



12 September 2025

Inquiry into the prevalence and impacts of misinformation and disinformation which relate to climate change and energy

Submission to the Senate Select Committee on Information Integrity on Climate Change and Energy

Parliament House
Canberra ACT 2600



Stronger Regions for a Stronger Australia



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The Page Research Centre welcomes the opportunity to contribute to the inquiry into the prevalence and impacts of misinformation and disinformation relating to climate change and energy generation in Australia.

The Page Research Centre is a non-profit organisation which is sustained by individual and corporate donations and by an annual grant from the Australian Government Department of Finance. We seek to inform and influence policy that delivers positive outcomes for rural and regional Australia. Our nation is uniquely reliant on our rural economy and our regional communities, which form the foundation of our national prosperity. We believe that better outcomes for the regions will inevitably lead to better outcomes for all Australians.

Gerard Holland
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Page Research Centre
12 September 2025





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Introduction

I want to be clear at the outset: this submission does not accuse any individual or organisation of illegality or wrongdoing. However, it does make the case that there is a **serious problem with misinformation and disinformation in Australia's energy debate** – particularly around the question of how to deliver the cheapest and most reliable electricity for Australian households and industries.

Contrary to the prevailing narrative, the evidence is clear. Independent modelling – including work commissioned by the Page Research Centre¹ and supported by the Centre for Independent Studies² – shows that the lowest-cost pathway for Australia is the continued use of coal generation, particularly when new units are built on existing brownfield sites with transmission already in place. CSIRO's own *GenCost* report, once examined carefully, also confirms that renewables are not the cheapest option in practice. Even its lower-bound estimates, when properly accounted for, favour coal.³

If that is the case, then the obvious question arises: **why does the dominant public narrative still insist that renewables are the cheapest form of energy?** This claim is repeated endlessly in the media, by the national broadcaster, by the Energy Minister, and is now entrenched in public opinion polling, even though it rests on contested assumptions and is contradicted by operational experience.

The explanation, we argue, lies in the **vast sums of money that have been injected into Australia's public debate** by advocacy organisations with the explicit aim of destroying coal's social license and distorting its economic advantages. This funding has come not only from domestic actors, but also from major international foundations, philanthropies, and activist networks. The effect has been to warp the debate away from transparent, technology-neutral analysis and toward a one-sided narrative that Australians are now paying for through higher household bills, weaker energy security, and diminished industrial competitiveness.

This submission seeks to provide the Senate with evidence of these dynamics:

first, by examining the flaws in state funded modelling;
second, by documenting the way misinformation has shaped public and political discourse; and
third, by outlining the scale and strategy of the anti-coal advocacy network;

and finally, by presenting evidence of foreign influence on our national energy debate.



Section 1: Misinformation in the Energy Debate

Evidence on Lowest-Cost Pathways

There is a great deal of misinformation and disinformation in Australia's energy debate – particularly around the question of how to produce the cheapest and most reliable electricity. Much of the public discussion has been shaped less by hard evidence and more by selective modelling, optimistic assumptions, and advocacy dressed up as analysis. This has not been helped by organisations such as the CSIRO, which, while widely seen as a non-partisan authority, has produced modelling that is deeply flawed and systematically biased toward a predetermined conclusion.

The truth, however, is not ambiguous. Independent modelling – including work commissioned by the Page Research Centre and supported by research from the Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) – finds that the continued use of coal generation and investment in refurbishments and expansions on brownfield sites with existing transmission is by far the lowest-cost pathway for Australia's electricity system.



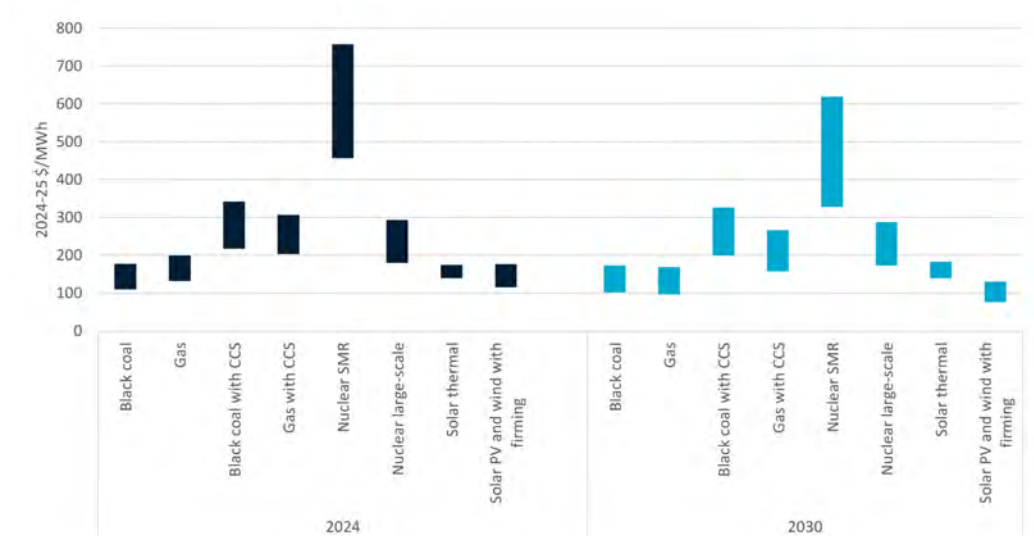
Limitations of GenCost

The CSIRO's *GenCost* report is frequently cited as evidence that renewables are the cheapest form of new generation. Yet in practice, when firming costs, system integration, and transmission requirements are properly accounted for, renewables are not the cheapest option. Several key limitations undermine the credibility of the *GenCost* findings:

- **Optimistic assumptions for renewables:** GenCost assumes very high capacity factors for wind and solar, which are not borne out in real-world operation
- **Pessimistic assumptions for coal:** Coal's capacity factors are modelled artificially low, in part because the report assumes renewables will push coal out of the system. This circular logic biases results.
- **Exclusion of brownfield opportunities:** GenCost disregards the ability to build new units on existing coal sites, where land, transmission, and infrastructure already exist.
- **Ignored proven technologies:** Commercially available coal plant designs and existing reactor types are excluded from analysis, despite their relevance to Australia.
- **Transmission cost blowouts:** Only two days after the latest GenCost release, it was revealed that transmission costs had doubled. This follows a pattern of repeated underestimation.
- **Best sites already taken:** The model assumes continued cost declines in renewables, despite the reality that Australia's best wind and solar sites are already developed. New projects face escalating costs, greater community resistance, and lengthier approvals.

Lower-Bound Results Still Favour Coal

Even within CSIRO's own modelling – and contrary to the claims in its press release – the lower bound for coal still emerges as cheaper than renewables. This is particularly striking given that *GenCost* does not model commercially proven coal units but instead assumes the development of an ultra-supercritical (USC) plant design that is both experimental and more expensive than existing options. To date, no such plant has been built anywhere in the world.



ES Figure 0-2 Calculated LCOE by technology and category for 2024 and 2030

Figure 1 The CSIRO *GenCost* report shows black coal as the cheapest in 2024.

Apx Table B.10 Electricity generation technology LCOE projections data, 2024-25 \$/MWh

Category	Assumption	Technology	2024		2030		2040		2050	
			Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Peaking 20% load		Gas open cycle (small)	293	356	209	295	204	275	205	278
		Gas open cycle (large)	233	301	206	298	201	278	203	281
		Gas reciprocating	249	304	211	276	212	277	215	281
		H ₂ reciprocating	586	599	554	589	485	544	462	538
Flexible load, high emission		Black coal	111	178	103	174	103	173	105	179
		Brown coal	148	240	129	214	134	225	138	237
		Gas	133	199	97	169	95	163	96	164
Flexible load, low emission		Black coal with CCS	217	342	200	326	201	317	201	324
		Gas with CCS	204	307	158	266	153	255	153	252
		Nuclear SMR	456	757	328	619	268	516	276	467
		Nuclear large-scale	180	293	173	288	175	300	179	314
		Solar thermal	140	175	140	183	122	182	117	166
Variable	Standalone	Solar photovoltaic	48	80	35	63	25	59	24	54
		Wind onshore	80	132	64	107	53	89	52	87
		Wind offshore (fixed)	147	191	108	189	100	191	94	192
Variable with integration costs	Wind & solar PV combined	60% VRE share	120	168	76	116				
		70% VRE share	116	165	80	119				
		80% VRE share	118	168	83	124				
		90% VRE share	125	176	90	131				

Figure 2 The CSIRO *GenCost* report shows black coal well below the lower bound than even the optimistic scenario for renewables.⁴

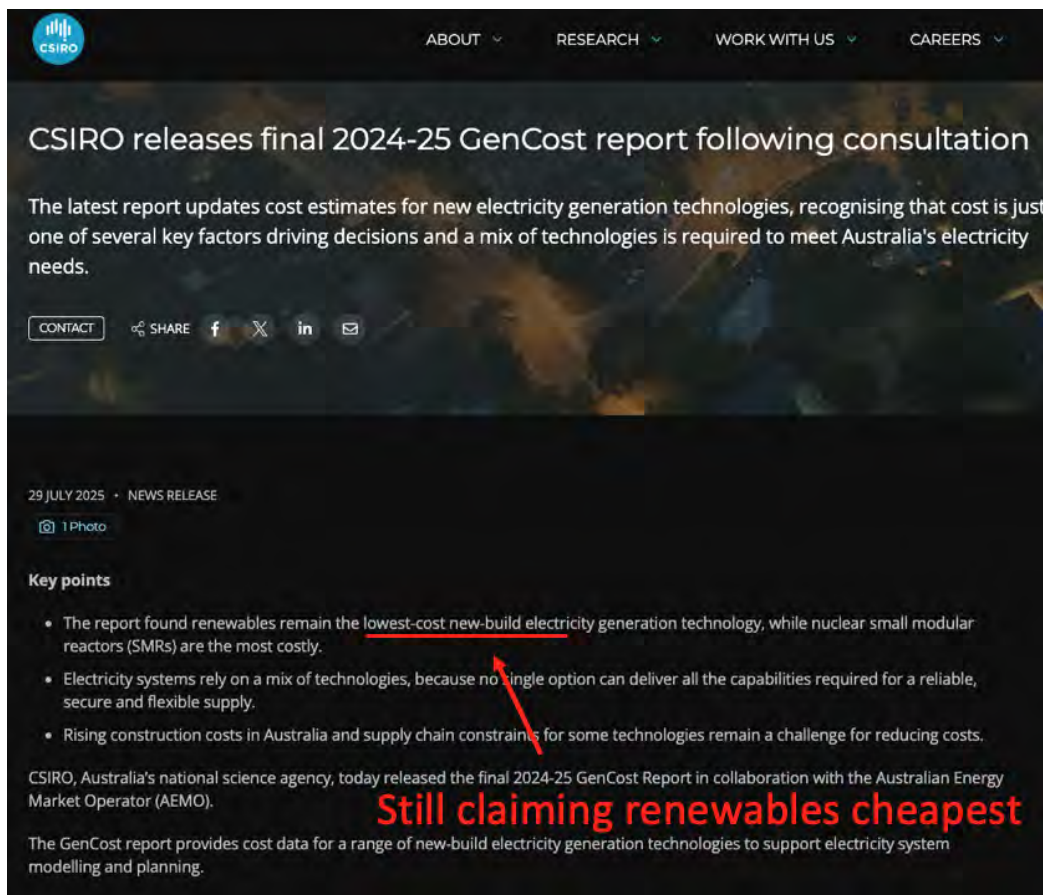


Figure 3 A news release from CSIRO makes the misleading claim that renewables “remain the lowest-cost new-build electricity generation technology.”⁵

Transmission Blowouts Undermine CSIRO’s Assumptions

The *GenCost* treatment of transmission is particularly misleading. The report assumes minimal additional costs, despite growing evidence that transmission build-outs are one of the largest and most volatile cost drivers in the system. Two days after the release of the most recent *GenCost*, it was revealed that transmission costs with the Victorian VNI West project had increased by more than 100 per cent.⁶ In practice, this means renewable scenarios are even more expensive than already projected, while brownfield coal expansions could avoid most of these costs entirely.

The Integrated System Plan

Adding to the confusion surrounding the CSIRO’s *GenCost* Report, there is also a great deal of misinformation and misunderstanding around the Integrated System Plan as developed and published by AEMO (Australian Energy Market Operator). The Integrated System Plan (ISP) has become the centrepiece of the federal government’s narrative that a renewables-dominated grid is the “least cost” way forward. Politicians, regulators and lobby groups cite it routinely as the authoritative statement of truth about Australia’s energy future. Yet a closer reading of the ISP shows that it is not a comprehensive or techno-neutral analysis at all. Rather, it is a tightly constrained modelling exercise that leaves out major costs, rests on unrealistic assumptions, and narrowly assumes that all policy targets will be achieved. Because it is not forthcoming about these limitations, the ISP and its users end up misleading the public about the renewables transition.

Least-Cost Misrepresentation

The most persistent misrepresentation is that the ISP captures the total system cost of the transition. In August 2023, AEMO even published a statement insisting that the ISP “reflects whole-of-system costs”.⁷ That is not true.

The ISP’s \$122 billion figure – which has been endlessly quoted by ministers – is a discounted capital cost figure that excludes the cost of consumer energy resources such as rooftop solar and home batteries, as well as the distribution network upgrades required to accommodate them.⁸ It also excludes the cost of already-committed or “anticipated” projects such as Snowy 2.0 and a swathe of transmission links. These are not trivial omissions: rooftop solar and behind-the-meter batteries alone are forecast to require hundreds of billions in household spending and taxpayer subsidies, while distribution upgrades will be another very large cost borne by consumers.

Analysis by the Centre for Independent Studies shows that once consumer energy resources are properly costed, they would add around \$347.5 billion in capital expenditure to 2050.⁹ In net present value terms, this would roughly double the ISP’s own \$122 billion headline figure. Frontier Economics has separately estimated that the real cost of the ISP’s optimal development path is closer to \$595 billion.¹⁰

Taken together, these omissions mean the ISP cannot credibly be described as showing the “whole-of-system cost” of the energy transition. Presenting a narrow, discounted figure as if it were the full cost has misled the media and the public into believing the transition will be far cheaper than is realistic.

Reliability Overstated by Unrealistic Modelling

The ISP also overstates the reliability of a renewables-dominated grid by leaning on assumptions that do not hold in the real world. For many iterations the ISP’s modelling assumed complete perfect foresight: the model “knew” decades in advance what the weather would be and scheduled storage and flexible gas capacity just in time to meet those conditions. In the Draft 2024 ISP, AEMO admitted that its capacity expansion modelling was “optimised with the benefit of perfect foresight of VRE [i.e. wind and solar] output and operational demand within each simulated day”.¹¹ This drew heavy criticism, prompting AEMO in the Final 2024 ISP to acknowledge that “in reality the weather cannot be known in advance”¹² and to add a crude constraint of roughly 1 GW per year on new gas builds mimics imperfect foresight.¹³

But these changes do not resolve the underlying flaw: the model still pre-emptively builds capacity to cover a chosen “typical” weather sequence, rather than testing resilience against the possibility that bad years could arrive earlier or more often. In practice, this continues to understate the amount of firming required and, therefore, misrepresents the true reliability risks of the transition to renewables.

The ISP also paints a misleadingly optimistic picture of reliability by assuming large volumes of gas will be readily available and affordable for peaking generation during renewable droughts. In the *Step Change* scenario, flexible gas is explicitly designated as the “backstop” to cover long periods of low wind and solar. The modelling prescribes as much as 15 GW of new gas plant by 2050, built in lumps just ahead of forecast renewable drought years.¹⁴ The ISP presumes that gas pipelines, storage, and upstream supply will be readily available to deliver thousands of terajoules of gas per day on demand to firm renewables.

That presumption does not hold. AEMO’s own system operability analysis concedes that gas-powered generation “may become constrained during peak periods”, and that new peakers would in practice require on-site liquid fuel storage to cover delivery gaps.¹⁵ The government’s own review of the ISP went further, finding that “the gas developments needed to satisfy the ISP assumptions may not be likely or commercially feasible”.¹⁶ Yet these constraints are not factored into the ISP’s reliability outlook. The result is a plan that systematically overstates the resilience of a renewables-dominated grid by leaning on gas capacity that may not actually be available.

False Claims That All Options Were Tested

Perhaps the most egregious form of misinformation is the way the ISP is used by politicians and lobby groups to close down discussion of alternatives. Climate Change Authority chair and former NSW energy minister Matt Kean repeatedly claimed in a Senate hearing that the ISP “looks at the counterfactuals as to other sources of generation” and had shown renewables to be the cheapest option.¹⁷ That is simply false. The ISP does not model nuclear power, because it is banned. It does not model refurbishing or extending the life of coal. It takes government emissions and renewables targets as fixed constraints. It then searches for the lowest-cost solution within those constraints.

That is a very different exercise from testing all technologies on a level playing field. Yet in policy debates the ISP is repeatedly invoked as though it had run such a comparison and proven renewables cheapest. It has done no such thing. The result is that the ISP is held up as independent evidence for a proposition it never examined.

The Integrated System Plan has been elevated into a de facto verdict that renewables are the cheapest, most reliable path for Australia’s energy future. Yet its own documentation shows that it is a narrowly constrained exercise: excluding vast categories of cost, relying on assumptions that cannot hold in practice, and avoiding the testing of viable alternatives. When politicians and lobby groups present it as a whole-of-system, technology-neutral demonstration that renewables are cheapest, they are misrepresenting what the ISP actually is. Far from being an impartial baseline for policymaking, the ISP

has become a source of systematic misinformation, closing down debate on what would constitute a genuinely least-cost, reliable energy pathway, while masking the true cost of the renewables transition.

A More Realistic Picture

More realistic assumptions – such as those used in the Page Research Centre’s independent modelling – show coal and gas firming pathways to be substantially cheaper than renewable-heavy scenarios.

For example, Page Research estimates show that replacing 21 GW of baseload with ultra-supercritical coal would require around \$103 billion in capital expenditure, compared to \$198 billion for the government’s current blended offshore wind and solar pathway, and \$255 billion for a full renewables scenario. Wholesale prices under a coal pathway range from \$50 to \$100 per MWh, compared to \$150 to \$200 per MWh for renewables with BESS firming.

Scenario	1. No net zero	2. Technology neutral	3. Current pathway	4. 100% Renewables
Marginal new entrant base load technology	Ultra Super-Critical (USC) Coal	Nuclear	Blended offshore wind and solar firming with BESS	Blended offshore wind and solar firming with BESS
Capex to replace 21 GW baseload[1] (\$Bn)	103	163	198	255
New entrant price (\$/MWh)	\$82.35	\$120.77	\$169.95	\$169.95
Wholesale price range (\$/MWh)	\$50 to 100	\$100 to 150	\$150 to \$200	\$150 to \$200
Additional Transmission (\$/MWh)	\$0	\$0	\$30	\$30
Retail price impact [2]	-25% to 13%	-4% to 35%	30% to 69%	30% to 69%
Other comments	For comparison only.		Will not necessarily meet net zero. Likely reductions in energy security.	Likely reductions in energy security.
Additional transmission CAPEX (\$Bn)			63	77
Total additional CAPEX (\$Bn)	103	163	261	332

Figure 15. Summary of scenarios

Notes: (1) Generation capex only; excludes transmission costs. Ignores relative lifetimes of different technologies. (2) (%) of usage charge of a typical Melbourne household power bill.

Figure 4 The Page report presents more realistic assumptions on the multiple scenarios Australia could embark upon.

The Page Research Centre's full report can be accessed here; <https://www.page.org.au/2025/02/economic-self-harm-or-a-pro-human-future/>

Brownfield Opportunities

There are several brownfield coal precincts in the NEM with land, grid access and industrial zoning that could physically host added units (coal or other generation) even if no current build is planned. These include:

New South Wales

- Mount Piper (Central West)
- Bayswater–Liddell (Hunter Valley)
- Vales Point (Lake Macquarie)

Queensland

- Kogan Creek (Western Downs)
- Tarong / Tarong North (South Burnett)
- Stanwell (Rockhampton)
- Gladstone
- Callide (near Biloela)

Victoria

- Loy Yang (Latrobe Valley)
- Yallourn (Latrobe Valley)

The sources above show either (a) past concept approvals, (b) council planning enabling future energy industry uses, or (c) official descriptions of available land and precinct-scale footprints.



Section 2: A Lie That Lives On

Despite clear evidence from both the CSIRO's own *GenCost* report, as well as independent modelling that traditional power generation provides the lowest-cost pathway for Australia, the dominant public narrative continues to insist that renewables are "the cheapest form of energy". This claim has been repeated so frequently by authoritative voices that it has become accepted as common sense, even though it rests on contested assumptions.

Media Reinforcement

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), the nation's public broadcaster, has played a leading role in reinforcing the claim that renewables are the cheapest form of energy. Repeated coverage frames wind and solar as the inevitable and most affordable choice, often citing *GenCost* headlines without interrogating the assumptions behind them. This contributes to a feedback loop where media outlets amplify selective modelling results, giving them the weight of consensus.



Figure 5 ABC - misleading report.¹⁸



Figure 6 Sydney Morning Herald misleading headline.¹⁹



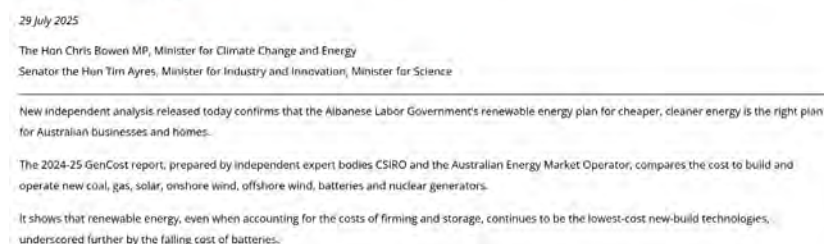
Figure 7 Clean Energy Council misleading headline.²⁰

Political Endorsement

Australia's Energy Minister has publicly echoed this narrative, using it as the central justification for government policy. Ministerial speeches and press releases routinely cite renewables as “the cheapest form of new energy”, a phrase that has become near-standard in political communications. This repetition from senior figures entrenches the perception that alternatives – whether coal, gas, or nuclear – are both more expensive and less viable, regardless of contrary evidence.

Figure 8 Misleading media release from Energy Minister Chris Bowen.²¹

Joint media release: New analysis confirms renewable energy is the Australian way



Polling Evidence

Polling data underscores the extent to which this narrative has taken hold in the Australian public. Surveys show that a majority of Australians believe renewable energy will reduce household power bills and is the most affordable long-term solution. This belief persists despite wholesale price volatility, transmission blowouts, and mounting system costs. The polling reflects how sustained messaging from government and media has shaped public opinion around cost, often in direct contradiction to operational data and independent modelling.

The prevailing narrative—that renewables are inherently the cheapest—has hardened into orthodoxy across media, politics, and public opinion. This is not the result of transparent, contested debate but of repetition by trusted institutions that have failed to interrogate the assumptions underpinning their claims.

Figure 9 Polling attitudes towards renewable energy in 2024, commissioned by Renew



Australia For All.²²

Government authorities are not the only ones who have propped up this false narrative. There is a coordinated and extremely well-funded third-party advocacy campaign entirely focused on destroying the social license of coal and distorting its economic advantages in the public discourse. This campaign, which will be examined in the next section, represents one of the most significant and deliberate efforts to shift Australian public opinion on energy policy in living memory.

Section 3: Destroying the Social and Economic License of Coal

The persistence of the “renewables are cheapest” narrative cannot be explained by media amplification and ministerial messaging alone. Over the past decade, a network of third-party organisations has pursued a deliberate and well-funded campaign to delegitimise coal generation in Australia, both socially and economically, whilst amplifying the transition towards renewable energy. These groups present themselves as civil society advocates, yet their activities amount to a coordinated effort to destroy the social license of coal and distort the public’s understanding of its cost advantages.

Organisational Scale and Funding

Several organisations have made it their explicit mission to end coal for power generation in Australia. Their combined revenue exceeded \$170 million in 2023–24 alone, underscoring the unprecedented scale of resources dedicated to shaping public opinion against traditional energy sources.²³

Some of these organisations and their revenue last year include but are not limited to:

- **The Sunrise Project** – \$76.8 million
- **Greenpeace** – \$25.6 million
- **Environmental Defenders Office** – \$17.8 million
- **The Australia Institute** – \$10.6 million
- **Climate Action Network Australia (CANA)** – \$6.8 million
- **GetUp** – \$6.4 million
- **Environment Victoria** – \$4.1 million
- **Nature Conservation Council** – \$3.6 million
- **Market Forces** – \$3.4 million
- **Friends of the Earth Australia** – \$2.9 million

Origins of the Campaign

The current anti-coal movement can be traced to an alleged 2011 funding proposal attributed to John Hepburn (formerly of Greenpeace Australia Pacific, now the Executive Director of the Sunrise Project Australia). That proposal (tabled in the Queensland State Parliament) sought international philanthropic support for a coordinated campaign to phase out coal in Australia, with initial funding reportedly secured from the Rockefeller Family Fund.²⁴

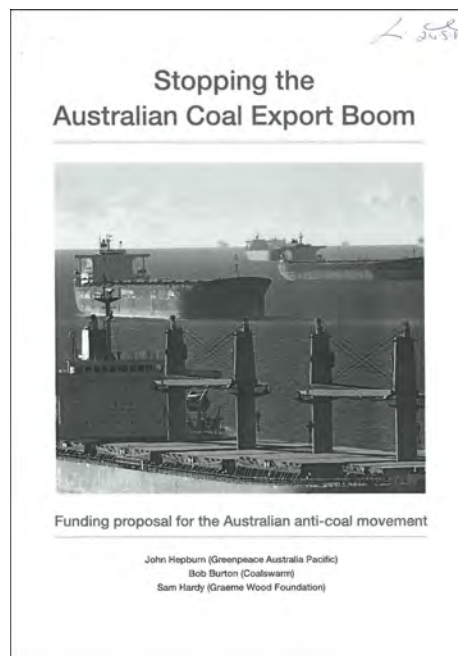


Figure 10 Alleged funding proposal for the Australian anti-coal movement.²⁵

According to the document, early drafts drew input from across the green movement, including Greenpeace, GetUp!, Environmental Defenders Office, Beyond Zero Emissions, Pew, Lock the Gate, Nature Conservation Council, United Voice, and the Australia Institute. The breadth of involvement highlights that this strategy was never accidental; it was deliberately constructed through the collaboration of various non-government organisations, unions, philanthropic foundations and think tanks.

The “Australia Beyond Coal” Coalition

One of the most significant expressions of this strategy has been the creation of the **Australia Beyond Coal coalition** – a partnership of multiple NGOs including the Sunrise Project, Environment Victoria, Nature Conservation Council, and others. Modelled on similar campaigns in Europe and North America, its explicit objective is to accelerate the closure of Australia’s coal-fired power stations. The coalition combines grassroots mobilisation, media campaigns, and strategic litigation, and it enjoys substantial backing from both domestic philanthropy and international funders. By presenting itself as a broad “community coalition”, it masks the fact that its funding and direction come largely from a small number of well-resourced advocacy organisations.

Supporters of Australia Beyond Coal



Figure 11 Supporters of Australia Beyond Coal.²⁶

Ongoing International Funding

The anti-coal lobby in Australia continues to benefit from significant international funding. The Sunrise Project, in particular, has established pipelines to US and European philanthropic donors (including major climate foundations), ensuring a steady stream of foreign capital is directed toward advocacy against Australian coal projects. These flows of overseas money raise serious questions about the extent to which Australia's domestic energy policy has been shaped by actors unaccountable to Australian voters, industries, or communities.

A snapshot of these monetary flows is outlined in Section 4 and discussed in detail in Appendix 2.

Division of Labour: How the Campaign Operates

The anti-coal coalition can be perceived as functioning as an ecosystem with complementary roles:

- **The Sunrise Project** – the financial engine, channelling tens of millions into campaigns, research, and litigation. Sunrise funds other groups and builds international links to US and European philanthropic foundations.
- **Greenpeace** – the media theatre. Known for attention-grabbing stunts, Greenpeace provides the imagery and headlines that shape public perceptions of coal as dirty and outdated.
- **The Australia Institute** – the research arm. By publishing reports that consistently frame renewables as cheaper and fossil fuels as uneconomic, it gives political leaders and journalists a “fact base” to cite.
- **Environmental Defenders Office (EDO)** – the legal disruptor. EDO specialises in challenging projects in court, delaying approvals and raising costs. This creates a chilling effect on investment in new coal capacity.
- **Environment Victoria, Nature Conservation Council, Queensland Conservation Council** – the state-based operators. These groups run localised campaigns,

protests, and lobbying, keeping pressure on state governments and project proponents.

- **Friends of the Earth** – the grassroots activist base. Mobilises community opposition and provides the manpower for protests and direct actions.
- **Climate Action Network (CAN)** – the international connector. Links Australian campaigns with global climate advocacy networks, giving domestic actions greater visibility.
- **Smart Energy Council** – the industry lobbyist. Advocates for subsidies, favourable regulation, and policy design that disadvantages dispatchable generation while advantaging renewables.
- **GetUp!** – the electoral weapon. Uses digital campaigning and large membership lists to target marginal seats, mobilising voters against pro-coal policies or candidates.

Strategic Purpose

The coalition's strategy can be summarised in four points:

1. **Destroy coal's social license** – through protests, stunts, and relentless messaging portraying coal as illegitimate
2. **Shift the economic narrative** – producing reports and polls that claim renewables are cheapest, even when this is not substantiated by real-world data.
3. **Litigate and obstruct** – tying projects up in court to raise costs, create uncertainty, and discourage investors.
4. **Mobilise public and political pressure** – leveraging media, lobbying, and electioneering to hard-wire anti-coal sentiment into both state and federal politics.

The anti-coal campaign in Australia is not an organic expression of public opinion. It is the product of a highly coordinated and extremely well-funded strategy, seeded by foreign philanthropy and sustained by ongoing international financial support. With over \$170 million in collective resources in 2023-24 alone, this coalition – including the formal *Australia Beyond Coal* campaign – has systematically eroded coal's social license, entrenched misleading narratives about cost, and driven policy decisions that have increased costs for Australian households. It has woven a web of mis- and disinformation about how Australia should design an energy system to service a modern industrial economy.

Section 4: Foreign Influence

A further dimension to the anti-coal campaign in Australia is the scale of **foreign funding** that underpins much of the advocacy against coal and in favour of accelerated renewable deployment. Appendix 2 shows at least \$108 million AUD in the last 10 years alone.

These flows of international money have warped Australia's public debate on energy affordability by bankrolling legal challenges, media campaigns, research reports, and grassroots activism.

The figures presented here are not exhaustive. They represent only a **snapshot of publicly available information**, often disclosed in overseas philanthropic databases rather than in Australian reporting. It is therefore reasonable to expect that the true scale of foreign contributions (and the number of organisations receiving them) is far higher than these partial records suggest.

Examples of Foreign Funding Flows

- **ClimateWorks Foundation (USA):** Provided multiple grants to the Sunrise Project between 2018 and 2020 totalling over \$2.1 million USD, alongside other Australian recipients such as Monash University.
- **KR Foundation (Denmark):** Supplied the Sunrise Project with over 13 million DKK across several projects from 2020–2023, and funded the Environmental Defenders Office (2.2m DKK), Market Forces (over 9.6m DKK across multiple campaigns), Comms Declare (3.6m DKK), and other advocacy groups.
- **Laudes Foundation (Europe):** Provided the Sunrise Project with grants exceeding €4.5 million, including funds to build NGO capacity to shift global finance.
- **Oak Foundation (Switzerland/UK):** Gave the Sunrise Project \$6 million USD in 2023, in addition to earlier grants of \$1.5 million USD in 2020 and previously funded the Climate Institute to support carbon pricing legislation.
- **Ballmer Group (USA):** Reportedly awarded the Sunrise Project a single grant of \$20 million USD in 2023, one of the largest known foreign contributions to an Australian advocacy organisation.
- **William and Flora Hewlett Foundation (USA):** Provided the Sunrise Project with targeted grants, including \$300,000 USD in 2022 for EV transition advocacy.
- **Tides Foundation (USA):** Supported both the Sunrise Project and Market Forces with multiple grants in the early 2010s, as well as Lock the Gate and Friends of the Earth, explicitly funding anti-coal and anti-gas campaigns.
- **Rockefeller Brothers Fund (USA):** Contributed to the Australia Institute and the Australian Environmental

Grantmakers Network, continuing the Rockefeller family's long-standing role in funding anti-fossil fuel movements globally.

- **Bloomberg Philanthropies (USA):** Provided direct financial support to the Climate Council in 2021–22, with further funding directed to marine conservation organisations engaged in climate campaigns.
- **Oceans 5 (international consortium):** Supplied grants in excess of \$1 million USD to the Environmental Defenders Office and the Australian Marine Conservation Society, including joint projects with the McKell Institute.
- **Sequoia Climate Foundation (USA):** Funded the Sunrise Project with at least \$20 million USD between 2020–2022, earmarked for accelerating a “managed transition” away from coal and gas.

Implications for Australian Debate

The scale and persistence of these foreign contributions raise significant concerns:

- **Warped Debate:** By supplying tens of millions of dollars annually, foreign foundations have helped entrench the narrative that coal is uneconomic, despite evidence to the contrary.
- **Policy Capture:** These funds directly support lobbying, litigation, and political campaigning in Australia, effectively outsourcing elements of our energy debate to overseas interests.
- **Transparency Gap:** Much of this money is disclosed offshore rather than in Australia, meaning the true scale of foreign influence on our domestic energy policy is not visible to voters or policymakers.

Foreign philanthropic funding has flowed into Australia at extraordinary scale, with single grants sometimes exceeding the entire annual budget of domestic pro-development organisations. This money has systematically shaped the public conversation about energy costs and the future of coal. The examples presented here are merely a **snapshot**, limited to what is available in public filings. The **real number of funds and the full list of recipient organisations is almost certainly much higher**.

Such levels of foreign influence raise serious questions for the Senate about sovereignty, transparency and whether Australia's energy policy is being set by the interests of Australian households and industries – or by overseas foundations advancing ideological agendas.

Section 5: Smart Energy Council Case Study

Disinformation from the Smart Energy Council

The Smart Energy Council has been responsible for the spread of disinformation about nuclear energy throughout the Australian media and political landscape. As this disinformation likely influenced public opinions about nuclear energy being “too costly”, it is reasonable to assume it had a material effect on voters during the 2025 federal election, when nuclear energy was a major issue.

The key disinformation the Smart Energy Council published about nuclear energy is the following statement from a June 2024 media release:

Detailed analysis by the Smart Energy Council reveals the cost of building the seven nuclear reactors proposed by the Federal Opposition will be between \$116-\$600 billion of taxpayers' dollars, whilst only providing 3.7% of Australia's energy mix in 2050.²⁷

The motivations for this disinformation, the explanation of why these claims are false and the spread and effect of this disinformation are detailed below.

Motivations

For the first claim regarding nuclear energy's contribution to the grid, the errors are of such an elementary nature, it is reasonable to assume that an organisation claiming to be “the independent body for the Australian smart energy industry” would not commit such errors by mistake. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume these errors were intentional and to categorise this false claim as disinformation rather than misinformation. There are clear motivations for the Smart Energy Council to spread disinformation that encourages and galvanises opposition towards nuclear energy. The Smart Energy Council is funded by the renewable energy industry, which stands to profit from continuing government subsidies from renewables, which would be threatened by a government-led nuclear energy program.

False claim that seven nuclear reactors would provide only 3.7% of Australia's energy mix in 2050

The Smart Energy Council makes two basic errors in the analysis underpinning the claim that seven nuclear reactors would provide only 3.7% of Australia's energy mix in 2050.

The first is including energy storage in the comparison with nuclear. Storage does not generate anything. It is only needed to shift excess intermittent wind and solar energy to when it is needed. It should therefore be ignored when considering how much generation capacity is needed.

The second mistake was using gigawatts (GW) instead of gigawatt-hours (GWh). The Smart Energy Council assumed Australia needs 300 GW of capacity in 2050. When storage is removed, the total remaining capacity is around 240 GW. The Smart Energy Council assumes the Coalition's plan would only provide 11 GW of nuclear.

However, the reason 240 GW of generation is needed is because wind and solar have very low-capacity factors of around 20% for solar and 29% for wind. Nuclear can achieve capacity factors of 90%, so 11 GW of nuclear would provide 20% of our grid's 450,000 GWh of energy needs in 2050 – five times what the Smart Energy Council falsely claimed.

False claim that seven nuclear reactors would cost up to \$600 billion

The Smart Energy Council assumed the Coalition's plan for seven nuclear reactors would consist of “5 large nuclear reactors and 2 ‘small’ nuclear reactors”, with capital costs totalling \$116 billion based on the CSIRO's *GenCost* report. The Smart Energy Council further inflated costs by adding a 100% First of a Kind premium average to the first plant, as *GenCost* noted this “cannot be ruled out”. The Smart Energy Council then inexplicably added a 25% First of a Kind premium average to all subsequent nuclear plants. This is unrealistic; it would be highly unusual for Australia to pursue a country-wide nuclear plant rollout and build different plant designs every single time. The Smart Energy Council provided no references to any research indicating why this is justified, merely stating “This is consistent with the average cost overruns for large infrastructure projects reported by the Grattan Institute”.

Of most concern is that the Smart Energy Council has not provided its full calculations underpinning the \$600 billion upper cost estimate quoted in the media release. The release states that “Based on lived experience in the UK and the US, where there is an existing nuclear industry: The large nuclear reactors could cost more than \$60 billion each”. There is no justification given for assuming large reactors could cost \$60 billion each, a figure seven times larger than the capital cost estimate given by CSIRO's *GenCost* report for a 1 GW reactor (\$8.7 billion).²⁸

Furthermore, the media release provides a single cherry-picked example of a reactor in the UK facing cost overruns (Hinkley C), claiming “the first of the reactors is likely delayed until 2031 with a cost of A\$87 billion”. The Smart Energy Council has not analysed reactor builds across the globe, nor provided justification for assuming Australia would make the same mistakes as other countries in building only one or two reactors per site using unproven designs, which are known to drive up costs.²⁹ Instead, the Smart Energy Council appears to have taken the \$87 billion



Hinkley C figure and multiplied this by 11 GW divided by 3.2 GW (Hinkley C capacity), which comes out at \$299 billion. After inexplicably applying a First of a Kind premium to all reactors, this gives \$598 billion, which is almost \$600 billion. Due to the lack of calculations or analysis provided by the Smart Energy Council, this is only a 'best guess' of how this amount was determined.

The complete lack of evidence underpinning the Smart Energy Council's \$600 billion estimate is deeply concerning, especially given Chief Executive John Grimes was quoted in the media release stating, "In reality, current cost overruns happening right now in the UK could mean a \$600 billion bill to Australian taxpayers, whilst delivering a small proportion of the energy that is actually required". He did not mention that \$600 billion was the upper end of a cost range as low as \$116 billion. This framing encouraged the unsubstantiated figure to be repeated in the media and by policymakers, despite it having been plucked out of thin air, without transparent calculations, adequate references or peer review to back it up.

Spread and effect on public discourse

Following the above disinformation being included in the Smart Energy Council's media release, the disinformation was spread through publication in The Guardian,³⁰ SBS News,³¹ Renew Economy,³² Canberra City News,³³ Mining.com.au³⁴ and PV Magazine.³⁵

Policymakers, particularly Labor Ministers, continued to repeat the Smart Energy Council's disinformation throughout the election campaign. Prime Minister Anthony Albanese, Energy Minister Chris Bowen, Environment Minister Tanya Plibersek and Foreign Minister Penny Wong have all cited the \$600 billion and/or 3.7% (often rounded up to 4%) figures.³⁶

Jason Clare, Labor's campaign spokesperson, repeated the Smart Energy Council's disinformation to ABC Radio National in April 2025, falsely presenting it as research CSIRO had released:

Have a look at the work that the CSIRO has done that proves that this will cost \$600bn. It won't turn a light on for 20 years. It'll only produce about 4% of the energy that Australia is going to need.³⁷

Unions also spread the Smart Energy Council's disinformation in their election campaigns. The Electrical Trades Union created a website during the election campaign which repeated the disinformation, labelling as "fact" that:

Nuclear will cost \$600bn. Nuclear is the most expensive type of power to build. (\$600bn figure is from The Smart Energy Council). It will supply only 4% of the grid. And that's a rounded-up figure. It's actually just 3.7%. Again, according to the Smart Energy Council.³⁸

The Maritime Union cited the disinformation in a video on Facebook, stating "The Smart Energy Council costed Dutton's nuclear plan at \$600b. Why would we pay that much to supply under 4% of the grid?"³⁹

A Lowy Institute poll conducted in June 2024 prior to the Smart Energy Council's media release suggested 61% of Australians somewhat or strongly support Australia using nuclear power to generate electricity.⁴⁰ However, surveys conducted by DemosAu from December 2024 to February 2025 – after the Smart Energy Council figures had circulated widely and been cited by many policymakers – indicate only 37% of Australians thought nuclear power would be good for Australia.⁴¹ While there are many other factors that could explain this sharp decline in support for nuclear energy, it is reasonable to assume the Smart Energy Council's disinformation, which was given a prominent position in public debate, would have contributed to this decline.

Conclusion

At its core, this debate is not about abstract modelling or theoretical pathways. It is about the lived reality of Australians. It is about industries closing their doors, manufacturers relocating offshore, productivity faltering, and households brought to breaking point as they struggle to meet rising electricity bills.

Energy policy goes directly to the prosperity of families, the competitiveness of our economy, and the resilience of our communities. Yet too often, the public debate has been distorted by misinformation and by vast flows of advocacy funding (much of it originating overseas) designed to eliminate coal from the system irrespective of cost or consequence.

As a nation, we must do better. This is not only an economic challenge but a matter of social justice. Every additional dollar on a household bill, every factory forced offshore, and every job lost to energy insecurity add to the price paid for allowing ideology and foreign influence to override transparent, evidence-based policy.

We wish to reassert that the purpose of this submission is not to accuse any individual or organisation of illegality under the current electoral framework. But we do contend that Australia's energy debate has been captured by interests that do not answer to the Australian people. The Senate has a responsibility to ensure our future energy system is built on truth, transparency, and the national interest, rather than on distorted narratives that drive up costs for all Australians.

Appendix 1 Australian Organisational Funding for Anti-Coal Activity

Organisation	Reported Revenue FY 23/ 24
Environment Victoria	\$4,157,989 ⁴²
Friends of the Earth Australia	\$2,937,616 ⁴³
Greenpeace	\$25,657,931 ⁴⁴
Nature Conservation Council	\$3,694,888 ⁴⁵
Climate Action Network (CANAN)	\$6,829,782 ⁴⁶
The Sunrise Project	\$76,828,786 ⁴⁷
Environmental Defenders Office	\$17,864,593 ⁴⁸
The Australia Institute	\$10,678,098 ⁴⁹
GetUp	\$6,421,983 ⁵⁰
Beyond Zero Emissions	\$2,348,141 ⁵¹
Graeme Wood Foundation	\$2,387,371 ⁵²
Pew	\$7,758,668 ⁵³ (Expenses)
Lock the Gate	\$4,384,609 ⁵⁴
Market Forces Limited	\$3,380,978 ⁵⁵
Total (AUD)	\$175,331,433

Appendix 2 Foreign Funding

Benefactor / Donor	Recipient	Date	End Date	Amount	Notes
ClimateWorks Foundation	Monash University	21/07/2015	Term: 8 months	\$192,000 USD ⁵⁶	Category: Finance
ClimateWorks Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	28/10/20	Term: 12 Months	\$750,000 USD ⁵⁷	Category: Power
ClimateWorks Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	19/04/19	Term: 12 Months	\$150,000 USD ⁵⁸	Category: Power
ClimateWorks Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	10/07/19	Term: 12 Months	\$750,000 USD ⁵⁹	Category: Power
ClimateWorks Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	19/05/18	Term: 12 Months	\$500,000 USD ⁶⁰	Category: Power
KR Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2023	2025	5,100,000 DKK ⁶¹	Project Title: Finance & Communications
KR Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2022	2023	1,200,000 DKK ⁶²	Project Title: Climate finance investigations
KR Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2021	2023	4,348,449 DKK ⁶³	Project Title: Shifting fossil fuel finance: moving on Bonds and growing Investor momentum
KR Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2020	2022	2,680,000 DKK ⁶⁴	Project Title: Shifting Asset Managers Away From Fossil Fuels and Anti Climate Lobbying



Benefactor / Donor	Recipient	Date	End Date	Amount	Notes
KR Foundation	Environmental Defenders Office	2022	2025	2,200,000 DKK ⁶⁵	Project Title: Legal interventions to challenge “greenwashing” in climate communications
KR Foundation	Frontrunners	2022	2025	2,045,053 DKK ⁶⁶	Title: Taking Australian sport from sideline to centre court on climate
KR Foundation	Comms Declare	2022	2025	3,633,431 DKK ⁶⁷	Project Title: Fossil Ad Ban
KR Foundation	Market Forces	2018	2021	1,110,000 DKK ⁶⁸	Project Title: Asian Finance Campaign Capacity. (Listed under the Sustainable Finance section)
KR Foundation	Market Forces	2019	2020	2,000,000 DKK ⁶⁹	Project Title: Stopping the last wave of South East Asian coal power. (Listed under the Sustainable Finance section)
KR Foundation	Market Forces	2020	2022	3,272,514 DKK ⁷⁰	Project Title: Asian energy finance: Coal to Clean. (Listed under the Sustainable Finance section)
KR Foundation	Market Forces	2022	2024	3,272,514 DKK ⁷¹	Project Title: Asian energy finance: Coal and LNG to clean. (Listed under the Sustainable Finance section)
KR Foundation	Climate Tracker	2017	2017	592,296 DKK ⁷²	Project Title: Young Climate Journalist Leadership Program
KR Foundation	Climate Tracker	2018	2019	1,413,514 DKK ⁷³	Project Title: Data-backed Journalism Program
Laudes Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	Unknown	24 month. Grant Active currently	€1,500,000 ⁷⁴	Purpose listed: For ensuring the financial system generates financial flows that align with the IEA net zero scenario requirements.
Laudes Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	Unknown	13 month. Grant Closed successful	€99,748 ⁷⁵	Purpose listed: For aligning key proxy advisor service providers (ISS and Glass Lewis) with a 1.5C scenario.
Laudes Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	Unknown	38 month. Grant Closed successful	€3,000,000 ⁷⁶	Purpose listed: For building the capacity of NGOs working on the ground to shift global finance.
Laudes Foundation	Australian Centre for Corporate Responsibility	2021/22		€99,769 ⁷⁷	NOTE: The date of the grant is not listed on the Laudes Foundation grants database, but it is in ACCR's annual report. ⁷⁸
Oak Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2023	3 Years	\$6,000,000 USD ⁷⁹	Purpose listed: To provide core support to the Sunrise Project in its efforts to build and harness the power of investors and corporations to drive faster, systemic change on climate.



Benefactor / Donor	Recipient	Date	End Date	Amount	Notes
Oak Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2020	3 years	\$1,500,000 USD ⁸⁰	Purpose listed: To mobilise the global finance community to transition towards investments in clean power.
Oak Foundation	The Climate Institute	2011	2012	\$478,011 USD ⁸¹	Purpose listed: To pass legislation to limit and price carbon pollution by the end of December 2011 that will reduce Australian emission levels and encourage cleaner industries. TCI is advocating for a price on carbon in Australia by: 1) building support for a price on pollution across Australia, particularly in strategically important areas; 2) creating public support for Australia's Parliament to legislate an effective price on pollution in 2011; and 3) creating a climate of support for action on climate change that will reposition the debate and movement in Australia and overseas. NOTE: The climate institute no longer exists. The Australia Institute has since inherited their intellectual property.
Ballmer Group	The Sunrise Project Australia	2023	3 years	\$20,000,000 (presumably USD) ⁸²	NOTE: Grant is not listed on Ballmer Group's website. The 20m figure was reported by Inside Philanthropy in 2023.
William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	08/10/2022	Term: 12 months	\$300,000 USD ⁸³	Purpose listed: For accelerating the EV transition
William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	07/11/2019	Term: 12 months	\$150,000 USD ⁸⁴	Purpose listed: For passive asset management research
Tides Foundation	Lock the Gate Alliance	2012		\$275,000 USD ⁸⁵	Purpose listed: Support efforts to protect Australia's natural, environmental, cultural and agricultural resources.
Tides Foundation	Lock the Gate Alliance	2013		\$120,000 USD ⁸⁶	Purpose listed: support efforts to protect Australia's natural, environmental, cultural and East Asia and the Pacific agricultural resources
Tides Foundation	Lock the Gate Alliance	2013		\$10,000 USD ⁸⁷	Purpose listed: "to support a speaking tour and series of public forums in the Northern Territory which will kick-start the campaign to stop shale gas drilling."



Benefactor / Donor	Recipient	Date	End Date	Amount	Notes
Tides Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2012		\$100,000 USD ⁸⁸	Purpose listed: support of programs to empower communities to protect resources from the negative impacts of the fossil fuel industry
Tides Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2013		\$117,500 USD ⁸⁹	Purpose listed: to support the May 2013 Coal Movement East Asia and the Pacific Gathering and the work of Market Forces
Tides Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2013		\$225,000 USD ⁹⁰	Purpose Listed: To provide information, training, strategy support and resources for organizations and communities in Australia
Tides Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2013		\$10,000 USD ⁹¹	Purpose listed: to engage photographers and videographers to document the impacts East Asia and the Pacific of mining in New South Wales
Tides Foundation	Sea Shepherd Australia	2013		\$100,000 USD ⁹²	Purpose listed: work to end the destruction of habitat and slaughter of wildlife in the world's oceans in order to conserve and protect East Asia and the Pacific ecosystems and species
Tides Foundation	Centre for Education and Research in Environmental Strategies	2013		\$7,500 USD ⁹³	Purpose listed: Food Hubs Project
Tides Foundation	Friends of the Earth Australia	2012		\$8,000 USD ⁹⁴	Purpose listed: national campaign opposing Coal Seam Gas (CSG). on-shore gas and new coal operations
Tides Foundation	Market Forces	2014		\$75,000 USD ⁹⁵	Purpose listed: Market Forces' s work to slow the coal rush in Australia
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	The Australia Institute	2018	Paid in 2018	\$15,000 USD ⁹⁶	Purpose listed: For DivestInvest Australia
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	Australian Environmental Grantmakers Network		Paid in 2018	\$25,000 USD ⁹⁷	Purpose listed: For general support
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	Australian Environmental Grantmakers Network	2014		\$50,000 USD ⁹⁸	Purpose listed: For general support NOTE: Only \$25,000 was paid in 2014, the other 25k was paid in 2015



Benefactor / Donor	Recipient	Date	End Date	Amount	Notes
Bloomberg Philanthropies	Climate Council	2021/2022		Over \$10,000 AUD ⁹⁹	NOTE: Exact amount not found, just that they contributed at least \$10,000
Bloomberg Philanthropies	INVESTOR GROUP ON CLIMATE CHANGE	2021		\$250,000 USD ¹⁰⁰	Purpose listed: TO SUPPORT TASK FORCE ON CLIMATE-RELATED FINANCIAL DISCLOSURES INITIATIVE
Bloomberg Philanthropies	Underwater Earth	01/01/2017	2020	\$360,000 USD ¹⁰¹	NOTE: TO SUPPORT CONSERVATION OF CORAL REEFS. THIS IS AN EARMARKED EXPENDITURE RESPONSIBILITY SUBGRANT THROUGH THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND; \$249,855 WAS EXPENDED THROUGH 12/31/18. THE ORIGINAL GRANT DATED 01/01/17 WAS AMENDED ON 09/18/19 EXTENDING GRANT TO 04/30/2020.
Packard Foundation	Homeward Bound Projects	29/10/2019		\$10,000 USD ¹⁰²	Listed purpose: President's fund
Oceans 5	Australia Marine Conservation Society	2023	Duration: 3 years	\$1,000,000 USD ¹⁰³	
Oceans 5	Australia Marine Conservation Society	2022	Duration: 3 years	\$1,139,000 USD ¹⁰⁴	
Oceans 5	Australia Marine Conservation Society	2022	Duration: 3 years	\$939,565 USD ¹⁰⁵	
Oceans 5	Environmental Defenders Office	2022	Duration: 3 years	\$1,228,815 USD ¹⁰⁶	
Oceans 5	Australia Marine Conservation Society & Environmental Defenders Office	2022	Duration: 3 years	\$1,443,737 USD ¹⁰⁷	
Oceans 5	The McKell Institute	2022	Duration: 1 years	\$215,000 USD ¹⁰⁸	
Oceans 5	Australia Marine Conservation Society	2018	Duration: 1 years	\$100,000 USD ¹⁰⁹	
Sequoia Climate Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2022		\$7,000,000 USD ¹¹⁰	Listed purpose: TO ACCELERATE THE FINANCIAL SECTOR IN SHIFTING TOWARDS CLEAN ENERGY AND A JUST TRANSITION
Sequoia Climate Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2022		\$2,000,000 USD ¹¹¹	Listed purpose: TO SUPPORT THE ACCELERATION OF A MANAGED TRANSITION TO CLEAN ENERGY

Benefactor / Donor	Recipient	Date	End Date	Amount	Notes
Sequoia Climate Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2021		\$3,000,000 USD ¹¹²	Listed purpose: TO SUPPORT A MANAGED TRANSITION TO CLEAN ENERGY THROUGH FINANCIAL INTERVENTIONS
Sequoia Climate Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2021		\$2,000,000 USD ¹¹³	Listed purpose: TO ACCELERATE THE SHIFT FROM CLIMATE COMMITMENTS TO ACTION
Sequoia Climate Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2021		\$1,500,000 USD ¹¹⁴	Purpose listed: TO SUPPORT THE ACCELERATION OF A MANAGED TRANSITION TO CLEAN ENERGY
Sequoia Climate Foundation	The Sunrise Project Australia	2020		\$5,000,000 USD ¹¹⁵	Listed purpose: CLEAN ENERGY
Total (AUD)				\$105,676,242.22 AUD^{116 117}	
Total (AUD, inflation-adjusted, since 2015)				\$108,297,231.17 AUD¹¹⁸	



Appendix 3 Funding proposal for the Australian anti-coal movement (November 2011)

L. 24.5.16

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)

This proposal is based on extensive research into the Australian coal industry, made possible by the generous support of the Rockefeller Family Fund. The proposal consists of three parts:

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



Acknowledgements

This proposal has been developed by John Hepburn (Greenpeace Australia Pacific), with significant assistance from Bob Burton (Coalswarm) and Sam Hardy (Graeme Wood Foundation). The strategy and this proposal have incorporated extensive input from participants of the first Australian National Coal Convergence, held in the Blue Mountains in October 2011. Particular thanks are due to Mark Ogge (Beyond Zero Emissions), Paul Oosting (Getup!), Ellie Smith, Holly Creenaune (United Voice), Barry Traill (Pew), Julie Macken (Greenpeace), Drew Hutton (Lock the Gate), Kirsty Ruddock (Environmental Defenders Office NSW), Jo Bragg (Environmental Defenders Office Queensland), Patricia Julien (Mackay Conservation Group), Carmel Flint (Nature Conservation Council), Chantelle James (Capricornia Conservation Council), Mark Wakeham (Environment Victoria), Kate Lee (United Voice), Geoff Evans (Mineral Policy Institute), Richard Denniss (The Australia Institute), Belinda Fletcher (Greenpeace) and Georgina Woods (CANA) for comment, critique and input on various drafts.

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 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.

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.

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.

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.

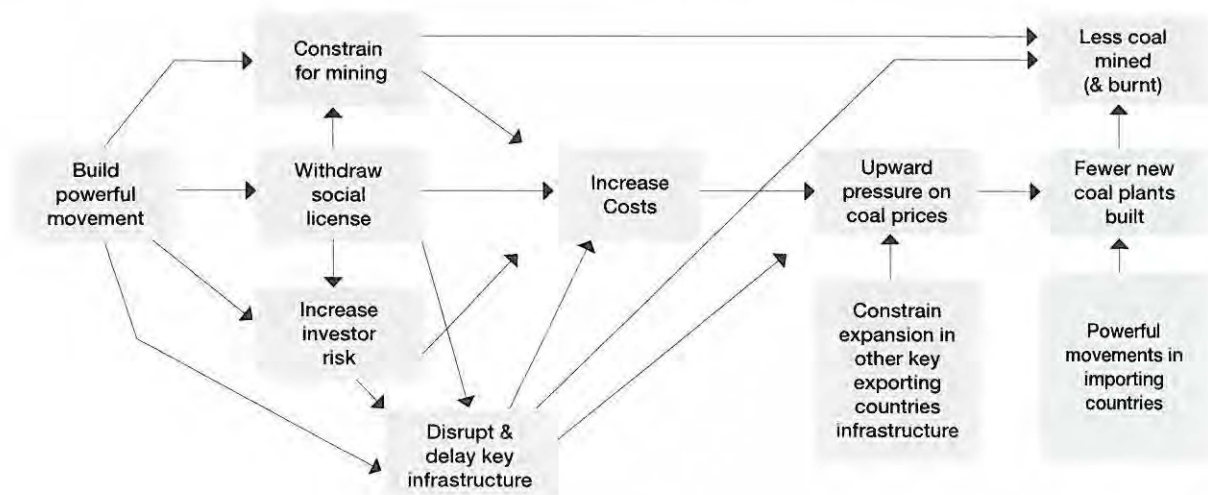
6. Build a powerful movement

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 that 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.

Level 1 investment

2 x QLD lawyers + operating costs & overhead	\$225,000
Litigation costs – Queensland & NSW	\$170,000
Subtotal	\$395,000

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	\$955,000

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.

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.

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).

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.

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.

Level 1 investment

Financial analysis	\$40,000
Subtotal	\$40,000

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
Subtotal	\$180,000

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.

Level 1 investment

Research, publications and materials/creatives	\$30,000
Subtotal	\$30,000

Level 2 investment (additional to level 1)

1. Documentation and monitoring	\$40,000
2. Events and public outreach	\$30,000
Subtotal	\$70,000

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.

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.

Level 1 investment

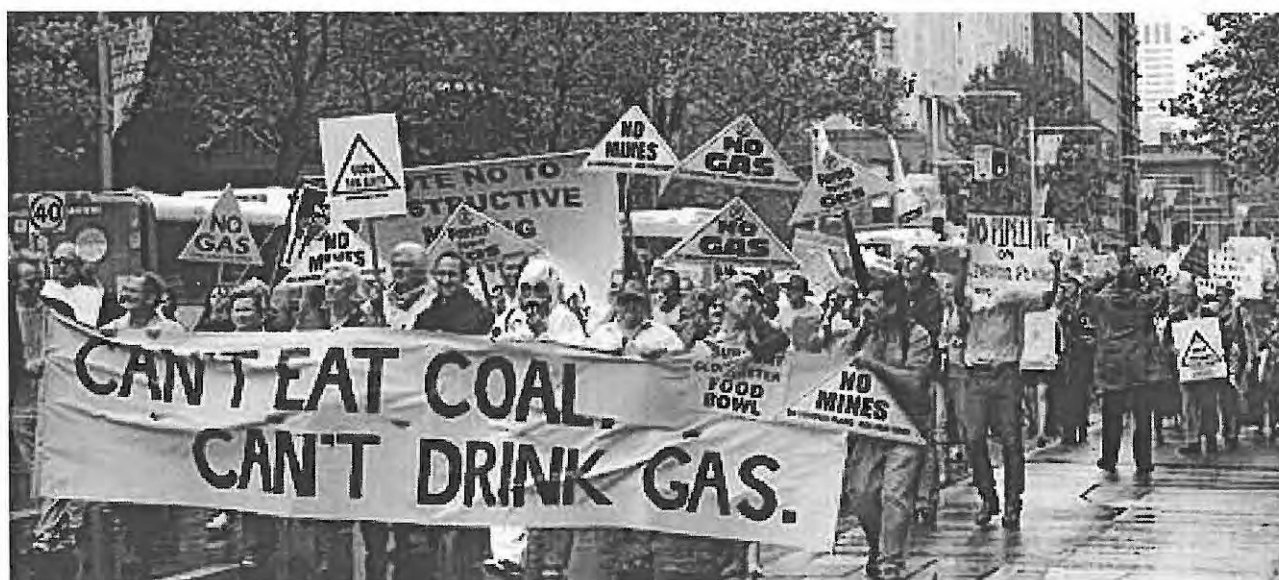
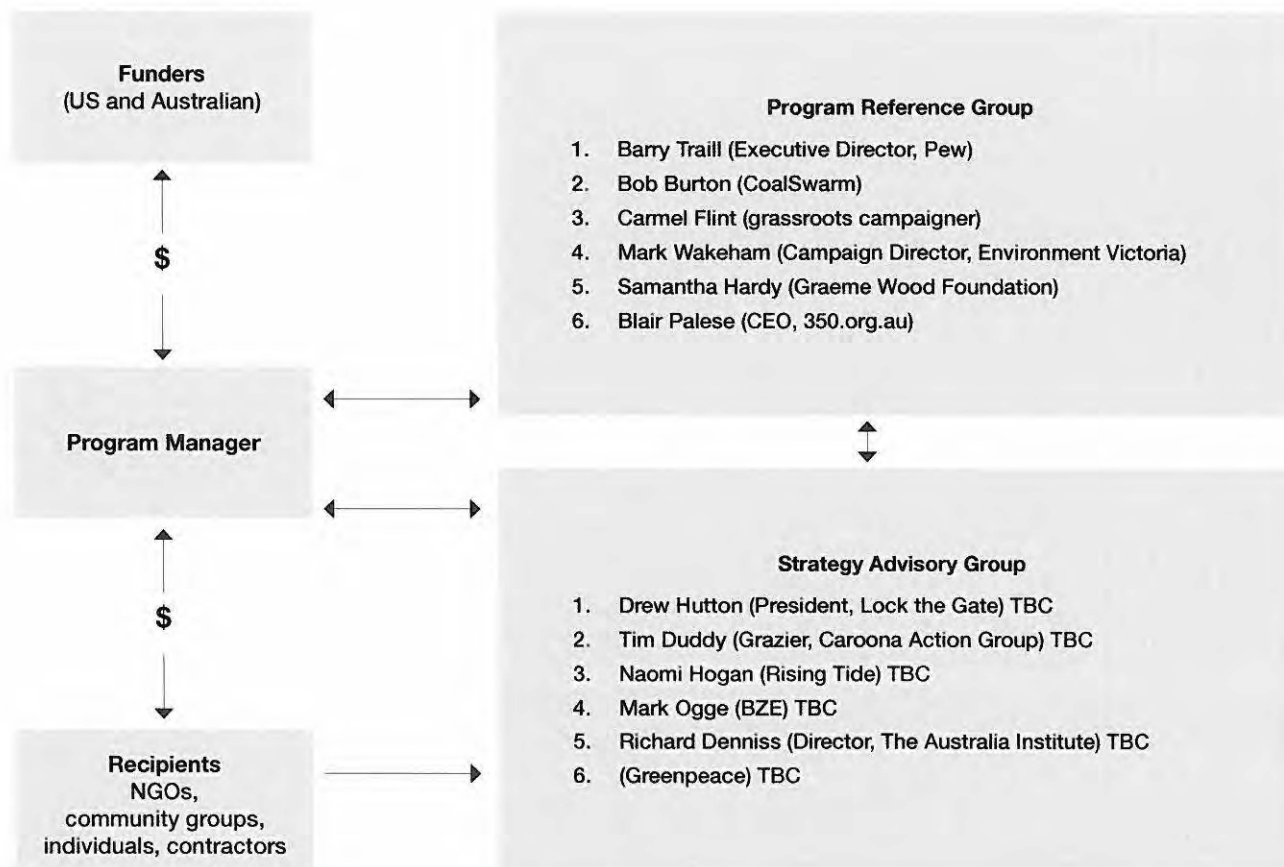
National coal gathering + international participants	\$40,000
Small grants fund	\$100,000
National coal network support (part time staff)	\$40,000
Information clearinghouse (basic website + maintenance)	\$15,000
Subtotal	\$195,000

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).

Funding proposal for the Australian anti-coal movement

November 2011

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 buildir	\$ 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	

Funding proposal for the Australian anti-coal movement

November 2011

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

Funding proposal for the Australian anti-coal movement

November 2011

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	
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.

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 (Tad's) 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														
Goonyella Riverside	BMA		20														
Cameby Downs	Syntech		20														
South Galilee Coal Project	Bandana & AMCI		14														
Goonyella to Abbot Rail	BHP		60														
Ballaclava Island Coal Terminal	Xstrata		35														
Abbot Point MCE*			180?														
Abbot Point T2 (X80)*	NQBPC / BHP		30														
Abbot Point T3 (X110)*	NQBPC/ Hancock		30														
Abbot Point T4-7 (X230)*	NQBPC		120														
Hay Point (Dudgeon Point)	NQBPC / 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 timelined 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 ToR/ controlled action
Public notice of Env. Impact Statement
Court challenge period
Court hearing



Endnotes

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