Appendix 1:

The Transcript of:

John Howard

October 10th 2004

Ladies and gentlemen and my fellow Australians, can I say first of all that I am truly humbled by this extraordinary expression of confidence in the leadership of this great nation by the coalition and the first thing I say to the Australian people in accepting their charge to lead the nation over the years ahead, the first thing I say is to rededicate myself and all of my colleagues to the service of the Australian people.

This nation by reason of the circumstances of history and by reason of its great capacity and the great capacity and dedication of the Australian people, this nation stands on the threshold of a new era of great achievement.

This is a proud nation, a confident nation, a cohesive nation, a united nation, a nation which can achieve anything it wants if it sets its mind to it. An no Australian should ever shrink from a passionate belief in the ability and the capacity of this nation not only to provide a wonderful homeland for our 20 million, not only to be a partner with our friends in our own region but to be a beacon of democracy, of tolerance, of hope and of achievement all around the world.

The rest of the world sees us as a strong, successful nation and tonight the Australian people by their decision have declared themselves confident and hopeful about their future. And my task, my mission, my commitment to the Australian people is to lead them to the achievement of all of the opportunities that we have in the world. We have a strong economy, we are a nation that is respected around the world because we are prepared to stand up for what we believe in.

I want to thank the Leader of the Opposition Mark Latham for his gracious remarks tonight. He rang me before making his speech and I do warmly thank him for the gracious things that he said.

Ours is a great democracy, there can only be one winner when an election is held. You face that great moment of electoral judgment and electoral truth.

We are happy, we are joyful that the verdict has been given by the Australian people but never forget the fact that governments are elected to govern not only for the people who voted for them, but also for the people who voted against them.
If I can address some remarks particularly, and I know the rest of my fellow Australians will understand my doing this, some remarks particularly to the two coalition parties. This is a truly historic achievement for our two parties. We have to reach back to the 1960s to find an occasion when an incumbent government has increased its majority on two successive occasions. That is an extraordinary achievement and when I look around the nation there is a wonderful story to be told of achievement in each of the different states of our nation but to all of my colleagues I express my thanks for their loyalty and their cooperation and their support, particularly during the weeks of this election campaign.

And may I especially say a few words about two very important colleagues of mine in the parliamentary party. Can I say to John Anderson, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Leader of the National Party, there is no finer human being in public life than John Anderson and the loyalty that he's displayed towards me, the leadership of his own party, the way in which he represents the interests of country Australia is a source of continued inspiration and help to me, and to John I say thank you for the friendship and the loyalty of these past years and the hope that it offers to the years ahead.

And the Deputy Leader of my own party, Peter Costello, the Treasurer, whose stewardship has given us one of the strongest economies in the Western World and also the strongest economic conditions that this country arguably has experienced since the end of World War II. Those two men and all of my other cabinet colleagues have represented a united team and we are here tonight, we've won our fourth successive victory. And we've won it for many reasons but one of the reasons that we have won it is that we have been a united team. We have worked together, we have been a team. We have not been a one-man band and to all of my colleagues I owe so much because theirs is the victory tonight as much as it is mine.

Can I also say a very special word of thanks to the Liberal Party organization around Australia. You cannot win elections without the assistance of a party organization. I cannot win elections without the assistance of people like you who are gathered here tonight to share this victory, and to Shane Stone, the Federal President of the Liberal Party, Shane I thank you very much for your leadership of the party. And to Brian Loughnane, the new Federal Director who has steered us at an organizational level to a wonderful victory on the first occasion that he's been at the helm of the organization, and to all of the other directors of the party around Australia that have made tonight possible, they have made the achievement that is represented by tonight possible, I express my tremendous gratitude and thanks.

Might I also say a very special word of gratitude to my staff. Being the staff of a prime minister is no easy task. Being the staff of a prime minister during an election campaign is an almost impossible task but they have carried it out with great dedication, great professionalism, and great goodwill and particularly can I express my thanks to Arthur Sinodinos and I guess the political steward of staff Tony Nutt.
Probably one of the hardest jobs in an election campaign is to deal with the media of Australia and I therefore should thank Tony O'Leary for the tremendous work they have done.

It is a wonderful thing to be able to participate in a great democratic exercise like an election. It's nerve-wracking and like many of you in this room, I had butterflies in my stomach this morning. I happily confess to that and it's true and it's perfectly normal and it's perfectly human but we are privileged to be able to participate in the great exercise in democracy.

Let us remember that this very same day the people of Afghanistan have had an election and for the first time in years. That election has been made possible by reason of the fact that a number of countries, including Australia, were prepared to take a stand for democracy and to take a stand against terrorism. As the people of Afghanistan vote today, and particularly the women of Afghanistan, they have been so brutally suppressed for so long, we should be proud of the role that we have played in their liberating Afghanistan just as we should be proud of the role that Australia has played in many other areas in standing up for the values we believe in and the things we hold dear.

We rededicated ourselves to the service of the Australian people. We rededicate ourselves to the great ideals of the Australian nation. We rededicate ourselves to that passionate belief of mine that the things that unite Australians are infinitely more important and more enduring than the things that divide us.

And so, my friends, I thank you for the support that you've given me and to the broader Australian community, can I say again I cannot muster words adequate enough to express my sense of gratitude and humility at the great honour that you have again given me to lead this nation.

To be the prime minister of Australia is undoubtedly the greatest privilege that can come the way of any person. I will never forget, I will never lose contact with, I'll never misunderstand the nature of the honour and the privilege that's been given to me. I serve the Australian people and I commit myself to their service and their interest in the years ahead.

And finally, can I say on a personal note, that tonight is possible for me, as my eight-and-a-half years as prime minister have been possible for me, because of the tremendous support I have received from those of my immediate family who are on the stage with me tonight. We are two more than last time - Tim was over in England three years ago and Rowan and Melanie hadn't got married or hitched by then, so it's great to have Rowan with us on the platform tonight. And I have to say to Richard thank you very much for coming home briefly from the United States, and if I could extend the family bit could I also acknowledge the presence of two of my brothers.
here tonight and their families for the tremendous support they have given me over the years, it's always been very much a family thing for us, and to have you all here tonight is something that's very special to me.

So again I say to my fellow Australians, thank you for the enormous trust that you have placed in us. I said at the beginning of this election campaign that it was about trust, it was who the Australian people had trusted to manage the economy, to lead this nation at a time of international peril, who did the Australian people better trust to keep the budget strong, who did the people better trust to lead it. In the first part of the 21st century...

The Australian people have given their answer, we thank them for that, and we start work immediately to justify and fulfill the trust that they have given to all of us tonight.

Thank you very much.
Appendix 2

The Transcript of:

Julia Gillard

July 2010

To be elected to this House as a Labor representative is a great honour. To be elected as the first woman ever chosen by the Victorian branch of the Labor Party to stand for an historically safe seat is more than a personal honour; it is a Labor landmark, as is the record number of Labor women sitting in this House. It is a cause for celebration and will inspire us to ensure that many more women follow us into this parliament. Having reached this place, my first task as the new member for Lalor is to thank the outgoing member, Mr Barry Jones, for his service to the local community over the past 21 years, for his contribution to Australian political life and for his personal support and encouragement.

Barry Jones has a unique place in Australian political life. Barry is famed throughout Australia for his intellect and is respected throughout Australia for his genuineness and compassion. In an age of cynicism about politicians, Barry Jones is one of the few politicians of whom Australians are truly fond. In the electorate of Lalor he is loved. While he will be sorely missed from this House, Barry will continue to serve the Labor Party as its national president and will continue his passionate engagement with Australia in his writing and public speaking.

The electorate of Lalor, so ably served by Barry Jones, is situated in Melbourne's outer west. Young families flock to Lalor and new housing estates are constantly being built. Part of Melbourne's industrial heartland, Lalor contains the Altona petrochemical complex, the Laverton industrial estate and the Toyota manufacturing plant, as well as the Point Cook and Laverton air bases. Far less well known and perhaps surprising to some, given the standard imagery of Melbourne's west, Lalor encompasses a significant agricultural precinct at Werribee South and throughout the electorate you find internationally protected wetlands. Lalor also contains major tourist attractions, including the historic Werribee Mansion, the open range zoo and the State Rose Garden.

As part of Melbourne's industrial west, the people of Lalor have always had to try harder. There is a sense of community and a fighting spirit often missing from the sleeker suburbs. That fighting spirit is now being called upon in a major community campaign to stop CSR turning the local quarry at Werribee into a toxic dump. There are only two reasons why Werribee has been selected as the site for this toxic dump: CSR wants to make money by filling its disused quarry with toxic waste and the Kennett government thinks Werribee is no more than a dumping ground because Melbourne's sewage farm is located there. But Premier Kennett and CSR are wrong.
When the Victorian Premier turns to the west, he holds his nose and closes his eyes. If he opened his eyes, he would have seen the 15,000 Werribee residents who rallied to stop the dump. And by now he should be smelling the scent of a political defeat because this is a fight that Lalor, named for that great fighter against injustice Peter Lalor, will win.

The electoral division of Lalor has enjoyed great stability and quality in its parliamentary representatives. Since its creation in 1949, apart from the curious aberration of being represented by the Liberal Party for one parliamentary term, Lalor has been represented in this place by only three members: Reg Pollard, Jim Cairns, the famous antiwar advocate, and Barry Jones. Whilst its parliamentary representation may have been stable, like all of Australia, the electorate of Lalor has undergone a radical transformation since World War II. In Lalor, as in our nation generally, the twin forces of globalisation and rapidly changing technology, particularly information technology, have remade and will continue to remake our lives.

The prevailing mood of insecurity is an understandable community response to the swirling winds of change which threaten to blow us to unknowable destinations. In Hugh Mackay's Mind and Mood study and in Clemenger's Silent Majority report, we find a society in which individuals increasingly feel insecure and powerless to control their lives in the face of rapid economic restructuring and social change. Most tellingly of all, parents believe their teenagers are facing a tougher world than they themselves faced. As a community, in common with societies throughout the Western world, our response to insecurity has run from simple nostalgia to the spectacle of the frightened turning on the vulnerable. Endless remakes of the songs and movies of the 1960s and 1970s and the rise of reactionary politics have something in common—both seek a return to a mythical, simpler time, a deep and dreamless sleep.

Various conservative politicians, some with subtlety, some nakedly, have encouraged this dangerous trend. So-called 'wedge politics' sells the big lie that the answer to insecurity is to tread on the weakest amongst us. This shabby opportunism has hurt many and helped none.

For far too long public debate in Australia has failed to nourish or inspire us. For far too long it has been limited to the day-to-day monitoring of the health of our economy rather than the morals and goals of our society. The end result of this political cycle is a weary people who no longer believe what politicians say and who think the politicians saying it do not even believe it themselves.

In my view, the electors of Lalor, and the Australian people, are looking for a return to passion and conviction in Australian politics and to the clear articulation of values. They rightly want to know what their politicians stand for, what we believe in
and by what measures we are prepared to be judged. If the politics of values comes to
the fore, then the Labor Party will win that contest. It is only the Labor Party that can
claim to be based clearly upon a value system, a value system that has endured since
the Labor Party's formation, even though the policies based upon those values are
constantly revised in order to meet the needs of a changed and changing world.

We stand for the right of ordinary Australians—those who have neither
wealth nor power—to a fair go, to be treated with dignity and respect in the
workplace, to be recognised and valued as citizens and to have a say in their nation's
future.

Our values are fundamentally democratic and collective. We understand the
great enduring truth that individuals are immeasurably strengthened by being
members of a team, of a society, and that a strong community provides the best
platform from which individuals can excel. And we understand that the key aspiration
of each generation of Australians is to ensure that the generation to follow, their
daughters and sons, will lead a better life. These values—our core Labor values—are
true signposts which take us beyond some of the sterile debates of the past.

Our conservative opponents would have Australians believe that our nation
will only find its place in an open and competitive global economy if we sign up to
the cult of individualism, to the survival of the fittest. By contrast, Labor—guided by
our values—understands that, just like the most loving homes produce the confident
kids who are able to face the world and take the risks necessary to get ahead, a
nurturing and caring society is the best foundation for the individuals who will ensure
Australia competes in the global market.

A strong economy and a strong society are not contradictory goals. Indeed,
you can only achieve a sustainably strong economy by creating a strong society. A
country is strengthened by individual security and national inclusiveness.

But security alone is not enough. A vision to satisfy Australians, a Labor
vision, must also be a vision of opportunity, a vision whereby each and every
Australian, no matter what their personal circumstances, is given an opportunity to
develop and to excel, a vision whereby we can truly believe that the opportunities for
the next generation will be better.

My personal story shows the difference that opportunity can make to a life.
My father John and my mother Moira, who is watching from the gallery today,
migrated to this country with my sister Alison and I as assisted passage migrants in
1966. Immigrants need courage and creativity; they need open minds and sturdy
hearts. What the last red-headed woman who made a first speech in this place will
never understand is that the vast majority of migrants come here determined to make
a better life for themselves and their kids, and they are prepared to work unbelievably hard to achieve that dream.

My father worked in a variety of blue-collar jobs before training as a psychiatric nurse. My mother worked as a domestic in an aged care institution. Between them they have contributed more to this country as workers, as citizens, than they ever cost it. And because they chose this country, while they still have their accents and their culture, they love this country and the lives they have made within it. Because they chose this country, they take nothing about it for granted: they celebrate and know its worth. And that is the truth of our history of migration, our history of multiculturalism.

In return, Australia has offered me opportunities that would have been beyond my parents' understanding when they stepped off that boat in Adelaide in 1966. It would have been inconceivable to them that their child, and a daughter at that, could be offered the opportunity to obtain two degrees from a university and to serve in the nation's parliament. I have only been able to take up those opportunities because of the excellent state education system which flourished in South Australia under the Dunstan Labor government and the access to universities made possible by the Whitlam government's abolition of up-front fees.

In coming to this House, I bring with me a passionately held view that it is fundamental to Labor's vision, to our compact with this and the next generation, that Australia not only offers the opportunities I enjoyed but offers the opportunity to train, to retrain, to excel, throughout life. Around the world now there is a trend back to the Centre Left, to social democratic parties that stress the importance of raising the educational standards of all citizens, not just a lucky few. This is because not only economists but ordinary people understand that the future of Australia and the future of themselves and their children is tied to educational success.

Australia cannot afford to waste talent. But, under this government, we are engaging in that shameful and cruel waste. We are denying Australians access to opportunity. In its 1996 budget, this government took $1.8 billion of public support away from our university system. The inevitable result has been a decline in the number of students starting courses at our universities. When the cuts took effect, Victoria tumbled from having the second highest growth rate in commencing enrolments to being the state with the biggest fall, a 4.7 per cent fall in commencing enrolments—a statistic which speaks of misery and lost opportunity.

Perhaps worst of all, under this government we have returned to a system of privilege rather than merit in our universities, a system of allowing the rich to buy a place while those with better entrance marks but not enough money miss out—a system which was eradicated by the Whitlam government when I was in primary school.
Of course, inequality in our education system is not just confined to higher education. Let me give you just one example involving my own electorate. High achievers are those talented young people who come in the top 7.5 per cent of results in their year 12 marks. Last year, one very good but very exclusive ladies college in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne alone had 111 high achievers in the pivotal subject of English. The 40 working-class secondary schools north and west of the Yarra, including the schools in my electorate, managed only 84 between them.

The students from my electorate are not any less intelligent than those from Higgins or Kooyong but their educational opportunities are not the same. Certainly, this massive discrepancy would be lessened if we as a nation were prepared to seriously tackle the inequality of opportunity that exists in our education system and create a high-class state school system. My predecessor, Barry Jones, used to say that unfortunately postcodes are probably the strongest factor in determining a person's expectations of success in life. It will be one of my priorities in politics to ensure that in the Australia of the future the famous quizmaster is, for once, wrong.

My passion for education is not only the product of my own personal experience; it is the result of having campaigned on these very issues as a university student. One of the features of this parliament is that every few elections there arrives a new generation of politicians distinctly different from the people who preceded them. People today make a lot of the new generation from the other side of this House who emerged from the battles with left-wing students on our campuses in the 1970s. I come from the generation of students who followed. Like them, we fought what we saw as self-indulgence and pampered extremism. Ours was a radicalism fashioned by a desire to be practical, much like my Welsh forebear, Nye Bevan, who was just one of the people from whom we took inspiration.

I will not pretend that the antics of a bunch of university students had much relevance to real working people, but we were always conscious that we were part of a wider movement to create a fairer society and give others the opportunities we were fortunate enough to have. We always understood the value of working collectively, of unionism. While experience in the student movement inspired those on the other side of the House to dedicate themselves to the destruction of unionism, it inspired us to work with and for unions. It inspired me to spend eight years as an industrial lawyer defending trade unions and working people. In this place, I will remain fiercely committed to working with unions and to working for fair industrial laws.

Our youthful anger may now be tempered by experience but the same beliefs in fairness and the same fire remain. Those friends from university have remained my comrades since the early 1980s. They are people of intelligence, public spiritedness and integrity. We stuck together and we retained our common goals. Today you can find them fighting in our great trade union movement to protect the jobs of timber workers, rubbish collectors, home care workers, nurses and Aussie post workers,
defending injured workers in the courts and helping prepare the ALP for the new millennium.

Today I pay tribute to them and especially to the most committed of them all, Michael O'Connor, who has been my closest confidant since those heady days. I would not have reached this place without his support and without the support of the friends and family members who care about me and have turned up in remarkable force today. My sincere thanks to: my mother, Moira; my father, John; my sister, Alison; her partner, Paul; and their children, Jenna and Tom. To Darrell Cochrane and Joan Kirner for never once wavering: my thanks. To Robyn McLeod: thanks for your friendship. To John Brumby, who so richly deserves to be the next Premier of Victoria: thanks for the opportunity to work with you and learn from you. To the member for Batman, Martin Ferguson: thanks for your help and personal support. And to my wonderful supporters in Lalor, including Terry Bracks, Henry Barlow and Fiona Richardson watching from the gallery today: I will do everything in my power to make you proud.