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Speaker; Mr Troy Buswell; Mr John Day; Dr Graham Jacobs; Mr Alan Carpenter; Deputy Speaker; Dr Steve Thomas; Mr Bob Kucera

APACHE ENERGY GAS PLANT EXPLOSION — CONSEQUENCES, AND ABSENCE OF COORDINATED STATE ENERGY PLAN

Matter of Public Interest

THE SPEAKER (Mr F. Riebeling): Today I received within the prescribed time a letter from the Leader of the Opposition that reads —

Please be advised that today I seek to debate as a matter of public interest the following motion —

This house recognises the serious economic and social consequences of the Varanus gas explosion as a significant disruption to Western Australia's critical infrastructure; and further notes that the absence of a coordinated state energy plan has left Western Australian industry and the community exposed to energy shortages and financial losses.

If sufficient members agree to this motion, I will allow it.

[At least five members rose in their places.]

MR T. BUSWELL (Vasse — Leader of the Opposition) [2.50 pm]: I move —

This house recognises the serious economic and social consequences of the Varanus gas explosion as a significant disruption to Western Australia's critical infrastructure; and further notes that the absence of a coordinated state energy plan has left Western Australian industry and the community exposed to energy shortages and financial losses.

I will not go over the detail of what happened last Tuesday on Varanus Island, because it has been well documented, and, indeed, it was covered by the Premier yesterday. Thankfully, there was no loss of life or injury to any of the workers on Varanus Island. That should be the first and foremost concern of the people of Western Australia. However, there is a significant downside to that explosion. That downside is, and will continue to be, the serious economic and social impact on the entire state of the disruption to gas supplies that has been caused by that explosion. As we know, this state has lost between 300 and 350 terajoules of gas supply a day from Apache Energy's operations at Varanus Island. The potential economic impact on this state of that loss is enormous. We are now seeing the first stage of that economic impact as businesses around Western Australia that need gas for their operations, and that cannot substitute diesel and/or other fuels in their production processes, for a variety of reasons, are having to either close completely or scale back their operations significantly. That is flowing onto not only their workforces, but also the workforces of associated industries. It is having a knock-on effect. One classic case in point is the minerals sands companies that are operating in the south west of the state. The closure or the scaling back of the operations of those companies will have a flow-on effect on not only their workforces and their families, but also the trucking contractors and others who provide services to those companies.

There will also be a second stage to this economic impact. That stage will emerge over coming weeks as companies weigh up the prospect of having to pay around \$2 a litre for diesel to replace gas, or having to scale back or shut down production. That will be a serious issue that this state will need to confront both economically and socially. Many companies will have no choice but to shut down. That is having a direct impact on businesses in Western Australia. For example, yesterday, Iluka Resources issued a notice that it had advised the Australian Stock Exchange that it will be ceasing its mining activities across most of its mid-west and south west operations, and it will be continuing its efforts to source gas supply from alternative sources, because it has little opportunity to use other fuels sources. It advised also that given the fluidity of the situation, it is not possible at this stage to quantify with any degree of confidence the financial impact of the gas outage. In other words, Iluka has had to cut back its production. A growing list of Western Australian businesses are, unfortunately, having to go to the Stock Exchange with the same story. I understand that today, Alcoa Australia Ltd has also made some announcements about its capacity to meet its contractual obligations.

When we talk about a crisis such as this, we often talk about its impact on households. This crisis is having a direct impact on households. Those workers who have been stood down or have had their hours cut still have to front up at the end of the week and pay for the groceries for their families. They still have to front up to their bank manager and make their mortgage payments. I understand what the Premier said before about the federal government being prepared to get involved; it really had no choice in this matter.

On another interesting aside, I have had a look at FuelWatch, and, in the past five days, the price of liquefied petroleum gas has increased from just under 65.3c a litre to almost 71c a litre today—a massive spike in the price of LPG. The point I am trying to make is that this crisis is having an enormous impact on households across Western Australia. That impact was neither effectively forecast nor anticipated last week. The Minister for

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Energy will say that industry is happy with the response. Plenty of examples are now emerging of industry expressing extreme frustration at how things are being managed and the situation they find themselves in. This is only one week into what will be a crisis lasting many months.

This matter of public interest effectively criticises the government for having no long-term energy plan for Western Australia. The opposition is not the only body that has criticised the government for not having a plan. As the Premier and the minister will be well aware, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Western Australia has also criticised the government about that for a considerable period. As I understand it, the CCI is building a framework for an energy plan for Western Australia for the minister. There is clear recognition that what Western Australia needs is a long-term energy plan. The question people will ask is: would a long-term energy plan have stopped the explosion on Varanus Island? The answer, of course, is no. However, would it have mitigated the impact of that explosion on the people of Western Australia? The answer is that it is highly likely it would have. There are two reasons for that. The Premier can shake his head, and we will hear what he has to say about energy plans in a minute.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: I don't need your permission to do it.

Mr T. BUSWELL: It was an observation. There are two reasons for that mitigation. Firstly, an energy plan would have identified the need to diversify our domestic gas sources. That is what it would have done first and foremost. Anyone would have realised the need to reduce risk through diversification in Western Australia. The Premier would not have done so because he is ignorant. That is the problem. Let us not forget that he was the Minister for Energy for some time and he had an opportunity to establish a plan, but he did not.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: What did you say I was?

Mr T. BUSWELL: I said that he was ignorant in relation to the need to mitigate risk by diversifying the sources of domestic gas in Western Australia. The second thing that any energy plan would have needed —

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Are you saying that hasn't been done?

Mr T. BUSWELL: I am saying it has not been done. It would have also needed a planned and tested short-term response to the sort of disaster that occurred last week. A planned and tested contingency plan should be in place that could have been flicked into operation the minute this issue emerged. The Premier can smile; we know that the Premier goes up to your electorate, Mr Speaker, and tests the impact, for example, of a terrorist attack on gas plants. However, what is the logical extension of a terrorist attack on a gas plant? No gas. Why was that planning not extended to provide a short-term contingency plan for what happened last Tuesday?

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Have you read that document you waved around yesterday?

Mr T. BUSWELL: I have read it.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: That is exactly what is happening.

Mr T. BUSWELL: Where was the plan? Let us move on and look at what the Premier did last week. The explosion happened on Tuesday. What did we see? On Friday, the Minister for Energy flew up to get his photograph taken looking at some bits of twisted metal.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Are you slightly embarrassed that you made that rather boyish and stupid comment?

Mr T. BUSWELL: I think it was a very valid comment. He went up there for a photo opportunity. Let us hear also what the Minister for Energy said in April this year when the Premier's government was given a significant wake-up call about the potential impact of cuts to domestic gas supply when the gas supply from the North West Shelf joint venture was disrupted for a couple days. We asked the Minister for Energy at the time: where is the contingency plan that the state needs to manage these systems? He said that we did not need a contingency plan. Why? He said that we do not need a contingency plan because these events occur very rarely and that they happen only once every 25 years. Guess what has happened in Western Australia? It has happened twice this year.

Mr F.M. Logan interjected.

Mr T. BUSWELL: I do not care. It is like saying I have crossed the road 20 times without looking and I then get bowled over twice in one week. That is what happened to the Minister for Energy. A wake-up call hit the minister smack in the forehead and he ignored it. When responding to the member for Capel, the minister famously answered —

. . . there is storage in the pipeline itself.

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The minister argued that we did not need a contingency plan in Western Australia to manage disruptions to our domestic gas supply because an event like this happens only once every 25 years and because there is storage in the pipeline itself. He also said —

The pipeline is nearly double the size that it was years ago.

He is right; it is. There is gas storage for a couple of days, but we will need gas for three months!

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Are you suggesting we should store several months' worth of gas supply?

Mr T. BUSWELL: No. I am not suggesting that we need to store that amount of gas; I am suggesting that proper contingency plans are needed. That is what we should have had. The government had no plan. The January event was a smack between the minister's eyes. What has he done? He scurried around and cobbled together a group of business people last Sunday. I said last week that I am glad the Premier has become involved.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: I know that you know we cannot store huge volumes of gas.

Mr T. BUSWELL: I am not talking about the storage of gas; I am talking about a set of contingency plans that can be invoked from the first minute that a crisis occurs.

Mr F.M. Logan: What would be your plans? What would you do?

Mr T. BUSWELL: I am not in government. If I were in government, we would have the plans. The Minister for Energy does not have a clue. Do members know who has suffered? It is the people of Western Australia. It was seven days—six days—before a meeting was held. What was the outcome of the meeting?

Mr A.J. Carpenter: What did you say?

Mr T. BUSWELL: Before Sunday—from Tuesday to Sunday.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: You started off by saying seven days.

Mr T. BUSWELL: Six days.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Is it? What time on Tuesday did the news break? Come on; this is ridiculous.

Mr T. BUSWELL: The minister formed another committee—the Gas Supply Co-ordination Group. This is what I want to get at. We had a briefing this morning from the minister's advisers, which I appreciate. This committee is designed to have oversight of the supply of energy in Western Australia at the height of the most significant energy crisis in Western Australia that we have seen for as long as I can remember. Who is on that committee? It is headed by the Coordinator of Energy from the Western Australian Office of Energy.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: That sounds reasonable.

Mr T. BUSWELL: My view is that it should be headed by either the Premier or the Minister for Energy.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: I told you yesterday.

Mr T. BUSWELL: I am telling the Premier what is my view. This is a major issue that requires political leadership of the highest order.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Are you suggesting there has not been?

Mr T. BUSWELL: The Premier has offered some leadership but the Minister for Energy was found wanting and that is why the Premier did a Peter Garrett on him. The Premier has sidelined the minister in this process.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: I don't understand what that means.

Mr T. BUSWELL: I think the Premier does understand what I mean.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: I don't.

Mr T. BUSWELL: It means that the minister is all care and no responsibility.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: What do you mean by that?

Mr T. BUSWELL: I mean that he has been sidelined. The Premier is the Penny Wong to the Minister for Energy's Peter Garrett in this Parliament. That is the situation. The government set up a body that has neither the Premier nor a minister on it to run the most significant —

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Leader of the Opposition, at any time that it is required, I will chair that committee.

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Mr T. BUSWELL: My view, and I think the view of many people in this state, is that the Minister for Energy should take off his jacket, roll up his sleeves and be doing the hard work to make sure that at a political level somebody has carriage and responsibility for this matter. People have told me that this is a political risk-management strategy. Push it all over here and if it goes pear-shaped, do not blame us—blame the bureaucrats who have sat on the committee.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: No we won't.

Mr T. BUSWELL: That is what it is, and that is what people have told me.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Sorry; did you say "bureaucrats" who have sat on it?

Mr T. BUSWELL: No. I said that if there is a problem, who is the chairman? I am not talking about the CME and the CCI representatives; I am talking about the person in this advertisement—Jason Banks. What is the first thing the government does to the people of Western Australia? This fantastic advertisement appeared in *The West Australian* today. The advice that the government has given to workers who have lost their jobs and to businesses that have had to shut down is to turn off their gas space heaters. This ad does not say, "If you're a worker who has lost your job, call this number so the government can help you find the assistance that you need. If you are a small business or a business that has to shut down, call this number so we can tell you how we can help you." All it asks people to do is to turn off their gas space heaters.

I want to touch on a couple of other points. I also want to talk about this strategic gas plan. As the Minister for Energy knows all too well, it is something that we should have.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: He's gone.

Mr T. BUSWELL: He will be back; he is not going anywhere. I am interested in other people's views on energy plans. On 6 November 2005, when the Premier was the energy minister, when speaking about a federal energy plan, he stated —

However, we should be planning for Australia's long-term energy demands. That means confronting issues such as security of supply, diversity of sources . . .

We need to be looking at ways of securing benefit for the Australian economy well into the future, rather than waiting until we hit crisis point before we decide to do anything.

Western Australia, with no gas plan and no long-term energy strategy, has hit a crisis point. This is what the Premier was telling the federal government to do, yet his own government failed to act on that advice.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: No, it didn't.

Mr T. BUSWELL: It did. If that is the case, why did the minister ask the Chamber of Commerce and Industry to work on developing a state energy plan? Why has this dialogue been happening? It is because the Premier does not have the capacity to do it.

Mr F.M. Logan: They bang on about an energy plan and I've asked them like I'm going to ask you —

Mr T. BUSWELL: The minister has asked the CCI to produce an energy plan for him, which it is working on. He will get it and say, "Oh, is that what we should have done?" He would not understand the need to have contingency plans in place to deal with disasters. That is the sad reality of it. The government does have a critical infrastructure plan; I waved it around yesterday.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Your offer of bipartisanship; is that what you were waving around?

Mr T. BUSWELL: Have I criticised the Premier in the media up until now? I have criticised him for not having a plan. In April 2007 the Premier said that agencies and companies need to have these critical infrastructure protection frameworks. Yes, the government talked about terrorist attacks but it also talked about other significant impacts. It said that plans are needed in case there is an event or incident that puts at risk public safety and confidence, threatens economic security or harms Western Australia's competitiveness etc.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: It was a terrorism response.

Mr T. BUSWELL: It goes further than that. The "Western Australia Critical Infrastructure Protection Framework" states that the Western Australian government must—

- Develop consequence management and community recovery capacities
- Work with the owners/operators to encourage them to develop . . .

That is what we have in this state. In this document we have a government that suggests we need to plan for critical instances. That is what we are saying. The government does not have a plan. Where is the plan? The plan

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is that when a disaster happens, the minister is sent off to get his photo taken, a meeting is convened, which sets up a committee on which neither the Premier nor the minister sit. That is the issue. The argument is strong and the argument remains—the Premier has no plan, and he should have.

MR J.H.D. DAY (Darling Range) [3.08 pm]: The situation we face is a very serious one, as both the Leader of the Opposition and, to his credit, the Premier and others in the government have said. A 30 per cent reduction in the state's gas supplies does produce major consequences. We are learning about the impacts on the tourism industry, potentially the meat processing industry, the laundry industry, possibly the dairy industry, mineral processing industries and many other aspects of industry in Western Australia. We do not hold the government responsible for the explosion that occurred on Varanus Island and the subsequent breakdown of the plant. However, we do believe that the government has a degree of responsibility for the situation in which the state now finds itself. The consistent message that I have received from the industry over the past two years is that the state does not have a comprehensive energy supply plan. It is not only the opposition saying that, but also the industry that has made that point on a number of occasions during the past couple of years.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Which is why the Minister for Energy responded to it in the way that he did. If you think that is the case, you produce something. We have a comprehensive supply plan.

Mr J.H.D. DAY: The Labor Party has been in government for seven and a half years. It is incumbent on the government to deal with this issue more effectively than has been the case. On 3 April, the Minister for Energy said in this chamber —

It does not matter whether we have a plan.

That indicates his stance on whether the state should have a comprehensive contingency plan to deal with these sorts of problems. The government has engaged in plenty of spin and public relations exercises in the area of energy. For example, I refer to the notion of geothermal energy being explored and developed in Western Australia, which is something we strongly support. We are a long way off from that point, yet in the past six or eight months the government has engaged in three media statements and public relations exercises. On 6 December 2007, 22 January 2008 and 17 May 2008, the government engaged in media events to tell everyone how good it was because it was developing geothermal energy in Western Australia. This government is a public relations exercise and spin-driven government.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: That is not the case. There were three separate developments during that time line, the last of which involved the expression of interests for the leases.

Mr J.H.D. DAY: They were media-driven exercises. I know how this government works. The amount of money that the government is spending on advertising—\$60 million this year—tells the story.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: The media were invited to come along to find out what was going on. There was no advertising.

Mr J.H.D. DAY: The point is that this government engages in more spin than action.

The government pretends it has a plan; however, since it assumed office in 2001 its primary plan in the energy portfolio has been to disaggregate Western Power, a move that has not been a raging success. Massive losses are being incurred by Verve Energy and, effectively, Western Australian taxpayers. Consumers are facing an 80 per cent increase in electricity costs over the next eight years. The government was more fixated on disaggregating Western Power and implementing its electricity industry model than on managing the energy industry and planning for contingencies such as the one we now face. The opposition strongly supports the policy of security through diversity in both energy and water supplies. We support having a range of energy supplies from gas, coal and renewable energy. The government must engage in more comprehensive action and fewer media statements. A lot more could be said. Various issues need to be addressed, including the issue of approvals processes for prospective new energy developments in Western Australia. The federal and state government must deal with the issue of retention leases, which, to some extent, has been covered in debates during the past couple of days. I reiterate the point that we need an overall energy plan and policy for this state. In its industry discussion paper entitled "Meeting the Future Gas Needs of Western Australia", the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Western Australia said that a range of issues identified across the whole gas supply chain highlight the need for this issue to be considered in the context of an overall energy policy, one that looks at energy supplies throughout the entire supply chain and across different sorts of energy. That is not something that this government has done. This issue must be addressed. It would be addressed more effectively under a Liberal government.

DR G.G. JACOBS (Roe) [3.14 pm]: Although the government over this recent crisis and explosion at Varanus Island has talked about a cooperative, well-meaning world and a process that we can now work through in a

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collaborative way, the commercial realities are different. Burns and Roe Worley have a gas-fired plant of 33 megawatts that supplies the entire south east, including a liquefied petroleum supply to domestic users. It gets its gas from a 32-kilometre pipeline in Kalgoorlie and purchases it from Apache Energy. It purchases the gas at \$2.38 a gigajoule and uses 3 600 gigajoules a day.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Member, could I just interject? Honestly! Is the member for Roe at liberty to release that sort of information?

Dr G.G. JACOBS: These are the costs that I have just looked at on the Burns and Roe Worley website, which is now called WorleyParsons.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: Okay.

Mr F.M. Logan interjected.

Dr G.G. JACOBS: I do this to explain the commercial realities of this issue. It now has to purchase its gas from Woodside at a much greater cost than that. Worley is on a five-day rolling contract and is dead scared and petrified that each five days the price will be jacked up. It has assured the community, as the Premier has, about protecting consumers. However, there is a major user called the Esperance Port Authority, which needs a significant amount of power for its loading facilities for both iron ore and nickel, and all its exports and imports. That power to provide electricity to the port is being supplied on-site by Burns and Roe Worley diesel plants. Of course it is diesel fired, which has resulted in a significant elevation in charges. It has put the port into a commercial situation and into another realm of cost. The diesel plant backup is provided at great impost. The questions are: what are the ultimate costs to run this situation; what is the ongoing supply; what are the measures the government has put in place to prevent potential profiteering; and what is the government doing to ease the animosity between large customers about the elevated price in the commercial market for them to supply this electricity? The government needs to do something to assist. The government has talked about commonwealth assistance. Is the government in the business of trying to resolve the situation? These competing forces are facing an ever-increasing market demand for electricity. The prices of gas and electricity —

Mr A.J. Carpenter: You realise what you are suggesting there, don't you?

Dr G.G. JACOBS: We need the government to do some real work other than just talk about great cooperation and moving on. These are the commercial realities.

MR A.J. CARPENTER (Willagee — Premier) [3.18 pm]: I thank members for taking part in the debate. This is a very important debate and there are points of genuine difference. A couple of things have been said that are just stupid. I do not see why opposition members demean the strength of the argument by making comments such as the assertion that the Minister for Energy went to the site for a picture opportunity. Imagine the criticism if he had not been there. Imagine the criticism if the government had waited longer to go there. We went at the first available opportunity. This is not a Red Adair situation in which we send in our minister to douse the flames. We go in upon the advice of the people who are in control of the situation. When the situation was controlled, we wanted, needed and had a responsibility to go there, have a look and hear about the situation firsthand. However, I put that aside.

Western Australia is in a very serious situation. I agree that the situation with energy supplies is the most serious the state has confronted for decades—certainly in my memory. It is the most serious situation we have confronted in government. Different sorts of scenarios arise which are very, very difficult to deal with, such as political situations—we all know the history of those in the past few years. As a broadbased issue for the community, this is a serious situation. Other governments around the world have struggled with these sorts of occurrences and sometimes have had cataclysmic failures. Due to the cooperative and the collaborative approach the government has used so far, the situation has been managed well for the state and the community. I do not want to see that all start to fall apart because people are being encouraged to start pointing the finger and blaming someone, or because people are being accused of things like price gouging or profiteering, or that we start picking favourites—company A gets the gas, company B does not get the gas. We have to be very careful about all this. As a Parliament, as a government and as representatives of the community, we must be seen to be acting responsibly, calmly, logically and methodically, not in a knee-jerk way and not by responding to every input as if there were no other input. All these various dynamics have to be weighed up so that clear, calm, logical and—as best as possibly can be—correct decisions can be made. We are in a very serious situation and I believe our response matches the nature of that situation measure for measure.

I will take the opportunity to describe the situation as accurately as I can in clear language, relying on the facts I have been provided with. The total daily demand for gas is around about 1 000 to 1 100 terajoules. The disruption at Varanus Island reduced the supply by about 30 per cent. That is a very significant reduction, of a size that can have dramatic and immediate consequences. In situations like this that have arisen around the

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world, big parts of cities just go out because people do not know how to respond. Cities and countries as sophisticated as our own have completely and utterly mucked up these sorts of scenarios. About 35 per cent of the Apache gas from Varanus Island is used in the Pilbara, 20 per cent in the goldfields, and 45 per cent in the south west, where the bulk of the population is. The majority of customers affected are mining and large industrial users. Alinta, which serves the main gas distribution system in the south west, has lost some gas supply. Apache has advised that it will take months to restore supplies, and two to three months to get some supplies up. We hope to get up to 50 per cent back in that time frame, but let us be real about this—it could be longer. Full supply capacity restoration will take even longer than that. We do not have a definitive time line and we do not want to speculate on it because it does not make sense to do that. We need the information.

As soon as this situation started, we began to get information from Apache. We then started to act—this was Tuesday. We discussed the matter, and information was still coming in on Wednesday. On Thursday evening we began examining the options, based on still limited information—the flames were still burning, as I recall. Nobody knew what had happened, so at that stage it was pretty hard to say, "Okay, let's take action A, B or C", because the flames were still burning. No-one knew what had happened. The Minister for Energy travelled to Varanus Island on Friday, which, as I understand it, was the first available opportunity, on the advice of those controlling the situation, for him to go there. I agreed with him that he should go and told him to make some assessment, walk around with the people, listen to what they were saying and observe what was happening, so that when we had our discussions we had that firsthand account. We needed to act.

The situation then did not meet the criteria for emergency orders for either electricity or gas, but it was, and is, a very serious situation. From my observation, and perhaps because of my cautionary nature, when I started hearing that it might take two or three weeks to get the gas back on, I thought that was highly optimistic. Great big balls of fire have obviously created huge issues up there. I did not believe it would be resolved within two or three weeks. We had to be cautious in our approach. We are talking about emergency situations. What is our plan in emergency situations? The emergency orders make clear that voluntary cooperation —

Dr K.D. Hames interjected.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: I did ask members opposite—I am not being critical—whether they had read the document, because after they produced it the other day, I did. I went through it just to make sure that we were in step with the recommendations in that document. In fact, the emergency orders make clear that voluntary cooperation is the first step and that going straight to emergency orders is sometimes unnecessary and can be counterproductive. In my judgement, it would have been unnecessary and also counterproductive. I quote from the orders —

Effective management of an energy emergency may not necessarily require the use of emergency orders and in some cases orders may be counter-productive.

— If not managed well, an order may draw substantial negative reaction from customers —

Can members imagine what would have happened? —

- at a time when their cooperation is essential.
- Calls for voluntary support may be more effective in quickly securing the customer cooperation required, with or without the subsequent use of an order.

In other words, we acted totally in accordance with the recommendations of those emergency order plans. We got voluntary cooperation, and I was very grateful that we got it. The state government is taking a leadership and coordination role, as the plan states it should. That is what we are doing.

On Saturday night I, together with the Deputy Premier and the Minister for Energy, called a meeting for Sunday of all industry and government stakeholders to understand as best we could the situation and to create a mechanism for voluntary cooperation. At the meeting were representatives of Alcoa, Alinta, Apache Energy, BP, Caltex, the Dampier to Bunbury gas pipeline, Epic Energy, the goldfields gas pipeline, Horizon Power, the Independent Market Operator, the Office of Energy, North West Shelf Gas, Shell, Western Power, Verve Energy, WestNet, the Chamber of Minerals and Energy, chambers of commerce and industry, Rio Tinto, BHP Billiton, Synergy, my office, the minister's office, and the Deputy Premier and representatives of his office. I was delighted that so many people came in and were prepared to spend basically the entire Sunday sitting around that table because the state of Western Australia faced a major issue. They were responding, in part, because of their own primary responsibilities to those companies, but also, in part, because they have a broader interest as citizens of the state and responded accordingly. Following that meeting, together we resolved to create an ongoing group that would have carriage of the whole of the government and industry response to the situation.

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I want to go on record and thank all those who offered their expertise and knowledge. There was a lot of it, and everybody took part. There were no people sitting around saying nothing; everybody took part. The very high level of cooperation is nothing less than we would expect from good Western Australian people and corporations operating in this state.

Out of the meeting we created the Gas Supply Co-ordination Group to work with the Office of Energy. The Office of Energy has a key, central, focal role in this, and the legislative responsibility. I have tasked the Office of Energy as the group with overall responsibility for our government response. The group comprises representatives of my office, and, if it is deemed necessary, I can and will be at meetings, and so can and will the Minister for Energy. The Office of Energy is central to all this. Members should think about what that Office of Energy nomenclature says. It is the Office of Energy. That group also comprises representatives of the Minister for Energy's office, Western Power, Alinta, Synergy, Verve Energy, the Dampier to Bunbury gas pipeline, the Chamber of Minerals and Energy and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Western Australia, and it is chaired by the Coordinator of Energy. I repeat that it is chaired by the Coordinator of Energy. It seems fairly appropriate that the Coordinator of Energy should chair this group. The group is to assist the —

Dr K.D. Hames: Think about the name: Minister for Energy.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: The member should rise above the partisan politics of this; please, he should rise above it. The group is to assist the state —

Dr K.D. Hames interjected.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: I am the Premier of the state of Western Australia. At any time, if it is deemed necessary, I can and will chair the meetings. However, the Coordinator of Energy is the chair. The group is to assist the state to implement the government's gas supply plan. The plan involves, first, accessing gas from the North West Shelf and other smaller gas suppliers. Yes, there are issues there. They stepped up to the plate. It involves accessing energy from other sources to free up gas; encouraging gas and electricity customers not to waste energy—I encourage energy users not to waste energy, please; working with industry to shift demand to below peak times; and ensuring diesel is available to replace natural gas where possible. It is not always possible.

The group is also to identify and manage potential impacts of the disruption on the WA community, hence the critical role of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry as the umbrella group for business. The Chamber of Minerals and Energy is the umbrella group for the resources sector. Rather than picking winners, or which company should be represented, we are so grateful that James Pearson from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and Reg Howard-Smith from the Chamber of Minerals and Energy took this responsibility and did so because they understood the critical nature of the support that we needed and the critical role that they could play as coordinating, umbrella organisations. Imagine trying to accommodate the hundreds of businesses individually that want to be part of this decision-making directly.

Mr T. Buswell: The Premier is so full of praise for CCI, but what is his view in relation to CCI's continued calls for the government to develop a strategic state energy plan?

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: We have responded to that. We say we have got an energy plan.

Mr T. Buswell: They say the government does not.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: I have responded.

The group has also identified and managed potential impacts of the disruption to the WA community. The WA government is working closely with industry to implement this response. The Gas Supply Co-ordination Group met for five hours on Monday night, I think it was. It meets again tomorrow to discuss the implementation of the plan. Those players are working probably 18 hours a day individually on this issue. They are working continuously from the time they get up in the morning until the time they fall asleep at night. I think we should be showing some support for what they are doing. The Gas Supply Co-ordination Group met on Monday, as I said. We had to figure out the guidelines for priority allocation. Limited energy supply is on the basis of the following principles. These are pretty clear and simple principles—

- 1. protect the health, safety and property of the community;
- 2. minimise broad community disruption; and
- 3. minimise the economic impact.

. . .

• To ensure that the allocation of limited energy supply is in the public interest and consistent with all of the above principles, the following is the agreed priority schedule:

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1. Energy infrastructure is to be given top priority to maintain the State's capability to supply gas and electricity to users.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Premier, I am sorry to interrupt, but you are getting away from the microphone and I know that is problematic for Access 31.

- **Mr A.J. CARPENTER**: I consider there to be a major design fault: it is almost impossible to stand behind these desks and speak. I will bend the microphone over this way and point it in my direction. It is very difficult to speak at our desks, and I am not a man of considerable girth—yet! I will continue
 - **1. Energy infrastructure** is to be given top priority to maintain the State's capability to supply gas and electricity to users.
 - **2. Essential Services** are defined as those critical services that have the potential to seriously impact on the health and safety of the community and include essential public transport and communications.
 - **3. Essential Supply to Residential Customers** will minimise the potential for health impacts and disruption to the community. Consumers are encouraged to reduce energy consumption.
 - **4.** Industries providing essential goods and services to the WA community will have a higher priority in the allocation of energy than those that do not. This is to minimise disruption to the community and recognise the important services that these industries provide.
 - **5. For all other industries**, every effort will be made to maximise the availability of supply, recognising their importance to the State and National economy.

It also provides —

- The priority schedule will not override contractual arrangements. Also, in assessing allocation to industries, consideration will be given as to whether they have alternative supplies. This schedule may not apply where these customers have viable alternatives.
- It is acknowledged that there are physical limitations to the operations of the gas and electricity supply system which will impact on the application of the schedule.

The group is also identifying the options for freeing up some gas through demand management and displacement of gas use in electricity generation with coal or distillate—this includes the related issues of capacity of the petroleum industry—to deliver increased distillate supply.

Discussions are ongoing with the commonwealth, and I have been through them in the past day or so. The discussions have centred on assistance with Australian Competition and Consumer Commission issues. For example, we do not want a ruling that there has been collusion between some of the major oil companies in coming together in this situation and deciding how to service the demand. I do not think that will happen and we have to make sure that it does not.

Mr T. Buswell: Or the transport companies.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: Yes. That needs to be set aside and the opposition would agree with that.

Discussions with the commonwealth have also centred on seeking the National Oil Supplies Emergency Committee's assistance, which I have spoken about; determining the availability of any strategic national fuel stocks—such as the Garden Island stocks; obtaining assistance with the logistics of transporting liquid fuels, if required, within or across state boundaries; and monitoring the economic impacts and assisting where those impacts have occurred, especially with people losing employment. There is a time-honoured structure in Australia to assist people who have lost their full employment. We do not have to invent that system; a time-honoured, tried and proved system is in place to assist people when they lose employment.

I move on to the electricity market overview. Right now we do not have an immediate threat that we will lose supply in the south west or Horizon Power supply systems. The electricity market is likely to be able to support Alinta customers at a cost. However, this will also increase demand for gas and liquids. Some coal-fired capacity is on repair and maintenance, including the Collie coal-fired power station, which is most unfortunate. That breakdown occurred before the gas plant went down. That has reduced coal-fired capacity, limiting the scope to make gas available in the short term. A potential option will be to free up some gas when these plants are returned to operation. In question time the minister gave some more comprehensive information about that. I think double shifts are working in some of these plants to return them to operational capacity; that is, they are being fast-tracked.

I think the Minister for Energy outlined what is happening at Kwinana, Cockburn, Collie and Muja 7. After discussion in government, the Minister for Energy instructed Verve Energy to prepare Muja A and B power

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stations, which were closed in April last year, for possible return to service. The facilities will require relicensing by the Department of Environment and Conservation, and a letter to that effect is being drafted to encourage a fast-tracking of that process. Under normal circumstances we would not go to these lengths. Muja A and B have been shut down and effectively decommissioned, although three of the four units are still in operable condition. We believe that we will get one of the units up within six weeks and the other two shortly after that. We will use the fourth unit for spare parts, should they be necessary.

There is some scope for increased liquid fuel consumption to release additional gas, if additional liquid fuel is available. Obviously, there is a cost impact there and that has been referred to. The gas supply coordination committee is looking into these various options.

I now provide the gas market overview. The North West Shelf is maximising its output. I was heartened that it responded by trying to maximise its output and increase production. We have to be careful here because there are capacity constraints, as members would know, on the North West Shelf processing plant.

Mr T. Buswell: Premier, we have never supported the sorts of arguments that you are alluding to.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: Yes. The majority of customers on the goldfields gas pipeline have been able to make alternative arrangements for fuel supplies. About half the gas required by the goldfields gas pipeline is being delivered by the Dampier to Bunbury pipeline. Some trading of gas is occurring at higher spot prices, and that was an issue for the opposition.

Dr G.G. Jacobs: Who will wear that?

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: The alternative to what the opposition is suggesting is that the state comes in and sets a price or makes up the difference. The opposition should be careful about that. Some trading of gas is occurring along those lines.

Alinta is working closely with its suppliers, customers and the pipeline operators to minimise the impact on its customers and to ensure that gas transmission and distribution networks are not compromised. The last thing we want to do is drop the pressure in the network and then be confronted with serious safety issues thereafter. We have to be very wary of that. Right now there is no threat to residential gas supply. However, we must be prudent. As I said, we must be careful and we cannot anticipate every possible outcome in the next two or three months. The community has been asked to conserve energy use and I am hopeful that we will get a positive response, although I realise that for some people it is not easy. There is no real scope for a further increase in the total quantity of gas available; I think as much is being done as is possible. Limited uncontracted supplies are available and they are being traded. The refinery is operating normally but it is flat out and it is meeting its existing contracted commitments with little scope to expand, as we understand it. It normally takes four to six weeks to get an import in an orderly market. We have been through this; the suppliers want to know whether there will be orders. At the moment, people are still a bit hesitant about whether they should make an order. They must make a judgement about whether scaling down production and using less energy is a better option than keeping production going at much higher energy costs. People are still making that judgement, so it is quite difficult. From our discussions with the oil companies, we know that they are very willing to respond, but, of course, they will not bring in extra tankers to wait off the coast in the hope that someone might want to use the

Mr T. Buswell: How many extra tankers have been ordered over and above the normal supply pattern?

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: I believe one has, but I will have to check because I do not know as of the last day or so

Anyway, getting the fuel to the ports is one thing—they will respond; getting it through the port and the trucking logistics, as we know, is another thing. There may be constraints on the physical availability of the trucks and drivers needed to move all this product and industry is looking into this matter. A lot of dynamics need to be worked on. Those companies requiring distillate have been encouraged by the government to place their orders. They will not get the distillate if they do not place an order.

The bottom line is that we have lost 30 per cent of our pipeline gas. The whole of government and industry are working together to minimise the impact. We can close the gap—we will close the gap—but we will not get that 30 per cent back within the next few months. We have to understand that.

Mr T. Buswell: Premier, can I just ask one question?

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: Can I keep going because I am running out of time?

Mr T. Buswell: But it is important.

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Mr A.J. CARPENTER: Ask the question in question time.

We need to manage both the short-term situation and the longer-term situation that will be disruptive for the state for several months, and we must stay focused on the task. We should not get distracted. Lots of difficult stories will emerge from communities, individuals and businesses, but we must stay focused on the task.

I will talk about why losing 30 per cent of our pipeline gas has not caused chaos. In summary, the key objectives of our energy policy are to encourage and facilitate the provision of secure, reliable and sustainable energy services at competitive prices; implement appropriate market and regulatory arrangements to achieve a competitive, dynamic and sustainable energy sector; ensure that the government's own electricity corporations participate in the energy industry in a competitively neutral manner whilst they endeavour to make a profit consistent with maximising their long-term value to the state; and raise awareness and provide information and tools by which consumers can make informed choices about the level, source and cost of energy consumption. This built on the key policy initiatives that included the addressing of climate change by working with the federal government on introducing emissions trading by 2010; the expanded mandatory renewable energy target of 20 per cent by 2020; and increased energy efficiency measures to complement emissions trading, facilitating the development of clean renewable energy sectors, and encouraging security through diversity of supply. I think this is the linchpin to it: we learnt from our experience with water that the answer is security through diversity and so it is with energy. Other key policy initiatives included the expansion of energy infrastructure to meet the demands of a thriving economy; improvement in the delivery of energy services for those in utility hardships, as well as rural, remote and Aboriginal communities; and ongoing energy market reforms and development.

I mentioned security through diversity. A key plank is to address the future gas needs of the state through several policy initiatives aimed at increasing and diversifying domestic gas supplies. This was raised in the Leader of the Opposition's comments. These initiatives include the application of the domestic gas reservation policy. It was controversial; I was attacked publicly by the federal minister who launched into me at an oil and gas conference about our policy.

Mr T. Buswell: When will that bring gas into the domestic system?

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: We must have gas or else we cannot supply it, hence the domestic gas reservation policy. Other initiatives include a more rigorous application of the commerciality test—

Mr T. Buswell: When will it result in the positive flow of gas?

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: Does the Leader of the Opposition support this or not?

Mr T. Buswell: Yes, I do, but I think —

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: Thank you; that is enough.

Mr T. Buswell: I think it is flawed. I think you're flawed though because —

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: Another initiative is the more rigorous application of the commerciality test on the retention lease renewals, which the Minister for Energy has driven hard. Other policy initiatives include the encouragement and facilitation of several upstream liquefied natural gas projects such as Pluto, Gorgon and Browse Basin, and domestic gas projects such as Canning Basin, Reindeer, Julimar and Macedon, and the pursuit of non-conventional gas resources such as tight gas—a lot of activity is now going on in this area—and coal seam methane.

The record so far supports the correctness of the policy. The policy has ensured massive reform. People keep referring to 2005. Yes; I was the minister who implemented the reform. We could not get it through the previous Parliament because it was blocked. However, with the support of the Liberal Party, we got the reform through in 2005. For one 12-month or so period when the member for Kalgoorlie was the Leader of the Opposition, the window opened and the light shone through and we got some sensible reform through, although we had to pay a price. Now the opposition is arguing against it.

Several members interjected.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, members!

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: Major electricity market reforms completed by this government have delivered a more diverse and competitive market structure—that is what the member for Kalgoorlie said would happen—which has strong economic incentives to ensure a higher level of secure supply. Current generation capacity is broken down into 27 per cent coal, 28 per cent gas, 39 per cent dual fuel—that is, gas and liquids—

Mr T. Buswell: Let Peter Garrett have a go!

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Mr A.J. CARPENTER: I am quite capable of running this one.

The duel-fuel plant is able to fire liquid fuels in response to quick demand for emergency situations. The Independent Market Operator maintains strict reserve targets for electricity generation. Since 2001 this government has committed to the building of a total of 12 new power stations—please listen to this—comprising more than 2 000 megawatts of new capacity on the south west interconnected system. Of these stations, 11 are privately owned and able to participate in the market due to the government's reforms. Seven of the 12 are powered by gas or gas and oil; two by wind; two by coal; and one is biomass powered. We have also opened five new power stations in the west Kimberley region: in Broome, Derby, Looma, Fitzroy Crossing and Halls Creek. With those stations, for the first time LNG is being used to supply power to Western Australian towns. That \$700 million project will deliver secure and efficient supplies to those towns with reduced environmental impact.

Several members interjected.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, members on my left!

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: The energy sector forms a significant component of our \$26.1 billion infrastructure spend. Of this spending program, \$4.5 billion is allocated over four years to improve the state's electricity services.

Mr T. Buswell: Go down and read this speech to workers at Iluka. Go down there and tell them how well off they are.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Leader of the Opposition, keep it up and you will be going home. You are on three warnings.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: We introduced a utility hardship package of \$24.4 million over four years to provide support for those most disadvantaged individuals and families having difficulties paying utility bills. The objective of this initiative is to reduce the cost of utility bills.

Another key element in diversifying our energy resources and tackling climate change —

Several members interjected.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: The thrust of the criticism was that there was no energy policy and that there was no diversity and no forward thinking. I have outlined a complete and thorough rebuttal of that absurd assertion and all I get from the other side of the house is childish interjections that lack intelligence or wit.

This government has a very strong renewable energy policy as part of its climate change action statement. That has been outlined to the Parliament.

Mr T. Buswell: He is an intellectual giant!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, members! I do not see too many intellectual giants on the left side of this chamber at the moment, particularly when those members know the ruling about their own behaviour. If the Leader of the Opposition keeps interjecting, he will be going home.

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: In addition, the government has geothermal initiatives, a low-energy development fund and so on.

Amendment to Motion

Mr A.J. CARPENTER: I have looked at the wording of this motion, and I do not support the motion in its current form. However, I think this is a worthwhile debate; therefore, I move —

To delete all the words after "infrastructure" and insert —

and appreciates the cooperative approach taken by key industry players in working with the government to minimise the impact on the economy and the community

DR S.C. THOMAS (Capel) [3.49 pm]: That was a great contribution by the Minister for Energy! We know that the minister is incompetent, and the Premier knows that he is incompetent because he will not let the minister speak. The minister has had a Peter Garrett done to him. He is as good on energy issues as Peter Garrett is on climate change issues. The minister does not get a chance to speak. Everyone knows that he does not know what he is talking about.

Is the Premier aware of the Ministerial Council on Energy's Gas Emergency Protocol Working Group in the eastern states? In case he is not, I will tell him that this group is doing what this government should have been doing all this time; that is, to start to plan in advance for these sorts of emergencies. The working group was established in January 2004 after disruptions to gas supplies from the Moomba facility, and the group includes

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representatives from New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and the Australian Capital Territory. Let us look at what it is doing. It has been set up by a group of ministers who have not passed the buck. The key issues that the working group considers include the ability of the gas market to manage shortfalls, the sharing of information on supply and demand, and options for the timing of government involvement. This group is doing these things in advance. It is doing it through the forward mirror, not the reverse mirror, because it wants to ensure that it knows in advance how it will manage this sort of emergency.

Mr A.J. Carpenter: The forward mirror?

Dr S.C. THOMAS: Yes, the front windscreen. This government is now four years out of date. The Premier does not trust the minister to stand in this place and give a response. The Premier does not have a minister who can stand and give on behalf of the government a proper response. The minister is an embarrassment to his side, the government and Parliament. The eastern states led the way four years ago. What is this government doing four years later to plan in advance for this sort of emergency? It has been playing catch-up the whole time.

MR R.C. KUCERA (Yokine) [3.51 pm]: I was not going to talk on this issue, but it has raised some concerns about the future supplies of energy generally. I have listened to the comments of the Premier —

Mr M.J. Birney interjected.

Mr R.C. KUCERA: The member should know; he took my papers.

The course of action that the Premier has described should become a normal course of action, not a reaction to an abnormal event. This event has highlighted that we have a very vulnerable supply of energy if we rely on energy to the extent that we do at the moment. I am pleased that this issue has been raised because this is the first time that the state has been given a full explanation. I compliment the Premier on the detailed explanation he has given today. It seems to me that the public should have been given that detailed explanation right from the outset. My concern, however, is that we have a vulnerable energy system that clearly could be targeted to harm the economy of this state. The course of action that has been taken—I compliment the Premier on that action—needs to be the normal action, not a reaction to an abnormal event.

Back in the 1970s when I was a senior police officer with the security groups in this state, we were always concerned that the pipeline that was owned and operated by the government at that stage could easily become a target of political groups to the north of our state that could disrupt our economy. I am concerned in that regard. We have not been given a lot of assurances today that that is being taken into consideration. We are reacting to an issue now. The member for Capel is quite right: after the incident in Victoria, there was a reaction to consider long-term planning. I would like these matters to be made public in the next week or so as the impact of this incident is felt, not to play politics, but simply because two million people are now relying on limited gas supplies to make sure that their jobs and their homes are safe. I do not think I have been given those assurances today. We have not been given assurances that the proportional supply of power within this state is balanced properly. I would like to know what we are going to do about some of the mothballed power stations that rely on coal and whether they will continue to be mothballed in such a way that will enable them to be brought online should such an incident occur again. It has shown the vulnerability of our processes and the vulnerability of relying on one source.

If I might quickly touch on another issue, since the original emergency plans, which we are talking about today and which were put forward by the Premier, were formulated—I am going right back to the 1970s and 1980s now—the ownership of energy supplies in this state has totally changed. It has moved from one of control and supply by the government to one of control and supply by private industry. I am somewhat at a loss and wonder why it is that certain key parts of infrastructure cannot be duplicated by these companies at short notice. That issue needs to be addressed.

The one comment I agree with is that this issue must rise above politics; it is a matter for the Parliament. I do not think we should fight and argue over it. The fact that the opposition has brought the matter into the house today has given us for the very first time the clear picture that the Premier has laid before us. That is the role of the opposition and the role of questioning government in this house, which is something that seems to have dropped away in the past 12 months. I do not blame anybody for that, other than to say that it is time we started to address clear issues such as this in this house. It is what this house is about. It is about informing the public and making sure that these things are in place. I would like some assurances brought before the house in the next two weeks that this is not being treated simply as an abnormal issue but will now be part of the normal reaction to such incidents that will occur in the future.

Amendment put and a division taken with the following result —

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		Ayes (27)	
Mr P.W. Andrews	Mr J.C. Kobelke	Mrs C.A. Martin	Mr T.G. Stephens
Mr A.J. Carpenter	Mr R.C. Kucera	Mr M.P. Murray	Mr D.A. Templeman
Mr J.B. D'Orazio	Mr F.M. Logan	Mr A.P. O'Gorman	Mr P.B. Watson
Dr J.M. Edwards	Ms A.J.G. MacTiernan	Mr P. Papalia	Mr M.P. Whitely
Ms D.J. Guise	Mr J.A. McGinty	Ms J.A. Radisich	Mr B.S. Wyatt
Mrs J. Hughes	Mr M. McGowan	Mr E.S. Ripper	Mr S.R. Hill (Teller)
Mr J.N. Hyde	Ms S.M. McHale	Mrs M.H. Roberts	
		Noes (21)	
Mr M.J. Birney	Mr B.J. Grylls	Mr D.T. Redman	Ms S.E. Walker
Mr T.R. Buswell	Dr K.D. Hames	Mr A.J. Simpson	Dr J.M. Woollard
Mr G.M. Castrilli	Mr R.F. Johnson	Mr G. Snook	Dr G.G. Jacobs (Teller)
Dr E. Constable	Mr J.E. McGrath	Dr S.C. Thomas	, ,
Mr M.J. Cowper	Mr P.D. Omodei	Mr M.W. Trenorden	
Mr J.H.D. Day	Mr C.C. Porter	Mr T.K. Waldron	
-		Pairs	
	Ms M.M. Quirk	М	r G.A. Woodhams
	Mr J.R. Quigley	M	s K. Hodson-Thomas

Amendment thus passed.

Motion, as Amended

Question put and passed.