

Second Bi-Annual Report of the CFMEU Administrator

CFMEU ADMINISTRATOR
MARK IRVING KC

Monday 25 August 2025

The Honourable Amanda Rishworth MP
Minister for Employment and Workplace Relations

By email: Minister.Rishworth@dewr.gov.au

Dear Minister,

Bi-Annual Report

I refer to s.323T(1) of the *Fair Work (Registered Organisations) Amendment (Administration) Act 2024*. Accordingly, I attach the second Bi-Annual Report of the CFMEU Administration.

On the matter of the requirement under the Legislation to conduct provide a special financial audit, I refer to previous discussions that this not able to be achieved on the reporting date. The Union's annual financial reports will be finalised shortly and will be reported to the Fair Work Commission, and I will send them directly to you.

Yours sincerely



Mark Irving
Administrator

CFMEU ADMINISTRATOR
MARK IRVING KC

Second Bi-Annual Report of the CFMEU Administrator

Contents

Introduction and Overview 2

An Administration with a strategic plan 3

The conduct of the Administration 4

Relations with stakeholders and industry reform..... 5

Education and cultural change..... 6

Staff, policies and procedures 7

Democratising the Union and the position of delegates 8

The position of women in the industry and the Union..... 8

Relations with other Unions and resolving demarcation disputes 9

Governance 10

Industrial campaigns 10

Corruption and criminal influences 11

Employers, organised crime and reform 12

Financial position..... 14

Branches across Australia 14

NSW 14

Queensland..... 15

Conclusion..... 16

Introduction and Overview

The Administration is making progress in performing the statutory functions conferred on it. The Union has continued to perform its core functions of serving members, advancing their industrial interests, and keeping them safe at work. The Administration continues in its mission to ensure that the Union is performing its core functions lawfully and effectively. Since my last report in February 2025 the Union has stabilised. The road ahead has been charted and clearly communicated. The architecture of the Union going forward has been mapped in the strategic plan. The framework that will allow the Union to continue to perform its core functions in the long term is being constructed. The rebuilding phase of the Administration is underway. Despite all the work the Administration has done and will continue to do, there remain serious challenges to overcome, some of which will require others in the industry to bear a greater load and accept responsibility for their role in making changes across the industry.

This is a report as required by s. 323T(2) of the Fair Work (Registered Organisations) Amendment (Administration) Act 2024 (Cth), s. 876L of the Industrial Relations Act 2016 (Qld) and section 16A(2) of Schedule 6 of the Industrial Relations Act 1996 (NSW). There are specific parts of the report dedicated to the position in Queensland and New South Wales. The report outlines the Administrators' activities over the last 6 months in accordance with the statutory requirements.

On 18 June 2025, some 6 months after hearing argument, the High Court handed down its decision dismissing a challenge to the constitutional validity of the laws under which the Administration is conducted. The February 2025 report observed that the Administration was operating in the shadow of the case brought by dissidents in the High Court. The resolution of the application, and the dispelling of much uncertainty, has provided an opportunity for the Administration to move to its next phase. As detailed below, the Administration has pivoted in a number of ways: developing and starting to implement a strategic plan and a national restructure.

The strategic plan is annexed to this report. Further, the decision marked a major shift in attitude towards the Administration by some within, and some outside, the CFMEU. As a result of the decision and those shifts in attitude, a large number of organisers in NSW and Queensland have exited the Union. Additionally, organisers have been removed in South Australia. At the same time, many of the remaining organisers have expressed a willingness to unite to address the problems within the Union by co-operatively working with the Administrator, although there is more work to be done. More details on these developments are below.

The breadth of the work being undertaken by the Administration is apparent in this report. Some numbers give a partial insight into some of the operations of the Administration:

- The Administration has received over 500 complaints through its anonymous whistleblowing website.
- The Division's total asset value is \$215 million with net assets after liabilities position of \$161 million. The Union has \$119 million in financial assets including cash, term deposits and share investments.

- Financial members are down from 79,898 in the 2024 financial year to 76,627 in the 2025 financial year, a 4% decrease. Since the end of the last financial year the membership has increased. The steps being taken to increase membership are noted below.
- The Administration has held dozens of meetings with stakeholders. In the fortnight before this report was finalised, as an indicative period, the Administration met with the Australian Federal Police, the FWO, the Australian Contractors Association, national employers and national and state employer associations. Further, The Administration has met with relevant Ministers peak Union bodies, and key industry leaders involved in the Construction Industry Culture Taskforce.
- There are in excess of 300 staff currently engaged in the Union. Over 60 staff have left the Union since the commencement of the Administration, over two-thirds of whom were in leadership positions or organisers. The circumstances of these changes are discussed below.
- The Union is in the process or has finalised policies governing menacing behaviour, and is developing a Statement of Expectations for all staff. It is in the process of developing National HR policies and procedures, a National Code of Conduct, an EBA Policy, an Organised Crime Policy, an Industrial Mediators Policy, and a Gift Policy.
- The Administration has commenced and finalized many investigations, and has referred matters to regulators and law enforcement. A number of these investigations have been made public.

An Administration with a strategic plan

1. The Federal legislative scheme contemplates that the CFMEU operates effectively during the course of the Administration: s 323D (2A) of the FWRO Act. The CFMEU keeps workers safe on site. It protects and improves wages and conditions. It leads campaigns that change the industry and makes life better for members and all working people (strategic plan principle 2). To operate effectively and achieve its purposes, the Union should have a plan to win – more members, more agreements, safer workplaces and more power to change the lives of workers (strategic plan paragraph 2).
2. To progress and map the work tasked to the Administration, a strategic plan was put together with stated aims, objectives and a desired outcome. The plan makes the work transparent ensuring members, the community, and relevant stakeholders are aware of the priorities and proposed actions of the Union.
3. In May 2025 the Administrator established a National Steering Committee. It meets monthly. It provides the Administrator advice on the functioning and reform of the Union. The Administrator serves on the Committee, along with the National Secretary, the Director of the National Office, Branch Executive Officers from each

Branch, and the Secretary of the WA Branch. The membership of the Committee will be supplemented by additional appointments as the National Restructure of the Union is implemented.

4. In June 2025, the strategic plan of the Union was published. It outlines the principles of the Union that should be clearly defined, understood and embraced by the membership, delegates, staff and leadership of the Union (strategic plan paragraph 1). The plan was considered and endorsed by the National Steering Committee. It was published to members and is available online at <https://cg.cfmeu.org/blog/2025/06/05/cfmeu-strategic-plan-2025-2028/>. Key aspects have been considered by delegates' meetings across the country.
5. In June 2025 the Administration announced a National Restructure of the Union. The restructure built on a proposal from the National Secretary and followed consultation with relevant staff. The restructure called for the establishment of a Union Education and Development Unit, the commitment of funding to address a range of issues associated with gender equity and sexual harassment, the reform of the delegates' structure, the development of greater national media, communications, research and campaigning capacities (strategic plan paragraph 2.1).
6. That restructure is in the process of being implemented. Dr John Falzon is now heading the Union Education and Development Unit, whose work is discussed below. The Union will invest \$5.4m over 5 years on addressing behavioural change of men in the industry towards women in the industry (strategic plan paragraph 2.3). The National Secretary has proposed, and the Administration have agreed, that in each Branch a delegates' consultative committee should be established. This is an important step in democratising the Union, keeping delegates informed and having their voices heard. The National Secretary has also developed policies about strengthening the role of delegates in the Union and implementing a more robust process with regard to the criteria needed to become a delegate (strategic plan paragraph 6, 7).

The conduct of the Administration

7. Under the Federal Act all of the powers of all of the office holders in the Division are vested in the Administrator, and all of that power is divested by that law from those office holders who remain. Some additional powers are granted to the Administrator by the Act. By those mechanisms almost all of the legal power to conduct the Union and its business is in my hands. Similar schemes effect the same outcomes in NSW and Queensland.

8. The Administrator has in turn appointed and delegated powers to Branch Executive Officers to oversee the day-to-day operations in the NSW, SA, ACT, Vic-Tas and Qld-NT Branches of the Union. In Western Australia, the Administrator has delegated powers to the Secretary of the Union who retains my confidence. In addition, staff engaged directly in the Administration and the National Office exercise powers pursuant to a range of delegations of power. In WA and the ACT there are Branch Committees of Management, though under the Federal Act they are currently divested of powers. As noted above, the National Steering Committee operates to ensure the work of the Administration remains closely aligned with and best able to support the work of the Branches.
9. The next level of leadership differs from Branch to Branch. In some, there are Assistant Branch Executive Officers. In others, there is a leadership group of coordinators reporting to the Branch Executive Officers. In each Branch there is an organising team and a support-administrative team, including staff responsible for membership, legal compliance, finance, IT as well as other essential support staff. Within the Administration, there is: the Administrator, a Chief of Staff, Deputy Chief of Staff, a Head of Media and Communications, a Director of Public Affairs, a Chief Investigator, the Head of Integrity, three in-house lawyers and two support staff. Less than 4% of the Union's staff are engaged directly within the Administration.
10. In accordance with the National Restructure of the Union, a number of additional staff are being engaged in newly created positions in research, policy and communications. In addition, new organisers are in the process of being employed in the Union to meet the demands of Branch operations. The CFMEU seeks to attract and retain the best people to work for the CFMEU and is developing national HR policies and procedures, as well as committing to a program of ongoing education for staff (strategic plan paragraph 4).

Relations with stakeholders and industry reform

11. The Administration engages with a range of stakeholders both Federally and across the States. It has regular meetings with the FWO, FWC and various regulators and police forces. It provides information about alleged wrongdoing in the industry to regulators, largely through the Joint Agency Working Group consisting of regulators and police forces across Australia. The Administration has developed and maintained relationships with representatives of employer groups, both through various formal fora and informally. These relationships are civil and co-operative. They allow the parties to identify and resolve matters before they become significant issues of disruption and ensure that the rights and interests of members are protected and advanced.

12. After the establishment of the Administration the tripartite National Construction Industry Forum (NCIF) recognised an unprecedented opportunity to collaboratively address the key challenges facing the construction industry. The NCIF – with senior representatives of Unions, employers and government – are committing to creating lasting and tangible change in the industry in shared recognition of the urgent need to address significant immediate and long-term challenges across a range of areas, including industry culture. The CFMEU, through the National Secretary, has engaged in that process. The NCIF proposes a fundamental shift towards a better industry – a stable industry where procurement practices drive innovation and value, where fair payment practices strengthen the profitability and financial security of all businesses and workers, where adversarial relationships give way to a culture of collaboration and shared interests, where workplaces are inclusive and responsive to the needs of different employees, and where a skilled and diverse workforce is fairly remunerated and safe from all workplace harms.

13. The array of issues that are the subject of the NCIF collaborative, tripartite process is extensive. They are catalogued in the NCIF Blueprint for the Future ([Linked here](#)). One of those issues is the adversarial relationships between stakeholders - including a lack of trust and communication between parties. In some States relations between the CFMEU and some sectors of industry have been civil. In others, the relationship historically has been hostile. A significant cultural change in the industry will take time and involves all parties.

Education and cultural change

14. Changing the culture of an organisation is not simply a matter of announcing policies or changing personnel. Cultural change is in part a function of the values of an organisation. The principles that are not only catalogued, but also exhibited in the consistent actions of the leadership will become the fundamental and distinctive characteristics of the organisation.

15. An integral part of changing culture is through education. Under the leadership of Dr John Falzon, the CFMEU is developing an education module on the history, principles and values of the CFMEU and the wider union movement. Dr Falzon has been appointed as Head of Education nationally, a new position to work on this project across all Branches of the Union (strategic plan paragraph 5.1). Dr Falzon was formerly CEO of St Vincent de Paul and is an esteemed social justice advocate and a campaigner against inequality through his writing, public speaking and advocacy work.

16. Dr Falzon will implement a program of ongoing education. The CFMEU will invest in and develop future leaders, staff, delegates and members as part of our national

education program. A core component of the education program will be training on ethics, integrity, recognising and eliminating corruption, as well as ensuring that delegates and staff are aware of their legal obligations and their duties in relation to Union members (strategic plan paragraphs 5.1 and 5.2).

Staff, policies and procedures

17. As noted above, the Federal legislative scheme contemplates that the CFMEU operates effectively during the course of the Administration. The CFMEU has over 300 employees. It performs a key function in keeping over 76,000 members safe at work. It also ensures members receive correct pay and their entitlements are protected. From its inception, the need for the Administration to ensure the CFMEU continued to function effectively meant that continuity of services to members was important. A sudden wholesale replacement of the workforce was not only unnecessary and impractical, it would have been inconsistent with the scheme Parliament enacted. Delivering services to members while overseeing change is the ongoing commitment of the Administration.
18. Over the course of the Administration there has been a substantial change in the staffing profile of organising staff. In NSW in excess of 75% of the organisers have been replaced since August 2024. In Queensland and SA that number is about 50%. They have been replaced largely by a mix of excellent delegates, experienced organisers from other Unions and other activists (strategic plan 4.2). The reasons for the turnover in those states was in large part due to former employees not being appropriately qualified to meet the inherent requirements of their duties lawfully and effectively. Other reasons include a mismatch of values between the former organisers and the Administration and, in some cases making a choice not to serve the Union after the High Court decision and the guilty pleas of Darren Greenfield, once it was clear that Mr Greenfield, Mr Ravbar and Mr Ingham were not returning.
19. As to new and continuing staff, the CFMEU's commitment to their continued education has been noted above. A Statement of Expectations has been developed and is progressively being adopted as a set of binding, fundamental principles that will apply to all employees. The Statement of Expectation makes it clear that the employees must support the goal of returning the Union to the democratic control of members as a principled, strong and independent Union and not undermine or interfere with the work of the Administrator in achieving that end.
20. A Code of Conduct for staff is being developed (strategic plan paragraph 3.1). The purpose of the Code is to establish standards of behaviour required by all people who work for the CFMEU, whether as employees, contractors or consultants. The Code sets out the values of the Union and covers matters such as discrimination, sexual and

other harassment, bullying and victimisation. The Code of Conduct for delegates of the Union continues to apply.

Democratising the Union and the position of delegates

21. Elections cannot be held while a Branch is in Administration. Elections will be held as part of the process of a Branch moving out of Administration. The Administration is reviewing the rules of the Union to ensure members' voices are genuinely heard in the decision-making structures of the Union (strategic plan paragraph 6.1). The members should determine the direction of the Union. Rules are needed to distribute power and prevent the excessive concentration of power into the hands of a small coterie of leaders (strategic plan paragraph 6.1). There will also be a review of the rules governing reporting mechanisms of elected leaders to the membership, and to embed accountability and transparency into the governance processes (strategic plan paragraph 8).

22. Delegates have always played a fundamental role in governing the Union. They are the backbone of the Union in many respects. Delegates' meetings are accorded a position within the rules that does not reflect their role in the Union. The position of delegates under rules will be reviewed as part of the task of ensuring members' voices are genuinely heard in the decision-making structures of the Union. Further, the National Secretary has developed a set of principles, now endorsed by the Victorian delegates, which have been adopted in paragraph 7 of the strategic plan. The new standard in Victoria is that all delegates must have five years' continuous financial membership and be directly employed and elected by their fellow workers. New delegates will be supported through mentoring and training, and will be required to sign the National Code of Conduct for delegates. The training will cover, amongst other matters: the history and achievements of the CFMEU; union values; the role of delegates; and how to ensure workplaces are safe and supportive. The policy is designed to ensure the appointment of delegates is not corrupted, by putting an end to the practice of parachuting workers (or mates) who have little or no experience in the industry, with little or no training in Union values, into crucial positions as Union representatives on worksites. This new policy will be rolled out nationally. In due course, existing delegates will be provided with re-training.

The position of women in the industry and the Union

23. Problems confronting the achievement of justice for women in the construction industry are well documented. Widespread discrimination against, and harassment of women, occurs in the construction industry. There exist structural and cultural impediments to the employment of more women into the industry.

24. The attitudes and behaviours of some members, delegates, and employees towards women in the industry need to change. This has been well publicised through various news reports focusing on behaviour of certain delegates in Victoria towards Union members who are women. The Watson report into the Queensland Branch as it was conducted prior to the Administration found that the targeting of women was part of the perverted model embraced by the former Ravbar-Ingham leadership. It is a core Union value that all workers, regardless of gender, should be able to perform their job free of violence and harassment.

25. The Union is changing. The delegates of the Victorian Branch have demanded that workplaces be free of harassment and gendered violence. In Queensland, there has been a similar reckoning with past behaviour. Many of the employees of the Union, its members and delegates, are committed to achieving change and advancing the position of women in the industry. The Administration is establishing a program within the Union committed to gender equality. A committee comprised of women will guide efforts to combat gender-based violence and mistreatment within the Union. This will supplement proposals within the National Restructure of the Union, under which funding was committed (\$5.4m over 5 years) to engage a Project Officer and staff to address: the behaviour of men towards women in the industry, increase workforce entry and retention of women, and address the systemic barriers to participation.

26. The Union is also committed to increasing representation and voice of women throughout its ranks. As part of the rules review, attention will be paid to the need to ensure appropriate representation which will help ensure issues of gender justice become a key part of the industrial agenda of the Union. There is a lack of formal structures within the Union related to representation of women. There is inconsistency between Branches regarding work to progress women's industrial issues within the Union. The Administration is embarking on a project to look at the current allocation of resources into this work and how we can make improvements to give effective voice to women within the Union structures.

Relations with other Unions and resolving demarcation disputes

27. As detailed in the CFMEU Strategic Plan, a key principle that underpins the work of the Union is solidarity - that the Union is bound in solidarity and unity with the members and the Union movement. One of the goals identified in the Strategic Plan is for the CFMEU to be a leader in the movement. The Administration condemns the attacks made in the past by the leadership in some Branches (particularly Queensland), which included threats and acts of violence, against other unionists, their representatives and leaders in the labour movement. The CFMEU is committed

to returning as a respected and respectful partner to the broader trade Union movement.

28. There will be a review of all the Union's demarcation issues. The Union will only represent those who it is lawfully entitled to represent. The Union will work with other unions cooperatively to ensure that demarcation issues are settled promptly and effectively, with a view to ensuring that agreement is reached which respects all unions and, more importantly, the best interests of the workers involved. Work on that review commenced once the High Court handed down its decision. Further, and as part of that process, there will be regular meetings with peak bodies and key unions.

Governance

29. The reform of governance policies and practices within the Union is underway. As well as the National Code of Conduct, the Administration is committed to establishing best practice governance, compliance and integrity within the Union. To this end, we are developing national policies that are consistent in every Branch to guide budgets and finance, reporting to members, and financial and regulatory compliance (strategic plan paragraph 3.2.). We are improving governance training for staff and future leaders (strategic plan paragraph 3.3) We are also investigating the Union's IT capacity in order to ensure that we are able to engage with members more effectively and efficiently (strategic plan paragraph 3.4.)

Industrial campaigns

30. In accordance with the statutory functions of the Administrator to ensure the Union is operating effectively, the CFMEU is forging ahead in campaigns to improve the working lives and conditions of members. This means the CFMEU continues to work to keep workers safe on site and protects and improves wages and conditions. It leads campaigns that change the industry and make life better for members and all working people (strategic plan principle 2). To achieve these ends, there is a need for more resources nationally in order to campaign on industrial and political campaigns. The Union is expanding the national team to include research and policy positions, communications, and a women's officer.
31. The Union is embarking on industry-wide campaigns on issues such as trade licencing, productivity and labour hire. The Victorian Branch has prioritised trade licencing as a way to ensure that workers' skills are recognised and that they are paid correctly. The licencing campaign is also aimed at ensuring that people setting up a business in the construction industry are licenced in the relevant trade. This is a way

to curb the rise of labour hire companies where the owners have no skill, history or previous connection to the construction industry.

Corruption and criminal influences

32. The Administration continues its work in ensuring the Union is free of outside corrupting and criminal influences. Work in this area is progressing and, as noted above, requires systemic and cultural changes within the Union as well as across the broader industry. The Union continues to investigate credible allegations of corruption and refer allegations to external agencies where appropriate (strategic plan paragraph 9.1). The Administration has received over 500 complaints under its anonymous whistleblowing website. It triages the complaints. Some are dealt with internally. Some are referred to others. The Administration refers matters regularly to the Joint Agency Working Group, that consists of the FWO, FWC, various police forces and other regulators in various jurisdictions. The Administration has also made specific referrals of criminal conduct to the Victorian and NSW Police forces, as well as contraventions of industrial legislation to regulatory agencies. Some of those referrals have been accompanied by material to help in the prosecution of those matters.

33. The Union structures and staff must be resilient against corruption in the construction industry (strategic plan paragraph 10). The Union is committed to ensuring that staff and delegates do not have allegiances to organised crime or bikies (strategic plan paragraph 10.1). The connection between the CFMEU and some employees and delegates has already been severed due to such inconsistent allegiances. The mechanisms by which this commitment is being met remain imperfect. Achieving the desired outcome is a work in progress. But the resolution of the Administration to break such bonds of disloyalty is steadfast.

34. One of the occasions in which corruption can arise is in processes involving the making of enterprise agreements. Currently the decision whether an employer 'gets' an enterprise agreement is made by reference to opaque criteria and is susceptible to abuse. There should be a policy that governs the exercise of the powers of the Union. It should serve members' interests and be lawful, efficient, effective, transparent, and resilient to corrupt abuse. It should lawfully take into account whether the employer seeking that the Union facilitate an EA has a history of compliant conduct, whether the employer has engaged in anti-Union, anti-worker or unsafe conduct, whether the employer has engaged in corrupt or improper industrial relations conduct and whether the employer is a financially stable and lawful enterprise. This policy is being developed, and was considered at the most recent National Steering Committee. Once finalised it will form one of the structural changes to strengthen the Union's

capacity to fight back against corrupt and criminal elements in the construction industry (strategic plan paragraph 9.2).

35. The Administration continues to engage in investigations for a variety of purposes. One purpose is to understand how employers are using organised crime connections, biker groups and other criminals in performing industrial relations functions in their businesses. Another purpose is to examine whether it is appropriate to continue to engage certain employees. Another is to understand the business models of organised crime, and how they use the construction industry as adjuncts to broader criminal endeavours and finally, to understand models of wrongdoing so as to inform necessary structural reforms. The structure and depth of these investigations varies according to their purpose.
36. The Administration has an Integrity Unit. It engages investigators. It engages barristers to conduct inquiries into defined matters. Some result in final reports. Some result in sufficient information being obtained to inform decisions.

Employers, organised crime and reform

37. In the NCIF Blueprint for the Future unions, employers and government make ‘a firm commitment that criminality... and violence will not be tolerated by, or in, the industry.’ This needs to be more than an unrealised vision.
38. The Administration seeks to eliminate, to the extent it can, the involvement in the construction industry of organised crime figures (and companies they control) and the involvement in industrial relations of patched members and leaders of outlaw motorcycle gangs. The Administration wishes to implement practices to seek to ensure organised crime or criminality has no role in industrial relations in the construction industry. The CFMEU has sought to remove from its representatives who are patched members and leaders of outlaw motorcycle gangs or those who consort with organised crime figures. Union employees have to meet a fit and proper person test to obtain a right of entry permit. The Administrator has reset standards of conduct for Union employees and, as noted elsewhere in this report, meetings of organisers across Australia and delegates’ meetings are holding themselves to higher standards.
39. However, employers and their representatives do not have to meet any fit and proper person test to engage in industrial relations, and nor do they have to meet civil standards of conduct. Employers in construction continue to use organised crime figures and outlaw motorcycle gang representatives in the industrial relations system. The Union is getting its house in order. Industry needs to do the same. Governments need to help.

40. Some employers, including major firms in the industry, continue to hire organised crime and OMCG members to seek to resolve industrial disputes or appoint organised crime figures as 'mediators'. Some of these organised crime and OMCG members are operating extortion rackets in the construction industry in which they receive payments from employers for alleged 'protection' from the Union. Some operate sham rackets in which they convince gullible employers that payments are required to facilitate bribes to CFMEU employees to acquire a benefit (such as 'industrial peace' or an EBA) in circumstances in which no bribe is ever paid, the whole of the payment is kept by the organised crime figures.
41. The identification of most organised crime figures (and thereby the companies they control) is a matter known only to police forces across Australia who are subject to significant legislative impediments on sharing information about criminal activities and people with construction industry participants.
42. As noted above, through the NCIF Unions, employers and government made 'a firm commitment that criminality... and violence will not be tolerated by, or in, the industry.' Expelling these organised crime figures and OMCGs from industrial relations roles in the construction industry is a reasonable start. However, even if there was a joint resolve by employers and Unions to do so, identifying who should be excluded from the industry would require a change in the laws governing the sharing of information by police forces to inform a judgment about who should be excluded. Confronting the insidious role of OMCGs and organised crime in the construction industry will require collaboration between stakeholders and a steely resolve. The Union is getting its house in order. Industry needs to do the same. Governments need to help.
43. A further problems arise when organised crime is the employer, or the business is controlled by biker groups. Some vast construction empires are built using, or laundering, the proceeds of other crimes. The frauds, tax evasion, exploitation, illegality and funds from money laundering give these firms a competitive advantage when tendering with construction companies for jobs compared with law abiding firms. The fact that these empires are controlled by organised crime figures and biker groups apparently does not dissuade construction companies accepting their tenders. These employers do not have to meet any fit and proper person test to be engaged on massive projects. Industry needs to step up. Governments need to help. Standards should be set and enforced. Accountability for those who enable organised crime to operate should be increased.
44. The Union is further advocating for legal and regulatory changes in the industry to prevent the drivers of corruption. One of those drivers, for example, is the proliferation of labour hire in the industry in the last 30 years. The large-scale use of

labour hire, as opposed to direct employment, has meant that anyone can set up a labour hire company, secure an EBA and get a foothold in the construction industry. The examples of criminal elements in this space have been aired publicly and we are determined to look at reforming this and any other drivers that contribute to criminality and corruption in the industry (strategic plan paragraph 9.4).

Financial position

45. The financial position of each Branch is the subject of audited accounts that will be published in accordance with the governing legislative timetables, and will be made available to members and published online. The financial position of the Union is strong. There are no transactions in the last 6 months that I consider to be unlawful: s 323T(2)(b) and cognate state provisions. During the course of its first 12 months the Administration has worked on ensuring that the financials of the Union are accurate, useable and aligned with the activities that members want the Union undertaking. The discipline of preparing and reporting against a budget was implemented (in some cases for the first time in some Branches).

Branches across Australia

NSW

46. The Administrator's previous report detailed the findings of the inquiry commissioned into the conduct of Darren Greenfield, Rita Mallia, Michael Greenfield and other Senior Executive officers of the NSW Branch who were removed from their positions after the Union was put into administration. The inquiry by Geoffrey Watson SC found that these individuals committed serious contraventions of the duties they owed to Union members. Darren Greenfield and Michael Greenfield also breached their duty to the Union by using their position to gain an advantage for themselves. Since that time the matter has been referred to the relevant regulator and police force for any further civil or criminal action. On April 29 2025, Darren Greenfield and Michael Greenfield pleaded guilty to corruption and bribery charges. There is no greater betrayal of members than for leadership to accept a bribe related to their duties.
47. The admission by the former leadership that they were guilty of accepting bribes in the performance of their duties has led to a major change in the Union, in conjunction with the outcome of the High Court. The majority of organisers appointed by the Greenfields have now left the Union. A number of delegates,

disappointed in the conduct are now working with the administration to grow the Union and restore democratic processes.

48. The well-known and highly regarded Union leader Michael Crosby has been appointed as Branch Executive Officer, and Chris Christodolou continues as his deputy. Shortly afterwards, a recruitment process for new organisers commenced, resulting in dozens of candidates applying for the newly available positions. A mix of experienced and new organisers will take up organising roles in the Branch to take on the challenge of rebuilding, re-energising and growing the Branch. The future of the NSW Branch as a principled, strong and independent Branch will be secured.

Queensland

49. The progress in Queensland has been substantial. From August 2024 until mid-2025 the Queensland-NT Branch was (like NSW) the subject of a shadow leadership. In February 2025 the former Branch Executive Officer resigned. He was replaced by Jared Abbott, the then Assistant Secretary of the Queensland Council of Trade Unions.
50. The Administration then commissioned a report into violence in the construction sector and the role played by the former CFMEU leadership.
51. The High Court handed down its decision on 21 June 2025. Within 48 hours, the former leaders and their supporters organised a protest outside the Union office in Brisbane, where - faithful to the kinds of behaviours outlined in the Watson report - the protestors verbally abused female journalists.
52. In July 2025 the Administrator received a report commissioned from Geoffrey Watson SC into violence in the Queensland construction industry. See Administrator Response to Watson at the following link: [Response to Watson Report](#). The report revealed that under the leadership of Michael Ravbar and Jade Ingham, the Queensland Branch embraced a culture which encouraged and celebrated the use of threats of violence, intimidation, misogyny and bullying. It also detailed abhorrent behaviour encouraged or not condemned by the leadership towards officials and members of other Unions the Queensland Branch considered as 'enemies'.
53. Several organisers left the Union following the release of the report, and there is currently a recruitment process to hire new organisers and officials to do the work that is required for the Union to serve its members. Other organisers decided they want to work with the Administration and reform the Union. They have demonstrated a commitment to move forward. A week after the Watson report was

released a statement was endorsed by staff of the Queensland Branch which accepted there was significant work ahead for the Branch to regain the trust of the community and repair relations with the Union movement. The staff condemned violence, intimidation and misogyny and declared that they will not be influenced by former officials seeking to bring the Union into disrepute. On August 7, hundreds of delegates met and passed a resolution on measures to democratise the Union, to work with all stakeholders to find collaborative solutions to issues that arise, to repair relationships with other Unions and engage in the political process in members' interests. They also voted to setting high standards of behaviour and to deal with any behaviour that brings the Union into disrepute.

54. Following the release of the Watson report, the Queensland Government announced that a Commission of Inquiry will be held into the CFMEU.
55. In public statements the Administrator has made clear that any Commission of Inquiry that seeks real change needs to look at the whole industry and the matters of criminality across the industry as outlined above.
56. It is the intention of the Administrator to cooperate with the Commission of Inquiry.
57. The Administration remains committed to implementing its strategic plan. The mission of the Administration remains unchanged. The resolve to continue to progress a reform agenda during the life of the Commission of Inquiry will remain unchecked.

Conclusion

58. There is no doubt that the task assigned under the various legislative schemes to the Administration is monumental and unprecedented in Australian industrial relations. It is being undertaken at a pivotal moment in the industry. The Administrator has made progress and secured achievements, with thanks to the committed members, delegates and staff of the Union committed to change.
59. Every worker that is a Union member and every Union official understands that workers in the construction industry, with its unique features, need a strong Union that stands up for its members and secures the pay and conditions that they deserve for building the towns and cities in which we live.
60. No unionist wants a weak Union that can't implement safety on site in one of the most dangerous industries in Australia, or can't ensure workers go home at the end of the day. No unionist wants a Union that doesn't fight for better pay and conditions

and to ensure that they are paid all their entitlements. That is why unions have lent their support, publicly and privately and have assisted in the work of rebuilding the Union. Additionally, tribute is owed to those members, delegates and officials who are working together to rebuild the Union. Their courage, discipline and cooperation in their quest to rebuild the CFMEU into a strong, effective, respected and respectful Union is acknowledged.

61. However, the goodwill of the individuals and organisations that have supported the Administration can only take the Union so far. The work that the Administration is undertaking to reform the Union can only take the Union so far. The problem across the industry are myriad and the Administration and the Union has neither the responsibility nor the resources to fix all of them. Governments, employer bodies, regulators and law enforcement all have a role to play. We look forward to working with all of them to address the problems of the construction industry and to make it a safe, law abiding and productive industry which provide fair conditions to workers.



JUNE 2025

Strategic Plan

2025–2028 | CFMEU

cg.cfmeu.org



Goal:

To return the Union to the democratic control of members as a principled, strong and independent Union.

+ A Principled Union

01 The core principles and purpose on which the Union is founded is written in its rules.

To uphold the right of combination of labour, and to improve, protect, and foster the best interests of the Union and its members, and to assist them to obtain their rights under industrial and social legislation.

The principles that have underpinned the work of the Union include:

- **Solidarity** – a Union bound in solidarity and unity with the members and the Union movement.
- **Justice** – a Union that is committed to justice and fairness for the working class.
- **Equality** – all members are equal no matter where they live and should be free of discrimination and harassment no matter who they are.

+ A Strong Union

02 The CFMEU will continue to deliver for its members.

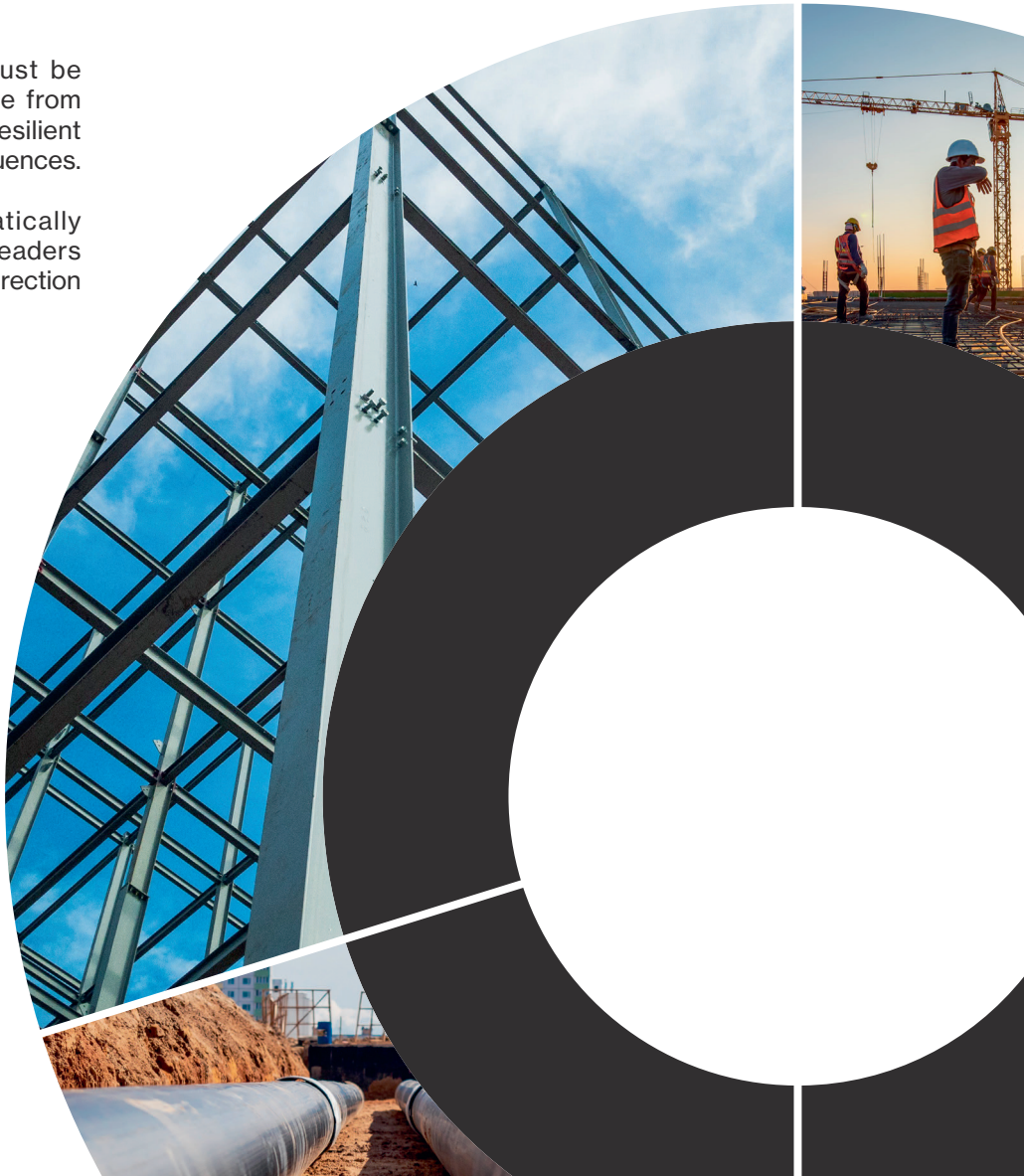
It keeps workers safe on site. It protects and improves wages and conditions. It leads campaigns that change the law and make life better for members and all working people. It will continue to make workplaces safe, free of violence and menacing behaviour.

The Union will have a plan covering its operations and build capacity to win for members, be a leader in the movement, and grow in strength.

+ An Independent Union

03 The Union must be enduringly free from internal corruption and resilient to external corrupting influences.

Members and democratically elected delegates and leaders must truly determine the direction of the Union.



The Action Plan:

To achieve the goal,
the union must deliver
on 10 key steps.



1 The principles of the Union are clearly defined, understood and embraced by the membership, delegates, staff and leadership of the Union.

- 1.1 Develop a statement of principles that are supported by members and delegates.
- 1.2 Develop a training module on the history, principles and values of the CFMEU and the Union movement.

2 The Union has a plan to win – more members, more agreements, safer workplaces and more power to change the lives of the working class.

- 2.1 Invest in the Union to deliver a national industrial, OHS, legal, political, campaigning and membership growth capacity.
- 2.2 Develop industry-wide campaigns to improve the lives of construction workers.
- 2.3 Appoint a National Women's Officer to develop partnerships and deliver on equality and safety for women in construction.
- 2.4 Ensure every branch is viable and sustainable within the new national structure.

3 The Union has world class governance, compliance and integrity.

- 3.1 Develop national codes of conduct for all staff and delegates.
- 3.2 Develop national policies guiding budgets and finance, reporting to members and regulatory compliance.
- 3.3 Improve governance training for staff and future leaders.
- 3.4 Ensuring the Union has the best technology to engage with members.

4 The Union attracts, keeps and develops the best staff.

- 4.1 Develop national HR policies and procedures.
- 4.2 Implement a program of ongoing education for staff.
- 4.3 Invest in new skills and experience where needed.

5 The Union invests in education and development of future leaders, delegates and members.

- 5.1 Develop a national training capacity and structure to ensure that every branch and every member around Australia has access to training.
- 5.2 Develop training and education on ethics, integrity and recognising and eliminating corruption.
- 5.3 Ensure delegates and staff are aware of their legal obligations and their duties owed to members.

6 The members genuinely determine the direction of the Union.

- 6.1 Ensure members' voices are genuinely heard in the decision-making structures of the Union.
- 6.2 Distribute power and prevent the excessive concentration of power into the hands of a small number of leaders.

7 Delegates are truly representative of the members and have real democratic power in the Union.

- 7.1 Implement new national framework for the election and training of Delegates, reflecting the resolution passed by the Victorian Delegates.

8 The leaders of the Union are held to account by the members.

- 8.1 Review the reporting mechanisms of elected officials to members.
- 8.2 Embed accountability and transparency into governance processes.

9 The Union is free of outside corrupting and criminal influences.

- 9.1 Investigate credible allegations of corruption and refer allegations of corruption to external agencies as appropriate.
- 9.2 Review the bargaining processes of the Union to strengthen the Union's capacity to fight back against corrupt and criminal elements in the construction industry.
- 9.3 Establish a National Education and Integrity Unit.
- 9.4 Advocate for laws and policies that reveal the underlying drivers of corruption in the construction industry, ie. overuse of labor hire.

10 The Union structures and staff are resilient against corruption in the construction industry.

- 10.1 Prevent the appointment of staff and delegates with allegiances to organised crime or OMCG.
- 10.2 Identify the underlying cultural issues that lead to corruption.
- 10.3 Develop ongoing training and education of staff.
- 10.4 Establish processes and advocate for structural changes to seek to minimise or eliminate the involvement of OMCG and organised crime in industrial relations in the construction industry.



Level 1, 1 Miller Lane
Pyrmont NSW 2009

cfmeu.org

