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June 6. D-Day +75. A note from the kennel. The so-called master, who poppy the post puppy takes for two walks a day, is in an infernal mood. We gather it is related to two recent elections; one for NSW and one for the Commonwealth. Especially the latter. Before we undo the leash for a moment, as ever the beagle would welcome corrections and emendments to the following……

## 1. The results Australia had to have

In both cases incompetent and to some extent ill-intentioned Conservative Coalition Governments deserved to lose office. And stay out until there is a ‘generation’ change.

However, both Governments were returned. To mis-phrase former Prime Minister Keating: perhaps these were the results Australia had to have. Results to shock Labor into becoming an effective opposition and properly preparing for Government.

Before turning to the usual jadebeagle stuff a quick review of three big picture Federal items.

### 1.1 Media bias

Lies told in the campaigns, amplified by the Murdoch press, certain radio stations and television channels could mark these results as a victory for the blue deceivers. Evidence – quantitative and qualitative – of bias is incontrovertible.[[1]](#endnote-1)

So flagrant was the partisanship several newspapers seemed like comic books. This is the sourest loss of all. It will be seen as rewarding the political bias of people democracies need to be neutral.

Bad as this is, it is outside the control of political parties. The charge of bias has been made before, frequently. It has just as frequently been ignored. There is little point in complaining about journalist and editorial incompetence, lack of ethics and feeble mindedness.

Rather attention should be paid to things that can be improved.

### 1.2 Macroeconomy

For the Federal election Labor, despite one or two aberrations, presented economic policies orders-of-magnitude superior to those of the Coalition. The analysis of Dr Michael Keating AC is definitive. Any doubts were removed by the head of the Reserve Bank shortly after the election.[[2]](#endnote-2)

The primary aberration wasn’t the proposal to annul publicly funded handouts for shareholders. Nor other tax changes. Rather it was the proposal to provide public monies as wage supplements for child care workers. While presumably a well-meant attempt to boost incomes of low paid workers, it would most likely just line their bosses’ pockets. It encouraged rent seeking by other wage earners. It also was arguably extra-Constitutional. Illegal.

Those who want public monies to be used to directly boost wages of certain workers should ask for those workers to be employed by the Government.

Inequality of income and wealth is becoming a significant macroeconomic issue. The robustness and responsiveness of the economy to external influence needs to be improved. Tax changes proposed by Labor would have been a start towards addressing these challenges. Tax reductions of the quantum and type proposed by the Coalition are irresponsible. Let’s hope we don’t find out why.

The media-pushed perception of the Coalition as superior economic managers is deceitful. Since the 1970s, the evidence shows Labor to be the superior economic manager. The loss of former Prime Minister Bob Hawke AC should have reminded everybody of that. If not, recent comments from the Reserve Bank should be heeded.[[3]](#endnote-3)

### 1.3 Climate change

The Federal Coalition has questionable policies relating to climate change e.g. the energy shambles.[[4]](#endnote-4)

Sectional ‘environmental’ interests called the Federal poll ‘the climate change election’ presumably wanting public repudiation of coalition policies. They failed to progress their objectives. They went backwards.[[5]](#endnote-5)

The failure was not due to a lack of earnest belief in climate change, or public unawareness of science. Nor, probably, the type of changes arising from or needed to deal with climate change. In my view the failure is that of the scold. The Encyclopedia says the appropriate action is to put a scold on the ducking-stool.[[6]](#endnote-6) Here we go.

## 2. A failed crusade

### 2.1 Introduction

The failure arose from the *manner* in which those environmental interests tried to push their views onto the public. The response of those interests to a lack of universal public applause was to push harder, exhibit hysteria and cement in the failure.

Three cases of public showboating – the Queensland convoy, the Sydney Harbour Bridge demonstration and the school pupil’s ‘strike’ – are in point. ‘Stopping coal’ was the supposed cause.

The wringing of hands exhibited in these turned into the gnashing of teeth after the election. That might have been no bad thing. Until the wringing of hands started again. So, let’s talk about coal.

### 2.2 Let’s talk about coal

Coal is said to be a tale of two worlds; one trying to close power stations, the other seeking affordable energy.[[7]](#endnote-7)

World production is in the order of 8,000 million tonnes (8,000mtpa) and has increased in recent years. There are expectations this will peak in the late 2020s near 8,400 mtpa before declining to around 6,000mtpa by 2050.[[8]](#endnote-8)

Most of this coal – 90% - is ‘black’; anthracite. It is used in electricity generation (thermal coal, around 85% of black coal) and steel making (metallurgical coal).[[9]](#endnote-9)

Worldwide, 83% of demand is satisfied by domestic supply. Hence exports – 17% of world demand - are highly contested. Among the implications: export prices are determined by international conditions; changes in world demand disproportionately impact exports; reduction of one country’s exports will have minimal effect on world coal use.[[10]](#endnote-10)

Australia is the world’s 4th largest coal producer. Yet it accounts for only 6% of global production. Some 75% of Australian electricity is from coal; domestic consumption is around 40 mtpa.[[11]](#endnote-11)

Over 90% of Australian coal is exported. Australia is a leading coal exporter; second after Indonesia in volume and first in value. In 2018, exports were worth $A66bn. Coal was Australia’s most valuable export, accounting for around 15% of total exports value.[[12]](#endnote-12)

Several regions in NSW were established because of, and have long relied on, coal production. Newcastle and the Hunter, with population approaching 1 million, is an example. It is the dominant coal export port with throughput running at around 200mtpa.

In Queensland, coal production and exports are widely spread. Near 285mtpa is produced. Ports are Abbott Pt (near Townsville and Bowen), Hay Pt-Dalrymple Bay (near Mackay) and Gladstone.

Victoria also has substantial coal interests. Production was around 60mtpa in 2016, mostly from the Latrobe Valley, Gippsland. However, unlike the black coal of NSW and Queensland, this is brown coal – lignite - which is not exported.[[13]](#endnote-13)

Some sectional ‘environment’ interests do not like coal. The apparent objection is: use of Australian coal – here *or overseas* – is an avoidable cause of adverse climate change. Such an objection has some support; a recent environment court case in NSW appeared to recognise climate change as relevant in refusing to approve a new coal mine in NSW at Rocky Hill in the Hunter region.[[14]](#endnote-14)

In these interests’ view coal should not be mined. Coal is presented as an existential threat.[[15]](#endnote-15)

These people are perceived to be on the political left, the side Labor is on. Labor seemed concerned not to offend them. Hence their actions reflect on Labor. The Prime Minister famously took a lump of coal into Parliament to taunt the political parties with whom they seek to align.[[16]](#endnote-16)

### 2.3 Let’s look at Adani etc

A proposed coal mine in Queensland has attracted much attention. It is to be operated by Adani.[[17]](#endnote-17)

Environment interests loudly oppose this proposal.

Despite some claims the mine will produce *‘an initial 10,000 million tonnes of coal per year’* its capacity is somewhat more modest.

The proposed mine’s maximum capacity is 28mtpa. While individually large, it is small relative to Queensland, NSW and Australian totals. There are reports it will operate at only half this scale. Its direct contribution to climate change is zero for all intents and purposes.[[18]](#endnote-18)

Originally, the project was for a 60mtpa mine allegedly generating 10,000 jobs. An expert countered it would generate less than 1,500 jobs. At the now reduced scale, such claims should be much less. Its direct contribution to employment etc. is likely to be minimal.

The coalfield it rests in – the Galilee Basin – is much larger than the proposed mine. There are claims it is one of the world’s largest untapped coal fields. There have been claims and counter-claims about the prospects of other mines in the area.[[19]](#endnote-19)

Australian reserves are shown in the notes.[[20]](#endnote-20)

Most approvals have been granted for the proposal. Commonwealth approvals were made just prior to the Federal election announcement. Some saw this timing as a provocation.[[21]](#endnote-21)

The State Labor government did not sign-off on approvals during the Federal election campaign. It is understood the outstanding State matters are: a threatened bird species; water. Climate change is not mentioned. Post-election, the Queensland Government sought to expedite approval decisions.[[22]](#endnote-22)

The Queensland Government approved another coal mine 4 days prior to the election. Its capacity is over half the Adani mine – 15mtpa – what some think is the operational scale of Adani.[[23]](#endnote-23)

Irrespective of approvals, there are questions about the Adani proposal’s viability. The mine is said to be self-funded, with reports Australian banks would not support it.[[24]](#endnote-24)

Doubts exist about whether it will go ahead at all. And if it does, how much it might produce.[[25]](#endnote-25)

### 2.4 A preachy parade

During the election campaign – mid April to early May - former Greens leader and Senator Bob Brown, of Tasmania, led a well-publicised car convoy of ‘environmentalists’ into Queensland to protest the proposed mine.

The reception implied many participants did not live in Queensland, fewer in relevant areas. Claims by mining sectional interests about riches which could flow from the Galilee mines – perhaps exaggerated – may have raised expectations of jobs etc. in the Queensland communities it visited.[[26]](#endnote-26)

The published itinerary suggests a northbound route from Melbourne along the Hume Highway to Sydney and then along the Pacific Highway to Brisbane.

The route is not through the coal mining areas of NSW. These are areas some claim would suffer economic and employment losses – ‘*decimated*’ by ‘*37 percent*’ – under some Galilee basin mining scenarios.[[27]](#endnote-27)

There was no scheduled stop at Port Kembla (near Wollongong). That port is planning to increase coal exports from around 14mtpa to 22mtpa (capacity). It is unclear whether the convoy travelled on roads where coal trucks cause safety concerns.[[28]](#endnote-28)

The convoy does not appear to have travelled through the Hunter Valley / Gunnedah regions and did not pass the site of the proposed Rocky Hill mine. It’s northbound stopping points were advertised as Coffs Harbour and Mullumbimby on the NSW north coast well east of the coalfields. Southbound stops were at Armidale and Bathurst/Orange well west of the coalfields.

It did not have a scheduled stop at Newcastle, the world’s largest coal export port. This may have great significance for reasons discussed later.[[29]](#endnote-29)

The above suggests there could not have been any reasonable expectation the convoy or related behaviour could influence decisions regarding the Adani mine. Less still Australian coal production. Let alone climate change.

Activities by the convoy participants included demonstrations and vociferous condemnation of coal mining. The convoy went through communities whose economies and jobs depend now, and in the foreseeable future, on coal mining.

Extensive media reporting on the convoy, including in Australia’s major cities, showed the march being badly received by some Queensland coal mining localities. Mr Brown claimed media bias against the convoy.[[30]](#endnote-30)

Early questions about the amount of emissions used by the convoy of cars carrying the protestors indicate some suspicions about convoy-hypocrisy. Suspicions not dispelled by fact-checking repudiation of protestor emission claims. Or reports some were paid to participate in the convoy.[[31]](#endnote-31)

There also were reports about tensions within the Greens political party after results in the Victorian and NSW election, and what seemed to be diminishing support for the party.[[32]](#endnote-32)

Another Galilee Basin coal tenement owner, Mr Clive Palmer, ran an active media election campaign which in part opposed the avowed intentions of the convoy.[[33]](#endnote-33)

The result of the election, at least for the House of Representatives (location-based seats) in Queensland, is consistent with rejection of the convoy. Arguably that rejection is a reason for the return of the Coalition Government and therefore frustration of participants’ professed interests. [[34]](#endnote-34)

Mr Brown, however, reportedly claimed the election result was due to ‘greed’. The reports do not explain that view – whether it is related to Labor’s tax etc. policies or something else. At this time the public evidence contradicts such claims. The claim does not sit well with a reported small swing to the Greens in the States-based Senate.[[35]](#endnote-35)

To the extent it had a high media profile, the convoy is also likely to have caused direct concern in NSW coal communities such as the Hunter and the Illawarra. Results there support that view.[[36]](#endnote-36)

### 2.5 Analogies

Advocates of the convoy draw parallels with the ‘Franklin Dam’ controversy of the 1980s and Mr Brown’s role in that. However, there are substantial differences.

One difference is the Franklin issue concerned flooding an internationally recognised pristine wilderness. Another was its effects were localised to Tasmania – Mr Brown’s home State.

Another was the Commonwealth opposed the dam and had signed a treaty, which if made domestic law, would prevent it.[[37]](#endnote-37)

I point to analogy with a march in the 19th century. It was through territory considered by its backers to be occupied by rebels and rednecks whose attitude posed an existential national threat. The march, largely by people from outside the area, was to demonstrate to the locals of the error of their ways by demoralising them.

Among the great differences of Sherman’s march to the sea were its scale, military nature, destruction and that it was ordered by an elected Government. While successful in its goal, the humiliation of the south’s population caused profound resentment some of which, together with secessionist sentiment, continues today. The reason I point to it is not to accuse Mr Brown’s convoy of seeking the destruction of opposition, but to stress the importance of empathy - to permanently win the peace as well as a particular war.[[38]](#endnote-38)

### 2.6 The ‘evil’ of coal

While Labor did not endorse the convoy, or the attitudes displayed in/to it, it did not deny its ostensible purposes either. A criticism of Labor was that it was indifferent to, sat on the fence over, Adani. None of the above analogies saw fence-sitting.

Labor’s ambivalence was later implied to be needless.[[39]](#endnote-39)

If Labor’s fence sitting was needless, it was likely profoundly consequential. There is uncertainty about what is Labor’s position ‘on coal’ – according to many on the left a big issue.

‘Coal’ was seen in isolation. Ergo those connected to coal were seen as isolated from the mainstream including mainstream policy. This was graphically illustrated by post-election ‘memes’ about secession of Queensland. A pictorial irony given that voting patterns would imply secession of nearly all Australia – from a few areas in inner Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.[[40]](#endnote-40)

This isolationist view is important as the livelihood and welfare of a significant number of communities and electorates – indeed a sizeable proportion of Australia’s population – currently depends on coal.

Relevant electorates *in NSW* did not turn to Labor. Even though they are a long way from the proposed mine and supposedly could be decimated by Galilee Basin mines. Some turned sharply against Labor. As did electorates in middle and outer suburbs of metropolitan areas.[[41]](#endnote-41)

Such rejection makes sense. The anti-Adani convoy presented itself as anti-coal, not just anti-mine:

*‘a public showdown with the coal mining industry’*.[[42]](#endnote-42)

The proposed mine would be but a fractionally small part of Australia’s coal industry. An implication is the rest of the industry is the real target, a matter no doubt feared by communities away from the Adani site. Even those omitted from the convoy itinerary such as Wollongong and Newcastle.

To the extent Adani was seen as a ‘totem’, it was of a tribe seen as not caring for people in those communities.

### 2.7 Dumb and dumberer

The issues arising from Mr Brown’s convoy was reinforced by two other high-profile stunts.

First was the occupation of the Sydney Harbour bridge by ‘climate change’ protestors on 14 May.[[43]](#endnote-43)

The second were ‘strikes’ - truancy – of school pupils to take to the streets of CBDs and protest against ‘climate change’.[[44]](#endnote-44)

Neither were capable of influencing climate change or policies around it.

Why? Self-evidently, neither could alter factors causing climate change.

### 2.8 Dumberest

However, beyond that are two essential points.

First, climate change was *already* regarded as an accepted scientific fact, including by the vast majority of Australians.

Equally, the controllable causes of climate change are scientifically accepted. There is no serious debate on those matters or about taking steps to deal with it. The Lowy Institute put it:

*‘In 2019, six in ten Australians (61%) say global warming is ‘a serious and pressing problem’ about which ‘we should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs’.[[45]](#endnote-45)*

With this acceptance, the real question is: what are the aims and effects of protests such as the convoy or the ‘strike’? The kindest that could be said of participants is: their aims are unclear.

Yet the fact of these protests confirms the agenda of the anti-Adani convoy was not limited to a mine in Queensland. Reference to people on the route feeling ‘humiliated’ by the convoy imply there may be long lasting, widespread, problems arising from public demonization of coal.[[46]](#endnote-46)

The second point relates to the absence of a reported message of hope from the convoy or other protests. There is no indication of what the communities should do to adjust to the *inevitability* of the decline of coal. Let alone any practical demonstration or help.

As seen earlier, the fact that almost all the coal in question would be exported means proposed domestic initiatives – matters such as solar and wind energy, active transport, electric cars, house design etc. – are irrelevant to the big challenges faced by Australia in general and the coal communities in particular.

There is no evidence of proposals for a coal-structural-adjustment policy. In the absence of this, anti-coal protesting is nagging at best. Worse, the zeal with which the message is prosecuted disguises the absence of policy ideas. The self-defeating effects are now clearer.

### 2.9 Religion

At least some perceive actions such as the convoy and the pupil’s strike as unduly intrusive – in your face. The type of self-aggrandising moralising scorned when practiced by organised religions:

*‘One of the daftest and most self-indulgent features of the campaign was the Adani convoy of Greens leaders who drove to central Queensland full of moral superiority.’[[47]](#endnote-47)*

Religious overtones and moralising about climate change views have been noted, both by accepters and sceptics of the science. Terminology such as ‘demonization’ and the absence of practical policy ideas is consistent with this.[[48]](#endnote-48)

A digression! Analogists might like to consider another international mass movement of the 19th and 20th centuries. It was tied to social reform and progressive politics, involved many women and was associated with advancing women’s rights. It continues to exert influence today.

The movement progressed through individual actions such as pledge signing as well as exerting political pressure via journals, petitions, rallies and marches.

‘At stake’ was civilisation, at risk from actions that:

‘would make those islands uninhabitable. *…. [not] only the British Isles, but ….the Australian colonies’*

The movement’s success would be of *‘incalculable benefit’*.

The first recorded Australian activity was in Hobart, Tasmania. It is claimed the most fervent practitioners were in Melbourne where one quarter of the female population - 45,000 – signed a petition to advance the movement. Tens of thousands of Australians reputedly joined.[[49]](#endnote-49)

It was the temperance movement. To whet your appetite for the topic:

*‘They attracted a mass membership by "dramatising social mobility" at their meetings and fostering a sense of community through marches, tea parties and concerts, and increasingly they lobbied the government for legislative enforcement of temperance.'" We can thus distinguish a basic pattern of development in the methods of the movement and its understanding of reform from conservative to radical and elitist to populist.’*

*‘The Herald, under the editorship of Kemp and Fairfax, was a strong supporter of the Temperance Society, but regularly criticised the teetotallers for what it perceived as overly ostentatious and "political" demonstrations. In December 1841 the editor described a march by Teetotallers in Wollongong as "scarcely compatible with the peace of society" and noting that the Sydney Society was soon to follow suit, he argued that "many who esteem and admire [the principle] will turn from it in disgust when thus painted and gilded for the sake of effect"* [[50]](#endnote-50)

That digression over, the practice of certain media continuously seeking confirmation from interviewees of their climate beliefs also has religious overtones – smacking of requiring genuflection in front of their altar.[[51]](#endnote-51)

A fundamental in societies such as Australia is separation of church – religion – from the state. In my view, some present secular preaching – even if it confirms science - infringes this taboo.

The worship of nature is a religion, not a public policy.[[52]](#endnote-52)

**6 June 2019**

1. See for example: <https://theconversation.com/outrage-polls-and-bias-2019-federal-election-showed-australian-media-need-better-regulation-117401> [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. <https://johnmenadue.com/michael-keating-the-morrison-governments-economic-policy/> [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. <https://johnmenadue.com/mark-crosyby-trick-question-whos-the-better-economic-manager-the-conversation/>

Reserve Bank <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-05-22/apra-reserve-bank-interest-rate-changes-mortgage-rates/11137338> [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. For example: <https://reneweconomy.com.au/coalitions-last-minute-energy-policy-continues-to-unravel-before-its-eyes-66295/> [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. <https://www.acf.org.au/election> [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/358012.The_Encyclopedia_of_Cruel_and_Unusual_Punishment>

 And <https://www.historyextra.com/period/medieval/qa-were-ducking-stools-ever-used-as-punishment-for-crimes-other-than-witchcraft-during-the-middle-ages/> e.g.:

*‘The mayor, Edmund Mountjoy, widely known to be hen-pecked, was out for a walk one evening when he came across a woman berating her own husband, so he ordered that she be ducked. Mistress Blake – we don’t know her full name – endured her punishment, but on emerging from the water ridiculed Mountjoy in front of the crowd for ducking another man’s wife because he didn’t have the courage to duck his own.’* [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. <https://www.iea.org/coal2018/> [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-top-10-coal-producers-worldwide.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coal> [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/01/these-are-the-worlds-biggest-coal-producers/> [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/australia/coal-consumption>

<https://www.originenergy.com.au/blog/about-energy/energy-in-australia.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. <https://www.australianmining.com.au/news/coal-leads-australian-mining-to-2018-export-record/>

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_coal_production>; <http://www.worldstopexports.com/coal-exports-country/>,

<https://www.indexmundi.com/energy/?product=coal&graph=exports&display=rank>

<https://www.smh.com.au/business/the-economy/coal-is-australia-s-most-valuable-export-in-2018-20181220-p50nd4.html>

Some other coal statistics are available at:

NSW:<https://www.google.com/search?q=nsw+coal+production+statistics&rlz=1C1CHBF_enAU754AU754&oq=nsw+coal+pro&aqs=chrome.1.69i57j0l5.5436j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

and <https://www.hvccc.com.au/Pages/welcome.aspx>

Queensland: <https://data.qld.gov.au/dataset/annual-coal-statistics/resource/d22a8d8b-7c00-42d2-884a-c438d51cefc3>

Victoria (brown coal) <https://earthresources.vic.gov.au/geology-exploration/coal> [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. <http://www.australianminesatlas.gov.au/aimr/commodity/brown_coal.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. In a recent case an Australian environmental court said coal contributes to climate change and the:

"problem of climate change needs to be addressed by multiple local actions to mitigate emissions and remove GHGs by sinks"

Which the particular coal mine proposal did not do. The proposal was said to be in the wrong place and the wrong time. It was for a 2mtpa mine with a life of up to 20 years [http://www.mondaq.com/australia/x/786430/Clean+Air+Pollution/Climate+change+greenhouse+gas+contributions+and+the+case+of+the+Rocky+Hill+coal+mine](http://www.mondaq.com/australia/x/786430/Clean%2BAir%2BPollution/Climate%2Bchange%2Bgreenhouse%2Bgas%2Bcontributions%2Band%2Bthe%2Bcase%2Bof%2Bthe%2BRocky%2BHill%2Bcoal%2Bmine) [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. <https://www.theherald.com.au/story/5991571/hunter-needs-to-prepare-for-future-after-coal/>; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_coal_production> [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. <https://www.huffingtonpost.com.au/2017/02/08/scott-morrison-brought-a-lump-of-coal-and-waved-it-around-in-par_a_21710206/?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAFyVNagH9yrm3qrY6u_dJMn9tsY0rHxrNVlx_xoAABqAPq1DvosB_dH4Ygw9wG0ZbqY5LtkA6ckN40o12J2vWNMJe0uqPoeGleFfPYWUjvJCiyimgZp4F1fLHrajqZ0VCb_iRYkQR6mVTybw4M-bPMUhHuywqRa3mTnMNFYlckEV> [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. A reasonable outline is at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carmichael_coal_mine> [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. The Sun Herald figure confirmed in the Brisbane times: <https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/adani-faces-higher-hurdle-before-carmichael-mine-approval-20190531-p51ta6.html>

Maximum capacity is 0.35% of current world production. Half this scale: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-26/what-we-know-about-adanis-carmichael-coal-mine-project/11049938> [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. <https://www.afr.com/news/politics/galille-basin-coal-mines-will-go-ahead-without-adani-says-clive-palmer-20180301-h0wtoc> [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20.  [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Articles in the Sydney Morning Herald 20-27 May 2019 dispute whether all Commonwealth approvals have been granted, and refer to court action to stop the mine; see <https://www.smh.com.au/environment/conservation/what-s-next-for-the-coal-mine-that-helped-return-morrison-to-power-20190520-p51p7j.html> [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/get-on-with-it-morrison-adani-welcome-deadline-to-resolve-approvals>; <https://www.smh.com.au/federal-election-2019/queensland-shoots-down-reports-of-new-adani-groundwater-review-20190513-p51mqu.html>. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Post election: <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/get-on-with-it-morrison-adani-welcome-deadline-to-resolve-approvals>

 [http://statements.qld.gov.au/Statement/2019/5/14/1-billion-olive-downs-project-approval-to-creat e-hundreds-of-local-jobs](http://statements.qld.gov.au/Statement/2019/5/14/1-billion-olive-downs-project-approval-to-creat%20e-hundreds-of-local-jobs)

<http://www.ga.gov.au/scientific-topics/minerals/mineral-resources-and-advice/australian-resource-reviews/brown-coal> [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/apr/28/big-four-banks-all-refuse-to-fund-adani-coalmine-after-westpac-rules-out-loan> [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. See for example: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-11-29/adani-carmichael-coal-mine-go-ahead-plans-to-self-fund/10567848> and

<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-05-23/macmines-abandons-mining-lease-applications/11138310>

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37. Some short views are at: <http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/G/Gordon-below-Franklin%20Dam.htm> and <https://theconversation.com/friday-essay-how-archaeology-helped-save-the-franklin-river-92510>. Australia had signed and ratified an international (UNESCO) treaty for protection of world heritage areas, and the relevant location in Tasmania had been listed by UNESCO as one such area. This allowed (but did not compel) the Commonwealth to pass laws to protect the site from inundation from the dam. The Hawke Labor Opposition’s campaign for office included a promise to seek such laws. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. For Sherman’s march; see <https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war/shermans-march> and <https://ss.sites.mtu.edu/mhugl/2015/10/11/william-tecumseh-sherman-and-his-march-to-the-sea/> [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Fence sitting: <https://www.news.com.au/national/federal-election/leigh-sales-grills-bill-shorten-in-election-campaign-interview/news-story/c37f9e36400a754f8e627e8557798815>

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40. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-05-22/quexit/11139704>

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41. <https://www.theherald.com.au/story/6131825/fitzgibbon-blames-scare-campaign-says-voters-not-ready-for-labor-agenda/> [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. <https://www.bobbrown.org.au/stopadaniconvoy> [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
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45. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/issues/australia-climate-change> [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. For example: <https://www.eurekastreet.com.au/article/fossil-fuels-must-be-demonised> [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
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50. *The Temperance Shift: Drunkenness, Responsibility and the Regulation of Alcohol in NSW, 1788-1856.* Matthew Allen Submitted for Admission to Ph.D University of Sydney 2013 [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. ABC, 22 May 2019 [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/0/20693321> [↑](#endnote-ref-52)