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PROGRESS IN RAIL REFORM
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Introduction

I made a personal presentation to the October 1998 Perth hearings on this topic supporting a submission by Bruce Robinson on behalf of the Bicycle Federation of Australia. My topic was the imminent peaking of world oil supplies, the limited scope for alternative transport fuels and the central relevance of future fuel supplies to transport in general, urban transport in particular and the part that bicycles could play integrated with other personal transport modes.

I left with the Commissioners a copy of my theme paper, *Climaxing Oil: How Will Transport Adapt?*, to be presented to the Chartered Institute of Transport's National Symposium in November 1998. This paper, together with the Symposium Statement of Outcomes and a Symposium Postscript, have since been published by the Institute of Science and Technology Policy at Murdoch University. A copy accompanies this submission and is to be read as a part of it (Fleay 99).

The submission is an independent one and will address a number of broad strategic issues in a global context as they apply to transport in general; but with a focus on rail. Most of these issues have an Australia wide relevance, some are specific to Western Australia. It is assumed that strategies for transport reform are looking at least 30 years ahead, the normal life of most fixed transport infrastructure.

From this background some comments will be made on urban passenger transport and the role of rail versus road drawing upon the recently published book *Sustainability and Cities* by Newman and Kenworthy, in which these internationally renowned authors argue that reducing car dependence in favour of rail public transport is the key to improving the economic and energy efficiency of cities, their social fabric and sustainability.

Some comments on rail versus road for medium to long haul freight transport will be made. Transport needs for southern rural Australia must take account of the acute threat to future agricultural production from salinisation arising from clearing the land for agriculture, especially in Western Australia. Future cereal production is under threat on a significant scale, both from salinisation and the dependence of crop production on petroleum fuels. A radical transformation of agriculture is imminent and transport planning and development must be integrated with it.

But first some comments on the key role of government leadership will be made in the context of a critique of the prevailing neo-classical economic paradigm and its offspring, Competition Policy.

Transport and Economic Prospects

Western Australian planning strategies are embodied in the *State Planning Strategy to 2029*, a statutory document finalised in December 1997 under the auspices of the WA Planning Commission. The Transport Dept. is preparing transport strategies within this framework. A Metropolitan Transport Strategy has been finalised and within that framework in turn a strategy for bicycles. Perth Metropolitan Freight Transport Strategy is nearing completion and a strategy for walking as a transport mode is being drafted. A transport strategy for the south west of the state has been completed.

The State Planning Strategy drew upon two scenarios for Perth and Western Australia prepared earlier by the Dept. of Commerce and Trade. These were "business-as-usual" as a continuation of the resource development orientated pattern of the last 35 years and a higher "quantum growth" one based on the 1990's high growth in Asia continuing.

There are now powerful reasons to question the realism of these scenarios. I am not aware of other governments in Australia having such planning strategies, but their behaviour and that of business reflects similar expectations. Economic prospects will be addressed in the context of the

following significant developments since mid-1997 that all challenge the realism of these growth scenarios:

- The collapse of Asian growth after 35 years, its background and prospects.
- The consequences generally and for transport of the decline of oil commencing during the next decade. The future prospects for the next 10 years are maturing rapidly and have become much clearer and more certain since 1997, now being discussed in serious newspapers and journals.
- The likely rapid deterioration in Australia's balance of payments to 2010 and beyond due to rapidly increasing oil imports and possible reduced motor vehicle production in Australia due to mergers and structural changes occurring in the international motor manufacturing industry. Given the car dependence of our cities the prospects for increased vehicle imports exist.
- The greater understanding of the extent and severity of the salinity problems in the Western Australian wheat belt, the scale of the remedial action needed and the drastic consequences for cereal production. This impacts on future Perth-rural freight movement. The draft State Salinity Action Plan and other forums are relevant. Investigation and direct evidence is revealing that the same problem exists in the rest of southern Australia, the Murray/Darling Basin and parts of South Australia. A reduction in food exports is likely in the medium term.
- Declining rainfall in the South West and its implications for further growth of Perth, the South West and for agriculture. The Water Corporation has already reduced the yield of Perth's water sources by 17% this year due to climate change and has embarked upon a \$3-400 million works program to 2003 to rectify the deficiency.

The answers to these questions have a major bearing on all transport and cannot be ignored in any consideration of rail reform

Asia's Meltdown

A 35 year Asian economic boom climaxed in the 1990's and collapsed in 1997. Australia was part of that boom as a supplier of minerals and farm produce. In that period Australia became the world's largest exporter of coal, iron ore, alumina and mineral sands, the second largest producer of gold and a significant supplier of nickel, copper and silver-lead-zinc, mostly to Asia. We were a part of the boom, especially in Western Australia.

What is the background to this meltdown?

This analysis draws heavily on a book, *Beyond Meltdown: the Global Battle for Sustained Growth* (Brain 1999). Dr Brain's analysis is within the broad framework of neo-classical economic theory, but interpreted through the historical, cultural and political context of the various national players. His approach leads him to be highly critical of the "pure" academic application of neo-classical theory and its ahistorical framework dominant in Australia since 1970. The strength of his analysis is its realistic description of the dynamics of world economic development this century and how it has led to the present crisis, its likely outcome and what Australia's response should be. Some of his prescriptions are heresy within the prevailing paradigm which he sees as the source of many of Australia's problems..

From my perspective he wrongly accepts economic growth as both possible in the 21st century and desirable, indeed he accepts it as the prime focus for economic strategies everywhere. He does not recognise the significant gross distortions that arise from using Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a measure of economic benefit, nor the environmental and resource constraints that now limit the scope for economic growth and which set the boundaries for future development. He does not recognise the deficiencies of classical economics with regard to energy as outlined in Fleay (1999), nor the key role of oil in the Asian growth "miracle" (Fleay 1999, p. 46). However, these criticisms, important as they are, do not detract from the merit of his book.

Dr Brain maintains this has been the American century and that manufacturing was and still is the key industry sector. In the period 1900 to 1930 the US displaced Great Britain as the dominant economic power, especially after 1920 when it pioneered the transition from direct steam power to electric drive in manufacturing and began the shift to oil, especially in transport. There was a dramatic increase in productivity and GDP. The integrated ecology, economics and energy approach gives direct support to this observation from a GDP perspective, see Fleay (1999), p. 7. Furthermore, the US more than any other nation was endowed with an abundant mix of key high quality energy and other resources all favourably located with respect to each other, a critical and indispensable condition for the USA's rise to economic, political and military dominance, according to Walter Youngquist (Youngquist 1997, pp. 104-112).

Other developed countries ever since have attempted to "catch up" with US productive levels, a struggle in which government intervention has always played a central role and which has been the prime focus of 20th century history. Germany then Japan were the first contenders, a challenge that led to two world wars as both these countries embarked on unsuccessful military conquest to capture both the resource base and population (ie. market size) needed to emulate the USA. 100 million people died in these two titanic struggles. The first world war intensified the imbalance between Europe and the USA which helped lead to the second world war.

The US boom collapsed in 1929 partly due to a speculative investment boom, partly due to manufacturing productive capacity exceeding the market. This led to massive failures of the US banking system that intensified the 1930's depression which was only ended with the outbreak of World War II.

Dr Brain maintains the prevailing libertarian neo-classical economic doctrine says sustained economic growth will occur when governments do not actively participate in economic development, free competition prevails and market forces are allowed free reign. There is a further important implicit assumption that such a system tends to equilibrium, ie. stability prevails and instability is rare, conditions for growth are optimised. He says the reverse is the case. It is very difficult to achieve sustainable growth. The assumption of equilibrium also marginalises the role of creativity, the driving force of 20th century economic development. Creativity is an equilibrium disturbing activity essential to competitive competition. He lists, in order of difficulty, six conditions that must be met simultaneously for sustained growth to occur, such as happened in the USA from 1900 to 1930. These are:

- The existence of an adequate supply of appropriate investment opportunities at an acceptable level of risk. Managing and minimising risk is essential
- External trade, equity between imports and exports - no trade deficits.
- The financing of enterprises - borrowings must not be excessive, risk managed.
- Internal demand - equality between the demand for and the supply of goods and services to ensure that installed capacity is fully utilised..
- The structure of industry - capacity bottlenecks must be avoided or eliminated, including balanced development of infrastructure.
- Human capital - educational levels, aptitudes, workforce skills must be at a sufficient level.

The major difficulty is maintaining appropriate investment opportunities at an acceptable low risk level, particularly when challenging the dominant economic powers. These investments must be at the cutting edge of technology. Technological innovations to achieve a competitive advantage has driven economic development during the twentieth century. A sustained and active strategic input by government is required to support innovation and counter intrinsic tropic tendencies. Once one of the conditions fails and growth slows, positive feedback tends to amplify the slow down. Examples of conditions prompting failure are:

- World economic outlook (eg rise in oil price)
- Inappropriate domestic policies - or lack thereof.
- Friction over income distribution.
- Uncorrected domestic structural imbalances (financial excesses).
- Changes in structural competition from national resource depletion or technology change.
- Loss of industry competitiveness due to emergence of new technologies or a new foreign dominant competitor.

New strategies enabled other nations to finally begin catching up with the USA between 1950 and 1985, but also because of conscious transfer of technology to Europe and Japan by the USA under Cold War conditions which helped undermine US economic dominance in the medium term. 1950 to 1970 saw oil displace coal as the dominant fuel and the penetration of electricity in to every facet of life. Extraordinarily cheap Middle East oil from giant discoveries from 1930' to 1960 was a vital input that powered this period of stable growth everywhere.

Countries have used various development models according to their historical, cultural and political circumstances in an attempt to ameliorate or break through the risk management constraint to high growth. Dr Brain says these models are:

- The infant industry model, eg Australia to 1970, tariff protection etc. Now an obsolete model no longer viable due to growth of the global economy.
- The corporatist state model, eg Japan, South Korea and Taiwan - the latter made successful use of key government owned enterprises and a high standard for traditional public servants in key areas.

- The communist model of total government ownership, eg USSR, China. An extreme form of the corporatist state model. China is now becoming more like the corporatist state model.
- The socialist model, intermediate between the communist and corporate state models, eg India and some Asian and African countries.
- The crony capitalist model, eg Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia.
- The social market model, Europe, the European Community.
- The knowledge industry model, the latest model, USA from the early 1980's.

During the 1970's, and especially during the 1980's, the corporatist state model seemed invincible. The early 20th century industrial model was developed to perfection. It was widely assumed that Japan would become the dominant economic superpower early in the next century. However, during the 1980's the USA developed a knowledge industry structure which had the risk-management advantages of the corporatist state without its inflexibility and vulnerability to corruption. The US government funded military-industrial complex and NASA are the principal technological power-houses driving the knowledge industry model by pioneering expensive innovations and facilitating their application to manufacturing. The end of the Cold War helped the USA by reducing the burden of military expenditure and leading to the transfer of significant numbers of highly skilled technologists from advanced military to domestic industry tasks.

The culture of the USA provides a more favourable environment for the decentralised decision making characteristic of the knowledge industry model compared to the cultures of Japan and other Asian "tigers". In the 1990's the USA began to outstrip Japan in export growth. Dr Brain claims the knowledge industry model is the most significant development since the earlier model pioneered by the USA at the beginning of this century and poses a crisis for the older models.

He says this development was a competitive disaster for Japan and those countries dependent on it, a fundamental reason for the Asian meltdown in addition to the growth of corruption intrinsic to these Asian models. He says economic recovery in Asia will take well into the middle of next decade and could be longer. Recovery requires such a fundamental culture change that it won't occur overnight. High Asian growth rates belong to the past. Indonesia may well disintegrate as a nation.

He also discusses in some detail the inter-relatedness of these developments with financial deregulation and economic globalisation.

Some economists see signs of Asian recovery bottoming out, but the current stock exchange recovery is limited to a very narrow range of companies and the massive debt overhang for the majority is not resolved, a key barrier to permanent revival (Australian Financial Review 1999).

The Asian recovery will merge into the era when global oil production peaks next decade which will profoundly alter the outcome, a factor Dr Brain is not aware of. See the discussion below. He gives insufficient attention to the severe environmental and resource constraints closing in on Asian countries' current ambitions. A business-as-usual recovery is not possible in the medium term.

He sees knowledge industries centred on a few global cities, with Sydney possibly one. The WA State Planning Strategy's "quantum growth" model aspires for Perth to be such a global city.

However, he also sees polarisation into a few wealthy global cities and a large number of poorer ones, and even the same pattern within global cities. Only a few will participate. This is a major threat to "sustainable growth" under this model and he advocates the need for policies in both the USA and Australia to reduce the wealth polarisation that is occurring.

From 1970 growing globalisation forced Australia to progressively abandon the infant industry model. The policy elite embraced monetarism and became increasingly reliant on its parent, American neo-liberalism, an ideology the US preached but did not always practice. The change was strongly supported by pastoral and mining interests who claimed they could underpin continuing prosperity. It was "pure" neo-classical economics imported by academics, a model honed to perfection in the USA that advantages the hegemonic power, according to Dr Brain. As technological development was becoming far more important, favouring economies of scale and Australia was a small market.

Reducing tariffs, deregulating, privatising, reducing the role of government, creating a "level playing field", letting market forces work, reducing tariffs and a relatively passive role for government was the strategy. The result has been de-industrialisation and a loss of manufacturing industry. Deregulated financial markets in the 1980's in the absence of compensating government

initiatives and industry policies, led to unproductive speculation, casinos and property booms, rising debt and unemployment, not investment in leading edge industrial development. John Button's policy for the car industry was a conspicuous exception.

The outcome was heavy capital intensive investment in mineral and energy development that employs few people and where commodity prices have had along and sustained fall in real prices. Australia is the only developed country whose GDP per capita did not improve relative to the USA, unlike most other developing countries in Asia and elsewhere whose governments actively pursued appropriate interventionist policies. The prevailing ethos is against dynamic and sustained input by government to develop industry policy and give leadership, the key to the success of other countries and essential for countries like Australia.

Dr Brain sees the only way forward for Australia as the rejection of American-imported neo-liberalism's disregard for the role of government and a return to the indigenous liberal tradition which expects much of government. The pragmatic use of governments was how Australia overcame its disadvantages in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He says a century ago Australia's disadvantages were long distances and small scale and that the tyranny of distance has been conquered but the diseconomy of small scale remains.

He does not realise that the peaking of conventional oil (see below) means the reversal of this pattern next century, an increase in the tyranny of distance and a growing economy of small scale, not only for Australia but for the world. He does not understand that the new knowledge based development model as he describes it is dependent on abundant cheap transport that is dependent on abundant cheap oil for its development, therefore has a limited future. But we urgently need knowledge based development of a different kind.

The growth vision of the *State Planning Strategy* is seriously flawed as it is based on romanticised utopian fantasies of economic growth that have overtones of a cargo cult mentality. The same visions are also in part driving rail reform.

Oil Production Climaxes Next Decade

Note: one barrel equals 160 litres.

The comments here are additional to those in Fleay (1999), incorporate comment on developments to date in 1999 and summarise the essence of the present situation and the prospects for next decade.

Conventional oil production in the world outside the Persian Gulf is going to peak around 2001, now a certainty as the focus for upstream oil development shifts to the Persian Gulf as explained below. World oil production will peak between 2007 and 2013 with economic and political events being the major factors determining the latter date as much as the progress of oil depletion or debate on the size of the remaining oil endowment. This viewpoint was accepted in March 1998 by the G8 Country Energy Ministers on advice from the International Energy Agency (IEA). However, the IEA is still under the illusion that non-conventional oil (mainly tarsands and shale oil) can painlessly bridge the gap to 2030. See Fleay (1999).

The price of oil is governed mainly by commodity traders' perceptions of the balance between supply and demand about one year ahead. Few traders are aware of the impending peaking of oil. However, exploration and development to meet demand in the middle of next decade needs to start now, there is a 5-7 year time lag between commencing exploration and new fields reaching full production.

The Persian Gulf producers have 60% of the world's remaining oil but produce only 30% of annual production. Furthermore, their production costs and the cost of finding and developing new supply are both one-third to one-fifth of that in the rest of the world - much of Saudi Arabian oil costs less than US\$2 per barrel to produce. In the short term little exploration is needed in these countries, it is a matter of developing already discovered oil and gas and carrying out a backlog of refurbishment investment on existing wells.

Since 1979 oil production as well as petroleum exploration and development has been concentrated in the expensive non-Persian Gulf world for political reasons. Cheap Persian Gulf producers operate at the margin, the reverse of what economic theory says should happen. The political motive to avoid dependence on these country's oil has dominated until now.

This strategy of the major consuming countries worked because of the enormous supply surplus that developed in the early 1980's (about one-third of production capacity in 1984), mostly concentrated in Persian Gulf and Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), especially Saudi Arabia. Oil consumption fell from 1979 to 1986 then rose again with most supply

increase obtained by turning on shut-down oil wells in the Middle East, especially from 1990 when Iraqi production was "removed" from the market. High 1970's oil prices collapsed in 1986.

Since 1986 the finances of Gulf countries have deteriorated, the Arab billions have gone. Major oil companies have also been put through the financial ringer. Cost cutting has dissipated their capacity to explore for oil and gas while new discoveries are in ever smaller fields in more expensive locations like deep water offshore, where most of the new but limited opportunities exist. Turning on shut down oil wells from 1986 compensated for this high cost oil and attrition of the industry's capacity to explore for and develop new oil and gas fields.

By 1995-6 few shut-down oil wells were left to turn on, and these are mostly in the Persian Gulf, eg Iraq. Consumption growth rate was nearly 3% in 1997, the highest since the 1970's and higher still in Asia. Oil from the Persian Gulf powered a decade of growth in the Asian "tiger economies" of South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. China began importing oil in 1994. Suddenly the level of new oil field development needed to double and treble to meet consumption if these high growth rates continued and to compensate for the increasing number of declining oil fields expected outside the Persian Gulf.

But the debilitated service industry did not have the capacity to do this nor could this capacity be increased in a reasonable time frame at an affordable cost. By 1996 the offshore service industry was fully committed in the critical equipment and skilled staff areas. By December 1997 nearly all non-Persian Gulf exploration and development was offshore. The price of oil rose to US\$24/barrel. Hire rates for offshore drilling rigs sky-rocketed.

Then the Asian crisis hit consumption late in 1997, it barely increased in 1998 and oil prices began to fall as the magnitude of the crisis became apparent. By December 1998 oil prices had fallen to US\$9-10 per barrel, equalling in real terms the lowest ever reached in the industry's history. The International Monetary Fund bailed out Russia in August 1998 when foreign exchange earnings from oil slumped. Russia has not recovered.

At this price oil was at or below the production cost for much heavy oil (Venezuela, Canada, Mexico), Canadian tar sands, Mobil oil production, some deep water offshore wells and the 450,000 US stripper wells that produce on average 2.2 bbls per day each (350 litres). 25% of US crude oil production was at risk of shutting down with employment and political consequences. The US consumes 19 m.bbls per day, imports 10.5, produces 2 m.bbls per day from natural gas liquids and 6.5 m.bbls per day as crude oil. To import replacement oil could severely tax facilities at ports and inland oil refineries may have had difficulty obtaining oil due to lack of pipeline capacity from these ports - pipelines from declining oil fields service these refineries! Accountancy firm Arthur Andersen is reported as saying that Mobil oil production costs were US\$11.50 per barrel, higher than the oil price over the northern winter (Oil & Gas Journal 1999 and Fleay 1999)

The low prices threatened OPEC country political stability. Major oil companies merged (BP-AMOCO-ARCO and Mobil-Exxon), slashed exploration and development budgets, accelerated cost cutting and further attrition of exploration and development capacity.

In March 1999, after being seared by such a scorching blowtorch, sufficient discipline seems to have occurred following an OPEC meeting for these countries, Mexico and Norway to limit production. Prices have risen to US\$16-17 per barrel during April. Probably with active US and oil company support as well. But for how long? If China and Japan devalue their currency and/or the US economy slows, as many commentators predict, it would lead to reduced oil consumption - even a fall. Would the oil cartel weaken and prices fall again? What might the consequences be? Dr Brain's analysis of the Asian meltdown is irrelevant here.

The Russian oil industry is in a decrepit state - billions of dollars need spending on it urgently and outside funds and expertise are needed. The present state of that country is preventing this from happening (Petroleum Review 1999) A steep fall in oil production could occur before 2005 if this refurbishment is not carried out, according to the International Energy Agency in a report to G8 Energy Ministers in March 1998. Russia's political and economic problems would be aggravated and 2 million barrels per day of oil exports to Eastern Europe cut off and it is questionable whether adequate delivery systems (ie pipelines) exist to supply oil from alternative sources. Former Soviet Union oil production peaked in 1989 at 12 m.bbls per day and has since fallen to 7 m.bbls per day. About half the fall is due to field decline, half due to a fall in consumption from 10 to 5 m.bbls per day, a consequence of depressed economic conditions.

Sheikh Yamani announced in October 1998 Saudi Arabia's intention to keep oil prices below US\$18 per barrel to capture high cost production elsewhere and discourage high cost petroleum development in the rest of the world. Furthermore, he said by inviting major companies to make "expressions of interest" for petroleum investment in these countries they can capture

investment in exploration and new capacity development as well. The major companies are focused on returning to the Middle East, not marginal Australian development.

The major companies are currently negotiating agreements with Persian Gulf countries, but firmly on those countries terms (West Australian 1999). Suddenly investment in expensive oil and gas development elsewhere in the world has assumed a much higher risk, such as on the North West Shelf in WA and in the Timor Sea. BHP Petroleum is selling its Timor Sea assets, Shell has handed over its Australian exploration to Woodside. Exploration budgets are being cut everywhere.

This situation, mediated by low oil prices, could continue for several years given the present fragile state of the world economy, a widely held view in oil industry circles. Economics is overtaking politics for oil. It is inevitable that the Persian Gulf countries share of world production will increase from its present 30% to 45-50% by 2010 and representing perhaps a 60% output increase, provided political and economic perturbations do not become too extreme.

Meanwhile the major oil companies operations elsewhere will contract as will the industry's capacity to explore. There will be fewer companies in 2010. Only a few majors are likely to be invited back to the Persian Gulf, one of the reasons for the spate of mergers. As Colin Campbell says, "when the prospects for discovery diminish they can only eat each other".

US and European petroleum industry journals now openly publish articles by Colin Campbell and Jean Laherrere that describe the coming oil peaks and the character of the decline phase (eg Petroleum Economist 9/1997 to 6/1998, Laherrere 1999). The tone of the journalist's articles skirt around the issue obliquely. They are all waiting for someone else to say bluntly what is happening. Perhaps over the next 12 months, when the deals between Persian Gulf countries and oil companies are revealed, the news will break. It will become too difficult to deny what is obvious.

It is all in a very fragile state.

By 2030 world conventional oil production will most likely be some 60% of present levels, this estimate is written into the physical performance of existing oil wells which will become the prime determinant of production levels once the peak is reached. There will be additional non-conventional oil production. However, the economics of its production will always severely limit the scale of production and its capacity to support the transport and agricultural systems we currently have.

Australia

The Australian Geological Survey Organisation (AGSO) has published its June 1998 estimates for Australian oil and condensate production to 2010 (AGSO 1999). Together with business-as-usual estimates for consumption these show Australian net crude oil imports to be about 40 million barrels in 1999 increasing in 2010 to 200 million barrels out of an estimated 340 million barrels total consumption (Fleay 1999). Events since June 1998 described above suggest the AGSO's estimates for 2010 maybe on the optimistic side. Companies are slashing exploration and development budgets.

At April 1999 exchange rates (~62.5c Aust to US\$1) and oil prices of US\$15.50 per barrel these figures represent an import bill of \$1000 million in 1999, increasing to \$8500 million in 2010 if oil prices increased to US\$26, just above the December 1997 price. Oil prices in the early 1980's reached US\$60-70 at present day prices. But who knows what the exchange rate will be in 2010.

Clearly business will not be "as usual".

It is highly likely that by 2030 Australian crude oil production will have ceased with a poor chance for imports from the Middle East, but we will have some natural gas liquids and natural gas. It is getting a bit late to discover the giant fields Australia needs to change these forecasts, nor are we immune to events in the rest of the world. The least explored area in the Timor Sea is an expensive location for petroleum development as it has moderately deep to deep water remote from shore bases. Companies are pulling out until the political situation in Indonesia stabilises which could take years.

Australia needs to urgently plan for the shift of land freight transport to natural gas as a fuel. As yet rail operators have given it scant attention.

The Federal government's tax reform measures as they will affect fuel and vehicle prices give the wrong signals on oil consumption and the need to shift much of land freight from diesel to gas, favour car travel in cities and disadvantage public transport (Australia Institute 1998).

Australia's Balance of Payments

Oil imports contribution to a deteriorating balance of payments to 2010 have been discussed above.

The international car manufacturing industry is undergoing major restructuring. Before the Asian financial crisis it faced a massive excess production capacity, in 1996 it produced 50 million vehicles but had the capacity to make 68 million and this was expected to expand to 80 million around 2000 (Economist 1997). Mergers and alliances are the order of the day and it is expected that the number of companies will be reduced from 17 to 10 or 11 over the next year or two (Economist 1999). Three developments are driving the restructuring:

- Over-capacity, partly a consequence of expansion in Asia under the crony capitalism and corporate state growth models, especially in South Korea.
- The impact of new manufacturing technology arising out of the knowledge industry model that is giving a competitive advantage to economies of scale and those companies at the forefront of this innovation.
- The development of hybrid petrol-electric drive vehicles possibly leading to full electric drive using fuel cells to convert fuel directly to electricity (hydrogen, methanol, natural gas?). These developments have the potential to halve fuel consumption.

The latter innovations were first prompted by the growing concerns over exhaust emissions, air pollution and greenhouse gas considerations, to reduce emissions by dramatically improving fuel efficiency. However, it is not clear whether fuel cells can use petrol. It is likely that companies have stepped up these programs as the coming decline of oil has become more openly discussed over the last 18 months. Toyota already has a hybrid petrol-electric car on the market.

Companies that have merged so far, or have an alliance, include Chrysler-Mercedes Benz, Toyota-General Motors, Ford with Mazda and Volvo, Nissan-Renault and BMW-Rover. Some smaller companies may close altogether. Introducing such dramatic technological changes has high risks and requires a massive investment that only the biggest companies can undertake.

This raises the question of the future of Australian car manufacturing over the next 10 years. Is there a place for it in the new electric drive revolution? If not, and there is a significant contraction of the industry, what does this mean for increased vehicle imports and the balance of trade? Mitsubishi is the smallest manufacturer and is not a large one in Japan. If this happened Australia would be forced to cut imports generally, including cars, to reduce trade deficits. What would that mean for the level of imports through ports and related rail and road freight transport? What are the implications for our car dependent cities?

Further investigation of this issue and its transport implications is warranted.

The salinity problems arising in southern Australia's cereal cropping farm lands could also adversely impact on export income in the medium term.

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Salinisation of agricultural land Southern Australia

A revised draft WASalinity Action Plan (SAP) to 2030 was released for public comment in December 1998. It addresses the salinity issue from Geraldton to the south coast. The notes below are based on information in SAP unless indicated otherwise.

The region has a very flat topography, slightly uplifted on the western margin so that it tends to function as a large poorly drained evaporation basin. 75% of Australia's salinised farm land is in Western Australia.

Before land clearing for agriculture only 1% of rainfall in the main drier parts of the wheat belt discharged as stream flow to the ocean, the rest was nearly all transpired by the original open woodland, a small amount infiltrated to mostly deep ground water tables. Stream flow was negligible and intermittent, mostly fresh from shallow infiltration of rain into rivers which in turn seeped again into the soil washing accumulated salt below tree root zones. The ground water is mostly in complex multiple unconfined, perched and confined aquifers. The deep rooted perennial woodlands were uniquely adapted to this combination of climate, topography, leached and nutrient impoverished soils.

Consequently salt fall in the rain (some of the highest in the world) has been left behind over tens of thousands of years as vast accumulations of salt below the root zone. Clearing of the land and substituting low transpiring annual cereals and pastures has substantially reduced evapotranspiration and increased ground water recharge by up to two orders of magnitude and increased streamflow. The rising ground water is mobilising the stored salt. A brief background is described in Fleay (1999).

Salinisation threatens the 19 million hectares of land in WA's wheat belt. 9.5% has already been lost to farm production and 22.5% or more could become saline over the next few decades in the absence of effective counter measures to first halt, then reverse the rising water tables. 36%

of the divertible surface water in the south west suitable as potable water or for irrigation has now become brackish or saline. A further 16% has become of marginal quality. The land should never have been cleared.

More than \$54 million has been spent on salinity management and research and the scientists in WA, and increasingly the farmers, are becoming the world leaders in dry land salinisation management.

Salinisation occurs unevenly over the landscape, low lying land being at the greatest risk, often the most productive farmland.

Rising salt is also damaging buildings and community facilities in some towns (eg Merredin) and shortening the life of roads and rail track as soil and building material strength is affected. ARRB Transport Research in 1997 indicated that a considerable percentage of the State road network was currently affected or potentially at risk from rising water tables and salinity.

There is a high unrecognised social cost associated with the problem adding to the considerable stresses these communities are under from other causes.

The solution requires managing ground and surface water. Significant restoration of deep rooted perennial vegetation is required together with a marginal role for some crops and pastures that have corresponding transpiration characteristics, eg lucerne. The enormous scale of the revegetation required affects the economic viability of cereal cropping and the revegetation required must include commercial tree crops, deep-rooted perennial grasses and herbs if success is to be achieved.

A radical restructure of agriculture in the wheat belt is necessary and has already begun. The WA government has announced a \$3 billion contribution over 30 years to SAP which anticipates that land holders will make an even larger commitment. The Landcare movement has taken firm hold in rural Western Australia and is rapidly out growing its initial framework.

SAP (p. 11) says the consensus among scientists is that 20% of the landscape must be revegetated with high water use systems in strategic locations as a minimum requirement.

However, Tom Hatton, leader of CSIRO's Sustainable Catchment Management Program in WA, says at least 80% of the land must be revegetated based on recent research about to be published by CSIRO (Hatton 1999). The research models ground water behaviour under various vegetation regimes using recent data obtained from measuring the transpiration performance of a variety of tree species. The modelling showed this degree of revegetation was required to lower water tables sufficiently to dry out low lying land and it would take more than 100 years. Any lesser coverage would lead to excessive salt accumulation under the new trees eventually killing them. Land has already been lost to salt and more is inevitable, the likely ultimate area is uncertain.

Clearly the very future of cereal and canola production in the WA wheat belt is at stake, even pastoral pursuits. There is the added problem of adapting to an agriculture not dependent on petroleum fuels, an issue yet to be integrated with action to combat salinity. A significant reduction of cereal cropping is inevitable. We face either the demise of much of rural Western Australia or its urgent radical transformation to different agricultural products and practices.

The transformation will take the best part of next century and the availability of petroleum fuels is indispensable to the initial stages over the next three to four decades. This task must have first call on our remaining petroleum fuels.

Similar dry land salinisation is emerging in South Australia and the Murray-Darling Basin, among other problems such as eutrophication of streams. Tom Hatton says recent research, drawing on work in Western Australia, now recognises essentially the same problem exists needing similar solutions, viz revegetation of the land by deep rooted vegetation perhaps on a similar scale to Western Australia. The problem is apparently taking longer to develop due to the different topography and drainage patterns and will require its own unique range of responses. Again the fate of a large portion of Australia's food production is at stake.

Salinity in the Murray River is increasing at an accelerating rate. Most of South Australia's irrigation and public water supply comes from the Murray River and is under threat in the medium to long term.

A book on the subject is in press and a CSIRO report is awaiting release (Hatton 1999).

This massive crisis obviously has profound implications for transport in rural areas in general and for rail in particular. The grain crop is mostly railed to ports for export and is an important source of export income. Neither the WA State Planning Strategy, Transport WA strategy documents, Main Roads Department forward plans nor public policy in other states and the

Commonwealth recognise the magnitude of the problem, its potential implications for transport generally and indeed for the future of Australia and the population implications.

The validity of 30 year planning documents that assume a "business-as-usual" growth scenario must clearly be questioned.

Declining Rainfall in the South West of WA

The Water Corporation (WC) in WA has announced a \$275 million project to pipe water to Perth from Stirling Dam on the Harvey River 140 km south of the CBD. Stirling Dam is to be supplemented by water pumped 16 km from Harris Dam further south on a tributary of the Collie River. This dam was constructed 10 years ago for public water supply to Great Southern farms and towns to replace the supply from Wellington Dam on the main Collie River which had become too brackish for public supply. Selective buying back of farms on the Collie River and planting trees is slowly halting the salinity increase and the river should become fresh again. Most water from Wellington Dam is used for irrigation.

The Public Environmental Review (PER) for the Harvey Stirling project says it is being built because of climate change (Water Corporation 1999).

Since 1974 persistent low rainfall has reduced stream flow into Perth's dams to 60% of the long term average since 1911. The 25 year drought has forced the WC to reduce the expected yield from its surface and ground water sources from 297 to 247 GL per year, a 17% reduction. The Harvey-Stirling Scheme meets two-thirds of the short-fall by 2003, the remainder will be met from new ground water development in the Wanneroo area north of Perth.

Perth's water supply is an integrated system of surface and groundwater sources that supplies the Metropolitan Area, Mandurah to the south, farms and towns in the central wheatbelt and mining centres from Kalgoorlie to Norseman, nearly 80% of the State's population. The greatest rainfall decline has been in the high rainfall zone where the dams are located and where the salinity risk is least. The percentage decline in rainfall increases from north to south.

If the rainfall decline persists the PER says the yield from existing water sources could undergo further decline and the previously expected yield from prospective new sources would also be reduced, forcing the WC to go even further south to supply water for the city at present levels of service. The impact of declining rainfall on water yield from dams is greatest in the north (Mundaring Weir near Perth) than in the south (Dandalup and Harvey River systems).

All public parks, a large part of household garden watering, horticulture irrigation and some industrial water comes from private ground water bores which in total supply more water than the public supply system. The same coastal plain ground water supports an extensive and a diverse system of wetlands that are under stress.

In April the CSIRO's Division of Atmospheric Research (DAR) publicised a paper on rainfall variation throughout Australia this century (West Australian 1999a, Hennessy et al 1999). While the rest of Australia has been getting wetter since 1910, winters in the south west of WA have been getting drier because the system of cold fronts that bring rain each year has moved farther south. There has been a 25% drop in winter rainfall this century, but a small increase in summer rainfall. The rest of Australia, except Tasmania, has been getting slightly wetter.

An author of the paper, Kevin Hennessy, said "that the path followed by a lot of cold fronts is moving farther south over a long period and we know why, but not how." He said the shift could be related to global warming or just a natural long-term variability in global climate. "If the fronts moved a farther five degrees south, which is about 500 km farther south, they might miss the whole of South-West WA" (West Australian 1999a).

Many scenarios for the global enhanced greenhouse effect show a cooling trend for the south west of WA. Is this the first manifestation? In 1996 the Climate Impact Group in CSIRO's Division of Atmospheric Research published a range of plausible climate scenarios for 2030 attributable to the enhanced greenhouse effect (CSIRO 1996). A summary of the conclusions is given below.

- These scenarios suggest that rainfall from May to October in the SW of WA could vary in the range -8% to +2% relative to 1990 rainfall depending on the assumptions made in each of the scenarios.
- These rainfall changes in the scenarios apply to broad areas. Significantly larger or smaller changes could apply in locations where topography strongly controls rainfall patterns. (eg the Darling Scarp where the dams are located)
- These simulations of rainfall change for Australia are particularly sensitive to oceanic processes.

- Future rainfall over Australia may be affected by local changes in ocean circulation, changes in large-scale atmospheric circulation due to increasing sulphate aerosols in Asia and changes in El Nino.
- Some models can now crudely simulate El Nino related climate variability.
- **Levels of soil moisture and run-off can be very sensitive to changes in rainfall and evapo-transpiration and will be important for water resources, agriculture and biodiversity.**

Long term variations in general ocean circulation could also be responsible and as yet we know very little about this phenomenon. There is more likely to be an interaction between both.

There are important implications for agriculture in the south west, for biodiversity, south west forests and for water resource managers faced with falling water yields. The rainfall decline so far has been least in the drier agricultural areas.

It challenges the pattern of urban development in Perth and the high garden water consuming urban sprawl that goes with it. Private and public supply use already diverts an extremely high percentage of the Perth regions water resources, even as historically assessed on higher rainfall patterns.

There are significant consequences for transport and land use.

Again it challenges the veracity of the business-as-usual population projection of two million people for Perth by 2030, and the even higher one for the "quantum growth" scenario. This scenario envisages a global city which features Perth as a pleasant and safe place to live. Not if it is desiccated.

Growth scenarios - Conclusions

From mid-1999 the growth scenarios of the State Planning Strategy in hindsight look even more like utopian fantasies.

The Asian boom has ended and the future is unclear. The future of oil, the characteristics of its imminent decline and the implications for Australia and the world are becoming more sharply focussed as a near term event. A full recognition of the consequences of clearing of land for southern Australian agriculture is emerging in the WA Salinity Action Plan and in recent research.

Declining rainfall in the south west of WA has finally had dramatic consequences for Perth's water future, a time of reckoning has arrived. All these factors together have the potential to impact adversely on Australia's balance of trade, hence capacity to import goods from overseas with important transport consequences for shipping, ports and their connecting land transport systems.

The realism of a two million population projection for Perth by 2029 must be questioned in these circumstances. The city has grown strongly for over 100 years, but it is not inevitable that it will continue to do so. The emerging water and agricultural constraints, as well as declining oil, strongly suggest that it won't and certainly that such growth is highly undesirable.

Resources must go into healing the environmental damage in the wheatbelt rather than in to growth.

The draft Perth Metropolitan Freight Transport Strategy says the major component of freight in Perth is construction materials followed by waste and rubbish. An end to growth would significantly reduce the first. The inevitable shift to thrift in the use of resources as oil declines will force reduction of the second. Projections of high traffic growth through Fremantle and Kwinana ports also look very questionable beyond the short term.

An alternative more realistic lower growth scenario for Perth is needed that takes these issues into account.

Our food production, mostly from southern Australia, feeds some 60-80 million people. Nearly half of our wheat comes from Western Australia. What population can Australia support by the middle of next century if we manage to successfully transform agriculture to cope with salinity and declining oil - and what population if we do not succeed? Answers to these questions are needed before we can properly embark on transport reform.

Australia needs a long term transport strategy related to a sober and realistic assessment of the size population this country can support. It is not high and many are saying it is less than our current population.

Rail Reform General

It is correct to consider rail reform in the context of the four distinct sectors of urban passenger, bulk freight, non-urban passenger and non-bulk freight. The latter two have lost out to road alternatives. The Draft Report gives a good outline of the history and sources of the problems rail now faces.

However, whether it is wise in the long term to separate ownership of track from rolling stock and operations is far less clear. At present this is being driven by the dictates of statutory Competition Policy, pressure groups with axes to grind and a belief that if you create a competitive market that somehow the most efficient outcome will follow.

Some of the longer term issues of sustaining high operational safety standards and ensuring that track owners maintain and develop their assets are latent problems that could prove just as serious as present ones after two or three decades. Professionals in the water industry are concerned about this issue where BOOT schemes have been introduced and the loss of long term informal knowledge of the system characteristics with contracting out of maintenance. There may be an over-reaction to current problems.

Transport reform is seen by business and governments as a key factor in improving the competitive position of Australia in world markets. The problems of rail reform are graphic evidence of Dr Brain's thesis that the conditions needed for sustainable growth (leaving aside for the moment the question of whether this is desirable or even possible in the 21st century) are difficult to achieve and require sustained effort and leadership by government. The prevailing neo-classical economic philosophy gets in the road of government playing this role effectively.

The central issue facing transport is future fuel supply an issue the industry, government and community has yet to confront, but they will certainly do so during the next decade. I have discussed this issue at length in Fleay (1999) and some key points pertinent to rail reform are outlined below.

- The age of oil will essentially be over by 2050 and natural gas will most likely have been fading for about 20 years. Oil supply will start to decline exponentially by 2010, Australian oil from 1999.
- Transport consumes about 60% of world oil supply and there is not available nor in sight fuels that can replace conventional oil for transport as we know it either in quantity or economic performance.
- Consequently the real cost of transport is going to increase and a decline in its scale and scope is inevitable next century.
- It follows that contraction of the global economy will take place and long distance trade will diminish in favour of more local production.
- Economic growth, as presently defined, will come to an end. However, economic development will continue.
- Industrial agriculture, an outcome of the petroleum era, will undergo a radical transformation towards an era "beyond petroleum", in Australia also adapting to the unique features of the local environment.
- World population will peak and start to decline sooner than we think, hopefully in a planned and organised humane way.
- Work must proceed down a labour intensive way as oil declines. Energy has taken over labour power for 200 years and provided the means to increase productivity.

World energy production per capita increased at 2.12% per year from 1850 to 1945 when coal was the dominant fuel and 3.54% per year from 1945 to 1973 when oil displaced coal. However from 1979 energy production has only kept pace with population, a plateau has been reached. Per capita energy production may well begin to decline next decade (Duncan 1999).

Urban rail

The Draft Report documents the increase in car dependence in our cities since 1972 and the decline in public transport. There has been a corresponding increase in urban fuel consumption. Nearly 60% of total kilometre travelled is in capital cities and there has been a big increase in light commercial vehicles. Two-thirds of fuel consumption is by passenger vehicles.

All capital cities are suffering from acute road congestion, traffic noise and air pollution, despite massive road expenditure both as private tollways in Sydney and Melbourne and as publicly funded road works in all cities. There has been and still is strong opposition to continued promotion of car travel in our cities.

Newman and Kenworthy from the Institute of Science and Technology Policy at Murdoch University have researched and written extensively on cities generally and their transport problems, comparing car dependent cities with ones having a strong focus on public transport, particularly rail transit. Their latest book, *Sustainability and Cities: Overcoming Automobile Dependence*, investigates these issues exhaustively from a very broad base, including the issue of imminent oil depletion (Newman & Kenworthy 1999).

Their book summarises an investigation of 38 city's transport systems from 1960 to 1980 published in 1989, updated to 1990 with data from an additional 16 cities (Moscow and Berlin included in the 1989 book were dropped in the update). The update included Asian cities. Newman & Kenworthy have also completed a similar study for the World Bank on 37 cities. The essence of their conclusions relevant to rail reform are:

- Energy use per capita in private passenger travel is inversely proportional to urban density (persons per hectare) by a factor of six to one.
- There was a strong correlation between urban density and the priority of transit over roads and car orientation.
- Significantly more persons walked or rode bicycles to work in cities with high urban density.
- Mobility is not necessarily related to city wealth. Data suggests that cities with high wealth are associated with lower mobility (ie transit rather than car orientated).
- Car orientated cities spent a higher proportion of their wealth on journeys to work.
- Car orientated cities spent a far higher proportion of their wealth on passenger transportation. The range was under 5% for wealthy Asian cities to 8% in European cities and 12-13% for car based US and Australian cities. Perth was the highest at 17%, the classic case of urban sprawl.
- Low density cities spent more of their wealth on passenger transportation than high density cities.
- Kilometres travelled per capita in car orientated cities is high and increasing, more than offsetting any gains in higher speeds, fuel efficiency and lower exhaust emission from freeway travel.
- Fare box return covers a much higher proportion of transit costs in transit orientated cities than in car based ones.
- Greenhouse gas emissions and other air pollutants per capita are higher in car orientated cities.
- Energy consumption in transit orientated cities (electricity) is about half that in car orientated cities (petrol).

Other service costs associated with car orientation are higher, water and sewerage, road accidents and environmental resources. Car orientated cities eat up land for roads, parking places and low density sprawl. Scarce fertile agricultural land is often consumed. It is a disaster to be poor or unemployed displaced to the urban fringes with poor public transport. You need a car to look for and get to work and cannot afford one. There is the potential for greater informal social interaction in high density transit orientated cities, more opportunity for community development.

Maintenance of extensive roads in car based cities will become a chronic economic burden.

Cities that have a car orientation, as in Australia, will be at a severe competitive disadvantage in the 21st century, even without considering oil depletion. Taking the latter into account they could face disaster unless there is an urgent change of direction.

The freeways and motorways constructed in Australian cities over the last decade are the most disastrous infrastructure investments we have ever made. Had the funds been invested in developing transit orientated public transport along with complementary changes in land use, appropriate integration of land and transport planning, we would be in a much stronger economic position and far better able to cope with the stresses of the 21st century and the decline of oil.

For Australia there is the added need to divert remaining petroleum fuels to the overwhelming task of rural reconstruction.

The prime problem with urban rail transit is not the need for introducing competition, but a recognition of its central role in urban affairs ahead of roads. That requires a systems community approach not a tinkering at the edges with the aim of getting competitive markets. The process of commercialisation of government utilities has involved separating out the costs of community service obligations as a charge against government. That is, to be commercial is not to have community obligations! What a devastating statement! It is saying that in markets

community has no value! As George Soros says: "You can have a market economy but you cannot have a market society".

If a competitive environment is introduced to transit, as is proposed in Melbourne, it is unlikely to achieve much without this change of thinking at government, business and community levels.

The WA government has just announced a \$900 million proposal for 69 km of electric transit rail connecting the existing Armadale line at Kenwick to Rockingham and Mandurah to be completed by 2007. It also has a \$1000 million major road works program for the same region that the rail proposal is capable of making largely redundant. Most of the rail route at the northern end is in the wrong place to divert commuter traffic from cars! And much of the road program is to complete the Kwinana Freeway to Mandurah, including duplicating the Narrows Bridge at the southern edge of the CBD, substantially increasing traffic congestion where it is already chronic.

Those whom the gods would destroy they first send mad!

Rail Freight

These comments will not relate to Pilbara iron ore railways or those transporting coal in NSW and Queensland. Non-bulk rail freight will not be discussed. These issues are important, but time is running short.

I confirm support for standardising interstate rail operations, a major impediment to rail freight achieving its rightful place in Australian transport.

The WA government proposes to privatise Westrail's freight operations which these days is almost entirely bulk freight, wheat, alumina, iron ore and caustic soda are the main items. The precise details of the government's proposals have yet to be announced. However, media reports say the prime candidate as buyer/contractor is a Wisconsin based railway in the USA that has track through the principal grain growing regions in that country.

The WA Farmers' Federation is opposed to this sale to such a company. There is often fierce competition between US and Australian wheat growers for markets and the WAFF thinks it insane to give a railway from their competitors territory a potential stranglehold over their wheat transport. I must agree and therefore oppose the sale of Westrail's freight operations. Furthermore, given the salinity problem that exists and its implications, no right minded company would buy Westrail's wheat freight operations. What is the future market going to be?

This raises broader issues about privatisation of government owned utilities in general where this means primarily or overtime their acquisition of vital economic and community infrastructure by foreign owned companies. Telstra, electric utilities, water utilities and some transport comes to mind. There is an important loss of sovereignty. Dr Brain's comments are relevant here for countries like Australia vis a vis the dominant economic powers.

Long distance freight transport by rail is some four to five times more energy efficient than by road (eg Melbourne-Perth) and the track far less vulnerable to damage than are roads (Mason 1997) Furthermore, a fully laden truck causes 7000-9000 more damage to roads than does a car. These factors will become very sharply focused as oil supply declines, starting next decade for Australia. The latter is already a contentious issue in regard to road user fees for trucks. This suggests a virtual cessation of much of current interstate road freight a greater focus on use of rail for freight generally and a trend towards lighter trucks for shorter hauls.

Will we be able to afford next century maintaining both a road and rail link across the Nullarbor? Which should it be?

Some \$3000 million is being spent on making Pacific Highway from Newcastle to Brisbane a dual carriage highway. Would these funds have been better spent upgrading the railway (dual tracking?) and electrifying it (coal powered, not oil). there would then be an electric rail from Rockhampton to Wollongong and Lithgow and close to almost one third of Australia's population.

Australian railways all need to start seriously looking at programs to convert their diesel locomotives to natural gas, the only fuel we can rely on from about 2010.

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APPENDIX

A brief discussion of some of the philosophical concepts behind economic theory are warranted for you to understand my thinking patterns.

1. The core of economic theory studies the behaviour of individual independent buyers and sellers operating in the market place. There is no place here for communities, organisations or social groups, it is as if they do not exist. What does not exist has no value in the market place, as demonstrated by the separation out of community service obligations from government utilities when these were corporatised and made "commercial" - government took on financial responsibility for CSOs. This is not to say that CSOs aren't an important and contentious issue

2. The States and Commonwealth all have umbrella legislation that sets the standard and states definitions to be common to all legislation, generally under the name of Interpretation Acts. All of these Acts have a definition of "person" that goes something like this;

"Person" means a natural person, a body corporate and a body unincorporated....

That is, a person and an organisation are identical unless legislation specifically says otherwise. This is a monstrous distortion of reality that has no place in legislation. It needs to be seen as complementary to the issue raised in para. 1 above.

All corporate and unincorporated bodies have community and environmental responsibilities, it cannot be otherwise.

3. Brian Toohey's book *Tumbling Dice*, a critique of neo-classical economic theory was reviewed by Arthur Gibbs in the Australian Rationalist. He quotes Brian Toohey: "So long as he doesn't get caught, rational economic man has no regard for laws, and still less for social conventions, moral principles or the feelings of others. There is no natural urge towards cooperative endeavour, no sense of community, no tribal loyalty. Given half a chance he would steal coins from a beggar."

The comment of Peter Wiles, an eminent British economist sums it up succinctly: "There are very few such people and we have a word for them: psychopaths."

4. Competition Policy is embodied in the Trade Practices legislation. As I understand it competition embodying the values of the market place as derived from economic theory is placed as supreme above all other values. States and organisations had the opportunity to propose where exceptions could be embodied in legislation, confirming the primacy of competition. Furthermore, appeals against Competition Council decisions are to the Minister who can only determine these on the basis of competition principles

This in effect says the market stands above everything else. It is saying that markets stand above the environment and nature in which it is embedded. Another gross distortion of reality.

I can only repeat George Soros' words: "You can have a market economy, but you cannot have a market society."

No wonder we have escalating social and environmental problems.