

Stopping the Australian Coal Export Boom



Funding proposal for the Australian anti-coal movement

John Hepburn (Greenpeace Australia Pacific)

Bob Burton (Coalswarm)

Sam Hardy (Graeme Wood Foundation)

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1. **An overview of the Australian Coal Export Boom**
2. **A strategy to disrupt the Australian Coal Boom**
3. **This campaign proposal**



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1. Executive Summary

The Need:

Australia is on the verge of a coal boom that is unprecedented in both scale and speed

- With around 120 new mines or expansions, matched with massive rail and port expansions, coal exports are set to triple by the end of the decade.
- If the industry expands unchecked, it will undermine efforts to curtail coal exports from the United States, will ensure coal supplies for a new generation of coal power stations in India, and will have devastating consequences for the global climate.
- If built on schedule, the coal from the Galilee Basin alone would use up around 7% of the total global allowable carbon budget out to 2050 – creating a global climate tipping point.
- 2012 and 2013 are critical years to intervene in order to stop tens of billions of dollars of investment being locked in.
- **We urgently need to build the anti-coal movement and mobilise off the back of the community backlash to coal seam gas. If we fail to act decisively over the next two years, it will be too late to have any chance of stopping almost all of the key infrastructure projects and most of the mega-mines.**

The Strategy:

Our strategy is to 'disrupt and delay' key projects and infrastructure while gradually eroding public and political support for the industry and continually building the power of the movement to win more.

Outcomes:

By prioritizing infrastructure campaigns, our aim is to delay the proposed increase in export capacity substantially (by several years). While it is not yet possible to quantify the long-term impact we might have, we aim to severely reduce the overall scale of the coal boom by some hundreds of millions of tonnes per annum from the proposed 800Mtpa increase.

The Proposal:

- We are seeking investment to help us build a nation-wide coal campaign that functions like an orchestra, with a large number of different voices combining together into a powerful symphony.
- The proposed campaign program has multiple projects that contribute to one another and overlap.
- Prospects are broken down into two levels. Level 1 is the base level of resourcing that is required to have an impact. Level 2 is where we need to take the program to in order to have maximum impact.

	Level 1	Level 2
1. Litigation	\$395,000	\$955,000
2. The Battle of Galilee	\$435,000	\$490,000
3. Hunter Valley – Enough is Enough!	\$354,000	\$260,000
4. Forward defence in W.A. and Victoria	\$160,000	\$120,000
5. Changing the Story of Coal	\$275,000	\$390,000
6. Creating Investor Uncertainty	\$40,000	\$180,000
7. Exposing the Health Impacts of coal	\$30,000	\$70,000
8. Field Organising Program	\$180,000	\$940,000
9. Movement Support	\$195,000	\$220,000
10. Program management	\$130,000	\$100,000
Total	\$2,194,000	\$3,725,000

Program Management:

- Two steering groups, made up of Australia's leading coal, campaign leadership and strategy experts, will advise the program manager regarding allocation of funds and the overall implementation, management and evaluation of the program.



The Bimblebox nature refuge in the Galilee Basin is home to rare and endangered bird species, as well as colonies of koalas and other threatened ecosystems. The entire nature refuge would be subsumed by the massive "China First" mine proposal by Waratah coal.

2. The Need

Australia is on the verge of an unprecedented coal boom with around 120 proposed new coal mines or mine expansions that, if built, would see a tripling of Australia's coal exports by the end of the decade – an increase of around 800 million tonnes of coal per annum. This mine expansion is being matched by a rush to build new rail lines and massively expand coal export ports, with plans to increase export capacity to over 1 billion tonnes per annum by 2020.

To put this in context, Australia is already the world's largest coal exporter with total exports of 300 million tonnes in 2010 – making up around 30% of the total global coal trade.

The Australian coal boom is unprecedented in both scale and speed, and is being driven largely by investments by Indian and Chinese companies hoping to lock in long-term coal supplies to offset rising prices and feed a new generation of coal power plants. **If the industry expands unchecked, it will undermine efforts to curtail coal exports from the United States, will ensure coal supplies for a new generation of coal power stations in India, and will have devastating consequences for the global climate.**

The boom is concentrated in the coal rich states of Queensland and New South Wales on the east coast. Among countless small projects, there are proposals for a series of “mega-mines”, the largest of which would produce up to 60 million tonnes of coal each year – three times larger than the biggest mines currently operating. The “mega-mines” are centred in the yet-to-be-developed Galilee Basin in central Queensland.

If built on schedule, the coal from the Galilee Basin alone would use up around 7% of the total global allowable carbon budget out to 2050 – creating a global climate tipping point.

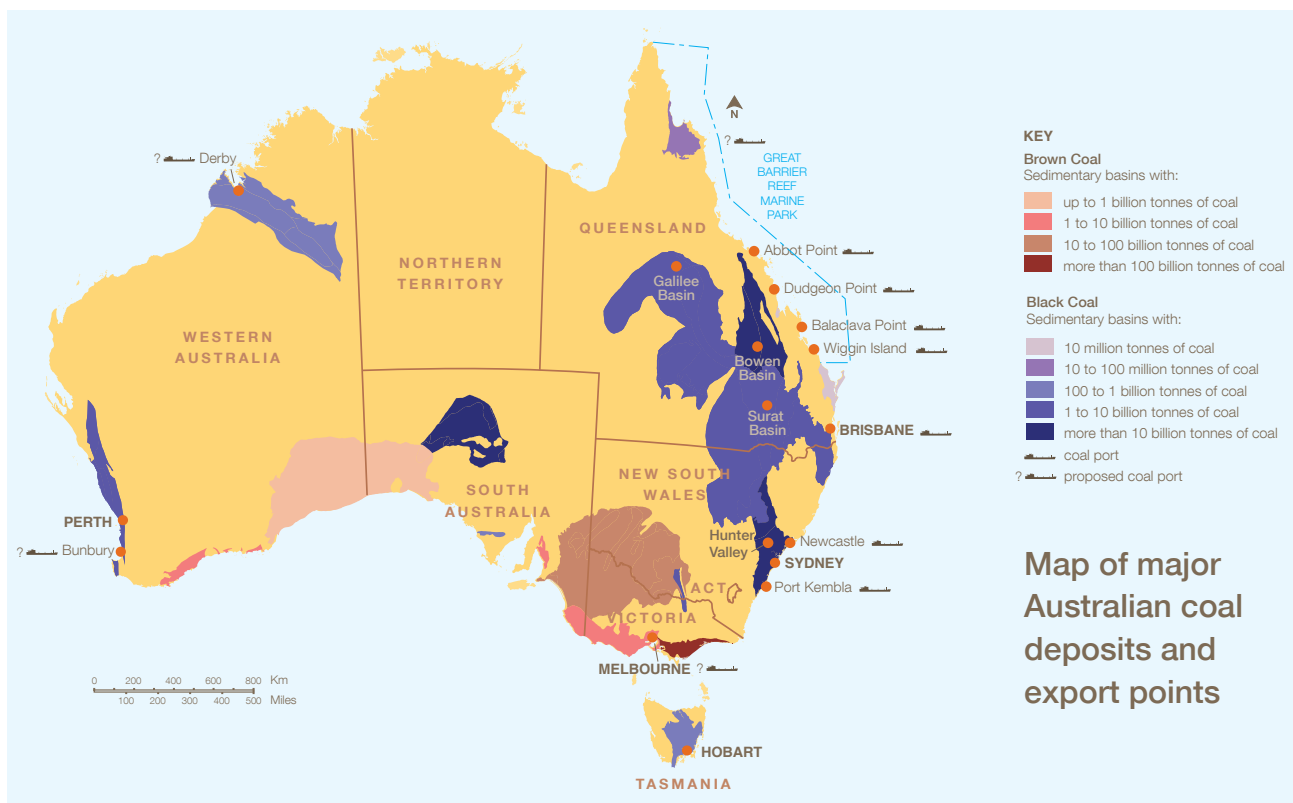
Such is the investment rush that 2012-2013 is expected to see construction start on one massive new coal port and the likely approval of five more, as well as crucial rail lines, most of the mega-mines in the Galilee Basin, and countless more mines in the Hunter Valley. At the same time, we are seeing plans to begin coal exports for the first time from Western Australia and Victoria.

2012 and 2013 are critical years to intervene in order to stop tens of billions of dollars of investment being locked in.

The Australian anti-coal movement is fragmented and under-resourced, but is growing rapidly due to the increasing impact of coal mining and the highly controversial coal seam gas (CSG) industry on water resources, agricultural land, and rural communities. **Coal seam gas has spawned a phenomenal community backlash through the ‘lock the gate’ movement and has created unprecedented political opportunities for coal activists around the country,** including in the lead up to the Queensland State election in early 2012.

The Australian Greens Party currently holds the balance of power in the Federal Parliament, along with two rural independents, both of whom are deeply concerned about climate change and the impacts of CSG and coal mining on agricultural land and groundwater. This creates a powerful opportunity between now and the next federal election in 2013 to push for serious limits on the coal industry.

We urgently need to build the anti-coal movement and mobilise off the back of the community backlash to coal seam gas. If we fail to act decisively over the next two years, it will be too late to have any chance of stopping almost all of the key infrastructure projects and most of the mega-mines.



3. The Strategy

The first priority is to get in front of the critical projects to slow them down in the approval process. This means lodging legal challenges to five new coal port expansions, two major rail lines and up to a dozen of the key mines. This will require significant investment in legal capacity. While this is creating much needed breathing space, we need to continue to build the movement and mobilize to create pressure on politicians and investors alike.

We cannot win by taking the industry head-on and there is no single point of intervention that we can rely upon. We need a strategy that uses multiple voices with multiple points of intervention. **Our strategy is essentially to 'disrupt and delay' key projects and infrastructure while gradually eroding public and political support for the industry and continually building the power of the movement to win more.**

There are 6 elements to this strategy:

1. Disrupt and delay key infrastructure

Challenge and delay key infrastructure developments (ports and rail) and 'mega mines'.

2. Constrain the space for mining

Build on the outrage created by coal seam gas to win federal and state based reforms to exclude mining from key areas, such as farmland, nature refuges, aquifers, and near homes. Landowners locking the gate.

3. Increase investor risk

Create uncertainty and a heightened perception of risk over coal investments;

4. Increase costs

Increasing the cost of coal is fundamental to the long-term global strategy to phase out the industry. We can start to remove the massive subsidies to the coal industry, and to internalize the 'externalized' costs of coal;

5. Withdraw the social license of the coal industry

Change the story of coal from being the backbone of our economy, to being a destructive industry that destroys the landscape and communities, corrupts our democracy, and threatens the global climate.

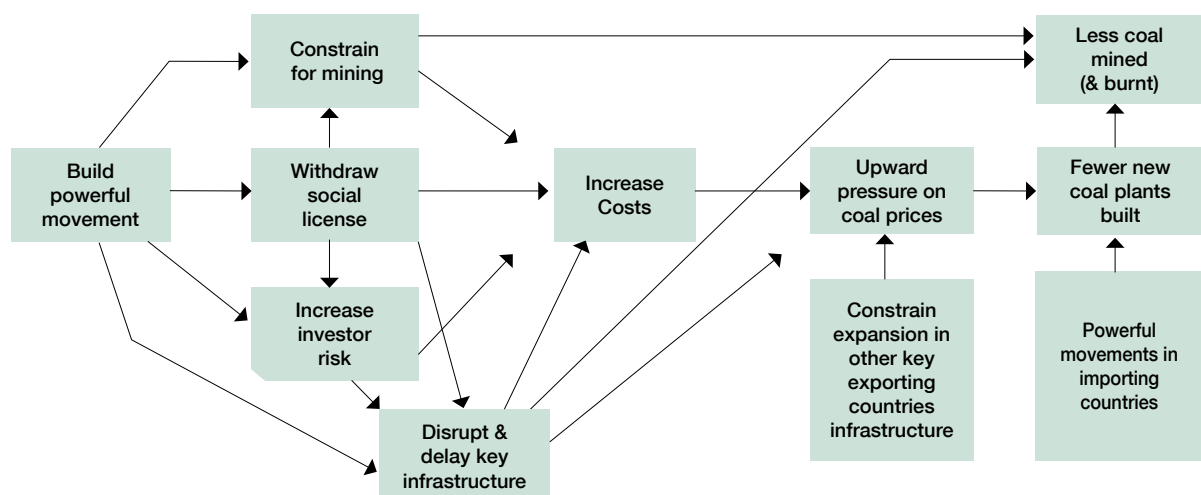
6. Build a powerful movement

Create stronger networks and alliances and build the power necessary to win larger victories over time.

There are several key opportunities and strategic points of intervention:

- The current dredging of Gladstone Harbor for the LNG terminals and Wiggins Island Coal port is having a major impact on the World Heritage listed Great Barrier Reef Marine Park. UNESCO has lodged a complaint to the Australian Government and will be inspecting the site in March 2012. This is fast becoming a national political issue. What happens in Gladstone will have major implications which may limit other proposed new coal ports up the Queensland coast – all of which are also in the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park – and can help to mobilize a powerful constituency to protect the Reef from the impacts of the coal boom.
- The rail line to the Galilee Basin is perhaps the single most important piece of infrastructure as it will unlock coal from a series of mega-mines. Other key pieces of infrastructure include massive port expansions at Abbot Point, Dudgeon Point and Balaclava Island in Queensland, and Newcastle in New South Wales.
- The Queensland election is due to be held in early-mid 2012 and the widespread backlash against coal seam gas in regional communities has put the regulation of mining near the top of the political agenda. There are opportunities to win real reforms to limit the areas on which mining is allowed to occur.
- The New South Wales Government is currently running a strategic land-use planning process in the Hunter Valley to determine how mining and agriculture (and other land-uses) can co-exist. The outcome of this process and the community response will have a critical impact on whether or not real limits will be placed on the mining industry in New South Wales.
- Farmers and landowners throughout Queensland and New South Wales are 'locking the gate' to mining companies, with an increasing number of communities taking 'direct action' to stop mining companies drilling for coal seam gas or coal. This has the potential to create major public and political flashpoints.

It is important to note that the Australian coal export strategy needs to be seen in the context of a global campaign against coal export expansion, as well as opposition to coal expansion in importing countries. Over time, there will be benefits from links between social movements in these different countries becoming stronger. Similarly, the campaign against coal needs to be seen in the context of the global movements (and industries) in support of clean energy and climate change solutions.



4. The Proposal

Our vision for the Australian anti-coal movement is that it functions like an orchestra, with a large number of different voices combining together into a beautiful symphony (or a deafening cacophony!). In the early stages, considerable investment is needed in training and leadership development, as well as networking and alliance building.

The proposed campaign program has multiple projects that contribute to one another and overlap. Each project serves at least two elements of the campaign strategy in order to create a program that is as robust as possible. The program has been broken down into the following projects.

1. Litigation
2. The Battle of Galilee
3. Hunter Valley – Enough is Enough!
4. Forward defense in W.A. and Victoria
5. Changing the Story of Coal
6. Creating Investor Uncertainty
7. Exposing the Health Impacts
8. Field Organizing Program
9. Movement Support

The project funding requirements are broken down into **Level 1** and **Level 2**.

Level 1 is the base level of resourcing that is required to begin to have an impact. *Level 2* is where we need to take the program to in order to have maximum impact. While many elements of the *Level 2* program could be implemented immediately (such as additional litigation work), other elements, such as the field organising program, will take longer to design and build. It takes time to grow a movement and there are political dynamics that need to be carefully managed when introducing funding and paid staff positions into a previously volunteer movement. So while we are confident that we can build the movement quickly, a staged approach is prudent. The aim is to implement *Level 1* and significant parts of the *Level 2* program in 2012 and *Level 2* should also be seen as indicative of what we think is required in 2013 and beyond.

Campaign outcome – what does ‘winning’ look like?

By disrupting and delaying key projects, we are likely to make at least some of them unviable. Delaying some projects will also help to delay others. We are confident that, with the right resourcing for both legal challenges and public campaigning, we can delay most if not all of the port developments by at least a year, if not considerably longer, and may be able to stop several port projects outright or severely limit them. While it is not yet possible to quantify the long-term impact we might have, we aim to severely reduce the overall scale of the coal boom by some hundreds of millions of tonnes per annum from the proposed 800Mtpa increase.

4.1 Litigation

Background/context:

The coal boom is happening at breakneck speed with five new coal ports, major rail lines and most of the ‘mega mines’ progressing rapidly through the approval process in 2011 - 2013.

Theory of change:

Legal challenges can stop projects outright, or can delay them in order to buy time to build a much stronger movement and powerful public campaigns. They can also expose the impacts, increase costs, raise investor uncertainty, and create a powerful platform for public campaigning.

Objectives:

1. Mount legal challenges to the approval of several key ports, mines and rail lines (Level 1);
2. Run legal challenges that delay, limit or stop all of the major infrastructure projects (mines, rail and ports) that have been identified as a high priority in the strategy (Level 2);
3. Create a platform for public campaigning around these projects and on the wider issue of coal regulation (Levels 1 and 2);
4. Push climate change law in Queensland and New South Wales so future climate change cases are more likely to succeed (Levels 1 & 2).

What this looks like:

We will lodge legal challenges to the approval of all of the major new coal ports, as well as key rail links (where possible), the mega-mines and several other mines chosen for strategic campaign purposes.

Legal challenges will draw on a range of arguments relating to local impacts on wetlands, endangered species, aquifers and the World Heritage Listed Great Barrier Reef Marine Park, as well as global climate impacts. Only legitimate arguable cases will be run. Legal outreach will be conducted to support landowners who are opposing resumption of their land.

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
2 x QLD lawyers + operating costs & overhead	\$225,000
Litigation costs – Queensland & NSW	\$170,000
Subtotal	<u>\$395,000</u>
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
3 x QLD lawyers + operating costs & overhead	\$335,000
2.5 x NSW lawyers + operating costs & overhead	\$240,000
Litigation costs Queensland & NSW	\$380,000
Subtotal	<u>\$955,000</u>

4.2 The Battle of Galilee

Background/context:

With roughly 240Mtpa of proposed new coal mines, the Galilee Basin in central Queensland is a globally significant fossil fuel development. If it proceeds as planned, the coal burnt from the Galilee Basin would use up roughly 6.7% of the total remaining allowable global carbon budget to 2050¹. Indian and Chinese investors are proposing a series of vertically integrated 'mega mines' where they own and build the mine, rail line and port. Currently, the area is not serviced by a rail line and there is no additional port capacity in the region. Port expansions at Abbot Point and Dudgeon Point, as well as the rail line linking these ports to the Galilee Basin are critical bottlenecks for the industry.

Theory of change:

The Galilee Basin coal mines are already at the expensive end of the global coal production cost curve. By building a high profile public campaign to disrupt and delay, we can significantly increase investor uncertainty while undermining political support. This in turn may result in less Government subsidies for the projects, and/or stricter approval conditions, further driving up costs and increasing risks. Extensive delays may also make the projects run foul of a changing global coal investment environment.

Objectives:

1. Organize the non-cooperation of landowners along the rail corridor and mine sites (Level 1);
2. Build an alliance of groups opposing coal port expansions (Level 1);
3. Launch a high profile public campaign to put the Galilee Basin under the national and international spotlight as a globally significant carbon bomb (Level 2).

What this looks like:

The first step is detailed research into the impacts to identify opportunities to stop, limit or delay the developments – looking at groundwater threats, endangered species habitat, financing of infrastructure and mines, economic impacts etc. Local organising of landowners can help to delay development of both the mines and rail line. The coal ports at Abbot Point and Dudgeon Point are both next to the World Heritage listed Great Barrier Reef Marine Park and there are strong opportunities for alliance building with scientists and industries that will be negatively impacted (fishing, tourism, etc).

We will build a powerful narrative about the global importance of the Galilee Basin and use this to build a high profile public campaign to put the issue in the national and international spotlight.

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
3 x community organizers + overhead costs	\$270,000
Expert scientific support (hydrology, marine, climate etc)	\$50,000
Events, outreach and organizing costs	\$65,000
Reports, publications and creative materials (online & offline)	\$50,000
Subtotal	\$435,000
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
3 x community organizers + overhead costs	\$270,000
Senior campaigner + operating costs	\$110,000
Events, outreach and organizing costs	\$70,000
Additional budget for scientific support	\$40,000
Subtotal	\$490,000



There are plans to increase the capacity of the Abbot Point coal port from current levels of around 40 million tonnes of coal up to 230 million tonnes per annum. The port is on the edge of the World Heritage Listed Great Barrier Reef Marine Park.

1. Based on Meinshausen et.al. 2009. For a 75% chance of staying below 2 degrees we have a total remaining carbon budget of 250 billion tonnes to 2050. Accessed at: <https://sites.google.com/a/primap.org/www/nature>

4.3 Hunter Valley – Enough is Enough!

Background/context:

The Hunter Valley is an area of rich farmland just north of Sydney that has been decimated by coal mining. It is on the verge of another massive expansion with proposals for an additional 200 million tonnes of coal production each year, as well as an extra 150 million tonnes of export capacity through the port of Newcastle. There is widespread anger in the region over the negative impacts of mining, even while there remains strong support for the mining industry and the economic benefits it brings. The recently elected NSW Government made an election promise to protect prime farmland from mining.

Theory of change:

By telling powerful, visual stories of the devastation and health impacts of coal in the Hunter Valley, we can build on the momentum of the 'lock the gate' movement, strengthen the existing anti-coal movement in the region and build strong political pressure to limit mining.

Objectives:

1. Build a strong alliance and a high profile public campaign against the fourth coal terminal in Newcastle (Levels 1 & 2);
2. Build a strong, cohesive network and provide training, strategy and legal support for community groups around the Hunter Valley/Liverpool Plains who are opposing coal mines and infrastructure (Level 1 & 2);
3. Discredit the New South Wales Government's "strategic land-use planning process" for the Hunter Valley in order to increase political demands for real limits to be placed on coal mining (and coal seam gas) (Level 1);
4. An increasing number of Hunter Valley landowners commit to 'lock the gate' to mining companies (Level 2).

What this looks like:

Organizers on the ground in the Hunter Valley and in Newcastle to build a cohesive network and to provide training and strategy support to communities opposing coal mines and infrastructure projects. Powerful visual communications strategy to tell the story of the impacts of coal and to articulate a different vision for the future of the Hunter Valley. Build a broad-based alliance including health, environment, agriculture, and other affected industries.

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
3 x community organizers + overhead costs	\$270,000
Campaign expenses, outreach and organizing	\$44,000
Reports, publications and creative materials (online & offline)	\$40,000
Subtotal	\$354,000
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
2 x community organizers + overhead costs	\$180,000
Campaigning/operating budget	\$80,000
Subtotal	\$260,000

4.4 Forward defence in Victoria and Western Australia

Background/context:

There are plans from a range of companies to establish coal export industries in Victoria and Western Australia. In Western Australia there are plans by Indian and Chinese companies to start exports from Bunbury (south of Perth) and Derby (up north in the Kimberley). Victoria has arguably had the most active coal campaign of any State. It is politically influential in national debates, has advanced domestic brown coal export proposals and developments in the brown coal industry there will have national political resonance.

Theory of change:

It is far easier to stop an industry before it begins than it is to scale it back. By building campaign capacity early, we have good prospects of stopping the development of coal exports from both WA and Victoria before the industry becomes established.

Objectives:

1. Build alliances opposing coal exports in Victoria and Western Australia (Level 1);
2. Stop the proposed allocation of coal resources for export (expected in 2012) in order to stop the commencement of brown coal exports from Victoria (Level 1 and 2);
3. Stop the granting of a license to export coal from Bunbury (Level 1 and 2); and
4. Stop the approval of the first coal mine in the Kimberley area of north-west Western Australia (Level 2).

What this looks like:

Building a public campaign against the start of a new export coal industry. Organizer on the ground working with Environment Victoria (Melbourne) and the Conservation Council of Western Australia (Perth) to build alliances and public support, apply political pressure and Organize legal challenges (if necessary).

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
1 x organizer in Perth (+ overhead and small campaign budget)	\$100,000
Victorian campaign expenses, outreach and organizing	\$60,000
Subtotal	\$160,000
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
1 x organizer in Melbourne (+ overheads)	\$90,000
Campaigning budget in WA	\$30,000
Subtotal	\$120,000

4.5 Changing the Story of Coal

Background/context:

The Australian community tolerates the massive negative environmental, social and health impacts of the coal industry because these impacts are largely invisible, and the industry is widely seen as the backbone of the economy, creating jobs and prosperity. In order to win significant ground against the coal industry, we need to change the story of coal. This means challenging the economics of coal as well as highlighting the health impacts and other social and environmental impacts of the industry. Central to this strategy will be articulating an inspiring vision of a future beyond coal.

Theory of change:

By changing the perception of the coal industry within key parts of the Australian community we can build new alliances, engage and mobilise new parts of the community, and gradually undermine the social license of the industry, thereby gradually removing political support. We can do this by telling powerful, visual stories that resonate with widely held values in the Australian community.

Objectives

1. Develop a research based communications and messaging strategy for the anti-coal movement (Level 1 & 2);
2. Conduct research and create powerful visual materials that reframe the story of coal (Level 1 & 2);
3. Support effective media & communications by all elements of the grassroots coal movement (Level 1 & 2);
4. Create ongoing investigations capacity to continually expose the many scandals of the coal industry (Level 1 & 2);
5. Steadily undermine key myths upon which the social license of the coal industry depends (Level 1 & 2);

What this looks like:

Development of a research-based communication strategy. Visual materials for use by the wider anti-coal movement that document, expose and tell powerful stories about the negative environmental, social, health and economic impacts of the Australian coal industry. Research program to investigate and document the underbelly of the Australian coal industry and to map industry influence over democracy in order to create a steady stream of news stories to undermine the social license of the industry. Media officer in Brisbane and in Sydney to amplify the voices of the movement in each state and to maximize state and national media coverage of campaign activities.

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
Communications research	\$25,000
Media/communications adviser (Brisbane) + overhead	\$90,000
Documentation of stories (photos, video production, travel etc)	\$30,000
Industry/scandals research & documentation	\$50,000
Challenging the economics of coal	\$80,000
Subtotal	\$275,000
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
Additional, extensive communications research	\$50,000
Media/communications adviser (Sydney) + overhead	\$95,000
Industry/scandals research & documentation	\$65,000
Economist/researcher + overhead & operating costs	\$130,000
Creative materials & publications	\$50,000
Subtotal	\$390,000

4.6 Creating investor uncertainty

Background/context:

While there has been much debate over the risks of investing in coal power stations in Australia (with most banks now very wary of the sector), coal mines and export infrastructure are for the large part seen as safe, profitable investments by both debt and equity investors. All of the major Australian banks are exposed to the coal mining sector, as are virtually all superannuation funds, with the exception of several boutique ethical funds.

Theory of change:

The Galilee Basin mines are at the expensive end of the cost curve of global coal production. Detailed understanding of the financing of these projects (and related infrastructure) may reveal opportunities to make them unviable. More widely, increasing investor uncertainty can lead to delays and higher finance costs in the longer-term.

Objectives:

1. Conduct a detailed financial analysis of the Galilee Basin mining complex to identify campaign opportunities (Level 1);
2. Investigate and define future campaigning opportunities on coal investment (Level 1);
3. Create a sustained discourse in the financial community over the reputational and financial risks of the coal mining and export industry (Level 2).

What this looks like:

Detailed analysis of specific projects to identify campaign opportunities, reports and analysis to document financial risks of the coal boom, heighten reputation risk by symbolically contesting coal industry conferences and annual general meetings, ongoing direct engagement with ratings agencies and key analysts.

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
Financial analysis	\$40,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>\$40,000</u>
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
Finance analyst (including on-costs, travel and operating costs)	\$130,000
Shareholder resolutions, AGM's, conferences, materials etc	\$50,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>\$180,000</u>

4.7 Exposing the health impacts

Background/context:

The concentration of coal mining and coal power stations in the Hunter Valley is creating significant health problems for residents. There has been national media exposure of high childhood asthma rates in Singleton in the Hunter Valley but this is only the tip of the iceberg. Statutory dust limits from mines are consistently exceeded in the region, but both monitoring and enforcement are weak. Dust from the Newcastle coal port (and trains) is becoming a sensitive issue and has potential to create a flashpoint around the new port (T4). Some preliminary work into health impacts has been done nationally but much more is required. Health has thus far been less of an issue in Queensland as the mines are in sparsely populated areas.

Theory of change:

Health professionals are among the most trusted people in the Australian community. By amplifying their voices in the coal debate, we can powerfully shift public sentiment against the coal industry in general and against specific projects in particular.

Objectives:

1. Bring vocal health allies into the campaigns against the Newcastle coal port (T4) and coal expansion in the Hunter Valley (Level 1);
2. Organize and amplify the voices of health professionals so that they play a central role in the debate over the future of coal (Level 1);
3. Create a powerful and enduring link in the public mind between coal and health problems (Level 2).

What this looks like:

Build an alliance of health professionals, powerful documentation and public outreach around health impacts of coal – focusing on the Hunter Valley as a case study.

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
Research, publications and materials/creatives	\$30,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>\$30,000</u>
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
1. Documentation and monitoring	\$40,000
2. Events and public outreach	\$30,000
<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>\$70,000</u>

4.8 Field organising program

Background/context:

Australia does not have a strong tradition of disciplined community organizing outside of the Organized labour movement. Traditionally, environmental organizations have tended to employ 'project officers' with a research, policy and advocacy focus, or 'campaigners' who design and lead campaigns themselves. This is in stark contrast to the organising model employed widely (and successfully) in the US, where 'community Organizers' support grassroots leadership and Organize communities to build and express their own power. This community organizing model is the approach that we will take in the fight against the expansion of coal exports.

Theory of change:

We cannot win major ground in the fight against coal without building a substantially more powerful social movement than currently exists. Organizing and supporting communities to campaign effectively is the best way to leverage the investment of resources for maximum effect in building a powerful movement.

Objectives:

1. Implement a training and mentoring program for community organizers and for grassroots community leaders (Level 1);
2. Design a community organizing model that adapts the best of US organizing techniques to an Australian context (Level 1);
3. Build a disciplined and focussed community organizing machine that is focussed on implementing key elements of the overall strategy (Level 2).

What this looks like:

Training and mentoring for organizers. Training program developed and implemented for key community organizations. Work with US organizers from Sierra Club (or others) and key grassroots groups in Australia to develop and (subject to Level 2 funding) implement a disciplined field organizing program.

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
Training & leadership development	\$50,000
Internship program costs	\$10,000
National field organising manager + operating costs	\$120,000
Subtotal	\$180,000
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
2 x field organizing managers + overhead & operating costs	\$250,000
4 x regional organizers + overhead & operating costs	\$370,000
Campus organizing program	\$145,000
Training and leadership development	\$50,000
Intern program manager + operating costs	\$125,000
Subtotal	\$940,000

4.9 Movement support

Background/context:

In order to run an effective national strategy on coal exports, we need to substantially improve co-ordination and communication between the various efforts of different groups. The rest of the strategy cannot be implemented without building the capacity of the movement.

Objectives:

1. Create a strong and cohesive national coal network (Level 1);
2. Organize a second national coal gathering (Level 1);
3. Establish a small grants program to support community groups fighting coal export projects (Level 1);
4. Ensure that several key organizations remain viable and are able to cope with the growth of the wider campaign (Level 1 and 2);
5. Create an information clearinghouse for the anti-coal movement and for journalists and the wider public (Level 1 and 2).

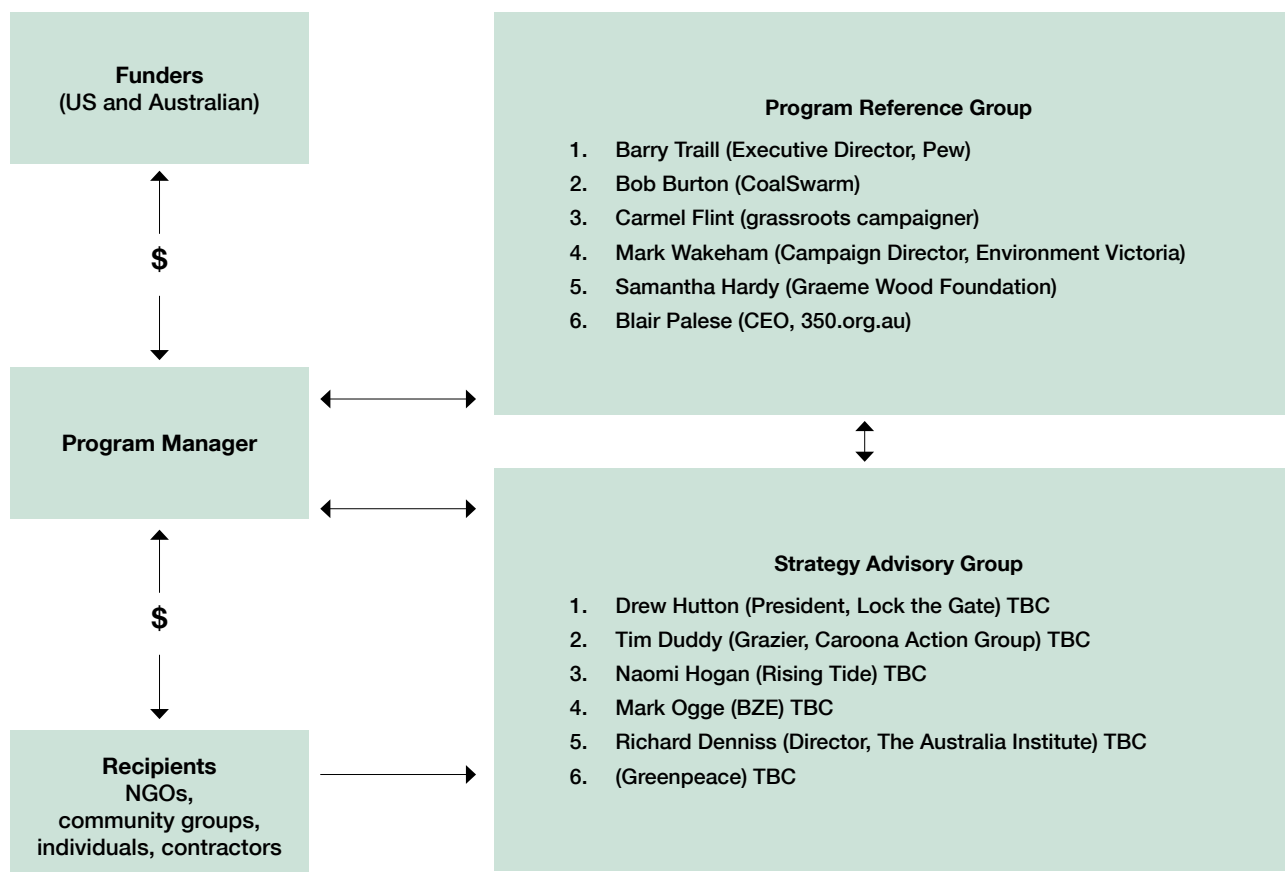
What this looks like:

National strategy meeting, a website to serve as an information clearinghouse for the Australian coal movement, with news, blogs, reports/information, image library, videos/stories, a weekly news service, database of individuals and groups, and a private back-end for collaboration between people in the movement.

Proposal	Budget
Level 1 investment	
National coal gathering + international participants	\$40,000
Small grants fund	\$100,000
National coal network support (part time staff)	\$40,000
Information clearinghouse (basic website + maintenance)	\$15,000
Subtotal	\$195,000
Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)	
International participants to coal gathering (US, Indonesia, China)	\$10,000
Core support for key organizations	\$80,000
Online clearinghouse + web manager & oncosts	\$130,000
Subtotal	\$220,000

6. Program management

Program management structure



Program Reference Group

A steering group will advise the program manager regarding allocation of funds and the overall implementation, management and evaluation of the program.

John Hepburn currently works part-time as a senior campaigner with Greenpeace Australia Pacific, where he has performed a wide variety of roles since 2002, including managing the climate and energy campaign, the genetic engineering campaign, and the outreach and mobilization department. He has worked as an advisor to Greenpeace campaign teams in India, China and Japan and in 2006 he co-ordinated the successful Greenpeace International campaign to prevent the imminent commercial release of genetically engineered rice into China. In 2004, John was awarded a Churchill Fellowship to study grassroots environmental programs in the US and Europe in recognition for his work establishing several non-profit community recycling businesses. He has campaigned on a wide variety of environmental issues for the past 15 years and holds degrees in Production Engineering and Business Management.

Bob Burton is an Australian-based contributing editor of CoalSwarm, an online wiki on global coal issues. Active on a broad range of environmental issues since the late 1970's, Bob has extensive experience as a campaigner and researcher on mining issues including as editor from 1996-2003 of Mining Monitor, a quarterly investigative news-magazine published by the Australian non-government organisation, the Mineral Policy Institute. In 1992 he was entered on the United Nations Environment Program Global 500 Roll of Honour for an outstanding contribution to the protection of the environment. He is also the author of *Inside Spin: the dark underbelly of the PR industry* (2007) and with Nicky Hager, co-authored *Secrets and Lies: the anatomy of an anti-environmental PR campaign* (1999) which contributed to the downfall of the then National Party government of New Zealand.

Carmel Flint is a voluntary conservationist and grassroots campaigner based in northern New South Wales. She has worked throughout New South Wales on a number of successful campaigns over the last 12 years and has played a key role in the protection of 1.5 million hectares of forests in new protected areas and new regulations to control land clearing and logging on freehold land in New South Wales. Currently she is campaigning against coal and gas mining in northern New South Wales, working alongside farmers and environmentalists. Carmel is committed to strategic, co-ordinated and effective community activism and has been involved in a suite of measures to effect change including direct action, political advocacy, technical research, legal challenges, and community engagement. She recognises the power of collective effort and the importance of genuine participation from grassroots groups and the community to deliver lasting change.

Mark Wakeham is the Campaigns Director for Environment Victoria (EV), one of Australia's leading environment non-government organizations. In 2010 Mark was named by The Age's Melbourne magazine as one of Victoria's 100 most influential people for his work on the successful campaign to secure the closure of Hazelwood power station. Prior to working at EV, Mark worked as a campaigner with Greenpeace Australia Pacific for three years where he successfully campaigned for the introduction of renewable energy and energy efficiency targets in Victoria, New South Wales and nationally. Before that he was Coordinator of the Environment Centre of the Northern Territory for 5 years where he grew the organization from one to five paid positions and ran successful campaigns to prevent uranium mining in Kakadu National Park and land clearing in the Daly Basin.

Samantha Hardy is the Strategic Advisor to the Graeme Wood Foundation and also advises other philanthropic organisations in Australia and overseas. Over her 15-year career, Sam has advised the British Cabinet, the Queensland Premiers Office and numerous intergovernmental and non-profit organisations on key social, economic and environmental policy interventions. Sam has also held campaign leadership roles within Australia's labour and environmental movements. Sam's current focus is on ensuring that the interventions of the Australian environment movement are strategic, powerful and deliver maximum outcomes for the dollars invested.

Dr Barry Traill is the Director of the Outback Australia Program, for the Pew Environment Group in Australia. This program works with partner organisations to obtain protection for large wilderness areas in Australia, both on land and sea. Prior to joining Pew in 2007 Barry has led many successful conservation campaigns for Australian state and national organisations over the last 25 years. He was key to establishing nationally coordinated work on the protection of Australian temperate and tropical woodlands, including the establishment of legislation that massively reduced deforestation rates in Australia. This protected 50 million acres of bushland from deforestation and reduced Australia's annual greenhouse gas emissions by around 10%.

Blair Palese is CEO of 350.org Australia working to galvanise a public voice for climate change action nationally. She is on the board of Green Cross Australia, is a founding committee member for Human Rights Watch and an ambassador for the 1 Million Women climate change initiative. She has been an Independent Chair for the Green Building Council of Australia since 2007.

In the late 1990s, Blair was head of PR for The Body Shop internationally and Director of Greenpeace International Communications, both in the UK. In 1996, she addressed the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development in New York on the role of public communication in addressing global environmental problems. In Australia, Blair was worked as editor of Green Pages magazine and with organisations including the Pew Environment Group, the Climate Group, Planet Ark, The Climate Institute, Greenpeace in China, the US and Australia, carbon neutral company Climate Friendly and the NSW Government's Building Sustainability Index (BASIX) and Sustainable Energy Development Authority (SEDA).

Coal Export Program Budget

Description	Budget	Organisation
Litigation		
Level 1		
2 x lawyers + operating costs and overhead	\$ 225,000	EDO QLD
Litigation costs - Queensland & NSW	\$ 170,000	EDO QLD, EDO NSW
Sub total	\$ 395,000	
Level 2 (additional to Level 1)		
2 x litigation solicitors + operating costs and overhead	\$ 225,000	EDO Queensland
1 x outreach solicitor + operating costs and overhead	\$ 110,000	EDO Queensland
Litigation costs (Queensland)	\$ 280,000	EDO Queensland
2 x litigation solicitors	\$ 190,000	EDO NSW
1/2 x EDO outreach solicitors (NSW)	\$ 50,000	EDO NSW
Litigation costs (NSW)	\$ 100,000	EDO NSW
Sub total	\$ 955,000	
Total litigation	\$ 1,350,000	
Existing committed funding		
Coal and CSG litigation. 2 lawyers for 2 years, EDO Queensland	\$ 500,000	Private donor
Pledge for litigation expenses	\$ 100,000	Private donor
The Battle of Galilee		
Level 1		
Community organizers x 3 (ports, marine issues, landowners, alliance buildin	\$ 270,000	Lock the Gate, Mackay Cons. Group, FoE
Regional strategy meeting	\$ 5,000	Program manager
Expert scientific support (hydrology, marine, climate etc)	\$ 50,000	Contracted expertise, Greenpeace, M.C.G.
Events, outreach and organizing costs	\$ 60,000	Greenpeace, MCG, CCC, FoE
Publications and creative materials (online & offline)	\$ 50,000	Greenpeace, MCG, CCC, FoE
Sub total	\$ 435,000	
Level 2 (additional to Level 1)		
Community organizers x 3 (Brisbane, Gladstone, Rockhampton)	\$ 270,000	To be determined
Senior campaigner + operating costs	\$ 110,000	Greenpeace
Public campaign including online/offline creative, materials etc	\$ 30,000	MCC, CCC, Greenpeace, FoE
Events and outreach	\$ 40,000	MCC, CCC, Greenpeace, FoE
Additional budget for hydrology and marine expertise	\$ 40,000	Contracted expertise
Sub total	\$ 490,000	
Total - Battle of Galilee	\$ 925,000	
Hunter Valley - Enough is Enough!		
Level 1		
Organizers x 3 (Newcastle, Upper Hunter Valley, Sydney) + overhead and cos	\$ 270,000	Lock the Gate, H.V.P.A., NCCNSW
Campaign expenses, outreach and organising	\$ 40,000	Lock the Gate, H.V.P.A., Rising Tide
Regional strategy meetings	\$ 4,000	Lock the Gate, H.V.P.A.
Reports, publications and creative materials	\$ 40,000	Lock the Gate, H.V.P.A., Rising Tide
Sub total	\$ 354,000	
Level 2 (additional to Level 1)		
Organizers x2 (Sydney, Lower Hunter Valley) + overhead and costs	\$ 180,000	Lock the Gate, H.V.P.A., NCCNSW
Additional campaign expenses	\$ 40,000	Lock the Gate, H.V.P.A., Rising Tide, NCCNSW
Additional creative material budget (online and offline)	\$ 40,000	Lock the Gate, H.V.P.A., Rising Tide
Sub total	\$ 260,000	
Total - Hunter Valley	\$ 614,000	
Forward defense in Victoria and Western Australia		
Level 1		
1 x organizer in Perth (+ overhead and small campaign budget)	\$ 100,000	Cons. Council of Western Australia
Victorian campaigning expenses (outreach, organising etc.)	\$ 60,000	Environment Victoria & FoE
Sub total	\$ 160,000	
Level 2 (additional to Level 1)		
1 x organizer in Melbourne (+ overheads)	\$ 90,000	Environment Victoria
Campaigning budget in WA	\$ 30,000	Cons. Council of Western Australia
Sub total	\$ 120,000	
Total - WA and Victoria	\$ 280,000	

Changing the story of coal**Level 1****Communications strategy**

Communications research (polling, focus groups, analysis)	\$	25,000	To be determined
Media/communications adviser (Brisbane)	\$	90,000	To be determined
Documentation of stories (photos, video production, travel etc)	\$	30,000	Greenpeace

Investigations/research, staff + research budget

Industry/scandals research & documentation - staff costs	\$	35,000	CoalSwarm
Research budget	\$	15,000	CoalSwarm

Challenging the economics of coal

Economic analysis	\$	40,000	Contracts / The Australia Institute
Creative materials (videos, info graphics etc) & publications	\$	40,000	GetUp!, The Australia Institute

Sub-total \$ 275,000

Level 2 (additional to Level 1)**Communications strategy**

Additional, extensive communications research	\$	50,000	To be determined
Media/communications adviser (Sydney) + overhead	\$	95,000	To be determined

Investigations/research, staff + research budget

Industry/scandals research & documentation - staff costs	\$	50,000	Coalswarm
Additional research budget	\$	15,000	Coalswarm

Challenging the economics of coal

Economist/researcher (including on costs, travel, operating costs)	\$	130,000	The Australia Institute
Creative materials (videos, info graphics etc) & publications	\$	50,000	The Australia Institute, Getup!

Sub-total \$ 390,000

Total - changing the story of coal \$ 665,000

Existing committed funding

Polling and communications research - pledged	\$	100,000	Private donor
Industry scandal research and documentation	\$	30,000	Private donor
Industry scandal research and documentation pledged	\$	10,000	Private donor
Research into economics of coal	\$	10,000	Private donor
Economist to research coal/csg - pledged	\$	312,000	Private donor

Creating investor uncertainty**Level 1**

Financial analysis (contract expertise)	\$	40,000	Contracts/The Australia Institute
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Sub-total \$ 40,000

Level 2 (additional to Level 1)

Finance analyst (including on-costs, travel and operating costs)	\$	130,000	The Australia Institute
Shareholder resolutions, AGM's, conferences, materials etc	\$	50,000	The Australia Institute, others

Sub-total \$ 180,000

Total - Creating investor uncertainty \$ 220,000

Exposing the health impacts of coal**Level 1**

Research, publications and materials/creatives	\$	30,000	To be determined
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Sub-total \$ 30,000

Level 2 (additional to Level 1)

Documentation and monitoring	\$	40,000	Hunter Valley Protection Alliance
Events and public outreach	\$	30,000	To be determined

Sub-total \$ 70,000

Total - Exposing Health Impacts \$ 100,000

Existing committed funding

Coal health study	\$	26,000	Private donor
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Field organising program**Level 1**

Training for organizers and community groups	\$	50,000	The Change Agency / Sierra Club
Internship program costs (including stipends)	\$	10,000	
National field organising manager + operating costs	\$	120,000	To be determined

Sub-total \$ 180,000

Level 2 (additional to Level 1)**Program management and co-ordination**

1 x Queensland lead organiser in Brisbane + operating costs	\$	95,000	To be determined
1 x NSW lead organiser in Sydney + operating costs	\$	95,000	To be determined
Operating/admin budget	\$	60,000	To be determined

Lock the Gate organising

4 x regional organisers	\$	320,000	Lock the Gate Alliance
operating/program budget	\$	50,000	Lock the Gate Alliance

Student organising

Campus organisers QLD & NSW (part time)	\$	105,000	To be determined
Operating budget for materials, travel, events etc.	\$	40,000	To be determined

Training

Additional training capacity	\$	25,000	To be determined
leadership development program	\$	25,000	To be determined

Internship program

intern program manager	\$	75,000	To be determined
operating costs	\$	10,000	To be determined
intern stipend	\$	40,000	To be determined
sub-total	\$	940,000	

Total - Field organising program \$ 1,120,000

Existing committed funding

Lock the gate organiser (half time)	\$	27,000	Private Donor
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Movement support**Level 1**

National coal gathering (venue, facilitation etc)	\$	30,000	Program manager
International participants (India)	\$	10,000	Program manager
Reactive small grants fund (\$10k maximum disbursement)	\$	100,000	Program manager
National coal network support (part time staff, news bulletin,organise meeting)	\$	40,000	Program manager
Information clearinghouse (basic website + maintenance)	\$	15,000	Program manager
sub-total	\$	195,000	

Level 2 (additional to Level 1)

International participants to coal gathering (US, Indonesia, China)	\$	10,000	Program manager
Core support for key organisations	\$	80,000	Program manager
Information clearinghouse (advanced website)	\$	45,000	Program manager
Online communications/website manager + oncosts	\$	85,000	Program manager
sub-total	\$	220,000	

Total - Movement Building \$ 415,000

Existing committed funding

Small grants fund	\$	10,000	Private donor
Small grants fund - pledge	\$	20,000	Private donor

Program management**Level 1**

Program management costs (staff + overhead + operating costs)	\$	130,000	
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Level 2 (additional to Level 1)

Program management costs (staff + admin + operating costs)	\$	100,000	
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Total - program mgmt \$ 230,000

LEVEL 1 - TOTAL BUDGET \$ 2,194,000

LEVEL 2 - TOTAL BUDGET \$ 3,725,000

TOTAL COMBINED BUDGET (LEVEL 1 & LEVEL 2) \$ 5,919,000

ADDITIONAL FUNDING ALREADY COMMITTED \$ 1,145,000

Approval timeline for key coal mines and infrastructure

NOTE: Dates are best estimates only and may be subject to change.

Project Name	Proponent	Included infrastructure	mtpa	2011				2012				2013				2014			
				Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4		
Queensland																			
Alpha (Tadpole) Coal Mine	GVI & Hancock	Rail to Abbot Point	30																
Galilee Coal ("China First")	Waratah Coal	Rail to Abbot Point	40																
Carmichael Coal Mine & Rail	Adani	Rail to Abbot Point	60																
Kevin's Corner	Hancock	Rail link to Alpha Coal rail line	30																
Goonvella Riverside	BMA		20																
Carnaby Downs	Syntech		20																
South Galilee Coal Project	Bandana & AMCI		14																
Goonvella to Abbot Rail	BHP		60																
Balladava Island Coal Terminal	Xstrata		35																
Abbot Point MCF*			180?																
Abbot Point T2 (X80)*	NOBPC / BHP		30																
Abbot Point T3 (X110)*	NOBPC / Hancock		30																
Abbot Point T4-7 (X230)*	NOBPC		120																
Hay Point (Dudgeon Point)	NOBPC / DPPM		180																
Fitzroy Terminal Project	Mitchell Group		22																
New South Wales																			
T4 Newcastle port expansion	Port Waratah Coal Services		60-100																
Warkworth	Coal and Allied/Rio Tinto		18																
Hunter Valley Operations Complex	Coal & Allied/Rio Tinto		17																
Moorlaben Coal- Stage 2	Moorlaben Coal		17																
Watermark	Shenhua/Watermark		15																
Maules Creek Coal Project	Aston Coal		13																
Cobbora Coal Mine	NSW Government		12																

* Federal Approvals Process only (all others streamlined for State EIS under SDPWO Act 1971 or EP Act 1994)

^Mtpa refers to product coal production/capacity, not Run of Mine (ROM) - product coal is usually about 70% of ROM

Key:

Public notice of ToRV/ controlled action

Public notice of Env. Impact Statement

Court challenge period

Court hearing

