. Cash donations represent less than 100% of actual donations.
- Property developers and unions were the largest source of donations. Developers gave \$2,162,316 split between ALP and LNP, and unions gave \$1,117,533, almost exclusively to the ALP. Combine property and union donations provided the LNP with \$1,747,841 and the ALP with \$1,512,773.
- The average donated by a property developer over the period was \$10,920.79, and from a union \$42,982.04. Individual unions are likely to wield more influence on average than individual property developers.
- Individual donations to political parties are quite small compared to donations in the charitable sector. The average **political** donation from a corporation is \$6,686, while the average **charitable** donation from a smaller business is \$5,800, and SME \$598,000 and a large corporation \$5,000,000.
- 1,417 individual entities donated to state political parties. This shows a healthy democracy with broad participation in supporting the civil societies which participate in elections.
- The largest donor to a Queensland political party over the period before property donations were banned was United Voice, with \$303,631.77. The most generous property developer was Springfield, which gave just less than half this amount, splitting it almost evenly between the major parties.
- United Voice's donation is 8.6% of the ALP's total revenue in the period. This is more likely to buy influence than the largest donation to the LNP which was only 2.4% of revenue.
- Unions are the most likely donor to have a conflict of interest. Their most significant employer is government. So any deal they do with candidates to influence government policy puts them on both sides of the industrial relations negotiating table.
- The Electronic Disclosure System makes donations very transparent. It is unlikely that a donor is donating to gain undue influence, and if they are, it can easily be tracked, and voters, or law enforcement officers, can make a decision based on this.

- Unions, such as United Voice, have openly boasted of their control of government in return for supporting specific candidates. They are the only organisations on the record as asserting that they hold influence due to supporting specific candidates.
- A number of unions, but in particular the CFMEU, break the law with impunity and have office-holders who would fail a “fit and proper” test. As far as we can tell, the other large donors to political parties are model citizens.

Analysis

The information that forms the bulk of this report has been assembled to allow us to answer the question of which donors and donations could give rise to a suspicion of undue influence, or worse, on a political party, and whether donations from property developers fit this description.

Our conclusion is that with very rare exceptions most donations do not provide any suspicion of having been given for undue influence. However, a very few may fall into this category. While property developers are generous donors, by the criteria we have chosen, they are much less likely to be corrupting the political process than trade unions.

The factors that we take into consideration are:

- the size of donations;
- what plausible benefit a donor could receive for their donation; and
- the character and reputation of the donors

Political donations are an essential part of funding democracy

Our major political parties are both heavily dependent on political donations. The total amount over the period from January 2016 to October 11, 2017 was \$11,408,274.81 from 1,417 different entities. The ALP received 31% and the LNP 64% with the balance split between the minors. All political parties receive volunteer support as well as support from third parties. There is no way to quantify the value of this additional support, but given the competitiveness of the two major parties with each other, it must be assumed to make up any difference in direct contributions. Trade unions are a significant portion of this difference, with a union organiser costing a union \$17,986.30 each if seconded to the party for a four week campaign.

Property developers and unions the largest collective source of donations

21% of funds are provided by developers, and 11% by trade unions. Individuals provide 20% of funding. The total amount over the period from January 2016 to October 11, 2017 provided by property developers was \$2,162,316, and by unions \$1,117,533. Property developers gave to both LNP and ALP, so the split of the combined donations of unions and property developers was \$1,747,841 to the LNP and \$1,512,773 to the ALP.

The size of the average trade union donation more likely to be corrupting than that from the average property developer

However the average donation from a trade union in 2016 was \$42,982.04 whereas for a property developer it was \$10,920.79. So while it could be argued the property industry might have more influence as an industry, it can't be argued that it applies to the members of that industry. However, on this basis unions have more influence than any other donor, by a huge margin.

Donations to political parties are generally relatively small

How much would you give to an organisation on an altruistic basis? We found the answer in research by the federal government into the charitable sector.

In 2016 the average donation to a Queensland political party from a corporate entity was \$6,686. For charitable giving in the 2015/16 financial year corporate donations ranged from an average of \$5m, for large corporates, \$598,000 for SMEs and \$5,800 for smaller businesses.

Corporate political giving is at the lowest end of philanthropic giving.

For individuals, the average philanthropic donation was \$764.08, while for political parties it was \$3,652. Political giving would appear to be more generous, but the comparison is not like with like, as political giving is not required to be disclosed if it is under \$1,000, so the true average amount is likely to be much smaller.

Individual political giving is generous, but not so generous as to appear to be more than philanthropic.

So the average political donation is of a size that should not give rise to a suspicion of undue influence. It is similar in size to the types of donations made to churches, clubs, and NGOs.

Some individual donations are relatively large compared to other political donations

The 25 largest political donors range from the United Voice union, which gave \$303,631.77 between Jan 2016 and October 11, 2017 through to consultancy firm Ernst & Young who gave \$63,000 in this period.

The first property developer, Springfield comes in at number three on the list, donating \$141,630.60, more or less evenly to both major parties. In the top seven there are three unions, a pastoralist, a firearms merchant, and a waste collection company. The agriculturalist, Gulf Coast, gave \$178,282.92, the firearms merchant, Nioa Nominees, \$136,748.48, the waste company, JJ Richards & Sons \$134,655.32, and the unions after United Voice – CEPU, \$139,162.55 and AWU \$132,700. Paul Darrouzet, the second-most generous property developer gave \$130,000.

Looking at the largest donors to each party reveals that the ALP depends heavily on unions. It also receives some donations from one property developer – Springfield Corporation – which also donates to the LNP. Consultancy firms, KPMG and Ernst & Young are also in the top ten, as is one lawyer.

The LNP is much more diversified in its top ten with donors in agriculture and waste topping the list, three active property developers (including Laurence Lancini, the current Property Council President), a property trust belonging to a family of North Queensland cane farmers, individuals, and a financial services firm – Morgans.

The Greens have very few corporate donors, but one of them is Energreen Nutrition. KAP's largest donor is the firearms merchant, Nioa Nominees. Their only other donor of note is the Taxi Owner and Driver Welfare Association, although it should be noted that the Taxi Council donated to the LNP.

The size of donations, apart from unions, is generally unconnected to the industry so individuals should be held to account

Unless all donations are to be seen as tainted, it is only abnormal donations which could give rise to a presumption of undue influence. So it is our contention that as property development donations are around the average it is highly unlikely they are given in return for direct favours.

If there is any undue influence it is likely to be from large donors without which a party would have difficulty operating. United Voice certainly fits this criteria, representing 8.6% of total ALP revenue. Gulf Coast, the largest donor to the LNP, only represents 2.4% of their revenue.

The fact that there are relatively few large donors, and that it is easy to search the donations database, should make it easy to track any influence that might come from donating to a political party.

What benefits can individual donors get from the state government?

This is another problem for those suggesting property developers be banned from donating, but exempting trade unions and all other donors. With the exception of some very large developments, the state government has little control over property developments. These are approved at a local government level. If they are only self-interested, there is very little reason for most property developers to donate to state political parties.

However, they may donate because they want to see a business-friendly government in power.

Trade unions, by comparison, have a vested interest in state government as in many cases it is the largest employer of unionists. If donors at a state government level were to be singled out on the basis of industry and the benefits they can influence directly to themselves, then it ought to be unions.

Do donors support parties they can buy, or parties that support their point of view?

There is a cart and horse issue that it is almost impossible to answer.

However, take the donation from the Nioa Family Trust to the Katter Australia Party.

On the face of it, it would seem that this company could own the KAP as it provided 85.24% of its funds over the period between January 2016 and when the developer ban was introduced. However, is it likely that because of this donation, the KAP changed its policy on guns? Or was it because of its policy on guns it was an obvious organisation for a company making money from the sale of guns to support as a way of exercising political influence?

It might further help to explain the support if one knew that managing director Robert Nioa is Bob Katter's son-in-law.

If you believe that donations are given to change policy, rather than support parties with whose policies the donor already agrees, this raises a practical problem. The only donations not tainted in this analysis would be those given by people who disagree with the party. Under this assumption this might be the case, but as a funding model, it is going to fail.

As well, given a regime where donations over \$1,000 must be declared, it hardly seems likely that donors are paying money to change a party's policy, and much more likely they are trying to help parties who agree with their views, to succeed. Or just to help parties with which they have an affinity. The transparency means that any potential influence can easily be seen and publicised, with consequences for both donor and donee. As we are doing with this report.

Transparency also opens donors up to retribution from rival parties to the ones they are supporting.

One industry that relies heavily on state government decisions, but is heavily under-represented is the mining industry. Energy companies donated 0.91% of totals in the period before the developer ban was implemented, and mining companies 0.80%. The fact that an industry that relies heavily on state government decisions donates so little, while an industry, property, that hardly relies on direct state decisions at all, donates so much, suggests that improper influence of government decisions is not what property developer donors are trying to achieve.

What does the large number of donors say?

1,417 individual entities donated and declared their donation in the period under review. 590 of these were individuals. 198 were property developers. Unions only made up 26, but as their average donation is around 4 times the average, this doesn't reflect their importance.

If donations are given in return for influence, then the large number of donations says that our society is probably irredeemably corrupt. More likely, as most donors appear to be law abiding citizens, most donations are given on an altruistic basis.

Is it possible that donors just see this as a civic duty?

Springfield is the third largest donor and donated over the period almost equally to both sides. In evidence to the CCC's Operation Belcarra, Deputy Chairman of Springfield Land Corporation, Bob Sharpless, said that Springfield gave to both sides of politics because "It's quite normal for political parties and others to ask for help from people who, in the past, have provided help." In other words, their motivation is philanthropic.

Springfield is developing an \$85 Billion satellite city in Ipswich City, and says on its website:

Philanthropy and promoting social and environmental sustainability are integral to the way we do business. At Greater Springfield, this commitment is delivered through partnerships with highly respected corporations, the Federal Government, State Government and Ipswich City Council.

Perhaps they should be taken at their word that they see donating to political parties as just one part of giving back to the community.

Isn't transparency the greatest shield against corruption?

We are able to do this analysis because the information is made almost instantaneously available on the Electoral Commission Queensland's website, with a delay of no more than 7 days, for all amounts over \$1,000.

If it is accepted that only large sums, given by individuals, irrespective of their industry, might give rise to a problem of undue influence, then these payments are relatively easy to track for voters and others with an interest, as demonstrated by this report.

Doesn't the Electronic Disclosure System, combined with instantaneous disclosure, obviate any need to ban whole classes of person from being financially involved in the political process?

Character and reputation of donors

Our final criteria is the character of the various donors. Are these the sort of organisations and individuals that are law-abiding? If they are law-abiding, this must be a presumption that they would be unlikely to be seeking improper influence, which is by definition illegal, or at best unethical. And if they are not law-abiding, this could raise a presumption that they might seek improper influence.

Of the 25 largest donors, most appear to be model law abiding citizens and corporations, often involved in other charitable or public good works.

For example Paul Darrouzet is a director of the Wesley Medical Institute, and a former chair of Lifestream Foundation, which assists people with intellectual disabilities. Springfield's Maha Sinathamby is a Rotary Paul Harris Fellow, his business partner, Bob Sharpless is Chairman of the Brisbane Lions. Don O'Rorke from Consolidated Properties has been president of the Property Council, Deputy Chair of the Wesley Research Institute, and also sits on the Reserve Bank's Small Business Finance Advisory Panel.

Perhaps these charitable activities are a cunning ruse to make respectable the disreputable, but to date Google is unaware of these unsavoury activities, so we would argue these people are at the least entitled to a benefit of the doubt.

However, a number of the union donors frequently break laws, or have boasted of their control of candidates, so as to influence government policy. The CFMEU is notorious, and earlier this year was described by Mr Justice Salvatore Vasta as “the most recidivist corporate offender in Australian history”. He fined them the maximum of the offence of \$306,000, although he thought the fine inadequate.

The CFMEU has gained such a reputation that two former Labor Prime Ministers (Bob Hawke and Kevin Rudd) called for the union to be thrown out of the ALP while one former Federal Labor minister and former head of the ACTU (Martin Ferguson) called for the union to be “brought to heel”.

Out of the CCC’s Operation Belcarra, the only charges that have so far been brought relate to the failure by former Gold Coast City Council Mayoral Candidate, Penny Toland, to declare a \$38,241 gift in kind donation from the CFMEU.

With respect to United Voice, as reported by Professor Judith Sloan:

Mr Bullock [State President of United Voice] goes on to say that United Voice members “won some fantastic commitments from Labor”, adding that they now “want to see the new Palaszczuk Government restore their faith, just stick to their word”.

“United Voice supported seven successful candidates in the election and two of them are now ministers in Cabinet,” he says.

“These United Voice MPs know Labor’s commitments, they made the same commitments themselves and now they’ll help to make sure those promises become reality.”

There appears to be no doubt here that the union donates money on the basis of commitments that it receives. This *prima facie* meets the definition of corruption.

Why are property developers so prominent?

There are virtually no donations for political parties from listed public corporations, and only a few from large private companies. The bulk of funds is raised from small enterprise and individuals. Property development is a significant industry in Queensland, producing around 14% of economic activity². It is capital intensive, which means that even small development companies are of a significant size.

As can be seen from earlier analysis, corporations are much more reluctant to give to political parties than other public good causes, but individuals are possibly more so. Being mostly private companies, often with a founder who is still in control, but with significant size, property development companies are free to spend their money as they want, and in the direction of their directors’ interests, without having to worry about a diverse share registry.

So they are one of the small businesses around where it is possible for political parties to be in contact with a motivated donor with access to corporate resources which they can legitimately use to make a donation to a political party.

² <http://www.qgso.qld.gov.au/products/tables/gsp-factor-cost-industry-components/index.php>

This is speculation, and it would require further research to confirm, but it certainly seems to fit the facts for donations at a state level where very few decisions are made that directly affect specific projects, and which could therefore be characterised as corrupt.

Conclusion

There is no basis for banning property developers or their associates alone of all industry groups, from donating to state election campaigns. The only industry group which gives rise to a suspicion of undue influence is the trade union movement with particular unions even admitting to changing policy and doing deals with candidates in return for financial and other support.

The size of donations to political parties from all donors, irrespective of what industry they operate in, with the exception of some union donations, are not particularly large, so do not give rise to a suspicion of undue influence. In most cases it is not possible to establish a plausible direct benefit that a donor could gain. In general donors who donate large sums, the size of which could give rise to a suspicion of undue influence, are upstanding citizens, active in charity and their own communities, as well as in business.

The Operation Belcarra recommendations were directed towards local government, a level of government where it is arguable that property companies have a much greater interest in specific decisions, and may be acting to try to influence outcomes. This does not apply at a state level.

Rather, the reason for the ban appears to be a successful attempt by the state government to advantage the ALP over the LNP in the race to fund their election campaigns. This is borne out by our modelling which demonstrates that if donations from property developers had continued after the retrospective legislation was introduced the LNP would have received an additional \$519,534.45 and the ALP \$114,450.55 from the development industry. In the same period the ALP received \$405,083.89 in cash from the union movement, and an unknown but substantial amount in non-declarable support.

The figures

The following pages look at how much is given, by whom, and from what industries. They show that compared to other industries property development does not stand out in any other respect than that more of its members contribute than contribute from any other industry group, although there are fewer property developer donors than individuals.

How much is given?

Gross amounts

The total amount over the period from January 2016 to October 11, 2017 was \$11,408,274.81

The LNP received 64% of donations, the ALP 31% and the balance 4% was shared amongst the rest. For the one full year we have of 2016 this amount was \$6,920,085.53.

PARTY	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE
ALP	\$ 3,529,363.80	31%
GRN	\$ 366,567.91	3%
KAP	\$ 156,793.48	1%
LNP	\$ 7,294,127.04	64%
PHON	\$ 20,660.00	0%
OTHER	\$ 40,762.58	0%
	\$ 11,408,274.81	100%

These amounts are for cash only. They exclude volunteer hours, which may be substantial. It is impossible to estimate the value of volunteers. For those of working age it will range between the minimum wage and hundreds of dollars an hour, depending on the potential alternative use of a volunteer's time.

Anecdotally the labour movement augments its donations to the ALP by "warehousing" prospective and former members of parliament, and provides organisers and workers to headquarters and campaigns in greater numbers than anything that happens in other parties.

To put this into perspective. According to the Government of Western Australia Department of Training and Workplace Development a union organiser will earn between \$65,000 and \$77,900 per annum. Allowing for on-costs this would cost the employer around 25% more. So given a four week campaign, and using the lower wage, the value of donating organisers to a campaign would be \$17,986.30 each.

The LNP will also benefit from some donations of staff, but this appears to be a less wide-spread occurrence.

Average amounts

The average business or corporate donor gave \$10,327.47 over the period of 1 years and 9 months. That equates to \$5901.35 per annum. The largest average donations were from the firearms industry. Next largest was from the waste industry followed by unions. Property developers are 11th on the list, and give only slightly more than the average donation. Individuals gave on average \$3,514.94 each over that period or \$2,008.54 per donor annualised.

The following table gives average amounts per donor in each industry

INDUSTRY	AVERAGE OF VALUE	ANNUALISED
FIREARMS	\$ 136,748.48	\$ 78,141.99
WASTE	\$ 50,128.80	\$ 28,645.03
UNION	\$ 42,982.04	\$ 24,561.17
BUSINESS	\$ 27,500.00	\$ 15,714.29
FUEL	\$ 22,603.85	\$ 12,916.49
GAMING	\$ 19,334.80	\$ 11,048.46
LOBBYIST	\$ 15,895.89	\$ 9,083.37
INFRASTRUCTURE	\$ 15,012.00	\$ 8,578.29
IT	\$ 13,090.00	\$ 7,480.00
AGRICULTURE	\$ 11,869.76	\$ 6,782.72
PROPERTY	\$ 10,920.79	\$ 6,240.45
CONSULTANCY	\$ 10,400.97	\$ 5,943.41
TOURISM	\$ 9,030.00	\$ 5,160.00
ASSOCIATION	\$ 8,926.92	\$ 5,101.10
HR	\$ 8,614.84	\$ 4,922.76
ENERGY	\$ 8,607.42	\$ 4,918.52
AUTOMOTIVE	\$ 8,487.88	\$ 4,850.21
CANDIDATE	\$ 8,309.67	\$ 4,748.38
LEGAL	\$ 8,146.68	\$ 4,655.25
BANKING	\$ 8,068.88	\$ 4,610.79
RETIREMENT	\$ 8,000.00	\$ 4,571.43
HOSPITALITY	\$ 7,770.34	\$ 4,440.19
TRANSPORT	\$ 7,338.13	\$ 4,193.21
MEDICAL	\$ 7,215.78	\$ 4,123.30
MINING	\$ 7,063.08	\$ 4,036.04
MEDIA	\$ 6,724.60	\$ 3,842.63
MARINE	\$ 6,333.33	\$ 3,619.05
MANUFACTURING	\$ 6,066.67	\$ 3,466.67
ENTERTAINMENT	\$ 5,550.00	\$ 3,171.43
SERVICES	\$ 5,358.33	\$ 3,061.90
COUNCIL	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 2,857.14
WHOLESALE	\$ 4,782.00	\$ 2,732.57
RETAIL	\$ 4,010.40	\$ 2,291.66
RECYCLING	\$ 3,960.00	\$ 2,262.86
INVESTMENT	\$ 3,895.45	\$ 2,225.97
UNKNOWN	\$ 3,767.42	\$ 2,152.81
CONSTRUCTION	\$ 3,647.44	\$ 2,084.25
TOTAL	\$ 10,327.47	\$ 5,901.41

Average donations politics versus average donations charity

The charitable sector in Australia attracted some \$11.2 Billion in 2014-2015. The Queensland political parties in 2016 (the first 12 month period available to us from the Electronic Disclosure System (EDS)) collected \$6,920,086 from those donations that were disclosable.

While political parties are not part of the charity figures, this is a useful comparison as it gives a sense of just how large the total pool of money available for community good purposes is. Charitable donations are also given without the prospect of monetary gain, so are also a good gauge of the sums of money that people are provided to give on the basis that something is a good cause.

The total declarable annual donations in 2016 of Queensland political parties was .062% of the total of donations that flowed to the charitable sector.

According to the EDS, the average amount donated per corporation for 2016 was \$6,686 and for an individual it was \$3,652. These figures will be over-stated as they only cover donations large enough to be disclosed.

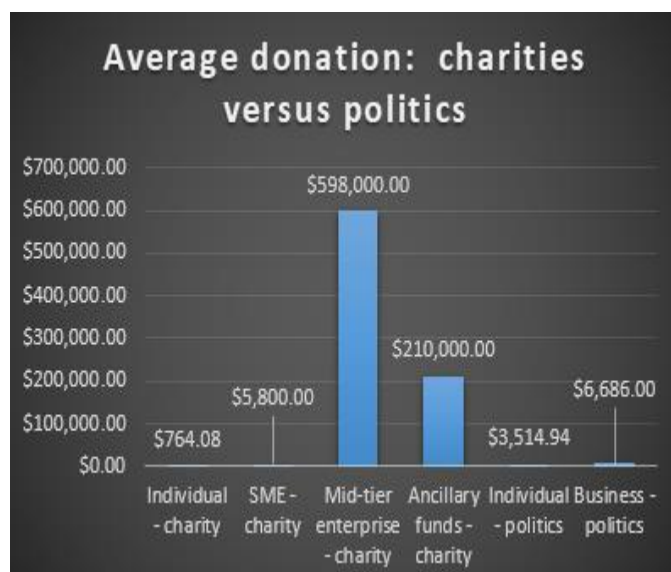
This contrasts with figures available for the charitable sector, and summarised in the “Giving Australia 2016: Business Giving and Volunteering Fact Sheet”³. The average donation by a SME was \$5,800, by a mid-tier business \$598,000 and by a corporation \$5 million.

According to Philanthropy.org there are 3,000 Private and Public Ancillary Funds, which between them gave \$630 million in 2014. This was an average of \$210,000 per entity.⁴

Political parties get the small change of corporate donations – which is not what the public commonly believes.

According to Giving Australia, the average individual donation in 2016 was \$764.08. So average business donations to Queensland political parties are much less than average business donations are to charities, and personal donations are much larger. This pattern does not support an interpretation that donations are given corruptly.

DONOR TYPE	AMOUNT
INDIVIDUAL - CHARITY	\$764.08
SME - CHARITY	\$5,800.00
MID-TIER ENTERPRISE - CHARITY	\$598,000.00
CORPORATION - CHARITY	\$5,000,000.00
ANCILLARY FUNDS - CHARITY	\$210,000.00
INDIVIDUAL - POLITICS	\$3,514.94
BUSINESS - POLITICS	\$6,686.00



³ http://www.philanthropy.org.au/images/site/blog/Giving_Australia_2016_Business_Fact_Sheet.pdf

⁴ <http://www.philanthropy.org.au/tools-resources/fast-facts-and-stats/>

The amounts given to political parties, compared to those given to charities are miniscule. The graph does not plot corporate charitable donations because that would make the scale so large that political donations could not even be seen at all. Charitable giving has to be presumed to be free from graft. That it is so much larger per donor in all cases, apart from individuals, suggests that the amount given to political parties are unlikely to be corrupt either. They are at the bottom end of corporate generosity.

Who gives?

Top 25 donors by value

The top 25 donors provide 20% of funds. The smallest donor out of the top 25 gave \$63,000, or approximately \$22,000 per annum on average. Looked at this way, donations from property developers are significant, being 7 out of 25, but so are donations from other industries with 6 being trade unions.

Many of these top 20 donors are unexpected. The Menegazzo family whose company, Gulf Coast, was the second largest donor, are the only agricultural corporation in the top 20, which is surprising, given the agricultural roots of the LNP. The firearms industry is also a big contributor, with the money going to the Katter Australia Party. Waste and recycling also feature heavily, although JJ Richards are a family business with strong LNP ties. Other industries to be represented are consulting firms, like KPMG and Ernst Young.

There are no miners on the list at all, despite them being a major industry in Queensland.

We go into more depth in the second half of the report on these donors.

DONOR	TOTAL DONATIONS FOR THE PERIOD	INDUSTRY
UNITED VOICE	\$ 303,631.77	Union
GULF COAST	\$ 178,282.92	Agriculture
SPRINGFIELD LAND CORPORATION	\$ 141,630.60	Property
CEPU	\$ 139,162.55	Union
NIOA NOMINEES PTY LTD T/F BILL NIOA FAMILY TRUST	\$ 136,748.48	Firearms
JJ RICHARDS & SONS	\$ 134,655.32	Waste
AWU	\$ 132,700.00	Union
PAUL DARROUZET	\$ 130,000.00	Property
SUEZ ENVIRONMENTAL	\$ 111,077.50	Recycling
KPMG	\$ 107,742.00	Consultant
THE TRUSTEE FOR MARINO PROPERTY TRUST	\$ 104,194.66	Property
CONSOLIDATED PROPERTIES	\$ 104,050.00	Property
CFMEU	\$ 82,462.80	Union
STAR ENTERTAINMENT	\$ 79,134.30	Gaming
MORGANS FINANCIAL LTD	\$ 78,760.00	Financial
ASF	\$ 75,029.00	Gaming
RAIL TRAM & BUS UNION	\$ 74,036.90	Union
LANCINI	\$ 72,000.00	Property
IAN MCCAULEY	\$ 70,000.00	Individual
IAN MACFARLANE	\$ 69,502.87	Individual
DENMAC NOMINEES	\$ 69,000.00	Property
MERITON	\$ 65,500.00	Property
DR ROGER WELCH	\$ 65,400.00	Individual
MUA	\$ 63,516.70	Union
ERNST & YOUNG	\$ 63,000.00	Consultant
TOTAL	\$ 2,624,287.77	

Top 10 donors ALP

Out of the ALP's top donors, most are trade unions. Consultancy firms also ranked highly as donors, as did some property and lawyers.

DONOR	ALP	INDUSTRY
UNITED VOICE	\$ 303,631.77	Union
CEPU	\$ 139,162.55	Union
AWU	\$ 132,700.00	Union
CFMEU	\$ 82,462.80	Union
RAIL TRAM & BUS UNION	\$ 74,036.90	Union
KPMG	\$ 73,742.00	Consultant
SPRINGFIELD LAND CORPORATION	\$ 70,280.00	Property
MUA	\$ 63,516.70	Union
ERNST & YOUNG	\$ 63,000.00	Consultant
JUSTICE SERVICES	\$ 57,656.40	Legal

Top 10 donors LNP

While property companies are significant, the other half of the list is diverse including agriculturalists, and waste companies.

DONOR	LNP	INDUSTRY
GULF COAST	\$ 178,282.92	Agriculture
JJ RICHARDS & SONS	\$ 134,655.32	Waste
PAUL DARROUZET	\$ 130,000.00	Property
THE TRUSTEE FOR MARINO PROPERTY TRUST	\$ 104,194.66	Property
SUEZ ENVIRONMENTAL	\$ 89,077.50	Recycling
SPRINGFIELD LAND CORPORATION	\$ 71,350.60	Property
LANCINI	\$ 70,000.00	Property
IAN MCCAULEY	\$ 70,000.00	Individual
IAN MACFARLANE	\$ 69,502.87	Individual
DENMAC NOMINEES	\$ 69,000.00	Property

Top 10 donors Greens

The greens depend much more on individual gifts, but there are some corporates as well.

DONOR	GREENS	INDUSTRY
RUTH GREBLE	\$ 35,000.00	Individual
ENERGREEN NUTRITION AUSTRALIA	\$ 20,000.00	
FREDERICK ALLEN HUNT	\$ 17,150.00	Individual
JOY RINGROSE	\$ 11,427.00	Individual
GREGORY ARONEY	\$ 10,314.18	Individual
MINAX URIEL PTY LTD	\$ 10,000.00	Unknown
BROWNYN DARLINGTON	\$ 10,000.00	Individual
OPTOMON ADMIN PTY LTD	\$ 10,000.00	Unknown
ISLAND OPTICAL	\$ 10,000.00	Medical
GOLDEN LINAGE PTY LTD	\$ 10,000.00	Unknown

Top donors One Nation

One Nation only declared 4 donors in the ECQ records for the period.

DONOR	AMOUNT	INDUSTRY
CLUBS QUEENSLAND	\$ 1,990.00	Gaming
TATTS GROUP	\$ 1,990.00	Gaming
MICHAEL AUGUSTUS	\$ 1,620.00	Individual
ROBERT BURNSIDE	\$ 1,000.00	Individual

Top donors Katter's Australian Party

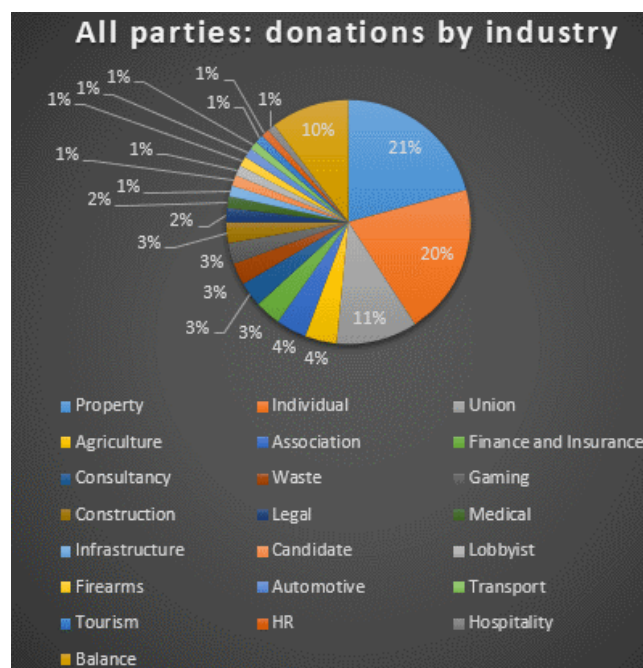
The KAP is the only party to receive funds from the shooting community, which is where virtually all their funding comes from one industry and one donor.

DONOR	AMOUNT	INDUSTRY
NIOA NOMINEES PTY LTD T/F BILL NIOA FAMILY TRUST	\$ 133,648.48	Firearms
TAXI OWNER & DRIVER WELFARE ASSOCIATION	\$ 17,145.00	Transport
MICHAEL DWYER	\$ 2,000.00	Individual
CHARLES & ANNE PHILLOTT	\$ 2,000.00	Individual
ALAN WEBB	\$ 1,000.00	Individual
FRED FAIRTHORNE	\$ 1,000.00	Individual
GRAND TOTAL	\$ 156,793.48	

What industries do donors come from?

The property industry is the largest donor to Queensland political parties, giving 21%, a similar amount to the total raised from individuals. Trade unions comprise 11% of giving, with no other industry rising above 4%.

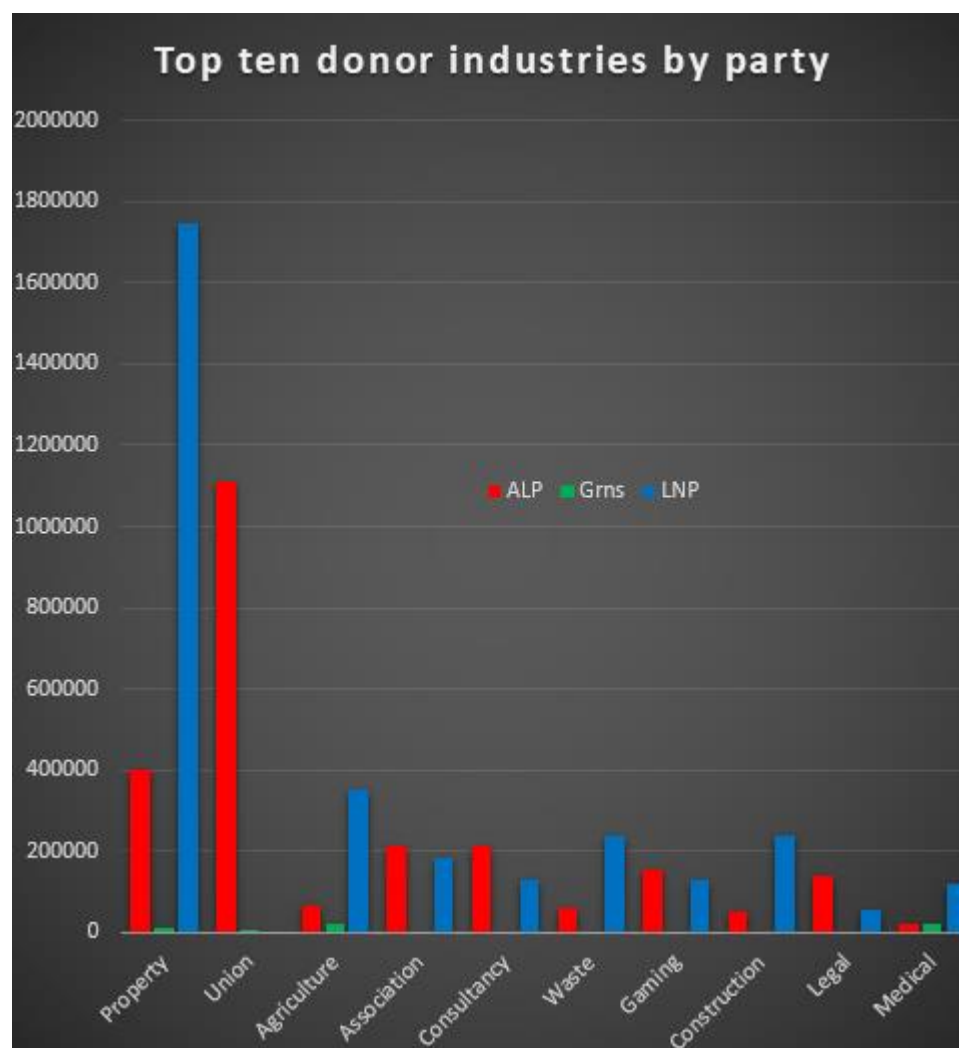
INDUSTRY	PERCENTAGE
PROPERTY	21%
INDIVIDUAL	20%
UNION	11%
AGRICULTURE	4%
ASSOCIATION	4%
FINANCE AND INSURANCE	3%
CONSULTANCY	3%
WASTE	3%
GAMING	3%
CONSTRUCTION	3%
LEGAL	2%
MEDICAL	2%
INFRASTRUCTURE	1%
CANDIDATE	1%
LOBBYIST	1%
FIREARMS	1%
AUTOMOTIVE	1%
TRANSPORT	1%
TOURISM	1%
HR	1%
HOSPITALITY	1%
BALANCE	10%



Split of industries between the parties

Property donations go overwhelmingly to the LNP, while union donations go almost exclusively to the ALP. Property plus union donations give the ALP \$1,512,773, while on the same basis the LNP gets \$1,747,841.

INDUSTRY	ALP	GRNS	LNP	OTHERS	TOTAL
PROPERTY	400,240	10,000	1,747,841	4,235	2,162,316
UNION	1,112,533	5,000			1,117,533
AGRICULTURE	67,520	20,000	351,661		439,181
ASSOCIATION	215,044		181,876	22,645	419,565
CONSULTANCY	211,132		127,100	5,000	343,232
WASTE	61,850		238,923		300,773
GAMING	156,264		129,778	3,980	290,022
CONSTRUCTION	50,900		236,498	750	288,148
LEGAL	141,711		53,810		195,520
MEDICAL	20,979	20,314	117,454		158,747



How many donors are there?

There were a total of 1,417 donations in the period under review. The single biggest category was individuals, with 590 individual donors. Property developers were next with 198 donors, almost two-thirds smaller in number.

INDUSTRY	NUMBER OF DONORS
INDIVIDUAL	590
PROPERTY	198
CONSTRUCTION	79
ASSOCIATION	47
AGRICULTURAL	37
FINANCE AND INSURANCE	37
CONSULTANCY	31
UNKNOWN	31
UNION	26
LEGAL	24
MEDICAL	22
HOSPITALITY	20
RETAIL	20
CANDIDATE	18
AUTOMOTIVE	16
TRANSPORT	16
GAMING	15
TOURISM	13
HR	13
MINING	13
PARTY	13
WHOLESALE	13
ENERGY	12
INVESTMENT	11
RETIREMENT	10
MEDIA	10
INFRASTRUCTURE	10
MANUFACTURING	9
LOBBYIST	9
ENTERTAINMENT	6
SERVICES	6
WASTE	6
MARINE	6
EDUCATION	6
IT	5
RECYCLING	5
BANKING	4
PRINTING	3

BUSINESS	2
FIREARMS	1
COUNCIL	1
LOGISTICS	1
FUEL	1
DEFENCE	1
TOTAL	1417

Top Property Developer Donors

DONOR	ALP	LNP	TOTAL
SPRINGFIELD	\$ 70,280.00	\$ 71,350.60	\$ 141,630.60
PAUL DARROUZET		\$ 130,000.00	\$ 130,000.00
THE TRUSTEE FOR MARINO PROPERTY TRUST		\$ 104,194.66	\$ 104,194.66
CONSOLIDATED PROPERTIES	\$ 57,400.00	\$ 46,650.00	\$ 104,050.00
LANCINI	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 70,000.00	\$ 72,000.00
DENMAC NOMINEES		\$ 69,000.00	\$ 69,000.00
MERITON	\$ 5,500.00	\$ 60,000.00	\$ 65,500.00
WALKER CORP	\$ 42,260.00	\$ 13,200.00	\$ 55,460.00
ZUPPS		\$ 54,950.00	\$ 54,950.00
WINGATE PROPERTIES PTY LTD	\$ 34,700.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 44,700.00
ARIA	\$ 9,150.00	\$ 32,600.00	\$ 41,750.00
ROBINA GROUP	\$ 33,000.00	\$ 8,000.00	\$ 41,000.00
AUSTRALIAN PROPERTY GROWTH FUND (APGF)		\$ 40,500.00	\$ 40,500.00
TESABAY INVESTMENT		\$ 40,147.80	\$ 40,147.80
GANRA PTY LTD	\$ 31,600.00	\$ 8,350.00	\$ 39,950.00
POINTCORP HOLDINGS PTY LTD		\$ 30,000.00	\$ 30,000.00
AUSBUILD		\$ 30,000.00	\$ 30,000.00
YFG SHOPPING CENTRES PTY LTD	\$ 1,000.00	\$ 24,000.00	\$ 25,000.00
DUBLIN STREET INVESTMENTS PTY LTD		\$ 22,500.00	\$ 22,500.00
TERNION PTY LTD		\$ 22,500.00	\$ 22,500.00

What amount would property developers have donated since the ban was introduced? Developers versus unions

We took the percentage of the total attributable to property donations from the period before the ban, and applied it to the period between 12/10/17 and 21/11/17. It resulted in \$519,534.45 missed by the LNP and \$114,450.55 to the ALP. In the same period the unions donated 445,597.10 to the ALP.

DONATIONS BETWEEN 12/10/17 AND 21/11/17	\$ 2,624,015.34
HYPOTHETICAL PROPERTY DONATIONS IF NO BAN	\$ 638,055.57
FUNDRAISING WITHOUT BAN	\$ 3,262,070.91
ADDITIONAL TO ALP	\$ 114,450.55
ADDITIONAL TO LNP	\$ 519,534.45
NET ADVANTAGE TO LNP WITHOUT BAN	\$ 405,083.89
DONATIONS IN PERIOD FROM UNIONS	\$ 445,597.10

Qualitative – sketches of the 25 largest donors

1. United Voice

The union

United Voice is the single largest donor to the ALP.

It claims 31,000 members and represents, amongst others, early childhood educators, teacher aides, ambulance officers, cleaners, those working in aged care, hospitality, manufacturing and security. Members include some of the lowest paid workers in Queensland.⁵

Its principal office bearers are:

Branch Secretary: Gary Bullock (also Honorary Treasurer of the Queensland Council of Unions, the peak union body in Queensland)

Branch President: Sharron Caddie

Bullock is also a board member of Intrust Super, established in 1988 by the QHA and the then Liquor Hospitality Miscellaneous Workers Union⁶

⁵ <http://www.unitedvoice.org.au/queensland>

⁶ <http://www.intrustsuper.com.au/board/>

Influence

United Voice exerts significant influence in the Labor Party and is not afraid to wield this power within the parliamentary party:

Gary Bullock, the secretary of the United Voice union, is the chief negotiator for Labor's Left faction which now dominates the partyroom after winning a brace of LNP-held seats.

Senior Labor sources said yesterday Mr Bullock was spearheading the Left's push for up to eight Cabinet positions despite having only two of the current crop of MPs and little experience.⁷

In the same article a Labor source said that Bullock "thinks he's the kingmaker".

The extent of United Voice's influence over the Palaszczuk Government became more obvious when it was revealed the union paid money to ALP candidates during the 2015 election campaign:

UNION memberships from some of the lowest paid workers in Queensland were used to fund the living expenses of Labor's candidate for Mundingburra, Coralee O'Rourke, for two months leading up to the State Election.

Mrs O'Rourke, now a minister in the Palaszczuk Government, was an employee of the powerful left-wing union United Voice between December and February, despite performing no core tasks for the organisation.

At the time, Mrs O'Rourke was still employed as director of Amaroo Early Childhood Centre and had taken unpaid leave from that position.

Mrs O'Rourke yesterday refused to say how much money she personally received from United Voice, or why she didn't take paid leave with her existing employer Amaroo Early Childhood Centre.

It is understood the union also pulled two of its employees from normal duties to work full-time on Mrs O'Rourke and then-candidate for Thuringowa Aaron Harper's campaign.

It comes after the head of United Voice, Gary Bullock, boasted how his union "supported" seven successful Labor candidates, calling them "United Voice MPs".⁸

As Professor Judith Sloan (Honorary Professorial Fellow at the Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research at the University of Melbourne) reported:

... On April 8, United Voice posted a YouTube video that features Mr Bullock, the union's secretary, and opens with footage of Ms Palaszczuk telling supporters: "Can I thank the union movement?"

⁷⁷ <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland-state-election-2015/queensland-election-2015-labor-cabinet-to-be-determined-by-union-boss/news-story/93ad513a39b679d1ff029c19c3271cc4>)

⁸ <http://www.townsvillebulletin.com.au/news/townsville/orourke-paid-by-union-in-campaign/news-story/da7fd479931b95378c1e49b1f7239a10>

Labor MPs who received support from United Voice: Don Brown, Mick de Brenni, Steven Miles, Craig Crawford, Coralee O'Rourke, Aaron Harper and Nikki Boyd.

"United Voice members knew the state election was the most important in decades, it was about the future of Queensland ... and they put in an extraordinary effort," Mr Bullock tells viewers.

"Members fought like they've never fought before and it worked. Now they just want the Labor Government to follow through on their promises. That's the test."

Mr Bullock goes on to say that United Voice members "won some fantastic commitments from Labor", adding that they now "want to see the new Palaszczuk Government restore their faith, just stick to their word".

"United Voice supported seven successful candidates in the election and two of them are now ministers in Cabinet," he says.

"These United Voice MPs know Labor's commitments, they made the same commitments themselves and now they'll help to make sure those promises become reality."

The "United Voice MPs" include Thuringowa's Aaron Harper, Capalaba's Don Brown, Springwood's Mick de Brenni, Pine Rivers' Nikki Boyd, Barron River's Craig Crawford, and ministers Coralee O'Rourke and Steven Miles.

Another video, posted by United Voice just days earlier, also celebrates the election of the seven MPs, with a presenter saying: "This means that there are people in Parliament who have directly represented you as delegates or officials and now they can make sure your voice is heard in Government."⁹

United Voice has endeavored to extend its influence into local government by donating money to Labor Party campaigns in the 2016 Brisbane City Council election as well as in some regional elections:

The left-faction United Voice union — led by a union leader dubbed as the Palaszczuk government's "kingmaker" — poured thousands of dollars into Brisbane city council wards, which were under attack by the Greens.

Labor's campaign in the Gabba ward, which was won by Greens candidate Jonathan Sri and incorporates part of Deputy Premier Jackie Trad's South Brisbane electorate, was financially backed by the cashed-up union...

... Disclosure documents from Electoral Commission Queensland reveal United Voice directed more than \$23,400 worth of donations and in-kind gifts towards council contests in Brisbane, Townsville, Redland City, Ipswich and Moreton Bay.¹⁰

United Voice is being sued over tactics employed in its unreasonable campaign on penalty rates:

⁹ <http://catallaxyfiles.com/2015/04/20/and-queensland-becomes-union-heaven/>

¹⁰ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/state-politics/united-voice-union-bankrolled-labors-run-for-gabba/news-story/ba8bb05f1d576b17fbec0bc23bbc45df>

Queensland workers' union United Voice is facing legal action after protests against the cuts to penalty rates for hospitality employees.

Clubs Australia, which represents licensed clubs across the country, claim staff and guests were harassed during the demonstrations and that United Voice lied to club employees.

Protests in November last year and March this year resulted in three legal breaches.¹¹

2. Gulf Coast Agriculture Company

The Company

Gulf Coast Agricultural Company operates a premium group of properties located in the Gulf of Carpentaria, carrying a herd of high grade Brahman, currently targeting the live export market.

It is owned by the Menegazzo family. Father Peter Menegazzo was the son of Italian immigrants who had a fruit and vegetable wholesaling business. He subsequently entered potato farming where he became Australia's largest potato farmer. He then moved into beef, and was part of a consortium who purchased the Stanbroke Pastoral Company. He was killed in a plane crash in 2005. The business is now managed by his four children.¹²

The General Manager, Jock Warriner, was appointed in May 2017 having served in various positions in rural industries throughout northern Australia, and south west and central Queensland.¹³

Gulf Coast Aviation, an aviation charter company, made a significant "gift in kind" to the LNP during the period under review.

3. Communications, Electrical & Plumbing Union (CEPU)

The Union

The CEPU was formed in 1994 as the result of an amalgamation between the Communication Workers Union of Australia [CWU], the Electrical Trades Union [ETU] and the Plumbing and Gasfitters Employees Union of Australia (now known as the Plumbing Trades Employees Union [PTEU]).

The Union represents 130,000 Australia wide.

Through a divisional structure, each branch of the union operates autonomously.

Illegal Industrial Action

The CEPU and the CFMEU were fined in August 2017 for illegal industrial at a number of sites, including the Queensland Children's Hospital and the QIMR at the Royal Brisbane Hospital:

Illegal strikes involving about 600 workers at three major Queensland government projects have resulted in two construction unions being fined \$430,000.

¹¹ <https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/queensland-workers-union-facing-legal-action-after-penalty-rate-protests-at-clubs-20170516-gw6a87.html>

¹² <http://www.afr.com/business/25-menegazzo-family-20130724-jz316>

¹³ <https://au.linkedin.com/in/jock-warriner-166a7058>

The Federal Court imposed a \$300,000 penalty on the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union, while the Communications, Electrical and Plumbing Union of Australia was ordered to pay \$130,000 over the May 2011 strikes.

Union officers encouraged hundreds of workers across several construction sites, including the Lady Cilento Children's Hospital, to down tools to campaign against "sham contracting".

The court found the CFMEU was liable for \$1000 for each of the 605 workers its officers encouraged to unlawfully strike while the CEPU was ordered to \$800 for each of the contraventions it was involved with.¹⁴

Gold Coast Union Donations Scandal

The CEPU became entwined in the political donations controversy surrounding the 2016 Gold Coast Council election.

Mayoral candidate Penny Toland says she will pay back a last-minute \$10,000 donation to her campaign from a leading union.

Communications, Electrical and Plumbing Union president Peter Simpson, in a third party return to the Queensland Electoral Commission, noted the donation, which was the union's largest in the Queensland local government elections.

From September last year the CEPU provided almost \$69,000 in payments to council candidates across the state.

The \$10,000 donation to Ms Toland on February 26 was almost double that provided to Brett Raguse, the union's favoured candidate in Logan.

Ms Toland said yesterday she was a Facebook friend with the union leader who had casually indicated he could help her campaign.

"It arrived quite late," she said. "My mum was the treasurer (of my campaign).

"I've paid all my invoices. I will just have to work out how they want it back."¹⁵

It should be noted that the Crime and Corruption Commission, in its report on Operation Belcarra, made significant recommendations relating to Ms Tolland and her union associates:

The CCC has recommended prosecuting failed Gold Coast mayoral candidate Penny Toland for allegedly not declaring more than \$30,000 in donations and gifts from a union...

Ms Toland is facing prosecution for allegedly failing to declare donations and gifts from the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU).

¹⁴ <http://www.smh.com.au/business/workplace-relations/unions-fined-430000-over-strikes-20170803-gxoiu9.html>

¹⁵ <http://www.goldcoastbulletin.com.au/news/council/cepu-provided-10000-in-lastminute-funding-for-gold-coast-mayoral-candidate/news-story/64aaa45393938fdb07304fb4f6242e5c>

The CCC has alleged Ms Toland received \$38,241 worth of advertising and T-shirts made by the CFMEU, but failed to add them to a disclosure return to the ECQ because she did not know the extent of the campaign the union was running in her favour.

But the CCC said evidence given at the hearings showed she was aware of the campaign.¹⁶

4. Nioa Nominees Pty Ltd T/F Bill Nioa Family Trust

The company

The company was established in 1973 in Gladstone. From modest beginnings it is now Australia's largest privately-owned supplier of arms and ammunition to the sporting, law enforcement and military markets.¹⁷

Robert Nioa is the Managing Director of NIOA. He has held this position since 2002, and has been a Director of the company since 1994.

He is actively involved in the firearms community and spends considerable time furthering the industry's interests at a state and national level.

He has been appointed as a member of the Commonwealth Firearms Advisory Council and the Queensland Ministerial Weapons Advisory Panel, both of which advise the Federal and Queensland Governments on a wide range of firearms issues. He is the immediate past President and current Vice President of the National Firearm Dealers Association, President of the Queensland Firearm Dealers Association and a Graduate Member of the Australian Institute of Company Directors.¹⁸

Gun Lobby

Nioa is Bob Katter's son-in-law, and is a strong advocate for the gun lobby.

He was one of the principal opponents of the move by the Federal Government in 2015 to block imports of the Adler lever action shot gun while a review occurred on its classification.¹⁹

Political Links

Over the years the company has been the single largest donor to Katter's Australia Party.²⁰

¹⁶ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-10-04/local-government-hot-bed-perceived-corruption-qld-ccc-chairman/9014636>

¹⁷ <https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/from-a-gladstone-servo-to-australias-largest-private-military-police-arms-supplier-20170718-gxdfgw.html>

¹⁸ <https://lem.nioa.com.au/about-us/staff-profiles/browse/6/executive-office>

¹⁹ <http://www.queenslandcountrylife.com.au/story/3377152/gun-importer-shocked-by-ban/>

²⁰ <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland-state-election-2015/shooting-lobby-one-of-biggest-backers-of-katters-australian-party/news-story/fc7372621f1994e00816a3228d64f8ed>

Nioa has served as senior vice president of KAP.²¹ He unsuccessfully contested the state seat of Hervey Bay for the National Party in 1995.

5. JJ Richards & Sons

History

J.J. Richards and Sons Pty Ltd (J.J. Richards) was established by Joseph John Richards, who won his first refuse and sanitary kerbside collection contract in Murwillumbah Shire in 1932. Today it has operations throughout Queensland, New South Wales, Australian Capital Territory, Victoria and New Zealand. J.J. Richards has a fleet of over 1,600 vehicles and employs over 2,000 people.

J.J. Richards performs a variety of solid, hazardous and liquid waste collection services for over 80,000 commercial customers and performs 2 million domestic garbage, recycling, sanitary and green waste collections services per week under contract for 42 local authorities throughout Eastern Australia. The services provided by J.J. Richards today extend well beyond domestic kerbside and now includes an extensive range of commercial and domestic services providing customers with Total Waste Management Solutions for all of their waste issues.

The company continues to be owned and managed by the family of the founder and has grown to be one of the largest privately owned waste management companies in Australia.²²

The company is based in Cleveland.

JJ Richards is ranked in the top 100 of an IBIS World survey of Australia's biggest privately-owned businesses, with annual revenues of around \$680 million.²³

J. Richards & Sons is a Proprietary Company that is ranked number 604 out of the top 2000 companies in Australia. The company generates the majority of its income from the waste collection, treatment and disposal services in Australia industry.

In 2016 the company generated total revenue of \$678,437,000 including sales and other revenue. In 2016 J. J. Richards & Sons Pty Ltd had 1822 employees in Australia including employees from all subsidiaries under the company's control.

The Chief Executive of J. J. Richards & Sons Pty Ltd is Mr John Richards whose official title is Managing Director (grandson of the founder). The Chairman of J. J. Richards & Sons Pty Ltd is Mr John Richards.²⁴

The company has figured regularly on the richest Queenslanders list and is a significant donor to charity:

²¹ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-10-17/katter-talks-up-future-to-party-faithful/3574992>

²² <https://www.jjrichards.com.au/about-us/history/>

²³ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-09-07/accc-takes-action-against-waste-contractor-jj-richards/8881560>

²⁴ <https://www.ibisworld.com.au/australian-company-research-reports/electricity-gas-water-waste-services/j-richards-sons-pty-ltd-company.html>

*J.J. Richards & Sons supports several charitable causes including the National Stroke Foundation, the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children and Hear and Say.*²⁵

ACCC Legal Action

The Australian Competition and Consumer Commission will test its new found powers to protect small business from unfair contracts in an action against one of Australia's largest waste management companies, JJ Richards.

*In the first action of its type since the Australian Consumer Law was extended to cover standard contracts involving small businesses, the ACCC will take JJ Richards to the Federal Court alleging numerous clauses in the company's standard contract breach the new laws.*²⁶

The company subsequently lost the case and various orders were made against it. It should be noted that this case related to federal law and in no way involved Queensland state agencies.²⁷

²⁵ <http://www.couriermail.com.au/business/rich-list/richards-family/news-story/2e2d8fe0a513c392a43fc6b2b25bf32a>

²⁶ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-09-07/accc-takes-action-against-waste-contractor-jj-richards/8881560>

²⁷ <http://www.smh.com.au/small-business/managing/court-rubbishes-jj-richards-small-business-contracts-20171018-gz3uld.html>

6. AWU (Qld)

The Union

AWU had its genesis in the Australasian Shearing Union in 1886, a succession of amalgamations over the ensuing 130 years

The union represents workers in the metals, aviation, oil and gas, mining, construction, food processing and retail industries, as well as its traditional base in the pastoral and mining areas. Its expansion into new areas has brought the AWU into conflict with some other unions, particularly the National Union of Workers (NUW) and the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU)

The AWU was subject to inquiry by the Royal Commission into Trade Union Corruption and Governance and recommendations made for criminal charges to be brought against Bruce Wilson and Ralph Blewett.²⁸

Influence

The AWU has exercised significant power within the ALP and the wider political environment for many years.

The AWU disaffiliated from both the ALP and the Trades and Labor Council in 1959 after the 1957 split within the ALP. It was not until the early 1980s that the union reaffiliated and restored its power.

Personalities

For much of this period of revitalisation Bill Ludwig served as State Secretary of the AWU (1988 – 2013). He remains Federal President of union. He was the most significant powerbroker within the Queensland ALP, and to a lesser extent the Federal party, throughout this period.

Upon Ludwig's retirement as secretary Ben Swan became secretary.

A member of the Australian Labor Party for nearly 25 years, Swan had worked as an Associate in the Queensland and Australian Industrial Relations Commissions, and also held positions as a human resource consultant and Senior Policy Advisor in the Queensland Government.

He also holds numerous Board positions, including – Sunsuper (Chair) and is a WorkCover Qld director appointed by the ALP State Government.

Swan is the son of Deputy President Deirdre Swan of the Queensland Industrial Relations Commission and a former AWU official herself.

It was reported in 2015 that the AWU was facing significant challenges:

Closures of aluminium and steel works and a "purge" of so-called members have hit Australian Workers Union finances amid reports that the purchase of two training colleges has drained the Queensland branch's cash flow.

AWU Queensland, down 23 per cent in members, suffered a \$1.4 million loss in the year to June, with liabilities outstripping assets by \$9.5m, according to an independent audit report by Hanrick Curren.

²⁸ <https://www.tradeunionroyalcommission.gov.au/reports/Pages/Final-Report.aspx>

Accounts reveal a \$1.55m debt that two training colleges — 100% Training Pty Ltd and its parent, Tree of Knowledge network — owe to members. “It is uncertain whether and to what extent these debts will be repaid,” the report says.

There was a “material uncertainty that may cast significant doubt about the union’s ability to continue as a going concern”.

The Queensland branch executive reported it had secured \$8.8m in financing after June, and was “confident” the training funds would repay debts to the union in three to five years. It has disclosed property holdings valued at more than \$11m.²⁹

7. Paul Darrouzet

Paul Darrouzet is a former Group Manager, Human Resources for Thiess (1983 to 1996)

He was chairman of Foxleigh Mining Pty Ltd, a company he founded with three others producing metallurgical coal for global steel markets. The company was sold to Anglo Coal for \$712 million in 2007.³⁰

His major enterprise is the Abell Point Marina, Airlie Beach (acquired in 2013 when the previous owners went into receivership)

Having now spent almost \$10 million on its reinvention, Abell Point Marina is looking buoyant behind the cyclone-proof stone fortress of breakwaters.

Bookings for berths are up three-fold on last year, enthuses Darrouzet, bounding along the timber foreshore walkways before the stands of golden canes, gesticulating, and sharing his long-held vision.

Occupancy is running at about 85 per cent, up from 62 per cent when he bought the marina. Build it and they will come. But he did more.

He cleaned-out the 'riff-raff', introduced strict codes of conduct for the commercial operators, improved the aspect and public interface, and created a community and tourist destination where you can simply sit and watch the boats.³¹

Darrouzet is actively involved in philanthropy and has been chair of Lifestream Foundation, which assists people with intellectual disabilities to develop skills and facilitate their participation in recreational activities, since 2004. He is also a director of the Wesley Medical Institute, and chair of Ellume Pty Ltd, a medical technology company.³²

²⁹ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/industrial-relations/closures-and-membership-woes-hit-awu-coffers/news-story/5c223b5e0ea8d330b62905607e9d4eb2>

³⁰ <http://www.couriermail.com.au/business/anglo-coal-buys-into-foxleigh/news-story/ddea7fe7fd3d74ce20e31030292479a5>

³¹ <https://www.boatsales.com.au/editorial/news/2015/abell-point-marina-relaunches-feature-52614/>

³² <https://insolvencyguardian.com.au/blog-view/paul-darrouzet-article/>

Trade Union Royal Commission

While employed by Thiess, Darrouzet entered into negotiations with Bruce Wilson of the AWU in relation to employee arrangements for a maintenance contract for Melbourne Water. Payments to the AWU in relation to these arrangements became an issue of interest in view of other allegations relating to Wilson's handling of payments across a range of union activities.³³

Political Allegations

The left-leaning website, Independent Australia, accused Darrouzet of receiving favourable attention from the Newman Government in return for a donation to the LNP. No evidence was provided to support this allegation.

The [Australian Financial Review](#) has revealed that the largest single donor to the Queensland LNP was granted approval to dredge his Airlie Beach marina, close to the Great Barrier Reef, a week after making a donation of \$150,000.

Billionaire Paul Darrouzet, a former mining magnate who [owns the Abell Point marina](#) in Airlie Beach, made the donation in two instalments through his privately owned investment company. He has yet to individually declare the payments to the Electoral Commission.

A week after the payments were made, the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage Protection amended the environmental authority relating to the marina, allowing the dredging of 100,000 to 200,000 cubic metres of material.³⁴

8. Springfield Land Corporation

The Company

Springfield Land Corporation is the master developer of Greater Springfield and has been instrumental to the master planned community's outstanding success. Our vision for Greater Springfield is driven by innovation. We are also conscious of making a lasting and positive contribution to both Greater Springfield and the broader South East Queensland community.

Philanthropy and promoting social and environmental sustainability are integral to the way we do business. At Greater Springfield, this commitment is delivered through partnerships with highly respected corporations, the Federal Government, State Government and Ipswich City Council.

Springfield Land Corporation has, for 24 years, partnered with the best. We will continue to seek out partnerships to progress this new city in areas of education, health care services, and other employment generating industries.³⁵

³³ <https://www.tradeunionroyalcommission.gov.au/Hearings/.../DarrouzetStatement.pdf>

³⁴ <https://independentaustalia.net/politics/politics-display/qld-lmps-donations-for-deals-move-on-nothing-to-see-here,6794>

³⁵ <https://www.greaterspringfield.com.au/us/springfield-land-corporation/>

The development of Springfield, and the plans for the community, involve significant investment:

- Project Investment to date – \$13.6 billion
- Estimated cost on completion – \$85 billion
- Total land area – 2,860 hectares (7,067 acres)
- CBD land area (Springfield Central) – 390 hectares (963 acres) or twice the land area of Brisbane CBD
- Approval for over 2.6 million square metres of mixed use space in the CBD
- Access to 86% of Brisbane's metropolitan workforce in about a 30 minute drive *
- 41 minute rail trip from Brisbane Central
- Population of over 585,385 within a 22 minute drive of the CBD *
- Two train stations, Springfield Central and Springfield in December 2013
- Mater Private Hospital Springfield
- Aveo Group stage one of 2,500 seniors living units integrated with allied health facilities opening mid 2017
- Orion Swimming lagoon
- Orion Springfield Central Expansion including Coles, Target, Event Cinemas and specialty Retailers
- Represented by six suburbs – Springfield Central, Springfield Lakes, Brookwater, Augustine Heights, Spring Mountain and Springfield
- Estimated current population of 34,060 residents
- Planned 2030 equivalent population – 138,000 people / 52,000 workers³⁶

Maha Sinnathamby

As Chairman of the Springfield Land Corporation, Mr Sinnathamby's goal is to make a difference in society by creating a sustainable, master-planned city where people can live, learn, work and play.

Education at all levels is the cornerstone of his strong commitment to fostering social justice and social progress through adding value to individuals and increasing their potential as people.

Mr Sinnathamby attained a Bachelor of Engineering from the University of New South Wales and has worked as an engineer on projects for the World Bank and Asian Development Bank.

Though never the goal, he has been recognised with many accolades, including:

- an honorary doctorate from the University of Southern Queensland;
- a Centenary Medal for his contributions to regional development; the 2003 Ernst and Young Master Entrepreneur of the Year (Northern Region);
- the Paul Harris Fellowship from Rotary International;
- Australian Institute of Management Medal for Management Innovation;
- and the Global Organisation for People of Indian Origin's International Renowned Entrepreneur Excellence Award.

³⁶ <https://www.greaterspringfield.com.au/us/key-facts-about-springfield/>

If he didn't seem busy enough, Mr Sinnathamby also holds many leadership and committee roles outside of the property development industry.³⁷

Bob Sharpless

Bob Sharpless is the Deputy Chairman of the Springfield Land Corporation as well as a long-time Lions' member and a life-long AFL supporter.

He is a qualified civil engineer with an MBA and has over 20 years' experience in the property development industry.

He was elected president of the Ipswich branch of the UDIA in November 2007, and is now responsible for the Springfield development and other projects in India.

Mr Sharpless was elected to the position of Lions Chairman in October 2013 but announced his intention to resign in November 2017.³⁸

When appearing before the CCC at its inquiry into donations to local government candidates in 2017, Mr Sharpless called for the banning of all political donations:

Mr Sharpless, who had made thousands of dollars' worth of donations to politicians of all stripes, told the commission he would like to see all political donations banned.

"I would love to see it happen," he said.³⁹

9. Suez Environmental

The Company

SUEZ was formerly called Sita and provides solutions that maintain, optimise and secure the resources essential for our future.

With 80,000 employees and activities across five continents, we supply 92 million people with drinking water and 65 million with sanitation services. We provide nearly 52 million people with waste collection services and recover more than 14 million tonnes of waste to create valuable new materials and energy.

In Australia, we have more than 2,600 employees who are experts in the water, waste and oil and gas sectors. We supply seven million people with drinking water and divert 800,000 tonnes of waste from landfill every year.

With 850 collection vehicles and 100 operations across Australia, our recycling and waste recovery division provides reliable collection, recycling and resource recovery services to more than 56,000 customers and more than 3.7 million residents every week.⁴⁰

³⁷ http://www.uq.edu.au/events/event_view.php?event_id=8847

³⁸ <http://www.lions.com.au/club/about/board-of-directors>

³⁹ <https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/donor-to-pollies-on-all-sides-backs-ban-at-hearing-into-alleged-candidate-misconduct-20170427-gvtjob.html>

⁴⁰ <http://www.sita.com.au/about>

Peter Hudson, State General Manager Queensland

Peter has over 14 years of experience in the waste industry with a background in Project Management. Prior to joining SUEZ in 2009, he held senior management positions in both New South Wales and Queensland.

Peter is currently the State General Manager for SUEZ in Queensland. Before this appointment he held the position of General Manager, Commercial & Industrial Services for the Queensland business and continues to develop his business with double digit growth every year. Under Peter's leadership the business has grown significantly in Regional QLD within the mining and heavy industrial sectors.

Peter sits on the board of WRIQ (Waste Recycling Industry Association QLD) and serves as Secretary on the governance committee this organisation. Through this position he is actively involved in consulting with state government on waste and recycling policies.⁴¹

SUEZ and Brisbane City Council

The first contract for the collection of waste throughout Brisbane was signed under Lord Mayor Jim Soorley in 2002.

A third contract has now been signed, involving the servicing of 1.2 million residents each week.

The \$900 million contract will commence on 1 July 2018 and run until 2033.⁴²

10. KPMG

The company

We are a global network of professional firms providing Audit, Tax and Advisory services across a wide range of industries, Government and not for profit sectors. KPMG Enterprise provides a full range of services tailored to meet the unique needs of mid-sized, fast growing and family owned businesses.

We operate in 152 countries and have more than 189,000 people working in member firms around the world. The independent member firms of the KPMG network are affiliated with KPMG International Cooperative ("KPMG International"), a Swiss entity.

In Australia, KPMG has a long tradition of professionalism and integrity, combined with our dynamic approach to advising clients in a digital-driven world. We have approximately 6,700 people, including over 400 partners, with offices around the country.⁴³

⁴¹ <http://www.sita.com.au/about/our-key-people/>

⁴² <http://www.sita.com.au/resources/case-studies1/brisbane-city-council-waste-collection/>

⁴³ <https://home.kpmg.com/au/en/home/about/overview.html>

The Queensland Chairman is Rob Jones.

Relations with the Queensland Government

The Queensland government will pay professional services giant KPMG more than \$165,000 to prove the state's ballooning bureaucracy and escalating cost of the public service is good "value for money" for taxpayers.

Internal government documents released under right-to-information laws reveal that Premier Anastacia Palaszczuk's department approached KPMG — where former Labor MP and senior staffer Mike Kaiser is a Brisbane director — in March, asking the firm to pitch for the job.⁴⁴

KPMG has also been involved with:

- Community consultation on Spit Parklands (January to April 2017)⁴⁵
- Domestic and Family Violence Services Audit Report (January 2016)⁴⁶
- Official Professional Services Adviser to the Commonwealth Games (November 2015)⁴⁷
- Review of the Labor Government's plans to merge government-owned energy corporations (November 2015) and of the Solar 60 scheme⁴⁸

11. The Trustee for Marino Property Trust

The Marinos are a farming family in Trebonne near Ingham at Beeva Road, Trebonne.

12. Consolidated Properties

The Company

Consolidated Properties is one of Australia's leading development companies with a current work book of more than \$2 billion. The privately owned company has delivered more than 200 projects over the last 35 years and is at the forefront of creating places that people love to live, work and shop.

These developments range from master-planned residential communities through to apartment, retail, industrial and commercial office projects. The projects are all characterised by exceptional design, uncompromising quality and on time budget delivery.

The hallmark of the Consolidated Properties business is the strength of our relationships with customers, government, project partners, financiers and

⁴⁴ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/state-politics/palaszczuks-public-service-proves-a-moneyspinner/news-story/0c31319cd228d8934d7882ca5ebae374>

⁴⁵ <https://www.statedevelopment.qld.gov.au/major-projects/community-consultation.html>

⁴⁶ <https://www.communities.qld.gov.au/gateway/end-domestic-family-violence/our-progress/enhancing-service-responses/dfv-services-audit>

⁴⁷ <http://statements.qld.gov.au/Statement/2015/11/30/kpmg-australia-appointed-advisor-to-commonwealth-games>

⁴⁸ <https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/palaszczuk-government-picks-newmans-consultant-of-choice-for-power-merger-20151105-gkrzqc.html>

*suppliers. More than 90% of our business is repeat business, which demonstrates our partnership approach and creates successful long term relationships delivering exceptional outcomes.*⁴⁹

The company has constructed a wide range of properties across the residential, commercial, retail, industrial and resort and hotel sectors.

A list can be located at <http://consolidatedproperties.com.au/portfolio/>.

Don O'Rorke, Executive Chairman

O'Rorke established Consolidated Properties with partners in the early 1980s after being the commercial leasing manager for CB Richard Ellis.

Don is a past Director of Brisbane Marketing. He is also a former President of the Queensland Division of the Property Council of Australia and served on the Council for 10 years. Don was also previously a Director and Deputy Chairman of the Wesley Research Institute and was a former Chairman of Links Hope Island Golf Course.

*Don currently sits on the Reserve Bank's Small Business Finance Advisory Panel, and is a board member of Surfing Australia.*⁵⁰

O'Rorke resurrected Consolidated Properties when it split with listed parent company, Trinity Property Group, in 2008:

The high-profile Queensland developer resigned as a director of Trinity in return for the right to operate a relaunched Consolidated Properties, in a split regarded by many as clash of egos.

The Consolidated Properties and Trinity businesses have run in tandem for the past four years since Consolidated was acquired by funds manager Trinity -- effectively a reverse takeover -- in the lead up to the latter's ASX listing in 2004.

The merger was meant to marry Consolidated's development skills with an income stream from passive developments to flatten out lumpy development returns.

But the credit crunch and subsequent fall in Trinity's share price, from a high of \$3 to 35c, soured the relationship.

Tensions between Mr O'Rorke and Trinity chief executive Ben McCarthy, as well as Trinity co-founder and executive deputy chairman Peter Lewis, came to a head last month when the Trinity board rejected Mr O'Rorke's takeover offer for the group.

Well known in industry circles as a developer who likes to do things his way, Mr O'Rorke said yesterday he had resigned from the board because of the share price and the value it represented to shareholders.

⁴⁹ <http://consolidatedproperties.com.au/about-us/>

⁵⁰ <http://consolidatedproperties.com.au/people/don-ororke/>

"For some time I have expressed those concerns constantly to the board, but the board has a different view." ...

... Although Mr O'Rorke is effectively left with a Consolidated Properties group in name only, he has been quick to chart the reborn group's direction.⁵¹

Political Donations

The company was the subject of recent speculation when it made a donation to the ALP on the same day the Queensland Premier announced the government would move to ban donations from developers:

The Labor Party accepted a \$33,500 donation from one of Queensland's largest developers on the same day the Premier backed a CCC recommendation to ban the source from contributing to local government election candidates.

Ms Palaszczuk told State Parliament today that the Queensland Labor Party had decided last Friday not to accept further donations from the property industry.

However Kawana MP Jarrod Bleijie was quick to point out Labor had received a donation of \$33,500 on October 4 from Consolidated Properties...

... Consolidated Properties also donated \$16,000 to Labor on September 18.

The company holds land west of Coolum which was the subject of a letter to the State Government from Sunshine Coast Council CEO Michael Whittaker which asked for it to be investigated for potential inclusion with the SEQ Regional Urban Footprint, a position at odds with the council's own planning documents.⁵²

The company \$57,400 to Labor over the period of our study and \$46,650 to the LNP.

13. CFMEU (Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union)

There are three Divisions of the CFMEU which cover workers employed in the construction and building industry, the forestry and furnishing products industry and the mining and energy industries.

- Construction and General Division
- Forestry and Furnishing Products Division
- Mining and Energy Division

The Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) is the result of the amalgamation of several unions. Each industrial sector (construction, forestry, mining and energy) has an autonomous state division. So, for example, there is a Queensland Construction & General Division and a Mining & Energy Division. The Queensland Construction Division is the product of the amalgamation of several unions including: the Building Workers' Industrial Union (BWIU), the Operative Painters and Decorators' Union (OPDU) and the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association (FEDFA) and most recently the Builders' Labourers' Federation (BLF).

⁵¹ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/archive/business-old/ororke-back-in-consprop-chair/news-story/543b530de6f0b185ef6793f654bd9693>

⁵² <https://www.sunshinecoastdaily.com.au/news/labor-took-developer-donation-two-days-before-ban/3232971/>

Each division in Queensland operates under separate leadership.

The current construction divisional branch secretary is Michael Ravbar who has been subject to some controversy. Equally notorious, is the former National President of the construction division, factional heavyweight and Vice President of the Queensland ALP, Dave Hanna. Hanna, who had been State Secretary of the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) before its merger with the CFMEU, resigned from his CFMEU position in August 2015 in the midst of allegations arising from the Royal Commission into Trade Unions.

Hanna was subsequently charged:

Three men including a former union boss will face court next month charged with serious offences rising from last year's Royal Commission into Trade Union Governance and Corruption.

Former CFMEU boss Dave Hanna and two other men, aged 53 and 41, have been charged with receiving secret commissions, following a joint investigation by the Australian Federal Police and Queensland police.

The allegations were first raised in the royal commission and relate to construction work done on Mr Hanna's home south of Brisbane.

Police allege the work was done by subcontractors being paid to work on other building projects, or done for free.

It is alleged Mr Hanna received a benefit to the tune of around \$400,000.

Last week the state began civil proceedings to confiscate the property, which is estimated to be worth \$1.6 million.

All three men are due to appear in the Brisbane Magistrates Court on January 25.⁵³

Royal Commission into Trade Union Governance and Corruption (December 2015)

The Final Report of the Royal Commission was a scarifying indictment of the activities of the CFMEU. It nailed the union for its disregard of the rule of law, its general lawlessness and its belief that it was above the law.⁵⁴

1. A great deal of the evidence before the Commission concerned the activities of unions with coverage of workers in the building and construction industry, and in particular the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU). The conduct that has emerged discloses systemic corruption and unlawful conduct, including corrupt payments, physical and verbal violence, threats, intimidation, abuse of right of entry permits, secondary boycotts, breaches of fiduciary duty and contempt of court.

⁵³ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-12-22/former-cfmeu-boss-dave-hanna-charged/8143018>

⁵⁴ <https://www.tradeunionroyalcommission.gov.au/reports/Documents/Final-Report/Volume-5/V5-CH-8.pdf>

2. The issues identified are not new. The same issues have been identified in reports of three separate Royal Commissions conducted over the past 40 years ...

(Chapter 8, Building and Construction, A – Introduction)

The Report continued:

23. There is a longstanding malignancy or disease within the CFMEU. One symptom is regular disregard for industrial laws by CFMEU officials. Another symptom of the disease is that CFMEU officials habitually lie rather than ‘betraying’ the union. Another symptom of the disease is that CFMEU officials habitually show contempt for the rule of law.

(Chapter 8, Building and Construction, B - The CFMEU)

Track record

UNION RAP SHEET

84 CFMEU representatives are before the courts facing a total of **896** alleged contraventions

CFMEU or its representatives are respondents in **41** matters now before the courts, facing a total of **1779** suspected contraventions

\$10,204,375 in penalties awarded against CFMEU and its representatives in cases brought by ABCC and its predecessor agencies

55

Bob Hawke:

Bob Hawke has reportedly called on the Labor Party and the ACTU to consider cutting ties with the Construction Forestry Mining and Energy Union.

His former leadership rival, Paul Keating, has also warned that trade union influence inside the party must be reduced.

The two former Labor prime ministers told The Australian newspaper they are appalled by the evidence of systemic union corruption.

⁵⁵ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/industrial-relations/rudd-tells-shorten-to-expel-cfmeu-from-labor-party/news-story/abd9bb23be72e54987d1704ffffb1021>

"The unions need to clean up their act and get their house in order ... It just is appalling. I mean, I wouldn't tolerate it," Mr Hawke said.

Asked if the CFMEU should still be affiliated to the ACTU and Labor, Mr Hawke, who was ACTU president throughout the 1970s, said: "Well, I would be very happy for them not to be at this stage."⁵⁶

Kevin Rudd (24 October 2017):

Kevin Rudd has urged Labor to expel the militant Construction Forestry Mining and Energy Union from its ranks and warned that the party's union-based factions are not only killing internal democracy but also stifling its policy development.

"We all operate within a system of laws," Mr Rudd told The Australian. "If you have an industrial organisation that systematically breaches the laws, then there is a question that arises as to what role they should have in a political party. My historical relationship with the CFMEU, and its various divisions and the people I had expelled from the party, I think speaks volumes.

"I've always been pro-union. What I cannot abide is an industrial and political structure which, through the affiliation system of the Labor Party, gives trade union based factions majority control of the party either on policy or on personnel because the nature of the Australian economy, the workforce and society, has changed."⁵⁷

Martin Ferguson (22 March 2015):

A former union boss has backed the return of the Australian Building and Construction Commission (ABCC), saying certain unions must be "brought to heel".

Former ACTU president Martin Ferguson says the actions of some parts of the CFMEU needed to be policed.

He compared the outspoken union to the outlawed Builders Labourers Federation (BLF).

The BLF was forced to de-register by the Cain Labor government in Victoria, backed by the Hawke Labor government, and Mr Ferguson said it is worth remembering that not all unions act in favour of the labour movement.

"Unfortunately, the manner in which the BLF conducted themselves is now rife within branches of the CFMEU," he told news Corp reporters.

"And in my opinion the CFMEU should be brought to heel and required to conduct themselves in a fair and reasonable way."

⁵⁶ <http://thenewdaily.com.au/news/national/2016/01/01/bob-hawke-paul-keating-unions-less-power/>

⁵⁷ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/industrial-relations/rudd-tells-shorten-to-expel-cfmeu-from-labor-party/news-story/abd9bb23be72e54987d1704ffffb1021>

Ferguson says the CFMEU, “especially the Victorian, Queensland and WA branches of the construction union, have brought this on themselves”.

“It is the manner in which they conduct themselves.”⁵⁸

FWC Deputy President Ingrid Asbury (25 October 2017):

“The CFMEU and its members do not have the right to express their anger and disgust in any manner which abuses, harasses, intimidates or vilifies staff and contractor employees, or any person who crosses the picket line or works during periods when CFMEU members are locked out or taking protected industrial - action,” she said.

“For the avoidance of doubt, and without being exhaustive, the terms “c...”, “maggot”, “grub”, “dog”, “f..kwt” and “scab” are abusive, offensive, intimidating and constitute harassment and vilification, as do signs depicting those terms. The fact that the employees are taking protected industrial action or engaging in lawful union activity does not give them immunity from disciplinary action for breaches of Glencore policies and procedures.”⁵⁹

(For a more exhaustive list of words used by the CFMEU in this case go to

<http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Documents/TableOffice/TabledPapers/2017/5517T1994.pdf>:

tabled in Queensland Legislative Assembly by Tim Nicholls MP, Leader of the Opposition, 11 October 2017)

Circuit Court Judge Sal Vasta (20 October 2017):

A federal judge has branded the CFMEU “the most recidivist corporate offender in Australian history”, imposing maximum penalties of \$306,000 over a heated clash between a former senior official and managers on a Brisbane building site.

Describing the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union’s history of law-breaking as “astounding”, Federal Circuit Court judge Salvatore Vasta said he would have imposed higher penalties on the union if the law allowed.

“This court has been asked to ensure that the industrial relations regime as created by parliament is observed and complied with,” the judge said...

... “The deterrent aspect of the pecuniary penalty system is not having the desired effect,” he said. “The CFMEU has not changed its attitude in any meaningful way. The court can only impose the maximum penalty in an attempt to fulfil its duty and deter the CFMEU from acting in the nefarious way in which it does...”

... In May, Judge Vasta imposed the maximum possible \$10,200 penalty on former Queensland CFMEU president David Hanna for breaching right-of-entry laws on a construction site at Fortitude Valley in 2015.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ <http://www.executivecareer.net.au/archived-news/ex-union-man-wants-cfmeu-brought-into-line>

⁵⁹ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/industrial-relations/quasimilitary-security-squad-spied-on-cfmeu-members/news-story/f15472cbb90fc7a2935868f4372e5296>

⁶⁰ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/industrial-relations/maximum-306000-penalty-imposed-on-recidivist-cfmeu/news-story/a2bc7ad7884da93eae559c0f2adc6b52>

Federal Court Judge Richard Tracey (23 October 2017):

Federal Court judge Richard Tracey said the Werribee case fell into the CFMEU's pattern of "repeated disregard for the law".

He cited comments by Judge Debbie Mortimer that the conduct forms "part of a deliberate and calculated strategy by the CFMEU to engage in whatever action, and make whatever threats, it wishes, without regard to the law, and then, once a prosecution is brought, to seek to negotiate its way into a position in which the penalties for its actions can be tolerated as the price of doing its industrial business."

Justice Tracey said given the union's history of offending, it might be doubted that any available penalty would be "sufficiently high to deter repetition".

"Any penalty will be paid and treated as a necessary cost of enforcing the CFMEU's demand that all workers on certain classes of construction sites be union members," he said.⁶¹

Federal Court Justice John Reeves (30 October 2017):

The CFMEU has been fined \$54,000 after members repeatedly stopped work on a Gold Coast Commonwealth Games construction site.

Federal Court Justice John Reeves imposed the maximum penalty on the controversial union when he handed down his judgment on Friday.

Justice Reeves said the CFMEU's twice-daily, two-hour meetings over 17 days in May and June 2016 had resulted in "significant damage" to the head contractor.

The action was designed to coerce the head contractor to enter an enterprise agreement.

Justice Reeves estimated the disruptions had cost the Carrara Sports and Recreation project more than \$700,000.

He also referred to the union's history of similar behaviour and said a fine "that forces it to stop using such coercive conduct as a business model and the resulting penalty as a cost of doing business" was required.⁶²

⁶¹ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/industrial-relations/cfmeu-fined-98k-over-werribee-shopping-centre-worker-site-ban/news-story/605daf1fc2863e5deb4808e75688fac9>

⁶² <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/latest-news/cfmeu-fined-over-action-at-games-site/news-story/b029fc888b42d601d6a763cea8e2841a>

Annastacia Palaszczuk:

Queensland Premier Annastacia Palaszczuk has rejected demands to ban political donations from the CFMEU, after members of the union were caught on tape allegedly using expletive-filled and threatening language.

The minority Labor government's links to the union movement – in particular the CFMEU – dominated the ongoing sitting of Queensland's hung parliament today, with the Opposition calling for a ban on CFMEU donations.⁶³

14. Star Entertainment

The Company

The Star Entertainment Group (formerly known as Echo Entertainment Group) is an ASX 100 listed company that owns and operates The Star Sydney, The Star Gold Coast and Treasury Brisbane. The Star Entertainment Group has also acquired the Sheraton Grand Mirage on the Gold Coast in a joint venture and manages the Gold Coast Convention and Exhibition Centre on behalf of the Queensland Government.

On 16 November 2015 the company name changed from Echo Entertainment Group to The Star Entertainment Group as part of a transition to single brand architecture across the group.

On 16 November 2015, The Star Entertainment Group and its joint venture partners Chow Tai Fook Enterprises and Far East Consortium reached contractual close with the Queensland Government on a \$3 billion redevelopment of Queen's Wharf in Brisbane. The project is expected to open in 2022.

The Star Entertainment Group has also entered into further joint venture agreements with its partners to expand and improve the value proposition of properties in Sydney and The Gold Coast. In Sydney plans for a new hotel and apartment tower have been announced involving an investment of up to \$500 million. This is in addition to a further \$500 million of improvements and refurbishments to The Star Sydney.

On the Gold Coast, a new six-star tower will be completed ahead of the Gold Coast 2018 Commonwealth Games, while in a further joint venture with Chow Tai Fook and Far East Consortium, a 200-metre hotel and apartment tower is also planned as part of an overall master plan for Broadbeach Island. Together, these projects and associated works will represent an investment of up to \$850 million at The Star Gold Coast.⁶⁴

⁶³ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/state-politics/cfmeu-protesters-caught-threatening-glencore-workers/news-story/9d9e9aa2723a847d0c22f2032222b8a1>

⁶⁴ <https://www.starentertainmentgroup.com.au/starentertainmentgroup/>

Personnel

The Board of Directors consists of:

- John O'Neill AO, Chairman (formerly Managing Director and CEO of the Australian Rugby Union, CEO of Football Federation Australia, Managing Director and CEO of State Bank of New South Wales)
- Matt Bekier, Managing Director and CEO (previously employed by Tabcorp and McKinsey & Co)
- Katie Lahey AM (previously Chairman of Carnival Australia, Chairman of Tourism and Transport Forum)
- Richard Sheppard (formerly Managing Director and CEO of Macquarie Bank)
- Gerard Bradley (Chairman of Queensland Treasury Corporation, former Under Secretary of Queensland Treasury)
- Dr Sally Pitkin (Director of National Retail Group, National Board member of AICD)
- Ziatko Todorovski (formerly CFO of Brambles, Oil Search and CFO for Energy at BHP)

The Managing Director for Queensland is Geoff Hogg who commenced with Star in 2008 after senior management roles in New Zealand.⁶⁵

Brisbane Casino Bid

Star won the right to construct the new casino development in Brisbane after competition with the James Packer controlled Crown:

An Echo Entertainment-led consortium has turned the tables on James Packer's Crown Resorts by winning a \$2 billion bid to build a casino resort in Brisbane's Queen's Wharf precinct.

Queensland Premier Anastacia Palaszczuk named Echo, which owns Brisbane's only casino, as the state government's choice to help kickstart tepid economic growth.

She said the Echo bid was the stand-out because of the better use of public space and because the consortium was ready to start straight away.

"This development will transform Brisbane's CBD. Construction means thousands of jobs. Some 3000 during construction and 8000 ongoing jobs," Ms Palaszczuk said on Monday after cabinet signed off on the bid.⁶⁶

At various times the redevelopment has been the subject of criticism from:

- Queensland Greens
- architects
- anti gambling advocates
- town planners
- elements of the ALP

⁶⁵ <https://www.starentertainmentgroup.com.au/starentertainmentgroup/>

⁶⁶ <http://www.afr.com/business/gambling/echo-entertainment-wins-2b-bid-to-build-brisbane-casino-20150720-gig108>

15. Morgans Financial Ltd

The Company

Morgans is Australia's largest national full-service retail stockbroking and wealth management firm, with more than 300,000 clients, 500 authorised representatives and 850 staff, operating from offices in all states and territories.

Paul Morgan (d 2001) founded the firm on 1 October 1982 with a staff of five. The name and structure of the firm has changed on a number of occasions in the following 35 years, including ABN Amro Morgans and RBS Morgans.

Since 2013 the firm, Morgans, has been owned by its management in partnership with leading Asia Pacific investment bank, CIMB.

Personnel

The current Executive Chairman, Brian Sheahan, joined the firm in 1997.

The Managing Director, John Clifford, commenced with the firm in 1994.

Well known economist and commentator, Michael Knox, is the firm's Chief Economist and Director of Strategy.⁶⁷

*The Queensland investment bank of Paul Morgan & Company underwrote the \$7.1 million needed to make it. Hogan and Cornell added \$600,000 of their own money. The film ultimately made over \$300 million worldwide, and the profits were split amongst the investors.*⁶⁸

16. ASF Group

The Company

*ASF Group Ltd. operates as an investment holding company. It focuses on identifying investment opportunities in Australia and connecting these opportunities to selected contacts in China. The company was founded in 2005 and is headquartered in Sydney, Australia.*⁶⁹

The company is involved in property, capital and resources and has developed properties in Southport, Surfers Paradise and Hope Island.

It has investments in technology throughout the world.

Its resources interests include CMR Coal and ActivEX Limited both of which hold tenements in Queensland.

Gold Coast Integrated Resort

ASF Consortium was formed in 2013 to respond to the State Government's global tender for an Integrated Resort Development (IRD). Due to the large size and scale of the project, the Consortium at the time comprised of China State Construction Engineering Company (CSCEC) and CCCC Guangzhou Dredging Co Limited, a subsidiary of China Communications Construction Company Ltd

⁶⁷ <https://www.morgans.com.au/about-us/Company-Profile>

⁶⁸ <http://mentalfloss.com/article/85770/15-fun-facts-about-crocodile-dundee>

⁶⁹ <http://quotes.wsj.com/AU/AFA/company>

(CCCC), the owner of John Holland Group. Both are Global Fortune 500 companies with a combined balance sheet of more than \$80 billion and capable to deliver the entire project each on its own.

In 2014, ASF Consortium was selected as the preferred proponent to develop the Gold Coast Integrated Resort.

In August 2015, the State Government signed a probity and process deed with ASF Consortium to continue through the State IRD process on a much smaller 5.5 hectare site south of Seaworld.⁷⁰

In August 2017 the State Government announced it had withdrawn approval for the project on The Spit:

THE State Government has torpedoed a \$3 billion casino resort earmarked for the Gold Coast's Southport Spit.

Chinese-backed company ASF had planned a five-tower integrated resort, including a casino, on Crown land on The Spit but Premier Anastacia Palaszczuk today announced it had been rejected and ruled out any development over three storeys on The Spit.

ASF had been named as the preferred proponent for the resort and a second Coast casino.

ASF consortium's integrated resort proposal has been rejected by the State Government

Ms Palaszczuk said public consultation over the project showed the community did not want a casino or high rises on the SeaWorld Drive land.

"That casino license will remain on the Gold Coast but there will be no integrated resort development here on The Spit," said Premier Palaszczuk.⁷¹

17. Rail Tram & Bus Union

The Union

The RTBU was formed 1 March 1993 through the historic amalgamation of three railway unions and one tram and bus union (AFULE, ARU, ATMOEA and NURW). These unions have a strong tradition dating back to the nineteenth century. The oldest was the Locomotive Engine Drivers' Association which formed in 1861 in Victoria making the RTBU the oldest rail union in Australia...

... Today, the RTBU has 35,000 members across Australia, with 7500 members in Queensland...

The RTBU is made up of 6 divisions looking after the particular needs of a diverse group of workers...

... The RTBU is the principal union for public transport. It sets the course for trade union activity in the industry, protecting members' employment and maintaining wages and conditions for all workers.

The RTBU is also the dominant union in the private sector rail industry.

⁷⁰ <http://www.goldcoastevolution.com.au/2017/03/08/asf-consortium-capacity-to-deliver-the-gold-coast-integrated-resort/>

⁷¹ <http://www.goldcoastbulletin.com.au/news/gold-coast/state-government-rejects-asf-casino-integrated-resort-for-the-spit/news-story/5189fc5f328616e3635c842a425326e2>

Members in our industries enjoy wages and conditions above those of many others working in similar areas. This is the result of working within highly unionised industries.

The RTBU is one of Australia's major industry-based unions, able to cover all employees in public transport and the rail industry generally. It is also registered in the Federal and Queensland Industrial Relations Commissions. In Queensland, all rail workers and BCC bus drivers are eligible for membership.⁷²

Personnel

Owen Doogan is the State Secretary of the union. He has been a union official since 1991. He was appointed State Secretary in 2001 and was elected National President of the union in 2011.

Tom Brown is the Assistant State Secretary and Secretary of the Tram and Bus Division. Brown led the campaign against the Brisbane City Council.⁷³

Industrial Relations Issues

The RTBU has been at the heart of significant industrial relations problems that have struck both the Queensland Rail network and the Brisbane City Council bus network over the past 18 months.

Queensland Rail Fail

Delays, cancellations and disruptions have characterised the performance of Queensland Rail since the ALP took office in 2015. The featherbedding of the RTBU and its members has been behind the crippling of the network.

In the face of a creeping rail disaster the ALP Government commissioned the Strachan Report to examine issues of crewing and timetables. The Strachan Report was released in early 2017 and pointed the finger at employment and work practices championed by the RTBU.

A total overhaul of these practices was required:

Workplace rules and overtime for staff will be amended as part of the overhaul of Queensland Rail to improve train services for passengers, Acting Transport Minister Jackie Trad says.

Phillip Strachan's commission of inquiry into QR's crewing and timetables, released yesterday, found overtime arrangements and some workplace practices, as well as recruitment and training, contributed to the shortage of drivers and service cancellations.

It found QR had come to be overly reliant on overtime and that it could be late next year before there were enough drivers available to restore timetables to normal.

The report also found driver productivity was reduced between 2014 and 2016 due to issues such as additional meal breaks, rostering practices and "overly restrictive crewing rules".

⁷² <http://www.rtbu.com.au/01 cms/details.asp?ID=12>

⁷³ <http://www.rtbu.com.au/01 cms/details.asp?ID=16>

Ms Trad is temporarily back in charge of the transport portfolio after Stirling Hinchliffe's resigned as minister yesterday.

She told ABC Radio Brisbane overtime should be used only in exceptional circumstances, but that could not happen until enough new drivers had been trained.⁷⁴

To maintain its privileged position the RTBU launched legal action to prevent this modernisation occurring. The RTBU attempt failed:

Queensland Rail (QR) has fought off an attempt by the rail union to block drivers being hired externally, paving the way for the operator to hire new drivers to fix south-east Queensland's crippled network.

The Rail, Tram and Bus Union lodged a formal dispute with QR yesterday, leading to a closed-doors hearing at the Fair Work Commission on Thursday.

The commission ruled QR could proceed with external recruitment.

A driver shortage was one of the main factors behind a series of breakdowns the network experienced last year, which saw mass cancellations and reductions in services around south-east Queensland.

It prompted an inquiry into Queensland Rail operations, which recommended the Government look to fill the void by hiring externally.

As of last month, QR had trained just 28 of the 200 new drivers needed to stabilise its roster, with people already employed by QR in other roles considered for driver training in the first instance.

The union has previously claimed external recruitment would override provisions in the enterprise bargaining agreement for drivers which ensured candidates already employed by QR would be considered first.

Earlier, Transport Minister Jackie Trad accused the union trying to stall plans to fix the rail network.

"Queensland Rail has consistently worked in good faith with the unions and believe they have met all their obligations under the existing enterprise agreement," Ms Trad said.

"We make no apologies for fixing the trains and giving Queensland commuters the services they deserve.

"We are determined to ensure that this reform process continues."⁷⁵

In September 2017 a former Queensland Rail executive nailed the restrictive employment practices enforced by the RTBU:

⁷⁴ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-02-07/overly-restrictive-work-rules-to-change-in-gr-overhaul/8248064>

⁷⁵ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-31/more-train-drivers-for-seq-after-union-overruled-by-fair-work/8860384>

A former top Queensland Rail executive who resigned amid the rail fail saga has blamed the unions and the Palaszczuk Government for the crisis.

Former chief operating officer Kevin Wright, who retired in the aftermath of the Christmas Day bungle that saw about a third of services cancelled, spoke for the first time today almost a year after mass cancellations plagued the rail operator following the opening of the Redcliffe line and a new timetable.

Mr Wright told ABC Radio the entire saga was caused by new union rules he believed were negotiated with QR representatives that afforded drivers and crew new breaks and decreased the time they were available to drive.

He said, despite his role as head of operations, he was not told that new breaks for train crew had been brought in.

"I certainly hadn't approved or signed any documentation to alter their current enterprise agreement," he said.

"It completely changed the way you could roster train crew, the way that train crew travelled spare when going to one job to another."⁷⁶

Brisbane City Council Bus Dispute

Spurred on by the CFMEU the RTBU launched a series of rolling strikes and other industrial action to compel the BCC to increase wages for bus drivers by 3.5 percent – a 40 percent premium on the 2.5 percent increase offered by the Council – and far above wage increases for other workers in both the public and private sectors:

Brisbane Lord Mayor Graham Quirk has moved to bring a union pay dispute "to a head" by taking a pay offer straight to council staff.

The bitter feud with a bloc of 11 unions has only deepened, resulting in rolling strikes, since weekly negotiations began in October last year after the old enterprise bargaining agreement expired.

Council have been firm with a 2.5 per cent pay rise every year for three years, with a \$400 sign-on bonus. But the cabal of unions have been demanding 3.5 per cent, with an \$800 sign-on bonus.

Council said it would cost an extra \$52 million to deliver the 3.5 per cent increase but this is disputed by the unions, which have argued the rise is in line with future wages growth.

In an effort to resolve the impasse, Cr Quirk said the 7500 staff covered under the agreement would have the opportunity to take part in a voluntary vote that will open on September 19.

"I think it's important that we get to stage now where the staff can have their say and that we reach a conclusion to this matter," Cr Quirk said.

⁷⁶ <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/queensland-rail-fail-former-gr-executive-denies-blame/news-story/cdc36ec8ecd99b88555ccdb447f7c372>

Staff will have until October 6 to vote via phone or online, with employees asked whether they support the offer by choosing to vote either yes or no.

Cr Quirk said the ballot was an attempt by council to bring the matter “to a head”, with council notifying unions today that negotiations have been “concluded”.⁷⁷

The months of industrial action ended in September when the Council and the RTBU appeared to reach agreement – without the RTBU gaining the 3.5 percent wage increase they had demanded.

18. Lancini Property & Development

The Company

The Lancini Group of Companies is a progressive property development group that excels at identifying, developing, constructing and managing high quality retail and commercial properties.

Established in 1981 with offices in Townsville and Brisbane, the Group is well known for its ability to deliver a property need from concept to completion. Operating throughout Queensland the Lancini Group has made its mark with outstanding projects in Townsville, Brisbane, Cairns, Mackay and Central Queensland.

Today the Company’s portfolio covers all facets of the property industry – from retail shopping centres, commercial offices, homemaker and industrial properties. The team has the expertise and experience that includes design, construction and development managers, accountants, property management professionals and long term support staff.

The recipient of many industry celebrated State Awards the Lancini Group of Companies is considered by many as the premier property developer in North Queensland.⁷⁸

Laurence Lancini

As Managing Director of Lancini Group of Companies, Laurence Lancini commenced his construction business over 30 years ago. He started as a house builder based in Townsville and progressed over the years to grow his construction business to a state wide operation covering all aspects of property development.

Lancini was elected State President of the Property Council in early 2017. He continues to serve as Chairman of the North Queensland Cowboys though he has acknowledge that his time as chairman may be nearing its end.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/brisbane-bus-timetable-reeling-from-strikes-but-council-makes-new-pay-offer-to-drivers/news-story/4e363847218c7f6096dc9d968babef04>

⁷⁸ <http://www.lancinigroup.com.au/about/corporate-profile/>

⁷⁹ <http://www.townsvillebulletin.com.au/news/a-vital-position-for-the-cowboys-may-soon-be-replaced/news-story/3cd0fc593930b7c0b53b3e53d6935c7c>

Lancini and Townsville politics

Lancini was identified as one of a number of Townsville business identities who believed that Assistant Minister for North Queensland, Coralee O'Rourke, should be replaced by her Townsville colleague, Scott Stewart.

He said:

I've had more dealings with Scott Stewart as he is very approachable, very focused in improving Townsville and very focused on delivering outcomes. When I've met Coralee she has been very approachable but I haven't had a lot to do with her.⁸⁰

19. Ian McCauley

Ian McCauley is one of the LNP's and National Party's largest donors over a number of years. He is married to Di McCauley who served as the member for Callide from 1986 to her retirement from Parliament in 1998. From 1996 to 1998 she was Minister for Local Government and Planning in the Borbidge Government. From 1985 to 1990 she served on the Banana Shire Council.

Goondicum Resources

A public company, Goondicum Resources, in which the McCauley family has an interest, was subject to a complaint to the CCC by the Department of Natural Resources and Mines in 2015 in relation to a dispute over the receipt of retrospective approval for land clearing at Goondicum in central Queensland. Ilminite, which is used in paint pigmentation, is mined at the site.⁸¹

Some months later the matter was referred to the Ombudsman as departmental maladministration may have been involved.⁸²

The matter appears to have gone no further and the project is spoken of in glowing terms in the 2016-17 Annual Report of the Department of State Development.⁸³

20. Ian Macfarlane

Ian Macfarlane was elected as the Liberal member for Groom, based on Toowoomba, in 1998. He held the seat until his retirement at the 2016 election.

During his time in Parliament he held a number of ministerial appointments:

- Minister for Small Business from 30.1.01 to 26.11.01.
- Minister for Industry, Tourism and Resources from 26.11.01 to 3.12.07.
- Minister for Industry from 18.9.13 to 23.12.14.

⁸⁰ <http://www.townsvillebulletin.com.au/news/townsville/townsvilles-only-minister-coralee-orourke-missing-in-action/news-story/03a97721b3e4fe2178f542ad89eab9b6>

⁸¹ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-06-03/retrospective-approval-referred-queensland-corruption-watchdog/6518332>

⁸² <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-17/questions-over-newman-government-land-clearing/6776012>

⁸³ https://www.google.com.au/search?source=hp&ei=hVoCWsLyGcmq0QTYoq3AAw&q=goondicum+and+ombudsman&oq=goondicum+and+ombudsman&gs_l=psy-ab.12...3954.9973.0.12464.23.21.0.0.0.790.3831.4-2j4j1.7.0....0...1.1.64.psy-ab..16.4.2005...0j46j0i46k1j0i131k1j33i160k1.0.eXoJA03oCzc

- Minister for Industry and Science from 23.12.14 to 21.9.15.

Prior to his election to Parliament he was:

- Farmer.
- President, Queensland Graingrowers Association.
- President, Grains Council of Australia.

In September 2016 it was announced that Macfarlane would become Chief Executive of the Queensland Resources Council, the principal representative organization of the Queensland mining industry.

This appointment was a matter of some controversy as its critics claimed it was in breach of the ministerial code of conduct relating to post ministerial appointments.⁸⁴

21. Denmac Nominees

The Company

Denmac Nominees Pty Ltd was registered in June 1972 and was associated with Denmac Ford, at one time Australia's largest Ford car and truck dealer. It operates as a private company.⁸⁵

Denmac Ford collapsed in May 2011 with Deloitte being appointed as receivers. The company had a turnover of \$100 million and was Ford's highest-selling retail dealer between 2004 and 2006.⁸⁶

The assets of Denmac Ford were purchased later that year by a private company, BJC Investments, which continued to operate the vehicle dealership.⁸⁷

Denmac Nominees is now involved in a number of industries, including property development and investment.

22. Meriton

The Company

Established in 1963, Meriton has made a significant impact on the Australian landscape. Meriton estimate they have designed, developed and built an estimated one in 10 apartments in Sydney, along with some of the tallest residential towers in Sydney, Brisbane and the Gold Coast. The private company has designed, developed and built more than 75,000 apartments across the east coast of Australia. Meriton offers sales, leasing and property management services, as well as the luxury accommodation brand Meriton Suites with more than 17 locations nationwide. Meriton has spearheaded the apartment revolution with sophisticated, high-quality apartments.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-26/ian-macfarlane-appointed-to-run-queensland-mining-lobby/7876942>

⁸⁵ <https://creditorwatch.com.au/express/asic/organisation/009863825/DENMAC-NOMINEES-PTY-LTD>

⁸⁶ <http://www.smh.com.au/business/denmac-ford-collapses-jobs-gone-20110527-1f75f.html>

⁸⁷ <http://www.smh.com.au/business/collapsed-car-firm-sold-off-20110704-1gytz.html>

⁸⁸ <http://www.meriton.com.au/about-us/>

Personnel

Harry Triguboff A.O. PhD (Hon) HU, DUniv Griff.

As founder and managing director of Meriton Group, Harry Triguboff has overseen the construction of over 75,000 residential dwellings, and has won numerous awards for his contributions to the Australian property industry.

Harry Triguboff was born in Dalian, China on 3 March 1933. He spent his early childhood in the Russian community of Tientsin (now Tianjin) South of Beijing.

He first came to Australia in 1948 and was educated at Scots College in Sydney, before attending Leeds University in England. He graduated with a degree in textile engineering and began his working life in textile businesses in Israel and South Africa, returning to Australia in 1960.

Harry Triguboff became an Australian citizen in 1961. He owned a taxi fleet and a milk run before building his first block of apartments. Since then he has become Australia's most successful residential property developer and a generous philanthropist, providing millions of dollars each year in financial support to many causes. In recognition of his efforts, Harry Triguboff has received two honorary doctorates and numerous other honours and awards.⁸⁹

Triguboff — founder and head of the Meriton Group empire — has topped the BRW Rich 200 list for the first time ever.

83-year-old Triguboff's wealth soared to a record \$10.62 billion this year as his company surged in value due to the property boom.⁹⁰

23. Dr Roger Welch

Dr Welch, M.B., Ch.B., FRANZCO, FRACS is a specialist ophthalmologist based on the Gold Coast.

He established his ophthalmology practice in 1989

Dr Welch is a Fellow of the Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Surgeons and the Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Ophthalmologists, the Australian Society of Cataract and Refractive Surgery, the American Society of Cataract and Refractive Surgeons, European Cataract Refractive Surgeons and the South Pacific Underwater Medicine Society and an associate member of the Oceania Retina Association.

He has served as a Visiting Consultant at Greenslopes Private Hospital in Brisbane, and at the Gold Coast Hospital where he has been President of the Visiting Medical Officers Association. Dr Welch has also been a Founding Director of the Gold Coast's Pindara Day Procedure Centre and a member of the Pindara Hospital Medical Board of Advice.

Dr Welch is founder and currently CEO of Vision Centre Gold Coast and Vision Centre Day Surgery. He practises at Vision Centre Southport and at Vision Centre Robina.⁹¹

Dr Welch maintains a personal interest website and blog. His particular interests are:

⁸⁹ <http://www.meriton.com.au/about-us/harry-triguboff/>

⁹⁰ <http://www.news.com.au/national/victoria/brw-rich-200-meriton-founder-harry-triguboff-tops-list/news-story/f3da567919ea58ec5c6158a0d594a74b>

⁹¹ <http://www.eyesight.net.au/dr-welch.htm>

Scuba Diving
Underwater Photography
Philanthropic Interests – Charitable Activities
Wild Flower Photography
Bush Walking
Climbing
Sailing
Underwater Environmental Concerns
Dune Care & Coastal Zone Management
Coastal Environmental Issues
Travel, especially adventure or the more unusual.
Gardens & Flowers
Marine History
Astronomy

The blog is at <http://beyondeyelevel.com/about/>.

24. Maritime Union Australia (MUA)

The Union

The MUA represents workers in the shipping, stevedoring, diving, ferry, offshore oil and gas and port service industries.

The Seaman's Union of Australia and Waterside Workers Federation merged to create the Maritime Union of Australia in 1993. This followed a succession of mergers covering the associated industries over the preceding decades.

Personnel

Bob Carnegie, State Secretary

Bob Carnegie was elected State Secretary in 2015.

Green Left Weekly has described Carnegie:

Carnegie is a committed socialist who has been a union, social justice and community activist in Queensland since the Joh Bjelke-Petersen era. More recently he risked prison, under the then-Campbell Newman government's anti-union laws, leading a community campaign in defence of construction workers on the Brisbane Children's Hospital building site.⁹²

Carnegie looks back to the days of militant unionism:

We need to look back to the old days of internationalism where, despite their Stalinist politics, the old leaderships of the Seamen's Union and the waterside workers did some fine things internationally...

The great majority of the Australian labour movement has been co-opted into the capitalist system. Instead of fighting for workers' rights, they have become giant voting blocs for the ALP. The ALP is 100 percent committed to capitalism. If it

⁹² <https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/why-muas-bob-carnegie-fights-%C3%A2%C2%80%C2%98-ground%C3%A2%C2%80%C2%99>

*becomes a choice between a trade union and Goldman Sachs, the ALP will always choose Goldman Sachs.*⁹³

The Amalgamation Vote

The MUA is promoting a YES vote in the amalgamation between the MUA, the CFMEU and the TCFUA (Textile Clothing and Footware Union of Australia). The ballot closes on Thursday November 23rd.

The MUA is pushing this amalgamation to bring “together significant combined resources (campaigning, financial, legal, political, membership etc)”.

The MUA believes “... the union is negotiating with big multinational corporations and/or campaigning against a Conservative government’s anti-union laws and to take them on we need to become stronger, get more powerful and become even better and more effective at what we do.”⁹⁴

The Federal Government and employer bodies are opposed to the amalgamation, regarding it as a significant strengthening of the power of particularly militant unions (eg CFMEU) and a potential winding back of the waterfront reforms introduced in the 1990s.

25. Ernst & Young

The Company

Ernst & Young is one of the largest audit and consulting firms in the world. It employs about 144,000 people worldwide and has offices in more than 140 countries. In the United States, it is the ninth largest private company and the largest tax consulting practice.

Ernst & Young offers a wide range of professional services, including business risk services, audit, assurance, risk advisory, financial reporting, corporate governance, technology and security.

In Australia, Ernst & Young has offices in Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra, Melbourne, Perth, and Sydney.⁹⁵

Interaction with Queensland Government

Paul Laxon was appointed the Queensland managing partner in 2015.

Laxon criticised the ALP Government for its raid on state employees superannuation funds in 2016:

*Ernst & Young’s Queensland head has told a Labor fundraiser that the Palaszczuk government’s decision to spend \$2 billion of a superannuation scheme’s surplus on debt reduction will send the economy “backwards”.*⁹⁶

Ernst & Young undertook work in 2010 for the then Bligh Government into the developing Health payroll fiasco.⁹⁷

The report found, amongst other things:

⁹³ <https://redflag.org.au/article/new-direction-mua-queensland>

⁹⁴ <http://www.mua.org.au/amalgamation>

⁹⁵ <http://www.ey.com/au/en/newsroom/news-releases/news-ey-announces-new-queensland-leader>

⁹⁶ <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/state-politics/queensland-labor-blasted-over-super-raids-at-its-own-fundraiser/news-story/9dee61759ce2e674e709d851eac6cee4>

⁹⁷ <http://www.smh.com.au/queensland/government-to-spend-209-million-fixing-queensland-health-payroll-system-20101123-184v9.html>

Queensland Health was warned more than five months before the "fake Tahitian prince" stole \$5 million that it was open to systemic fraud due to major security risks and a complete lack of checks and balances.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/health-frauds-rife-as-safeguards-fail/news-story/eb66fec18f38b7e9e7f343a4810333ce?sv=51fe90558a8aec3c584042c8075253eb>