

BOTTLENECK!

a phenomenon by which the performance or capacity of an entire system is severely limited by a single component

August 2017

HOW TO KILL A CITY

Jeff Angel

I've been through many metro planning consultations; battles to remove massive road corridors; campaigns to protect local green spaces; and more than enough studies on public transport visions.

In 1999, TEC published 'Greenprint for Sydney' as a precursor to the green Sydney Olympics partly directed at encouraging a green legacy for the metro area. Many remember how well the train and bus system worked with such huge crowds. We were also able to develop BASIX as a result of the Olympic experience which mandates energy and water conservation features in new and renovated housing. There were also some new parks.

No-one really believes that WCX is a sustainable solution

But how far have our governments fallen from the growing branches of public transport and building a liveable city. Today in the Baird/Berejiklian era our city is being massacred by massive road projects. When we thought the stupidity of building more roads, only to see them fill up during peak hour (M2, M5 for example) had finally dawned on decision makers – they resurface like long-dormant dinosaurs. To make matters worse, Cabinets decide they won't consider alternatives like public transport – as we are now seeing with the F6.

WestConnex demonstrates all the bad features of road building – from arrogant bureaucrats to clear-felling of



'Grand Theft' WestConnex rally – NSW Parliament House, 6 April 2017. Photo: Pip Hinman

neighbourhoods and tree canopies to half-thought-out interchanges and link roads.

To their great credit communities keep fighting – bearing witness, exposing budget blowouts and shining a light on decision makers hiding behind orange bollards.

We are in a very real sense fighting for Sydney. No-one really believes that WestConnex is a sustainable solution, but everyone can see that the present government does not care about people or the environment. People need to come first, not delusions about mega roads.

We are at the crossroads: our city is crying out for more green spaces, massive tree planting to reduce crippling urban heat cores. Sydney must cease investing in short-term projects and instead develop a real vision for a sustainable future.

Jeff Angel is Director of the Total Environment Centre, Sydney



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There's never been a better time to protest in the streets

RAW



Andy Singer ©

BOTTLENECK!



Neil Phillips, *The Pollie's Poisonous Popularity Pipe*, 2015

WestConnex is an anachronism, a dinosaur, an ill-favoured thing well beyond its time. Born of a concept discredited worldwide more than 50 years ago, recognised then as an abject failure. A failure from every conceivable point of view.

Not only is it an appalling misappropriation of public monies, but it is an environmental, social and immoral travesty, for were it ever to be completed, it would deliver the exact opposite of its stated aims, and at a massive cost.

It has been described by the best of the experts on traffic management Australia wide, from Professor Peter Newman at Curtin University in Perth to Professor James Weirick at the University of New South Wales, in terms that suggest it is nothing less than a monumental disaster just waiting to happen.

It will clearly worsen the traffic choke points at the City West Link, the Anzac Bridge and the Iron Cove Bridge, and it will ensure that Victoria Road, Parramatta Road and King Street, Newtown, are still gridlocked in peak hours.

To achieve what? Allowing traffic to arrive a couple of minutes earlier at the city end of the gridlocked tunnels as cars and trucks attempt to exit into a local

road network already choked with toll avoiders rat running through inner city streets?

The City of Sydney has independently determined that WestConnex will cost in excess of \$45 billion! That's the equivalent of 9 Snowy Mountains Schemes.

The cost is measured not just in dollars but in terms of health, of the cancers, heart disease, respiratory illness and the certain premature deaths, in the torment suffered 24 hours a day 7 days a week by the residents of Haberfield, Beverly Hills, Homebush and St Peters, in the forced evictions and the theft of homes, in the tolls imposed on Sydney's least affluent demographic and in the environmental cost to the planet.

Should the proposed Western Harbour Tunnel ever be completed, cancer-causing diesel exhaust generated as far away as Cammeray in the north and St Peters in the south would be pumped through the tunnels into Rozelle and then released through four huge unfiltered exhaust stacks, three in the goods yard and one on Victoria Road adjacent to the Rozelle Public School. The converse would apply in St Peters and in Cammeray.

There are even more hidden costs such as the insidious 'no competition' clauses that prevent the Government from building public transport alternatives

that would compete with the tollways, thus forcing dependence on the car. And the loathsome 'shortfall' clauses that guarantee these companies against future losses. The operator of the Sydney Harbour Tunnel has been paid over \$1 billion in 'lost' revenue since it became operational and joins a long list of failed road tunnels that are subsidised by the taxpayer.

Contracts are let to multi-nationals which are currently being investigated overseas for bribery and corruption – companies like AECOM which provided figures for WestConnex's Business Case thus leaving themselves open to charges of malpractice, by providing patronage estimates that almost certainly won't be achieved, as was the case with the Clem Jones Tunnel in Brisbane – resulting in more gouging of the public purse.

This is the ugly reality of WestConnex – run in total secrecy by Berejiklian through the Sydney Motorway Corporation – a private corporation which cares nothing for the community they are legally obliged to engage with – a private corporation driven solely by the bottom line, mounting 'community consultations' sessions that are just a cynical box ticking exercise – a private corporation which expects us to just consume, be silent and die.

But ordinary people across Sydney aren't going to let this happen. Not without a fight we're not! We reject the 'us versus them' divisions and the accusations of nimbyism that Ayres, Baird, Berejiklian and the heavies from WestConnex like Dennis Cliche and the spin doctors from the Sydney Motorway Corporation level against us.

We will continue to argue cogently for WestConnex to be stopped, for a better deal, not just for the people of Sydney, but for all of the citizens of NSW who also suffer when the lion's share of capital expenditure is so frivolously wasted in the Inner West of Sydney.

And we will keep working to convince the ALP in NSW to withdraw their support for WestConnex just as their counterparts did with Roe 8 in Western Australia and the East West Link in Victoria.

BOTTLENECK!



<http://rozelleagainstwestconnex.org>

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The *Bottleneck!* editorial committee comprises the following members of RAW: Wendy Bacon, Andrew Chuter, Denise Corrigan, Peter Hehir, David Watson.

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The views expressed in this publication are the views solely of the contributors.

The publishers recognise and pay respect to the Indigenous nations and traditional owners of the land on which this publication was produced, the Gadigal and the other peoples of the Eora Nation. We express solidarity with the ongoing struggle for constitutional recognition, land rights, self-determination, sovereignty and the acknowledgement of past injustices following the occupation of 1788.

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THE BIG SENTENCE

Peter Hehir

We are not just witnessing the wholesale destruction of heritage homes but also the dislocation of communities, the theft of homes at below market value, the loss of open space, the forced evictions, the distancing of ordinary people & communities from the decision-making process & their elected representatives, the forced council amalgamations, the denial of local people from having some say in determining the shape of the environment that they own & in which they live, the loss of amenity, the imposition of State planning controls, the stifling of speech, the appalling pro-developer biodiversity legislation that threatens endangered species, the removal of protection for endangered flora & fauna, the destruction of our built & natural heritage, the loss of habitat, imprisonment for up to 7 years for opposing coal seam gas mining on private property, jail terms for protesting against projects like WestConnex, the ugly threat of Urban Growth turning Sydney into a high-rise dormitory, the deliberate running down of public transport, the lack of heavy rail track maintenance, the failure to introduce a modern rail signalling system, the cattle train approach of the privately run Metro, the under-utilisation of the existing rail network, the privatisation of the arterial road & rail networks, the selling of State & Federal-run essential enterprises, the stupidity of not embracing light rail & the need for its sensitive placement, the forced dependence of the daily drive, the concentration & importing of motor vehicle pollution from WestConnex tunnels, the unfiltered exhaust stacks, the detrimental impact on community health, the preventable cancers caused, the glorification of the motor car, the imposition of tolls on the residents of the west, the absurdity of tolled concentric urban freeways, the greenhouse gases emitted creating the concrete, the total disregard of the reality of global warming & the threat of climate change, the white-anting of democracy. On & on & on it goes, the list is simply endless...

Peter Hehir is the Convenor of Rozelle Against WestConnex (RAW)

STOPPING WestCONnex

Pauline Lockie

WestCONnex is Australia's biggest infrastructure project, and it's being funded by us, through our tolls and taxes.

Even before it's built, it's wiped out endangered species, parks, thousands of old-growth trees, and hundreds of homes and businesses from Parramatta through to Beverly Hills. If built, it will see tens of thousands of men, women and children exposed to increased pollution, and slug families in western Sydney with huge tolls.

All this, when even the government's own figures show WestCONnex will make traffic worse on many of the roads it's supposed to fix. WestCONnex will have a massive impact on NSW for generations. But if you don't feel like you know much about it, I can assure you it's not your fault. The NSW government under Mike Baird and now Gladys Berejiklian has done everything it can to shut down transparency around WestCONnex, so they can bulldoze as much of it through as possible before people realise the truth: that WestCONnex is a scam.

All of us, but especially people in western Sydney, are being fed the lie that WestCONnex will bust congestion. And we know this is a lie, because the world is littered with big roads that have failed to ease congestion, and instead made traffic worse. The proof of this can be seen in WestCONnex's design. For a price tag of \$16.8 billion – a figure the City of Sydney says is now \$45 billion – we get a road that mostly duplicates failed roads we already have, like the M4 and the M5 East. These roads were once supposed to be the solution to other congested roads; instead, they made traffic worse.

And of course, motorways like WestCONnex cause other huge problems – pollution, diseases, climate change, community and environmental destruction, lost economic opportunities, the list goes on.

Many cities – including Paris, New York, San Francisco and Seoul – are tearing down freeways instead of building new ones

It's for this reason that there aren't many cities around the world that still view building motorways

Many cities – including Paris, New York, San Francisco and Seoul – are tearing down freeways instead of building new ones



as “progress”. Tearing down freeways instead of building new ones doesn't just return huge amounts of former road space back to people. Getting rid of roads actually *reduces* traffic as people find other ways to get around.

So why are our leaders here so determined to cling to an outdated disaster like WestCONnex? Let's follow the money.

Back in 2012-13, when WestCONnex was first floated, the tollway industry was in crisis. Roads like the Cross City and Lane Cove Tunnels had either gone broke or were getting there fast. Two companies that were heavily involved in these failures were Leightons and AECOM. Macquarie Bank was also involved in failed tollways. Despite this, the NSW government chose these companies to be closely involved in planning and justifying WestCONnex. Naturally, they said it was a great idea.

Now Leightons has won contracts to build WestCONnex, even as it stands accused of corruption overseas. AECOM too has picked up WestCONnex contracts worth millions. Macquarie has a financing contract until 2070. Nick Greiner, the former NSW premier who pushed WestCONnex as chairman of Infrastructure NSW, is now an adviser to Transurban, which stands ready to buy up WestCONnex and its lucrative tolling contracts.

But because so many tollways have gone bust, no private company was willing to risk its own money to build WestCONnex. So the toll road lobby, along with then-NSW treasurer Mike Baird, came up with a new funding model: to use our money to build it, so we're the ones who carry the risk.

This is why WestCONnex is seeing an unprecedented flow of public money into private hands. And it's being done in the most secretive way possible. But while the Berejiklian government is doing its best to try and keep the truth hidden, communities across Sydney are fighting back. And

It's not too late to stop WestCONnex – and stop it we must

we are breaking through.

People have flooded the NSW Planning department with a record-breaking number of objections to WestCONnex – over 17,500 to date. Acts of civil disobedience have been erupting across the route. Thousands of people have packed out public meetings, signed petitions, and spread the word that WestCONnex is a scam. Now the government is so keen to rid itself of WestCONnex that it recently announced plans to sell off the Sydney Motorway Corporation itself – not just the toll concessions as originally planned.

There is so much more we could do with \$16.8 billion, let alone \$45 billion, than WestCONnex. We could invest in better public and active transport. Creating jobs in our west and across NSW. Not to mention investing in our schools and hospitals.

It's not too late to stop WestCONnex – and stop it we must. Because if we let our government get away with all this, it'll become the way everything's done in NSW: with no transparency, no accountability, and no benefit for anyone except the companies grabbing billions of our money.

So don't wait for the tunnels or the tolls to come to you. Help us keep taking action against this destructive tollway – because together, we can stop WestCONnex.

Pauline Lockie is a founding member of WestCONnex Action Group (WAG). She lost her family home in St Peters to WCX in 2016.

Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.

— Jane Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) [see *Citizen Jane* p. 17]



THE NATIONAL TRUST OF AUSTRALIA (NSW)

Policy on the Heritage Impacts of Urban Motorways

Preamble

In 1972, the National Trust opposed the North-Western and Western Expressways which would have cut a swathe through Glebe demolishing 800 homes and the property "Lyndhurst" to the steps of the Sydney Town Hall. In September 1976, the National Trust released its *Policy Statement on Urban Freeways*¹ responding to the threats to Glebe posed by urban freeway proposals dating from the 1950s. This Policy was updated in July 1981 as the *National Trust Policy on Urban Freeways*² to address moves to revive and construct the then abandoned inner urban freeway system. In 1989, the National Trust produced a discussion paper – *Towards a Transport Policy for the National Trust*³ which advocated a number of transport initiatives based on shifting the focus of transport provision by government towards "mass transport" and away from major road proposals.

A 1995 National Trust Policy Paper *Transport - The Heritage Implications*⁴ set down National Trust support for various actions to reduce transport pressures and indicated transport proposals that would be opposed by the National Trust. In September, 2005 a *Trust Alert – Motorway proposals threaten inner city Urban Conservation Areas*⁵ publicised the Trust's concerns that National Trust listed Urban Conservation Areas including Enmore, Annandale and the Dacey Garden Suburb at Daceyville were threatened by the motorway corridor or access proposals. A major lobbying campaign by the National Trust in the early 1990s in conjunction with local community groups, led to the above-ground M5 motorway through the Wolli Creek Valley being built underground to save this important green space and its bushland, wetlands and rainforest. Over the past fifteen years the Trust has continued to express concern at the heritage impacts of inner urban motorway proposals and has supported mass transport options such as light and heavy rail in preference to inner urban motorways.

Policy

1. While acknowledging that the increased mobility and affluence of our society and an increasing population require much improved transport facilities, the National Trust will oppose further motorways being brought into the inner suburbs and central business district that threaten areas of great historical, architectural, scenic and social importance.
2. The National Trust will oppose the loss of public parklands for inner urban motorway construction, including both permanent loss involved with a motorway route/connection ramps or shorter term alienation during the construction phase.
3. The National Trust believes that the provisions of public/private partnership agreements for urban motorways should be made public and that such agreements must not contain penalty provisions for compensation payments to a motorway operator if a public transport system competes effectively with the motorway.
4. The National Trust would oppose public/private agreements that disadvantage the public who do not choose to use the toll roads constructed under those agreements.
5. The National Trust believes that massive expenditure on motorway development will divert much needed public and private investment away from public transport development which can move large numbers of people more effectively and with much less adverse heritage impact.
6. The National Trust believes that the constant daily movement of large transport trucks severely degrades the urban environment and will urge that rail transport should be the preferred means for transporting container goods related to Port Botany and Sydney Airport. The Trust would oppose motorway proposals which promote increased large truck movements through urban precincts, particularly those with heritage significance.
7. The National Trust acknowledges that inner city motorway development will be inextricably linked to residential/commercial redevelopment of higher densities in the zones adjoining the motorway and consequently would oppose such development or elements of that redevelopment when it;
 - Impacts upon or degrades the values of adjoining Heritage Conservation Areas,
 - involves the demolition of Listed Heritage Items,
 - involves the demolition of places which have been removed from Heritage Lists on non heritage-based grounds,
 - involves the demolition of places which, in the Trust's view are of indisputable heritage significance but which have been denied statutory heritage recognition.

Author: **Graham Quint**

Approved by National Trust Board

1 National Trust Policy Statement on Urban Freeways, 16 September, 1976

2 National Trust Policy on Urban Freeways, 21 July, 1981

3 Towards a Transport Policy for the National Trust (Revision 1), 1989

4 National Trust Policy Paper – Transport – The Heritage Implications, 1995

5 Trust Alert – Motorway proposals threaten inner city Urban Conservation Areas, September, 2005

The Destruction of Haberfield's Heritage



Cassi Plate

The most significant, and until recently, most strictly controlled historic garden suburb in the world has been eviscerated. And our newly-unelected Czar of City Planning, Lucy Turnbull, professed ignorance that it was even happening.

Haberfield is the oldest and most intact planned garden suburb in the world. Built in 1901, it exemplifies the Federation era: the birth of contemporary Australia. In their own Environmental Impact Statement (M4EIS), WestConnex describes the garden suburb as 'outstanding for its collection of modest Federation houses displaying skilful use of materials and a high standard of workmanship of innovative design and detail particularly reflective of the burgeoning naturalistic spirit of the Federation year in which they were built.'

A later garden suburb at Hellerau in Germany, founded in 1909, is a national icon, drawing visitors from around Germany and the world to experience and study the uniqueness of the place and its architecture. It is fully protected.

Yet here in Sydney, WestCONnex ploughs through this unique area, destroying not just 53 houses, 23 apartments and nine businesses, but iconic street trees and gardens. It's clear from their plans that cars emerging from the eight lanes created by this wilful and tragic destruction will grind to a halt, as they're jammed onto two eastbound lanes on Dobroyd Parade/City West Link.

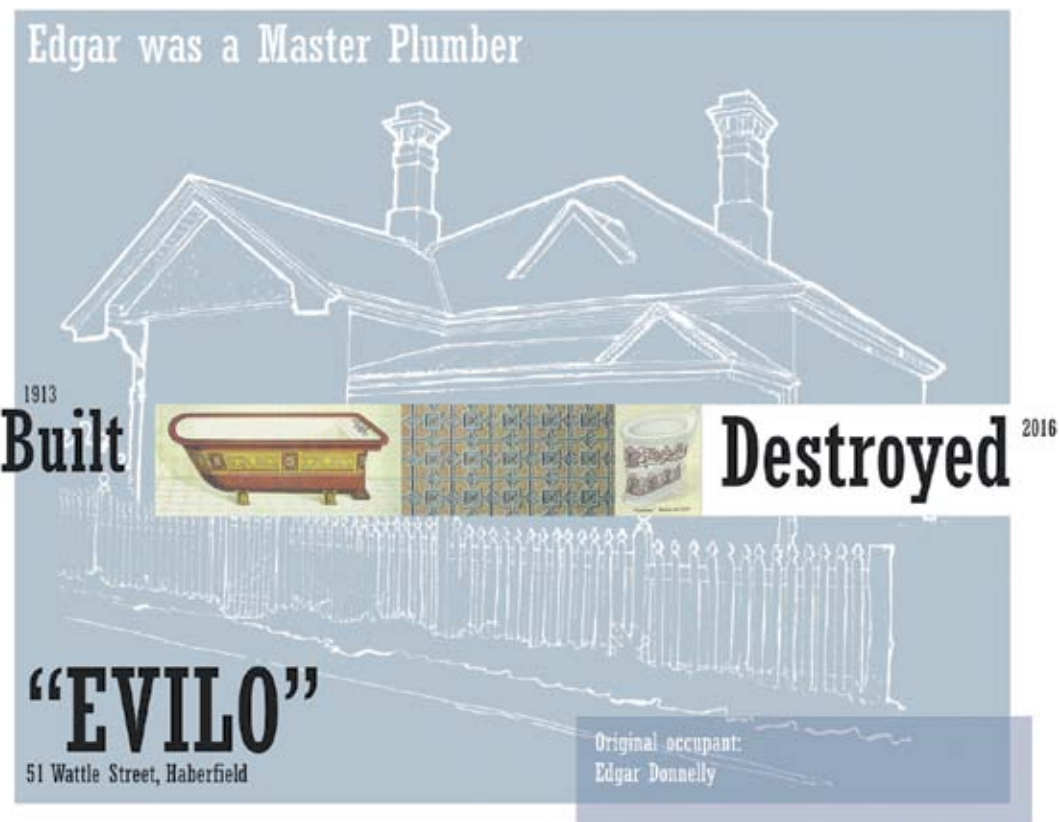
Even a worthy transport project – one that sensitively provided mass transit solutions for a growing population – would have raised such serious concerns about the destruction of character and heritage that protection of Haberfield would have been ensured.

The EIS repeatedly documented that the demolition of a wide variety of heritage houses, apartment blocks and buildings, some along Parramatta Rd and many in Ashfield with locally listed heritage significance, would have 'major adverse impact(s)'. The EIS described the effect on the Haberfield Heritage Conservation Area as 'significant and unable to be effectively mitigated.'

As if this were not bad enough, many more 'heritage items, potential heritage items and Heritage Conservation Areas above the proposed tunnels and in the vicinity of construction works may be subject to vibration impacts', possibly compromising 'a heritage item's structural integrity.'

Instead of beautiful and historic houses and vegetation, Haberfield will be blighted with an eight-lane highway, and is already suffering 'the visual impacts of new motorway infrastructure', soon to include the unfiltered exhaust stacks ('ventilation facility' in SMC speak), 'motorway facilities and noise walls.'

That these houses were once people's homes is a



Amalgamated Ink
Edgar was a
Master Plumber,
2017

matter of complete disdain for Government Ministers. Such is the Government's contempt and mistreatment, only four residents from the six demolished apartment blocks or the 53 demolished houses have been able to relocate back into their suburb. The housing stock is seriously diminished by so much demolition and the money paid by the Government – clearly aware of its actions – was so far below market value that nearly all former residents of areas so far destroyed (including Concord, Homebush, Burwood Strathfield and St Peters) have been forced to live further from the city,

and away from their communities of family, friends and schools.

The day the hoardings appeared, wrapped around the bomb sites where homes and gardens once stood, a local resident received a phone call from someone in WestConnex public relations: "Do you have any photos of the heritage houses? We'd like to put them up on the hoardings."

Cassi Plate is a founding member of No WestCONnex – Public Transport



Protesting Lucy Turnbull's professed ignorance of Haberfield devastation at the hands of WCX, 2016.

That these houses were once people's homes is a matter of complete disdain for Government Ministers.

Within our own walls we determined what we'd build, and when we'd do it, and we just went and did it. We told people that we wanted their land, and that we'd take it ... We developed a very bad reputation ... — The official oral history of the Sydney – Newcastle Pacific Highway (Roads and Maritime NSW)

URBAN AIR POLLUTION

Mark Curran

Twice as many people die each year from air pollution as die from traffic accidents. The major source of air pollution in Sydney is 'combustion', mainly from motor vehicles and 'mobile sources' such as ships and planes. The major harm however is thought to reside in the diesel exhaust contribution.

In Sydney, there is a general sense of complacency about air quality and when compared to some other cities, Sydney's air quality is generally good. This is not to say that there are not areas where significant problems exist.

Lung Cancer and the M5 stack?

In response to community concerns about the impact of emissions from the infamous M5 East stack, scientists and statisticians from the Sydney South West Area Health Service carried out an investigation in 2011 into cancer incidence in the area adjacent to the stack.

Data was collected from suburbs identified by the CSIRO as likely to be exposed to stack emissions including Earlwood, Turrella, Arncliffe, Bardwell Park, Kingsgrove, and Dulwich Hill. Data from the suburbs immediately around the area formed the experimental control.

To the evident shock of the health professionals and the dismay of local residents, the study demonstrated a clear increase in the incidence of lung cancer in both males and females in these areas.

Up until about 2000, about the time the M5 East opened, lung cancer incidence in these areas had been slightly lower than the state average.

Between 2002 and 2007 lung cancer rates increased markedly, male rates increasing from 60 to 84 per hundred thousand, a 40% increase.

Over the same period the rates for males on a state-wide basis fell from 64 to 59 per hundred thousand, dropping by 9%. The surrounding, demographically similar suburbs did not show the same increases.

The study concluded that the stack was not the cause of the increase because of the time it takes for lung cancer to develop, but left the actual cause unspecified. These troubling findings are yet to be followed up on.

Lung cancer usually takes between six and 10 years to develop. Probable sources of the particulate air pollution likely to be the cause of the increase are Port Botany (opened 1979-82) and the continuing expansion of the International Terminal at Kingsford Smith Airport after 1992.

Components of vehicle pollution

- Carbon monoxide - now 70% less than 20 years ago, but still a problem
- Lead - no longer an air pollution problem
- Nitrogen dioxide - produced in all motor engines and increasing as engines operate at higher temperatures.
- Fine particles - produced in all diesel engines. Total mass decreasing but numbers increasing as particles produced become finer (and more harmful)
- Volatile organic matter - probably increasing. Includes known carcinogens such as benzene. Involved in smog formation with nitrogen dioxide and sunlight

The two most significant pollutants impacting on local residents close to roads and tunnels are nitrogen dioxide and particulate matter.

Nitrogen dioxide

Petrol and diesel engines emit significant quantities of nitrogen oxides. Most of this is nitrogen oxide (NO) but about 10% is nitrogen dioxide (NO₂). Nitrogen oxide is relatively harmless and non-irritating but nitrogen dioxide is a brownish, irritating, mildly acidic gas.

Oxides of nitrogen are also formed naturally during thunderstorms and other electrical discharges, and nitrogen oxide is slowly converted to nitrogen dioxide in the air under the influence of ozone and sunlight.

Adverse impacts of nitrogen dioxide are:

- irritation of the human respiratory system
- aggravation of respiratory diseases such as asthma
- coughing, wheezing and difficult breathing
- longer term exposures can contribute to the development of asthma and increased susceptibility to respiratory infections

People with asthma as well as children and the elderly are at most risk from the adverse health effects of nitrogen dioxide.

Nitrogen dioxide has been shown to interact synergistically with particulate matter at relatively high concentrations such as those experienced in a road tunnel, each increasing the impact of the other.

Particulate matter

In contrast with nitrogen dioxide, particulate matter is a complex mixture, varying both in size and composition.

Particles of significance to human health can range in size from aggregations of relatively small numbers of molecules (nano particles) up to particles 10 microns (μ) in diameter.

Particles larger in size than this are not considered to be significant for human health with the exception of pollen grains which can be up to ten times larger than this (100μm). Only the smallest pollen grains are captured in the measuring systems used to assess air quality.

Particulate matter can consist of a wide range of materials such as mineral matter (rock dust), salt spray or carbonaceous matter from combustion.

Smog is a special form of particulate matter. Originally the word was used to describe mixtures of coal smoke and fog such as occurred in London in 1952, however now it is used to describe the particulate matter which results from the interaction of volatile organic matter in the air with nitrogen dioxide under the influence of sunlight.

Smog is a major harmful component of air pollution in Sydney.

Carbonaceous particulate matter can undergo a process of condensation where individual particles of nanometric size condense together into larger aggregates.

In the process, other components such as metals can be incorporated into the particle.

Because the particle is mainly made of elemental carbon, it has the capacity to adsorb organic molecules onto its surface.

This is probably the reason why diesel particles are so dangerous, as they contain many organic molecules including cancer-causing polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons.

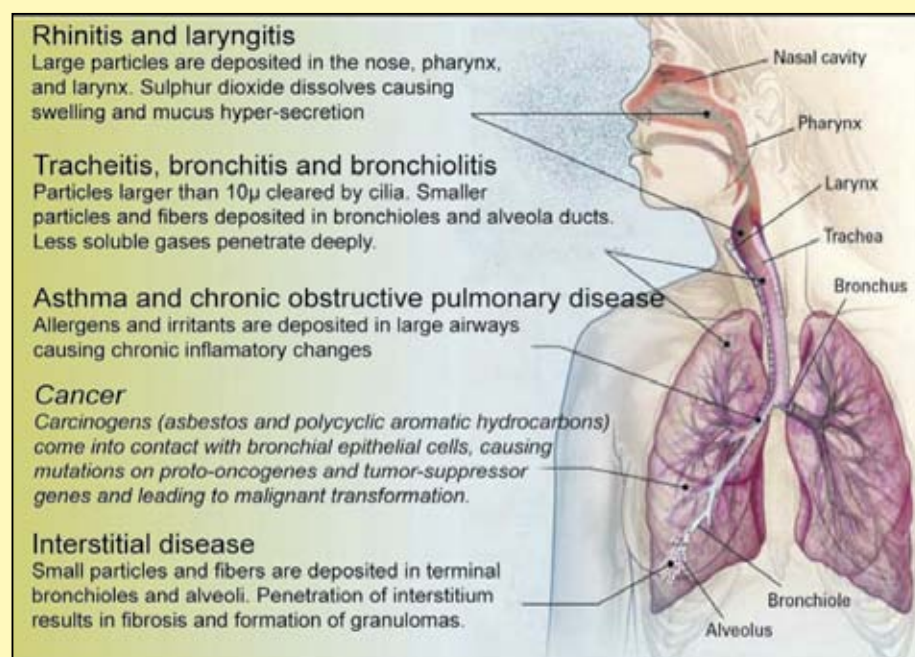
The diesel engine is a high-pressure, high-temperature chemical synthesis system capable of producing a wide range of uniquely dangerous compounds which are then attached to a delivery system capable of introducing them directly into the lungs and, ultimately, the blood streams of those exposed to diesel exhaust.

Diesel exhaust is coming to be regarded as the new asbestos because of its capacity to do harm.

Dangers of Diesel Exhaust

Particles resulting from combustion processes are generally more toxic than those from windblown dust and salts. Of special concern to the protection of lung health are fine particles, less than 2.5 microns in diameter. (For comparison, a human hair is about 75 microns in diameter.) It is not long ago that diesel engines were regarded as being safer alternatives to the petrol engine and the 'smoke' was thought of as a minor irritant, important because it was unsightly, smelly

Dangers of particulate matter



In 2000, the respected *New England Journal of Medicine* [342. pp 406-13] listed the following health impacts from particulate air pollution:

All particles are dangerous and there is no safe level of exposure, but weight for weight, toxicity appears to double with each halving in the diameter of the particles inhaled. 'Nano' particles less than about 100 nanometers in diameter severely irritate the lung, irrespective of their composition and can carry adsorbed toxins directly into lung tissues, easily penetrating cellular membranes.

The impacts of particle pollution in children are amplified and include increased rates of asthma and chest infection and significantly reduced lung development.

This is probably because children:

- breathe more per unit body weight than adults
- have smaller airways and lungs
- have different rates of toxification and detoxification
- have immature host defence mechanisms
- have increased ventilation with play and exercise

How air pollution affects the body

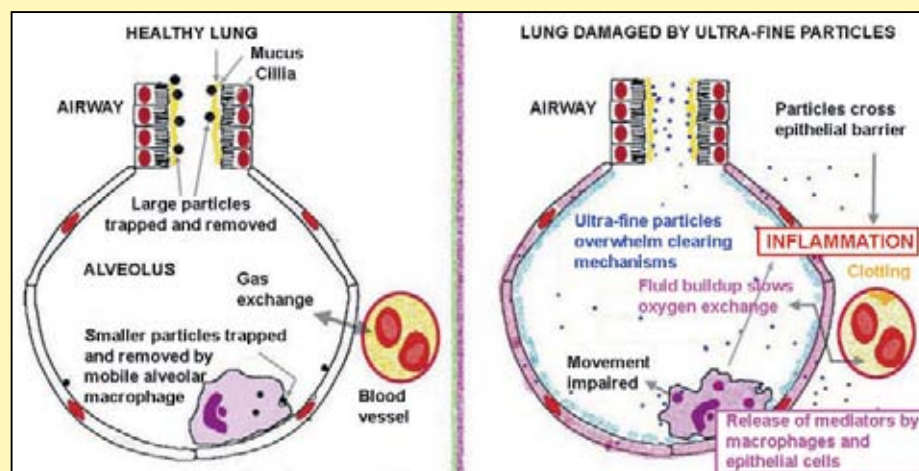


Diagram after Stone V. & Donaldson K. (1998) 'Small particles-big problem'. *Aerosol Soc Newsletter*.

and reduced visibility in tunnels.

Modern medical science has clearly shown that this is not the case and that diesel exhaust is one of the most dangerous and widespread of modern pollutants. All of the exact mechanisms by which diesel exhaust causes harm are not yet known but it is clear that the harmful effects are related both to the size and composition of the particles in the exhaust.

Diesel particles, which are mainly less than 1μ (micron) in diameter and have a median diameter of about 0.2μ (200 nanometers), easily enter the lung tissue. The carbonaceous particles carry carcinogenic polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAH) and other volatile organic compounds (VOC) on their surface.

The recent WHO publication 'Health effects of transport-related air pollution' (2005) suggests that tailpipe emissions make up 30%

of primary particles less than 2.5μ (PM2.5) in diameter in urban areas, that pollution levels in 'street canyons' are much higher than general urban levels and that ultra-fine particle (less than 0.1μ) levels are markedly higher in heavily trafficked areas.

Diesel exhaust is now known to be a carcinogen and particulate pollution has even been labelled as the 'new asbestos' for its ability to cause serious illness and death. The California OEHHA lists 'Diesel exhaust' as a Toxic Air Contaminant (TAC) with a Cancer Inhalation Risk (increased risk per μg/m³) of (3 x 10⁻⁴ μg/m³)⁻¹ over 70 years (300 deaths per million per 1μg/m³ increased exposure). Comparable risks are Benzene (2.9 x 10⁻⁵ μg/m³)⁻¹ and 1,3-Butadiene (1.7 x 10⁻⁴ μg/m³)⁻¹.

Mark Curran is a retired Sydney-based biological scientist who has written widely on the health impacts of air quality

Why WestConnex is bad news for the climate

Dominic Case

WestConnex and its associated urban road network in Sydney threaten our climate and our environment.

Transport is the second largest source of carbon dioxide emissions in Australia, accounting for 16% of the total, or 90 million tonnes of CO₂ equivalent per year. Nearly two thirds comes from private cars. Despite assurances, WestConnex will make matters worse.

Exhaust fumes pump many poisonous chemicals into the air. But carbon dioxide emissions are in another class.

CO₂ emissions cause global warming, with disastrous effects

For 200 years, industry has been releasing carbon dioxide into the atmosphere faster than it is reabsorbed. So the level is steadily increasing, from 300ppm (parts per million) in 1950 to 406ppm today, trapping more heat, and increasing global temperatures. Any further increase means more erratic and extreme weather, leading to droughts, crop failures, conflict and mass migration. At the current rate, we will reach 450ppm and 2°C hotter than pre-industrial temperatures – a threshold that many scientists have picked as the upper limit for a safe environment – by the year 2040. Climate change is a serious, existential threat to humanity: a real and present danger.

While the level of CO₂ emissions each year is now steady, the total amount will go on rising as long as we push it into the atmosphere beyond the processes of nature. And even if we could completely halt industrial emissions tomorrow, the excess CO₂ already in the atmosphere would go on raising global temperatures for some time to come.

Roads are a significant contributor to greenhouse gas emissions

Private cars emit – on average – 200g of carbon dioxide per kilometre. By 2020 total greenhouse gas emissions from road transport are predicted to be more than two thirds higher than their 1990 levels. We need to reverse that trend in all our transport planning.

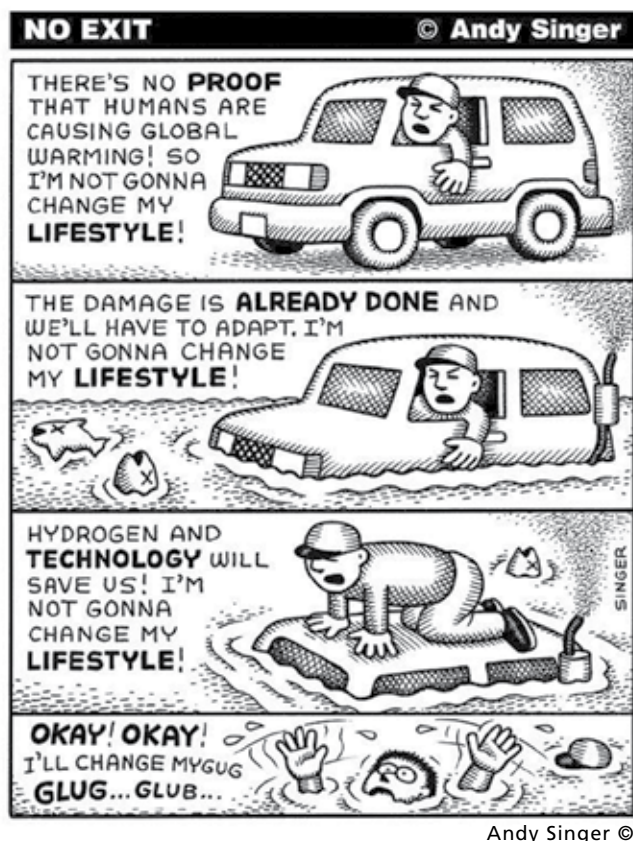
Yet WestConnex ignored the climate change impacts of its project in its 2012 business case, and in a 2014 environmental review.

Only in September 2016 did the Environmental Impact Statement for the M4 East Project report on greenhouse gas emissions.

Appendix U reports on the expected emissions of WestConnex, both from its construction and in operation. In total, the construction phase will produce up to 382,000 tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent. That's comparable to the annual household greenhouse emissions of a city of around 63,500 people – about the size of Coffs Harbour, for example.

As traffic increases, so do emissions

WestConnex's own figures in the EIS make it clear that traffic will increase significantly more with



Andy Singer ©

WestConnex than without it. Picking just one set of figures in its modelling, traffic running on, or near the WestConnex route across a N-S line joining Lyons Rd, Frederick St, Parramatta Rd and New Canterbury Rd would amount to 172,900 vehicles a day by 2031 in a business-as-usual scenario, but increase to 279,000 vehicles per day if WestConnex is built.

That isn't simply growth in traffic as Sydney itself grows: it is 106,100 more vehicles per day purely as a result of building the WestConnex M4 link.

On the M4 extension section of the tollroad alone, WestConnex estimates the annual greenhouse gas emissions will be 346,780 tonnes a year: equivalent to the total annual household emissions from a city of around 58,000 people. (That's almost Coffs Harbour again, but this time, it's year after year.)

WestConnex figures defy logic

And yet WestConnex claims that those emissions will be a reduction – not just per car, but overall. They suggest that even though by 2031 (on their figures) car use across the Inner West will increase by 41% and truck use by 106%, with WestConnex, fuel use (and therefore emissions) will decrease by 11 to 12%. They argue that faster and smoother journeys improve fuel efficiency and would reduce CO₂ emissions enough to outweigh the increased number of vehicles.

We challenge those claims. Even if traffic flows faster for a while along the new roads, it will clog up on the feeder roads at either end of people's journeys: sections conveniently not included in WestConnex's analysis.

In a few years, any efficiency will be lost

And how long will those journeys remain faster and smoother as commuters despair of public transport

By 2020 total greenhouse gas emissions from road transport are predicted to be more than two thirds higher than their 1990 levels.

– underfunded and overcrowded because of the rocketing cost of the roads and tunnels – and return to their cars? WestConnex's own analysis speaks of high traffic densities, and capacity being reached by 2031, with stop-start traffic just as it is now.

It's time to stop building motorways for private fossil-fuel vehicles

Australia's commitment to the Paris agreement is to reduce emissions overall by 26-28% by 2030 (itself a modest and inadequate target), and all sectors must play their part. So even if WestConnex's claims are correct, reducing emissions by 12% falls a long way short of what is needed.

The Climate Change Authority published a report on opportunities to reduce emissions from light vehicles in 2012. Apart from improvements in the efficiency of motor vehicles, and cleaner fuels (including electric vehicles) it discussed demand management: by providing passengers with transport modes with lower emissions (i.e. public transport, cycling etc.) and by urban planning solutions: locating employment and community services closer to the communities that need them.

It did not suggest building new roads could be an emissions reduction opportunity. Because it isn't. It will simply compound an already dangerous situation.

WestConnex isn't part of the solution - it's a part of an even bigger problem.

Dominic Case is President, Climate Change Balmain-Rozelle



WestConnex is socially, environmentally and financially a SCANDAL ... it and Adani are the two greatest threats to global warming in this country.

— Sydney Lord Mayor Clover Moore, anti-WCX rally Euston Rd, Alexandria, April 2017

Why we need a Royal Commission into WestConnex

Andrew Chuter

The WestConnex toll road network isn't just an unpopular infrastructure project. It's a massive failure of planning and of the NSW government to act in the public interest. What's needed is a Royal Commission.

A Royal Commission is typically called whenever there is ongoing impropriety, illegal activity, or gross administrative incompetence. With the following issues mounting up, WestConnex certainly fits the bill:

- Negative findings by both Federal and State Government audits
- Unjustified secrecy and lack of accountability of the Sydney Motorway Corporation
- Exploding costs - when including extensions, the City of Sydney has found the figure is \$45 billion. The starting figure was \$10.5 billion
- Over a dozen transport and planning experts have found evidence that leads them to oppose WestConnex
- The original rationales to connect to Port Botany and the airport have not been achieved
- A string of financial failures of the Cross City Tunnel, Lane Cove Tunnel and Brisbane Airport tollway have been ignored while companies involved in those projects have been favoured with WestConnex contracts
- A long history of political donations to Liberal and Labor parties by Transurban, Leighton and John Holland, which stand to hugely benefit from the project
- Evidence of malpractice and misleading traffic projections by AECOM that have been responsible for the EIS for Stages 1, 2 and 3 of WCX
- Serious unresolved corruption allegations against Leightons (now CIMIC), which has been a big part of consortia winning huge WestConnex contracts
- Police reports that criminal bikie gangs have been tampering with speedometers, transporting contaminated spoil and other environmental breaches
- Transport for NSW documents showing that the NSW government is deliberately ignoring public transport solutions in preference for toll roads
- Decisions which ignore an urgent need to take action on climate change and air pollution from vehicle exhaust

In 1980, the Kyeemagh-Chullora road inquiry concluded that containers from Port Botany should be largely transported by rail, not road. This inquiry had some impacts over several decades in stopping tollroads going ahead. Why were these lessons suddenly forgotten?

We need a Royal Commission with strong powers at a Federal and State level to put a stop to the toll road folly in Sydney and other capital cities once and for all.

Andrew Chuter is Co-convenor of No WestCONnex-Public Transport

THE SAGA OF 7 DARLEY ROAD

Jennifer Aaron, Catherine Gemmell and C. Valentine

Why has 7 Darley Road, a block of State-owned land on the border of Leichhardt and Lilyfield, attracted so much controversy and community concern?



Unoccupied and derelict for many years after attempts to establish a shopping precinct on the site were rejected by Leichhardt Council, its current tenants were eventually successful, despite widespread community opposition, in obtaining approval to open a bottle shop on the site and began preparing the site for renovation in mid-2016.

Controversy surrounding this RailCorp-owned land resurfaced in August 2016 at an 'information session' for the M4-M5 link held at Leichhardt Town Hall by Sydney Motorway Corporation (SMC).

Residents who had come expecting to hear about the impacts of WestConnex on Leichhardt came away disappointed at the lack of information provided. However, Peter Jones (Project director for Stage 3) told some residents in passing that 7 Darley Road or Blackmore Oval were possible mid-tunnel construction sites for the stretch of the M4-M5 link between Haberfield and the 'Rozelle interchange'.

As this news circulated in the community long-term residents who had experienced first-hand serious road traffic accidents along this stretch of road were stunned that the RMS would allow this well-known accident black spot to be considered as a tunnel construction site given that it would bring hundreds of heavy truck movements in and out of the site.

Would the local school kids who arrive or depart from the adjacent North Leichhardt Light Rail stop have to run the gauntlet of truck-and-dogs carting tunnel spoil?

They also wanted to know how anyone could possibly consider sending hundreds of trucks into Darley Road, the main arterial road feeding much of the inner-west traffic from Leichhardt and Lilyfield onto or across the City West Link. It was clear to all that through-traffic would grind to a halt and Leichhardt would become a large rat run.

From this conversation with Peter Jones, Leichhardt Against WestCONnex (LAW) was formed, a grass-roots community group convened by residents who are determined to expose this ill-conceived proposal and who are opposed to the entire wasteful WestConnex project.

LAW set about exposing the unsuitability of the Darley Road site by gathering traffic information, including accident and fatality data, and were successful in harnessing the support of the Inner West Council and its traffic planners in their fight. They took the facts to both SMC and RMS. They were told they were being 'listened

to'. The Government subsequently proposed a second site, directly next to Leichhardt's local high school.

The community appeared divided, forced to make an impossible choice between two equally-unsuitable sites. LAW successfully lobbied the Council for the engagement of an independent engineer to look at alternative sites and to assess the suitability of both proposed sites. Darley Road was found to be the worst option in terms of risk and local impacts. While the Government has abandoned consideration of the School site, it has doggedly pushed on with consideration of Darley Road, despite all of the independent evidence against its suitability.

In the midst of this work, LAW started its own investigations when it became clear that Dan Murphy's would be opening a new business on the site, despite its looming acquisition for WestConnex. How could a new business be opening when the site was to be resumed by RMS? It was unfathomable to many residents that an expensive fit-out and building renovation would proceed when it could be demolished within 18 months. Compensation would have to be paid but to whom, by whom and how much?

LAW made inquiries and discovered that RMS began discussions with the site's tenants in August after the Leichhardt community information session and advised the tenants that the site was required in October. As acquisition negotiations were underway, Dan Murphy's opened in December, just in time for the bumper Christmas trade.

LAW discovered that in 2012, the lease that had been due to expire in 2018, had been extended to expire in 2038. It was reported that the compensation payment to the tenants could be as much as \$50m. Residents were shocked that the formerly derelict site was going to cost the State government such a large compensation payout.

LAW wanted to know who approved the lease extension and why. It has now emerged that a great deal of lobbying of the Government had taken place to obtain the lease extension and that Transport for NSW saw fit to obtain three probity advices on the request for an extension. The lease extension was not put to the market and the reasons for not doing this are not yet clear.

LAW will continue to push for the truth. Stay tuned.

Jennifer Aaron, Catherine Gemmell and C. Valentine are Co-convenors of Leichhardt Against WestCONnex (LAW)

DON'T TRUST US? THEN TRUST THE EXPERTS...

Andrew Chuter

Do your own desktop research –

The following experts have all spoken out against WestCONnex. A simple google search with the word WestConnex followed by any of these names will soon lead you to statements explaining why each of the following highly regarded individuals is convinced that WestCONnex is a regressive project and is doomed to fail.

Professor Peter Newman, Professor of Sustainability, Curtin University, Perth

Professor Carmen Lawrence, School of Psychological Science, University of Western Australia, Perth

Professor James Weirick, Faculty of Built Environment, University of New South Wales

Professor Michiel Bliemer, Institute of Transport & Logistics Studies, The University of Sydney Business School

Professor David Hensher, Founding Director, Institute of Transport and Logistics Studies, The University of Sydney Business School

Associate Professor Philip Laird, Faculty of Engineering and Information Sciences, University of Wollongong

Associate Professor Roderick Simpson, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Planning, The University of Sydney

Adjunct Professor John Stanley, Institute of Transport and Logistics Studies, The University of Sydney

Dr Garry Glazebrook, UTS Sydney

Dr Michelle Zeibots, Institute for Sustainable Futures, UTS, Sydney

Dr John Goldberg, Former Honorary Associate, School of Architecture, Design Science and Planning, The University of Sydney

Dr Tim Williams, CEO, Committee for Sydney

Terry Lee-Williams, Chief Transport Advisor, City of Sydney

Mat Hounsell, Institute for Sustainable Futures, UTS, Sydney

Ken Dobinson, Director, Friends of Greater Sydney (FROGS)

Terry Rawnsley, SGS Economics & Planning

Chris Standen, PhD candidate/transport analyst, Institute of Transport and Logistics Studies, The University of Sydney

The following question was recently asked of the Sydney Motorway Corporation by the convenor of RAW (Rozelle Against WestConnex)...

Q. All of the most qualified experts on traffic flow & traffic management firmly believe that WestConnex will actually worsen the Sydney traffic situation. Can you provide the names & contact details of any recognised experts on Sydney's traffic situation who actually support WestConnex & are willing to publicly debate this & provide reliable documentation to support their position?

This was their written answer.

A. WestConnex is part of the NSW Government's Long Term Transport Masterplan 2012. WestConnex is continually assessed by Infrastructure Australia as a high priority transport infrastructure project nationally. It has also been assessed by numerous experts within Infrastructure NSW, the Department of Planning and Environment, Roads and Maritimes Services, and Transport for NSW.

WESTCONNEX: Just who's pulling the strings?

Wendy Bacon

More traffic congestion, costly tolls and destroyed communities are not the only problems with WestCONnex. It also sets a dangerous new precedent for Infrastructure planning.

Before delving into the conflicts of interest and cosy deals involved in WestCONnex, the first thing you need to understand is that the NSW Liberal National Party (LNP) government handed over the original planning of WestCONnex to unaccountable private companies that had been previously involved in failed toll roads. These companies have gone on to profit hugely from WestCONnex.

Two names stand out among the corporate crowd: Leighton Contractors (now called CPB Contractors, which is part of CIMIC, which is owned by Spain's biggest infrastructure conglomerate Grupo ACS) and AECOM which is a massive international contracting firm that does everything from managing construction of Las Vegas casinos to supplying environmental services for global mining and oil and gas companies.

After it was elected in 2011, the LNP government set up Infrastructure NSW under the leadership of Nick Greiner, a Liberal ex-Premier who himself had been involved in an early NSW tollway after he resigned from politics in 1992. The pro-developer Infrastructure NSW heavily promoted WestCONnex - a 33 kilometre privatised road network.

But more tollways were going to be a hard sell because a series of failed tollway projects in NSW and Queensland had burnt private investors. So the 'roads lobby' of international and local construction and tollroad companies persuaded the NSW government to take the risk by publicly funding the first stages of planning and construction of WestCONnex.

ROADS LOBBY BUYS INFLUENCE

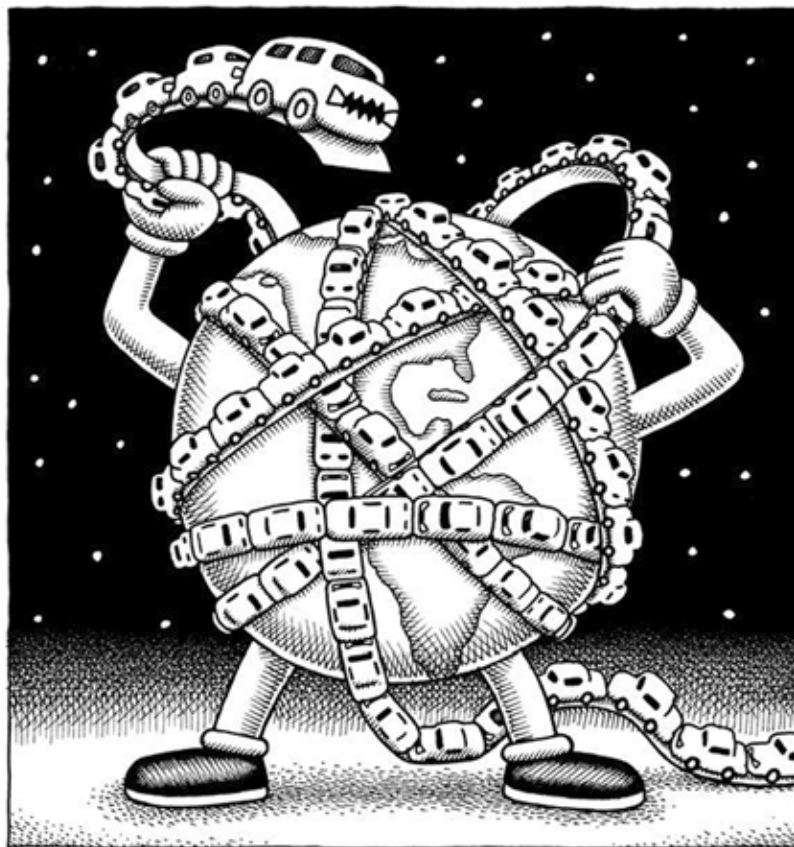
You might wonder why the roads lobby would have such influence in NSW. Part of the answer lies in a report published by Senator Lee Rhiannon in June 2016. Between 2010 and 2015, a massive \$13,270,226 was donated by the roads lobby to the Liberal, National and Labor parties. Of this, \$6,636,638 was donated to federal and state Labor party branches and \$6,565,299 to the Coalition, including \$5,651,442 to branches of the Liberal party. The biggest donors were Leighton Contractors and the Macquarie group.

In early 2013, the NSW government invited several private companies to do the initial WestCONnex planning. These included Leighton and AECOM, both of which had a history in being involved in failed tollroads. AECOM was paid to do traffic modelling for the project while Leighton Contractors and its subsidiary Theiss Constructions were paid \$4 million to be "industry partners".

That meant that Westconnex, which was to be funded by governments first and then later by citizens who would pay tolls, was planned by companies that had huge commercial interests in the project, rather than by independent transport experts working in the public interest.

SHINING A LIGHT INTO THE TUNNELS

AECOM was chosen although its inaccurate projections for Brisbane's tollroad Clem 7 were already notorious. Those projections had been done for Leighton. Last year, class actions against AECOM for damage caused by the false and misleading projections were settled for almost



Andy Singer ©

half a billion dollars. Before the settlement, emails between AECOM and Leighton staff were tendered in evidence. They showed that staff in both companies were aware that investors had not been shown all relevant traffic figures and that the traffic modellers felt under pressure to meet the commercial requirements of companies like Leighton who were paying their fees.

Macquarie Capital, which was also involved in US tollroads, was another company especially selected to be involved in initial WestCONnex planning. It was later awarded a financial scoping contract for WestCONnex until 2070.

Macquarie too had been involved with AECOM in tollroads that led to serious questions being asked in a US court case. Finance company Syncora agreed in December 2006 to provide Macquarie with insurance on the basis of what it later claimed in the New York Supreme Court were fraudulent misrepresentations of the objectivity of [AECOM's] traffic forecasts. In a judgment published in 2013, a New York judge found that there was evidence an undisclosed scheme of "success fees" from Macquarie to AECOM that encouraged the boosting of traffic forecasts. According to the judgment, "under-the-table success fees amounted to additional millions of dollars per transaction. None of this was disclosed to Syncora." This case was settled when Syncora took over the Macquarie interests, and agreed to drop the litigation.

After the selected companies had delivered their preferred version of WestCONnex, it proceeded, leaving these companies ideally positioned for further involvement. Later the NSW Auditor General found that the preliminary business case was "deficient and fell well short of the standard required."

CORRUPTION ALLEGATIONS

But it was not just their involvement in failed tollroads that made Leighton a poor choice. Over several years, Fairfax Media has reported evidence that Leighton Offshore, which is owned by a company based in the Cayman Islands tax haven, paid more than \$20 million in bribes to secure Iraqi government contracts worth approximately \$2 billion. Leighton denied these claims.

Last year, the Australian Securities and Investment

Commission (ASIC) began investigating a \$15m payment allegedly made by Leighton to Asian Global Projects and Trading, a UAE group, in August 2011. Early this year, two former Leighton executives were charged in a case linked to the past activities in the Middle East. The executives have denied the allegations.

German construction company Hochtief, the controlling shareholder in CIMIC Group (previously Leighton), was fined \$400,000 after being found to have engaged in insider trading during the takeover of Leighton.

In a report for *The Guardian* last year, the ex-Labor Premier of Western Australia Carmen Lawrence reported on allegations against Leighton and more examples of malpractice in AECOM's operations in Canada and the Middle East. She concluded "In Canada, where there are strong debarment provisions, it is unlikely that any of these companies could secure government contracts; in Australia, it is business as usual, despite the evident risk to taxpayers. Surely we can do better."

CIMIC (Leighton), through its subsidiary CPB Contractors, has been a huge WestCONnex winner. It is a partner in contracts for the M4 widening, which is running overtime and over-budget, the M4 East and the New M5. It is shortlisted for Stage 3, a tunnel linking the M4 East and the New M5.

For the M4 East and the New M5, tenders were awarded before planning approval was given for the project. The Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for both these projects was done by AECOM. Its assessment was contested by independent experts hired by the City of Sydney and other councils. Despite this, the projects were approved.

As *New Matilda* reported in 2015, while AECOM was doing the EIS, it had other commercial interests in WestCONnex. By October 2015, it had been awarded more than \$33 million worth of engineering contracts, including for Stage 3 for which the planning process had not even begun. AECOM was also appointed to manage the EIS for Stage 3.

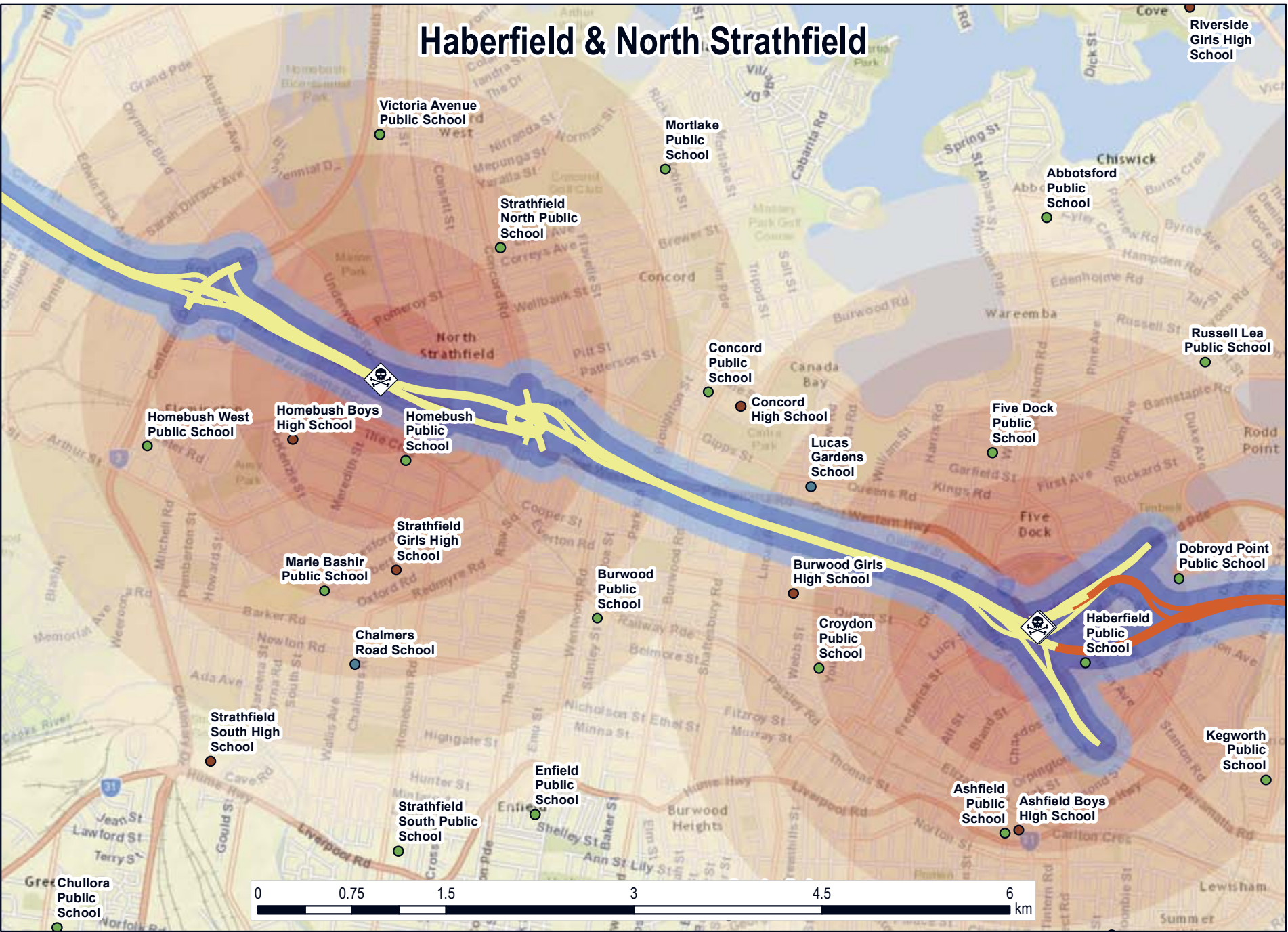
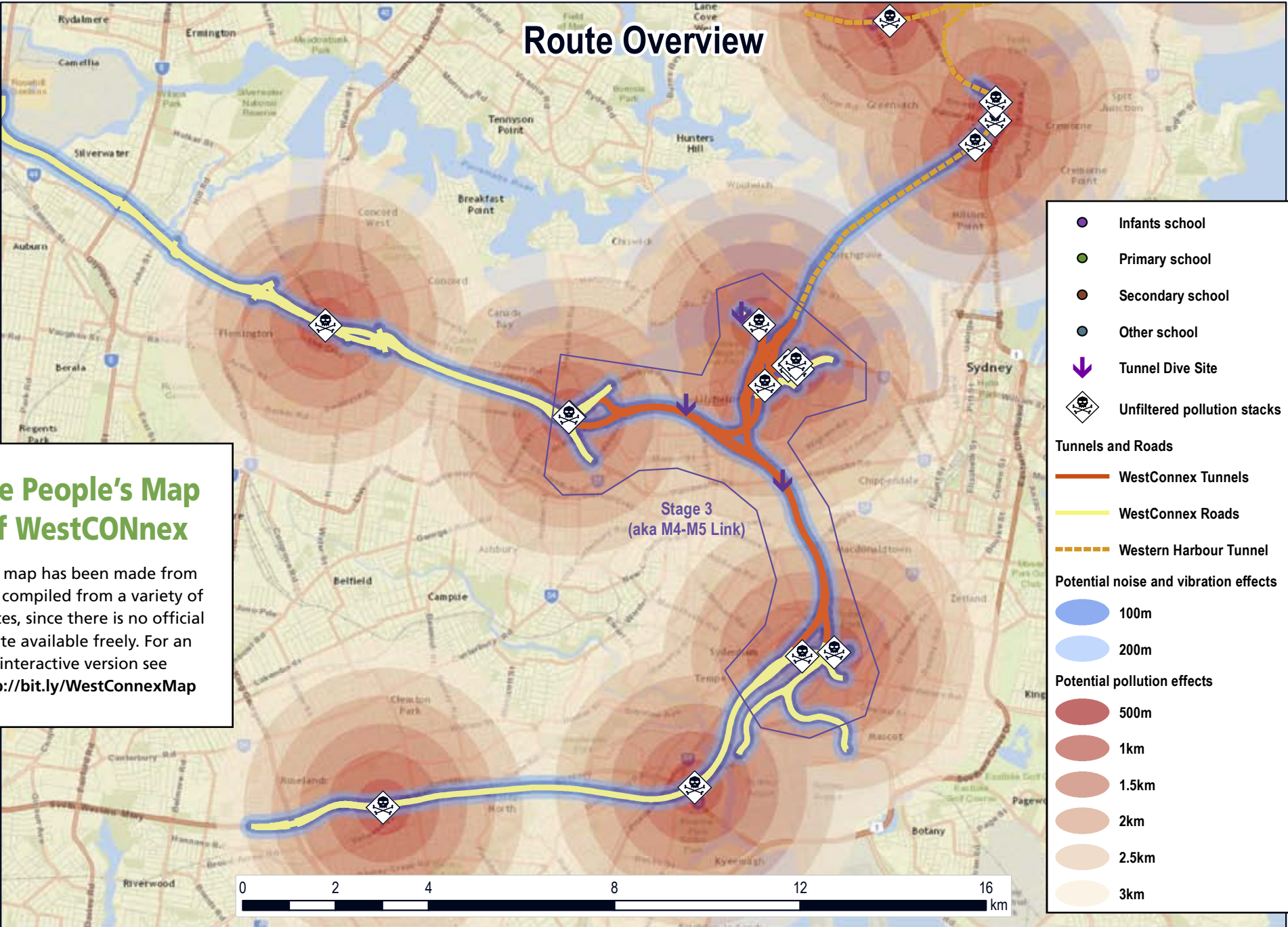
ROAD LOBBY COUP

Early stages of WestCONnex were managed by the WestCONnex Delivery Authority (WDA). The then Minister for Roads Duncan Gay described his choice of Tony Shepherd as its Chair as a 'coup for NSW'. You could call it a coup for the roads lobby. An ex-Chairman of the Business Council of Australia, Shepherd had a history of involvement in tollroads, including the failed Lane Cove Tunnel, and had previously been involved in Transurban. Transurban now dominates the tollway industry in Australia and stands poised to fulfil its dream of controlling WestCONnex.

In 2015 the NSW government privatised the WestCONnex Delivery Authority and renamed it the Sydney Motorway Corporation. This publicly owned private company is exempt from the NSW freedom of information laws. This means that unlike other publicly funded projects, information about contracts is kept secret.

Next year, the NSW Berejiklian government plans to privatise not just the tolls but the financing and construction of WestCONnex as well. If that happens, the big donor roads lobby will have got everything they wanted. The transport needs of the NSW community and public accountability do not figure in their calculations.

Wendy Bacon is an investigative journalist and political activist



MAYORAL MINUTE



Clover Moore

The Premier has recently announced further extensions to the WestConnex network which could see up to 100,000 extra vehicles driving into our city every day. Given the congestion we already face even half that number would be devastating for our future economy and liveability.

I am concerned that, as SGS Economics pointed out last year, the Government is rushing to build an incredibly expensive motorway which significantly impacts on our city without properly examining alternatives. With stage two of the current project only about 30% complete and the third stage still in planning there is still time to rectify this looming disaster.

Of all the destructive projects former Prime Minister Abbott and Premiers O'Farrell and Baird visited upon our city – WestConnex is the worst when you look at the facts around its cost and destructive impacts versus any benefits.

In the last five years it has morphed into a revenue-led network of privatised tolled commuter roads and two massive spaghetti-junction-style interchanges in Rozelle and St Peters which Minister Ayres claims are the biggest in the southern hemisphere.

Designs have been scrapped, extra lanes and tunnels added, major intersections moved and removed, tolls introduced, construction sites proposed and abandoned and there still isn't a detailed final design of stages two or three. What is clear is that the current proposal doesn't serve its original purpose and now proposes to deliver trucks to St Peters, more than seven kilometres from Port Botany. Vehicles will travel on local roads, past homes and hotels and along a freight rail line to get to the Port.

WCX is an unmitigated disaster for our global city.

From the west, coming out of the Rozelle interchange and choking the already overloaded Anzac Bridge and Western Distributor will be nearly 80,000 vehicles per day, while Parramatta Road will have 20 per cent more traffic, despite the motorway.

I am aghast that nearly 60 years after Jane Jacobs was fighting this battle in the '60s we are now dealing with Minister Ayres bragging about building the biggest interchanges in the southern hemisphere to direct traffic into the already congested global city.

It is an unmitigated disaster for our global city. As a key driver for the national economy, Sydney's future is vital to Australia's future and the future of NSW. More than \$110 billion is generated each year within our local government area representing over seven per cent of Australia's economy and 24 per cent of the State's GDP.

One of the most significant risks to the future economic viability of our city centre is congestion. The business case for WestConnex makes clear it will dramatically increase congestion which is a significant threat to our future liveability and to investment in the city centre and Green Square. In stark contrast London Mayor Sadiq Khan launched the City's new transport strategy saying: 'As London's population is set to increase beyond 10 million, our future health and prosperity is more and more

dependent on us reducing our reliance on cars.'

'We have to make not using your car the affordable, safest and most convenient option for Londoners going about their daily lives. This is not only essential for dealing with congestion as London grows, but crucial for reducing our toxic air pollution and improving the health of all Londoners.'

WestConnex is a failed 1950s solution for tackling congestion and the very opposite of what leading cities around the world are doing. It is also not the solution for helping people in western Sydney move around. The Government's argument that the project is being built to reduce congestion for people in Western Sydney is blatantly false.

The Government's own business case and data shows:

- WestConnex will save most western Sydney users only five minutes or less;
- It will reach capacity in just eight years;
- In many cases catching public transport will remain a faster way to move around; and
- Public transport use is growing rapidly.

The business case also shows that only one per cent of daily trips in the Sydney region will benefit from WestConnex, but absurdly our Government is investing billions in the project. In fact, it is shaping up to be the most expensive road project in the world.

The City recently identified \$28.5 billion worth of extra costs, bringing the total cost to a staggering \$45.3 billion. The costs relate to the hundreds of millions of dollars of publicly funded road upgrades needed for every exit and entrance plus the new stages announced that are needed to keep moving congestion around. NSW taxpayers will still be paying tens of billions of dollars in tolls for at least the next 43 years and quite possibly beyond – an irresponsible use of public money to prop up private toll operators because of the 'shortfall' and 'no public transport competition' clauses.

During the 2013 Federal election, both the Liberal and Labor leaders promised \$1.5 and \$1.8 billion dollars respectively to kick start the project despite the fact that Infrastructure Australia had put it in its lowest priority category and no business case had been prepared.

It is the sole survivor of three controversial road projects that Prime Minister Abbott supported in his first Budget. None had been originally ticked off by Infrastructure Australia. Despite promising that he'd make the Infrastructure Australia Board independent of Government, when he became Prime Minister, he sacked most of the people on the Board and made a former State Liberal Party Minister the Chair. The new Infrastructure Australia then re-rated all three of Prime Minister Abbott's toll roads as high priorities. The other two toll roads, Melbourne's East West Link and the Perth Freight Link have since been axed as a waste of public money, but we've been left with WestConnex.

In 2014, Prime Minister Abbott gave WestConnex a \$2 billion loan on very favourable terms, well below market rates. And the Federal Infrastructure Agency threw money at the project whether milestones were met or not.

Last week the Joint Committee of Public Accounts and Audit criticised the Federal Government for departing from the usual process of obtaining full assessments for projects when they announced a loan for WestConnex.

The Committee said that approach 'reduced evidence bases for decision-making' and said they were concerned at the Government's lack of consideration in designing and negotiating the loan and in the management of project payments and milestones.

The City's plan shows a way forward that saves billions of dollars which can be better spent improving public transport in western Sydney – 90% of people travelling to the city from the west are on public transport – and it achieves better freight travel times from the west and southwest to the airport and Port Botany.

See: <http://bit.ly/2u1u2u5>

Our plan calls for the unnecessary and expensive Stage 3 connection between Rozelle and St Peters to be scrapped. We've proved there's no 'missing link' between the M4 and M5 – there are already multiple links between the two motorways that could be upgraded with less financial risk to taxpayers, road users and investors.

We are also calling for the massive polluting St Peters interchange to be scrapped. The interchange is currently 27 hectares in area, two-thirds the size of Sydney Park with exit and entry roads 38 metres high in a spaghetti junction, designed for truck speeds of up to 100 km/hour.

Research shows that local residents near the interchange will be subject to a tenfold increase in particulate emissions on their doorsteps. These emissions are known to cause respiratory problems particularly in young children and the elderly and could lead to more serious health impacts. Some residents on Euston Road have already been warned by the NSW Government to keep their windows permanently sealed.

Traffic is proposed to move at speeds of 70 km/hour which will seriously impact on our safe pedestrianised neighbourhoods.

There are too many taxpayer-funded billions at stake, too many threats to communities across Sydney and too many flaws for WestConnex to be allowed to continue without fundamental changes. Especially when there is a better way forward.

I believe that we must protect our residential and business communities and make sure people understand the threat to their health, their homes, their businesses and their investments. We must work closely with other councils, community groups and individuals fighting to expose the truth about this project and demand local solutions that at the very least minimise harmful impacts. As elected representatives of the people who live and work in this area it would be the ultimate act of betrayal to allow this project to destroy our city without a fight.

Sydney is lauded around the world for its liveability – we must not allow it to become a 1970s traffic-clogged city damned by noise, congestion, pollution and narrow footpaths that destroy community street life.

It is not too late for the Government to change the design for stages two and three given they are yet to finalise plans. We need a new multi-faceted, broad reaching campaign to inform people who live in the inner city and who access our city for work about WestConnex and its impacts, and the alternatives.

Clover Moore is Lord Mayor of Sydney

This is an abridged version of the Lord Mayor's Minute of 26 June 2017.

WestConnex contractors and the stench of corruption

Carmen Lawrence

It's clear Australians are increasingly wary of the power of big business; in the latest post-election survey by researchers at the Australian National University, 74% responded 'yes' to the proposition that 'big business has too much power', with 56% (up from the last survey) agreeing that 'government is run for a few big interests'. Contributing to these perceptions is the fact that governments have seemed very reluctant to take action against wayward corporations (perhaps because it might slow the election donations from business to a trickle and vaporise the opportunities for post-political employment).

In its 2012 report on Australia's responses to foreign bribery, for example, the OECD indicated it was 'seriously concerned that Australia's overall enforcement of the foreign bribery offence to date has been extremely low.' It said it was particularly worried about Australia's failure to implement rules to debar contractors found to have engaged in corrupt behaviour from undertaking government funded services or procurement.

AECOM has been in trouble on numerous fronts

AECOM (one of WestConnex's contractors) has been in trouble on numerous fronts. Within Australia, class actions from investors claiming damages as a result of AECOM's allegedly inflated traffic projections for the Clem7 tollway in Brisbane seem to have resulted, so far, in payouts of \$280m and \$121m.

In Canada, a commission of inquiry in Quebec was told by company executives that Tecsub (acquired by AECOM) was part of an elaborate price-fixing scheme with other construction firms and local government officials which they knew to be illegal. In the US, Tishman Construction Corporation, a unit of AECOM, agreed to pay \$20.2m to resolve an investigation into an alleged fraudulent overbilling scheme, which it admitted to the federal court.

In November last year, AECOM and Bechtel National agreed to pay \$125m to resolve allegations that the companies had falsely represented and charged the US Department of Energy for goods and services that were alleged to fall short of the high standards needed for nuclear facilities. Allegations that Bechtel and URS, which was later acquired by AECOM, bought deficient material for more than a decade with taxpayer money, were described as 'deeply concerning given the obvious importance of nuclear safety', by Michael Ormsby, US attorney for the eastern district of Washington.

After the rout of Saddam Hussein's forces, a large-scale effort to reconstruct Iraqi facilities and infrastructure was mounted. AECOM was one of the companies awarded a contract to supply the Iraqi army to the tune of US\$1.1bn.



AECOM confronts residents in Burt Street, Rozelle, November 2016

An audit by the office of the special inspector general for Iraq reconstruction of the AECOM contract found that AECOM potentially overbilled or could not support more than \$4.2m in costs, or 14% of the \$30.6m the office was able to examine. Documents showed that AECOM exorbitantly overcharged for routine items such as replacement parts: it charged \$237 for vehicle mirrors costing only \$14.88, submitted invoices seeking reimbursements of \$196.50 for a bag of 10 washers costing only \$1.22, \$10 for a 45-cent fuse, and \$210 for an inner tube that was supposed to cost \$24.09. Such assessed charges by AECOM represent cost inflations on cheap, commonly available items in the order of several thousand per cent.

CIMIC, formerly Leightons (a major player on the tollway scene), came to notice because of a series of investigations by Fairfax Media and evidence given by a whistle-blower before the Senate inquiry into foreign bribery alleging that Leighton International paid kickbacks and facilitation payments on several overseas projects and that a former Leighton executive signed off on an alleged \$15m sham steel contract. It was alleged that the offshore arm of Leighton Holdings 'paid millions of dollars in bribes to middlemen as part of an audacious strategy to influence Iraq's deputy prime minister, oil minister and other senior officials, and win more than \$1.3bn of oilfield contracts'. One of the players is now before the courts.

Underscoring the legal and financial risks to the company (and to anybody who deals with them) of the continuing allegations of corruption, are reports that CIMIC's Thies office in Kolkata was raided by Indian police last year, that the company is also facing a potentially damaging lawsuit by a partner in its billion-dollar Middle East joint venture, and that a class action has been launched alleging that certain executives and directors at Leighton Holdings and its successor CIMIC breached their duties and failed to disclose the existence of the liability posed by a multimillion-dollar bribery scandal.

In Canada, where there are strong debarment provisions, it is unlikely that any of these companies could secure government contracts; in Australia, it is business as usual, despite the evident risk to taxpayers. Surely we can do better.

Dr Carmen Lawrence is Director of the Centre for the Study of Social Change at The University of Western Australia

This is an abridged version of an article originally published in *The Guardian*, 2 February 2017.



Camp established – 19 September 2016

SAVE SYDNEY PARK CAMP

Save Sydney Park Camp was established on 19 September 2016 first to protect the trees around the Euston Rd car park of Sydney Park. Eleven months later we are still there to watch and protest against WestConnex and publicise the wilful destruction of Sydney's parkland and tree-lined streets by the NSW Government.

From the beginning the camp in its three locations has enabled us to have a continuing presence providing information to passers-by and operating as an organising centre for our campaign. Maintaining the 24-hour roster at the camp to watch and raise the alarm about WestConnex has brought literally 100s of people into our campaign to stop the project. Mobilisations to stop WestConnex taking the Euston Rd trees last September and from the south-eastern corner of Sydney Park in January saw some of the biggest actions of our campaign. The news coverage of the struggles with the contractors and police in January persuaded the Maritime Union of Australia and Grandmothers Against Removals to support the camp and the campaign.

The protests, battles with the contractors to protect the trees, the arrests

and subsequent court appearances have brought a heap of unfavourable publicity down on the WestConnex project and the state government. It was very much part of the falling tide of popularity of the Baird government which saw him off. Now Berejiklian seems determined to cover the south and central coast of NSW with tollways but she doesn't talk so loudly about WestConnex anymore. It is no longer a good news story.

So what can we conclude? Persistence is our strongest suit. Sticking it out and responding to WestConnex's every move have kept the campaign strong and growing. Exposing the manifest flaws and misrepresentations of the Joint Venturers and Sydney Motorway Corporation keeps the project in the public eye and is winning us allies.

The shock and awe tactics of the state government have not bowed us, indeed they have spread the opposition to WestConnex the length of the tollway routes and out to Western Sydney.

Anne Picot, Co-Convenor, No WestConnex-Public Transport

SAVE NEWTOWN

'Save Newtown' is a community group formed in 2015 which has initiated numerous local campaigns:

- 'Shopfront Stickers' (200+ shop windows) + street banners along King Street
- 7,500 petition signatures gathered to help force debate on WCX in NSW Parliament
- 3,500 hard submissions opposing the M5 EIS
- 'blue ribbons tree wrapping' + 'adopt a tree' campaigns in Sydney Park and Alexandria to highlight destruction of the thousands of trees by WCX

It is currently campaigning to:

- halt all work on WCX to enable review of all alternatives, including the City of Sydney's proposals
- have revised traffic flow/travel time projections/project budgets and business case (reflecting the new routes and significant design changes) made available
- inform the public that WCX's Stage 3 'Concept Design' documentation and public information sessions were totally inadequate; that the enormous footprint of the 'possible' tunnel routes leaves residents and business owners uncertain whether the tunnelling will impact their property or operations, that the unprecedented width and length of the tunnels present serious safety and health issues (e.g. emergency evacuation,



Lorrie Graham, 2016

ventilation, air quality, tunnelling safety in extended areas of Ashfield shale, and unresolved engineering aspects of the Rozelle subterranean interchange); that the serious vibration, noise and damage to houses experienced in M4 and M5 tunnelling are likely to be much worse given the vast scale of the Stage 3 tunnels.

The most critical 'Save Newtown' issue is the very real prospect of **extended or 24-hour clearways** on King Street, and Enmore, Edgeware, Mitchell, and Euston Roads that would decimate the business and residential communities in Newtown, Enmore, Erskineville and Alexandria. Such changes would have enormous economic and social impact on one of Sydney's most visited and vibrant precincts.

Greg Ricketson, Save Newtown

CRAW SEMINARS

Camperdown Residents Aware of WestConnex (CRAW) adopted an educative role in its early campaign as few local residents knew anything about WestConnex. Informative community seminars in April and May 2017 were well attended, and the group subsequently changed its name to Camperdown Residents Against WestConnex.



At CRAW's second seminar Prof Paul Torzillo – one of Australia's leading respiratory disease experts – warned that WCX would affect all of Sydney and that, as reported in the *Inner West Courier*, 23 May 2017:

Heart disease will skyrocket due to air pollution caused by WestConnex bringing more cars into the inner west

Prof Torzillo, Head of Respiratory Medicine at RPA, lives in Camperdown and is also concerned about the affect of WestConnex on people's mental health. You can view his presentation at <http://bit.ly/2uB6skt>.

Lesley Treleaven, CRAW Convenor



WestCONnex white elephant lanterns by Marg Carter

LANTERN PROCESSION

Hundreds of people took part in a lantern procession against WestConnex on 22 July 2017. The procession covered nearly 10 kilometres of the route of the proposed eight-lane motorway tunnel to connect the M4 and M5 tollways.

In the week leading up to the procession, public anger spread to new parts of Sydney as leaked documents published by *The Sydney Morning Herald* revealed the toxic threat now posed to schools and communities in the path of the proposed Western Harbour Tunnel/Beaches Link and the F6 extension, which connect to WCX. There is now growing pressure on the NSW Labor opposition to commit to stopping WestConnex and to cancel any contracts issued by the state government for the project.

The procession was initiated by Newtown Residents Against WestConnex (NRAW) and organised by a coalition of resident action groups campaigning against WCX.

Peter Boyle, NRAW Co-convenor

FOR WHOM THE TOLLS TOLL

Cassi Plate

There's a whole new meaning to the term 'Highway Robbery': inflation is 1%, historically weak wage growth is 0.6%. But WestCONnex tolls will rise 4% every year.

When tolls return to the widened M4 from Parramatta to Homebush on 15 August 2017, motorists will pay an estimated \$9.40 return to drive the currently toll-free 7km stretch. This toll will increase 22% every five years. Expensive? That's just one leg.

According to *The Sydney Morning Herald*, a driver from Campbelltown to the city will pay over double the current toll for the M5: \$20 return when extra lanes are completed. The same newspaper documents that Sydney's road tolls are already double the price of Melbourne and Brisbane. Someone currently driving from Penrith to the airport for free will, using WestCONnex, pay about \$9 each way. (SMH 14/15 March 2015)

A more recent report states that within three years of the project's estimated completion in 2023, it will cost a motorist about \$25 for a single round trip along WestCONnex. That has raised fears that motorists will simply move onto suburban roads to avoid the new tolls, creating greater congestion on the roads least able to cope. (*The Guardian* 5 April 2017)

Driving to the city from the west, you could be forgiven for thinking that WestCONnex is already well started. But although buildings have been torn down, the giant toll gantries along the widened M4 are the only significant new infrastructure and any tunneling commenced could easily be repurposed for public transport.

In 2010 the community had paid for the M4 and it was handed back to the NSW Government. No more tolls! Former Premier Bob Carr legislated that tolls couldn't be re-imposed unless the road was 'improved', so WestCONnex unnecessarily widened it.

The stated aim of WestCONnex toll roads is faster travel times for drivers in Western Sydney. Whether WestCONnex is built or not, their own reports demonstrate that travel by train does and will always beat car travel times hands down. For many drivers, even if they could afford it, a saving of 2½–5 minutes will not be worth paying a toll. The aim of responsible government should be to plan efficient and effective transport options for a rapidly growing population.

With money diverted from WestCONnex, and trucks diverted to freight, regular and better train, bus and light rail services would remove cars from roads. Those who have to use roads – tradies, sales reps, delivery vans and other essential car travel – will benefit. With good public transport in place, a Congestion Tax could be considered to keep unnecessary car trips to the CBD to a minimum.

A University of Sydney study identified a point at which people reach 'toll saturation' and can no longer afford to pay tolls. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, half the population of Western Sydney has an income of less than \$600 per week. After living expenses, few could afford the starting price of \$90–\$110 a week on tolls (based on 10 trips per week when the completed tollway opens in 2023).

By 2021, Sydney will be one of the most tolled cities in the world, with over \$1 billion in tolls a year leaving the community, if WestCONnex is ever completed.

Work out what tolls you could pay for your commute, using our TOLL CALCULATOR: www.westconnex.info/toll_calculator.

In a ReachTEL survey which *No WestCONnex – Public Transport* commissioned before the July 2016 Federal election, nearly two-thirds of respondents in the Parramatta electorate (62.2%) stated that they wouldn't use WestCONnex but would use other roads. This means more 'rat running' through suburban streets. A slightly higher proportion (64.5%) stated that they would prefer governments spend money on public transport.

If the private tollway company Transurban have their way, the NSW government will sell them WestCONnex and all tolls will go directly into their hands. The money will not be returned to Government coffers to help fund transport, hospitals or education. According to Jude Page, NSW President of the Public Health Association of Australia, by 2021, Sydney will be one of the most tolled cities in the world with over \$1 billion in tolls a year leaving the community, if WestCONnex is ever completed. That is more than all fares collected through the entire Sydney rail network.

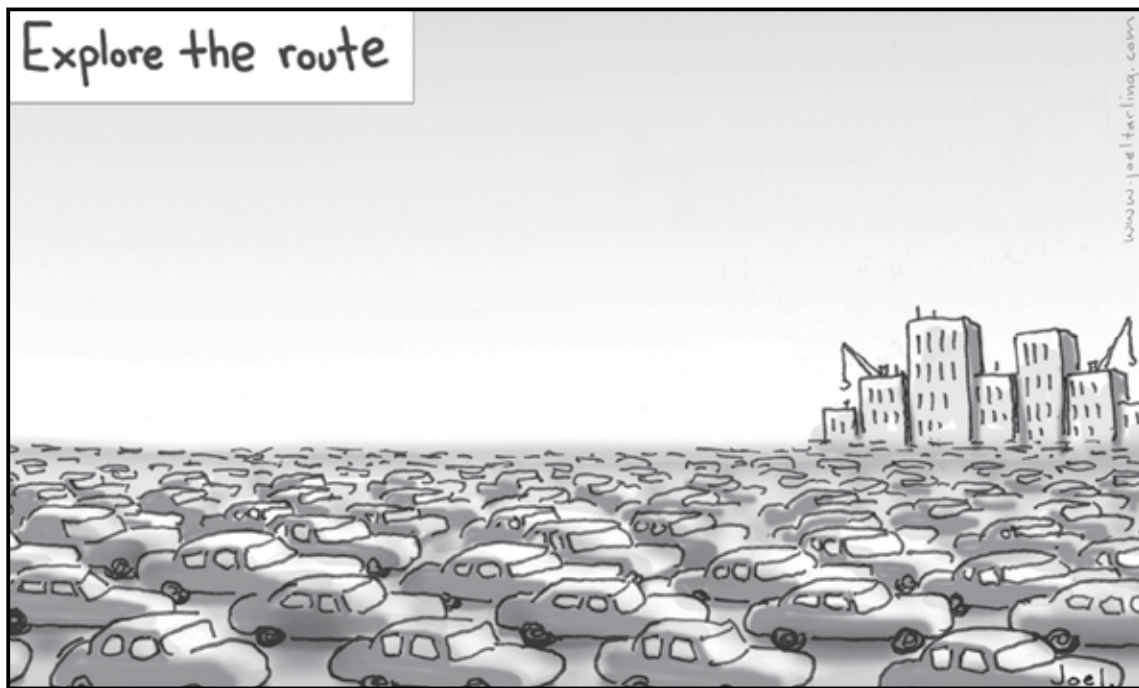
While we don't in principle oppose the idea of motorists paying for the use of roads (just as public transport users pay for service), the privatisation of toll roads will gouge money from motorists left with no improvements to transport alternatives, in order to maximise profits for the private toll-road operators.

For the same reason, toll-road operators embrace the creation of yet more induced traffic. Put simply, that means new roads will encourage more people to get into their cars. That will not only contribute to congestion, but will also increase emissions at a time when governments across the world are trying to tackle climate change. Parramatta Rd is proposed to be narrowed to force drivers onto the tolled M4 East, and no improvements are planned for the already past-capacity Western line.

Unlike in Victoria and WA (where Labor won government by committing to halting the East-West and Roe-8 tollways respectively), the Labor Party here in NSW is still deaf to the wishes of the people and is yet to be convinced to withdraw its support for WestCONnex.

Highway Robbery indeed. Buckle up and deliver!

Cassi Plate is a founding member of *No WestCONnex-Public Transport*



Joel Tarling, 2016

SO WHO PAYS FOR WESTCONNEX PROPERTY DAMAGE?

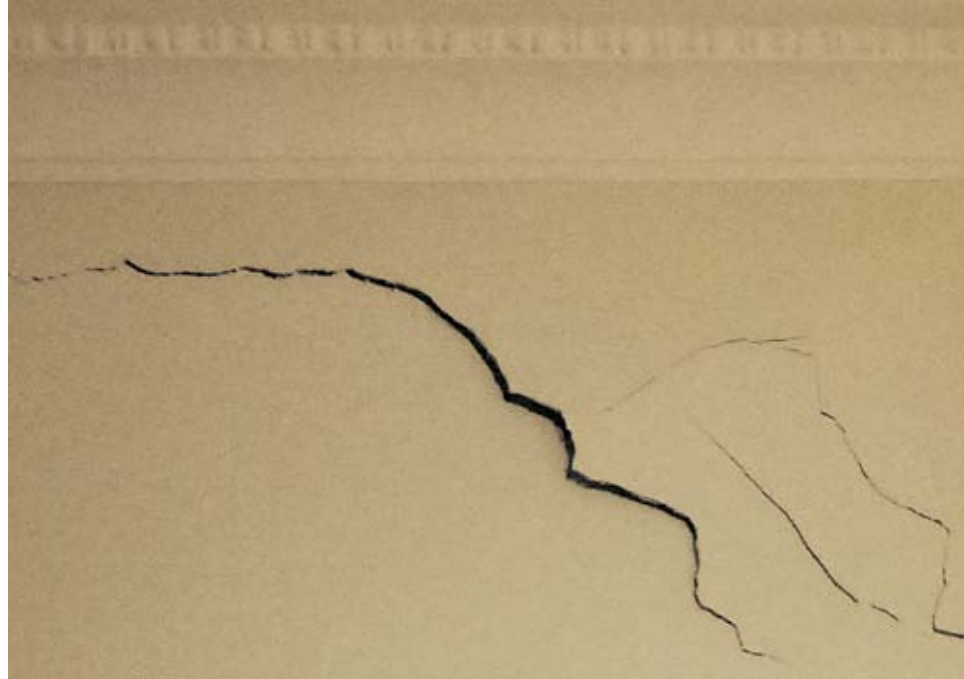
Kate

[name withheld pending legal action]

Property damage caused by WestConnex construction, either by vibration or changed soil moisture content, is expected by their risk management team. This is recognised in their business case. Why then, are impacted homeowners given the run-around when trying to have their homes honestly and professionally addressed?

Despite the fact that WestConnex is still in the early stages, a growing number of families in south-eastern Sydney are reporting structural damage. It's obvious to all of us that we – the homeowners – are fully exposed to the financial risk of repairing our own properties. Not only are we not covered by our home insurance policies, the Sydney Motorway Corporation (SMC) advised me last month that it is not their responsibility either. We have to deal directly with the sub-contractors who are aggressively doing everything they can to obfuscate and stall the claim process.

We have found that the dilapidation report process is a sham. Even if a property deterioration is quite pronounced, we get a final report that says 'it cannot be ascertained to be a direct result of the construction works'. Their excuses include 'this may be attributed to the continuous settlement and movement of the building' which is disingenuous given our Californian Bungalow is almost 90 years old and has stood the test of time.



Our cracking continues to worsen. Plaster is falling off the walls and ceiling and our 15-year-old extension appears to be separating from the original 90-year-old section, which is quite scary. My neighbour is concerned about how much longer her home can be considered 'safe' as her internal damage is so much worse.

The onus is upon the home owner to prove beyond any doubt that the damage was directly caused by WestConnex

construction. This means families must engage their own structural and geotechnical engineers. What is critical in proving our claims is to obtain the original geotechnical reports, including soil moisture content, plus the vibration reports from WestConnex. Their inertia in supplying this information comes as no surprise.

Our own engineer's initial inspection suggests that the damage is likely caused by differential settlement due to the

changed soil moisture content. He estimates the repair costs to be well over \$100,000, and could possibly be as high as \$200,000. Who has that type of money?

I am not only in a fight that is not of my choosing but I have an aggressive breast cancer. So I have to fight for compensation for the significant damage to my home caused by WestConnex construction at a time when I should take time out from work to get well. I push myself through Chemo fatigue to work almost full time. I do this because three years of experience in dealing with the deception, cruelty and indifference of WestConnex staff leaves me with no illusion that my family will be very seriously out of pocket due to the damage they have caused to my home.

It really upsets me to think that not a single dollar I earn during the 12 months of challenging cancer treatment will be left to celebrate my getting well. Not even enough for an inexpensive weekend away.

I am not asking for preferential treatment due to my illness. I simply want to alert all homeowners to the fact that, given the extent of tunnelling planned through areas beneath fragile period homes, many more families will be dragged through the stress of fighting for compensation. Surely it's not too much to ask for all impacted families to have their damages honestly assessed and fixed professionally.

But I don't hold out much hope. Given the SMC's brutal track record in relation to compulsory acquisitions, I feel that I really am in for the fight of my life.

Standing Woman

Fiona Merz

In light of the atrocities the NSW government are actioning for the WestConnex project, I decided to do some actioning of my own. Inspired by Erdem Gündüz, Turkey's 'Standing Man' [<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/18/turkey-standing-man>], recently I stood still and silent wearing my Stop WestConnex t-shirt and a painter's dust mask on Victoria Road near Evans Street in Rozelle during rush hour.

So far I have only managed to stand for one hour on three days, but my hope is that more people might take up the vigil in their own local area. I thought perhaps that my effort would be overlooked, but the traffic was so slow that most drivers certainly noticed my presence and had varying reactions to it.

What I mean to say by this action is: if you see me, you will be affected

adversely by WestConnex. Your air will be toxic, your travel time will not have improved, it will cost you every day in many more ways than the toll alone as you, like me, will also be standing still.

I think that the silent and singular action of this protest could be a powerful message to those who think it may be too late to change the plans. We are not alone, we are the people, and the purpose of our government should be to represent the people. If this is not the case, we need to stand together in defiance for the things that we truly believe are important.

WCX is only 30% complete, and Stage 3 (Haberfield to St Peters via Rozelle) is still being planned.

Fiona Merz is a Rozelle resident and RAW member



51% (potentially 100%) sell-off of WestConnex

Gladys Berejiklian's LNP Government plans to sell off at least 51% of WestConnex before it's completed. There will be no accountability for damage done and ongoing health and environmental impacts.

SENSITIVE RECEIVER

Mark Titmarsh

'Sensitive Receiver' is a term developed from the jargon of NSW State Government planning and the Sydney Motorway Corporation. "Noise Sensitive Receivers" means those property owners close to the sites of digging and building involved in constructing the roads, tunnels and junctions of WestConnex. If a home or a business is designated NSR then it needs "protection" and care from the effects of noise and vibration, which comes from large-scale industrial operations such as an urban tollway. However the result is usually the reverse – NSRs become complainants to be placated by words but ultimately ignored in action, as we have seen with the long-suffering residents in Haberfield, Leichhardt and St Peters.

'Sensitive Receiver' is a broader term, it goes beyond sound and vibration and indicates someone negatively effected by WCX in any way including loss of residence through compulsory acquisition as is happening near us on Victoria Road in Rozelle, or anyone whose health will be effected by unfiltered smoke stacks, or whose life quality goes down because their village becomes a spaghetti junction or their streets are clogged by rat runners pouring off the freeway to avoid the toll point.

Terms like 'Sensitive Receiver' are closely related to a kind of newspeak identified by George Orwell in his novel 1984 and brought to fruition by war speak or military euphemisms perfected during the Vietnam war in the 1960s. One we all know is "collateral damage", still used in contemporary theatres of war. It's a form of jargon that once meant the accidental killings of non combatants but became slang for the mass murder of civilians through the use of imprecise weaponry such as contemporary cluster bombs.

Such euphemisms are abstract and agentless because they obscure the realities of destroyed communities, they decode and defuse the truth of lost homes and local life. They also insulate those on either side of the story – the public servant carrying out the act, and the watching public situated at some distance.

If we continue to borrow from the world of war speak – and it is easy to do so because WCX is like an aggressive enemy invader coming to occupy once-peaceful lands – we might look at the term 'illegal enemy combatants', those deemed to be outside the laws of war, such as so-called terrorists in Camp X-Ray in Guantánamo Bay in Cuba. Once someone has been dubbed 'illegal enemy combatant'

they enter a state of exception, outside the law and barely human, they can be held without charge in inhuman conditions, tortured for years without ever being tried, surrounded by news and information black outs.

What we see in our current situation is a kind of Camp X-Ray that could be renamed WestConnex-Land, which includes all those places from Parramatta to the Inner West, along the path of the M4 and M5 through to Haberfield, Lilyfield and Rozelle. All those people who live in WestConnex-Land have become SRs, those whose objection to being evicted and poisoned can be expected, but who for the sake of the project must live in a state of exception, outside the normal considerations of fair dealings and governmental care.

It amounts to a legal civil war that allows for the elimination of political adversaries by suspending the rule of law, as in the forced amalgamation of councils and the increased sensitivity of the law to anyone who would disagree. New laws rapidly come into being, like edicts at the whim of leaders such as Mike Baird and his successor Gladys Berejiklian, that ensure this state of exception becomes a prolonged state of being. For example the new offence of Trespass on Inclosed Lands with very heavy penalties (will it have the death penalty next?), virtually ensures people are denied the right of public protest and civil disobedience.

This process is reflected nationally and internationally in detainment camps like Guantánamo Bay or immigration detention centres like Manus Island where asylum seekers are kept in entire zones of exception, where a new kind of attitude to the law makes it possible to create areas where the application of the law is temporarily suspended.

This is what we see in the Global West, the suburban outer West, and the Inner West where we now stand. It involves, a journey from Newspeak to Warspeak, from Camp X-Ray to WCX-Land, a state of exception where Collateral Damage and SR have become the same thing! It is a euphemism, a subtle violence to language that hides the truth of living in a state of exception, outside the law and not subject to care and respect.

So it is into your hands that I commend this show and the spirit of this activism, visually and physically embodied by the works on view, pointing towards a new idea of progress. On that note I want to finish with my version of Kate Tempest's poem Progress that you might have seen performed on the ABC's Q&A recently.



REGRESS

Once there was a belief quite odd
in public transport,
so I hear.
there was a God of trams
now, dubbed light rail.
It made it all
less expensive
and less damaging to the cause
and it gave us the because
we'd all been searching for.
An unarguable solution
A reason to be kind and just,
a reason to reject the toll
and send the inner west out to NIMBY land.
It made us all believe it was just Progress
in the knowledge that the journey
would be shorter and for forever.

Once there was Mike Baird,
and he ruled. We had him bad, vandal and judas.
then we fooled ourselves to sleep at night;
that Gladys B. was better
and she would tuck us up quite tight.
And if our beliefs ever shook,
we looked no further than The Book
of Sydney Motorway Corp and Transurban.
But over time we felt ignored;
even if we implored.
What terror
flooded us to understand
there was no point, no grander plan, nothing heaven sent,
they were making it up as they went.
There was just commuting out each day.
Work. Eat. Sleep. A new drill rig in our way.

Without the fear of compulsory acquisition
we found guilt-free pleasure
but we lost the sense of public transport
that had kept us all together.
We needed something new to ease
the traffic jams that grew;
and what's better to believe in
than all-you-can-eat Freeway!

The joy of being who we are
by virtue of the journey we take.
The dream of getting there quicker
to live outside the common time.
And now, there is no community
that exists beyond our transport needs.
Now there is the worship
of convenience and speed.
We run around the circuit,
pit our trains against our greed

And all we have is deficit
to what a car can never deliver
our callous little sedans
carrying one person each
And then wonder how they've grown
to crushing asphalt under their super SUV reach.

Yes our combustion engines are perma-plugged
into the promise and the pity,
for 5 mins taken off the drive from Parramatta to the city.
We stare at the white lines until we've learned
the world's ways have turned.

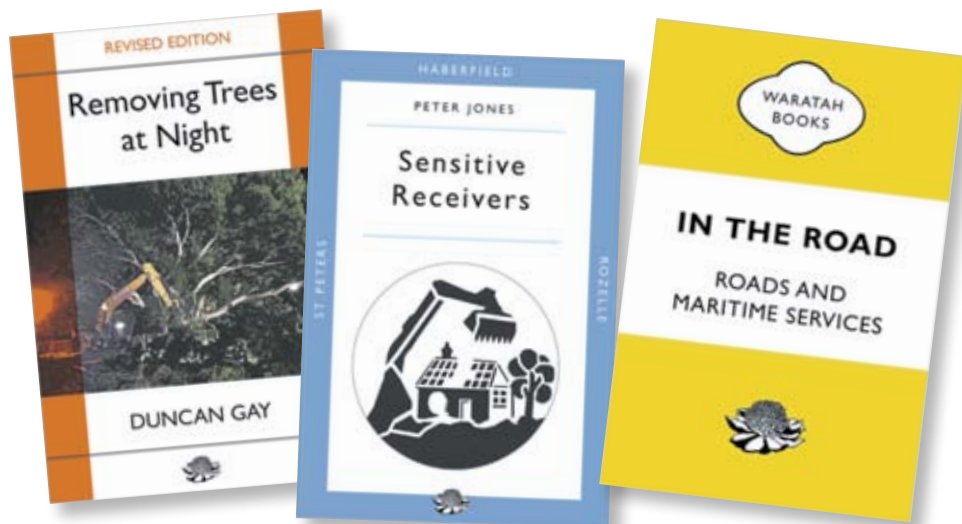
Now reality is played for us to sneer and weep at —
after all its just progress and a million dollar cliché called,
.....wait for it,
Dennis.
With signs and placards the only legal form of resistance.

Look — it's the riot squad in St Peters.
Look — young policemen dressed in fascist black.
Look — they can't even talk to you for fear of finding
you are flesh and blood.
Look — a 7-lane highway 2 metres from a child's
bedroom in Euston Road.
Look — an unfiltered smoke stack 100 metres from a
pre-school in Rozelle.
Look — a social, environmental and financial scandal.
Look — WestConnex and Adani, the two greatest
threats to global warming in Australia.

We used to burn politicians who didn't fit the bill
We'd do them slowly
and draw red rings round the unrepresentative swill.

You can either be a beauty or a beast or activist,
You can either be cool or kooky or kitsch.
Before
you were damned for the things that you did,
or if you didn't live how the villagers lived.
Now
You're handed the mould and told — WCX is progress
And maybe one day it could really be big.

Cut to Behind-the-scenes footage
of a famous last stand.
Where WCX destroys communities it also bring us
hand to hand,
arm in arm,
into communities of resistance



Rozelle Book Club, 2017

Mark Titmarsh is a Rozelle-based artist, lecturer and RAW member. His 'slam', inspired by the incendiary English performance poet/writer Kate Tempest, and performed 13 May 2017 at the opening of the Sensitive Receivers: Rejecting WestCONnex exhibition in Rozelle, is viewable at <http://bit.ly/2sbrkyR>.

ARTS ACTIVISM

David Watson

Sensitive Receivers: Rejecting WestCONnex

Salon Callan, Rozelle 13 - 14 May 2017

DisConnex: Reframing Resistance

Chrissie Cotter Gallery, Camperdown 28 June - 9 July 2017

The work of artists, photographers and filmmakers continues to be pivotal in focusing the public mind, cutting through corporate and government spin, catalysing 'people power'... as two recent anti-WCX exhibitions in Sydney's inner west remind us.

Sensitive Receivers: Rejecting WestCONnex played on WCX's own beige jargon – *sensitive receivers* are those 'in the zone' – people, homes and businesses under threat from the gargantuan tollway's proposed routes across and beneath Sydney, those whose close-knit communities are being wrought asunder, whose health and environmental amenity face years of disruption, dust, noise and vibration. The exhibition featured urgent visual work by 40 Sydney artists and activists + continuous screenings of Ivan Hexter's *Tunnel Vision* (2016) [see adjacent], *Blight* (John Smith's elegy to M11-Link-devastated East London, 1994-6), and *Carmageddon* (Gavin Gatenby's exposé of WCX's decimation of St Peters and Alexandria, 2017).

'Artists, too, are sensitive receivers – quick to detect, reveal, sound the alarm – canaries in the mine', notes organiser David Watson. 'Anger is an energy. The shorthand of arts activism continues to capture the public imagination, channeling the outrage of affronted citizens Sydney-wide.'

The weekend exhibition, enjoyed by 350 visitors, lives on as a free 79pp catalogue: <http://bit.ly/2hDIALR>.

Much of the work is purchasable + there are links to videos and artist websites.

DisConnex: Reframing Resistance featured films, photographs, paintings, placards and costumes creatively challenging the displacement caused to communities across Sydney. The re-purposing of salvaged heritage items and re-kindling of memory traces by local activist artists created poignant and disturbing sculptural and graphic interventions [see also p. 5]. 'The exhibition included work documenting the havoc created by WestConnex, by established artists', says organiser Cynthia Moore, 'as well as by residents who have found a medium for their resistance. Whether on the street, on social media or in the gallery, the dialogue between artists, activists and citizens is producing a new language of creative expression' [see page 16, for example].

Free 34 pp catalogue: <http://bit.ly/2hEtIwA>.

Sensitive Receivers was organised by David Watson, with Denise Corrigan (RAW); *DisConnex* was organised by Jo Alley, John Bartholomew, Chris Elenor, Katy Gould, Mark Fensom, Helen Grace, Russ Hermann, Paul Jeffrey, Janet Kossy, Cynthia Moore, Paula Rix, Bronwyn Tuohy and Rene Vogelzang.



Cassi Plate, protest sign, 2017



Janet Kossy, *Women of WestCONnex*, 2016



Anon Ymous, 2016

INSPIRATIONAL ACTIVIST DOCOS

Lesley Treleaven

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has.

— Margaret Mead

Over the past year, two new Australian documentary films have been inspiring committed citizens in Sydney fighting the WestConnex monster as it spreads into and across our city and suburbs. Never in this battle, has the WestConnex protest needed more to be reminded of both Margaret Mead's words and the changes that small groups have been able to make for a healthier, safer environment and more transparent planning and consultation processes.

Ivan Hexter's *Tunnel Vision* and Brendan Shoebridge's *The Bentley Effect*, screening currently at festivals and community fundraisers across the country, were joined last month by a third rousing activist doco release, *Citizen Jane: Battle for a City*, the tale of how Jane Jacobs – author, mother and citizen activist – galvanised her local community to defeat plans for a monstrous elevated highway through lower Manhattan in the 1960s.



Citizen Jane: Battle for the City (2017)

All take up the stance of lawful civil disobedience and non-violent action in the face of vested political interests and violated processes that corrupt democracy and the safeguards put in place to protect communities and citizens. What distinguishes the recent Australian pair of documentaries is their successful engagement of disparate energies via social media.

Tunnel Vision documents the challenges over 18 months to stop an \$18 billion toll road. The Melbourne campaign against the East West Link project brought together people across all segments of society concerned with the focus on roads at the expense of public transport and the environment. *Tunnel Vision* shows why communities opposed the East West Link and how they were able to win the battle. It includes interviews with savvy activists and live footage of civil disobedience that can encourage and inform other campaigns such as that against WestConnex.

By taking the fight right up to the election and changing the Victorian Government, the East West Link campaign is instructive not only for the WestConnex campaign but also for the ALP whose ambiguous and disappointing stances to date fly in the face of their 2015 NSW Policy on WestConnex.

Communities across Australia are taking action through citizen-led fights not only for public transport in cities but also in rural areas to preserve their farming lands and water. *The Bentley Effect* tracks the ups and downs, the despair and triumphs of communities in three Northern River valleys. Here, facing citizens and settlements vehemently opposed to environmental destruction, developers of coal seam gas met more than their match.

As invading drill rigs and streams of long semis came down narrow roads, protected by police, non-violent resisters using incredibly creative strategies, delayed and disrupted their progress. The investors and state government were determined that they would not be stopped by local communities, with up to 850 riot squad police placed on the ready. The struggle lasted five long years, bringing together people from all walks of life. *The Bentley Effect* chronicles this struggle and celebrates a staggering victory generated by the non-violent citizen action of a fast-growing social movement.

WESTCONNEX: THE ROAD TO RUIN IS PAVED WITH MORE ROADS

Elizabeth Farrelly



I've always felt ridiculously proud that Sydney survived, roughly intact, the 20th-century motorway mania that sent so many cities spiralling into self-destruction. It wasn't for lack of wishing. NSW road engineers would have levelled most of Glebe, Chippendale, Newtown, Redfern and Paddington, but for a serendipitous mix of government incompetence and hippie heritage awareness.

The death of Tom Uren highlights this piece of historical luck. The engineers had yearned to build motorways since the 1940s but the enabling plan, red-stripping our inner-city like so much prime beef, wasn't gazetted until 1971. By then it was too late. The Whitlam era was already in the wind, with Uren expounding the urbanism that would value cities as places, not just thoroughfares. The inner city was saved.

Since then, we've watched these same inner-city neighbourhoods flower into the creative hubs that drive the city economy. This makes motorway-madness even starker. Many of Sydney's peer cities across the globe see motorways now as things to demolish, not build, blights on community, drivers of climate change, exacerbators of congestion.

So when WestConnex popped up in 2012, it looked like the decades-late death-rattle of red-striped engineer-think. Greiner's folly. No one really believed they would be daft enough to do it. It's not like we have the money – \$18 billion for a dying technology? It was widely assumed that the flurry of hasty announcements would end, Utopia-like, in a soft wet fizz.

But no. The project lives.

There is a lot you could do with \$18 billion. A mere \$5 billion, EcoTransit Sydney says, would buy us a world-class public transport system, or something close to it – so that no one in the entire metropolis lived more than 10 minutes' walk from a light rail, train or (frequent, rapid, accessible) bus stop. If, then, you could give the lot free Wi-Fi, incentivisation would rocket, productivity losses plummet.

Instead of just taking trucks off local roads, as WestConnex boasts, you would lose them from roads altogether. Instead of a \$26 tollway, you would have a breezy ride in a moving office to a clean, airy future.

But WestConnex is ideological. That's why Duncan Gay declares himself determined, despite the gaping holes. There appears to be a deep emotional resistance to public transport, a deep love of dirty, noisy mechanical road culture.

A proper inquiry is called for, as it would be were this \$18 billion – or even \$1 billion – for the arts. We need to see that WestConnex business case now. Before even more damage is done.

29 January 2015

WestConnex is a war on inner Sydney and city dwellers

NVDA may not yet be your go-to acronym if you are an inner-city dweller but it could soon be.

It's war. That's the word on the streets of Rozelle and Balmain, at Newtown, Ashfield, St Peters and Haberfield. Mike's Motorway Madness is not their war of choice. They didn't start it and certainly didn't expect to be fighting it all over again. But it is war and, they say, they'll fight it to the end.

One year after his election victory, NSW Premier Mike Baird says he has responded to concerns raised over the WestConnex motorway and Sydney's lockout laws.

So NVDA - Non-Violent Direct Action - is a thing again. If you're a city dweller, NVDA is coming to a hood near you. Motorways are to the city what coal-and-gas are to the country: means for cynical government to funnel both private property and public interest into deep corporate pockets. The country defended itself with Lock the Gate. The city has NVDA. Watch for it.

Protests, heritage, bulldozers, arrests, civil disobedience training days. There's a déjà vu to all this,



as though history tripped and fell into a half-century repeat cycle. Remember Arthur Dent, from *Hitchhiker's Guide*, whose planet was demolished for a hyperspace bypass? That was 1978. Even then motorway madness was meme enough for satire. Now, in world terms, it is simply old-fashioned. Yet we're still doing it.

Back in the '70s, Sydney fought the insanity and won, which is why we still have an inner city to protect. Which is lucky, because inner Sydney is that rare thing, a truly unique Australian gem in the crown of world culture. We didn't make the harbour, and our outskirts are like outskirts anywhere. But inner Sydney – chaotic, muddled, incongruous and intricate as medieval tapestry – is exquisite.

Yet the Baird government is at war with it. You think I exaggerate? Consider the signs: the propaganda, the covert action, the tactical secrecy, the outright lies, the surprise attacks, the rampant midnight destruction. Its weapons are many: sell off, chop down, develop. But its two biggest guns – WestConnex and Sydney Light Rail – are designed for maximum destruction, camouflaged as transport necessity and aimed, from east and west, straight at Sydney's beautiful, irreplaceable heart.

27 April 2016

There's never been a better time to protest in the streets

I'm a bit in love with Michael Agzarian. His latest flutter, brightening our darkest hour to date, features a defiant and mildly defective-looking Mike Baird in classic prison-portrait style, headlined ENVIRONMENTAL + SOCIAL VANDAL. The background collects Baird's crimes against the people: TAFE, private colleges, Millers Point, WestConnex, privatisation, Newcastle rail, tree clearing, public housing, local democracy, heritage, lockouts, Powerhouse Museum. Not to mention Crown Land sell-offs or forced mining, fracking and drilling.

There's so much destruction under way right now, on so many fronts. Wherever I go people say, Lordy this government! How many more years? Three? Seriously? Will there be anything left?

We've had bad governments before. Mostly, in fact. But also mostly ineffectual. They flop around for a bit and before they can do too much damage we ship them out for a new lot. This mob's different. This mob is cashed up and dangerous.

What to do?

Protest, I say. Loud and long. It's easy to feel your voice doesn't matter these days. But protest is a force and, generally, a force for good.

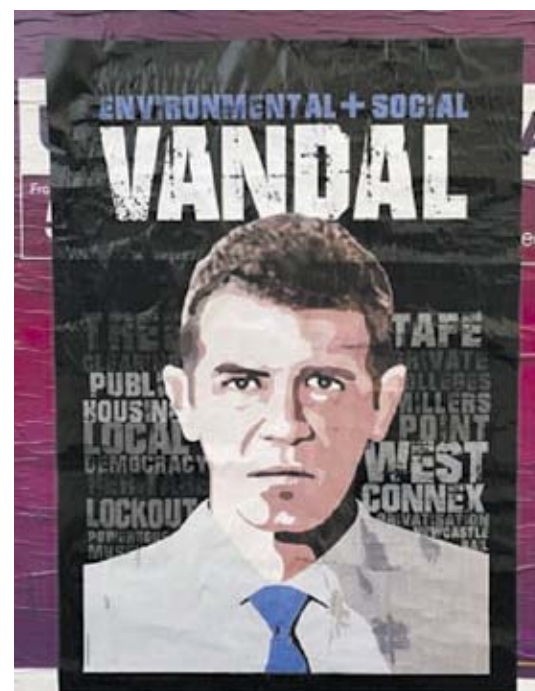
When the Knitting Nannas attempt citizens arrests of MPs in Sydney and Lismore for breach of human rights; when journalist Wendy Bacon is arrested and charged for opposing WestConnex peacefully on public land; when the Windsor Bridge protesters settle in

for their fourth year of continuously defending the country's oldest public square; when the ever-growing opponents of mining, motorways, drilling, asset-stripping, lockout laws, illegal detention, institutional destruction and tree-felling across the state gather, they share a sense of shouting into the wind.

But two new books and a prize offer timely reminders of the power of protest. Bob Dylan's Nobel Prize was for literature, but could as easily have been for peace. He wasn't just the voice of a generation. With songs like *Blowin' in the Wind*, *Hard Rains A-Gonna Fall* and *The Times They are A-Changin'*, Dylan was the prophet of protest. Building on the civil rights and ban-the-bomb movements, he used poetry to popularise dissent, and dissent to popularise poetry. In so doing, he changed history.

"Progress does not just happen," Clive Hamilton begins his new book, *What Do We Want; the history of protest in Australia*. "It occurs because a few individuals begin to demand change."

The other book that should hearten thousands of infuriated citizens is Jim Colman's *The House That Jack Built: Jack Munday, green bans hero*. Documenting how "an ordinary bloke from the bush" saved the heart and



Michael Agzarian's poster featuring Mike Baird

soul of Sydney, this book also details the progress made since "the jungle of the 1960s". But Colman also warns: "storm clouds ... are reforming" and "that a younger generation seems to be floating in a sea of indifference".

Worse than indifference, though, is the Baird government's strenuous onslaught on the inner city: erasing local democracy, bulldozing communities for cars and threatening lawful protest with huge fines. It's all very Manhattan 1961. Then, when New York's planning czar Robert Moses proposed to complete his expressway system with a 70-metre-wide swathe through Greenwich Village, protest won the day. "This is not the rebuilding of cities," said the residents' fearless leader, Jane Jacobs. "This is the sacking of cities."

The same threat looms over Sydney now, except that the Baird government has made protest itself dangerous. When we gathered in May to defend the Anzac figs, we occupied the public footpath. Gradually, strategically, the police ring-fenced us with tall wire panels then told us we were on "inclosed" land and must move or be arrested; maximum penalty \$5500. In a legal shift that is ugly and unprecedented, police now decide who may and may not demonstrate. On whose orders? Government's.

This is bad law and dangerous. So when 69-year-old Wendy Bacon is tried next month for exercising her right to stand for a better world, the Agza-prop will show a silver-haired Joan of Arc above a single word. Hero.

29 October 2016

Thanks to Elizabeth Farrelly for her permission to publish these abridged versions of opinion pieces which appeared originally in *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

ZERO OUT OF TEN

Inner-West residents award Sydney Motorway Corporation's Stage 3 [M4-M5 Link] Concept Designs and 'community consultation' process ZERO out of TEN.

1. Many residents affected by the project were not letterboxed with details of community information sessions. Community information sessions were short staffed, mostly with PR people, with few if any experts in air quality, engineering and road building. Some SMC staff clearly gave contradictory information at community sessions. Standard responses to many questions were: 'That is beyond my remit' or 'That will be answered in the EIS.'
2. Only a very limited number of 'hard copies' of the Concept Design documentation was made available at an extremely limited number of poorly publicised locations with often-restricted access hours. No details of tolls were published for consideration by the community.
3. Material published on-line was so badly designed that it could not be printed out except as unreadable, tiny (7-8 point) type and had little or no detailed information. The concept design document is a massive 160+ Mb PDF that was almost impossible to download using normal computer and tablet systems.
4. There were many mistakes and much contradictory information in the text and graphics, e.g. p.14, next to figure 9.2, we are told that tunnelling will be 24 hours a day but truck movements will be only 5-6 an hour! Misleading or just deceitful?
5. The SMC refused to allow community groups to show their own poster-sized detailed maps (based



Colin Chestnut
protesting WCX in
Catherine St, Lilyfield,
February 2017
Photo: Peter Boyle

on the SMC's online 'interactive maps') at the information sessions.

6. During one of the community information sessions an SMC staff member remarked that the EIS was already about 70% complete (this was months before public submissions on the Concept Design were due to close), and that the SMC will issue the EIS before even considering or responding to feedback on the M4-M5 Link Concept Design.
7. The design and the number of exhaust stacks were shown in misleading artists' impressions with no scale, no height indicated, and no images of existing

stacks provided for realistic comparison. No legend was included with the interactive map. The actual number of stacks was not quantified. Comments on the interactive map were limited to just 140 characters.

8. The diagrams of the 80-metre-wide, four-lane twin tunnels are deliberately misleading in terms of their scale. Their indicated directions, too, are contradictory and make no sense.
9. The SMC has stated that (should Stage 3 proceed) only houses '50 metres either side of a tunnel' would be given the opportunity for house inspections 'before' and 'after' tunnelling to determine any damage caused by SMC. [This is outrageous... surely independent structural assessments should be encouraged (and paid for) by the SMC for *all* properties within the 'yellow swoosh' (the area of potential tunnel construction by contractors) – a zone in some places upwards of 500m either side of the route indicated in the Concept Designs!].
10. The NSW Government must legislate to ensure that liability is conveyed to subsequent purchasers of the tunnels and is able to hold offshore owners accountable. Otherwise the final route of the tunnels might not ever be made known, effectively denying owners recourse to structural damage claims.
11. The SMC street diagrams did not indicate schools, childcare or aged-care centres, shopping centres or health care centres, so that the community might assess the real impacts of the construction sites and exhaust stacks.
12. The SMC must acknowledge that the several thousand mature trees they have already destroyed (together with those earmarked for destruction should Stage 3 proceed), would be replaced with mature trees of the same size and species.
13. Over past months there have been very significant changes to the Stage 3 Concept Designs, significant re-routing (e.g. dropping of the Camperdown exit and entrance ramps) and radical alterations/ additions to the Rozelle proposals (the interchange there now claimed by the Minister for WCX, Stuart Ayres, to be the 'largest in the southern hemisphere!'). These changes surely deliver a substantive impact to SMC's business case, which should now be re-published for review by the community.
14. Should the project proceed, it is almost certain that there would be back-ups of traffic heading onto Euston Road at St Peters, at the Haberfield exit portal, the Parramatta Road portals, the Iron Cove Bridge portals, at the City West Link and at the Anzac Bridge which would lead to extended periods underground (under Lilyfield - where a triple-stacked tunnel is proposed – up to 100 metres underground!), thus posing a serious health risk to tunnel users.

Thanks to Greg Ricketson (Save Newtown) whose research delivered the comprehensive 150-point list of SMC's failings, from which the points listed here were drawn.

ARRESTED FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

'Rogues' Gallery

Across Sydney's inner west over the past year... in Haberfield, Alexandria, St Peters and Rozelle... good citizens have opposed WCX in the only manner left open to them... civil disobedience.



Cassi Plate
Teacher. Retired



Hugh Jones
Musical instrument maker



Chris Elenor BSc, MA,
Order of Timor Leste
Ret'd uni lecturer & consultant



Gabrielle Margaret Brown
Certified practising accountant,
office administrator



Bill Holliday
Electrical engineer



Adrienne Shilling
Former social welfare worker
and bush regenerator



Peter Hehir
Actor, screenwriter,
construction manager. Retired



Bronwyn Vost
Retired librarian



Paul Jeffery
Former business owner



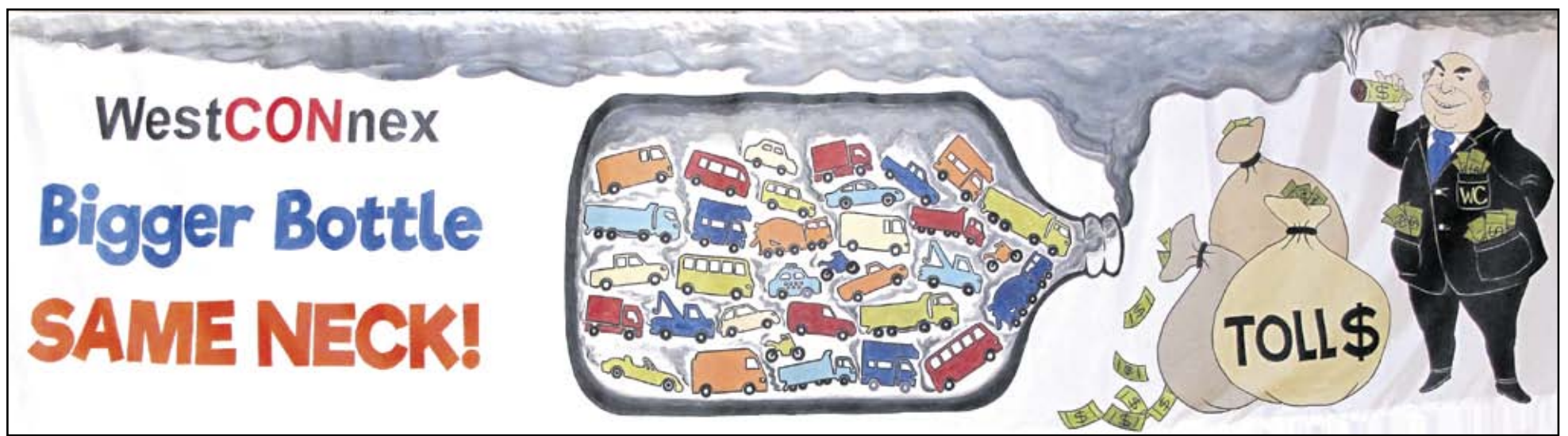
Ruth Nelson
Psychologist



Glenys Waddell
Former psychologist, University
of Sydney (25 years)



Wendy Bacon
Journalist and activist



Hand-painted protest banner by RAW's Marg Carter, Janette Willett, Holly Gorman and Peter Hehir, 2017

A road tunnel in Japan built by Leightons (CIMIC) has shown that the use of 'in tunnel' filtration – capable of removing 98% of carcinogenic particulate matter – is actually cheaper than running the unfiltered system that WestConnex propose. — Mark Curran, biological scientist (see p. 6)



Demonstration outside Labor Conference at Sydney Town Hall, 29 July 2017. Photo: Peter Boyle



RAW/LAW/NoWCX Annandale/CRAW/WAG protest, White Bay footbridge, Rozelle, 18 February 2017. Photo: Denise Corrigan

<http://rozelleagainstwestconnex.org>
www.facebook.com/NoWestconnex/
www.facebook.com/westconnexactiongroup/

CRAW

SAVE
Newtown
STOP
WestCONnex

NO
WEST
CONNEX
ANNANDALE

NO
PUBLIC
TRANSPORT

SAVE
ASHFIELD
PARK

RAW
ROZELLE
AGAINST
WESTCONNEX

RAW
ROZELLE
AGAINST
WESTCONNEX

EgoTransit
Sydney

LAW
Leichhardt Against WestCONnex

WESTCONNEX
ACTION
GROUP

ARAG