



Queensland Climate Transition Bill 2023

Report No. 45, 57th Parliament State Development and Regional Industries Committee September 2023

State Development and Regional Industries Committee

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All web address references are current at the time of publishing.

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Chair's foreword

This report presents a summary of the State Development and Regional Industries Committee's examination of the Queensland Climate Transition Bill 2023.

The committee's task was to consider the policy to be achieved by the legislation and the application of fundamental legislative principles – that is, to consider whether the Bill has sufficient regard to the rights and liberties of individuals, and to the institution of Parliament. The committee also examined the Bill for compatibility with human rights in accordance with the *Human Rights Act 2019*.

The committee found that this Bill does not have sufficient regard to the institution of Parliament: indeed, the body as proposed under this Bill could not be restrained by a Minister or even Parliament, a fact found unacceptable by the committee. The dramatic potential economic impact of this Bill, as described by multiple submitters, was also of great concern to the committee.

Submitters broadly shared a sentiment supporting transition planning for regional communities under the energy transition already underway. In response, this report has described how work on transition plans and bodies has already commenced under the state and federal governments.

On behalf of the committee, I thank those individuals and organisations who made written submissions on the Bill. I also thank our Parliamentary Service staff, Queensland Treasury, the Department of Resources, the Department of State Development, Infrastructure, Local Government and Planning, and the Department of Energy and Public Works.

I commend this report to the House.

Whiting Chris Whiting MP

Chair

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Executive summary

The Queensland Climate Transition Bill 2023 (Bill) was introduced into the Legislative Assembly by Mr Michael Berkman, Member for Maiwar, on 15 March 2023 and referred to the State Development and Regional Industries Committee (committee) for consideration.

The Bill seeks to help Queensland meet its obligations under the Paris Agreement to keep global temperature increases to below 2°C, preferably to 1.5°C, above pre-industrial levels. It would do so by banning all new coal, oil and gas approvals, ending exports of fossil fuels by year-end 2030 and introducing 2 new greenhouse gas emissions targets of a) 75 per cent less greenhouse gas emissions than the 2005 figure by 2030 and b) net zero emissions by 2035. The Bill also proposes the creation of a new body, the Queensland Climate Transition Authority (QCTA). Its role would be to develop a strategic plan to meet the targets and aid affected workers and communities' transition away from fossil fuel production.

The committee recommends that the Bill not be passed.

During our inquiry, the committee heard from the Member for Maiwar, relevant government departments, and a range of submitters. The primary reasons given for support for the Bill were the impact of climate change on Queensland, the state's position as a major emitter, and the need for more ambitious climate targets. While the committee recognises the need to take action to mitigate the effects of climate change, during our inquiry we found that the Bill contained a number of flaws and would, if passed, have serious unintended consequences.

While the Bill is intended to prevent any *new* fossil fuel projects, evidence from the Department of Resources suggested it would also lead to the curtailment of many *existing* projects. This goes directly against the objective of the Bill to support a planned and phased transition. Concerns were also raised about how the Bill would interact with plans to transform state-owned coal-fired power stations into clean energy hubs and upgrade the state's electricity infrastructure to support the growing use of renewables.

Another major issue raised by submitters was the economic impact of the Bill. In particular, the proposed moratorium on coal and gas exports would lead to a dramatic decline in state revenue from royalties. As well as funding a range of programs and services, this revenue supports the Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan (Energy and Jobs Plan) and the state's own plans to develop new clean energy industries. The committee also heard of the significant impact the Bill would have on regions that host fossil fuel industries and whose communities rely on the jobs and services they support.

We found that the Bill was compatible with the *Human Rights Act 2019* and the explanatory notes provided sufficient information to understand the effects on individual rights and liberties. However, the proposed QCTA does not respect the institution of Parliament because of the way it conflicts with the principles of responsible government. That an unelected and unaccountable body could override decisions made by an elected Minister was of deep concern to us. The committee was not satisfied that the Bill has due regard for fundamental legislative principles.

Despite our objections to the Bill, the committee found value in the proposal for dedicated transition bodies or plans to help regions, communities and workers prepare for a low carbon future. Indeed, the principle of such a mechanism received support across the breadth of submissions. The committee notes that such a proposal is already being accommodated under the draft Regional Energy Transformation Partnerships Framework and draft 2023 Queensland Renewable Energy Zone Roadmap being developed by the Queensland Government.

1 Introduction

1.1 Policy objectives of the Bill

The objectives of the Bill are to support Queensland to meet its obligations under the Paris Agreement (refer section 1.2.1) to keep global temperature increases to below 2°C, preferably to 1.5°C, above pre-industrial levels by:

- banning all new coal, oil, and gas approvals
- introducing an interim greenhouse gas emissions target of 75 per cent less greenhouse gas emissions than the 2005 figure by 2030 and a target of net zero emissions by 2035
- phasing out coal, oil, and gas exports from Queensland by 31 December 2030
- establishing a new statutory authority, the QCTA, to develop and implement a strategic plan to achieve the reduction in greenhouse gas emissions and fossil fuel exports and to oversee the transition away from coal, oil and gas in collaboration with affected workers and communities.¹

It is proposed that a director, appointed by the Premier, would head the QCTA with other staff employed to perform QCTA's functions or exercise its powers. A board would have oversight of the QCTA with at least 5, but not more than 7, members with relevant experience or qualifications in certain areas, including at least one Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander member and at least 3 members residing in regional Queensland.²

Under the Bill, the QCTA would be required to develop the Queensland Climate Transition Strategic Plan (the strategic plan) to achieve the reduction targets and ensure employment stability and income security for workers and communities affected by its actions.³ The strategic plan would take a coordinated, proactive, and long-term approach. It would be developed in consultation with affected communities, workforces, businesses, and industry and be published by 31 December 2024.⁴

To aid the implementation of the strategic plan, the QCTA would be given powers under the Bill to amend or cancel existing fossil fuel authorities. The decisions of the QCTA in this regard would not be subject to judicial review except in relation to jurisdictional error.⁵

1.2 Background

In his introductory speech, the Member for Maiwar, stated the following reasons for introducing the Bill:

This bill will bring Queensland's emission reduction targets in line with the climate science and the Paris Agreement and establish an independent statutory authority, the Queensland Climate Transition Authority, to implement them. Chief among the authority's priorities will be developing a path out of our state's reliance on coal and gas exports by 2030. We can start that process right now by not approving any more coal and gas projects.⁶

1.2.1 The Paris Agreement and Climate Science

The Paris Agreement is a legally binding international treaty on climate change that was adopted by 196 parties at the United Nations (UN) Climate Change Conference (COP21) in Paris, France, on

¹ Explanatory notes, pp 1, 7.

² Explanatory notes, p 7.

³ Bill, cl 11.

⁴ Bill, cl 11; schedule 1.

⁵ Explanatory notes, p 9.

⁶ Queensland Parliament, record of proceedings, 15 March 2023, p 445.

12 December 2015. It entered into force on 4 November 2016. Its goal is to hold 'the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels' and pursue efforts 'to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels'. More recently, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the UN body for assessing the science relating to climate change, indicates that going above the 1.5°C threshold risks more severe climate change impacts, including more frequent and severe droughts, heatwaves and rainfall. The emphasis is on limiting the increase in global temperature to 1.5°C by the end of the 21st century. For this to occur, greenhouse gas emissions must peak before 2025 and decline by 43 per cent by 2030.⁷

1.2.2 Queensland policy

The Queensland Government has committed to a 30 per cent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions on 2005 levels by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050 under the Queensland Climate Action Plan.⁸ As part of this commitment, in September 2022 the government released the Energy and Jobs Plan. This includes a target of 70 per cent renewable electricity generation by 2032 and 80 per cent by 2035.⁹ According to the Queensland Climate Action Plan, Queensland had already achieved 20 per cent of our renewable energy target by 2020, and more than \$10 billion has been invested in Queensland renewables since 2015.¹⁰

In addition, on 9 December 2022, National Cabinet agreed to the National Transformation Principles, which commits the Australian and state and territory governments to work together with local government, regional communities and industries to capture the benefits of the energy transition.¹¹

More recently, on 11 July 2023, the Queensland Government released the draft 2023 Queensland Renewable Energy Zone Roadmap (REZ Roadmap) which outlines a pathway for connecting 22 gigawatts of new wind and solar generation through the creation of 12 potential renewable energy zones (REZs) spread across south, central, north and far north Queensland.¹² REZs are areas that have been identified as having strong wind and sun resources that will be developed in a way that ensures lower costs as well as improved local community, environmental, and cultural heritage outcomes.¹³

Central to the REZ Roadmap is the role of Powerlink Queensland, the proposed REZ delivery body, who has identified the indicative locations of the 12 potential REZs. As part of its work, Powerlink Queensland will undertake REZ Readiness Assessments to carefully consider community needs and make sure that local communities can maximise the opportunities of renewable energy development while at the same time managing their impacts. Powerlink Queensland will be supported by a Regional Energy Reference Group whose proposed role is to identify initiatives to be supported through community investment schemes and who will provide input into REZ Readiness Assessments and the wider development of REZs.¹⁴

¹⁴ Queensland Government, *The REZ Roadmap*, https://www.epw.qld.gov.au/about/initiatives/renewableenergy-zones/rez-roadmap

⁷ IPCC, AR6 Synthesis Report – Climate Change 2023, https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/syr/.

⁸ Queensland Government, *Queensland Climate Action Plan*, https://www.des.qld.gov.au/climateaction/theplan/qld-climate-action-plan.

⁹ Queensland Government, *Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan*, September 2022, p 5.

¹⁰ Queensland Government, *Queensland Climate Action Plan*, https://www.des.qld.gov.au/climateaction/theplan/qld-climate-action-plan.

¹¹ National Cabinet, *National Transformation Principles*, https://federation.gov.au/nationalcabinet/media/2022-12-09-national-transformation-principles.

¹² Queensland Government, *The REZ Roadmap*, https://www.epw.qld.gov.au/about/initiatives/renewableenergy-zones/rez-roadmap

¹³ Queensland Government, *draft 2023 Queensland Government Renewable Energy Zone Roadmap*, July 2023, p 2, https://www.epw.qld.gov.au/about/initiatives/renewable-energy-zones/rez-roadmap.

The latest data from the Australian Government Department of Climate Change, Energy, the Environment and Water demonstrates that in 2021 emissions in Queensland were 29 per cent below 2005 levels.¹⁵ Carbon dioxide equivalents have dropped from 196 million tonnes in 2005 to 140 million tonnes in 2021.¹⁶ These drops have coincided with strong population and economic growth. Queensland's resident population increased by 1.3 million between 2005 and 2021 and the state's economy grew by more than 50 per cent in real terms over the same period.¹⁷

1.2.3 Consultation

The explanatory notes state that the Member for Maiwar developed the Bill based on community feedback and consultation with unions, environmental organisations and legal experts, though the names of these stakeholders were not provided.¹⁸ There was no indication in the explanatory notes or the Member for Maiwar's public briefing on the Bill that representatives of the mining sector or local government were consulted. The Local Government Association of Queensland (LGAQ) described the lack of consultation with their organisation as 'extremely disappointing given the importance of local governments, particularly in regional communities.'¹⁹

The Member for Maiwar declined to provide the committee with a written briefing on the Bill.

1.3 Legislative compliance

Our deliberations included assessing whether or not the Bill complies with the Parliament's requirements for legislation as contained in the *Parliament of Queensland Act 2001, Legislative Standards Act 1992* and the *Human Rights Act 2019* (HRA).

1.3.1 Legislative Standards Act 1992

Our assessment of the Bill's compliance with the *Legislative Standards Act 1992* identified issues which are discussed in section 2.7. The committee finds that the <u>Bill is not compliant</u> with the *Legislative Standards Act 1992*.

1.3.2 Human Rights Act 2019

Our assessment of the Bill's compatibility with the HRA are included section 2.8. The committee finds that the Bill is compatible with human rights.

A statement of compatibility was tabled with the introduction of the Bill as required by section 38 of the HRA. The statement contained a sufficient level of information to facilitate understanding of the Bill in relation to its compatibility with human rights.

1.4 Should the Bill be passed?

The committee is required to determine whether or not to recommend that the Bill be passed.

Recommendation 1

The committee recommends the Queensland Climate Transition Bill 2023 not be passed.

¹⁵ Queensland Government, *Queensland Climate Action Plan*, https://www.des.qld.gov.au/climateaction/emissions-targets.

¹⁶ Queensland Treasury, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 1.

¹⁷ Queensland Treasury, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 2.

¹⁸ Explanatory notes, p 10.

¹⁹ Submission 15, p 7.

2 Examination of the Bill

2.1 Support for the Bill

Support for the Bill was primarily based on the impact of climate change on Queensland, the state's position as a major emitter, the need for more ambitious climate targets and the need for a transition authority. These issues were also raised in the form submissions (the email template produced by the Member for Maiwar's office for use by submitters) to the committee.

2.1.1 Impact of climate change on Queensland

In explaining their support for the Bill, submitters highlighted how Queensland is particularly vulnerable to climate change and how rising temperatures and more frequent extreme weather events, like floods and cyclones, have impacted the state. The effects of destructive floods in 2021 and 2022, bushfires in the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area, fish population declines, and the difficulty of securing insurance for low-lying properties were all referenced.²⁰

Of particular concern to many submitters was the threat posed to the survival of the Great Barrier Reef if warming goes beyond 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels.²¹ As well as an ecological impact, the destruction of the Great Barrier Reef will have serious economic effects for communities who rely on reef-related tourism. Research undertaken by Deloitte Access Economics, referenced by a submitter, indicated that the economic contribution of the Great Barrier Reef to the Queensland economy in 2015-16 was \$3.9 billion with reef tourism related activities supporting 33,000 jobs within the state.²² These incomes and revenues would be threatened should the Great Barrier Reef suffer 99 per cent destruction, which is anticipated in scenarios where a high level of warming is maintained.²³

Collectively, the threat climate change poses led the Environmental Defenders Office to state that 'climate change is the greatest threat to the lives, rights, and prosperity of Queenslanders – both today and for generations to come'.²⁴

2.1.2 Queensland as a major emitter

Submitters also explained that their support for the Bill was because of Queensland's status as a major exporter of fossil fuels and emitter of greenhouse gases. The state accounts for over one third of Australia's total emissions and is the highest emitting jurisdiction within the Commonwealth.²⁵ As a result, the Environmental Defenders Office stated:

with emissions per person four times higher than China, Queensland has an obligation to take action now to reduce our emissions and ensure that climate change is incorporated into decisions of all sectors of the economy.²⁶

While Queensland's abundance of natural resources and developed resource sector undoubtedly contributes to greenhouse gas emissions (as well as contributing to a high per capita emissions figure),

²⁰ Queensland Conservation Council, submission 22, p 2; Shane Cuthbert, submission 7, p 2; Coolum & North Shore Coast Care, submission 17, p 2.

²¹ Shane Cuthbert, submission 7, p 2; Australian Conservation Foundation, submission 13, p 2; Queensland Conservation Council, submission 22, p 2.

²² Shane Cuthbert, submission 7, p 2; Deloitte Access Economics, *At what price? The economic, social and icon value of the Great Barrier Reef*, 2017, http://hdl.handle.net/11017/3205, p 14.

²³ It should be noted, however, that another submitter provided evidence that coral cover across the Great Barrier Reef was at record-levels. See, Peter Ridd, *The good news on coral reefs*, 2022 [PDF, 1.8MB], https://www.thegwpf.org/content/uploads/2022/08/Ridd-Record-Coral-GBR.pdf.

²⁴ Submission 20, p 4.

²⁵ The Next Economy, submission 12, p 3.

²⁶ Submission 20, p 13.

other submitters were keen to stress how emissions are not distributed evenly across rural and urban areas. The LGAQ noted, for example, that Greater Melbourne emits 402 tonnes of carbon per hectare compared to 176 tonnes per hectares for the average Queensland coal mine.²⁷

2.1.3 The need to go beyond existing targets

A submitter suggested that the Queensland Government's existing emissions reduction targets were insufficient.²⁸ Specifically, submitters also stressed that the target of 30 per cent below 2005 emissions levels by 2030 and net zero by 2050 were not in line with the trajectory set by the Paris Agreement and the need to keep global warming to no more than 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels.²⁹ The Next Economy argued that, if Queensland does not increase its current emissions reduction targets, the state will triple the emission budget available to keep the temperature rise to 1.5°C.³⁰ Those who held this view argued that an immediate moratorium on the approval of new coal and gas projects was a necessary first step.³¹

2.1.4 Support for workers and communities transitioning

Supporters of the Bill cited the role the proposed QCTA would play in supporting workers and communities transitioning from extracting fossil fuels. As one submitter, Lee Coaldrake, stated:

It is also imperative that we support those who have been employed by the fuel industry at the coalface so to speak. There are many communities who have relied on regular jobs from coal, oil or gas, and who are in fear of what the future holds for them. It is incumbent upon the government to support these communities, either by retraining or offering other support packages.³²

Based on their research exercise undertaken in 2021 with representatives of the energy sector, industry, government, traditional owners, trades unions and others, The Next Economy reported that there was consensus among stakeholders that a body needs to be established to facilitate long-term planning and coordination.³³ Indeed, even among submitters to the inquiry who were opposed to the Bill, there was widespread support for the concept of a transition authority, though not necessarily one based on the framework proposed in the Bill.³⁴ As the LGAQ explained, what is required is to develop a region specific planning process which recognises that the impacts of decarbonisation will be different not just for each region but for each local government and even each individual town.³⁵

This regional and place-based approach to decarbonisation planning was recently affirmed by the announcement on 5 May 2023 that the Australian Government is establishing a new Net Zero Authority. The Net Zero Authority will support workers in emission-intensive sectors to find new jobs, develop new skills, and access support as the decarbonisation process continues. It is also designed to support regions and communities attract new clean energy industries by coordinating programs and policies across government as well as helping investors and companies engage with net zero

²⁷ Submission 15, p 8.

²⁸ Environmental Defenders Office, submission 20, p 8.

²⁹ Shane Cuthbert, submission 7, p 7; Australian Conservation Foundation, submission 12, p 2; Environmental Defenders Office, submission 20, p 4

³⁰ Submission 12, p 4.

³¹ The Next Economy, submission 12, p 3; Australian Conservation Foundation, submission 12, p 2; Gina Foster, submission 16, p 2; Environmental Defenders Office, submission 20, p 4.

³² Submission 10, p 1.

³³ Submission 12, p 4.

³⁴ Central Highlands Regional Council, submission 14, p 5; Australian Conservation Foundation, submission 13, p 3; Queensland Conservation Council, submission 22, p 4; LGAQ, submission 15, pp 3-5; Environmental Defenders Office, submission 20, p 7; Moreton Bay Regional Council, submission 19, pp 2-3; The Next Economy, submission 12, p 4.

³⁵ LGAQ, public hearing transcript, Brisbane, 21 August 2023, p 11

transformation opportunities.³⁶ Furthermore, the Queensland Government has stated that supporting workers through the energy transition will be a focus under the Energy and Jobs Plan, and that it will 'partner with industries and communities to maximise benefits from the energy transformation and drive regional economic opportunities' under Action 3.6 of the Plan.³⁷

Committee comment

The impact of the transition to a renewable energy future on regional resource communities is one of the issues addressed in the Energy and Jobs Plan, the Federal Net Zero Authority and the REZ Roadmap. The committee recognises the widespread support for initiatives to help regions and communities transition to a lower carbon future. While the committee does not support the institutional form this body would take in the Bill, we support the coordination and long-term planning that has already commenced.

2.1.5 Other reasons for supporting the Bill

Other reasons submitters provided for supporting the Bill included:

- prevents Queensland exports contributing to global greenhouse gas emissions³⁸
- will speed up Queensland meeting existing climate targets³⁹
- will reduce methane gas flaring⁴⁰
- supports Queensland capitalising on economic opportunities afforded by the energy transition⁴¹
- helps protect the marine environment⁴²
- contributes to addressing aspects of inter- and intragenerational inequity.⁴³

2.2 Opposition to the Bill

2.2.1 Economic impact of the Bill

The explanatory notes state 'there are no significant cost impacts from these amendments'.⁴⁴ Despite this, the potential economic impact of the Bill was raised by a number of submitters and in the public briefing on the Bill held with Queensland Treasury and the Department of Resources.⁴⁵

Queensland has a highly developed resources sector. In 2021-22 the mining sector alone directly accounted for 18 per cent of the Queensland economy or over \$74 billion in gross value-add terms. As of March 2022, the mining sector directly employed 75,000 people with the coal mining, oil and gas sectors employing almost 32,000 workers.⁴⁶

- ⁴⁰ Beverley Newton, submission 9, p 1.
- ⁴¹ Australian Conservation Foundation, submission 13, p 3.
- ⁴² Coolum & North Shore Coast Care, submission 17, p 2.
- ⁴³ Queensland Youth Policy Collective, submission 18, p 3.
- ⁴⁴ Explanatory notes, p 8.
- ⁴⁵ Public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, pp 1-16.
- ⁴⁶ Queensland Treasury, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 2.

³⁶ Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, *A new national Net Zero Authority*, https://www.pmc.gov.au/news/new-national-net-zero-authority.

³⁷ Queensland Government, *Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan*, https://media.epw.qld.gov.au/files/Queensland_Energy_and_Jobs_Plan.pdf.

³⁸ Brynn Mathews, submission 8, p 1.

³⁹ Beverley Newton, submission 9, p 1.

2.2.1.1 Impact on exports

According to Queensland Treasury, the Bill would have a major impact on exports, as most of Queensland's coal and gas are either exported overseas or to other Australian states.⁴⁷ In the 12 months to March 2023, Queensland exported 22 million tonnes of liquefied natural gas (LNG) and 192 million tonnes of coal — of this coal, 71 per cent was metallurgical coal, an essential ingredient in the steel making process. Over the same period, the export of metallurgical coal, thermal coal, and LNG was valued at more than \$103 billion. This accounted for 76 per cent of Queensland's international merchandise exports.⁴⁸

Queensland Treasury analysis using data from the International Energy Agency suggests that while the demand for thermal coal is projected to decrease in response to concerns about climate change, the demand for steel making coal (around 70 per cent of Queensland's coal exports) is projected to remain strong. ⁴⁹ This is because there remains few readily available alternatives to coking coal for the steel industry. Queensland's coal industry will continue to enjoy advantages over its competitors, including its high quality hard coking coal, proximity to the fast growing Asia-Pacific region, efficient supply chains, well-established infrastructure and skilled workforce.⁵⁰ As a result, it is expected that international demand will continue to support Queensland's coal exports over coming decades, especially metallurgical coal producers.⁵¹

2.2.1.2 Impact on state revenue

The proposed reduction, and by 2030 curtailment, of fossil fuel exports will have a major impact on state revenue. In 2021-22 Queensland received over \$8.4 billion in royalties from coal and petroleum (including LNG). This was around 30 per cent of the state's total taxation and royalty revenue.⁵² Fossil fuel royalties increased to an estimated \$17.6 billion in 2022-23, driven by the high price of coal. While the prices of coal and other commodities are expected to fall in the short to medium term, the state continues to expect to receive annual fossil fuel royalties of over \$5 billion for the next 4 years as coal prices stabilise.⁵³

As Queensland Treasury stated, fossil fuel royalty revenues provide 'capacity to fund the Energy and Jobs Plan, which is also a very significant contributor to positioning Queensland as a less carbonintensive economy'.⁵⁴ In the 2023-24 Budget, Queensland Treasury projected that \$19 billion will be invested over the forward estimates to deliver on the Energy and Jobs Plan to provide clean, reliable and affordable electricity for generations.⁵⁵

2.2.1.3 Impact on regional economies

Alongside the direct effect of a loss of royalty revenue, other submitters were concerned about the wider economic impacts of the Bill, especially on regions hosting extraction industries, the supply chains which service these industries, and regions home to fly/drive in-and-out workforces reliant on employment in the industries. Central Highlands Regional Council, in the heart of the Bowen basin, confirmed that 73.67 per cent of total output in the local government area is from the mining sector

- ⁵³ Queensland Treasury, Queensland Budget 2023-24, Budget Paper No. 2, p 101.
- ⁵⁴ Queensland Treasury, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 2.
- ⁵⁵ Queensland Treasury, *Budget 2023-23, Budget Strategy and Outlook, Budget Paper No. 2*, p 2.

⁴⁷ Queensland Treasury, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 2.

⁴⁸ Queensland Treasury, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 2.

⁴⁹ Queensland Treasury, *Queensland's Coal Industry and Long-Term Global Coal Demand*, November 2022, p 4.

⁵⁰ Queensland Treasury, *Budget 2023-23, Budget Strategy and Outlook, Budget Paper No. 2*, p 9.

⁵¹ Queensland Treasury, *Queensland's Coal Industry and Long-Term Global Coal Demand*, November 2022, p 4.

⁵² Queensland Treasury, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 2.

which also provides 35.72 per cent of total employment (not including employment within supply chains), and spends over \$790 million on local goods and services.⁵⁶ As such, the Central Highlands Regional Council reported:

The Central Highlands region would therefore experience both swift and significant socio-economic consequences as a result of the imposition of such a moratorium which would result in the withdrawal of employment and industry from the region. Such impacts include but are not limited to housing market downturn, wide-spread unemployment and the reduction of air travel, education, health and other supporting services with the region.⁵⁷

2.2.1.4 Role of QCTA in mitigating economic impact

The proposed QCTA is designed to mitigate some of these economic effects, particularly in regional areas, by working with agencies and local governments to develop plans for retraining, redeployment, and job guarantee schemes.⁵⁸ However, questions were raised about the need to allow for a significant lead-in time to undertake the required planning and investment in regional economic diversification.⁵⁹ The Western Australian Government has been preparing for the economic transition in the Collie region since 2017.⁶⁰ The Latrobe Valley Authority, which was likewise referenced in the explanatory notes as an example for the QCTA to follow, was founded in 2016.⁶¹ Moreover, the transition goals for these authorities are not as ambitious as the proposed QCTA. The Latrobe Valley Authority operates in the context of the Victoria Climate Change Strategy which has an emissions reduction target of 75 to 80 per cent below 2005 levels by 2035 and net zero emissions by 2045.⁶² Coal-fired power stations in the Collie are not due to close until 2029 with no set date for the end of coal mining in the region.⁶³

2.3 Need for a phased transition

2.3.1 Transition for mining communities

According to the explanatory notes, it is necessary for the government to 'begin planning now to ensure Queenslanders are protected from job losses and economic uncertainty as a result of sudden and unplanned declines in fossil fuel investment'.⁶⁴ While this is a laudable aim, during the inquiry the committee found that the Bill may inadvertently lead to sudden and unplanned declines in fossil fuel investment. This is due to the way in which fossil fuel authorities are treated in the Bill which might lead to the abrupt closure of existing mining projects.⁶⁵

The Bill seeks to reduce emissions from fossil fuels extracted in Queensland in part by prohibiting the approval of new coal, oil and gas projects immediately from the time of commencement. This is achieved via clause 15, which prevents new applications for fossil fuel authorities, and clause 16, which deems that all undecided applications for fossil fuel authorities are refused. Fossil fuel authorities are

⁶³ Government of Western Australia, Collie Community Fact Sheet, August 2023, p 1, https://www.wa.gov.au/government/announcements/state-owned-coal-power-stations-be-retired-2030move-towards-renewable-

energy#:~:text=With%20the%20Collie%20Power%20Station,people%20have%20a%20strong%20future.

⁵⁶ Central Highlands Regional Council, submission 14, p 3.

⁵⁷ Central Highlands Regional Council, submission 14, p 3.

⁵⁸ Explanatory notes, p 6.

⁵⁹ Central Highlands Regional Council, submission 14, p 3.

⁶⁰ Explanatory notes, p 10

⁶¹ Explanatory notes, p 10.

⁶² State of Victorian Department of Energy, Environment and Climate Action, Victoria's 2035 Emissions Reduction Target, May 2023, p 5.

⁶⁴ Explanatory notes, p 6.

⁶⁵ Department of Resources, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 14.

defined in the Bill as 'an authority under another Act that authorises an entity to do something that is, or involves carrying out, an activity that is, or is directed at, mining for coal, gas or oil'.⁶⁶ The activities listed in the Bill are:

- (a) building or installing infrastructure;
- (b) exploring;
- (c) extracting, processing, producing or treating a substance or matter
- (d) installing equipment used for extracting, processing, producing or treating a substance matter.⁶⁷

While the objectives of the Bill are directed at prohibiting new projects, for example new mines and drill sites, these provisions will have a major impact on existing projects.

As the Department of Resources explained:

Many of our operations, particularly in the coal space, are what I would term a bit of a mosaic or patchwork quilt of tenures in that they have varying time frames for when they would come up for renewal. For example, the main ore body may have a different period or life of tenure than, say, the processing facilities or the haul roads—those tenures that have those facilities on them. If a tenure was to come to the end of its life and then up for renewal in 2025 but the balance of the tenure where they are an ore body was to continue to 2030, there would be no ability for the holder of that resource authority to make an application to extend that tenure. If that tenure that was ending in 2025 had key infrastructure on it—processing facilities or haul roads or out-of-pit dumps or even tailings dams—then that would have the impact of putting potentially the whole operation at some commercial risk.⁶⁸

In essence, therefore, the Bill would not just prevent the opening of *new* fossil fuel projects but could lead to the inadvertent sudden closure of *existing* projects. As the Queensland Youth Policy Collective describe, because of the central place of the resources industry to Queensland, 'an unplanned transition would be disastrous for the State'.⁶⁹

2.3.2 Transition for coal-fired power station workers and their communities

During the course of the inquiry, the committee also ascertained that the Bill might have implications for existing transition arrangements. The Energy and Jobs Plan commits the government to the repurposing and conversion of all public-owned coal-fired power stations into clean energy hubs by 2035. The process is scheduled to begin in 2027 and is designed to provide ongoing employment opportunities in the region. The Department of Energy and Public Works (DEPW) stated that the provisions in the Bill 'to potentially amend or cancel the operation of existing gas projects and coal-fired power stations may interfere with the delivery of this commitment'.⁷⁰

The development of clean energy hubs is a central part of the draft Regional Energy Transmission Partnership Framework. Clean energy hubs, operating in communities which used to host coal-fired power stations, will provide system strength, security, and storage for the upgraded electricity grid and/or host new renewable energy generation capacity. The investment in clean energy infrastructure to support the delivery of the new clean energy hubs will also help to diversify the local economy of the communities in which they are based and help create new, secure, ongoing jobs.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Bill, cl 14(1).

⁶⁷ Bill, cl 14(1).

⁶⁸ Department of Resources, public briefing transcript, Brisbane, 22 May 2023, p 14.

⁶⁹ Submission 18, p 6.

⁷⁰ DEPW, correspondence 15 May 2023, p 2.

⁷¹ Queensland Government, Regional Energy Transformation Partnerships Framework – Draft for Consultation, October 2022, p 43.

2.4 Security of electrical supply

The Bill does not include a plan for how the emissions targets will be met, leaving the creation of the strategic plan to the proposed QCTA. However, the committee considers it reasonable to ask how these proposed emissions reductions will be achieved due to concerns about the impact on security of electricity supply.

Australia's National Greenhouse Accounts provides data on the different sectors that produce greenhouse gases using classifications based on the UN's Framework Convention on Climate Change. In Queensland, as in all other Australian's states and territories, the largest emitting sector is energy.⁷²

Location	Energy (Mt)	Industrial processes (Mt)	Agriculture (Mt)	Land use, land- use change and forestry (Mt)	Waste (Mt)
Queensland	114.6293	5.8079	20.6503	-4.5191	3.0967

Source: Australia's National Greenhouse Accounts, 2021. n.b. gases measured in Carbon Dioxide Equivalent (AR5)

Within the energy sector in Queensland, the majority of emissions stem from energy industries (primarily energy extraction, transformation and electricity generations).⁷³

Queensland's transition to a more renewables focussed power grid is outlined in the Energy and Jobs Plan. This includes a renewable energy target of 50 per cent by 2030, 70 per cent by 2032 and 80 per cent by 2035. The Energy and Jobs Plan is supported by the Queensland SuperGrid Infrastructure Blueprint.⁷⁴ This seeks to ensure that the state has the foundational infrastructure to enable Queensland to decarbonise the existing electricity system. It includes plans for substantial renewable generation but also updated storage, firming and despatchable capacity – notably through the development of 2 large scale pumped hydro projects, as well as a strengthened network transmission system. It also supports the continued use of despatchable low emissions gas-fuelled generators to provide backup power.⁷⁵

In a written briefing on the potential impacts of the Bill, DEPW explained it was critical that the transformation of the system 'occurs in a sequenced, coordinated way' and that if passed the Bill 'would require an accelerated delivery of the optimal infrastructure pathway outlined in the Blueprint'.⁷⁶ Moreover, the department stated that, 'an acceleration of this pathway, where existing despatchable generation is removed from the system before replacement generation and storage is delivered will risk the provision of affordable, reliable and secure electricity'.⁷⁷

The Member for Maiwar accepted the Bill would result in an acceleration of the path proposed in the Energy and Jobs Plan, though the Member characterised it as 'slight'.⁷⁸

⁷² Department of Climate Change, Energy, the Environment and Water, *Australia's National Greenhouse Accounts, emissions by state and territory 2021*, https://www.greenhouseaccounts.climatechange.gov.au/

⁷³ Queensland Government, Stationary energy sector greenhouse gas emissions, https://www.stateoftheenvironment.des.qld.gov.au/pollution/greenhouse-gas-emissions/stationaryenergy-sector-greenhouse-gas-emissions.

⁷⁴ DEPW, *Queensland SuperGrid Infrastructure Blueprint*, September 2022, pp 4-5.

⁷⁵ DEPW, *Queensland SuperGrid Infrastructure Blueprint*, September 2022, p 25.

⁷⁶ DEPW, correspondence, 15 May 2023, p 2.

⁷⁷ DEPW, correspondence, 15 May 2023, p 2.

⁷⁸ M Berkman, response to issues raised in submissions, 6 June 2023, p 1.

2.5 Powers of the QCTA

The proposed QCTA would be provided with wide powers under the Bill. Clause 34(1) states:

The board has the power to do anything necessary or convenient to be done in performing the board's functions.

The functions of the board are equally broad and include:

To decide the objective, strategies or policies to be implemented by-

- (i) The QCTA; or
- (ii) government entities⁷⁹

LGAQ identified a concern around the Bill limiting the authority of a local government as prescribed under the *Local Government Act 2009* and that 'on the fact of it, it is quite a broad clause'.⁸⁰

2.6 Makeup of the QCTA board

The Bill proposes that the board of the QCTA consists of 5 to 7 members appointed by the Premier. The board would have the requirement that at least one member be an Aboriginal person or Torres Strait Islander person and 3 would live in a relevant regional area.⁸¹ Members of the board would also have to have qualifications or expertise in one of the following areas:

- (a) accounting or economics
- (b) climate transition planning
- (c) coal, gas or oil mining
- (d) energy technologies
- (e) engineering
- (f) First Nations cultural leadership
- (g) industrial relations, including industry transition planning or workforce planning
- (h) reducing greenhouse gas emissions
- (i) the provision of government funding or grants of financial assistance.⁸²

The composition of the board was a concern to a number of submitters. Queensland Youth Policy Collective described the board composition as 'problematic' as it failed to include a member who is a young person or represents young people.⁸³ Queensland Farmers' Federation strongly recommended that agriculture be added to the list of required qualifications or expertise.⁸⁴ The Australian Conservation Foundation recommended that civil society and community representation also be listed.⁸⁵ The Central Highlands Regional Council also stated that the definition of a relevant regional area in the Bill (areas outside the local government areas of Brisbane, the Gold Coast, Ipswich, Logan, Moreton Bay and the Sunshine Coast) 'demonstrates some disconnect between the Bill and the coal

⁷⁹ Bill, cl 33(1)(b).

⁸⁰ LGAQ, public hearing transcript, Brisbane, 21 August 2023, pp 12-13.

⁸¹ Bill, cl 35(2).

⁸² Bill, cl 35(3).

⁸³ Submission 18, p 8.

⁸⁴ Submission 24, p 4.

⁸⁵ Submission 13, p 2.

mining and coal energy producing regions that will be most impacted by decarbonisation'.⁸⁶ More broadly, the Central Highlands Regional Council submitted that:

The composition of the Authority is a matter that should be determined by a working group with robust consultation across agencies and with local government, the mining sector and unions. Council therefore considers that the governance framework proposed within the Bill is premature and does not reflect a level of appropriate collaboration which is required in establishing the requisite body.⁸⁷

2.7 Fundamental legislative principles – the institution of Parliament

Section 4(2)(b) of the *Legislative Standards Act 1992* requires legislation to have sufficient regards for the institution of Parliament.

As described above, the QCTA would have the power to amend or cancel fossil fuel authorities. At present, fossil fuel authorities are granted by the Minister under the *Mineral Resources Act 1989* and the *Petroleum and Gas (Production and Safety) Act 2004*.⁸⁸

In proposing a statutory body with power to overturn the decision of a Minister, the Bill offends against the principle of responsible government. A core tenet of the Westminster system is that the government is accountable to Parliament for its actions and through Parliament to the people.⁸⁹

Responsible government is achieved through the operation of a number of constitutional conventions. These include Cabinet collective responsibility and individual ministerial responsibility. The latter is where all public entities are notionally within the portfolio of a Minister who is accountable to Parliament for the actions of those entities.

The QCTA would break the chain of responsibility between Parliament and people. Unlike a department, the Minister would not be directly responsible for the QCTA; indeed, the QCTA is specifically designed to operate independently of the Minister and has the power to overturn decisions by the Minister for which he/she is accountable in Parliament. When added to the minimal oversight the QCTA receives under the Bill (decisions to cancel fossil fuel authorities are explicitly not subject to judicial review), there is the danger that if the Bill is passed the QCTA could become an independent power untethered from parliamentary supervision or restraint.⁹⁰

Although Queensland has a number of powerful statutory entities, such as the Coordinator-General, there are currently no statutory bodies in Queensland with the combination of executive powers and limited ministerial oversight envisaged in the Bill. It is also noteworthy that where a statutory body has been given wide-ranging powers with limited ministerial control, Parliament has created mechanisms to maintain its own form of oversight, for example in the case of the Crime and Corruption Commission through the Parliamentary Crime and Corruption Committee. No such oversight mechanisms are contained in the Bill.

Combined with the broad ways in which the powers of the QCTA's board are framed under the Bill to decide the objectives, strategies, and policies of government entities, it is clear that the Bill does not have sufficient regard to the institution of Parliament.

⁸⁶ Bill, cl 35(6); submission 14, p 5.

⁸⁷ Submission 14, p 5.

⁸⁸ Department of Resources, correspondence, 12 May 2023.

⁸⁹ B Saunders, 'Responsible government, statutory authorities and the Australian Constitution', *Federal Law Review*, 48 (1), p 5.

⁹⁰ Bill, cl 19.

Committee comment

The committee is not satisfied that the Bill is compliant with fundamental legislative principles.

By creating a body of unaccountable and unelected members whose explicit purpose is to override the decisions of elected Ministers, the Bill is in direct conflict with the principle of responsible government.

2.8 Human Rights Act – Property rights

The HRA protects fundamental human rights drawn from international human rights law.⁹¹ Section 13 of the HRA provides that a human right may be subject under law only to reasonable limits that can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom.

The committee considered the Bill in the context of property rights. This is because the Bill enables the QCTA to cancel or amend an existing fossil fuel authority and declares any fossil fuel authorities made but undecided before commencement as refused.⁹² In both instances, the Bill provides that any decision is final and conclusive and cannot be challenged, appealed against, reviewed, quashed, set aside or called into question in any way other than if a jurisdictional error has been made.⁹³ This could be considered an arbitrary deprivation of property, thus limiting property rights. However, only individuals have human rights.⁹⁴

The Department of Resources has advised that, while there have been resource authorities granted to individuals in the past, there are no current resources authorities granted to individuals that relate to projects linked to the extraction of fossil fuels.⁹⁵

Committee comment

The committee is satisfied that the Bill is compatible with the Human Rights Act 2019.

3 Conclusion

Committee comment

It is clear to the committee, and all of Queensland, that we have commenced the process of energy transition. All the submitters seemingly agree that as part of this transition we should ensure Queensland workers and regional communities have the opportunity to grow and benefit from this transition.

Queensland's pathway to energy transition is outlined in the Energy and Jobs Plan. This provides for 70 per cent of Queensland's energy to come from renewable sources by 2032 and 80 per cent to be renewable by 2035. This renewable generation capacity will be backed by 2 new large scale pumped hydro projects to deliver up to 7 gigawatts (GW) of long duration storage, as well as 3 GW of low to zero emissions gas generation for periods of peak demand and back up security. Additionally, the Energy and Jobs Plan commits to transforming all publicly owned coal-fired power into clean energy hubs by 2035, supported by a legislated Job Security Guarantee for energy workers. The Energy and Jobs Plan is underpinned by the rollout of around 1,500km of new high voltage transmission

⁹¹ The human rights protected by the HRA are set out in sections 15 to 37 of the Act. A right or freedom not included in the Act that arises or is recognised under another law must not be taken to be abrogated or limited only because the right or freedom is not included in this Act or is only partly included; HRA, s 12.

⁹² Bill, cl 17; cl 16.

⁹³ Bill, cl 19(1), (2). Except jurisdictional error: Bill, cl 19(3).

⁹⁴ HRA, s 11(2).

⁹⁵ Department of Resources, correspondence, 12 May 2023.

infrastructure and the development of a smarter grid to support over 11 GW of rooftop solar and around 6 GW of batteries in homes and businesses.⁹⁶

An integral part of that Energy and Jobs Plan is to make sure regional workers and communities gain benefit from that transition. Action 3.6 in the Energy and Job Plan states that the Queensland Government will 'partner with industries and communities to maximise benefits from the energy transformation and drive regional economic opportunities'.⁹⁷ The draft Regional Energy Transformation Partnerships Framework (Partnerships Framework), along with the Queensland SuperGrid Infrastructure Blueprint and REZ Roadmap, outline how industry, local government and state government will work together to support the transformation in regional Queensland and achieve better social outcomes.⁹⁸ Substantial community and stakeholder input has already guided the development of the draft framework.

The Partnerships Framework will guide the development of the \$200 million forthcoming Regional Economic Futures Fund, under the Energy and Jobs Plan, to support economic and community development initiatives.

Also as part of the Partnerships Framework, \$35 million has been allocated for strategic planning and community support for renewable development.⁹⁹

The committee acknowledges that work is underway to ensure benefits flow to regional Queenslanders through the Renewable Energy Transformation Partnerships Framework, the Energy and Jobs Plan, the national Net Zero Authority and the REZ Roadmap. As part of this planning, the committee recommends the Queensland Government continue the creation of regional bodies or plans.

Recommendation 2

The committee recommends that the Queensland Government continues the creation of regional transition bodies or plans under the draft Regional Energy Transformation Partnerships Framework, the Queensland SuperGrid Infrastructure Blueprint and the draft 2023 Renewable Energy Zone Roadmap.

⁹⁶ Queensland Government, *Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan*, September 2022, p 6.

⁹⁷ Queensland Government, *Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan*, September 2022, p 19.

⁹⁸ Queensland Government, Regional Energy Transformation Partnerships Framework – Draft for Consultation, October 2022, p 4; Department of Energy and Public Works, Queensland SuperGrid Infrastructure Blueprint, September 2022.

⁹⁹ Queensland Government, Regional Energy Transformation Partnerships Framework – Draft for Consultation, October 2022, p 4.

Appendix A – Submitters

Sub #	Submitter
001	Form A or variation of Form A
002	Jim Thomas
003	Robert Heron
004	Confidential
005	Greg Wright
006	Form B or variation of Form B
007	Shane Cuthbert
008	Brynn Mathews
009	Beverley Newton
010	Lee Coaldrake
011	Name Withheld
012	The Next Economy
013	Australian Conservation Foundation
014	Central Highlands Regional Council
015	Local Government Association of Queensland
016	Gina Foster
017	Coolum & North Shore Coast Care
018	Queensland Youth Policy Collective
019	Moreton Bay Regional Council
020	Environmental Defenders Office
021	Mackay Conservation Group
022	Energy Strategist, Queensland Conservation Council
023	Australian Institute for Progress
024	Queensland Farmers' Federation

Appendix B – Officials at public departmental briefing

27 March 2023

• Mr Michael Berkman MP, Member for Maiwar

22 May 2023

Queensland Treasury

- Dennis Molloy, Deputy Under Treasurer, Fiscal and Economics
- Edwin Dewan, Director, Economics

Department of State Development, Infrastructure, Local Government and Planning

- Michele Bauer, Deputy Director-General
- Danielle Ellem, Director, Industry Strategy
- Christopher Aston, Executive Director, Policy and Statutory Planning
- Kerry Smeltzer, Assistant Coordinator-General, Project Evaluation and Facilitation
- Judith Rowell, Executive Director, Strategic Policy and Insights
- Kelly Kohut, A/Director, Infrastructure Innovation

Department of Resources

- Shaun Ferris, Deputy Director-General
- Darren Moor, Executive Director, Georesources Delivery
- Kris Campbell, Manager, Assessment, Petroleum Assessment Hub
- Alex Grundy, Director, Coal Assessment Hub

Appendix C – Witnesses at public hearing

Australian Institute for Progress

- Graham Young, Executive Director
- Ben Beattie, Advisor/Engineer

Queensland Conservation Council

• Clare Silcock, Energy Strategist

Environmental Defenders Office

- Revel Pointon, Managing Lawyer Southern & Central Qld Practice
- Jayme Cooper, Solicitor

Local Government Association of Queensland

- Sarah Vogler, Head of Advocacy
- Nathan Ruhle, Manager, Intergovernmental Relations Advocate

Central Highlands Regional Council

- Cr Kerry Hayes, Mayor
- Millicent Bradley Woods, Principal Projects Advisor

Appendix D – Acronyms and abbreviations

Bill	Queensland Climate Transition Bill 2023	
blueprint	Queensland SuperGrid Infrastructure Blueprint	
COP21	United Nations Climate Change Conference 21	
Committee	State Development and Regional Industries Committee	
DEPW	Department of Energy and Public Works	
Energy and Jobs Plan	Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan	
GW	gigawatt	
HRA	Human Rights Act 2019	
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	
LGAQ	Local Government Association of Queensland	
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas	
Partnership Framework	draft Regional Energy Transformation Partnerships Framework	
QCTA	Queensland Climate Transition Authority	
REZ Roadmap	draft 2023 Queensland Renewable Energy Zone Roadmap	
REZs	Renewable Energy Zones	
strategic plan	Queensland Climate Transition Strategic Plan	
UN	United Nations	

Statement of reservation

STATE DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL INDUSTRIES COMMITTEE

QUEENSLAND CLIMATE TRANSITION BILL 2023

STATEMENT OF RESERVATION

OPPOSITION COMMITTEE MEMBERS

The LNP Opposition supports the committee's recommendation that the Bill not be passed, but has major concerns with the Bill introduced by the Member for Maiwar of the Australian Greens.

The LNP supports practical action to reduce emissions and reliance on fossil fuels; however, the Australian Greens' Bill is ill considered and will risk the future of important industries in Queensland.

There are significant unintended consequences identified in the committee's report which go to the heart of good governance in this state.

The LNP wishes to again place on record its concerns surrounding Labor's Energy and Jobs Plan, and notes that recommendation 2 is irrelevant to the Bill and seems to have been added to enhance the government's current policy. In addition to that, it appeared as though the departmental brief had nothing to do with the Member for Maiwar's Bill, and rather a public relations exercise for the government.

Recommendation 2 also pre-empts ongoing investigations with respect to the Renewable Energy Zone Roadmap.

Budget Estimates revealed not only is there no funding in this year's Budget for its flagship project the Pioneer Burdekin Pumped Hydro, but also Government Ministers are at odds about whether the project would even proceed.

inno and

Mr Jim McDonald MP Deputy Chair Member for Lockyer

Mr Michael Hart MP Member for Burleigh