

Those who have knowledge, don't predict. Those who predict, don't have knowledge"
– Lao Tzu, 6th Century BC Chinese Poet

What is the Greatest Threat – Global Warming or Terrorism?

Address to U3A Batemans Bay, 17 May 2007

By Des Moore

You may have gathered from the outline of my activities that, both during my 28 years in Treasury and since, I have had an active interest in the role of governments and the policies they pursue - or ought not to pursue. I started as a believer in an activist government but have developed more than a degree of scepticism. It may help you understand that when I tell you my experience included being a chief adviser briefly to Jim Cairns when, instead of doing his job as Treasurer, he spent much of his time mooching with Morosi! I can assure you that being a senior Treasury officer when Gough Whitlam was Prime Minister was indeed a unique experience in more ways than one.

During those 28 years in Treasury my contacts with politicians made me increasingly aware of the importance of an idea developed in America and described as public choice theory. The promulgation of this idea in the US confirmed my growing realisation that politicians and bureaucrats have a natural instinct to expand their roles by intervening in the operation of the economy and society generally. The usual justification for such intervention is that it will improve the public good. But what they sometimes forget to mention is that it is also in their own interests because it increases their political power and importance. Unfortunately, it has become almost culturally ingrained that, when there is a problem of one kind or another, most of us still instinctively look to the government to "fix it".

This is particularly relevant to the two questions I want to address today - but to which I suggest completely different answers in regard to the role government should play.

My first question is - how seriously should we take the surge – explosion might be a better word - of dire warnings of perceived threats from rising temperatures, first from Al Gore's film "An Inconvenient Truth", then from the Stern Review of the Economics of Climate Change, followed by the report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change in February 2007 entitled *Summary¹ for Policymakers* on

¹ This "Summary" of 18 pages, with a Technical Summary of 85 pages, preceded the final IPCC report of August 2007 (running to over 500 pages) and the smaller Synthesis Report of the IPCC Fourth Assessment report of November 2007, which also has its own Summary for Policy Makers. However, analysis in this address is based on the February 2007 Summary and Technical Summary. That report is

“Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis” and the final IPCC report published in August of that year? These warnings all call for drastic, early action by governments to deal with the perceived threats. Their argument is that we can’t just let things go on as they are because the normal response of the private sector in the market place to temperature increases would be too late to prevent serious damage to economies and in some cases to societies more generally.²

This argument reflects what economists sometimes call “market failure”, meaning that individual businesses or persons are judged as lacking the necessary incentive or the resources to remedy the perceived problem by acting on their own behalf. Without any public inquiry, the Rudd Government has accepted both the scientific analysis of the IPCC and the market failure thesis, announcing that a policy of reducing CO2 emissions will commence in 2010 with the eventual aim of a 60% reduction by 2050. However, my contention is that the case for major government intervention to “keep us cool” has not been made and that, even if further increases in average temperature were to occur, the response should be left principally to the private sector to handle.

By contrast, the answer to my second question on the threat from terrorism is that it is *seriously serious* and that we do need *more* government intervention to reduce the potential for Islamic extremists to take destructive action as they did in the US on 9/11. In its annual report for 2006-07 ASIO indicated that “extremists represent a threat that will confront us and many countries for a long time”, in July the Director General publicly defended the need for anti-terror legislation in response to criticisms by the former Chief Justice³ and in December he told a security conference that it was possible for networked extremists to operate simultaneously across the globe from war-torn cities to western capital cities.⁴ My contention is that to deal with this threat we need to take further both the new approach to criminal law and its enforcement - which the previous Government started to implement - and its adoption of tighter tests on immigration applicants, including provision for assessing the capacity of potential migrants to integrate into the community.⁵ As seen from the response to the Haneef

only one of a number of reports by the IPCC and its working groups on climate change but is the most important because it purports to provide the scientific basis attributing warming to human activity. Note that the provision of a summary *before* the final report could be taken to imply that the latter would be “adjusted” to ensure it supports the summary, rather than the other way around as one would expect.

² The Stern Review of October 2006 claims that “Our actions over the coming few decades could create risks of major disruption to economic and social activity, later in this century and in the next, on a scale similar to those associated with the great wars and economic depression of the first half of the 20th century”. Such major disruption would include the flooding of low-lying areas by rising sea levels, causing not only deaths but also an enormous refugee problem; the spread of diseases such as malaria; huge changes in the nature and location of present world food production; the wiping out of wildlife habitats, particularly those of such photogenic animals as polar bears ; increased frequency of natural disasters such as floods and hurricanes; and even the “shutting down” of the Gulf Stream, with incalculable consequences for those areas whose climate it currently affects.

³ Mr O’Sullivan was reported in *The Australian* (9 July 2007) as rejecting comments by former Chief Justice Brennan that an anti-terrorist regime fosters intolerance and suspicion of moderate Muslims. He warned “Jihadi groups and networks represent a significant threat to Australia’s national security”.

⁴ “Australian spy chiefs warn: Terror here to stay”, *Herald Sun*, December 6 2007. At the same conference the director-general of the Office of National Assessments, Mr Peter Vargese, said Islamist terrorism would continue through autonomous cells even if al-Quaeda were destroyed.

⁵ In a speech to the Sydney Institute on 31 July 2007, the then Minister Andrews indicated the government’s intention to apply a new citizenship test and that applicants for permanent and provisional visas would have to sign a statement that they will respect Australian values and obey

case, particularly from some members of the legal and judicial professions, the opponents of such changes argue that the problem is exaggerated, that the counter terrorism legislation already passed is excessive and an unwarranted threat to human liberties and human rights generally,⁶ and that there should be no “discrimination” in immigration policy. The new federal government has instituted inquiries into the handling of the Haneef case and the citizenship test and Attorney-General McClelland is reported as viewing favourably recommendations by two Parliamentary Inquiries to appoint an independent reviewer and repeal provisions covering the proscribing of terrorist organisations and associating with a terrorist organisation.

Let me now consider these questions in a bit more detail.

Global Warming

I want to start by recalling the long history of doom and gloom predictions about the likely course of human activity. Way back in 1798, for example, Thomas Malthus postulated in his “Essay on the Principle of Population” an “inevitable” tendency for population to outrun available subsistence. Jumping ahead 170 odd years, four scientists from the Club of Rome got much publicity in 1972 when they argued in “The Limits to Growth” that a developing shortage of resources required population to be “stabilized” and in his 1971 “The Population Bomb” biologist Professor Ehrlich predicted early serious shortages of food unless population growth was reduced to zero. A similar theme was advanced in “A Blueprint for Survival” signed in 1972 by a large number of eminent scientists, including five Fellows of the Royal Society and sixteen holders of science chairs in British universities. This Blueprint was described as a “major contribution to the current debate” in a letter to The Times signed by another 150 scientists, including nine more fellows of the Royal Society and 20 more university science professors. Although recent increases in world prices of some basic foods indicate shortages, it appears these are due to bad government policies, including bio-fuel subsidisation for environmental reasons, rather than fundamental resource problems.

Why is it that gloomy and totally erroneous predictions emerge from time to time? This is not easy to answer. But the long history of apocalyptic statements and writings foretelling death or disasters, even the end of the world, in certain circumstances may derive from the religious notion that there is a day of final judgment.⁷ Humans have

Australian laws before being granted a visa. Mr Andrews cited values as including freedom of speech, tolerance, freedom of religion and secular government, and equality of men and women. Greater emphasis was also to be given to a potential immigrants’ capacity to integrate in Australian society. In early 2008 the British Government announced a new citizenship tests and immigration controls “based on the Australian model” involving a points based system to restrict migration to those with skills needed in the UK. Identity cards are now also to be required in Britain for foreign nationals and airport staff.

⁶ Late in 2007 NSW Judge Michael Adams dismissed charges against a Sydney medical student that he had trained with a terrorist organization. Adams deemed the student had been “kidnapped and falsely imprisoned” for 2.5 hours of questioning without being given proper cautioning and advised of his rights.

⁷ There may also be an instinctive element of trying to create a situation that poses a requirement and opportunity to reform society by forcing humans to lead what some perceive as a “better life”. In Gore’s Inconvenient Truth, for example, it is suggested that “The climate crisis also offers us the chance to experience what very few generations in history have had the privilege of knowing: a generational mission; the exhilaration of a compelling moral purpose; a shared and unifying cause; the

an inbuilt tendency to include in their thinking what might be the worst possible outcome, such as if a period of bad weather occurs and is maintained for some time. Today we look to scientists rather than preachers to analyse such developments and to provide recommendations as to whether anything needs to be done. But although that should provide a more rational approach, we often find that analyses by scientists themselves downgrade the potential for technological and other scientific advances to overcome or at least alleviate perceived and actual problems faced by mankind.

When I did my own research at the Royal College of Defence Studies in London in the early 1970s on the predicted running out of resources thesis, I was astonished to discover that the scientist doom and gloom analysts had made only limited allowance for new technological developments, even for new discoveries or replacements to existing resources. A popular theme at the time was that the exhaustion of oil supplies would itself soon cause a major reduction in economic growth. But such propositions took little account of the likelihood that the natural operations of markets, particularly through the price mechanism, would lead either to new discoveries or to the development of alternative fuel sources to replace oil.

Let me now comment on the recent warnings of dire consequences from further temperature increases. As I am not a scientist, I cannot delve into the science of climatology itself although it is important to recognise that this science is only a new one dealing with extremely complicated relationships. Based on my own observations and examining those of well-qualified analysts with whom I have discussed the matter, I believe it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there has been a gross overstatement by some scientists of the seriousness of threats. This leads me to conclude that there is no case for any major government intervention to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, which come primarily from use of fossil fuels⁸. Time permits me to mention only briefly a few relevant points that I believe justify my conclusion.

First, while the IPCC report calculates an increase in average global surface temperatures of 0.74C over the 100 years to 2005,⁹ it also shows two lengthy periods, from 1940–75 and 1880-1910, of declining temperatures even though CO2 emissions were increasing (see graph of temperatures since 1850). Now a significant period has developed prior to the current year during which there has been no increase in the global average temperature (see graph of temperatures since 1975) and one science journal published this month an article by a Hadley Centre scientist suggesting that over the next decade “natural” climate variations will “temporarily offset the projected anthropogenic warming: surface temperatures in Europe and North America

thrill of being forced by circumstances to put aside the pettiness and conflict that so often stifle the restless human need for transcendence”.

⁸ The greenhouse effect arises from what happens after the sun warms the earth. That warming (which would leave a very cold earth if it did not occur) leads in turn to a radiation of warmth back into the atmosphere, where some of that radiation disappears into space but some is absorbed by greenhouse gases that stay in the atmosphere. These concentrations of greenhouse gases then radiate part of the absorbed warmth back to earth and that process is described as the greenhouse effect. The main greenhouse gases are water vapour (which is naturally occurring and is the main one), carbon dioxide (only about 2-4%), methane and nitrous oxide. The burning of fossil fuels and deforestation are the main contributors to carbon dioxide emissions.

⁹ Summary for Policy Makers of the Synthesis Report, November 2007, pages 1-2.

may even cool a little during this period”.¹⁰ Although some scientists attribute at least part of the temperature decline in the 1940-75 period to aerosols that reduce the warming effect from the sun, even the IPCC acknowledges there is only “a medium-low level of scientific understanding” of aerosol attributes¹¹ and it offers no explanation of the temperature decline over the 1880-1910 period. Long records of temperatures for some specific places showing little or no warming also raise a question as to the accuracy of surface temperature measurements¹² and research since the IPCC report suggests that the urban heating effect may have contributed about half the increase in the average global temperature since 1980.¹³ A recent revision to US temperature estimates by NASA’s Goddard Institute for Space Studies shows that, by contrast with the IPCC statement that “eleven of the last twelve years (1995-2006) rank among the 12 warmest in the instrumental record of global surface temperature (since 1850)”¹⁴ only three of the hottest years occurred in the last ten years in the US.¹⁵

Second, although the IPCC claims that temperatures in the last 50 years are *likely*¹⁶ to have been the highest in at least the last 1300 years¹⁷, well-known features of history suggest temperatures in periods in the past have almost certainly been higher than recently without having adverse effects on societies.¹⁸ For example, in the Medieval Warm Period (roughly, 800-1,100 AD) the Norsemen were growing crops and grazing cattle in what they then accurately called Greenland in circumstances that

¹⁰ Wood, Richard, *Climate change: Natural ups and downs*, Nature 453, 43-45 (1 May 2008). If this analysis is correct, it means that IPCC models’ temperature predictions are incorrect. Astrophysicist Piers Corbyn, founder of the UK based long-term solar forecast group Weather Action, is reported as stating that this prediction “coincides pretty well with various solar-based predictions” issued by his group.

¹¹ Climate Change 2007 The Physical Science Basis Technical Summary, pages 29-30.

¹² The IPCC report says the margin of error in the 0.74C estimated increase ranges between plus and minus 0.18C. But the margin of error may be higher than this given that, during the period, different measurement techniques and different sources of temperatures were used. Moreover, although the IPCC claims that additions to surface temperatures from expanded urban areas and land use change were “negligible” (TS page 36), recent research suggests this understates such possible effects.

¹³ McKittrick, Ross R. and Patrick J. Michaels (2007), *Quantifying the influence of anthropogenic surface processes and inhomogeneities on gridded surface climate data*, *Journal of Geophysical Research-Atmospheres*, in press.

¹⁴ SMP page 5.

¹⁵ This was not reported by NASA until discovered and reported on August 8 by Stephen McIntyre of Climate Audit. McIntyre is one of the scientists who questioned the hockey-stick analysis by Mann, leading to Professor Wegan showing that analysis to be incorrectly based –see footnote 17 below.

¹⁶ The IPCC report has gradations of probabilities ranging from “virtually certain” (99% probable) to “extremely unlikely” (less than 5% probable). “Likely” is classed as only 66% probable. The subjective nature of these gradations raises questions as to how “scientific” they are in practice.

¹⁷ Technical Summary, page 54. The reference to temperatures in the last 50 years is to temperatures in the Northern Hemisphere. It should be noted that the reconstructed northern hemisphere trend in the IPCC Third Assessment report portrayed a cooling in temperatures from 1000-1900 followed by an increase. This so-called hockey stick portrayal, which was obviously intended to “prove” the supposed temperature effects from increasing industrialization, has been omitted from the latest IPCC report following a damning analysis undertaken by statistical expert Professor Wegan for the US Congress. Notwithstanding this, the head of the ABC radio science program, Robyn Williams, made the remarkable claim in the debate on ABC TV on The Great Global Warming Swindle documentary that this hockey stick portrayal remains extant.

¹⁸ According to a report in New York Times of 13 March 2007 (“From a Rapt Audience, a call to Cool the Hype”), Emeritus Professor of Geology, Dr Don. J. Easterbrook, had told a “crowded” US geological society meeting in October 2006 that he had recently identified ten past periods that have experienced swings in temperature that were 20 times greater than the warming over the past century.

suggest there must have been much less ice than today. More generally, other aspects of history for that period suggest the climate was conducive to increased economic, cultural and warlike activity, as it appears also to have done in the earlier in the earlier Greco-Roman warm period (from 600 BC to 200 AD), when Hannibal was able to take his army, including elephants, through the Alps in winter and grapes were planted and wine produced in northern England during the Romans occupation. It is astonishing that IPCC scientists give the appearance of never having studied history and of being unaware that there have been marked historical changes in climate, with lives of misery for most and populations in decline outside the warm periods.¹⁹

Third, the IPCC report claims that “new analyses of balloon/satellite lower and mid-tropospheric” temperatures show warming rates that are generally consistent with surface temperatures for the 1979-2005 period.²⁰ However, this is disputed and the IPCC does not explain why satellite measurements show no upward movement at all in lower troposphere temperatures in the Southern Hemisphere over the period from 1979-2006,²¹ that is, higher temperatures in the lower troposphere over this period are confined to the Northern Hemisphere – see attached graph. These hemispheric differences are not even mentioned in the report.

But what, you may ask, about the conclusions of the believers in anthropogenic global warming that even the apparent warming of 0.74C over the past century has *already* started to have adverse and alarming effects in causing (for example) melt downs of the great ice sheets covering Antarctica and Greenland or the floating Arctic sea ice? It is obvious that a period of higher temperatures will cause some melting of ice sheets and glaciers and it is undeniable that if large meltdowns of ice sheets were to occur sea levels would rise and flooding would follow. However, while the IPCC claims the global sea level increased between 1961 and 2003 by an average of 1.8mm a year and projects a total increase by 2100 of about 59 centimetres (ie 0.65 mm a year), the extent of the actual and potential sea level rise is also widely disputed even by “experts” who accept the general warming thesis.^{22 23} Moreover, even the IPCC

¹⁹ The depth of the Little Ice Age across Europe and North America during the 17th and 18th centuries is well documented. Alpine glaciers increased and many rivers regularly froze in winter. The London diarist John Evelyn records that in 1683-84 the Thames froze from late December to early February and “... *Conditions were terrible with men and cattle perishing and the seas locked with ice such that no vessels could stir out or come in. The fowls fish and birds and exotic plants and greens were universally perishing*”.

²⁰ Technical Summary page 36.

²¹ Leading Australian geologist, Professor Bob Carter, has pointed out that general circulation computer models predict that warming trends increase with altitude – see paper on *The Myth of Dangerous Human-Caused Climate Change* (http://members.iinet.au/~glmrc/newpage_1.htm). Professor Carter also stated recently that “of the two future climate possibilities, dangerous warming or dangerous cooling, the evidence suggests that cooling will be the more damaging; arguably it is also the most imminent”.

²² Technical Summary, page 48. Note the large error estimate of plus or minus 0.5mm in the IPCC estimated rise since 1961 and the wide difference of opinion amongst “experts” as to the likely future outlook. The host of the ABC Radio Science Show, Robyn Williams has predicted an increase of 100 metres by 2100 and a report in *The Age* (*Call of the Mild*, 8 August, 2007) stated that James Hansen of NASA had published a paper in *New Scientist* that “lays out a scenario predicting 5-metre sea level rises before the end of the century if warming reaches a tipping point that sees ice sheets begin to disintegrate in West Antarctica, Greenland or both”. This article apparently also includes a predicted increase of 1.4 metres by “a lead author of the IPCC report, Professor Stefan Rahmstorf” and comments by other scientists suggesting the IPCC estimate is too low. On 8 April this year *The Age* reported that Hansen and 8 others co-wrote a paper predicting a sea rise of 75 metres unless CO₂

attributes only a minuscule amount of its estimated sea level rise to a reduction in the Greenland ice sheet over this period.²⁴ Other analyses suggest the Greenland and Antarctic ice sheets have probably been relatively stable. The warming in the Arctic, which is not new, has had no significant effect on sea levels as, unlike the other two, the sea ice there is already floating.

Other points relevant to the debate over the effects of temperatures increases include, first, the incorrect claim in the Gore film and elsewhere that polar bears are finding it difficult to survive because of melting ice (it appears that in most places they are actually increasing, partly because of the success of environmentalists in reducing the number of seal pups being slaughtered). Second, the incorrect claim in earlier IPCC reports that higher temperatures would increase the incidence of malaria because mosquitoes would spread into former cooler areas (this claim appears to have been dropped after Professor Paul Reiter pointed out that his detailed research on malaria showed mosquitoes exist in quantities in the Arctic and that malaria has caused many deaths in relatively cold areas), that is, malaria is a function of poverty and preventive measures, not temperature. Third, the incorrect claim that warmer temperatures are leading, or will do so, to an increased incidence of hurricanes and storms. Distinguished meteorologist Professor Richard Lindzen²⁵ of MIT pointed out in the March 2007 documentary on “The Great Global Warming Swindle” shown on TV that the incidence of such weather is mainly determined by temperature differences between the tropics and the poles. This means that an increase in temperatures would likely *reduce* the incidence of extreme weather.

My general conclusion on temperature changes is that the increase since 1975 to existing higher levels needs to be assessed in an historical perspective that takes account, firstly, of lengthy periods during which temperatures were almost certainly higher than in the period from 1975 to 2007; secondly, of periods in which temperatures fell or were relatively stable despite increases in CO2 emissions; thirdly, of differences in the recent temperature experience of the two hemispheres; and, fourthly, of the apparent limited increases in sea levels, let alone the absence of “meltdowns” of ice sheets.

My second main point is that, although the IPCC report asserts that “most of the observed increase in globally averaged temperatures since the mid-20th century is *very likely* due to the observed increase in anthropogenic greenhouse gas concentrations”,²⁶ and although carbon dioxide emissions have grown strongly as industrialization and economic growth generally has increased over the past 100

concentrations are reduced to 350 ppm. Hansen has also written to the Prime Minister proposing that no more coal fired power stations be built. So where is the scientific consensus?

²³ Swedish sea level expert Dr Nils-Axel Morner argues in *The Greatest Lie Ever Told*, Stockholm, Sweden, 2007 that there has been no increase in recent years either globally or on Pacific or Indian Ocean islands and that INQUA predicts no upward global trend. INQUA constitutes a group of specialist scientists from various fields, first established in 1928, “seeking to improve understanding of environmental change during the glacial ages through interdisciplinary research”. Dr Morner’s publication includes various graphs of sea levels showing fluctuations but no increase.

²⁴ In Table SPM-1 (page 7 of the SPM) the reduction in the Greenland ice sheet over the period is estimated to be 0.05 mm per year, with a large error margin of plus or minus 0.12 mm.

²⁵ Lindzen, who is a professor of meteorology at MIT and was a contributing author to the latest IPCC report, is widely acknowledged as an expert climatologist.

²⁶ SPM, page 10. In IPCC language *very likely* = 90% certain

years, it is difficult to discern a direct connection between increases in emissions and temperatures. As noted, average temperatures fell between 1940 and 1975 even though the world experienced probably its fastest rate of economic growth ever and the temperature reduction contributed at the time to predictions of an ice age by some scientists²⁷.

More importantly, it is widely accepted that the warming effects from emissions of CO₂ diminish progressively as atmospheric concentration levels of CO₂ increase (see graph). This is in fact recognised in all IPCC reports but is tucked well away in the body of those reports and, despite its obvious importance for the framing of policy on global warming, is not included in IPCC conclusions on the implications of its analysis.²⁸ Amongst others, Professor Richard Lindzen has also drawn attention to this phenomenon and suggested that the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere may already have reached a level at which it is ceasing to have any significant warming effect.²⁹ As the additions to CO₂ concentrations in the atmosphere form the basis of the IPCC conclusions that temperatures will continue to increase unless CO₂ emission-adding ceases, it is astonishing that this aspect of the science has not been publicly examined and reported on *before* governments accepted that policy action is needed to reduce emissions.

The sum total of this brief commentary on the possible relationship between increases in carbon dioxide emissions and temperature makes it very difficult, I suggest, to accept that the first is the principal cause of the other.

Third, there is very considerable doubt about the accuracy of the modelling used by the IPCC used to project temperature increases. While these models incorporate the *positive* feedbacks from water vapour that increase the radiation effects from increasing CO₂ concentrations (and hence cause temperatures to rise), they fail to take adequate account of the *negative* feedbacks effect from the strong increase in surface evaporation that also occurs as surface temperatures rise and which act to constrain that temperature rise. In reality, surface evaporation is an offsetting process that means larger CO₂ concentrations will result in a much smaller surface temperature rise than the models produce.³⁰

²⁷ Including one, Dr Stephen Schneider, who is now a leading advocate for the global warming thesis.

²⁸ Page 3 of the most recent IPCC report – IPCC Working Group I Summary for Policy Makers – states “... the average net effect of human activities since 1750 has been one of warming, with a radiative forcing of 1.6 [+0.6 to +2.4] Wm⁻²”. Translated, this means the IPCC acknowledges that an increase in CO₂ concentration of more than 40 per cent produces less than a 6 per cent increase in forcing and that, in turn, means it can be calculated that even a doubling of CO₂ concentrations in the 21st century would increase temperatures over the rest of the century by only 0.3C.

²⁹ This important but little recognized point is analysed in more detail in the publication by Lavoisier Secretary, Ray Evans on “Nine Facts About Climate Change”. Also, as pointed out by authoritative scientists interviewed in the “The Great Global Warming Swindle” film, historical analyses of ice cores suggest that past temperature increases *preceded* increases in carbon dioxide. This is not only the opposite conclusion to that portrayed in the Gore film but also runs counter to the general claim made by global warming believers.

³⁰ The negative feedback process may be explained as follows. The radiative forcing alters the surface energy balance such that the new surface temperature is where the radiative forcing is offset by additional infrared emission from the surface and increased latent heat exchange with evaporation. But

Fourth, this leads to the question of other possible causes of the rise in temperatures over the past century. I might first deny that signals of concern and alarm have been received from Mars about warming reportedly occurring on that planet! Seriously, there is some evidence suggesting that other planets have been warming in recent years. If correct, this would provide a prima facie basis for concluding that the extent of the sun's activity could be a major determinant of temperature increases.

This is also the view taken by some of the leading scientists interviewed in the Swindle film, where it was strongly put that variations in sunspot activity are closely co-related with variations in temperature³¹ and that the sun seems to have been much more active in recent years. These scientists also point out that such an increase in the activity of the sun would have resulted in fewer cosmic rays from exploded stars getting through the atmosphere and forming clouds that would otherwise reduce the heat coming from the sun.

But the conclusion that the sun has played the major role in determining temperatures and human activity a minor role is not made only by the scientists in the Swindle film. Indeed, one authoritative commentator³² has argued that it is legitimate to conclude that an analysis that can be *derived from the IPCC report itself* suggests that about three-quarters of the rise in temperature over the past 100 years is attributable to natural causes. He also refers to supporting analyses by other scientists, including one claiming that in the past 50 years the sun “has been hotter, for longer, than at any time in the previous 11,400 years”.

As I have said, the factors contributing to climate change are complex and it would be wrong to accept as conclusive these analyses of the role of the sun. Equally, however, it can legitimately be said that, at the least, they raise very serious doubts about the IPCC claim that consulted scientists are “90 per cent certain” that human activity has been the main cause of temperature increases.

This leads to my fifth main question – which is how is it possible for believers in human activity being the principal temperature driver to justify the claim that there is a “scientific consensus” on this matter? Even leaving aside the point that the idea of

the latter quantities increase strongly with surface temperature and hence the small radiative forcing can only sustain a small surface temperature rise. More than 70% of the Earth's surface is ocean or well-watered land surface and the additional heat taken from the surface to support evaporation increases strongly with surface temperature and constrains temperature rise from radiative forcing. Published research since the release of IPCC WGI AR4 identifies that the computer models used to generate the IPCC predictions, on average, understated the increase in surface evaporation with temperature by a factor of three (Wentz, F.J et al, 2007. *How Much More Rain Will Global Warming Bring?* Science, vol 317, pp 233-235)

³¹ This is based on analyses by several scientists and covers analyses extending over varying periods of time. Of particular interest, however, is the account by a Dr Corbyn of his use of variations in sunspot activity to make better predictions of the weather in recent years than the British Meteorological Office. It should be noted that one scientist interviewed in this film, Professor Carl Wunsch of MIT, claimed subsequently that his views were taken out of context and their meaning distorted. However, an analysis by Lawrence Solomon of the Toronto National Post (14 March 2007) of what Wunsch *actually* said suggests that he was not misrepresented in the film to any significant extent. Claims of misrepresentation have, of course, also been made by scientists who contributed to IPCC reports.

³² “Errors Covertly Corrected By The IPCC After Publication *And* Uncorrected Errors by Al Gore” by Lord Monckton of Brenchley, March 2007 (Published by Center for Science and Public Policy, Washington, DC).

having a consensus is itself unscientific, the short answer is that there is no substantive basis for this claim. The dissenting scientists interviewed in the Swindle film – at least 15 on my count – made that clear but there is no doubt that, while in a minority, there are many others who are also dissenters. Particularly over the past two years or so there has developed a strong questioning or rejection by qualified scientists of the basic science reflected in the IPCC analysis.

These include, for example, an article in the World Economics journal in 2006 concluding that the IPCC Review is deeply flawed and does not provide a basis for informed and responsible policies. This critique was originated by the former head of the economic division at the OECD, Professor David Henderson, and authored by him and 14 other prominent scientists and economists.³³

A letter to the Canadian Prime Minister in January 2007 by 61 prominent international scientists, including Australian meteorologist William Kininmonth, denying any consensus and calling for “balanced, comprehensive public-consultation sessions” on the climate change issue. Similarly, a senior Canadian journalist has published interviews with ten prominent scientists with varying degrees of dissenting opinions.³⁴

A minority report in December 2007 by the US Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, endorsed by over 400 prominent scientists (many being current or former participants in the IPCC), including Australian Professor Ian Plimer, voiced “significant objections to major aspects of the so-called “consensus” on man-made global warming”.

The March 2008 report on “Nature, Not Human Activity, Rules the Climate” by the Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change (NIPCC)³⁵ concluding that “natural causes are very likely to be the dominant cause “ of the increase in temperatures, and arguing that the evidence shows greenhouse gases are not playing a significant role.. This report reflects the views of 23 expert scientists including two prominent Australian scientists, Professor Bob Carter, Research Professor at James Cook and Adelaide universities, and Mr William Kininmonth, former head of the Australian Bureau of Meteorology’s National Climate Centre.

It is also worth noting that, under the leadership of the then President of the US National Academy of Sciences, in 1998 over 17,000 scientists signed a petition in the US declaring that “there is no convincing scientific evidence that human release of carbon dioxide, methane, or other greenhouse gases is causing or will, in the foreseeable future, cause catastrophic heating of the Earth’s atmosphere and

³³ These included Australian Professor Bob Carter (a palaeontologist who has published considerable research on climate change and is Adjunct Professor at James Cook university in Townsville), Professor Chris de Freitas (a climate scientist at the University of Auckland), Richard Lindzen, Professor of Atmospheric Sciences at MIT (see below) and Mr Ian Castles, former Australian Statistician.

³⁴ “The Ten Deniers, Against the Grain: Some Scientists deny global warming exists” by Lawrence Solomon, National Post, Canada 2 February 2007 (LawrenceSolomon@nextcity.com). It should be noted that some scientists appear in all these references.

³⁵ Published by THE HEARTLAND INSTITUTE, Chicago, Illinois - www.heartland.org

disruption of the Earth's climate".³⁶ The petition is now signed by about 19,000 scientists and continues to attract signatories.³⁷

We now have a situation, therefore, in which many qualified individuals/ groups are strongly rejecting the principal positions adopted not only by official government/United Nations/international organisations but also by some leading scientific bodies such as the Royal Society of London (the positions taken by the latter also basically reflect the analyses in the IPCC and Stern reports). Their position to date has been that the science is supported by 2,500 scientists. However, this number refers to scientists who submitted papers to or whose papers were referenced by the IPCC, some of whom have disassociated themselves from IPCC conclusions. In reality, IPCC reports have been compiled by a very small group of scientists, with only 51 contributing to the 2007 Summary for Policy Makers. These contributors to the summary, used to publicise the reports, were actually selected by the Bureau of the IPCC which comprises government representatives.

The situation outlined means the claim that IPCC reports are the product of a scientific consensus is clearly wrong.³⁸

My final point on the global warming issue is that, even if it is judged that we should accept the possibility that human activity *might* be a major contributor to temperature increases, the serious questions and lack of agreement amongst scientist (and others) I have outlined should rule out the adoption by governments of urgent and dramatic action to reduce emissions. The reality is that the certainty thesis has no substantive basis³⁹ and the notion that major precautionary actions are justified fail because of the enormous uncertainty about the costs and benefits of such action. For one thing, estimates suggesting that the cost of mitigating action would be relatively small understate the major structural changes that would be required to the economy and the huge increase in government controls and intervention that would ensue.⁴⁰

³⁶ The Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine Petition Project was initiated by the then immediate past President of the US National Academy of Sciences, Professor Frederick Seitz.

³⁷ This list of papers/reports/petitions/letters represents only a small proportion of those critical of the science and economics used in IPCC reports. In the Australian context, for example, the Lavoisier Society web site contains many critiques, the former head of the Australian Bureau of Meteorology's National Climate Centre, Mr William Kininmonth, has published a book on "Climate Change: A Natural Hazard", and the former head of the Australian Treasury, Mr John Stone, has published two critiques in the National Observer journal. Reference should also be made to the extensive and important analyses (including a book) published in the US by Professor Fred Singer in his Science and Environmental Policy Project.

³⁸ Indeed, it has recently been revealed for the first time that, although the IPCC claims it had a procedure for the reviewing of drafts of chapters designed to take account of comments and corrections by independent experts, this procedure appears not to have been followed in some cases. See "IPCC Review Editors Comments OnLine", by Steve McIntyre, 1 April 2008 at <http://www.climateaudit.org/?p=2960>

³⁹ The argument that increased certainty reflects improved modelling cuts no ice: the outcomes from models are only as good as the weightings given by the modellers to the various possible influences. As pointed out by one of the scientists in the Swindle film, all the models used by the IPCC *assume* human influence (but presumably to differing extents). However, if the modelling has improved so much why is there a need to use so many different models, why do they all produce different results, and why do they all have to be tuned (ie adjusted) to make them more "realistic"?

⁴⁰ The basing of estimates on the effects on gross domestic product is also misleading because GDP does not treat the elimination of capital as a reduction. If, for example, it was decided to cease

More importantly, whether governments are correct in assuming they need to intervene to limit CO2 emissions, and to start doing so more or less immediately, depends on the science being *absolutely* right. If any substantive qualification were to be made to the consensus, including as to the real level of uncertainty of scientific understanding, this would clearly require a different policy response. For example, if it was acknowledged that any further temperature increase from increased CO2 emissions is likely to be small and relatively gradual, such an increase would be capable of being handled by adaptation by the private sector. The wide differences in average temperatures that already exist between different parts of the world,⁴¹ but which do not prevent human habitation, show the extent to which humans can readily adapt themselves to different climates. The case for extensive government intervention is importantly dependent on the end-of-civilisation type argument that some scientists have previously predicted – wrongly.

In these circumstances it is almost unbelievable that, without holding any public inquiry into the science or the economics, the Labor government has endorsed then Opposition Leader Rudd's pre-election announcement of a policy of reducing CO2 emissions by 2050 by 60% and continues its policy of starting an emissions trading scheme (ETS) in 2010 regardless of what other countries are doing.⁴² The initial report of the 2020 summit even declared "Our aspiration is that by 2020 Australia is the world's leading green and sustainable economy". By contrast, although not commissioned to undertake any assessment of the possible need for government action, Australia's professionally respected Productivity Commission⁴³ has pointed out that "uncertainty continues to pervade the science and geopolitics and, notwithstanding the Stern Report, the economics" and adds that "independent action by Australia to substantially reduce GHG emissions, in itself, would deliver barley discernible climate benefits, but could be nationally very costly". It also describes the Stern report "as much an exercise in advocacy as it is an economic analysis of climate change".⁴⁴

Yet as in the case of Stern, Labor's policy and the report on ETS commissioned from Professor Garnaut all simply assume, almost without question, that the science

producing electricity from coal-powered stations before their use-by date, the early write off of such stations would have no adverse effect on GDP. There would be a similar outcome from an early write off of petrol-driven cars.

⁴¹ The average temperature in Singapore is 27 degrees compared with 5 degrees in Helsinki.

⁴² A reduction for 2020 and a larger reduction for 2050 are foreshadowed in the Garnaut Inquiry's interim report of March 2008. By contrast, internationally recognised expert on emissions trading, Australian Warwick McKibbin, points out that "most experts in the climate change area acknowledge the science is still uncertain on what the precise target for greenhouse emissions should be. The Garnaut review also acknowledges this, but critically fails to adequately incorporate it into designing the policy response" ("Climate change policy built on shaky foundation", AFR 28 March 2008). Professor Garnaut was in fact first commissioned by the State Labor governments in May 2007. His interim report was published in February 2008. Garnaut's final report is scheduled for September 08.

⁴³ See "Productivity Commission Submission to the Prime Ministerial Task Force on Emission Trading", 4 April 2007 and "The Stern Review: an assessment of its methodology", Productivity Commission Staff Working Paper 24/1/08.

⁴⁴ Stern wrote to the Garnaut review rejecting this comment in the Commission's Jan 2008 report and postulated that if anything his review was "too optimistic rather than too pessimistic".

consensus is correct.⁴⁵ However, although Garnaut also appears to have accepted the basic Stern analysis of the need for strong, early action, his second report in March 2008 (on emissions trading) is seemingly contradictory in arguing that emissions budgets for Australia should only be determined “in the context of an effective, comprehensive global agreement”.

Even if increases in temperature were to continue at about the same rate as in the past century, the normal operations of market economies would be able to handle most problems that might emerge. Moreover, the next generation will be much richer and have a much greater capacity to provide the resources needed to deal with such problems.⁴⁶ The scare-mongering reports have seriously underestimated the capacity of humans to both innovate and adapt to change as they have done over the past century in company with the relatively small increase in temperature that has occurred.

Terrorism

So much for climate terrorism. What about the real thing and the protection of civil liberties?

As I have left only limited time to deal with the threat from destructive terrorist acts, my points will be brief.

First, in a speech in 2006 on the criminal justice system and the difficulties of deporting criminals, the then UK Prime Minister Tony Blair hit the nail on the head when he said the issue “is not an argument about whether we respect civil liberties or not; but whose take priority. It is not about choosing hard line policies over an individual’s rights. It’s about which human rights prevail”.⁴⁷ The basic point made by Blair was that terrorism today is in a new form and this has to be recognised by the legislative and judicial arms of government.

Second, since September 2001 the Australian Government has responded by implementing many counter-terrorism measures,⁴⁸ including the passage of 30 or more pieces of legislation dealing with terrorist acts, principally designed to create

⁴⁵ Garnaut’s interim report does acknowledge that climate change policy must begin with the science but he rejects assessments by “some people with relevant scientific credentials” seriously questioning the IPCC conclusion that increased human activity has caused increased temperatures since 1975.

⁴⁶ Stern has “estimated” that business as usual (ie taking no action to reduce emissions) would cost 5-20 per cent of GDP a year but that a process of mitigating emissions would cost only 1 per cent of GDP a year to reduce them by 60-90 per cent in industrial countries by 2050. These “estimates” clearly provide the underlying basis for his advocacy of early and strong action to reduce emissions and also reflect his assertion that it is wrong to value future generations’ welfare less than our own. But even if the “science” were accepted, any estimates about future costs and benefits necessarily have a wide range of error that could justify spreading any government action over a longer period of time or at least bunching any such action in, say, the 2040-50 period.

⁴⁷ Mr Blair made this comment in a speech on “Our Nation’s Future – Criminal Justice System”, 23 June 2006 (see his web site). Also worth examining in this context are a book by Sydney Morning Herald journalist, Paul Sheehan, entitled “Girls Like You” (published by Pan Macmillan) and an article by John Stone entitled “The Muslim Problem and What to do About It” in the September 2006 edition of Quadrant magazine.

⁴⁸ See Australian Government paper on “Protecting Australia Against Terrorism 2006” outlining counter-terrorism policy and arrangements.

offences and procedures **before** a terrorist act is committed. Previous legislation dealt largely with offences **after** an act of terrorism had been completed, such as hijacking an aircraft, and as pointed out by the head of Attorney General's department, traditional offences would "not easily have covered" preparatory acts and would not have covered some at all.⁴⁹ However, although the legislation was passed by both houses of Federal Parliament, with the support of both main parties and 70 per cent of the people, and by all state governments, the new Attorney-General Robert McClelland has indicated he is considering changes because (he alleges) the Howard Government politicised the issue, resulting (he claims) in a loss in the confidence of the legal profession and an alienation of the Muslim community. Whether McClelland's view is consistent with Rudd's recognition of the threat from global terrorism remains to be seen.

Third, while the legislation and other measures were not justified on the basis of actions or threats from any single group, it undoubtedly reflected a realization that a very serious threat existed from extremist Islamic groups⁵⁰. Their stated aim is to establish a theocratic state operating under Sharia law which could apply to a wide range of social behaviour, extinguish all religions except Islam, and subordinate the role of women.⁵¹ Although the achievement of such objectives would have appeared not so long ago as out of the question in a "civilized" country, there is a growing trend for European governments and societies to accept Muslim communities as separate communities within the state.

Indeed, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, recently called for the introduction of some aspects of sharia law into Britain, parallel courts are already operating in various British cities and towns with large Muslim populations, and African tribal elders are being flown into Britain to perform female genital mutilation. It is relevant that almost half of Britain's 1,350 mosques have been taken over by a hardline Islamic sect whose leading preacher expresses loathing of Western values, supports armed jihad, preaches contempt for Jews, Christians and Hindus, and has set its sights on "winning the whole of Britain to Islam".⁵² On a slightly lighter note, a British comedian recently complained that the BBC allowed jokes about vicars but not about imans. Also relevant in this context, and in the European context more generally, is the point made by author Mark Steyn that, if the low fertility rates of

⁴⁹ Address on "Australian Government Initiatives and Policy Directions after the London Bombings of 2005" by Mr Robert Cornall AO to a conference on "Safeguarding Australia 2006", 19 September 2006.

⁵⁰ Important here were the London bombings of July 2005 and the (detected) attempts to blow up half a dozen planes coming into Heathrow when the fasten seat belts sign came on.

⁵¹ The extent to which Sharia law applies in Muslim countries varies from country to country, with Malaysia said to be the most liberal and Saudi Arabia the most rigorous. A poll in Britain in 2006 found that four out of ten Muslims supported the introduction of Sharia law and in 2005 serious consideration was given in Canada to introducing certain aspects of such law as a means of resolving disputes between Islamic Canadians.

⁵² "Hardline takeover of British Mosques" and "Muslim group behind 'mega-mosque' seeks to convert all Britain", The Times, 7 and 10 September 2007.

European “Westerners” and the high fertility rates of Muslims continue, Europe will effectively become Muslim dominated (“Eurabia”) in the not too distant future.⁵³

In speaking about this situation in an address to the American Enterprise Institute in early March, former Prime Minister John Howard argued that “today’s world remains confronted by the ongoing threat of Islamic fascism” and that it would be a mistake to think that trading away some of our values will buy immunity from terrorists.⁵⁴

Fourth, to achieve their objectives the believers in extremist ideologies are prepared to use extreme and widespread violence⁵⁵, applied indiscriminately, including to fellow Muslims. These people have little or no fear of death and are not deterred by the possibility of death or capture. In Australia, we are fortunate so far that planned criminal acts by Islamic extremists have been dealt with successfully by police and intelligence agencies. But the expansion of such agencies has been at considerable cost to the community and Islamic terrorist groups will likely develop better communications that evade detection by such agencies. Before too long such groups will also likely access more sophisticated weapons with the capacity to inflict even greater destruction than we see on our TV sets in overseas countries.

At a defence conference held by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute last year, a US expert on nuclear proliferation, Mr Robert L. Gallucci,⁵⁶ pointed out that there is an increasing risk of a terrorist group obtaining and using a nuclear weapon without being detected, not necessarily one with the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb but one sufficient to kill 250,000 people. It is worth quoting a relevant extract:

“We have no defence against a nuclear weapon delivered by a terrorist group, because we could be sure that it will be delivered in an unconventional way. After we get finished worrying about all the containers, we can then start worrying about all the trucks, and then we can worry about the marinas and then we will rapidly conclude that we really cannot defend, as a strategist would say, by denial, or by preventing a nuclear weapon from being introduced into the United States, which leaves us only with deterrence. Deterrence, of course, creates the problem of knowing exactly who your attacker is, having an attacker who had some level of unacceptable damage, and anybody who presents to you the proposition that they value your death more than their life is not a really good candidate for deterrence”.

⁵³ See “America Alone The end of the world as we know it”, Mark Steyn (Published by Regency Publishing, Inc, Washington DC, 2006). Steyn points out that by 2050 “60% of Italians will have no brothers, no sisters, no cousins, no aunts, no uncles”.

⁵⁴ “Our proud record”, The Australian, 7 March 2008 (an edited extract of Mr Howard’s speech).

⁵⁵ A vivid illustration is provided in the film United 83. But actual violence is only part of the story: the believers in the ideology also use threat of violence designed to inhibit critical commentary. British-Indian author, Salman Rushdie, has been subjected to frequent death threats on the ground that his *Satanic Verses* depicted Mohammed irreverently. In Australia the (former) most senior Muslim cleric, Sheik Hilali, called for the ostracisation of Dr Ameer Ali because of some critical comments of Mohammed. Dr Ali was then chairman of the (then) Islamic reference board established by the Federal Government.

⁵⁶ Mr Gallucci, who is currently the Dean of the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, Washington DC, has previously had a long experience with the State Department on nuclear issues.

A recent article in *The Age* made the same point and added that the US may have reached the situation in which it would have to threaten retaliation simply on the basis of tracing the source country from which a nuclear weapon originates (if it could do so). In an indication of how strategic policies are changing he pointed out that Presidential candidate Hilary Clinton said recently that the US would “totally obliterate” Iran if that country was responsible for a nuclear attack on Israel, let alone the US.⁵⁷

Violent happenings, and the use of threats of violence of one form or another, are also powerful instruments in forcing fellow Muslims to comply with extremist objectives. On the day three men were charged with helping the terrorists who attacked London’s public transport on 7 July 2005, killing 52 people, the head of Scotland Yard’s Counter-Terrorism Command, Peter Clarke, accused elements in the Muslim community of shielding the bombers and intimidating potential witnesses.⁵⁸ In an address in November 2007 Mr Clarke indicated that at least 2,000 individuals in the UK pose a direct threat to national security and public safety, that these numbers are increasing, and that “Al Qaida has a clear determination to mount terrorist attacks against the United Kingdom”.⁵⁹

Some people argue that the “solution” is not to give police more powers but to try to integrate Muslims and make them feel part of the community. The Howard government established a group of Muslims it hoped would make moderate statements but they did not eventuate.⁶⁰ The Rudd government appears to be going down the same track by considering the establishment of a “new-look” Muslim advisory board and of reviving the Council for Multicultural Australia. However, while the Parliamentary Secretary for Multicultural Affairs, Mr Laurie Ferguson, has argued the desirability of avoiding the stereotyping of the Muslim community and of putting less focus on spiritual leaders, the re-establishment of such bodies seems unlikely to reduce the threat from extremist sources. There is a strong resistance within the community to assimilation and a strong radical component.⁶¹

A British poll showed one quarter of the Muslim community supported the 7 July 2005 London suicide bomb attacks on buses and underground trains. A Pew Research Group survey after the Bali bombings showed that 10 per cent of Indonesians (18

⁵⁷ “Forget about nuclear deterrence if terrorists get a bomb”, Alasdair Palmer, *The Age*, April 30.

⁵⁸ “London bombers ‘targeted Big Ben’“, *The Age*, April 7 2007. Mr Clarke stated “I firmly believe that there are other people who have knowledge of what lay behind the attacks in July 2005, knowledge that they have not shared with us. I also know that some of you have been actively dissuaded from speaking to us. Surely this must stop. The victims of the attacks, and those who will become victims of terrorism in the future, deserve your cooperation and support”.

⁵⁹ “Intelligence, counter-terrorism and trust”, Address to the Society of Editors, Jonathan Evans, November 5 2007.

⁶⁰ One member, Sheik Hilali, labelled the body as “still born” and his successor, Sheik Fehmi, declared his support for Islamic militants during the Hezbollah-Israeli war in 2006.

⁶¹ The Australian reported on 6 October 2006 that the former head of ASIO, Dennis Richardson, now Australian Ambassador in Washington DC, told an audience at Georgetown University that Islamic terrorism has become a deeply interconnected global phenomenon and that it was a mistake to compartmentalise terrorist attacks without recognising the *growing* common ideological links between them. He also pointed out that since 9/11 more Australian civilians (100 in total) have been killed in terrorist attacks than citizens of other countries. Mr Richardson has also been reported by Paul Kelly as indicating that there is widespread acceptance in America that the war on terror will be a “long war” (“‘Long War’ has Just begun”, *The Australian*, 9 March, 2007).

million) supported the bombings and 65 per cent do not believe that the 9/11 attacks in the US were carried out by Arabs. In a recent rare TV interview, CIA director-general, Michael Hayden, warned that Osama bin Laden's terrorist organisation has been regrouping and growing in the remote mountainous region between Pakistan and Afghanistan, an area he described as a "clear and present danger" to the West.⁶²

Although Australia's Muslim population is small relative to most European countries, if a similar proportion exists here to those supporting the London incidents that would imply 75,000 supporters of Islamic terrorism in Australia. The potential threat is enhanced by the apparent reluctance of Muslim leaders to speak openly against Islamists within their communities, not to mention the support of destructive action given by some leaders. Of course, only a small proportion of Australian Muslims would themselves undertake terrorist acts: but many are also engaged in various support groups and many appear to be silent supporters.⁶³

To date there has been only one terrorism conviction in Australia⁶⁴ and, although the conviction of Jack Thomas was overturned by the Victorian Court of Appeal, that was on a technical issue relating to the admissibility of statements and the court found that "no question has arisen with respect to the truthfulness or reliability of those statements". Following the VCA's decision, Mr Thomas admitted his guilt in a TV interview and the case is scheduled to be reheard.⁶⁵ In addition, nine men in Sydney are being tried on acts in preparation of a terrorist act and twelve are standing trial in Melbourne charged with varying charges including ones relating to the preparation of a terrorist act. Other possible terrorist actions have almost certainly been stopped by intelligence and police agencies.⁶⁶

What Further Action is Needed?

The avoidance to date of domestic terrorist acts by Islamist extremists must not be taken to mean that Australia faces only a minor risk of such acts. The functioning of our society remains under serious threat and, as all intelligence assessments indicate, that threat is not diminishing. It would be a retrograde step if the new Labor

⁶² "CIA chief warns on changing face of al-Qa'ida", *The Australian*, 1 April 2008.

⁶³ As the then head of ASIO, Mr Dennis Richardson, pointed out in an ABC interview on 23 March 2005, "the great majority of people in Australia who are assessed to have trained with Al-Qaeda and associated groups remain free in the community because, amongst other reasons, the relevant laws did not come into force until July 2002".

⁶⁴ Mr Jack Roche pleaded guilty to conspiring to destroy diplomatic premises and was convicted before the anti-terrorism legislation was passed. After spending 4.5 years behind bars he was released on parole on 17 May 2007. Mr Faheem Lodhi was convicted under that legislation of offences related to the preparation of a terrorist act involving electricity supplies.

⁶⁵ Mr Jack Thomas was convicted for offences involving the receipt of money from a terrorist organisation and falsifying a passport. While he is now going to be retried he is subject to an interim control order, the constitutionality of which was recently been upheld by the High Court.

⁶⁶ Britain's top counter-terrorist police official, Peter Clarke, told a conference in Canberra in 2006 that police had stopped at least five terrorist attacks since 7 July of the previous year and that 90 people were awaiting trial on terrorism charges (see report by Patrick Walters entitled "Unclear and Present Danger", *The Australian*, 23 September 2006). In pointing out that the terrorist threat began before Iraq, before Afghanistan and before 9/11, the now former head of Britain's security service, Eliza Manningham-Buller, also stated last year that the service had to cope with "some 200 groupings or networks, totalling over 1600 identified individuals (and there will be many we don't know) who are actively engaged in plotting or facilitating terrorist acts here and overseas".

government were to effect any substantive repeal of the moves already taken in recognition of the new situation arising from the terrorist threat.

My contention, in fact, is that there is a need for more government action to reduce the risk of violent destruction.

Time does not permit me to outline in detail what might be done to reduce the risk.⁶⁷ But police and intelligence agencies need to be given even further power to detain, interrogate and control suspected terrorists so as to minimize the risk of terrorist attacks **before** they occur. The potential for police error and impingement of civil liberties is obviously increased but the alternative may be the death of thousands of innocents. For example, the UK Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, has moved to increase the detention period for terror suspects from 28 to 56 days.⁶⁸ The potential for large numbers of terrorist victims means police and intelligence agencies must act early even if they are not certain they have foolproof information and even though relying on information alone makes conviction - even prosecution - less certain. The consequences of not acting early can scarcely be explained away by saying it would have been morally wrong to have restricted the liberty of some.

An additional form of government intervention that is needed is to tighten immigration eligibility so as to produce a major reduction in the entry of Muslims. Although some would say that would be discriminatory, there is ample justification. The book "Infidel", written by an extremely brave Muslim woman, Hirsi Ali, clearly identifies the extent to which the education and upbringing of her fellows in religion is highly conducive to the development of a strong antipathy to Western society and to participation in Islamic extremist groups.⁶⁹ Even the European Union's Commissioner for Justice, Freedom and Security was reported by Paul Kelly in an article in *The Weekend Australian* on 10-11 June 2006 ("Europe Juggles Influx"), as stating that:

"We cannot accept people entering Europe, working in Europe and refusing to accept our values, the equality of men and women, and full respect for human dignity. We cannot accept, in the name of different religions, people violating equality between men and women. There is growing awareness that the only way to preserve our identity, culture and history, and guarantee the possibility of foreigners coming here, is by setting up a basic framework of rights and values. The models in Europe have failed. The multicultural [model] has failed. The model of forced integration has also failed. In France, you see young people using violence to reaffirm their Muslim identity ..."

⁶⁷ A number of specific proposals were advanced by Anthony Bergin (Director of Research Programs at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute) in "A Flawed Plan of Attack for our Defence" published in *The Age* 25 Jan 2007.

⁶⁸ In Australia, the existing restrictions/procedures on the time allowed to interrogate suspects include the need to satisfy a court it is reasonably necessary to assist in preventing a terrorist act and the maximum period of questioning is much less than in the UK. In the case of control orders, the provisions in the anti-terrorism legislation are not significantly different to those applying in apprehended violence cases or parole orders applying to pedophiles restricting their movements and contacts. Such control orders are also subject to safeguards such as satisfying the issuing court they are necessary and not applying to persons under 16 years.

⁶⁹ "Infidel", Ayaan Hirsi Ali, My Life, Free Press, New York, 2007.

More recently, a senior official in the Papacy told a German magazine that the Islamisation of Europe is endangering its Christian identity, adding that while Islam is not a single force, it included some extremists who “use rifles for their goals”.⁷⁰

It is surprising indeed that despite the increase in terrorist threats in Australia net arrivals of those born in Muslim countries increased from 18.3 per cent of total arrivals in 1995-96 to 30.1 per cent in 2005-06.⁷¹ Of course, any outright prohibition on entry of Muslims would now be difficult to achieve politically. However, the Howard government did decide to halt further African immigration and it should be possible to institute administrative measures that would make it much harder for Muslims to become eligible for entry. These might include a tightening in the citizenship test, reducing immigration staffing for Muslim countries and a requirement for all migrant applicants to sign a formal statement of acceptance of the separation of Church and State and the equality of treatment of men and women and the rejection of certain cultural practices (such as female genital mutilation). Such a statement could include specific acceptance of deportation in the event the undertakings were not fulfilled.⁷²

⁷⁰ Herald Sun, “Papal Aide hits Muslims”, July 28 2007.

⁷¹ In 2005-06 net arrivals of those born in Muslim countries were 19,571 out of total net arrivals of 63,740 compared with 12,903 out of 70,469 in 1995-96. Although the proportion of net arrivals from those born in Muslim countries has fallen from the peak of 40.9 per cent reached in 2002-03, the actual net number has increased from 17,752 in that year. These figures of “net arrivals” differ from those for net migration because the latter include those for whom data about country of birth is not known. In 2005-06, for example, net migration was 110,000.

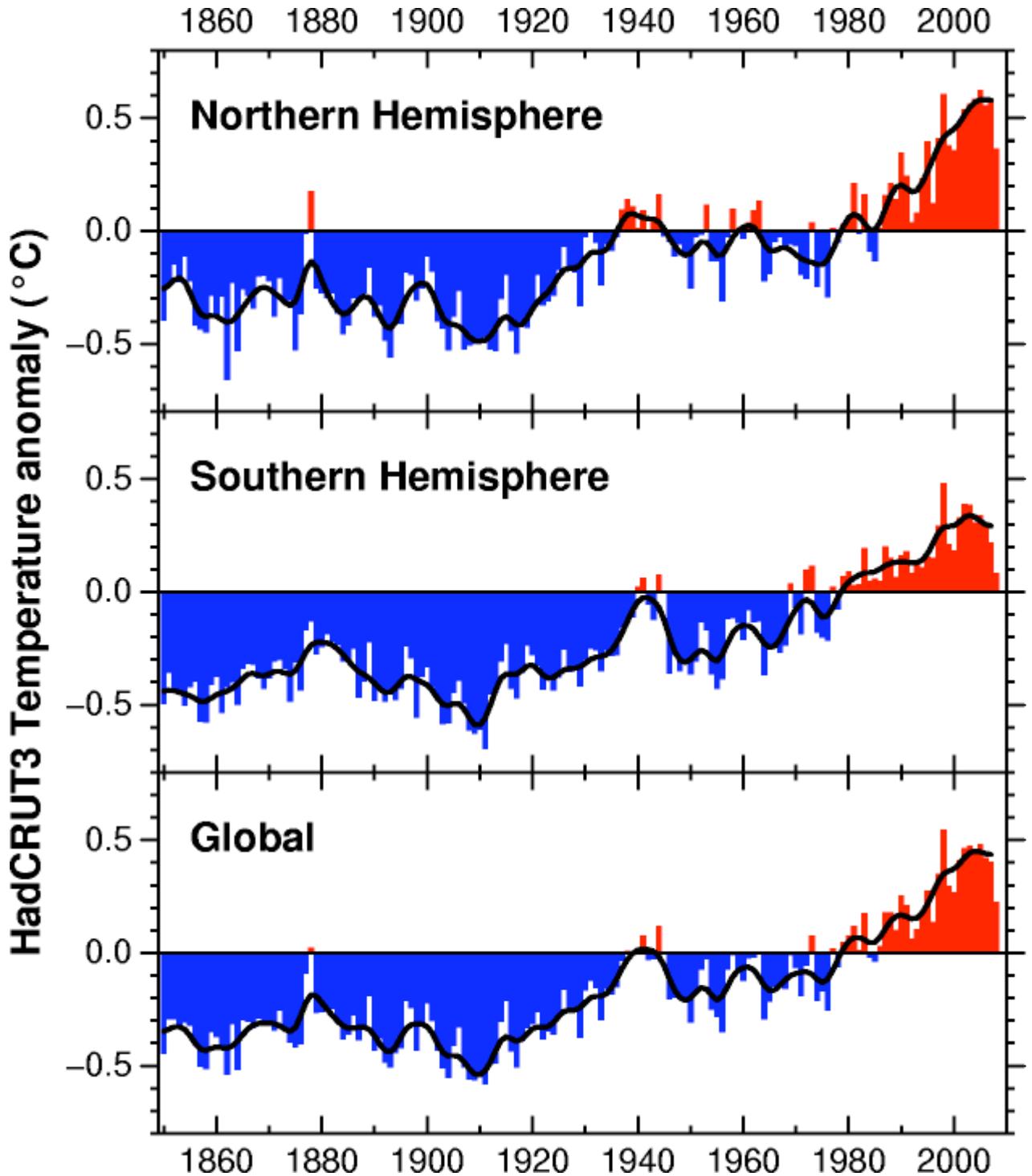
⁷² It might be noted that on 25 July 2007 UK Prime Minister indicated that 4,000 foreign prisoners were to be deported in 2007 from the UK. For further discussion of this issue, see “The Unmentionable Problem of Australian Citizenship” by John Stone (Published by National Observer, Council for the National Interest, Melbourne, No. 70, Spring 2006, pages 12-24) and by the same author “Our Greatest Prime Minister”, Quadrant, March 2008.

CONCLUSION

I hope the arguments I have put today have persuaded you that there is a case for additional government intervention to deal with the extremist Islamic threats but no case for such intervention to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide.

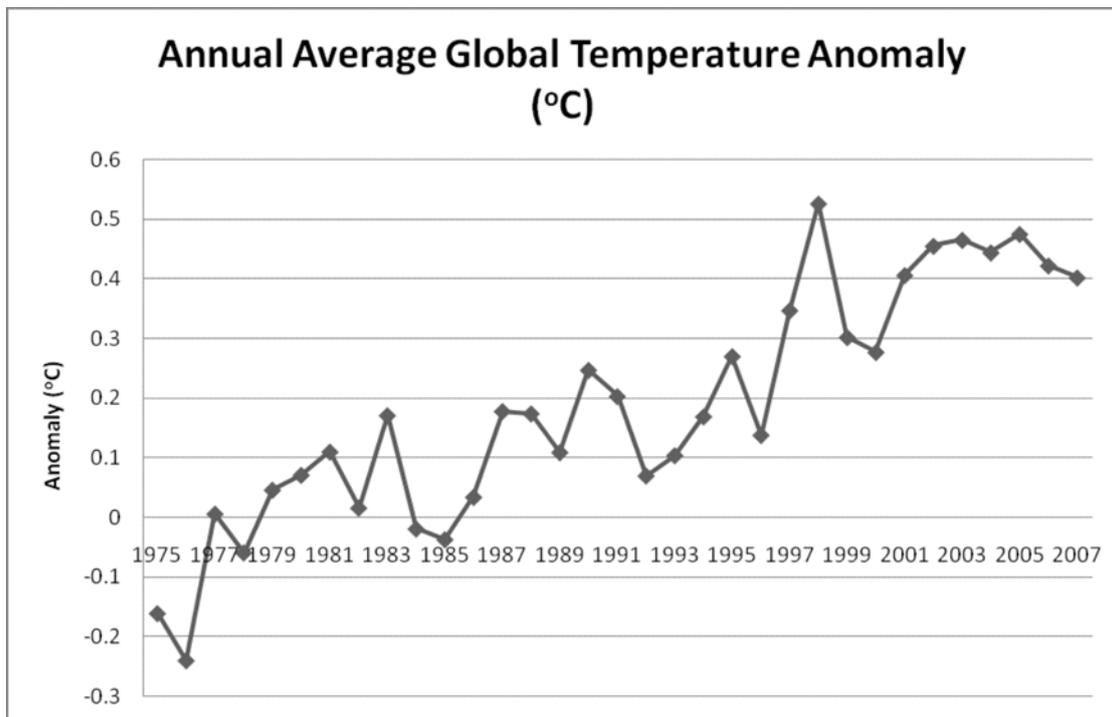
GLOBAL TEMPERATURES AND CO2 CONCENTRATIONS

Temperatures 1850-2007 – Northern & Southern Hemispheres



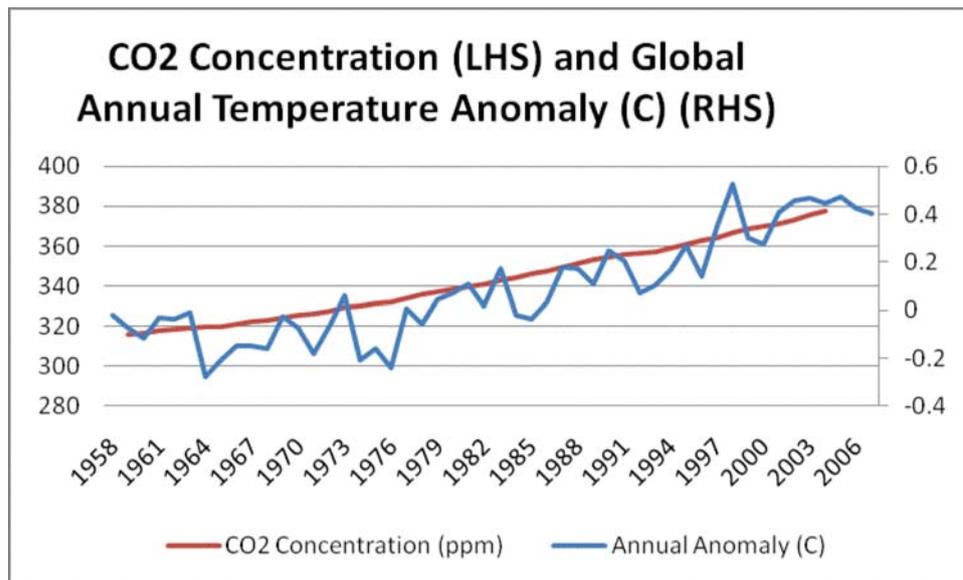
Annual average global near-surface temperature record (combined land and sea); black line is a smoothing filter (UK Hadley Centre based on Jones et al at the University of East Anglia). There are two major periods of warming: from 1910 through 1940 and from 1975 through near 2000. The magnitude of recent warming has been greater in the Northern Hemisphere than in the Southern Hemisphere, possibly reflecting the greater percentage of land area in the Northern Hemisphere but greater ocean surface in the Southern Hemisphere.

Global Temperature – 1975 -2007



Annual average global temperature anomaly (departures from the 1961-1990 mean) based on published data from the UK Hadley Centre.

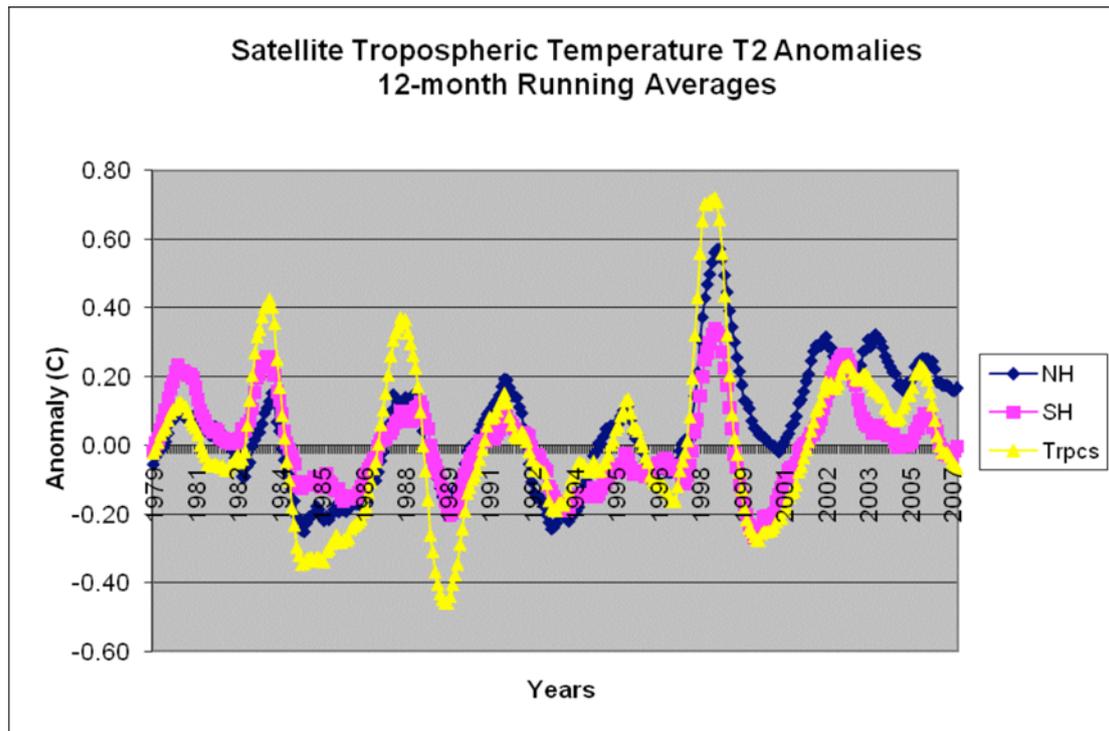
Global Temperature and CO2 Concentration 1958-2006



Annual average global temperature anomaly (departures from the 1961-1990 mean) based on published data from the UK Hadley Centre. Annual average CO2 concentration based on published data from Mauna Loa.

Global temperature remained relatively constant until the middle 1970s and then increased steadily until the late 1990s. Temperature has been nearly constant over the last decade.

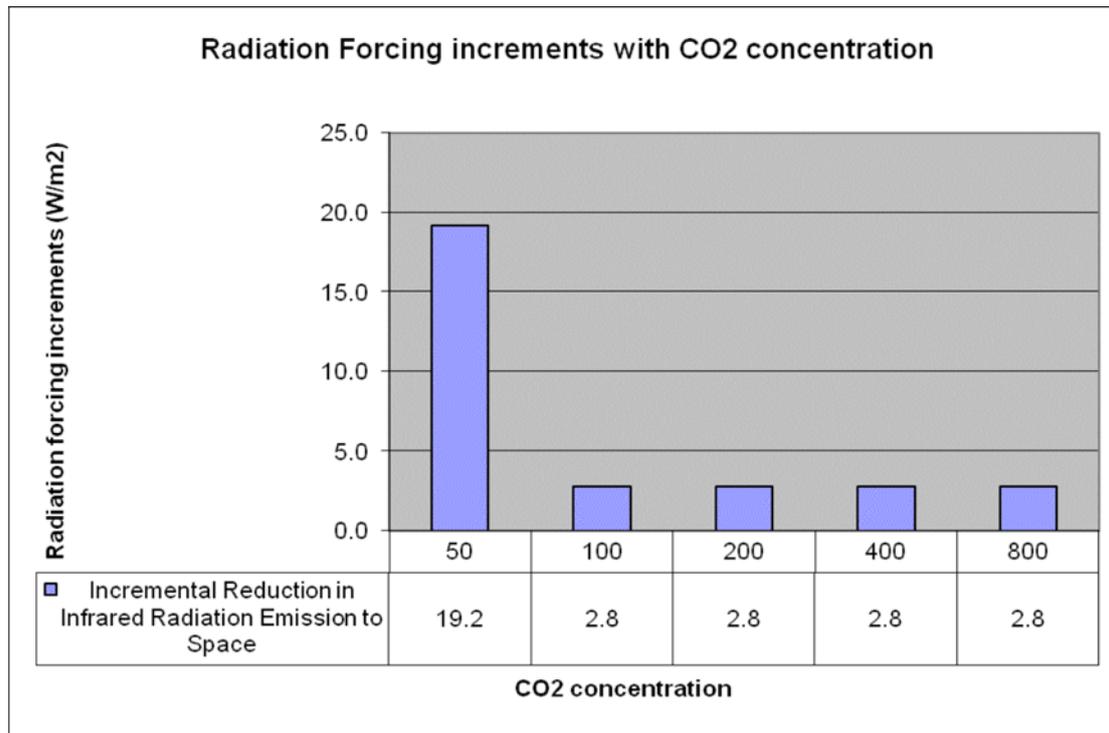
Although the graph appears to show a good correlation between changes in CO2 concentration levels and temperature, that is the outcome of the scales used in the graph. The temperature rise was confined to the years 1976-1998, or about 40 percent of the period. Over the period there is only a small temperature rise despite the claimed continuous forcing from increased CO2 concentration levels.



Satellite derived Lower Troposphere Temperature Anomalies (departures from the 1979-1995 mean) for the northern hemisphere (NH), southern hemisphere (SH) and the tropics (Trpcs) based on published data from the University of Alabama, Huntsville (Spencer and Christy). The temperature trend in the lower troposphere is significantly less than that of the surface.

There is a very strong correlation between the tropical troposphere temperature anomaly and El Nino and La Nina events in the Pacific Ocean. El Nino events (warm sea surface temperatures) coincide with warm tropospheric temperature anomalies. The reverse is the case for La Nina events. This tropical forcing is reflected in troposphere temperature anomalies of both the Northern and Southern Hemispheres.

Why are there disparities between surface and satellite temperature measurements over the middle and higher latitudes (where there are the large land masses of Europe, Asia and North America) - but hardly any in regard to the tropics? One reason is that surface temperatures are influenced (increased) by urban heat island effects from those land masses. Although climatologists are not in agreement as to the processes that have given rise to the surface temperature pattern, one thing is clear - it is not the 'fingerprint' of anthropogenic global warming. The models suggest atmospheric warming should result in equal warming of the two hemispheres.



The bottom section of the graph shows the reduction in radiation emission to *space* as CO2 concentration levels double while the y axis shows the corresponding radiation forcing increases to the *earth's* surface. (The reduction in emission to space - IPCC's definition of radiation forcing - occurs because the radiation emission emanates from a higher and colder layer. The increase in the back IR at the surface occurs because the emission emanates from a lower colder layer of the atmosphere).

The implications of increased levels of CO2 concentration on *surface* temperatures may be summarised as follows:

While this results in radiation back to earth, the amount of that radiation diminishes progressively as levels of CO2 concentration increase. The main 'radiation forcing' of carbon dioxide is by the initial small concentration, with the first 50 ppm of concentration dominating the forcing (*Calculated using MODTANS for cloudless skies and US Standard Atmosphere*)

While the *initial* effect of that radiation is to increase surface temperatures (by increasing the accumulation of energy at the surface), this effect is partially offset by increased radiation from the surface *and* by the increased evaporation of latent energy from the surface (which is the dominant factor in damping any tendency for surface temperature to rise);

The net effect is only a small increase in surface temperatures.

We can evaluate the rate of increase of surface energy loss by infrared emission (the Stefan-Boltzmann Law) and evaporation (Clausius-Clapeyron Relationship). These are 5.4 and 6.0 W/m2 per degree C temperature rise respectively, or a combined 11.4 W/m2 energy loss for each degree C surface temperature rise. The radiation forcing from a doubling of carbon dioxide concentration can only sustain a surface temperature rise of about 0.3C.