Captured State

The influence of the gas lobby on WA
This report was written on Noongar land and discusses issues affecting all Aboriginal nations of Western Australia. We acknowledge and pay our respects to the traditional custodians of the lands on which we live and work. We recognise that sovereignty was never ceded and pay our respects to Elders past, present and emerging on all Aboriginal nations across Western Australia.

350 Boorloo Perth is a grassroots climate justice group in Western Australia. 350 Boorloo Perth is part of the 350.org movement, an international movement of ordinary people working to end the age of fossil fuels and build a world of community-led renewable energy for all. 350.org is building a future that’s just and equitable, with communities and ecosystems thriving and protected from the impacts of climate change.

350.org Australia is building a people-powered movement for climate justice. Our mission is to build a grassroots movement to stand up to the fossil fuel industry, and support a just transition from coal, oil and gas to a renewable-energy future for all.

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Our aims for this report

How to use this report

1. Arrange a meeting with your local MP. This can be a daunting prospect, but remember that you have all the facts in front of you. Take a friend or go in a group, and get in touch with 350 Boorloo Perth for support.

2. Use this report as a guide to talk through some of the main threats WA faces from the gas industry. Each section includes a colour-coded request for your MP. These are commitments that MPs can make to support a cleaner and more transparent democracy.

3. During your conversation, make a note of your MP’s comments and commitments to each recommendation. You can use these notes to follow up and hold them to any commitments they make.

4. Celebrate! Get a photo with the MP, send it to us and tag us on social media. Get in touch and let us know how it went.

5. Talk to other people in your community and encourage them to do the same. Growing a movement of people to raise these concerns is the only way we will make this an issue that your MP cannot ignore.

6. Keep in touch and stay involved. Stay in touch with your MP - ask for updates about how they are addressing the issues you discussed. Stay involved with 350 Boorloo Perth or start a community group. If there isn’t a local climate action campaign near you already, then the movement needs you! Get in touch with us and we can support you.

We need people in communities all over the state pushing for climate action and a cleaner democracy if we are to shift WA beyond fossil fuels.

Key findings + introduction

INTRODUCTION

Background and purpose of this report

The gas industry has grown into Western Australia’s (WA’s) largest emitter of greenhouse gases. Five LNG facilities in WA have been a key driver of rising carbon emissions nationally, while the overturned state-wide fracking ban could drive up further emissions.

This is despite the next decade being critical for climate action, with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change having warned of the need to drastically reduce emissions in order to avoid tipping over 1.5 or even 2 degrees of heating.

Gas corporations continue to profit from their unabated pollution by maintaining influence over those who hold the power and responsibility to curb the industry’s emissions. Elected officials have been reluctant to take steps to curb the fossil fuel industry’s emissions, and show support for further expansion, despite the consequences this would have for the climate.

The purpose of this report is to highlight the ways in which the gas industry holds considerable influence over the WA Government. This influence is maintained in a number of ways, which are explored in depth in this report.

Methodology

To define the key levers of influence of the fossil fuel industry, we have drawn on the following sources:

- Access to ministers: Information from documents released by Freedom of Information (FOI) requests have been analysed to find the extent of access that WA’s gas industry has to ministers. The list of FOI released documents can be found in Appendix 1 of this report.

- The revolving door between government and gas industry positions: Publicly available information on company and government websites was used to find details of current board members, directors and executives of major fossil fuel companies and lobby groups. LinkedIn profiles were used for further research and cross referencing.

- Political donations: Data from Annual Donor Returns on the Australian Electoral Commission website was used to collate donation timelines.

The first representation of WA’s revolving door between political staff, government positions, fossil fuel companies and lobbyists, demonstrates significant movement between the fossil fuel industry and WA politics and bureaucracy.
The gas industry in WA began with relatively small onshore facilities before offshore discoveries were made and WA’s first major Liquified Natural Gas (LNG) project, the North West Shelf, was constructed in the 1970s and 80s. State and Federal governments supported the development of the North West Shelf project despite its Karratha Gas Plant being positioned amongst the ancient Murujuga rock art. The North West Shelf marked the beginning of the gas industry’s significant influence over WA politics. The Karratha Gas Plant took priority over 40,000-year-old rock art, as did the Pluto LNG plant 20 years later.

The influence of the gas industry grew as the sector expanded and technology allowed gas companies to build more facilities and reach more gas. Over time, this influence began to corrode democratic decision-making, leading to the watering down of emissions reduction legislation and environmental protection regulations.

Climate footprint of WA gas:

When the North West Shelf was constructed, gas was seen as a ‘transition fuel’ to support the world to switch from coal-fired power to renewable energy sources, based on the assumed lower greenhouse emissions of burning gas. It has now been established, however, that emissions caused by flaring, processing and leaks make gas potentially as large an emitter as coal. Energy experts now argue that renewable energy with storage is a cheaper and more reliable substitute for gas.

Thirty-five years after production began at the North West Shelf, WA’s gas facilities are fueling the growth of Australia’s carbon emissions nationally. The industry, its associations and supportive politicians continue to promote the discredited and dangerous myth that gas is a transition fuel.

In FY 2018-19, the total emissions from WA’s LNG facilities (excluding the scope 3 emissions from combustion) totalled 24.48 million tonnes, or 26.7% of the state’s emissions. Gas consists typically of about 85% to 95% methane, along with minor amounts of ethane, propane and butane. Methane traps 86 times more heat over a 20-year period than carbon dioxide, resulting in far more damage being caused by smaller amounts in the atmosphere.

‘Compared to carbon dioxide (CO2), methane (CH4) is a relatively short-lived but highly potent global warming gas, which remains in the atmosphere for only a decade but during that time has more than 100 times as much effect on global warming as carbon dioxide.’

Findings from ‘The New Gas Boom’ report

Monitoring and tracking of methane emissions in Australia is frequently underreported, so the full extent of the life cycle emissions of gas are unknown.

WA’s gas emissions problem

Most of the LNG-related carbon emissions in WA are caused by two companies: Woodside and Chevron. In the Clean Energy Regulator’s top ten list of highest emitters, Woodside and Chevron are the only two companies not from the electricity sector.

A ‘gag clause’ on Aboriginal opposition

In 2003, the WA Government negotiated the Burrup and Maitland Industrial Estates Agreement (BMIEA) with three Burrup Aboriginal native title claimant groups. Facing the threat of compulsory acquisition by the State without compensation, the groups agreed to renounce any native title rights and refrain from opposing future development within the BMIEA area of the Burrup earmarked by the State Government for industrial development.

“...the Contracting Parties agree that the[y] … will not, in their capacity as owners of the Burrup Non-Industrial Land, lodge or cause to be lodged any objection to development proposals intended to occur on land within the Industrial Estate.”

Burrup and Maitland industrial estates agreement, Clause 4.8.

Further destruction of Murujuga

Woodside discovered the Pluto and Xena gas fields in 2005 and began production at its Pluto LNG facility in 2012. The site was located in the heart of the ancient Burrup rock art precinct. Objections from Aboriginal custodians, the International Federation of Rock Art Organizations, National Trust (Australia), World Monument Fund and Friends of Australian Rock Art were ignored, as Woodside removed 941 rock art engravings to make way for its Pluto LNG plant.
“My people say that once a piece of rock art left by our ancestors is removed, our song line, our sacred site, is destroyed forever. Aboriginal people believe that the Burrup is a powerful and dangerous place, and that bad things will happen to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people if it is disturbed.”

2007 Statement by Ngarluma custodian Robyne Churnside.20

**Acid rain destroying ancient art**

Since the North West Shelf and Pluto LNG plants have begun production, Murujuga’s spectacular rock art has begun to face yet another threat. Both facilities emit 8,900 tonnes of nitrogen dioxide and smaller amounts of sulphur dioxide, two of the major components of acid rain.21 Research has revealed that acidity levels on the surface of some rocks adjacent to the Pluto gas plant are now 1,000 times higher than before the gas industry was established on the Burrup in the 1980s.22 There is strong scientific evidence that acid rain is eating away at the rock art and is likely to destroy it within a generation.23 Industry and the state government have ignored these scientific findings and continue to insist that industry and cultural heritage can co-exist.24

In 2018, the State Government committed to pursuing UNESCO World Heritage Listing for the Murujuga rock art with the support of the Murujuga Aboriginal Corporation.25 But the State Government’s continued promotion of projects such as Woodside’s Burrup Hub could derail World Heritage listing at the last hurdle.26

**The failed Aboriginal Heritage Act**

Juukan Gorge, Murujuga rock art and many other instances of destruction of sacred sites have been given state approval via WA’s weak Aboriginal Heritage Act. This Act has allowed companies to apply for exemptions to the Act, which is meant to protect sites. Over 460 exemption applications were made in the last decade, only one was refused.27

**Ask your MP to demand a strong Aboriginal Heritage Act**

The Aboriginal Heritage Act is up for debate in 2021. This presents an opportunity to make it stronger and make sure Juukan Gorge and the destruction at Murujuga cannot happen again. Traditional Owners currently have no right of appeal in this process, nor any right to veto projects on their ancestral land. Gag clauses also restrict Traditional Owners from speaking out against projects. Aboriginal people should be given the right to free, prior and informed consent, as per the UN Charter on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and opportunity to speak freely in dissent of projects that will harm sites that are sacred to their culture.

Will your MP demand strong reforms to the Aboriginal Heritage Act including:

- Giving traditional owners the right to free, prior and informed consent
- Lifting existing gag clauses which do not allow traditional owners to speak out publicly about threats to cultural heritage sites?

**WOODSIDE PETROLEUM**

Woodside Petroleum (Woodside) is the largest Australian oil and gas producing company, with interests across the globe.28 In WA they have two projects: the North West Shelf and Pluto.29 These projects have been producing LNG for export since 1989 and 2012 respectively.30

With considerable gas reserves in the Browse and Scarborough basins off the coast of north-west WA, Woodside has tried and failed on numerous occasions to develop these fields. James Price Point was a proposed gas plant north of Broome, which faced significant public opposition before being shelved.31 Next, Woodside proposed the Browse floating LNG project.32 This proposed a floating facility in Commonwealth waters, similar to Shell’s expensive and unreliable Prelude floating LNG plant off the coast of WA.33 This project also failed to proceed due to being financially unviable and was dropped in 2016.34

**Burrup Hub**

The third incarnation of Woodside’s attempts to develop the Browse and Scarborough basins is the proposed Burrup Hub, which would see gas pumped 400km from the Scarborough gas field to their existing Pluto plant and 900km from the Browse basin to infrastructure at the North West Shelf.

If approved, the Burrup Hub will double Woodside’s WA greenhouse gas emissions from a potential 9.6Mt CO₂ per year to 19.2Mt CO₂ per year.35 Despite previous failed attempts to produce gas from the Browse basin, and the increased carbon emissions the Burrup Hub would create, Premier Mark McGowan has actively supported Woodside’s interests in the project. Speaking to Parliament in October 2019, the Premier pushed for commercial differences between project partners to be resolved:

“The projects need to happen and they need to be a priority. We need final investment for Scarborough by early 2020... The Western Australian government has been working assiduously on approvals for this project. The issues between the partners, Woodside and BHP, need to be resolved as soon as possible. In particular, I urge BHP, which is a good company that has done great things for Western Australia, to resolve the discussions as soon as possible”

Premier Mark McGowan speaking in Parliament, 17 October 201936

Photo: Friends of Australian rock Art

Woodside’s North West Shelf Karratha Gas Plant

Photo: Friends of Australian rock Art
CHEVRON

Chevron, a company with the highest cumulative carbon emissions of any private company in history, is also WA’s biggest polluter. The company’s two major projects in Australia are the Gorgon and Wheatstone LNG plants on Barrow Island and the Pilbara coast. These two projects produced over 13 million tonnes of greenhouse gas emissions in FY 2018-19.

Gorgon project

In 2006 Chevron applied for approval for their Gorgon project on Barrow Island. The WA Environmental Protection Authority (EPA) reviewed the project and advised then Minister for Environment, Mark McGowan, against approval, judging that:

“the extent of predicted impacts and degree of residual uncertainty and risks posed by the proposal remain unacceptably high.”

The WA EPA’s assessment of the Gorgon project in 2006

The project showed unacceptable impacts across a number of areas. In its assessment, the EPA stated that the only rationale for locating Gorgon on Barrow Island was the potential to inject carbon dioxide underground in order to reduce overall emissions. McGowan approved Gorgon despite the EPA’s recommendation against doing so. He did, however, put conditions on the project requiring Chevron to inject 80% of the reservoir carbon dioxide underground over any five-year period.

With the initial five-year period concluding in July 2021, Chevron has so far failed to meet these conditions. Their carbon capture and storage (CCS) plant only became operational after two and a half years of production, and so will not meet the 80% rolling average over the initial five-year period.

After starting the CCS plant, the amount of carbon dioxide it has successfully injected underground is approximately three million tonnes. This is eight times less than the 25.7 million tonnes of greenhouse gas emissions created by the facility since production began, until the most recently available data from 2019. Based on reported emissions data, instead of sequestering 40% of carbon dioxide in that time, Gorgon has sequestered less than 12%.

Wheatstone project

First shipments of LNG from Wheatstone began in October 2017 where the facilities are expected to have a lifespan of thirty years. Offshore facilities pump gas from four fields off the Pilbara coast to the Wheatstone onshore processing facility at Ashburton North. The majority of this gas is then processed into LNG and exported to Asia.

COVID-19 layoffs

As WA began to ease COVID-19 related restrictions in May 2020, the Premier Mark McGowan praised Chevron and the resources industry during a press conference at Chevron’s Fly In, Fly Out (FIFO) worker quarantine hub. Two days later, it emerged that Chevron was planning major redundancies in Australia. Chevron Australia’s Managing Director Al Williams had sent an internal memo to his Australian workforce, telling them to expect 20-30% of jobs to be cut.

It’s clear that job security for local communities is a lower priority to Chevron than shareholder profits, as evidenced by CEO Mike Wirth’s comments in March of 2020:

“Our dividend is our number one priority. It is very secure. We haven’t cut the dividend since 1934”

Chevron CEO, Mike Wirth, 24th March 2020

AUSTRALIAN PETROLEUM PRODUCTION AND EXPLORATION ASSOCIATION

The Australian Petroleum Production and Exploration Association (APPEA) is the peak lobby group representing Australia’s oil and gas exploration and production industry. The organisation has 64 oil and gas producing member companies who account for an estimated 98% of Australia’s petroleum production, of which gas is a large component.

Another 140 associate member companies provide goods and services to the oil and gas industry. These include accounting firms, mining technology services companies and some of WA’s largest tertiary education institutions including:

- South Metropolitan TAFE
- Curtin University
- University of Western Australia

The fees that APPEA receives from its members and its annual conference provides them with the bulk of its $10.4 million in revenue to spend on advocacy and advertising campaigns.

Advocacy

APPEA has advocated for specific policies that undermine action to address climate change. For example, APPEA has been a key player arguing for Australia to utilise Kyoto carry-over units to meet its emissions reduction targets, rather than through meaningful action.

In addition, APPEA has also been a prominent voice calling for the removal of environmental protection regulations. This has intensified in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic and during the statutory review of the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Act:

“To continue to be attractive for investment is the real opportunity for us in our industry... It’s about ‘how do we just make investment attractive?’ And that’s reducing regulation.”

Andrew McConville, CEO of APPEA

APPEA has also advocated to include gas projects as eligible for funding under the Clean Energy Finance Corporation (CEFC) since 2017, when it made a submission stating:

“Improved access to the Clean Energy Finance Corporation... Such investments may act as a catalyst to expedite gas industry investments and address access to capital and financing challenges facing the industry”

APPEA’s Finkel review submission 2017

The Clean Energy Finance Corporation Amendment (Grid Reliability Fund) Bill to Parliament. The Bill includes reforms APPEA recommended in its 2017 submission:

“Item 33 expands the scope of ‘low-emission technology’ to ensure the CEFC is able to invest in the GRF technologies described elsewhere in the Bill... For example, certain types of gas-fired electricity generation will now fall under this new definition”

Clean energy finance corporation amendment (grid reliability fund) Bill 2020 Explanatory Memorandum
Part 2: Influence
How the gas industry is exerting influence over the WA government

This section explores the means by which the gas industry exerts its influence on state politics. The gas industry in WA is entrenched within the halls of state and federal parliament, the regulators that control them, and the main media outlets of WA. Through the methods explored in this section, the gas industry in WA has been able to maintain its growth at great cost to the climate.

This section focuses on the following methods of influence:

1. Access
   - Direct access to ministers and the Premier

2. Revolving doors
   - The revolving door between staff in the gas industry and government positions

3. Donations
   - Political donations made by companies and lobby groups to political parties

### How to take action

The three following sections contain recommendations you can take to support your MP to address the problems that are described. Discuss each section with your MP, and focus on the points which you care most about. The colour-coded boxes at the end of each section contain solutions and recommendations you can ask your MP to support.

### Method 1: Access

Gas corporations and lobbyists are granted direct access to Ministers on a frequent basis. The following findings are from documents which were released under Freedom of Information (FOI) requests. A list of documents released under FOI can be found in appendix 1 of this report.

#### Time periods of FOI requests

Under FOI requests, details of four Ministers’ meetings with a selection of companies, within the following time periods, were received:

- Premier Mark McGowan: Meetings from 2nd August 2017 to 7th December 2018 and from 12th February 2019 to 19th June 2020
- Minister for Regional Development, Agriculture and Food; Ports; Minister Assisting the Minister for State Development, Jobs and Trade, Allannah MacTiernan: Meetings from 1st August 2017 to 28th August 2018 and from 3rd February 2020 to 27th May 2020
- Minister for Environment; Disability Services; Electoral Affairs, Stephen Dawson: Meetings from 28th June 2017 to 5th October 2018 and from 6th March 2019 to 15th June 2020
- Minister for Mines and Petroleum, Energy; Industrial Relations, Bill Johnston: Meetings from 4th September 2017 to 6th November 2018, from 4th February 2019 to 29th March 2019 and from 2nd March 2020 to 5th June 2020. Two meetings including Minister Johnston outside of these time periods were also received from details of other Ministers’ meetings.

The documents highlight the frequency of access that gas lobbyists have to Ministers, as well as an insight into those relationships.

### FINDING 1:

Four gas industry groups met with Ministors at least 158 times

WA’s two biggest polluters and the two main lobby groups met with Government Ministers 158 times in the aforementioned periods covered by FOI request.

### Table 2: Number of times companies met with, or corresponded on phone calls with Ministers in the aforementioned time periods covered by FOI request

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>No. of meetings involved in</th>
<th>Premier Mark McGowan</th>
<th>Minister Johnston</th>
<th>Minister Dawson</th>
<th>Minister MacTiernan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chamber of Minerals &amp; Energy WA (CME)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Method 2: Influence

How the gas industry is exerting influence over the WA government

### FINDING 2:

The Ministers for Mining and Environment grant gas lobbyists significant access

Correspondence between 350 Boorloo Perth and the Department of the Premier and Cabinet (Appendix 2), showed that the Minister for Mines and Petroleum, Bill Johnston, had approximately two hundred meetings or phone calls with Woodside, Chevron, APPEA, CMEWA, Strike Energy, Beach Energy and SGH Energy.

A request for information regarding all two hundred of these meetings was rejected by the FOI unit, on the grounds that it considered that the work involved to release information would divert a substantial and unreasonable portion of the agency’s resources from other operations. After changing the scope of the request, details of 52 meetings were shared from Minister Johnston’s office.

Four Ministers, including the Premier, had 132 individual meetings with these organisations. Table 3 shows the number of meetings each of the gas industry representatives were involved in.

### Table 3: Number of Ministers’ meetings which involved the main gas and resources lobbyists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minister</th>
<th>Number of meetings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CME</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These findings show that Minister for Mines and Petroleum, Bill Johnston and Minister for Environment, Stephen Dawson, met with lobbyists from the gas industry most frequently.

### FINDING 3:

Meeting dates often correspond with political donation dates

When comparing dates of meetings to political donations data (Fig. 1), analysis shows that donations have often been made within days of meetings. The examples displayed in Fig. 1 show instances found of meetings with WA Ministers that occurred within five days of political donations to WA Labor, within the full list of meetings obtained through FOI requests. The most recent donations data available is to 30 June 2019.

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Number of meetings involving gas lobbyists:

- Premier Mark McGowan: 158 meetings
- Minister Johnston: 158 meetings
- Minister Dawson: 158 meetings
- Minister MacTiernan: 158 meetings

The gas industry exerts its influence on state politics. Gas corporations and lobbyists are granted direct access to Ministers on a frequent basis. The following findings are from documents which were released under Freedom of Information (FOI) requests.

The gas industry in WA is entrenched within the halls of state and federal parliament, the regulators that control them, and the main media outlets of WA. Throughout the methods explored in this section, the gas industry in WA has been able to maintain its growth at great cost to the climate.

This section explores the means by which the gas industry exerts its influence on state politics.
Part 2: Influence
How the gas industry is exerting influence over the WA government

Fig. 1 Timeline showing meeting dates between Woodside, Chevron and WA Government Ministers, and dates of political donations made by Woodside and Chevron

28 Jun 2017
Stephen Dawson
Woodside 'unknown'

29 Aug 2017
Allanah MacTiernan
Chevron 'unknown'

4 May 2018
Bill Johnston
Chevron 'briefing on gas strategy'

25 Jul 2018
Bill Johnston
Woodside 'Overview of Burrup Hub developments'

31 Jul 2018
Stephen Dawson
Woodside 'unknown'

1 Jul 2017
Stephen Dawson
Woodside WA Labor

14 Mar 2019
Mark McGowan,
Bill Johnston,
Stephen Dawson
Chevron & Woodside 'Urgent roundtable RE: EPA'

14 Mar 2019
Stephen Dawson
Chevron 'unknown'

19 Mar 2019
Stephen Dawson
Chevron unknown

22 Mar 2019
Mark McGowan
Chevron LNG Taskforce meeting prior to Shanghai LNG conference

6 Mar 2019
Stephen Dawson
Chevron 'unknown'

6 Mar 2019
$2,400
Chevron Fed Labor

16 Mar 2019
$3,000
Chevron WA Labor

21 Mar 2019
Stephen Dawson
Chevron unknown

21 Mar 2019
$1,700
Chevron Fed Labor

6 Mar 2019
$2,400
Chevron WA Labor

The findings in Fig. 1 show:

- Three occurrences of donations made by gas corporations to WA Labor or the national ALP party on the same day as meetings between a Labor minister and the corporation
- Two occurrences of donations made by gas corporations to WA Labor or the national ALP party one day before or after meetings between a Labor minister and the corporation
- Five occurrences of donations made by gas corporations to WA Labor or the national ALP party between two and five days before or after meetings between a Labor minister and the corporation

FINDING 4:
The Premier attended the Woodside Board dinner while the Burrup Hub awaited environmental approvals

On 12 February 2019, Premier Mark McGowan attended the Woodside board dinner. The dinner took place while environmental referrals associated with the Burrup Hub were awaiting approval.

It also took place just under a month before the Premier asked the EPA to retract a draft policy which would have required polluters to offset their emissions - a policy Woodside opposed.

FINDING 5:
Chevron met the Premier more than the Minister for Mines and Petroleum

In the same time periods, Chevron representatives met with Premier Mark McGowan more often than they met with the Minister for Mines and Petroleum. This included an evening phone call from the Premier’s car in November 2018 and a discussion about climate policy in June 2019.

FINDING 6:
Chevron met with Ministers before applying for a license for Gorgon

Chevron’s Gorgon carbon capture and storage (CCS) plant was supposed to inject 80% of reservoir emissions underground from day one of production. Chevron finally took the first step to begin capturing carbon by applying for the operating license for the plant two and a half years after beginning LNG production.

Meeting details in appendix 1 show that Chevron met with government ministers at least three times specifically regarding the CCS plant, before they applied for the necessary license.

Chevron met with ministers on a further seven occasions regarding other business from August 2017 to November 2018, before applying for the license. One of those occasions was a visit by Minister for Environment, Stephen Dawson, to the Gorgon site on Barrow Island in October 2018. Around this time Minister Dawson said he had been given assurances “from the CEO downwards” that the plant would be fixed by early 2019.

The plant began injecting CO2 underground in August 2019, a Chevron representative spoke with Premier McGowan on the phone on 7 August 2019, before releasing a media statement about the start up on 8 August 2019.

Ask your MP to publish their diaries & support the publishing of ministerial diaries, in real time

Queensland, New South Wales and the ACT all publish ministerial diaries. This results in anyone being able to see who Premiers and their ministers meet with, within two months of meetings taking place.

Publishing diaries enables the public and the media to scrutinise the government and make our democracy stronger. If ministers are aware that their diaries will be published, it may encourage them to consult on decisions widely, prove that they are not under undue influence from lobbyists and make them more accountable.

Will your MP support or introduce legislation for the publishing of ministerial diaries in real time?
Part 2: Influence
How the gas industry is exerting influence over the WA government

METHOD 2. REVOLVING DOORS

The term “revolving door” refers to the movement of personnel between industry, government, lobby groups and regulatory bodies. This practice has been consistently found to result in a power imbalance in which industry has greater ability to influence government policy when compared with community advocates.15

The gas industry has become deeply embedded in WA politics. As shown in Figure 2, there is a web of relationships and appointments between political offices, the gas industry, and the wider fossil fuel industry and its associations.

Fig. 2 Map of the connections between politics, government agencies, lobby groups and the gas industry, with a focus on WA. This information was sourced from public LinkedIn profiles and ministerial staff records

KEY

- Current or former politicians
- Lobby groups or membership groups with significant lobbying resources
- Government agencies or departments
- Individuals who currently, or have previously, worked for entities they are connected to on the map.
- Non fossil fuel companies with strong ties to the oil & gas or resources sector.
- Independent Parliamentary

Map of the connections between politics, government agencies and the gas industry, with a focus on WA.

Lobby groups or membership groups with significant lobbying resources
Government agencies or departments
Non fossil fuel companies with strong ties to the oil & gas or resources sector.

Independent Parliamentary

Fossil Fuel companies

Fig. 2 Map of the connections between politics, government agencies, lobby groups and the gas industry, with a focus on WA.

This information was sourced from public LinkedIn profiles and ministerial staff records.

KEY

- Current or former politicians
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- Non fossil fuel companies with strong ties to the oil & gas or resources sector.
Part 2: Influence
How the gas industry is exerting influence over the WA government

FINDING 1:
Four of WA’s last five Premiers employed staff who had worked for, or went on to work for APPEA

Mark McGowan, Colin Barnett, Alan Carpenter and Richard Court all had staff who had worked for APPEA before or after their positions as advisors to the Premiers. A staff member for both Colin Barnett and Richard Court went on to become APPEA’s Director of Public Affairs. Alan Carpenter and Mark McGowan’s advisor, Kieran Murphy, worked at APPEA between roles in each Premiers’ office.

FINDING 2:
NOPSEMA’s last three chairs previously worked for Woodside

The National Offshore Petroleum Safety and Environmental Management Authority (NOPSEMA) is a Commonwealth agency regulating health and safety, structural integrity and environmental management of offshore facilities. Any company aiming to drill for oil or gas offshore in Australian waters needs approvals from NOPSEMA before they can do so.

Three former Woodside employees, including former acting CEO of Woodside, Keith Spence, have chaired NOPSEMA’s advisory board. After his time at Woodside, Spence went on to become chair of NOPSA (National Offshore Petroleum Safety Authority) and then NOPSEMA from 2010 to 2017 during which time Woodside sought numerous approvals from the regulators.

Erica Smyth was General Manager of Corporate Affairs at Woodside before eventually taking on the chair role at NOPSEMA. Current chair, Ken Fitzpatrick, also worked at Woodside and later became chair of APPEA before joining the NOPSEMA advisory board.

GUY HOUSTON
Current Role: Chief of Staff to Premier Mark McGowan

Previous Roles:
- Corporate Communications & Media Adviser, Chevron
- Adviser to Premiers Geoff Gallop and Alan Carpenter

Guy Houston held the role of Chief of Staff to former Premier Alan Carpenter when Mark McGowan was Minister for Environment. McGowan approved Chevron’s Gorgon project despite EPA recommendations during this time.

After Carpenter’s 2008 election defeat, Guy Houston took a role with Chevron as it began the construction of the Gorgon project. When McGowan became the party leader in 2012, Houston was appointed as his Chief of Staff, a position he still holds.

KIERAN MURPHY
Current Role: Special Adviser to Premier Mark McGowan

Previous Roles:
- Communications Director to Premier Alan Carpenter
- Manager, External Affairs, Crossland Resources (owned by Mitsubishi)
- Director, External Affairs, APPEA

Alan Carpenter’s highest profile advisor was former journalist Kieran Murphy. The self-styled “political headkicker” moved onto a lobbying role at Crosslands Resources after the 2008 election defeat.

While working at Crosslands Resources, Murphy worked with Melissa Price, Vice President of Legal and Business Development at the time, and now the Federal member for Durack. In 2012, both Price and Murphy left the company with Price beginning her career in politics and Murphy moving to APPEA.

During his time with APPEA, the industry association was one of the main voices arguing in favour of lifting a statewide moratorium on fracking.

Murphy was appointed to McGowan’s office during an Independent Scientific Panel Inquiry into Hydraulic Fracture Stimulation in WA. The Inquiry sought to establish potential impacts arising from the implementation of hydraulic fracture stimulation (fracking) on the onshore environment of WA.

CASE STUDY:
APPEA’s man in McGowan’s office and fracking in WA

In the lead up to the 2017 state election, Mark McGowan’s Labor Party promised a moratorium and inquiry on fracking should they win. After the election, however, the new government was slow to act on this pre-election promise. An inquiry into fracking was eventually announced, despite opposition from lobbyists:

‘cancel the planned inquiry into hydraulic fracturing. It’s a waste of time and money’

APPEA’s response to the fracking inquiry September 18, 2017

During the course of the inquiry, McGowan appointed Kieran Murphy, despite Murphy having been the contact person on numerous pro-fracking media releases by APPEA.

The inquiry report was handed to the WA government in September 2018. Two months later, the Premier lifted the ban on fracking, opening up five million hectares of WA to the industry.

Local opposition and low gas prices have contributed to preventing the industry from advancing fracking plans in WA since the moratorium was lifted. Bennett Resources, a subsidiary of Texan fracking company, Black Mountain, have applied to begin fracking The Kimberley and could potentially begin drilling by 2022.

Ask your MP to oppose all fracking in WA

Find The Australia Institute’s report The economic impacts of unconventional gas in Western Australia.

The report shows:
- Fracking doesn’t create jobs. The gas industry employs less people per dollar of output than any other industry.
- In Queensland, there was a loss of 1.8 agricultural jobs for every new gas job created in rural areas.
- Indigenous job opportunities from fracking are also likely to be minimal, with an estimated increase of between three and 19 jobs for Indigenous people.
- Fracking is likely to generate little revenue for the state. Even a large shale gas industry would be unlikely to generate revenue worth just 0.6% of WA state government revenue.

Will your MP support or introduce legislation to permanently ban fracking across all WA?

Traditional Owner calling on Premier McGowan to ban fracking in the Kimberley. Photo: Damian Kelly
Links between Woodside and policy-makers and regulators are numerous. Ian Macfarlane sits on Woodside’s board and is Australia’s longest serving Federal Resources and Energy Minister. He left government in 2016 after a failed attempt to defect to the National Party and quickly joined Woodside’s board. Macfarlane also became CEO of the Queensland Resources Council just over two months after leaving government.

“I’m not involved in cabinet, with my depth of experience and knowledge, I need to use that somewhere where it’s going to be of value”

Ian Macfarlane after announcing his retirement from Government.

Woodside is also connected to the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer. When Woodside sought access to gas fields off the coast of Timor Leste, resources from the Australian Secret Intelligence Service’s (ASIS) were used to spy on Timor Leste’s preparations for negotiations with Australia over the Timor Sea gas deposits. Timor Leste believed that Australia’s Foreign Minister at the time, Alexander Downer, had directed ASIS to spy on them. Shortly after leaving government in 2008, Downer went on to consult for Woodside.

Potential conflicts of interest and Colin Barnett

Potential conflicts of interest due to the revolving door between politics and the gas industry were frequent in former WA Premier Colin Barnett’s Ministry and staff. There were many examples where investments or personal ties to the gas industry (particularly to Woodside) were a potential source of influence on elected officials, such as:

- The husband of former Environment Minister Donna Faragher held a lobbying role at Woodside and later, Chevron.
- The wife of former Minister for Mines and Petroleum Norman Moore held shares in Woodside and BHP.
- Colin Barnett’s daughter-in-law held a senior government relations position with Woodside.
- Colin Edwardes, the Chief of Staff of former Environment Minister Bill Marmion, was married to the Director of External Affairs at Hancock Prospecting (run by Gina Reinhart).

In Colin Barnett’s own office, examples of the revolving door included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Previous role in Colin Barnett’s office</th>
<th>Previous, subsequent or current roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brian Pontifex</td>
<td>Chief of staff</td>
<td>Previously at Woodside, Subsequently Ambassador of Australia to the OECD, Currently at Rio Tinto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoff Wedgwood</td>
<td>Adviser</td>
<td>Previously at Woodside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirsten Stoney</td>
<td>Senior Media Adviser</td>
<td>Previously at Woodside, Currently at BHP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel Donkin</td>
<td>Principal Policy Adviser</td>
<td>Currently at BHP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joanne Webber</td>
<td>Principal Media Adviser</td>
<td>Subsequently at CMEWA and Woodside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Graham</td>
<td>Principal Policy Adviser</td>
<td>Subsequently at BP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Staff of former WA Premier Colin Barnett’s office and their connections to the fossil fuel industry.
Part 2: Influence
How the gas industry is exerting influence over the WA government

METHOD 3. POLITICAL DONATIONS

A critical method of influence for fossil fuel companies is donations to political parties. While no political party will admit to accepting donations with conditions attached, this report finds correlations between large donations and decisions made.

The most recently available data from the Australian Electoral Commission shows Australia’s top 10 fossil fuel donors, including both companies and their lobby groups.103

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fossil Fuel Company</th>
<th>ALP</th>
<th>LIB</th>
<th>NAT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>$135,400</td>
<td>$136,750</td>
<td>$11,190</td>
<td>$283,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adani</td>
<td>$3,600</td>
<td>$125,500</td>
<td>$121,800</td>
<td>$247,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mineral Resources</td>
<td>$62,000</td>
<td>$85,000</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
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<td>APPEA</td>
<td>$77,467</td>
<td>$60,262</td>
<td>$23,930</td>
<td>$161,659</td>
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<td>Minerals Council of Australia</td>
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<td>$62,250</td>
<td>$9,194</td>
<td>$155,440</td>
</tr>
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<td>Santos</td>
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<td>$38,200</td>
<td>$151,424</td>
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<td>Chevron</td>
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<td>$53,125</td>
<td>$16,960</td>
<td>$124,685</td>
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<tr>
<td>Origin Energy</td>
<td>$53,010</td>
<td>$32,390</td>
<td>$17,775</td>
<td>$103,175</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alinta Energy</td>
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<td>$20,000</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
<td>$102,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Trustee for St Baker Family Trust</td>
<td>$52,620</td>
<td>$27,500</td>
<td>$16,500</td>
<td>$96,620</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. The top ten fossil fuel political donors of 2018-19 with oil and gas producers highlighted

FINDING 1:
Gas industry accounts for 6 of top 10 donors

The gas industry has the largest dollar value in the list of fossil fuel political donations. WA’s two biggest polluters, Woodside and Chevron, are ranked 1st and 7th in this list respectively, with Australia’s peak gas lobbyists, APPEA, ranked 4th. Woodside has consistently ranked as the biggest donor to political parties at a national level for the last five years.104

Protester in Perth
Photo: Miles Tweedie Photography

FINDING 2:
Woodside’s donations correspond with 2013 state election and decisions regarding James Price Point

When mapping out Woodside’s donations to WA political parties, there is a correlation between the largest state donations in the last decade, the timing of the 2013 state election, and growing public opposition to the James Price Point Gas Hub.

With permits to drill for gas in the Browse basin, Woodside aimed to exploit these resources, but need a plant to process gas into LNG for export. When former Premier Colin Barnett attempted to compulsorily acquire land for a new gas hub at James Price Point near Broome, the decision was met with considerable local opposition.111

A month later in April 2013, Woodside pulled out of the James Price Point project.112

With pressure mounting from the public with national support, Woodside made their three largest donations in the past decade to state parties in the lead up to the state election in March 2013.105 At the election, polling booths in Broome favoured the only party to oppose the project (WA Greens), showing the tide of public sentiment against the proposed gas hub.106

When mapping out Woodside’s donations to WA political parties, there is a correlation between the largest state donations in the last decade, the timing of the 2013 state election, and growing public opposition to the James Price Point Gas Hub.

With permits to drill for gas in the Browse basin, Woodside aimed to exploit these resources, but need a plant to process gas into LNG for export. When former Premier Colin Barnett attempted to compulsorily acquire land for a new gas hub at James Price Point near Broome, the decision was met with considerable local opposition.111

Donations data shows that Woodside donated $50,000 to WA Labor (the opposition party at the time) on 8 February 2013.109 This was just two weeks before 20,000 people protested against Woodside’s James Price Point at the ‘Concert for the Kimberley’ in Fremantle on 24 February 2013.117 Labor maintained their support for Woodside to process Browse gas at James Price Point or other negotiable locations throughout this period.114
Part 2: Influence
How the gas industry is exerting influence over the WA government

FINDING 3:
Chevron’s donations correspond with the abolition of the carbon price

Fig. 4 Timeline of Chevron’s political donations using data from the AEC Transparency register

In 2011 the Federal Clean Energy Act was introduced by the Gillard government. This put a price on carbon pollution resulting in the country’s biggest polluters having to pay a price for the carbon emissions they produced.

Around this time, Chevron began construction of its two major projects in Australia, Gorgon in 2009 and Wheatstone in late 2011. By the time both of these projects were able to produce LNG, the carbon pricing mechanism was no longer in place. Had the policy still been in place, the price of carbon emissions from these two plants would have been significant.

In the four years leading up to the repeal of the carbon price in July 2014, Chevron’s donations were 16% higher when compared to 2015-2019.

Former Managing Director of Chevron Australia, Roy Krzywosinski, spoke about the ‘carbon tax’ in 2011, telling the Federal government that such a tax would discourage investment.

Ask your MP to support real time reporting of political gifts and donations

Where, or from whom, political parties have received gifts and donations is not known until long after bills have been passed or elections won.

Real-time disclosure of donations would significantly improve transparency. It would show the general public when payments are being made in relation to decisions affecting third parties, as well as who is funding election campaigns. Queensland and ACT both have real-time donations disclosure.

Will your MP support or introduce legislation to report political gifts and donations in real time?

Part 3: Case studies
Two examples of the gas lobby’s influence over WA’s emissions policy and regulation

Proposed Emissions Reduction laws:
In March 2019, the EPA released a new draft policy which required all facilities emitting over 100,000 tonnes of CO₂ to avoid, reduce or offset 100% of their emissions. After the policy was released, the gas industry and its associations were quick to publicly denounce the proposal:

‘As a general rule, APPEA does not support ad hoc state-based policies to tackle climate change... APPEA urges the EPA and the WA government to put aside the guidelines while the state government completes its review of climate change policy.’

APPEA media release, 7 March 2019

‘We’re kind of perplexed with this at the moment, I’d say in many ways, quite angry about it’

Woodside CEO, Peter Coleman, 8 March 2019

CASE STUDY 1: REJECTION OF THE EPA’S RECOMMENDATION THAT COMPANIES CONTROL THEIR EMISSIONS

Our “Independent” EPA

The WA Environmental Protection Authority (EPA) is an independent body tasked with advising the Minister for the Environment on policy and environmental impacts of projects. Once the EPA has given their recommendations, the Minister is entitled to adopt or reject recommendations when considering projects or policies.
Part 3: Case studies

Two examples of the gas lobby’s influence over WA’s emissions policy and regulation

‘Premier must fix the EPA’s carbon emissions mess’

Peter Coleman opinion piece in The West Australian, 9 March 2019

Following this public advocacy, a host of Federal and WA Ministers spoke out in opposition to the EPA, including Prime Minister Scott Morrison who said the EPA’s proposal was “unworkable.”

One week after the guidelines had been announced, Premier Mark McGowan along with Minister Bill Johnston and Minister Stephen Dawson held an ‘urgent roundtable’ meeting with representatives from Woodside, Chevron, APPEA, Shell, Santos and CME. After the meeting, he announced that the EPA would be withdrawing their recommendations and would seek further consultation.

A target to appease the gas industry’s lobbyists

Five months after the EPA decision, Energy Minister Bill Johnston announced that WA would commit to an “aspirational” target of net zero emissions by 2050. At the time of the announcement, the target was out of step with the Federal ALP’s target of a 45% reduction by 2030, but did match Woodside’s own “aspirational” 2050 goal.

The aspirational target was never legislated, and WA remains the only state in Australia without a legislated net zero emissions target. With the EPA recommendations also withdrawn, there is no effective mechanism to hold companies accountable to the target.

CASE STUDY 2: COOKING THE BOOKS ON EMISSIONS CONTROLS

There is a significant gap between the quantity of emissions created by WA gas facilities and the quantity of emissions they are required to offset or sequester. There is also a significant gap between the project approval requirements and the actual emissions controls carried out by polluters.

Examination of emissions controls at facilities in WA

The following figures show:

- The amount of greenhouse gas emissions produced by each project in 2018/19 (as reported to the National Greenhouse and Energy Reporting Scheme).
- The amount each facility is required to offset or sequester according to any conditions placed on the project.
- The amount each facility has actually offset or sequestered according to the proponent.

 Examination of emissions controls at facilities in WA

Operated by Chevron, the Gorgon project is the highest emitter of greenhouse gases in WA. Ministerial conditions require Chevron to carry out geo-sequestration with Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) technology, funded with taxpayer money to the tune of $60 million. 80% of reservoir CO2 emissions are required to be injected underground over any five-year period, equating to roughly 40% of total carbon emissions. The EPA determined that injection should have begun on 14 July 2016, but Chevron did not apply for a licence to begin operating the CCS facility until May 2019. They finally began injecting carbon in August 2019 and announced their three millionth tonne of sequestered carbon in September 2020.

It is now impossible for Chevron to meet their condition of 80% reservoir CO2 sequestered in the initial five-year period. As such, it should face a penalty for not meeting the condition. The CEO of the Department of Water and Environmental Regulation may exercise any power available to them in respect to noncompliance of conditions. This will then be reported to the Minister for Environment, whose decision it will be to enforce these powers.

Fig. 5 Gorgon greenhouse gas emissions and controls

Operated by Woodside, the North West Shelf joint venture was WA’s first major gas project. It was approved with a legislated net zero emissions target. With the EPA recommendations also withdrawn, there is no effective mechanism to hold companies accountable to the target.

Fig. 6 North West Shelf greenhouse gas emissions and controls

Operated by Woodside, the North West Shelf joint venture was WA’s first major gas project. It was approved with conditions to use best available emissions reduction technologies at the time (1989). Emissions conditions concerning the North West Shelf/ Browse/ Burrup Hub are currently under review by the EPA. These could involve geo-sequestration, purchasing offsets or both. Once the EPA has made their recommendations to the government, the Minister for Environment will decide whether or not to impose them.
Part 3: Case studies
Two examples of the gas lobby’s influence over WA’s emissions policy and regulation

Wheatstone greenhouse gas emissions and controls

Approved in 2011, Environment Minister at the time, Bill Marmion, adopted the EPA’s recommendation that Chevron offset 2.6 million tonnes per annum of Wheatstone’s reservoir CO2 emissions. In 2012 the national carbon pricing mechanism was introduced and the requirement for offsetting emissions was removed. While Wheatstone was still under construction, the price on carbon was repealed in 2014, and the original requirements were never reintroduced.

The EPA undertook a review of Wheatstone’s emissions conditions in 2018. The EPA told 350 Boorloo Perth it expects to report to the Minister for Environment in late 2020.

Prelude greenhouse gas emissions and controls

Operated by Shell in Commonwealth waters, Prelude Floating LNG is regulated by the Federal Government. In 2010, then Federal Environment Minister Tony Burke stated that “Shell must develop a greenhouse gas strategy, which must be made publicly available, that will detail the measures and offsets it proposes to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.” The strategy proposed by Shell is not enforced and the only emissions regulations Prelude is covered by is the Safeguard Mechanism. The Safeguard Mechanism sets mandatory emissions limits. The strategy proposed by Shell “has offset more than 850,000 tonnes of CO2 since 2008.” This equates to 70,833 tonnes per annum, from 2008 to 2020. Woodside also claims to have secured carbon offset credits produced by three renewable energy projects operating in India (See Appendix 3).

Prelude greenhouse gas emissions and controls

Fig. 7 Wheatstone greenhouse gas emissions and controls

Fig. 8 Prelude greenhouse gas emissions and controls

In 2007 Former Environment Minister David Tempelman adopted the EPA’s recommendation that Pluto LNG should offset its reservoir CO2, equating to about 0.24 million tonnes per annum. Woodside describes Pluto LNG as a “pioneering, large-scale carbon offset project”, claiming it “has offset more than 282,083 tonnes of CO2 since 2008.” This equates to 70,833 tonnes per annum, from 2008 to 2020. Woodside also claims to have secured carbon offset credits produced overseas. In 2019, they purchased 1,690,000 carbon credit units produced by three renewable energy projects operating in India (See Appendix 3).

These offsets make Pluto the only LNG project in WA to meet any emissions conditions. However, these conditions are exceptionally weak, requiring offsets seven times less than the emissions created by the project.

By choosing to buy cheaper offsets globally, Woodside have taken potential clean jobs and industries away from West Australians.

Pluto greenhouse gas emissions and controls

Fig. 9 Pluto greenhouse gas emissions and controls

Ask your MP to support the strengthening and enforcement of emissions conditions on gas projects

Major gas facilities should have conditions that require reduction and offsetting of their emissions in line with ambitious climate targets. Existing and future conditions need to be enforced to ensure compliance.

Will your MP support the enforcement of ministerial conditions on gas projects to make polluters meet their offset requirements, while also regularly reviewing and increasing those requirements?
Recommendations

This report proposes recommendations for each of the issues highlighted. Although these proposals alone will not solve the crisis we face, they would go some way to improving the system we currently have. Fossil fuel corporations benefit from the current system at great cost to the climate and the rights of First Nations people and future generations. The recommendations presented throughout this report are compiled here.

Ask your MP to support the recommendations in this report:

- Demand reforms to the Aboriginal Heritage Act, including:
  - Giving traditional owners the right to free prior and informed consent
  - Lifting existing gag clauses which do not allow traditional owners to speak out publicly about threats to cultural heritage sites
- Introduce legislation for the publishing of ministerial diaries in real time
- Permanently ban fracking across all WA
- Introduce an effective cooling off period of a minimum 18 months for elected officials and their staff
- Introduce legislation to report political gifts and donations in real time
- Support the enforcement of ministerial conditions on gas projects to make polluters meet their offset requirements, while also regularly reviewing and increasing those requirements

Appendix 1

Full list of documents released through Freedom of Information request.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of meeting</th>
<th>Minister(s) in attendance</th>
<th>Company(s) in attendance</th>
<th>Other Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28/06/2017</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4/07/2017</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/08/2017</td>
<td>Allanah Macfiear</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/08/2017</td>
<td>Mark McGowan, Allanah Macfiear</td>
<td>CME, Woodside, Chevron</td>
<td>Meet with reps from mining to discuss Pilbara industry</td>
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<td>7/08/2017</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>General coffee catch up and to discuss current CME activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/08/2017</td>
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<td>CME</td>
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<td>29/08/2017</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Bill Johnston</td>
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<td>27/09/2017</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Waste reform paper</td>
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<td>12/10/2017</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2/11/2017</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Meeting with CME (71-03026)</td>
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<td>13/11/2017</td>
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<td>CME</td>
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<td>16/11/2017</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Round table RE Waste Industry</td>
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<td>Woodside</td>
<td>RE Bay Village</td>
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<td>12/12/2017</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>CME Management Committee Meeting</td>
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<td>16/12/2017</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Briefing RE Woodside’s Burrup Hub</td>
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<tr>
<td>19/12/2017</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>RE CO2 Injection Project</td>
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<td>21/12/2017</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Lunch meeting with Woodside RspS at Catalano’s Cafe (71-04208)</td>
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<td>15/02/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>RE Wheatstone Ministerial Conditions</td>
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<td>CME</td>
<td>Catch up</td>
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<td>7/03/2018</td>
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<td>CME</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Woodside</td>
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<td>Meeting RE Wheatstone submission and Vergeen CO2 Injection</td>
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<td>Bill Johnston</td>
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<td>Discuss Woodside’s submission to PUO’s NIWS Design Consultation Paper</td>
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<td>4/05/2018</td>
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<td>Chevron</td>
<td>Briefing on gas strategy</td>
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<td>10/05/2018</td>
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<td>Budget phone calls re EIS</td>
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<tr>
<td>30/05/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>CME Environment Committee - DWER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/06/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>CME Sundowner function</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 1
Full list of documents released through Freedom of Information request.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of meeting</th>
<th>Minister(s) in attendance</th>
<th>Company(s) in attendance</th>
<th>Other Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7/06/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Afternoon tea - Thank you RE Ministerial Advisory Panel (MAP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/06/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Scarborough and Browse Projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/06/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td>Coffee catch up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/06/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Lunch meeting with Waste Industry reps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/07/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Discuss Woodside’s updated plans for Burrup Hub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/07/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td>APPEA Connect Series event session ‘How oil and gas companies are closing the gap for Indigenous communities - sharing stories’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/07/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/07/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Meet with members of WHS Legislation Working Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/07/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24/07/2018</td>
<td>Mark McGowan, Allanah Maciiarnan</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Gas Supply and Site Selection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/07/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Meeting to Introduce ______, provide overview of Burrup Hub developments and timing, discuss key approvals, discuss key stakeholder issues, discuss government’s role in development on the Burrup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27/07/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/07/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Briefing for CME - Biodiversity Conservation Regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/08/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/08/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td>Discuss onshore gas issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/08/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16/08/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Farewell Lunch Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/08/2018</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22/08/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>CME Environment Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/08/2018</td>
<td>Allanah Maciiarnan</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Woodside’s hydrogen plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/08/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/08/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Meeting RE Category 63 WARR Briefing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/09/2018</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/09/2018</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>Phone Chevron RE LNG Taskforce on mobile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21/09/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Meeting RE Burrup Hub Environment Approvals Briefing</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/10/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>Perth - Barrow Island (pet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/10/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME, Woodside</td>
<td>Employment of people with Autism in the resource sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/10/2018</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Meeting with CME RE Emissions regulation waste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/10/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/10/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Beach</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24/10/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Safety catch up</td>
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<tr>
<td>25/10/2018</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>Telephone meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/11/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/11/2018</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td>Inaugural meeting of Premier’s LNG Taskforce (followed by refreshments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/12/2018</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>Woodside Board Dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18/12/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>At Cherry &amp; Grapes cafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/12/2018</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 1

Full list of documents released through Freedom of Information request.

### Appendix 2

Correspondence between 350 Boorloo Perth and the Department of Premier and Cabinet FOI Department.

8 Jul 2020, 15:13

Good afternoon,

I refer to your Freedom of Information Application made to the Hon Bill Johnston MLA.

I can confirm the Office of Minister Johnston has finalised the searches for the requested documents. Due to the timeframe of your request and the portfolio to which this application had been made, approximately 200 documents were found to be in scope of your application.

Section 20 of the Freedom of Information Act 1992 (WA) (FOI Act) states that an agency may refuse to deal with an application if they consider that the work involved would divert a substantial and unreasonable portion of the agency’s resources away from other operations. By way of assistance, I have suggested a way in which you can reduce the scope of your application below:

- Reduce the timeframe of this request to a two year period, e.g. 2019/20

Alternatively, please contact me on the number below to discuss the scope of your application.

Regards,

Freedom Of Information Coordinator | People and Governance Services
Department of the Premier and Cabinet | Dumas House, 2 Havelock Street, West Perth

### Appendix 3

Notification of offsets from Woodside

Woodside is fully compliant with our regulatory obligations. A gap between forecast offsets and actual offsets was identified for the years 2020 due in part to increased production at the Pluto LNG facility. We took the decision to voluntarily purchase and retire additional carbon offsets to close this gap immediately. This is ahead of our regulatory requirements which are over the life of the project, and in addition to the almost A$100 million we have invested over the past decade to develop our own carbon offset projects across Australia.

In addition to that significant investment in the Australian carbon offset industry, we have also secured carbon offset credits produced overseas. As Article 6 of the Paris Agreement envisages, international offsets – provided they are scientifically verified and robustly accounted for – will be important. In 2019, we purchased offsets produced by three renewable energy projects operating in India. These projects meet the integrity and verification standards of the Clean Development Mechanism and VCS Program.

### Table: Meeting Details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of meeting</th>
<th>Minister(s) in attendance</th>
<th>Company(s) in attendance</th>
<th>Other Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16/03/2020</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Meeting in CONFIDENCE, Chevron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/01/2020</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/02/2020</td>
<td>Mark McGowan, Allanah MacTiernan, Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME, APPEA, Woodside, Chevron</td>
<td>Meeting with reps from business industry to discuss coronavirus and trade with China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/02/2020</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Meeting to discuss proposed EP Act amendments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/03/2020</td>
<td>Allanah MacTiernan</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/03/2020</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Discuss accreditation of environment practitioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/03/2020</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>CME, Chevron, Woodside</td>
<td>Meeting re impacts of coronavirus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/03/2020</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA, Woodside</td>
<td>Meeting re Petroleum Resource Rent Tax System (71-13646)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/03/2020</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td>APPEA proposal for briefing to ALP caucus on natural gas/LNG and emissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/03/2020</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Green category'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/03/2020</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Conference call(71-13435)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/03/2020</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>APPEA</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>30/03/2020</td>
<td>Mark McGowan, Allanah MacTiernan, Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA, CME</td>
<td>Quick update meeting</td>
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<td>9/04/2020</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Australian Hydrogen Council</td>
<td>Conference call(71-13910)</td>
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<tr>
<td>15/04/2020</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>CME Catch up to discuss EP Act amendments, EPBC Act - Bilaterals, COVID and the EP Act (monitoring/compliance etc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>22/04/2020</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>RE Burnup and updates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23/04/2020</td>
<td>Mark McGowan, Allanah MacTiernan, Bill Johnston</td>
<td>APPEA, CME</td>
<td>Meeting(71-13345)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/04/2020</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>Discuss Pluto GHS abatement plan, Burnup Hub priorities including key issues for resolution (re Deeds), WFP &amp; common user infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/05/2020</td>
<td>Mark McGowan, Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Meet with reps from iron ore industry - provide update on govt's covid19 response, get feedback &amp; discuss future opportunities as part of recovery and post-covid20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/05/2020</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Management Committee Meeting (71-13349)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/05/2020</td>
<td>Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Meeting with Hon Stephen Dawson and CME re Environmental Bilateral Discussion (71-14385)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27/05/2020</td>
<td>Allanah MacTiernan, Bill Johnston</td>
<td>CME</td>
<td>Farm Safety Summit (71-14408)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/06/2020</td>
<td>Stephen Dawson</td>
<td>Woodside</td>
<td>GOAP Briefing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/06/2020</td>
<td>Mark McGowan</td>
<td>Woodside, Chevron, APPEA</td>
<td>LNG Jobs Taskforce meeting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lobby groups or membership groups with significant lobbying resources to the oil & gas or resources sector.

Non Fossil fuel companies with strong ties to the energy sector.

Fossil fuel companies worked for entities they previously, worked for.
A map of the connections between politics, government agencies and the gas industry, with a focus on WA.

Current or former Liberal politicians

Current or former Labor politicians

Fossil fuel companies

Non Fossil fuel companies with strong ties to the oil & gas or resources sector.

Government agencies or departments

Lobby groups or membership groups with significant lobbying resources

Captured state

Independent Parliamentary

References

56 https://www.epa.wa.gov.au/about/environmental-protection-authority
Independent Parliamentary WA’s revolving doors

KEY

Lobby groups or membership groups with significant lobbying resources

Government agencies or departments

Non Fossil fuel companies with strong ties to the oil & gas or resources sector.

Link individuals to entities they currently, or have previously, worked for.

Fossil fuel companies

Current or former Labor politicians

Current or former Liberal politicians

Current or former Nationals politicians

Individuals who currently, or have previously, worked for entities they are connected to on the map.

A map of the connections between politics, government agencies and the gas industry, with a focus on WA.