

Hon Dr Steve Thomas; Hon Pierre Yang; Hon Tjorn Sibma; Hon Matthew Swinbourn; Hon Peter Collier; Hon Dan Caddy; Hon James Hayward

ROYALTY INCOME

Motion

HON DR STEVE THOMAS (South West — Leader of the Opposition) [1.06 pm]: I move —

That this house notes that the latest *Quarterly financial results report* shows that the government is on track to receive a record \$10.7 billion in royalty income this financial year, and asks the state government how this windfall is being used to address —

- (a) the housing crisis in this state;
- (b) the homelessness crisis in this state;
- (c) the health crisis in this state; and
- (d) the mental health crisis in this state.

Members, we find ourselves in unusual times in Western Australia in that we have seen more money pour into the coffers of Treasury than we have ever seen before, and not by a small amount. I am sure that members opposite had a great time during the previous mining boom —

Hon Samantha Rowe: It is being expertly managed.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: I would not go that far. It has been trickling in and a huge amount of money is coming in.

Several members interjected.

The PRESIDENT: Order! Good afternoon, Wednesday! The Leader of the Opposition has the call.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Thank you, President, and it is not even a Thursday—goodness!

Point of Order

Hon PIERRE YANG: I wish to draw your attention, President, to the time limit for the mover of the motion.

The PRESIDENT: Thank you for identifying that, Hon Pierre Yang. We will just adjust the clock. The Leader of the Opposition may get a couple of spare seconds.

Debate Resumed

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Thank you, President. I would have looked forward to whatever time was on there; 45 minutes would have been good. I have just been warming up, President.

The PRESIDENT: I am not sure, Leader of the Opposition, that you would have been able to fill the time.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: No, I may not have been able to, but I could have, apart from the rules of the house. I am sure I would have got well and truly wound up over a 45-minute period, but we will have to wait for the budget speech for that.

The PRESIDENT: Let us continue, shall we?

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: It will be my shortest budget speech for many years thanks to the curtailment of speaking times. This government is sitting on an absolute windfall of money. It is an amount of money that has never been received in Western Australia before, and may well never be received proportionately in Western Australia again. This government is sitting on a motza. I am sure that members opposite will remember when the previous government was doing very well out of royalties. I remember the statements by the then shadow Treasurer, Hon Ben Wyatt: “There are no revenue issues with the Barnett government. It’s making plenty of money.” I look forward to members opposite providing a relative description of money in previously compared with money in today, because this government is sitting on a huge amount of money. For the 2020–21 financial year we are talking about a surplus of somewhere between \$4 billion and \$5 billion—something that has never been experienced in this state before.

Several members interjected.

The PRESIDENT: Order! The Leader of the Opposition.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Thank you, President. There has been long-term growth, which has been very stable for a long period, and a significant boom from 2003 to 2013, with a little flattening during the global financial crisis. It is hard to say whether that is one or two economic booms or mining booms. There was the initial boom that we might say a former Treasurer, Eric Ripper, benefited from. Then there was the boom that the Barnett government benefited from. Then there was the correction of 2014.

Hon Kate Doust interjected.

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Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Yes, I know—they are fired up. It gets them fired up, President. We have been going for only a couple of minutes, but Labor Party members are already feeling a bit threatened, because deep down in their hearts they know they are sitting on —

Several members interjected.

The PRESIDENT: Order! Leader of the Opposition, I invite you to keep your comments on topic and not to encourage interjections. Thank you.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Thank you, President, for your guidance. We know when we are hitting a sensitive nerve—kicking a bruise. The Labor Party is sitting on more money than any government that has preceded it, and what is it doing with that money? How much money does the government truly have and what is it doing with it? That is the question before the house today in this debate. Is it investing in the future of Western Australia? Here is a bit of free advice for the Labor government. It is a two-word slogan that members opposite might want to use: future positioning. What the government should be doing with the windfall it is sitting on is positioning the state of Western Australia for the future, because no government has had the opportunity this government has had to fix the issues that beset it and position the state for the future. Members opposite can borrow that one if they like. I am charging only a small bit for copyright on this. The government should be looking at future positioning .

How much money is the McGowan government sitting on? Let us look. I have taken only the past 12 months of economic data because we do not want to embarrass the government too much. However, I remind members of the question I asked in February 2019 about what would happen to the government’s budget if the iron ore price stayed above \$US90 a tonne. I thought that was a very good question given the indications of where the iron ore price was going. That question from February 2019 will give members an indication of the length of the current mining boom to date. We know that it is the biggest boom. It has created the most money for state coffers. Will it be the longest boom? It may well not be. I expect the numbers to drop back down. However, it is a significant boom and it is something that has given this government more money to spend than any government that has preceded it. Will it spend that money for the benefit of the people of Western Australia or will it sit on that money like Scrooge McDuck with his Money Bin? Do members remember the old comic book with Scrooge McDuck rolling around in his mountains of cash? How big is the mountain of cash in which the Premier/Treasurer could be rolling? Let us look at some of the budget predictions.

The last state budget, the 2020–21 budget, was about a year ago, which of course was delayed because of the COVID-19 pandemic. We made some assumptions at that time. Let us go back a year. The 2020–21 budget predicted an iron ore price of \$US96.60 a tonne. As the budget generally does, it goes back to \$US64 a tonne for each year after that. That is the prediction. In 2019–20 there was an increase in iron ore royalty income and the government got \$8.5 billion. Of course, it put in the 2020–21 budget estimate of \$8.2 billion and then dropped it back to its normal long-term run at \$US64 a tonne in that \$5.5 billion estimate, which is about where it normally sits. The 2020–21 midyear review was surprisingly not long after the budget estimates because, of course, it was a late budget—a COVID-year budget. We had to have a revision of the estimated price. It is never done by this government in advance. It is dragged kicking and screaming to the acknowledgement that it has the cash windfall that it gets. The iron ore price for 2020–21 was revised upwards to \$US103.70 a tonne. However, back in the forward estimates year it was \$US64, \$US64 and \$US64. What sort of revenue was this government then expecting? By the midyear review the estimate for 2020–21 was \$8.66 billion in iron ore royalties. Members must bear in mind that that was based on this estimate prediction of \$US103 a tonne. By the end of last year, the iron ore price was significantly higher than that. The great thing is that these budget documents have come out a couple of months apart, and there are three of them over six months.

What do the pre-election budget estimates say? Once again, a couple of months later the iron ore price had to be revised—\$US134.30 a tonne, up from \$US103. Over two months the average price jumped by \$US30 a tonne, not because, I suspect, anybody in Treasury suddenly went, “Holy mackerel, something’s changed”, because nothing had changed. This was simply the government going, “It just looks ridiculous in our budget papers to have such low estimates. Obviously, if we keep our budget estimates low and it is much higher than that, we get a motza windfall at the end of the financial year. We get a huge amount of cash, and we like rolling around in that cash—we really do—so the lowest we can keep it is the best thing we can do.”

At that point it was \$US130 a tonne. I am up to early 2020–21: assumptions based at 1 February 2021, \$US134.30 a tonne for iron ore, and a prediction of \$10.7 billion in iron ore royalties—wowzers! That is an increase of a lazy couple of billion dollars. Mind you, that is based on an estimated price of \$US134.30 a tonne. How much additional money will this government actually get?

The last documents are the March quarterly statements, to which this motion refers. These figures are quite revealing. What has changed in the budget from the March quarterly statements? For the nine months until 31 March, royalty income was \$2.1 billion higher than the budget estimate—a lazy couple of billion dollars—due to a higher benchmark

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iron ore price averaging \$US139.40 a tonne in that nine-month period. It has crept up again a bit more; we are up to \$US140 a tonne, basically. Bear in mind that it is not just iron ore royalties that this government is reaping in. The March quarterly financial statements report refers also to higher tax collections—up half a billion dollars—higher transfer duty, higher landholder duty and higher vehicle licensing. All those things are up significantly. The bigger one is transfer duty—\$376 million up on where it was expected.

It is rolling in cash. It is accidental wealth. It is like this government has won the lottery and it does not want to tell anyone.

Several members interjected.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: We know what happens when you win the lottery—all the relatives come out and start asking for stuff: “Hang on a minute; I can’t get a hospital bed. Hang on a minute, Auntie Daphne is being ramped in an ambulance for half a day.” Holy mackerel! When you win the lottery, everyone comes up and asks for their share. In this case, the people of Western Australia have every right to come up and ask for their share.

What is happening with the expenditure side? Let us just check. On 24 June, in this house, I asked what was the average price for 2020–21 up until that point, which was nearly the end of the financial year, and it was \$US152.30 a tonne. The May average was \$US207.72 a tonne. The first three quarters of the financial year had given the state coffers \$7.6 billion. What has been the average for the current financial year to date? Towards the end of June, it finally got up to an average of \$US152 a tonne. This information comes from the Treasury Corporation’s “Economic Analysis: Daily Report 1 September 2021”, which is today, just in case we thought we might be a little bit out of date. The average price of iron ore for the 2021–22 financial year, which, admittedly, is only a couple of months old, is \$US180.94 a tonne. It is still significantly high. What is the price of iron ore on the spot market today? It is in the region of \$US160 a tonne. That is still higher than the average of \$US152.30 a tonne for the entire 2020–21 financial year, which, according to the budget papers and particularly the quarterly statement, is going to be giving \$10.7 billion of royalties revenue to the state of Western Australia—a state that collects under normal circumstances somewhere between \$5 billion and \$6 billion. That is a massive increase in revenue. It is not just iron ore and stamp duty revenue that is up. This mountain of cash is not entirely made up of just those things.

There is one more really interesting part that I should throw into this debate. I am sure that members opposite will be getting their letterheads out and writing thankyou notes to Prime Minister Scott Morrison for the GST fix—the 70 per cent floor in GST.

Several members interjected.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: I am sure that they will be practising their penmanship and making sure that it is going very well. What is the commonwealth top-up worth to the state of Western Australia? In the 2020–21 financial year, it was worth \$1.5 billion and in 2021–22, the current financial year, it is worth \$1.85 billion.

Hon Kyle McGinn: Well done to the McGowan government for delivering on that.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Well done, Scott Morrison. I am sure that members opposite will have their Christmas cards ready!

Hon Kyle McGinn interjected.

The PRESIDENT: Order! We just need to ensure that Hansard is able to record the honourable member’s contribution.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: We have obviously established a couple of simple points in the debate so far. The first one is that, as demonstrated by the government’s own Treasury statements, it is receiving more money than any government that has come before it. It will have a massive budget surplus for the 2020–21 financial year—the year that has already finished—and it will be dramatically underestimating the 2021–22 financial year, because that is what it does best. It cries poor. When the people of Western Australia cry out because the delivery of key essential services in health, mental health, housing and all these things is inadequate, what does this government do? It cries, “Poor me. We can’t afford to do any more. Poor us.” But all the while, the Premier/Treasurer is rolling around like Scrooge McDuck in the cash in his Money Bin, making sure that he gets the best political outcome he can. This is not about the service level for the people of Western Australia; this is about another headline and another cartoon of adulation about how wonderful he is. He is looking for the benefit for himself, the government and the Labor Party, not for the people of Western Australia, as he sits on something like a \$5 billion surplus.

If the Premier were smart, he might try to hide some of that surplus, so we will be looking very carefully at some of the things he might do to hide that surplus. What are the obvious things that he might do? I can imagine a massive writedown in energy infrastructure, for example, whereby things are shifted on an accrual basis: “We might have had a \$5 billion surplus, but we wrote down Synergy by \$1 billion and Western Power by \$2 billion.” But those

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are not real dollars. It is not transferring money out of the Money Bin. The money comes in but it does not go out. That is just an accounting practice. He might do something like that to try to keep the apparent surplus looking a little bit more like the government is servicing the people of Western Australia, when in fact it is not. That is something that he might do, but what should he do? This is the question that we need to find the answer to. What should this government be doing with its mountain of cash—a higher mountain than anybody has had to scale previously? The mountain of cash should be going into the future positioning of Western Australia—I have used that term again now; I might put a dollar on it. It has to be focused on not just looking after the welfare of the people of Western Australia, but contributing to building its future. That is where this mountain of cash needs to be directed, but we do not see a lot of signs of that happening.

The government has made an announcement about health. Well done on that. It was dragged kicking and screaming after six months of bad publicity in the health portfolio, but, as we always say, better late than never. We are very positive; the opposition is here to help. Well done.

Hon Pierre Yang interjected.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: It is nice to see the government catching up a bit, so that is good. Where else is it going to invest? When it comes to all the other things that require investment, will it look after small business, for example, particularly small businesses that it has enforced lockdowns on? How will it set the state of Western Australia up for the future? Where is the vision for Western Australia beyond the rhetoric that this government is famous for? There will never be a greater opportunity. We will hear today from members about where there are shortfalls in services. I hope the person who will respond is making a few notes, because we are here to help and we would like to make sure that the government gets this right if it possibly can.

HON TJORN SIBMA (North Metropolitan) [1.28 pm]: I will make a brief and substantive contribution to this excellent motion. I, quite obviously, stand to speak in support of it. Fundamentally, once we get all the emotion and vigour out of our system, sometimes it is appropriate to focus on the words embedded in the motion. I listened to, and was invariably entertained by, the interjections that were interspersed into the contribution of my friend Hon Dr Steve Thomas. I am not really going to go out of my way, unusually for me, this afternoon to invite interjections, but I think what members opposite failed to acknowledge was the fact that, yes, the government is to benefit from a bounty that no previous Western Australian government has ever seen. All this motion does is to invite the government to direct its attention to four priority issues that I think are uncontroversial and should be reasonable priorities of any government.

I might direct my remarks to limb (c) of the motion and again use this opportunity to reinforce an obvious point—that no sensible or reasonable person in Western Australia would disagree that we are in the midst of a health crisis in this state, one that has not emerged overnight but has been predicated on four and a half years of government mismanagement. That issue itself was the focus of a motion that I moved and we debated in this house about three weeks ago. Throughout that contribution, I cited a number of performance metrics—objective measures—that demonstrated a decline in both the capacity and performance of the health system. I referred to measures such as ambulance ramping times. There are others that I did not mention, including staff leave accruals and the like. I will return to a couple of those items very briefly, because in the three weeks or so since that debate, we have been advised of alarming new statistics that indicate the thing that we know—that the Western Australian public health system is in a state of absolute disrepair and dysfunction.

From my recollection, on Monday we awoke to the news that the Western Australian Department of Health determined that it would cancel 800 scheduled category 2 and category 3 multiday, non-urgent elective surgeries for a month. Those categories are obviously specified and there are definitions. As a compliment to Dr Russell-Weisz, he did not want to minimise or disparage individuals' elective surgeries and their needs, but he had to make a clinical determination about what was critical and what was not. Unfortunately, each of those 800 deferred surgeries represents 800 individuals who, frankly, are in pain and discomfort. We should also appreciate that many of those people on that list have already had their surgeries deferred. There is absolutely no certainty about when they will get their issue seen to, whether it be a hip replacement, a knee reconstruction or something else. Each of those 800 or so individuals will have to carry the burden of that pain and that discomfort frankly because of the government's mismanagement. If the government is presented with an enormous surplus, which we all anticipate when the budget is brought down next Thursday, I would expect resourcing to be dedicated to at least that parameter. Frankly, that is a constructive suggestion for the government's consideration, and I hope to see some positive movement when we are in this place next Thursday afternoon.

I spoke about the absolutely disastrous state of ambulance ramping and the figures when we had a similar debate some three weeks ago.

Hon Dr Steve Thomas: Has it got better since?

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Hon TJORN SIBMA: It is interesting that you should ask, member; as of yesterday, 6 257 hours of ambulance ramping outside Western Australian hospitals was recorded in the month of August. That was the figure as of yesterday and I presume it has gone up a little since then. I will not rehash the comments made by the now Minister for Health when he was the opposition spokesman for the health portfolio some five or so years back, other than to say that the situation is five times worse than what he established then was the crisis level. It has reached an order of magnitude four to five times more catastrophic than the 1 500 hours that was labelled a crisis by the now minister some four or five years ago. We are guaranteed a bit of licence in political life, but sometimes we really need to walk the talk. If that was a crisis then, how would we categorise the situation now? The government has but one alternative next Thursday when the budget is brought down; namely, it must address that issue because it is a fundamentally damaging measure of the current dysfunction of the WA health system. This figure has been recorded in a time when, thankfully, Western Australia is COVID free. We have remarked on the competence of the Premier in keeping COVID out of this state—that is not in dispute—but as a consequence, we expect the health system to perform a lot better than the 6 257 hours of ambulance ramping in August, especially when there is no influenza in Western Australia, at least not to the degree that there has been in previous winters. I hope that I have not spoken too soon because the flu season can last into September. There is absolutely no explanation for that ambulance ramping figure other than complete mismanagement.

A metric that I did not get to in my earlier contribution is code yellows. I refer here to hospital emergency codes, which are based on Australian Standard 4083-2010—Planning for emergencies—Health care facilities. Hospitals are sensitive and complicated institutions that deal with a range of situations and contingencies on a daily, weekly and monthly basis, and they have a series of categories according to the particular issue that is being dealt with—fire and smoke emergencies are code red, medical emergencies are code blue, bomb threats are code purple and personal threats are code black. Infrastructure and other internal emergencies are categorised code yellow. Strictly speaking, a code yellow is a management tool, but it should not be the default management setting. The declaration of a code yellow in Western Australian public hospitals used to be exceedingly rare; that is not to say that they did not happen, but they are not supposed to be the default practice. My colleague in the other place the member for Vasse, Libby Mettam, recently received some information concerning the number of code yellows declared across the Western Australian public health system between 1 June 2020 and 1 June 2021; there were 490 code yellows. On any given day, a code yellow is declared in a public hospital, sometimes more frequently, or multiple hospitals declare code yellows at the same time. There is a range of reasons for declaring a code yellow, but more than 20 per cent of code yellows in the previous financial year were the result of capacity issues—bed block within a hospital or bed block because there were not enough staff to attend to patients. Again, in a scenario in which we are repeatedly told that our economy is booming and the government has benefited from surplus upon surplus—I will not have a debate about the origins of that, but that is the gift the government has—why is it that in the last financial year, 111 code yellows were the result of internal dysfunction, blockage or obstruction? It would appear that not every hospital is equal; out of the 28 code yellows at Fiona Stanley Hospital, 25 were the result of a lack of capacity. I am not an expert medical practitioner—Hon Dr Brian Walker is, and my friend Hon Dr Steve Thomas deals with all creatures great and small—but that, to me, even as a lay member of the public, demands not so much an explanation, because I have now heard every excuse under the sun, but it would certainly compel meaningful and rapid action in a way that is not just dressing up agglomerated health spend forecasts over the estimates, dropped four or five weeks prior to a budget, because I think that trick fools absolutely no-one.

I will honour my pledge and not speak for much longer other than to reinforce the point that this is a serious matter demanding serious attention. There is obviously only one party in this chamber that can compel that, and that is the party of government. To reflect on the enormous vote of confidence the Labor Party received in March, in which the public was convinced that Western Australia had been kept safe and strong through its management, I think it is honour-bound to fulfil that commitment, and fulfil that commitment via the budget that will be delivered next Thursday. There is absolutely no excuse; with total power and an enormous surplus comes absolute responsibility. I speak here of the Premier, Hon Mark McGowan: he cannot be both the Premier, and probably the most politically powerful Premier in Australia at the moment; he cannot appoint himself as the luckiest Treasurer in the western world; and he cannot control both houses of Parliament but walk away from issues when they get too hard. Fundamentally, this motion is an invitation to the government to accept responsibility for dysfunction across a range of critical service lines to the public. The motion commends itself absolutely, and I suggest members support it.

HON MATTHEW SWINBOURN (East Metropolitan — Parliamentary Secretary) [1.41 pm]: I rise to give the response on behalf of the government today. I indicate at the outset that we will not be supporting Hon Dr Steve Thomas' motion. The honourable member is probably not surprised by that. From looking at this motion, I think Hon Dr Steve Thomas must have been one of those kids at Christmas time who could not wait for the presents! When they went under the tree, I suspect that he went down to look at the presents that were supposed to be opened on Christmas morning. The member's motion is a bit like that—wanting to get to the presents before Christmas morning!

Hon Dr Steve Thomas interjected.

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Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: I say at the outset, President, that I am not taking interjections. I did not interject on either of the previous speakers so I would appreciate the same courtesy being afforded to me during my speech.

The member will have to wait; the budget is next week. We have made some announcements but the member is going to have to wait until budget day before he gets everything that is coming forth. We live today in one of the safest places in the world. That is not an uncontroversial comment. We live in this place for many reasons, but particularly because of the decisive actions of this government. Because of the decisive actions of this government, our economy is strong. The iron ore industry continues to operate. We continue to benefit from the good management of the McGowan government, and the mining companies and the workers who work for them, because they can continue with their productions. The opposition described it as a windfall; I describe it as a product of hard work and good management of the McGowan —

Hon Dr Steve Thomas: Of the mining industry!

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: No; the circumstances in which we were able to make sure that our industry continued through one of the most serious pandemics since the Spanish flu. We have kept that going. The Liberal Party would have opened the borders, it would have let the coronavirus into our state, and it would have shut those industries down. We are seeing the product of the kinds of philosophies that the Liberal Party supports in New South Wales right now. It is not a windfall; it is a product of good management and hard work.

It might also be the case that the iron ore price is favourable to us. The iron ore price is a volatile thing. We do not control the iron ore price. We do benefit from a higher iron ore price, but I am glad that I am part of a government that has an economic approach that is cautious around the iron ore price. I believe that is even reflected in what the federal government does and its projections as to what the iron ore price might be in the future. On that point, I note that on 12 May this year the price of iron ore was \$US233 a tonne, and I think yesterday it was \$US159.

Hon Dr Steve Thomas: It is about \$US160 today.

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: I do not have the figures for today. That is a significant amount of volatility, and in terms of our budget I think it is much better that we be cautious in how we deal with the iron ore price.

I do not think Hon Dr Steve Thomas spoke a great deal about parts (a), (b), (c) and (d) of his motion, but I want to make a couple of acknowledgements from the outset about those points. There are issues and challenges in relation to housing, homelessness, health and mental health. These challenges are often wicked problems that are difficult to solve. They are complex and interconnected in nature and are subject to real constraints that hinder attempts to find lasting solutions. Notwithstanding this, our government has done much, and is doing much, to try to address these things. I will start by going through some of the things that, to date, we have done and have announced in relation to this. I will start with housing.

Since we came to government, we have invested \$1 billion into housing and homelessness. The Department of Communities manages approximately 36 000 dwellings. Across WA, the wait time on the general waitlist has been down 33 per cent since 2017. I make these comments acknowledging that there are issues in these areas, but I think it is important to understand the whole context when we talk about crises. Significant investments are being made in WA's public housing: 500 new dwellings are being delivered; more than 1 500 houses and properties are being refurbished; and a new 100-bed homeless facility has opened in the Perth CBD. I think we are all aware of that. There have been questions from members opposite regarding that new facility in the city.

We have also announced \$319 million towards our social housing economic recovery package, \$220 million towards our housing and homelessness package, and \$394 million for the Metronet social housing and jobs package. Notwithstanding that, members on the other side like to cast us as sitting on our hands doing nothing, Hon Tjorn Sibma says that the Premier-Treasurer has walked away from these issues. We have not walked away from these issues. There is investment. I will go through some of the details of these investments.

The social housing economic recovery package is the largest housing maintenance and refurbishment program in WA's history. The amount of \$319 million will be spent on the social housing economic recovery package, also known as SHERP. Under this program, we will build 250 new dwellings comprising 150 public houses and 100 community houses. We will refurbish 1 500 homes, made up of 1 000 public houses and 500 community houses. We will provide maintenance for 3 800 regional homes. Refurbishments will target accommodation such as refuges, residential group homes for children in care, and supported disability accommodation. That does not sound as though we are sitting on our hands.

The \$220 million housing investment package will result in 300 new public housing units, targeting homeless and vulnerable people on the public housing waitlist; 70 public housing properties—50 metropolitan and 20 regional—and will provide \$19.2 million to Keystart for 200 shared equity homes. That will help particularly young people get into the housing market.

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The Metronet social housing and jobs package comprises \$394 million of social and affordable housing packages, which is part of our Metronet community hubs. Let us not forget that one of the most transformative things that this government is doing is building Metronet. We are building train lines to Ellenbrook, Byford and Two Rocks. We are also building the train line from Thornlie to Cockburn. We are investing in important public transport infrastructure and I can tell members opposite that for people living in the outer metropolitan area, that is incredibly important for their social and economic mobility. We are doing this. When in government, members opposite talked about and promised things—fully funded, fully costed—but they were never delivered because they do not really care about the people who live in the outer metropolitan parts of this city. We are building Metronet, which is a big investment.

Several members interjected.

The PRESIDENT: Order! It is best if the member is heard on his own so that Hansard can interpret his words clearly. Thank you.

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: I think Hansard needs all the help they can get when I speak, so I will try to speak as clearly as I can for Hansard.

It is estimated that this package will deliver 1 390 new homes, including 320 social housing dwellings and 400 affordable homes, and 2 378 jobs in construction and development, and will increase public transport patronage. That is in relation to housing and homelessness.

Many members know of my personal circumstances in relation to health and through my son my engagement with the hospital system. He recently spent 11 days at the Perth Children's Hospital and as a consequence of that, my wife and I spent time with him overnight in the healthcare system. There are issues in health but in Western Australia we have a world-class healthcare system, and I will defend that healthcare system to the hilt because I have experienced it. I have experienced the best of it. I have also experienced some of the worst of it, but, overall, in this state we have a world-class healthcare system. Does that mean that we should not invest further in it? Absolutely not. Does that mean that it is not subject to criticism? Absolutely not. But do we catastrophise it and talk it down to a point at which people might be afraid to take their children to hospital? Absolutely not—we do not do that! That is one thing we avoid at all costs.

Hon Tjorn Sibma interjected.

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: I did not interject on Hon Tjorn Sibma's contribution, so can he please afford me the same respect. I did not accuse him of making those statements. I said that we do not talk down the healthcare system. However, we criticise it when necessary, and that continues to be an important part of how we improve and deliver on that.

The annual health spending budget for Western Australia in the last financial year was \$10 billion. Members will struggle to find a jurisdiction around the world that spends that kind of money on public health. That equates to \$3 362 per person, and we should be proud of the level of investment we make as a community in our healthcare system. That figure of \$10 billion is more than \$1.1 billion higher than when we came into government. Any idea that healthcare spending has gone backwards is simply wrong. Healthcare spending makes up a third of the state's budget. Members from both sides have talked about what a big beast it is because of the amount of money that it has. But I will say this: we get the healthcare system we are prepared to pay for. We pay a lot and we have a very good healthcare system but it can absolutely be better.

There have been significant increases to staffing levels under the McGowan government. The increase has been 3 600 FTE or 10 per cent from March 2017 to December 2020. Some announcements have been made already about the budget. Despite having the best funded health system in the nation, our system is facing heavy demand right now, just like every other healthcare system in this country and around the world. I do not think I need to point out to people why that is or what is the major contributing factor for that. The healthcare system of every state and territory is under significant pressure and there is a wide range of reasons for that. It means that we need to build on our significant investments and funding of our public health system. The upcoming state budget will include a massive \$1.9 billion boost in health and mental health funding—\$1.9 billion of extra money towards beds, staff and services to meet an unprecedented demand in our system. That funding is on top of our existing healthcare budget. In their speeches honourable members asked: what is happening here? We take responsibility for this. We are putting mechanisms in place to address some of these issues. It is not superficial; it is significant—\$1.9 billion. That does not take into account the \$1.8 billion that will go into building a new women's and babies' hospital to replace the much-loved but very much ageing King Edward Memorial Hospital for Women. All three of my children were born there and we got world-class health care when we went there. We spent a lot of time at that hospital, particularly my wife, who spent six-and-a-half weeks in hospital with our last son, Darcy, so I am very acutely aware of how that happens. On top of this, we are spending \$1.3 billion in capital works over the next four years, in addition to the \$1.8 billion and \$1.9 billion. We are going there.

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The investment we are proposing to make into providing more hospital beds means that there will be 332 more beds across our healthcare system—223 general health beds and 109 mental health beds. These are in addition to the 300 beds we have previously announced as part of our existing investment in our healthcare system. We will add an extra 100 doctors and 500 nurses to the workforce. It is not easy to manufacture doctors or nurses, of course; we cannot just pluck them out of nowhere. We have been faced with some constraints due to the closure of the interstate and international borders, so that has obviously presented some issues, but we are pushing on and we are seeking to meet the demand for the extra resources.

I think it is worth noting in this place that the only decrease in the number of frontline healthcare workers in the past six years was in the final year of the Liberal–National government. Under the watch of members opposite there was a decrease in the number of healthcare workers. Members opposite have been pointing their finger across the chamber. I know they like to think the world only started on 11 March 2017 and nothing that happened before that is of any relevance.

Hon Dr Steve Thomas: We can go back to WA Inc.

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: The Leader of the Opposition can keep going back.

Several members interjected.

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: WA Inc. Where do they want to go?

Several members interjected.

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: That is right.

The PRESIDENT: Order!

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: We are investing in not only the general health budget, but also mental health, which will be a key focus of the budget. The government will invest an additional \$495 million in mental health to support mental health services and drug and alcohol services, and for acute treatment as well as to support people in their recovery. Importantly, it will include \$129.9 million towards youth mental health services. This investment is not about just the numbers, but also the people, the families and the outcomes.

I am drawing towards my concluding remarks and I will have to say something about the motion today. I have to say that I am disappointed in the motion as well as the two speeches I have heard today. At no time during the speeches of the two members opposite did either of them outline what they would do as an alternative government—not a single word about how this supposed windfall would be spent if they were in government. As Her Majesty’s loyal opposition and alternative government, it behoves them to tell the Western Australian people what they would do if they were in government, God forbid! Their own review into their diabolical performance at the last election really spells it out for me, and I quote —

The ‘pandemic excuse’ is just an excuse for the magnitude of the loss.

...

The staggering laziness of the Opposition and lack of action by the Party in creating and ‘selling’ acceptable policies much earlier than the advent of the pandemic were contributing factors.

Members opposite had an opportunity this afternoon to step out what they would do differently—not just to blame or catastrophise, but to point out what they would do differently, but they failed to do so. Hon Tjorn Sibma made some useful suggestions but failed to step out what he would do as an alternative government. Let us just reflect on the statement in that report. What were the words? They were about the staggering laziness of the opposition and lack of action by the party in creating and selling acceptable policies. They are not my words, the Premier’s words or the words of anyone on this side of the house; those are the words of the party of members opposite about their own performance over the last four years. Members opposite should reflect on that come Wednesdays when they have the opportunity to move a motion on notice. They should think about what they might bring to this place and the agenda they might want to set out. If there is a crisis anywhere, it is in the Liberal Party. The reviewer stated it. That is where the crisis is—the Western Australian Liberal Party.

Several members interjected.

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: Your own reviewer said it. The committee was told that many senior parliamentary leaders did little, if anything, to develop policies in anticipation of the election. Today we have seen that they have not done anything in the six months following the election. This is what the report reflected on; the media saw no policies worth reporting and no shadow ministers had done their jobs or looked competent. This afternoon, members opposite had a chance to look competent. They had a chance to develop policies. They had a chance to talk about it. They had a chance to get some media interest. What did they do? They just trolled up the

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same rubbish that they always troll up. They do it all the time. It is like *Groundhog Day*. It is my favourite movie, but it is like *Groundhog Day* and it gets a bit boring after a while. Here is some gratuitous advice for members opposite: listen to what your own people said about your party; get out there and do some work, develop some policy and bring it to this chamber; and give the people of Western Australia some faith.

HON PETER COLLIER (North Metropolitan) [2.01 pm]: I stand to support the motion and particularly the point relating to mental health issues. I would like to highlight a few issues that exist in my theatre of responsibility, being police. They are profound issues. They are not made up. They are not the gospel according to Pete. They exist. They are real. It is a sleeping issue for not just the government but also the Western Australia Police Force and the community as a whole.

As members know, I have been following for several months now an issue involving the failure of the Soldiers and Sirens program. Soldiers and Sirens was a wonderful organisation that provided essential mental health support services to police officers serving and past, first responders and veterans. The people who facilitated those services are former serving officers, so they understand what trauma is all about. They understand the trauma that goes through the minds of police officers, first responders and vets. Unfortunately, funding for that program has been cut. As I have said, I acknowledge that it was previously funded by the federal government. That grant ceased on 31 July. I have prosecuted, and continue to try to prosecute, an argument with my federal colleagues to support it, but, quite frankly, as I have said on numerous occasions, the vast majority of those who accessed these services were state public servants and state employees—police officers and first responders. That needs to be remembered. We are not talking about multitudes of money. I heard from the parliamentary secretary that there had been an injection of an additional \$1.9 billion into health. What I am asking for on behalf of Soldiers and Sirens is tea money; it is \$1 million a year to assist officers who are suffering in silence.

As a result of me raising this issue, I have been quite literally blown out of the water by the response I have received from both police and first responders. It emanated from a response to a question I had asked the Minister for Police. My original question was very generic. I asked —

- (1) Will the minister commit to funding Soldiers and Sirens in order for this essential service provider to continue to support many Western Australian police, veterans and other first responders?
- (2) If no to (1), why not?

The response from the minister was —

- (1)–(2) The Western Australia Police Force advises that officers are able to access private psychological and psychiatric support services from select preferred providers. Soldiers and Sirens was one preferred provider among a network of other providers that were able to encompass the additional capacity to ensure that all officers have access to support as required.

Members of WA Police also have access to other mental health services, including 24/7 access to an on-call clinical psychologist and chaplain and in-house and external psychological services. Regionally, mental health practitioners visit the districts multiple times a year and officers are provided access to telehealth services and local mental health services are referred to when available.

The McGowan government has also significantly increased the annual Anzac Day Trust fund to \$1.3 million per year. The Anzac Day Trust program provides funding to organisations that support the welfare of veterans and their families, with a focus on programs that assist veterans to transition back to civilian life. Applications for the 2021 Anzac Day Trust grants program are currently open and close on 27 August, 2021.

The answer outlined a host of potential avenues of support for police and first responders, but gave no recognition whatsoever to the good work Soldiers and Sirens had done or to the fact that this program needs to be saved. This is despite the fact that the police commissioner expressed his support for the program at an estimates hearing just a month ago. I have asked a number of other questions on this program to the Minister for Mental Health and the Minister for Health and got basically the same response.

I will continue to raise this issue because this is no longer an issue just with Soldiers and Sirens. I desperately want Soldiers and Sirens to be saved. Frontline police officers are taking their lives. I repeat: police officers are taking their lives. Every single day, police officers and first responders are traumatised by what they have to endure and do in terms of assisting the Western Australian public. I will not lay claim or take credit if the government funds this program; I will congratulate the government if it funds this program. Unfortunately, it goes beyond Soldiers and Sirens. This is an issue not just for this government but for every forthcoming government. Mental health issues are endemic in our police force. Members should not take my word for it; they can take the numerous words of people in the testimonies that I have read into this chamber over the last month. I have a multitude more, including, as I have mentioned on a number of occasions, the words of the widow of a police officer who took his own life

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two months ago. They are absolutely compelling testimonies. We have a mental health issue in our police force, in that a significant number of officers are struggling to cope with trauma. The biggest issue that came from the response to me was that so few officers actually knew that facilities and support services existed. That is what concerns me. As I said, this is not a political statement; this is a fact. This is a sleeping issue. I will continue to advocate on behalf of police officers and first responders, because it is an ongoing issue for literally dozens upon dozens of wonderful officers and first responders who are suffering in silence.

We should not sit here and have a juvenile debate about whether a million dollars is a political statement, because it is not. All we are asking for is a million dollars. Even if the government does not want to fund it for \$1 million, surely it could find half a million dollars or \$200 000 from the additional \$1.9 billion that is being put into the health system, so that Danielle can do it herself. Surely that is not too much to ask! I have not heard one thing from the government or the commissioner to suggest that they do not deserve it. There has not been one compelling argument—nothing. Were there compliance issues with Soldiers and Sirens? No, there were not. Were officers and first responders not accessing its services? Quite the contrary—dozens were accessing these services, but they no longer have them. I heard from the widow of one of those officers that he had been accessing the services provided by Soldiers and Sirens.

I will read out a couple more emails. Again, these are not my stories. These are stories of former and serving police officers. Again, the emails that I read in are on the condition of anonymity and members can understand why. They are serving officers. One email states —

My story of struggling with PTSD as a police officer.

I have been a police officer for almost six and a half years. I joined at 22 years old and the reasons I wanted to become a police officer was because I wanted to help people.

Through academy training, I struggled some with focussing on anything other than my training, I gave it 100% physically, mentally and emotionally. I approached a police psychologist who visited my squad after we had our mortuary visit. I told her I was worried for upcoming weapons training, particularly firing a gun because I felt like I had adrenaline rushes and get the shakes in times like this.

After graduating, I worked at a metro local policing team and then moved to a metro response team after about 7 months. While at response, I attended my first sudden death which was a male that had been mauled to death by his dog. The dog escaped the yard and near to other police officers who attempted to shoot the dog, however the shots missed and the dog re-entered the rear yard. This incident went on for many hours and still effects me today.

I made attempts to contact health and welfare, after missing each other's phone calls due to night shift and trying to sleep, however I never ended up speaking to anyone about this incident.

A couple of months later I transferred to my first regional position.

I was involved in many traumatic incidents, including many fatal crashes, serious assaults and domestic violence incidents. I felt I had good support around me with the team i worked with.

After two years I transferred to my second regional position.

I was involved in attending and investigating many sudden deaths (including dismembered bodies and body parts), fatal crashes, a land search resulting in a teenager suiciding, mental health incidents and serious domestic violence incidents during about a six month period. The support and debriefing was minimal and at some times non-existent from the officer in charge and other colleagues.

I realised I was struggling with sleep, anger outbursts and feelings of frustration so I contacted EAP and self initiated counselling. I also spoke with my GP and began using temazepam to sleep. I made it known to my Officer in Charge that I was using EAP and temazepam.

...

After several months, in July 2020, I eventually felt so mentally exhausted and realised I needed more help. I called my OIC and told her I couldn't come to work and I'll get a medical certificate and I'm trying to get in to see my EAP counselling—my OIC told me she would refer me to a police psychologist. I was contacted by a consultant psychologist external to wa police but with previous employment with Wapol.

...

About two months went by seeing this psychologist, on and off work but non-operational and on medication for anxiety however the medication was having negative side effects making me feel more suicidal and I began self harming with cutting myself, burning myself, strangling myself and punching solid objects like walls.

Extract from Hansard

[COUNCIL — Wednesday, 1 September 2021]

p3225e-3244a

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I was asking to see a psychiatrist and was being discouraged by this psychologist, so I asked my GP to do so privately external to wa police.

I had my first appointment with my private psychiatrist and was diagnosed with ADHD and began medication for this and taken off the anti-anxiety medication. I wasn't told at the time as my psychiatrist didn't feel I would take the diagnosis well, but I was also diagnosed with PTSD.

I was requested to see the police psychiatrist. The police psychiatrist said she didn't think I had ptsd, didn't agree I had ADHD and that I may have a minor behavioural disorder and recommended I return to work and that maybe I stop seeing the ex-police psychologist. I canceled all future appointments with the ex-police psych.

I continued seeing my private psychiatrist who stood by his diagnosis of ADHD and he provided me a medical certificate to not work for a month. Health and welfare told me that I was required to work and that the police psychiatrist has over-written my med cert with her assessment.

...

I was constantly fighting my own head with weather or not to kill myself or to resign from wa police. Thankfully, I had the support of my partner and a police peer support officer and did neither.

I began to see a private psychologist around the same time as my private psychiatrist. Both of these people told me they were happy to treat me and help me but weren't experienced with police officers and the complexity that comes with it.

I wrote into the WA police Union search bar 'mental health' and found an article written by an ex-police officer. Through contacting a few people, cautiously, I was told of psychologist Doug Brewer.

I contacted Doug and was seen by him within a week and a half. My partner knew how much I hid away my thoughts and feelings (except from her) and told Doug this and he asked her to participate in my assessment. Throughout the next four hours my partner corrected me everytime I down played things and hid myself from being open with Doug.

He diagnosed me with PTSD and I found out my private psychiatrist had done so also.

I was massively in denial. I did not think it was something I had and realised I didn't even really know what it was.

...

Health and Welfare and local stations have been confusing and unsupportive of me. Communication has been unclear, no one has taken 'ownership' of 'managing' me. Reimbursement of medical bills has been confusing and delayed by several months. Whenever I ask for help with forms I either get passed along to someone else who passes me on again to another or I get ignored.

I have been given 'ultimatums' even when giving suggestions of what I feel can help me and giving explanations.

...

I have lost all faith, respect and trust in wa police and health and welfare looking after me. I don't think I can go back to being an operation police officer because I don't trust other police officers that they will have my back and support me. I don't trust management will look after me and support me. I am terrified of becoming as unwell as I was this time last year. I hate how angry I am and that it comes out at home to my partner and her children. I hate how anxious I am to go out in public. I hate that I see the local police car and instantly fill with fury. I hate I'm suspicious of hearing a car pull up to my house or seeing the local police car near my house.

I hope with ongoing support from 'my people' (my partner, friends and professionals) and treatment I can get back to being a happy functioning person and my partner and her children can get more of the good parts of me than the bad. I hope that I am mentally and psychically healthy enough to bring my own child into the world in the future.

I don't regret becoming a police officer, because it led me to meet my best friend who i met at the police academy and eventually to my soul mate. But I do feel let down and deeply hurt by the treatment I have received from my employer and it's employees.

I hope wa police makes it easier to for people to get help with mental health issues. I hope they simplify the systems in place and provide more support to its people. I hope employees get more education and

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training about their own mental health and specifically PTSD. I believe the treatment of mental health should be external and outsourced from health and welfare.

Wa police has a massive problem with mental health and trauma conditions within their employees. They need to acknowledge this and move quicker to improve things.

As I said, I could stand here for a week and read in very similar testimonies. I will read one more for today.

Hon Kyle McGinn: Can I ask for a clarification, member?

Hon PETER COLLIER: No, I have to get through this. This is from another officer —

In my time in the WA Police Force I saw both civilian staff and Police Officers struggle with elements of the job. I tried to implement critical incident management and debriefing for call takers fielding 131444 and 000 calls but was never able to get traction. Some of the misguided notions were that “they are just answering phones, they aren’t attending and actually seeing the trauma”. They may not see the horror but I heard countless people commit suicide whilst on the phone because they didn’t want to die alone, or they didn’t want their family to find them. Heard 50 people dying in the water after their boat hit rocks off Christmas Island and we couldn’t get any help to them. Heard a call taker desperately trying to locate a caller for over an hour whilst you could hear her being brutally assaulted and raped by her partner. These are just a drop in the ocean and what staff experience daily.

Police deal with the worst of humanity every single day. They are sworn at, spat at, assaulted and blamed for the worst actions of humans. They almost never receive thanks (nor do they look for it). Nobody works for Police to be targeted. Police do their job to serve their communities and they are expected to “get on with it, its part of the job, you signed up for this”. When members do seek help there is still a massive stigma to it. That somehow they have failed, or they aren’t strong enough.

I’ve had multiple officers pop into my offices over the years, just to have a chat who clearly are hurting. I’ve guided them towards seeking help from a professional and the overwhelming response I’ve received has been “Nah, can’t do that. They don’t get it.” Or “no, I don’t want (the boss) to find out”, or “I’d rather talk to you/my mates, you understand”. I’ve heard too many examples of officers who, in testing the waters, have told appointed psychologists their least traumatic experience only to give up after noting their horrified reactions. How can they work through their trauma if they are worried they’ll traumatise the person meant to be helping them? Or those, including myself, who have had to spend time explaining the job, the culture only to feel it is a waste of time.

Then one day I came across Soldiers and Sirens. Their point of difference and why they are such a VITAL service is that all of their counselling staff and psychologists are ex-Servicemen and women or First Responders. To know you are seeing someone who KNOWS. Someone who is one of your own and has seen what you’ve seen, understands the culture and trauma experienced, knowing you don’t have to explain anything other than actually working through your trauma. I referred a number of colleagues and friends through the service, in both Defence and Policing. And all had very positive feedback.

In June 2021, the WA Police Force experienced a very, very black period. Two officers had taken their own lives in nine days. Both were very well respected, known to be caring and compassionate and dedicated officers. Both had ties to one Regional WA District. The tragedy of these deaths placed into sharp focus, the travesty of a loss of funding for Soldiers and Sirens. In the aftermath, we’ve seen more and more officers decide the job isn’t worth it. The toll on their families, on themselves and for what? To feel unsupported and that they have nowhere to turn to seek help.

In closing, I am not for a moment suggesting that all police officers or first responders are suffering from trauma or post-traumatic stress disorder; I am not suggesting that at all. I am saying that if even one or two are suffering from trauma or mental health issues, we need to provide them with valued support. At the moment it is becoming blatantly obvious, from both the response from the minister and the responses I have received from serving and former officers, that those services are either unavailable or unknown. As per the minister’s response, most of the services are outsourced. I can understand, from both those testimonies, that we have a situation in which officers do not feel comfortable talking to external psychiatrists or psychologists; they feel comfortable talking to someone who understands where they have been.

All I am asking for in this instance—this is a seed that can germinate—is acknowledgement of the fact that Soldiers and Sirens provides a very valuable service in support of dozens of police and first responders. From that, it can germinate into bigger and better support packages and mechanisms so that more and more soldiers, police officers and first responders will feel comfortable about seeking assistance because they will know that there is no stigma attached to it, that what they are enduring is understood, and that the government and community cares about them and will assist them.

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HON DAN CADDY (North Metropolitan) [2.21 pm]: My contribution will be short. I want to pick up on something that Hon Dr Steve Thomas said in his contribution when he talked about the GST. I want to address the profound fallacy that we should somehow be thankful to the federal Liberal government for sorting out the GST. The honourable member was around when the state Liberal government left us in that situation in the first place. In fact, it was the Liberal–National government; I do not want to leave out the member’s friends on the back bench.

In 1999 the federal coalition government guaranteed that no state would be worse off under the Commonwealth Grants Commission’s revenue distribution. Unfortunately, this was extremely poorly understood by those opposite, but we warned them. I quote the then state shadow Treasurer, Eric Ripper, from 1999 —

...Western Australia is vulnerable because it is still dependent on commonwealth calculations of how it is fairing.

...

...the Commonwealth will pay up on the basis of its calculations rather than Western Australia’s calculations.

The Leader of the Opposition at the time, Hon Geoff Gallop, said —

If those assumptions are wrong, the guarantees from the Commonwealth Government are not worth the paper they are written on.

...

It is vitally important that Western Australia receive at least the same amount it would have received under the existing arrangement to ensure that the budget is not worse off.

What was the response? Then Premier Richard Court dismissed those concerns and relied on the federal government’s guarantee. The member should not tell us to thank the federal Liberal government. This was a problem of the opposition’s making, and we fixed it. The McGowan government finally fixed it, after many years, and the opposition still has not learnt; it is still arguing in the face of the facts.

Let us look at what happened with the GST in the last term of government. I quote from a Facebook post by Sean L’Estrange —

Liberals plan for WA to receive its fair share of GST.

Finally, the Libs had a plan; that was a start. The post continued —

McGowan needs to step up and get Federal Labor and Labor States to agree.

So finally the Libs had a plan, but as the quote shows, he had no idea how it worked either; no idea at all, so what did the Liberal Party do in the dying days of the fortieth Parliament when it was in opposition? It made him shadow Treasurer. That was an inspired step. The evidence of how bad this was came up about two days out from the last state election: the infamous “Three Stooges” press conference, in which the opposition tried to explain its costings. I am just going to read from the Liberal Party’s “Review Committee Report: 28 August 2021”, which is a cracking read; members ought to get it. It quotes Hon Ben Wyatt from an ABC News article of 12 March 2021 —

“It was like watching the three stooges pass around a ticking time bomb. Sean L’Estrange didn’t want to talk about it, Zak Kirkup didn’t understand it and David Honey threw himself upon it”.

That pretty much sums up everything the opposition knows about how to manage the economy. After the \$40 billion debt—I know the opposition wants to argue that it was \$30 billion; we always have that argument—that the opposition left us, we will not be lectured by those opposite on fiscal responsibility.

HON JAMES HAYWARD (South West) [2.25 pm]: I thank Hon Peter Collier for bringing those stories to the chamber today, because those stories are what this motion is actually all about: the lives of individual Western Australians who are out there, counting on us to provide the right services for them so that they can live happy and prosperous lives. Those stories were very moving. It is troubling that human beings can find themselves in those circumstances without the support that they ultimately need.

I have to say that Hon Matthew Swinbourn’s response was intelligent and measured for the most part, and very welcome. I thought some of the things the parliamentary secretary said were quite good, up until the end, when he compared the plight of Western Australians facing homelessness, people sitting in ambulances waiting for healthcare, people struggling to find a home for their children, and police officers who are taking their own lives, with an internal report by a political party. He said it was like *Groundhog Day*, suggested that members of the opposition were lazy for bringing it up, and said that he was bored with these issues.

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Hon Kyle McGinn interjected.

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: That is what the parliamentary secretary said in his response.

Several members interjected.

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: Members, we can get the *Hansard* and look at it later.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING PRESIDENT (Hon Dr Sally Talbot): Members, I am trying to listen to Hon James Hayward. It is a bit of a challenge to do that with you chiming in with your contributions.

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: This motion is about the \$10.7 billion royalty income, which is an absolute record. I am often quite amused by members opposite who make claims about the superhero McGowan government, which is capable of fixing everything. We have just heard that it fixed the GST. Earlier today, we heard that it fixed global iron ore prices as well, due to good management. In fairness, the parliamentary secretary said —

Hon Matthew Swinbourn interjected.

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: If the honourable member will allow me to finish: he said that it was because of good financial management. I was about to say that the parliamentary secretary pointed out that the government was not in control of those things; that is exactly what he said.

The reality is that there are some real challenges out there in the community. Obviously, coming up to a federal election, it becomes more popular to pick on the other team, but the reality is that part of the financial success of this state is due to the JobKeeper program that the federal government put in place. In August last year, in Bunbury alone —

Several members interjected.

The ACTING PRESIDENT: Members, there is a rule that only one person speaks at a time. That person at the moment is supposed to be Hon James Hayward. Let us try to keep it that way.

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: Thank you very much, Madam Acting President. In August last year, Bunbury received nearly \$40 million in JobKeeper payments in one month alone while at the same time the Premier was announcing that we had the only budget surplus, that we were booming and that our economy was going well. I have no doubt that it was going well. It is going extremely well. Obviously, the nature of this motion is to acknowledge a \$10.7 billion royalty income, which has never happened before. Yes, the state is going well, but it is disingenuous to discount the federal government's contribution.

Members opposite interjected that it is about the facts. These are the facts: the state has more than 1 300 fewer government homes than it owned in March 2017. We know that the number of people on the public housing priority waitlist has jumped 70 per cent in the last 12 months, with applications up from 2 097 in August 2020, which represented 3 898 families, to 3 478 in July 2021, representing 6 904 families. They are real statistics. People are not making them up. Again, I acknowledge that in his response the parliamentary secretary said there are issues that still need to be resolved.

Tabling of Paper

Hon PIERRE YANG: I very reluctantly wish to draw the Acting President's attention to standing order 59 and ask the member opposite to identify the document that he is quoting from.

The ACTING PRESIDENT (Hon Dr Sally Talbot): Is the member quoting from a document?

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: They are my own personal notes, but the particular article I am quoting is from *The West Australian*. I am happy to provide that.

Hon Kyle McGinn interjected.

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: Sorry, but they are my personal notes.

Hon Matthew Swinbourn: You know you're not supposed to read from your phone.

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: I was not reading from my phone.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING PRESIDENT: I draw members' attention to the convention that we keep quiet when the Acting President is seeking advice. Hon Pierre Yang has asked the member to identify the document. The member has done that. I am satisfied that the standing order has not been contravened. There is no point of order.

Debate Resumed

Hon Dr Steve Thomas; Hon Pierre Yang; Hon Tjorn Sibma; Hon Matthew Swinbourn; Hon Peter Collier; Hon Dan Caddy; Hon James Hayward

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: I met with the Real Estate Institute of Western Australia this week and was told that it has seen a 10 per cent reduction in the available housing stock on its rent rolls. In Bunbury, for example, there was a 30 per cent reduction in available rental properties. REIWA members manage around 230 000 privately owned rental properties in Western Australia.

Hon Kyle McGinn: What article is that?

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: It is not from an article. I just mentioned that I met with REIWA this week and was given the figures. REIWA told me that its members manage 231 501 privately owned homes and that they have lost 7 000 homes already for a whole pile of reasons. One of those reasons was that the home owners are moving back into their properties during the hard times and another reason is that the homes were sold to first home buyers, which is potentially positive. The reality is that we are seeing a reduction in the private housing stock. We know that our social housing is under pressure. We have heard that in the statements made by Minister Carey and others about the massive waiting list of around 17 000 Western Australians waiting to get into a house. There are real issues out there for real people who are looking to live in a house. People are couch surfing and living with mum and dad or other relatives to find a way through. They are doing all sorts of things. I again implore the government to use Premier McGowan's superhero status to solve all its problems, such as the GST, apparently, and other things, and to put its energy into solving these problems for the people of Western Australia.

Withers, near Bunbury, is an old-style suburb that was planned and developed on the Radburn method of building. Members might be familiar with that. Basically, the houses are built back to back. Karawara and South Hedland were built in the same way.

Hon Dan Caddy: It is Housing Authority housing.

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: That is correct. The Radburn method was based on an English-style village. It probably worked well in England, but in Australia it worked only in Crestwood Estate in Thornlie; it was a disaster wherever else those buildings were built, including Withers. The city there has been working with the government to try to completely rejuvenate the place by, effectively, bulldozing it, rebuilding it and completely retrofitting it with different road connections, which is quite significant. Members can imagine the houses being built back to back and the roads all being dead ends because they go behind the houses. It involves a large amount of work. Nothing has happened with that over the past five years during the term of the McGowan government. It has been going very, very slowly. They are the types of things that the government could invest in to bring about change and help our community.

We have talked about ambulance ramping and the expectation that the number of hours of ambulance ramping would smash through 6 000 hours. Hon Tjorn Sibma said it is now 6 257 hours of ambulance ramping over 260 24-hour periods. That amounts to people sitting in the back of an ambulance for three-quarters of a year. The situation is four or five times worse than it was in 2017. There are significant issues that need the government's attention. It is the role of the opposition to continue to bring these things up and point out how the community is feeling and to tell people's individual stories about how it is affecting their community. The reality is that the government has a lot of money and control of both houses of Parliament. The government is quite almighty in many ways. It has an opportunity in this budget to direct the energy and power it has at these core issues. People are struggling and need the government's leadership in the areas of health and homelessness.

I want to quickly touch on homelessness. A soundshell in Bunbury has been used consistently as a de facto homeless shelter for the past five years. For whatever reason, over the last five years the government has been unsuccessful in finding alternative accommodation for these people. I accept that homeless people are transient and that the people who are there now are probably not the same people who were there five years ago. Inevitably, 13 or 14 people will be sleeping in tents in the soundshell tonight. At what point do we say we will do something about these things? They are the questions we need to be asking. Do we honestly expect that in five years that soundshell will continue to be used as a de facto homeless shelter? It is inherently unsafe for those people to be there. There was a murder there earlier in the year and there have been assaults. One of the rangers, I believe, was injured. I think he was stabbed. There are significant issues with these people. I understand that these issues are not easy to fix. Rough sleepers often have significant mental health issues. Those issues require a lot of intensive resources to intervene, treat and help those people.

But this is the backdrop of what the lives and experiences of people out there in our community are like. It is our role to find a better way forward for these people.

Again, I welcome the good things that the parliamentary secretary talked about and what the state government is looking to do, but more needs to be done. With a massive budget surplus and control of both houses, the government is a significant force. I urge the government to nail down and focus on these issues for the benefit of all Western Australians. Thank you.

Hon Dr Steve Thomas; Hon Pierre Yang; Hon Tjorn Sibma; Hon Matthew Swinbourn; Hon Peter Collier; Hon Dan Caddy; Hon James Hayward

Tabling of Paper

Hon MATTHEW SWINBOURN: Acting President, the honourable member referred to a number of documents during his speech. I ask that those documents be tabled in accordance with standing order 59.

The ACTING PRESIDENT (Hon Dr Sally Talbot): Thank you, honourable member. My suggestion to the house is that the honourable member who gave the speech certainly did seem to be quoting using an electronic device. As you would be aware, honourable member, the standing order around the use of electronic devices is a little cloudy, so I am going to defer a response from the chair to the President. However, just before I announce my decision to defer a statement from the chair, can I ask the honourable member who was speaking whether the document he was quoting from was confidential?

Hon JAMES HAYWARD: It was not, and I am certainly happy to provide it if it would be of any assistance. They were from my notes—they are not articles—but I am happy to provide those articles. It just may take me a little bit of time. I cannot hand those to you now, Acting President, because they are in electronic format, not paper format, but I am happy to provide those.

The ACTING PRESIDENT: I think that to the extent that we work with precedent in this Parliament, we have a precedent established by the other place that the member will be invited to print those notes and to table them at a later stage of this day's sitting. I will, however, defer the question of a President's ruling on the use of electronic devices to a later stage; I will refer that to the President. Thank you, member.

Debate Resumed

HON PIERRE YANG (North Metropolitan) [2.42 pm]: From the outset, can I say what a strong statement the parliamentary secretary, Hon Matthew Swinbourn, made in his rebuttal to the motion moved by Hon Dr Steve Thomas. They were very strong words, and I wholeheartedly endorse and support what he said.

In the last term of Parliament, I talked about state finances and the state budget, and I will be going back to the *Hansard* to some extent to remind people on the opposite side of the chamber of the situation this state was in back in March 2017 and why the people of Western Australia endorsed the first McGowan Labor government so strongly on 11 March 2017.

I find it a bit ironic that we are being lectured by the Liberal Party, which squandered the proceeds of the once-in-a-lifetime mining boom, and the Nationals WA, which was responsible for wasting money in royalties for regions on singing toilets and plastic cows in the regions. Those two parties have now formed a marriage of convenience and are attacking the great manager of this state's finances, the McGowan Labor government. Let us look at the facts. We are being lectured by people who wasted money, wrecked the finances of this state, and let the federal government rip away WA's GST money and not give it back to us. Those same people are trying to tell us what should be done in this state. Let us talk about those two parties in government back in 2009 and 2017, which saw the credit rating of this great state downgraded a number of times.

Before I go on to that, can I also thank Hon Dan Caddy for his response to the opposition speeches and his remarks on the GST. Can I say, members, that I am extremely proud to sit here as a fellow MLC with all the new members of the Labor Party: Hon Dan Caddy, Hon Stephen Pratt, Hon Ayor Makur Chuot, Hon Jackie Jarvis, Hon Sandra Carr, Hon Shelley Payne, Hon Rosie Sahanna, Hon Lorna Harper and Hon Klara Andric. I think I have covered all the new members who have come into this place. We are very proud as a party to have welcomed so many new Labor MPs into this place. We look to the people whom we want to support and whom we want to represent the community. That is because they are from the community—not a small section of an extreme part of the community. I ask the honourable members on the opposite side to read their own review—all 80 pages of it. I think Hon Matthew Swinbourn has a copy of that. Maybe we can get the staff to make a copy for each and every member on the opposite side and circulate that.

Several members interjected.

Hon PIERRE YANG: Have a read!

Hon Tjorn Sibma: Do it! The people of Western Australia are eagerly anticipating your contribution!

Hon PIERRE YANG: I think my contribution will be more meaningful and substantial than the one from the honourable member for South West Region, Hon Dr Steve Thomas, who did not even address the four limbs of his own motion.

Hon Dr Steve Thomas: I only got to the introduction!

Hon PIERRE YANG: It was the entire introduction. I am sorry that the standing orders change curtailed his contribution.

I will go back to what I said in 2017 about Hon Dr Steve Thomas. On 28 June 2017, I said this about you, sir —

After hearing Hon Dr Steve Thomas's remarks yesterday, I think Dr Thomas is a very sensible man and that his remarks were very sensible. I welcome and encourage sensible debate on the issues that are critical to our state and the people of Western Australia.

I cannot say that about Hon Dr Steve Thomas's contribution in this place this afternoon. I found it extremely disappointing to hear him claiming to be positive and trying to help the state of Western Australia, when all he had was negativity, attacks and unfounded claims.

Members, I think we all agree that the Liberal–National government coalition or alliance—whatever you call it—between 2009 and 2017 was a difficult phase for the people of Western Australia when it came to state finances and financial management. The Barnett government showed itself to be profligate and reckless in its spending. When that government took power back in 2008, what was the state debt, members, if I may? It was \$4.96 billion—\$4.96 billion. When that government lost office, what was the state debt? I know there was a bit of argument —

Hon Dan Caddy: It was \$43 billion.

Hon PIERRE YANG: Based on an article that was written at the time, it was \$32 billion. I am sure that different figures were being used because of different ways of calculating state debt, but based on the figures I had, it was \$32 billion. It was almost eight times the debt that the Liberal–National coalition or alliance—whatever you call it—inherited when it came to office back in 2008. We should thank Premiers Geoff Gallop and Alan Carpenter and Treasurer Eric Ripper back in the first decade of 2000 for their management of this state's finances. Let us not forget about that.

When it came to 2017, the state and the people of Western Australia were in pain. Over 100 000 Western Australians were unemployed at that time. What was the opposition's plan? Opposition members had no plan. They also had no plan for the election back in 2017. They had no plan for 2021 and I doubt whether they have a plan for 2025, which is pretty sad for a once-proud party in this proud state.

Under the previous Liberal–National government, state debt was going to be \$10 billion more in three or four years. When we came to office, under the Premier, Mark McGowan, and former Treasurer, Ben Wyatt, we cut a lot of expenditure and we put a brick on the runaway expenditure growth. But for COVID, in 2022–23, state debt would have remained at \$35 billion—it would have, but who could have predicted a pandemic was coming in 2020?

Let me talk about the COVID pandemic. I find it really hard to understand that somehow, some people think that we can live with the virus—that we can open up a little bit while there are infections and deaths, and businesses will be shut down from time to time but we will live with that. If we look at the situation in New South Wales now, no-one takes joy in seeing our fellow Australians struggle over there, with more and more deaths and more and more people being turned away by hospital emergency departments. That is not the way to manage this pandemic. In the west, look at how we are living our lives. I attended a function yesterday in close proximity to other people in a small room. We can do that because the Premier, Mark McGowan, and the Labor government have managed this pandemic. Businesses can operate and people can go on with their lives as usual. The mining sector can go on and keep exporting resources. Let us not forget that the mining sector is helping not only the state of Western Australia, but also the whole of Australia. Let us not forget about that. Let us not forget about your mates in Canberra who are also benefiting from what we have done in Western Australia! They have a lot to thank Premier Mark McGowan and this government for.

When we talk about the federal government and the GST, Hon James Hayward, who is on urgent parliamentary business, said that the federal government contributed a whole lot to our surplus. Let me ask members opposite who was in power for almost eight and a half years between 2008 and 2017, during which our share of the GST dwindled to around 30 per cent? Who did that?

Hon Dr Steve Thomas: Who fixed it?

Hon PIERRE YANG: Who fixed it? Let me ask members opposite who fixed it! What a great question! Who fixed it? Was it Colin Barnett? Was it Hon Dr Mike Nahan?

Several members interjected.

Hon PIERRE YANG: Was it Hon Liza Harvey? Or was it Mr Zak Kirkup? No, it was none of them! It was this government.

Several members interjected.

Hon Dr Steve Thomas; Hon Pierre Yang; Hon Tjorn Sibma; Hon Matthew Swinbourn; Hon Peter Collier; Hon Dan Caddy; Hon James Hayward

The ACTING PRESIDENT (Hon Dr Sally Talbot): Hon Pierre Yang, resume your seat; thank you. Members, I would remind you that there is only one rule in this place and it applies to people on both sides of the chamber. We will continue to operate on that basis.

Hon PIERRE YANG: Thank you, Acting President. I found it was pretty hard to contain myself when dealing with so much misinformation and so many unfounded allegations from members on the opposite side. I was only trying to help them to understand the facts. I was only trying to help the house to correct the record. I find it pretty disappointing that members opposite could pontificate on economics, economic management and the record of this government. We are very proud of what we have achieved. We are very proud of the Premier's achievements in managing the economy, the finances and the pandemic.

Hon Stephen Dawson: Hear, hear!

Hon PIERRE YANG: Thank you, minister.

I wish to go back to what I said in 2018 about the budget that was delivered after the 2017 budget. I quote —

The state is undergoing economic recovery. A couple of years ago, we were in domestic recession. In the last financial year, it was estimated that we were growing by 2.5 per cent; in this current financial year, we are expected to grow 3.25 per cent. This good financial and economic result will be achieved while the McGowan Labor government is delivering on its campaign and election promises to the people of Western Australia.

We not only delivered on our election promises from 2017, but also had to deal with a once-in-a-century pandemic. As members can see, governments are struggling in many other countries. We had the formula to contain the virus—restrain it, contain it and destroy it—so people could go on with their lives.

I want to say one last thing before my time runs out. The state government has a strong focus on supporting our manufacturing capabilities in this state. We have a strong focus on supporting our manufacturing businesses. We have brought back railcar manufacturing. I want to talk a bit about this. It will be cheaper for us to buy our own railcars that are manufactured in Bellevue. People who help to manufacture them will then spend their hard-earned money in the state of Western Australia. That, in turn, is going to help us to generate more economic activity. I cannot support the Leader of the Opposition's motion. I strongly endorse the words of Hon Matthew Swinbourn and Hon Dan Caddy. They made great responses to a disappointing motion. It is just unbelievable that I had all these positive words about Hon Dr Steve Thomas, but, today, I was thoroughly disappointed by his contribution. I expect that he will be able to make a better contribution at another opportunity. I look forward to hearing from him.

As I said, I find it hard for people to say that living with the virus is a good way to proceed. I find it unbelievable. I recall the Premier's words along the lines that when the economy is unrestrained by lockdowns, the virus and illness, people can go on with their lives and spend more money. I find it hard to appreciate the rationale of, and approach by, certain state governments and the federal government. Regardless, that is what they do. I am particularly proud of the Premier's solidarity with our fellow Australians in other states. I think the Premier said that if it is in need, we will send help to New South Wales. I am absolutely proud of our Premier. He came under tremendous and unfair attack from other states. I will not name any state that attacked us during our lockdowns, when we were working so hard, trying to deal with a bushfire and an outbreak, and we were unfairly targeted with certain remarks from other Premiers. That was very disappointing. But our Premier has a big heart and a kind heart. He did not let those silly words affect him. He cares about our state; he cares about our nation. He cares about all Australians. That is why he said —

Several members interjected.

The ACTING PRESIDENT: Members, Hon Pierre Yang has only a minute and a half to go. Can he do that in silence? Thank you.

Hon PIERRE YANG: Thank you, Acting President, for your protection. I think it is a great privilege to serve alongside Hon Mark McGowan and to have a man of his calibre, heart and kindness working for not only the Western Australian community, but also other communities in this great country.

Hon Neil Thomson: It's embarrassing!

Hon PIERRE YANG: You may find it embarrassing.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING PRESIDENT: Members, order, please! Hon Pierre Yang.

Hon Neil Thomson: What an embarrassment you are!

Hon Dr Steve Thomas; Hon Pierre Yang; Hon Tjorn Sibma; Hon Matthew Swinbourn; Hon Peter Collier; Hon Dan Caddy; Hon James Hayward

Withdrawal of Remark

Hon STEPHEN DAWSON: Point of order. It is unparliamentary to suggest that a member of this place is an embarrassment. I would ask the honourable member to withdraw that immediately.

Hon NEIL THOMSON: I withdraw.

The ACTING PRESIDENT (Hon James Hayward): Thank you. Hon Pierre Yang.

Debate Resumed

Hon PIERRE YANG: Thank you, Acting President. Again, I cannot understand why the member is saying that the bleeding truth is an embarrassment; regardless, I am proud to have Hon Mark McGowan as the leader of this state, managing our finances and this pandemic. There is no handbook for how to respond to a pandemic. There is no “Pandemic management for dummies 101” or whatever. I think it is important that we look at this, and the leaders of this state —

The ACTING PRESIDENT: Hon Pierre Yang, I need to interrupt you.

Hon PIERRE YANG: I will not support this motion, Acting President.

The ACTING PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

HON DR STEVE THOMAS (South West — Leader of the Opposition) [3.02 pm] — in reply: I am not quite sure how I can follow that, but I will change the attack and go back to the motion before the house, just to be a little bit different. I thought that the contribution by the parliamentary secretary was very good and fairly well reasoned out, but it was interesting that one of the first things he said by way of interjection during the debate was “Don’t go back in history; we’re not interested in the history”, and then the Labor Party jumped up, Hon Rod Caddies jumped up and went back—how far did he go?—20 years. Hon Pierre Yang went back about the same amount of time.

Hon Dan Caddy: It’s Dan Caddy!

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Hon Dan Caddy, sorry. I keep getting the wrong one. Who is the other one? Pauline Hanson’s One Nation. Watch out!

Hon Dan Caddy: I’m wearing orange!

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Yes, sorry, Hon Dan Caddy. Members of the Labor Party say, “No history, until it suits us.” Then they want to talk about history. They want to go back and apportion blame appropriately when it is convenient for them. Honourable members of the Labor Party should watch out, because when they get named as doing a good job, that usually means that somebody is a bit concerned about where they are on the ticket. I noted that the parliamentary secretary got named a couple of times, so he is probably dropping down from third or fourth—he might have to think about retirement, because he got named far too often! Watch out, new members, because that is obviously a sign that someone is a threat. New members should look out and watch out. Being damned with faint praise on occasion is a dangerous thing in politics.

Let us go back to the motion before the house. I want to make a couple of critical points. The first is this. I have spent most of my time demonstrating that the Labor Party has an embarrassment of wealth. I think one of the members called it a bounty; I thought that was very good. It is an embarrassment of wealth.

Hon Matthew Swinbourn interjected.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Let us see how the Western Australian people benefit from this bounty, this embarrassment of wealth. Let us remember that up to the end of the 2019–20 financial year—so, the first bit of 2019 and then all of 2019–20—this government was \$4 billion ahead of its original budget position because of the iron ore revenue that was coming into Western Australia. In 2021, we do not know the number yet, but we are expecting at least \$4 billion, maybe \$5 billion. Let us go with a nice round \$5 billion on top of the government’s budget, based on \$11 billion of iron ore. That is \$5 billion plus \$4 billion, we are at \$9 billion, and it has not stopped, because the iron ore price is still high now. Let us go with a nice round \$10 billion or maybe \$11 billion above the budget estimates of the McGowan government. A lazy \$11 billion. What do we get for \$11 billion? Where do we sit right now? The McGowan government is sitting on an \$11 billion bounty and rolling around on this mountain of cash, and we have cancelled elective surgeries. There is an \$11 billion bounty sitting in the Money Bin, and we have significant ambulance ramping—four times worse than what the former shadow health minister called a crisis that threatened the health of Western Australians. There is an \$11 billion surplus, and we have had 490 code yellows in Western Australia. There is an \$11 billion surplus, a bonus that is raining down cash on top of the budget estimates, and we have a crisis in police suicides, as mentioned by Hon Peter Collier. All these negative things are occurring during a period of untold wealth for the government of the day, which has higher incomes than any government that preceded it. The current Premier is sitting on an absolute mountain of cash. The question was: what would we do? Guess what—we do not control the budget that is coming out in a week’s time. I am happy to control it if the

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government wants to give me control. If the government wants to hand it over, I will happily try to fix the problems for it. There is \$11 billion over this government's forecast budget. That is \$11 billion of free money that you guys are sitting on, and there is a crisis in cancelled surgeries, ambulance ramping, code yellows and police suicides. This government is overseeing a crisis.

I accept that the parliamentary secretary made a good contribution and said that we are doing lots of things.

Hon Stephen Dawson interjected.

Hon Dr STEVE THOMAS: Watch out; he will be your replacement, minister!

The report card on this government is: should do better; should try harder. Doing a few things, but not enough.

Division

Question put and a division taken, the Acting President (Hon James Hayward) casting his vote with the ayes, with the following result —

Ayes (7)

Hon Peter Collier
Hon James Hayward

Hon Dr Brad Pettitt
Hon Tjorn Sibma

Hon Dr Steve Thomas
Hon Neil Thomson

Hon Colin de Grussa (*Teller*)

Noes (18)

Hon Dan Caddy
Hon Stephen Dawson
Hon Kate Doust
Hon Sue Ellery
Hon Lorna Harper

Hon Jackie Jarvis
Hon Ayor Makur Chuot
Hon Kyle McGinn
Hon Sophia Moermond
Hon Shelley Payne

Hon Stephen Pratt
Hon Martin Pritchard
Hon Samantha Rowe
Hon Matthew Swinbourn
Hon Dr Sally Talbot

Hon Dr Brian Walker
Hon Darren West
Hon Pierre Yang (*Teller*)

Pairs

Hon Nick Goiran
Hon Steve Martin
Hon Martin Aldridge
Hon Donna Faragher

Hon Peter Foster
Hon Sandra Carr
Hon Klara Andric
Hon Rosie Sahanna

Question thus negatived.