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## **APPENDIX 13g**

### **REVIEW OF PROGRAM BY ABC-TV'S *FOUR CORNERS* SHOW**

This document is part of, and intended to be read in conjunction with,  
all parts of and appendices to the document entitled *CSIROh!*

#### **Categorisation of program transcript statements from ABC-TV's *Four Corners* program broadcast Thursday, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2011**

ABC-TV's '*4 Corners*' program entitled *The Carbon Wars* was broadcast Monday, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2011, a few weeks before parliament's vote on the carbon dioxide tax. The transcript and video are available through this link:

<http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2011/09/15/3318364.htm>

A brief analysis of the ABC reporter's words is presented in colour below. TV's powerful use of evocative images and emotion is omitted from this brief review. Neither are omissions included in the review. They can be powerful as revealed by '*4 Corners*' conveying its endorsement that human CO<sub>2</sub> caused global warming by omission. In these and other ways the following analysis vastly understates the program's bias.

The colours are keyed to categorisation of the ABC reporter's statements in the program transcript.

#### **Legend showing categories used in my analysis and occurrences of each:**

ABC endorsing or implicitly endorsing cutting human CO<sub>2</sub> = 6

Casting aspersions by association = 3

Meaningless or unscientific claim driving misrepresentations = 2

Transcript errors = 13.

The transcript was not scrutinised for errors and thus likely not complete. Only those errors found casually while viewing the broadcast were noted.

## **The ABC's repeated false and unfounded assumptions**

Implicit repeatedly in the '4 Corners' broadcast is the assumption that human CO<sub>2</sub> will cause supposedly catastrophic global warming at some future unspecified date.

Yet, with massive ABC resources why has no ABC journalist got to the core of this issue and reported on it publicly? Why does the ABC implicitly reinforce the claim that contradicts empirical science?

Secondly, the '4 Corners' broadcast is based on a second false assumption that claims about human CO<sub>2</sub> causing warming are scientifically sound. Yet has any ABC journalist investigated massive systemic corruption of climate science?

Why does the ABC allow Ian Chubb to imply endorsement of the science by national academies yet not check and expose his false claim? He knows about the Inter Academy Council's damning report doesn't he? If not why not? If so, why is he making claims about 32 national academies hijacked by the debate? Why has the ABC not done its research? Why, by failing to do its due diligence has the ABC endorsed the false science, the corruption of science?

Refer to comments on the office of Chief Scientist in Appendix 9.

Thirdly, the ABC has given massive predominance to academic advocates of alarm. All are funded directly or indirectly by government. Prominent sceptic scientists have said that it is difficult for them to arrange even a hearing by the ABC.

'4 Corners' relied on a government-funded chemical engineer Will Steffen as a climate scientist. It relied on the Chief Scientist Ian Chubb who contradicts empirical science. It relied on Chris Dunstan from UTS Institute for Sustainable Futures.

Why did the ABC fail to interview any sceptic scientist? Why did it not ask in the broadcast an electricity generator executive for comment on the effect of mandated renewable energy targets on electricity prices?

Fourth, although Alan Jones' public comments about the Prime Minister are harsh, why did the ABC fail to scrutinize his basic point being Julia Gillard's contradiction of science and Nature, quote: "*It is absolutely laughable. The woman's off her tree*"

Fifth, one wonders when ABC journalists will get the point. If they bothered to consult the protesters opposing the carbon dioxide tax they would learn a few fundamental facts including:

- Many of these protesters have never before protested publicly about anything. They are far from radical. They are deeply upset about being deceived;
- Protesters have largely done their homework and come to their conclusion that climate science is being destroyed. They are deeply upset about Julia Gillard breaking her promise and the contradictions, misrepresentations and lies by government ministers and media;

- Many are from Eastern Europe and understand first-hand the signs of totalitarian government and massive government control.

The ABC's broadcast proved their conclusions to be sound.

Why did the ABC cast aspersions by associating the protesters with minority groups?

Sixth, '4 Corners' made much of supposed death threats against scientists. The ABC seemingly did so to subtly convey multiple messages. Requests of ANU scientists made under Freedom of Information regulations were denied and then received after appeal. Although some language used in the emails is abusive, the emails revealed the claim of supposed death threats to be dubious:

<http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/doomed-planet/2012/05/death-threat-fictions>

And:

<http://www.quadrant.org.au/blogs/doomed-planet/2012/05/death-threat-emails>

And:

<http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/carbon-threat-cold-as-claim-years-old/story-fn6b3v4f-1226071921368>

The latter was published three months before the '4 Corners' program broadcast.

Has the ABC retracted its broadcast statements and claims?

Have ABC journalists investigated the claims? Has the ABC considered why ordinary citizens, mostly of mature age and not prone to violence, become so angry and defiant?

The transcript below was copied and pasted from the 4 Corners web site.

## Transcript

KERRY O'BRIEN, PRESENTER: Putting a price on carbon - the issue that has cast a long and conflicted shadow over Australian politics.

Welcome to the program.

There are several issues dogging the Gillard Government at present but none is more divisive than the current debate over climate change and how to cut Greenhouse gas emissions.

Australia is one of the highest emitters of Greenhouse gas pollution per head of population in the world but we are still deeply divided over how to deal with it, with two previous attempts to establish an emissions trading scheme - one sponsored by John Howard, the other by Kevin Rudd - now consigned to the political dust bin.

The Prime Minister Julia Gillard last week introduced a bill that will put at

least a short term price on carbon emissions for businesses across Australia.

The Opposition leader Tony Abbott has described it as the longest suicide note in history, and is stoking a people's revolt against the carbon tax.

This is an issue that keeps taking political scalps. Arguably, it was John Howard's reluctance to embrace a strong climate change policy that helped cost him the 2007 election.

Malcolm Turnbull lost his job to Tony Abbott because he supported Kevin Rudd's plan to put a price on carbon.

When Kevin Rudd abandoned his plan for an ETS (Emissions Trading Scheme), it spelt the beginning of the end for his prime ministership.

Now Julia Gillard and Labor have slumped perilously in the polls, and her opponents smell blood.

Marian Wilkinson investigates the battle lines in Australia's climate war.

(Bus pulls up to the curb at dusk, sign in front window saying Coach Travel - No Carbon Tax on Diesel...)

(Protestors with signs reading "Julia you lied and don't have a mandate election now", and "Julia we reject you and Bob's socialist carbon tax")

CHRIS JOHNSON: Good morning. Welcome aboard. Thank you for coming.

PASSENGER: Morning thank you. My pleasure to lend a voice.

CHRIS JOHNSON: Good. Good to see you.

PASSENGER: Morning. Thank you for organising this.

CHRIS JOHNSON: That's wonderful.

PASSENGER: Good morning. Let's have an election now.

CHRIS JOHNSON: Welcome aboard.

PASSENGER: Good morning no carbon tax.

CHRIS JOHNSON: No carbon tax, you're right about that.

PASSENGER: Thank you, sir...

MARIAN WILKINSON: It's dawn in suburban Sydney and a newly activated political army is mobilising for an assault on Canberra.

BUS DRIVER: Good morning, folks. Welcome aboard our No Carbon Tax Express to Canberra.

(Cheers and applause)

(The bus speeds down the highway, people build stands and prepare for the protest in Canberra)

MARIAN WILKINSON: These self styled rebels have answered the rallying cry to join a People's Revolt against the carbon tax and the Prime Minister they call Ju-liar.

RHONDA KNOTT, PASSENGER: Ju-liar because she lied. She said we will not have a carbon tax if she's elected and what does she do? She's having a carbon tax and she hasn't given us a chance to vote for it.

(Montage of protest scenes)

BRUCE, PASSENGER: I voted for One Nation in the Senate once when Pauline Hansen first started her movement.

The vast majority of scientists believe that it's a lot of poppycock, that it's a natural change that's taking place all the time. It's due to nature.

I have to admit that I'm a 2GB listener (laughing), an avid 2GB listener.

CHRIS SMITH, 2GB BROADCASTER: G'day, g'day! We're broadcasting from the nation's capital today where I would estimate about 6 and a half thousand people have gathered to have their say over the carbon dioxide tax they're calling for an election now...

MARIAN WILKINSON: Galvanized by talk back radio, an angry blogosphere, climate sceptics and a fear for their future, the rebels gathered in front of Parliament House last month demanding a new election.

PROTESTORS: Election now! Election now! Election now!

PAULINE HANSEN, FORMER ONE NATION LEADER: People talk to me all the time about it. It's just common sense...

MARIAN WILKINSON: Swelling the numbers were old One Nation campaigners and far Right conspiracy theorists.

But at its core this revolt is driven in no small part by Liberal Party activists.

(Speaker shouts and crowd cheers)

They are surfing the anger of small business owners, retirees and many hard pressed pensioners. And they believe these rebels will deliver a thumping

victory to Tony Abbott if they can force an early election.

CROWD: Go Tony go, go Tony go, go Tony go, Tony! Tony! Tony!

TONY ABBOTT: There are two things we all want to say today. We want to say, 'First, we don't want a carbon tax and second we do want an election'.

(Cheers and applause)

TONY ABBOTT: This is the statement that has reverberated around this country and will continue to reverberate **about** this country - 'there will be no carbon tax under **the** government I lead'. (*around*) (*a*)

CROWD: Ditch the Witch, ditch the witch!

MARIAN WILKINSON: There is no doubt the divisive debate over the carbon tax and climate change is radicalising Australian politics. **The debate has been marred by abuse and even death threats**, and it is rattling the Prime Minister and her minority government.

JULIA GILLARD: Well, I don't tend to talk publicly about matters involving myself and my security but I will say some things about the public debate.

I think there has been a different tempo to the public debate of late. I don't believe we're the only nation in the world that is seeing its public debate change. In America we've seen it changed with Tea Party style tactics and I think some of that has been imported to this country.

TONY ABBOTT: Marian, I think there is a lack of civility on both sides of this debate. I don't think it's at all fair to say that it's only one side which is hot under the collar here.

I think that people should be civil. I think that if anyone is receiving death threats, they should take that to the police and the police should deal with it.

But the point I make is that when you've got a Prime Minister who says one thing before the election, does the opposite after the election, you can understand why people feel ripped off.

GREG COMBET, CLIMATE CHANGE MINISTER: I think the whole thing is really most unfortunate for our democracy, how it's been hyped up, the call for the "peoples' revolt", the sorts of fringe extreme political elements that have re-emerged into the political environment.

And really Tony Abbott has encouraged all of that and I think it's a pretty unfortunate thing. And what again is it about at the end of the day? It's about his quest to become Prime Minister.

MARIAN WILKINSON: There are many rebel organisers keen to bring down the Gillard government, but there are a small number who are also skilled tacticians.

CORY BERNARDI, LIBERAL SENATOR: Cory Bernardi, please to meet you.

MARIAN WILKINSON: One of the most effective is Liberal Senator Cory Bernardi, Tony Abbott's parliamentary secretary.

PROTESOR: What's your name?

CORY BERNARDI: Cory - Cory Bernardi. Thank you.

PROTESOR: Please to meet you.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Staunchly conservative in his political views, Bernardi honed his organising skills with US Republican activists to counter what he saw as the Left Wing influence. especially among young Australians.

CORY BERNARDI (to elderly male protestor): There's lot of people here that have different motivations but in the end they feel betrayed by this government.

PROTESTOR: They do, they do.

CORY BERNARDI: There's no better place to learn than to go to America about these things. And I went there and I met with a number of key players in the activism training schools, and how they went about their business and what their objectives were. And I thought 'Well, you know it's going to be a very modest contribution here but I can try and learn from that'.

(Excerpt from Cory Bernardi US broadcast)

My name is Cory Bernardi. I'm a Liberal Senator from South Australia. No need to be alarmed - Liberal means conservative where I'm from...

(End of excerpt)

MARIAN WILKINSON: Bernardi's take home message from his American training was simple. To build a popular movement he needed to support a very broad spectrum of conservative activists and their causes.

CORY BERNARDI: I've always sought to build a movement, not an empire. I want as many, you know, like-minded groups out there advocating for what they think is important - not what Cory Bernardi thinks is important.

If they've got a good idea about a blog or you know an activism initiative that they want to pursue, if I've got the money and the resources to help them, I will do that.

Now, I don't necessarily have to agree with everything they do or everything they say. I just want people to get out there and have a go.

(Montage of people surfing the net on their smart phones)

MARIAN WILKINSON: In the battle against the carbon tax, Bernardi and his colleagues in the conservative blogosphere have come into their own.

Beating the drum is a website supported by Senator Bernardi called Menzies House. It links up scores of sites, bloggers and activists savaging the Gillard government, the Greens and the Independents over the carbon tax.

Many also attack climate science and scientists, including the CSIRO, and promote climate scepticism.

CORY BERNARDI: I provided them with the infrastructure, the web hosting and the domain name, and they've run with it ever since.

I'm happy that it's a successful blog. And they've taken it upon themselves, the administrators of that, to get involved in this carbon tax campaign and so I think that's a great thing.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Many of the sites also carry a link to what they call the "Big Lie".

(Excerpt of broadcast of Julia Gillard on iPad screen)

JULIA GILLARD: There will be no carbon tax under my government.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Julia Gillard broke her promise as a result of the deal to form minority government with the Greens. And it's her opponents' most powerful weapon.

MARIAN WILKINSON: How do you avoid the charge that it's just pure political opportunism on your part to stay in power with the Greens that you are now doing a carbon price?

JULIA GILLARD: What I said before the last election is I wanted to work for a community consensus on **price in** carbon, and talked about mechanisms to do that. But during the election campaign I talked about my belief in climate change, that it's real, that we have to act - and that the most efficient and effective way of acting is by putting a price on carbon. (*pricing*)

Now in this Parliament I do have the opportunity to succeed in getting that price on carbon, in realising the emissions trading scheme, the cap and trade scheme this nation has been talking about since before the 2007 election. So I am determined to do that.



MARIAN WILKINSON: In their negotiations with Labor, the Greens made it clear they wanted a price put on greenhouse gas emissions as part of the deal to support Labor in a minority government.

CHRISTINE MILNE, GREENS SENATOR: Clearly we made **(it)** a central plank of the agreement we signed to give the Gillard Government confidence that we wanted to establish a multi-party committee with a view to taking strong action on climate change and in particular a price on carbon and we cited that a couple of times in the agreement.

Very clearly that was one of the conditions of a central plank, the very first plank of the agreement on policy.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Julia Gillard and her ministers finalised the climate deal with the Greens and the Independents in July. Its aim is to make 500 major companies begin to pay a price for **(their)** greenhouse gas pollution.

JULIA GILLARD: We will require them to pay a price per tonne.

CLIMATE CHANGE ACTIVISTS (protesting Kevin Rudd's decision to drop the ETS): Climate action now! Climate action now!

MARIAN WILKINSON: Australians have struggled to unite over a climate change policy for well over a decade as the warnings from climate scientists became increasingly urgent.

**(mining and power station scenes** followed by **shots of natural storms, dusty ploughing of crop-field, bushfires** during the following para)

Despite being **one of the biggest polluters per head**, many still argue cutting our greenhouse emissions will make little difference globally. It's a stand the Government insists is no longer sustainable, as the other nations step up their efforts to deal with climate change.

GREG COMBET: If we turn around and say as the highest polluter per person, 'Oh it's nothing to do with us. Get lost, we're doing nothing, we're safe down here in Australia', you know, how what credibility is that going to have?

We need international cooperation. Australia's got a proud history of working internationally to achieve, you know, progressive outcomes. This is an occasion where we should be standing tall and playing a responsible and fair role internationally and not burying our heads in the sand.

The scientific evidence is clear that we need to tackle climate change. It takes an international effort to achieve it. Australia's got a responsibility to play its part.

SOPHIE MIRABELLA, SHADOW MINISTER INDUSTRY, INNOVATION AND SCIENCE: Well I think it's very important to be able to do our bit, and it's very important for other nations to be able to do their bit as well. And we have a responsibility and we've got a direct action policy that not only reduces emissions but actually improves other environment assets.

(Tony Abbott speaks to a crowd of protestors)

MARIAN WILKINSON: Tony Abbott and senior Liberals repeatedly maintain they believe in man-made climate change. What they oppose, they say, is forcing businesses to pay a carbon tax to deal with it.

TONY ABBOTT: There should be no new tax collection without an election.

(Crowd cheers)

MARIAN WILKINSON: But many of those rallying against the carbon tax are deeply sceptical of the science of climate change. And this campaign is giving them a powerful platform.

(Cheering)

After Tony Abbott leaves the stage at these rallies, the microphone is often handed to sceptics denouncing climate scientists - including CSIRO scientists - for exaggerating the threat from climate change.

CHRIS JOHNSON: He's from the Galileo Movement. He's here to expose the political, the political and the scientific corruption. You've heard him before. He's on the ball and boy does he mean business!

Ladies and Gentlemen, Malcolm Roberts!

MALCOLM ROBERTS: The core issue in this whole scam - they are stealing your money and stealing your freedom.

Carbon dioxide does not drive temperature; temperature determines CO2 levels - a complete reversal of what these people are spreading! Their lies and deception - Brown and Gillard. Ask yourself why, as you check [www.galileomovement.com.au](http://www.galileomovement.com.au). This is a scam!

MARIAN WILKINSON (to Tony Abbott): Is that a problem for the alternative prime minister to share a platform with people who do believe that scientists in the CSIRO are part of a conspiracy?

TONY ABBOTT: Look, obviously I can't speak for other people's views. I can only speak for my own views and for the views of the Coalition that I lead.

Now the CSIRO obviously has a position, it's a position that it argues for in

good faith and good luck to them.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Do you endorse the CSIRO position on this issue?

TONY ABBOTT: Well, I accept that climate change is real, that humanity makes a contribution and that we should have a strong and effective policy to deal with it.

MARIAN WILKINSON: But Abbott's own parliamentary secretary is a vocal advocate for climate sceptics.

CORY BERNARDI: I stand with the mainstream of Australia. The mainstream of Australia do not buy the lies and the disingenuous statements that are being peddled by people who seek to profit from this whole climate change hysteria, and that means that's the Government.

It's a lot of these green groups that have been discredited. It's the paid mouthpieces of the Government...

MARIAN WILKINSON: What about the CSIRO or the Australian Academy of Sciences?

CORY BERNARDI: Well, th-this is this is the issue. There are lots of different organisations that will take different positions on this, but what I've found invariably is that those - or not invariably, there may be some exceptions - but the majority of those that advocate the catastrophic, you know, anthropogenic climate change position are funded by governments.

PROFESSOR IAN CHUBB, CHIEF SCIENTIST OF AUSTRALIA: I would urge politicians too to look at all the evidence and to wonder why it might be that something like 32 national academies of science all around the world are all saying that it's very likely that human activity has adversely affected our climate through global warming.

Why would they do that if it were not true?

MARIAN WILKINSON: Australia's chief scientist is worried the debate over climate science has become too divisive.

PROFESSOR IAN CHUBB: I think it's as bad now as I've ever known any debate on any important or contentious issue.

And I understand that people will have different views about these things. I think it's important that people do have different views about these things.

When you see what's actually happening and how people are being described, and the correspondence they get when they make a statement that somebody just happens not to like, then I think things have reached a

new low.

(Layered offensive rhetoric from emails)

ON SCREEN: ...Go f\*\*k yourself and die!

...Eat shit and die you lying communist asshole!

MARIAN WILKINSON: Climate scientists are increasingly concerned by the number of anonymous abusive and threatening emails sent to them.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Among the targets is Professor Will Steffen who sits on the Government's climate commission.

PROFESSOR WILL STEFFEN: Certainly I'm concerned about the threats. I've had a few myself. Some of my colleagues have had even more than I've had, and it is fairly widespread in the scientific community.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Are these threats of violence, or..?

PROFESSOR WILL STEFFEN: A few of them are threats of violence. A very few of them are very direct threats of violence, to the point where they have to be taken seriously - for example, by university security or by the AFP or somebody like that. Many of them are simply very nasty emails with veiled threats in them that what might happen to us in a very general way.

PROFESSOR JOHN SCHELLNHUBER, POTSDAM INSTITUTE FOR CLIMATE IMPACT RESEARCH: We think in Germany right now it's possible to protect the climate, to contribute to climate protection.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Prominent German scientist, Professor John Schellnhuber, was targeted by a radical fringe group at a climate conference in Melbourne in July.

Shocked Australian scientists looked on as the professor was accosted by a demonstrator dangling a noose in front of him.

(Demonstrator stands up in the audience)

GLEN ISHERWOOD: Before you begin, Mr Schellnhuber, I would like to present you a gift.

(Audience protests, demonstrator is lead out)

I would like to present you this carbon friendly noose.

WILL STEFFEN: He was really quite shaken by this and after having gone back to Germany I know that what he's telling colleagues is 'You wouldn't believe the atmosphere in Australia around the climate change issue'.

He described it as probably the most toxic in the planet. I don't know whether he's been to the USA lately. It's pretty bad over there too.

But there's no doubt that we and the United States stand out around the world in the scientific community in terms of the abuse of science and the sort of toxic atmosphere that's been created.

MARIAN WILKINSON: What can you if anything do to prevent these scientists from being driven out of the public debate because of these kind of death threats?

JULIA GILLARD: Well I can use the power of this office and my advocacy to call for respect for scientists and for a legitimate discussion about their views.

I mean, the problem here is that people have decided to attack the scientists themselves. As Prime Minister I consistently say to the nation we've always got to treat our scientists with respect - accept what they say about the science.

The public policy debate can then happen but it shouldn't be a public policy debate that turns on the scientists, and I think to the extent that that has happened during this debate it is a very repugnant trend in our national conversation.

MARIAN WILKINSON: What do you think of the quality of the debate on climate change in Australia at the moment?

PROFESSOR IAN CHUBB: I think it's very poor. I think every time I think it's reached a low, we then go on and reach a new low. And I think that's of very little benefit to us as we're trying to grapple with what is a very serious problem that needs serious discussion.

MARIAN WILKINSON: The Prime Minister bluntly blames the Opposition Leader for this change in the debate.

JULIA GILLARD: I think it's gone down because Tony Abbott and Opposition figures have been prepared to abuse scientists. I think that's what's taken the debate down.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Is she right?

TONY ABBOTT: No, she's quite wrong. I mean look what we've got is relentless negativity from the Prime Minister and Greg Combet. And if they want to talk about the demonstrations and the Americanisation of Australian public life, the only violent demonstration that I can remember outside of Parliament House was organised by Greg Combet and addressed by Kim

Beazley, and it involved hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of damage and injuries to people.

GREG COMBET: How are you, mate?

MAN: That didn't take long.

GREG COMBET: No.

(Bells ringing)

MARIAN WILKINSON: Gillard's Climate Change Minister, Greg Combet, is a former trade union official who helped run the bitter waterfront dispute against the Howard Government.

SECRETARY (to Greg Combet): This afternoon we've got a briefing from caucus. I just want to take you through.

MARIAN WILKINSON: But he strongly rejects Opposition claims he was responsible for any violent demonstration.

But Combet is a seasoned political fighter and he's determined to stare down any challenge to the carbon policy.

You also, as I understand it, have had death threats over this issue. Has that affected you personally? Does it undermine how you do your job?

GREG COMBET: Oh, one of the unfortunate things about being in public life for a long time, as I have been - so including my period as a trade unionist and leader of the Trade Union movement, and going through many of the things like the waterfront dispute that I did - unfortunately my myself and my family have been exposed to this sort of rubbish before.

So I suppose I'm a bit inoculated to it, but yeah there's been a lot of that kind of commentary and threat going on.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Combet is determined to get Australia's first carbon pricing scheme through Parliament by the end of the year. But he is battling fears about its impact on ordinary Australians.

JOE HOCKEY, SHADOW TREASURER (to Tony Abbott): This is Rita, the store owner and her son Joe.

TONY ABBOTT: Tony Abbott. Good to see you. How are you. Good to see you.

Hi Joe. Tony Abbott. Good to see you. How are you?

JOE: Good.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Abbott has been targeting small businesses like this across the country, warning of rising electricity prices and job losses.

(Tony Abbot helps Joe put apples into a display)

TONY ABBOTT: The thing about the carbon tax is that the carbon tax is going to be put about a 25 per cent hit on your electricity bills, which would then be \$1,500...

MARIAN WILKINSON: Abbott's campaign is backed by some of Australia's biggest businesses who are funding advertisements to drive home the message.

(Excerpt from advertisement)

ACTRESS (sitting at picnic table with toddler): What's does the world's biggest carbon tax mean to our family?

It means our electricity bill goes up by hundreds in the first year alone, means the cost of groceries, food, public transport, child care - practically everything we need and use will go up. We're far from wealthy but we're not getting a cent in compensation.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Warnings that electricity prices will rise do hit home, mainly because households and businesses across the country have seen their power bills go up between 20 and 30 per cent in the last three years.

But this had nothing to do with the carbon price, according to the independent experts.

CHRIS DUNSTAN, UTS INSTITUTE FOR SUSTAINABLE FUTURES: The increase in electricity prices we've seen over the last few years is clearly not because of the carbon price because that's not there yet.

MARIAN WILKINSON: So what is causing it?

CHRIS DUNSTAN: The major cause for the increase in electricity prices is network infrastructure expenditure.

MARIAN WILKINSON: And in simple terms for the average consumer, what is that?

CHRIS DUNSTAN: It's investing in poles and wires, and the sub-stations in the network that delivers our electricity from the power stations where it's generated to your front door or to your office or business.

MARIAN WILKINSON: How big is this upgrade and what sort of money are we talking about?

CHRIS DUNSTAN: It's extraordinarily large. Over the current five year period, it's in excess of \$45 billion dollars.

MARIAN WILKINSON: The impact of the carbon price on power bills is expected to be a relatively modest 10 per cent rise, significantly less than the recent slugs on electricity users.

And many households will be compensated.

But the fear generated by the anti-carbon tax campaign is overwhelming the Government's arguments.

GREG COMBET: Well, let's just come back again and look at some of the facts.

The cost of living impact of a reform of this nature is in fact quite modest. It's a 0.7 per cent increase in the CPI - less than \$10 a week averaged across all Australian households - and the Government's providing tax cuts and increases in the pension and other benefits that average in benefit across Australian households of slightly more than \$10 a week.

CHRIS JOHNSON (at anti-carbon rally): Ladies and gentlemen, give a big welcome to Sophie Mirabella!

(Cheers)

Oops - that's a girl.

SOPHIE MIRABELLA: My friends, why should we close factories across the country? Why should we export our jobs and our industry and our innovation?

MARIAN WILKINSON: The Opposition's warning that the carbon tax will cause "huge jobs losses" are arguably the most nerve wracking for the Government. They're aimed directly at Labor's blue collar voters already suspicious about Gillard's deal with the Greens.

SOPHIE MIRABELLA: My friends, ladies and gentlemen from all corners, maintain the rage, maintain the fight. Do not let them silence your voice because I still want to live in a country where people matter.

(Cheering)

This is our country...

MARIAN WILKINSON: But drowned out in the noise is the fact that many businesses that face overseas competition will get **generous** amounts of free permits to help cover their carbon costs.



GREG COMBET: You know, the whole hype that Tony Abbott has created about in his terms "unimaginable you know cost impacts", of course is completely deceitful and untrue.

The concern he has generated about job security is also completely unfounded and untrue.

He has said that the entire coal industry will be destroyed. That's what he said!

He's forecast that entire towns and regions are going to be wiped off the map, that the manufacturing industry will die.

I mean, this is the most absurd hyperventilating tripe that I can remember in public life.

TONY ABBOTT: Again, Marian if they are determined to have the Parliament deal with the carbon tax they should have an election and they should have it now.

Now, I think it's fundamentally dishonest of a political party to try to ram something as important as this through the Parliament without a mandate, and clearly they don't have a mandate. So I think the Government should go to an election and I think it should be now.

MARIAN WILKINSON: The big picture in the fight over the carbon policy is largely overlooked. But if you come to the heart of Queensland's coal country, the Bowen Basin, it gets a bit clearer.

(Huge machines working in a coal mine)

Australia's dependence on fossil fuel exports, especially coal, is huge and it's about to get a whole lot bigger. Our customers will have to account for their **greenhouse emissions** when this coal is burnt overseas.

But getting the coal out of ground is **releasing more and more greenhouse gases here**. Under the carbon policy, the big mining companies will be forced to pay a price for these emissions.

They will also get some assistance from the Government but not as much as some other industries.

MARIAN WILKINSON: What's this mine we can see all along the side of the road?

KIRSTEN LIVERMORE, ALP MEMBER FOR CAPRICORNIA, QLD: Well, we've seen sort of the sides and the entrances to about 11 or 12 mines, and then of course Coppabella is the big open cut mine that you can see from the

highway. So that's yeah, 11 or 12 mines in the 30 kilometres since went left Moranbah.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Kirsten Livermore is certainly hearing the loud cries from the mining companies that the carbon price will kill jobs in the coal industry.

She's the Federal Labor MP for this area - indeed the Gillard Government's last regional member in Queensland.

But she doesn't believe the carbon price will see the coal industry shedding jobs here.

KIRSTEN LIVERMORE: In the Bowen Basin, you just cannot believe those sorts of predictions because you can see with your own eyes what is happening.

These companies are not investing in ports and railway lines and new mines, and new accommodation camps if they think it's all going to finish, you know, next year or the year after or in five years' time.

MARIAN WILKINSON: But when Tony Abbott visited the Bowen Basin coal mines recently, he told a very different story.

TONY ABBOTT: We are here in the electorate of Capricornia represented by Kirsten Livermore of the Labor party. It's very disappointing that not once in the past five months we haven't heard Kirsten Livermore speaking up for the jobs in the Bowen basin that will be put at risk by Labor's carbon tax.

MARIAN WILKINSON: If you listen to the coal companies and their lobbyists, the carbon tax will be a huge blow to the industry. Media headlines scream out that at least 4,000 jobs will be lost - over a 1,000 of them in Queensland.

But up here in the Bowen basin, it's hard to fathom the doom and gloom. To the contrary, it's boom, boom, boom.

Whether its companies like BHP that operate this big mine behind me or the other key players, the plans to expand the coal industry are on a staggering scale.

MAYOR CEDRIC MARSHALL, ISAAC REGIONAL COUNCIL, QLD: Well, the scale of the boom is... Unless you see it it's very hard to explain to people and it- the size of this expansion that's going on here. You know, we're talking you know millions and millions of tonne of coal being mined and exported over the next, well... forever.

MARIAN WILKINSON: What sort of money are we talking about being

invested in this region?

CEDRIC MARSHALL: Oh billions, billions of dollars. You know, the Hancock railway line alone is about over two billion dollars.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Cedric, what does this map actually show us?

CEDRIC MARSHALL: This map shows us the Isaac Regional Council.

MARIAN WILKINSON: As local Mayor for this region, Cedric Marshall's problem is not mines shutting down but mines expanding on an unprecedented scale.

CEDRIC MARSHALL: We've got 26 operating mines out of the 43 in the Bowen Basin.

Even if 60 or 70 per cent of this proposed expansion goes ahead, we're gonna need thousands of employees for that mining industry and yeah, I don't know where they're going to come from.

It's going to be a challenge. I know all businesses except the mining industry are having challenges attracting employees because of the remuneration packages within the mining industry.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Up here, the concerns about the carbon policy are not high on the Mayor's agenda.

CEDRIC MARSHALL: I know it's, it will affect the tourism industry but from all feedback that we've had so far, there's not a great deal affect on this black coal industry here in the Bowen Basin. But that's all to be seen if it happens to come in.

MARIAN WILKINSON: The coal industry stands by its warnings there will be big job losses from the carbon policy.

DR NIKKI WILLIAMS, CEO, DESIGNATE AUST COAL ASSOC: We're saying that there will be reduction of one third in the growth of the industry, longer term, and we're saying that there will be a closure - potentially - of 25 mines in the first four years of the introduction of this tax.

MARIAN WILKINSON: And how many mines will open and what will the growth be in that same period?

DR NIKKI WILLIAMS: Well, obviously if we're reducing growth by one third, there is a two thirds growth. (NIKKI)

There is an investment pipeline, as you've rightly pointed out, as the Minister has pointed out, and that's very important for the economy.

GREG COMBET: You know, claims of massive job losses are completely absurd. The coal industry has at least \$70 billion worth of investment coming into it that's committed, 19 new mines opening up that are committed.

You know, the average carbon price cost per ton of coal mined once the carbon price legislation comes into place is only \$1.90 per ton of coal in the first year - \$1.90, as against a **coke and** coal export price currently in excess of \$300 a ton. (*coking*)

It's a modest impost on the industry and it will create an incentive to reduce their methane emissions - and that's a positive thing.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Ironically, these assurances that the huge expansion of the coal industry will continue bolsters the opponent's most effective argument - that putting a price on carbon emissions in Australia while India, Japan and China keeping burning coal just delivers pain with no environmental gain.

The message that the Government's policy will do nothing to combat dangerous climate change globally is being pushed heavily by the coal industry.

(Excerpt from Australia Coal Association Ad)

ACTRESS: Australia's carbon tax won't cut global emissions it will just cut Australian jobs.

PROFESSOR WILL STEFFEN: Everyone says 'This is ineffectual'.

The analogy is, you're standing in the road and a big bus is bearing down on you. Unless you're Superman, you can't make one single leap and get out of the way. You have to start running, and you start running by taking a step.

People said that step is ineffectual because you'll still get hit by the bus. Well, they're wrong - you have to start. And I think the sort of thing we're debating now is a credible package to get us started on the way.

(Honking truck horns and cars in anti-carbon tax convoy)

ALAN JONES, 2GB RADIO: We love CO<sub>2</sub>, don't we? We do! CO<sub>2</sub> keeps us all alive.

Do you know what percentage- Do you know what percentage CO<sub>2</sub> there is in the atmosphere? How much in the whole of the atmosphere we breathe? Point 04 of a per cent - 0.04 of a per cent.

The Convoy of no Confidence, I must say...

MARIAN WILKINSON: The protests against the carbon policy show no sign of stopping. Just a few weeks ago scores of truckers descended on Canberra in a "Convoy of no confidence" against the Government.

There weren't that many but they were loud.

And urging them on, as always, was the king of talkback radio - Alan Jones.

ALAN JONES: Go away, Julia get out of our lives, Julia. Is that what we're saying?

(Crowd cheers)

MARIAN WILKINSON: Jones is openly backing Tony Abbott's bid for power.

ALAN JONES: Ladies and Gentlemen, would you welcome the voice for the voiceless, the alternative Prime Minister Tony Abbott.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Jones has also helped to set the deeply divisive tone of this political battle, including the personal abuse of the Prime Minister.

And some believe it has pushed the boundaries of the media coverage over the line.

ALAN JONES (on the radio): It is absolutely laughable. The woman's off her tree and quite frankly they should shove her and Bob Brown in a chaff bag and take them as far out to sea as they can and tell them to swim home.

JULIA GILLARD: The statements by Mr Jones are completely unacceptable, should never have been made and should certainly not be repeated.

Of course, Mr Jones is actively campaigning against the Government and for the election of a Liberal government.

TONY ABBOTT: Look, that's not the kind of language that we- that I think we should have. I make it very clear.

Alan is a friend of mine. I think Alan does a terrific job when it comes to public advocacy but he would be the first to admit that sometimes he goes a little too far. All of us in the heat of debate have a tendency to go too far.

MARIAN WILKINSON: But against all odds, those who are backing the plan to put a price on greenhouse gases are on the road to success.

(Pro carbon tax crowd cheers)

CHRISTINE MILNE: Well first of all, congratulations to everyone who turned up today because this is really a statement about the future.

MARIAN WILKINSON: With the help of the Greens, along with Independents, Labor could well have the first national law to price greenhouse gas emissions through the Parliament by the end of the year.

CHRISTINE MILNE: Absolutely. It will be through by the end of this year and it will come into effect on the first of July next year. So we are going to see Australia actually seriously acting on climate change, getting a price on pollution and seeing all those advantages start to flow with major investment in renewable energy. (the)

(And) The only thing that will hold it up is the filibuster that the Coalition engages in, but for every day that they filibuster there is another sitting day and we will persist and persist until it gets through.

REPORTER: Big day, Prime Minister.

JULIA GILLARD: It certainly is.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Gillard and her climate change minister last week brought the historic bill to price carbon emissions into the Parliament.

And with the Parliament deeply divided, she threw down the gauntlet to the Opposition.

JULIA GILLARD: The final test is not - are you on the right side of the politics of the week or the polls of the year? The final test is this: Are you on the right side of history? (this x2)

And in my experience, the judgment of history has a way of speaking sooner than we (would) expect.

(Applause)

MARIAN WILKINSON: But history is yet to judge whether Julia Gillard's prime ministership will survive this test.

JULIA GILLARD: Hello, Hello.

GRANDMOTHER: I'm representing my four grandchildren. Thank you very much for doing this.

JULIA GILLARD: Thank you, that's lovely.

MARIAN WILKINSON: While her ardent supporters were here in force on the historic day, out in the broader community Labor's primary vote has sunk to unprecedented lows.

And some in her own party want to bring back Kevin Rudd to replace her.

MARIAN WILKINSON: Are you confident that you will survive in the next year to take the Labor party to the next election?

JULIA GILLARD: Yes.

MARIAN WILKINSON: You're confident your colleagues will stick **by** you if your primary vote is in the 20s? **(with)**

JULIA GILLARD: My view is Labor party people come into Parliament, as I did in 1998, wanting to make a difference. You join the Labor party because you believe in something. You strive for Government in order to realise that vision of opportunity and fairness of not leaving anyone behind. You look to a leader who can implement that vision for you.

I am that leader and on that basis I believe I will enjoy my colleagues' support.

TONY ABBOTT: (laughs) I will do my best whatever la- leader the Labor Party has, Marian. If it's Kevin Rudd well, ha - so be it. If it's Julia Gillard, so be it - but last time I was up against Kevin Rudd the Labor Party removed him.

KERRY O'BRIEN: So this is not just about a carbon tax which is likely to pass into law, but about political brinkmanship and who is going to lead this country.

Next week on Four Corners, with the Catholic Church in Adelaide at the centre of a new controversy over its handling of claims of alleged sexual abuse, we examine a truly shocking case - the abuse of disable children attending a Catholic school.

Why were the parents left in the dark for a decade?

Until then, good night.

**[END TRANSCRIPT]**