The 2009 Lowy Lecture on Australia in the World

Marius Kloppers
CEO, BHP Billiton

LOWY INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

THE ANNUAL LOWY LECTURE is the Lowy Institute's keynote event, providing a prominent thinker with the opportunity to reflect on the themes that are central to the Lowy Institute's mission: engaging Australians' understanding of the world beyond their shores; and promoting an Australian interpretation of the world internationally.

The 2009 Lowy Lecture focuses on the current and future role of resources in Australia's international relations. Since 2002, our resources exports have shifted our terms of trade by over 70 % and lifted Australia's real GDP by 13 %. Our resources sector has also posed some important challenges, relating to foreign investment, global warming, and non-proliferation policy. As a country with a continental abundance of resources in a world that is increasingly hungry for them, Australia's resources sector will play an increasingly central role in the strategic, economic and diplomatic challenges faced by this country into the future.

This year, we were fortunate to attract such an articulate, thoughtful and provocative Lowy Lecturer in Dr Marius Kloppers, the Chief Executive Officer of BHP Billiton, the world's largest mining company. He obtained a degree in Chemical Engineering from the University of Pretoria in South Africa and a PhD in Materials Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States. Dr Kloppers joined Billiton Group in 1993, and became the company's Chief Operating Officer for Aluminium. He was appointed Group Executive and Chief Executive Non-Ferrous in July 2007 and has been Chief Executive Officer of BHP Billiton since October 2007.

We are not used to thinking in a long-term, strategic way about our resources sector and its role in the world. With the 2009 Lowy Lecture, Marius Kloppers challenges us to begin doing so, and in so doing, suggests that there will be some hard choices for this country, so richly endowed by natural wealth.

Michael Wesley
Executive Director

Australia's Resources in the World

Marius Kloppers
CEO, BHP BILLITON

18 November 2009

This lecture series is entitled 'Australia in the World'. That theme is, of course, central to what Frank Lowy intended when he established the Lowy Institute – to provide a forum for ideas about the way Australia relates to the world, how world events shape Australia and how Australia in turn can help shape the world.

Frank Lowy's own life is itself a classic story of 'Australia in the World'. He came to Australia from the tragedy of wartime Europe, built a wonderful Australian company here, and then took that company to the world, becoming a world leader in his industry. No one knows better than Frank Lowy how Australia's companies reflect, project and to a significant degree create Australia's place in the world.

So it is a special honour for me, and for my company, that the Lowy Institute has invited me to be the first businessperson to deliver the Lowy Lecture. I am here today because I have the honour to lead BHP Billiton, a company at the heart of a great and vital industry, and an industry at the forefront of shaping Australia's place in the world.

My title for this lecture is 'Australia's Resources in the World' and my theme is very simple: Australia's resources industry has had a great past and is looking forward to a great future.

Our excellent prospects – both BHP Billiton's and Australia's – come more than anything else from our capacity to seize the opportunities offered by the dramatic economic transformation of Asia. How this transformation continues will make a huge difference to the future opportunities for our company and for this country.

For this reason, I will not just review the prospects for BHP Billiton and our industry, but will also touch on some broader questions about the shifting international outlook in Asia over the next few decades which will shape the environment in which both BHP Billiton and Australia operate.

LET ME BEGIN ON HOME TURF

BHP and Billiton came together in 2001 with rich histories of their own. BHP's beginnings trace back to a discovery of a lead and silver deposit in the outback NSW town of Broken Hill in 1883. For Billiton it was the discovery of tin more than 30 years earlier on the Indonesian island of Belitung. Since then, the companies have been through the inevitable ups and downs that miners have.

It is, however, over the past decade that BHP Billiton has undergone the most striking change as it grew to become the world's largest diversified resources company. So striking and rapid has this change been, that it comes as a surprise to many Australians to learn that we no longer make steel.

Today, we employ people in some 100 locations in 25 countries across five continents[1] – from biting sub-zero conditions at our Ekati diamond mines in Canada to the searing heat of the Pilbara. From the Escondida copper mine at 3100 metres in the Chilean Andes to the Mt Keith nickel mine in Western Australia some 1000 metres below ground.

We continue to build our business by investing around US$30 million a day every day, 365 days per year, into exploration and expansion projects.[2]

Despite the global nature of our company, BHP Billiton retains strong Australian foundations. We are headquartered in Melbourne and over 50 % of our operating assets are in Australia, three times that in any other country.[3]

The main external force on the company in recent years has been, of course, the extraordinary pace of industrialisation and urbanisation in many developing economies, which brings me to the first topic I would like to discuss – global economic growth.

Global growth over the past 20 years – a period that broadly matches my time in the resources sector – has been very large. We should reflect on just how far the world economy and so many societies have come in this period – notwithstanding the set-back of the recent global financial crisis.

THE GLOBAL ECONOMY HAS GROWN SIGNIFICANTLY OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS

In the 20 years leading up to the current crisis, global GDP grew at a rate of 3 % per annum in real terms.[4] While this number may sound modest, the proceeds of this growth have made profound changes to the lives of billions of people.

I will talk about the distribution of this growth between developing and developed countries in just a moment.

GROWTH HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN LIVING STANDARDS IN LOWER-INCOME COUNTRIES

The benefits from this growth have been borne out in better living standards across lower-income countries. For example:

- infant mortality rates have fallen by a third across the developing world;[5]
- the number of children being immunised increased by 93 % in the 12 years to 2007;
- consumption of electricity was up 74 % between 1985 and 2006; and
- the proportion of people with access to an adequate water supply increased 17 % from 1990 to 2006.

Yes, we do have much more to do. But the evidence is clear. Economic growth produces better lives for more people.

GROWTH IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD HAS DRIVEN GLOBAL GROWTH

Importantly, this growth has largely been driven by the developing world[6] growing at three times the speed of the rest of the world, and specifically by the economic transformation of Asia. This transformation did not begin yesterday. It started in the 1950s, and it began in Japan.

Japan had, of course, begun to build Asia's first industrial economy in the 1860s. As Japan rebuilt after World War Two they took advantage of vast new markets opened by the polices of Bretton Woods, underwritten by the power and benevolence of the United States. The result was remarkable and became more so when South Korea and Taiwan followed Japan in the 1960s and 1970s – all of them good, and now long-standing, customers of BHP Billiton.

For China to follow Japan's lead in building a modern industrial economy, three fundamental things were needed. First, an effective government that could guarantee reasonable levels of stability throughout the country. Second, policies and institutions to facilitate and stimulate economic activity. Third, access to markets.

The long struggle to unify China under an effective central government began over a century ago, and was finally realised 60 years ago with the establishment of the People's Republic. However, another 30 years of dysfunctional economics and turbulent politics would pass before, in September 1978, Deng Xiaoping famously inaugurated market-oriented economic policies. Access to global markets had become possible in 1972 when Nixon's visit opened China to the world.

We all know the result. While the trajectory of China's rise since 1978 may not be unprecedented, its scale is. The dividend for China's long and painful rise through the twentieth century has been the largest, fastest increase in human material welfare the world has ever seen, as hundreds of millions of people have moved from low-productivity subsistence agriculture to high-productivity manufacturing.

As the Chinese economy has changed so has its society. Take the phenomenal industrialisation and urbanisation taking place there – Australia today has five cities with more than one million people. Europe has 35. By 2030 China will have more than 220. In that same time, 50,000 new skyscrapers will be built, 600 times more than we see around Sydney today.[7]

AUSTRALIA HAS ABUNDANT NATURAL RESOURCES

Steel is the raw material of industrial and urban development. Steel is made principally using iron ore, coking coal and manganese – commodities that, among others, Australia has in abundance.

Not surprisingly then, Australia has been central to fuelling Asian growth. Australia has the supply, the world provides the demand and BHP Billiton is one of the links in this equation. One recent measure of this role is that Australia provides one third of the iron ore China is importing.[8]

In addition to Australia's rich resource endowment it is proximate to the Asian growth engine. I've mentioned China (population 1.3 billion), but India (another 1.2 billion), Indonesia, Vietnam and Malaysia also have these growth trajectories in their sights.[9]

It is, however, not all down to good fortune and geography! Australian companies and governments have worked hard to become the supplier of choice for raw materials.

Economic reforms in the 1980s and 90s and greater labour flexibility, coupled with investment fiscal stability, have helped Australia capitalise on its good fortune, and have reversed the image Australia has had, at times, of being a supplier with

‘Australia today has five cities with more than 1 million people. Europe has 35. By 2030 China will have more than 220’

poor reliability. This is truly a case of good preparation meeting opportunity.

Australia’s resources companies are best-in-class; Australia runs some of the most productive operations in the world (despite having some of the highest labour costs).[10] Australian companies also run environmentally sustainable operations, ensure community engagement, respect traditional owners and create value for shareholders.

Together, these factors make Australia an ideal lead supplier for many of the needs of the industrialising and urbanising world, and companies such as ours are examples of positive purpose as well as global success.

Not only are Australian resources important to the world, they are also ever more important to Australia. Mining, both mineral and energy materials, is Australia’s third largest industry sector by direct contribution.[11] When factoring in indirect effects on other sectors it accounts for 18% of total GDP. Beyond this colossal size, the mining sector is growing at almost twice the rate as the rest of the economy.[12]

THE NATURAL RESOURCES SECTOR IS NOW OUR LARGEST SOURCE OF EXPORT REVENUES

This year, export revenues from mining (including oil and gas) surpassed manufacturing revenues and the A$100 billion mark for the first time – and this at a time of demand slow-down and falling prices across commodity markets.[13]

There is a real upside for Australians in this ‘changing of the guard’.

First, mining jobs are of high value to the Australian economy and, of course, to those who have them, their families and communities. Mining jobs, at an average wage of A$85,000, are almost twice as well paid as manufacturing jobs at A$48,000. Overall, mining employees add five times more value to the economy than do manufacturing employees.[14]

Second, resources account for huge investment and employment in regional Australia and indigenous communities, something Australia's largely urbanised population may not fully appreciate. I doubt many Australians understand just how much of their prosperity and welfare comes from the resources sector.

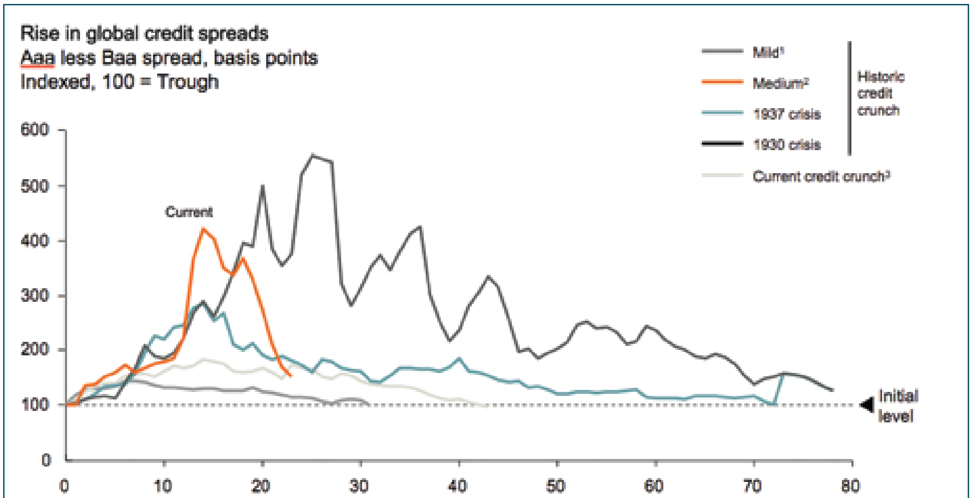
Third, there have been huge secondary effects. Services to mining in Australia are sophisticated and are prized globally. Perth is a hub for mining software developers, bulk logistics experts, and heavy machinery engineers. Australia does not just export minerals and energy, but also services, ideas and people.

Lastly, a strong resources sector is helping Australia weather the global financial crisis better than most other developed nations.

A number of factors explain Australia's resilience. The IMF cites Australia's '*strong commodity exports*, flexible exchange rate, healthy banking sector, and timely and significant macro policy response'.[15] By value, resources account for 40 % of Australia's total exports, and unlike Japan, China, Europe and to a lesser extent the United States, Australia's export volumes have not plunged dramatically.[16]

Despite the positive signs, we still do not know if the financial crisis is completely over.

HOWEVER, WE MAY NOT BE COMPLETELY OUT OF THE WOODS YET …



1 Shocks classified based on trough to peak rise in spreads and duration; mild includes 1922, 1990, 1998, and 2001
2 Medium includes 1956, 1966, 1974, 1979, and 1981–a medium shock has not been experienced in the last 25 years
3 Today's credit shock began in October 2007 after credit spreads troughed at 82bp; last data is 1 September 2009 at 150.6
SOURCE: Moody's; Bloomberg.

This chart compares our current economic distress with other historic crises. You can see that while credit spreads are declining markedly, both the 1930 and 1937 crises had long tails of credit volatility with significant peaks.

While we have seen strong demand recovery in our sector, driven mainly by China, one does have to pick apart the drivers of the surprisingly strong commodity purchasing activity of China so far this year.

We hold the view that the restocking of a depleted inventory chain was a material contributor to the overall demand that we witnessed. As GPD growth picked up, the Chinese economy had to increase its working capital in order to support this increasing economic activity. The increase in working capital has a once-off impact on demand and we are now witnessing the end of that working capital build in China.

It was our expectation that a similar restocking exercise would be required in the OECD economies and that this would go some way to maintaining global demand as the restocking activity in China slowed.

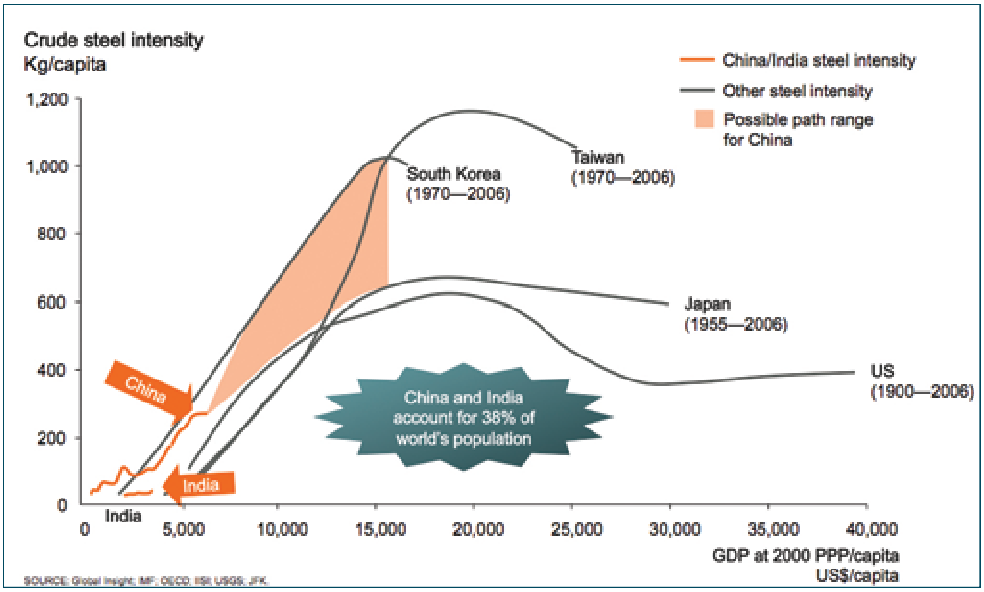
However, this restocking activity in the OECD has been somewhat slow to start and has actually been quite lethargic to date. Some have argued that history has shown a post financial crisis recovery to be more protracted than a post manufacturing crisis recovery and perhaps this partly explains what we are witnessing.

As you can sense from my comments, we remain cautious on the global economy in the short to medium term.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the short-term uncertainty in markets, the long-term growth prospects for resources are strong with demand growth driven by developing countries, in particular China and India.

FUTURE DEMAND FOR OUR MINERALS IS ASSURED

In order to get a real sense of the size of this demand, let me share this chart with you that tracks the steel intensity of



nations as they develop.[17]

If we overlay China and India onto this graph, you see countries near the start of their development journey. If, as the graph predicts, steel intensity rises as GDP per capita increases, this would result in stronger long-term demand for resources – particularly when you consider that these two countries constitute 38% of the world's population.

Taking China alone, as it is further along its journey – if its steel intensity were to peak somewhere between Japan and South Korea, in, say 2025, between now and then it would require somewhere between 18 to 25 billion tonnes of iron ore to make the steel.[18] By way of comparison, over the past 15 years it has used approximately five billion tonnes.[19]

Australia stands to significantly benefit from this projected growth in demand. Export and tax revenues, GDP and employment will all increase with Australia's ability to capture its fair share.

While we have reason to be confident in this future, we must recognise that it is not assured.

The future of Australia's resources in the world will depend on the growth of demand, the availability of supply, and the efficiency of markets. That is, the pressures of growth (both domestic and international) will need to be managed, and the competitiveness of Australian supply maintained, all within an open global market.

Therefore, I now want to explore some of the actual and perceived challenges to the future demand, supply and exchange of Australia's resources.

There is one notable omission to what I will cover – the issue of climate change. It is not that is not a critical issue – indeed quite the opposite. However, BHP Billiton has recently expressed comprehensive views on this topic, and I would not do the subject justice in the limited time available.

Starting then with the demand side.

CHALLENGES TO FUTURE GROWTH

We should not take China's development path for granted. We've seen that the economic rationale for continued growth is compelling, but there are other forces at work in this global economy. China is doing something immensely difficult and in many ways unprecedented. Many things will have to go right. China will need to manage the political and social pressures that inevitably accompany rapid change. It will have to address pressing environmental issues. And, like all of us, it will depend on the maintenance of a peaceful and stable international environment.

Some observers say that inherent political and social tensions pose an inevitable challenge to China's future growth. I do not believe that to be true. No doubt China's political and social system will have to adapt and develop over the coming decades to manage the pressures of economic development. No one can say what form those changes might take, but I see no reason to assume that such adaptation cannot be undertaken effectively.

China in 30 years' time will be at least as different from the China of today as today's China is from the China of Mao, but the last 30 years shows us that the Chinese system can manage such changes.

Of course, the remarkable economic growth in China, and other emerging countries, has implications for the way the world works, and hence for Australia's place in the world. The basic balance of power equation is changing, both in Asia and the wider world. New ways of working will need to evolve. At the global level we can see this in the emergence of the G20 as the premier forum for economic policy coordination and political consultation. At the regional level we have seen steady evolution of new political and economic institutions including APEC and the East Asia Summit.

Australian governments, both Labor and Coalition, have played positive roles in this process and in these forums, and the present prime minister is continuing this tradition.

Now, geopolitics is not BHP Billiton's business, but obviously it can affect our business if it goes wrong. It matters immensely to Australia, and specifically to Australia's resources industry, that Asia should work out ways to maintain stability and harmony. And it seems obvious this will require a strong, continuing US leadership role in Asia, a growing role for China as its power grows, and also an appropriate role for Japan which remains such an important country and economy.

This shift need not be something Australia fears, but it is something that needs to be considered as the nation shapes its approach to the future.

Generally I think Australians understand and accept this. On the whole Australians are very positive about China and accept its growing power and influence. The recent Lowy Institute Poll highlighted that 59 % of Australians trust China to act responsibly in the world, up from 47 % the year before.[20]

So, after several centuries in which global affairs have been dominated by America and Europe, the next few decades will require important adjustments. Australia's history has been a long story of adaptation from its European heritage to its Asian environment, and that story is not over yet. Along the way there will be difficult issues, and Australia will have no choice but to work these through in a patient, open-minded and tolerant way.

As opposed to the global forces I have just described, which are largely outside Australia's control, there are some domestic challenges – principally labour flexibility and scale – to Australia meeting the future demand.

LABOUR AND TALENT

BHP Billiton has always recognised the importance of talent, hiring the best brains in the business, regardless of origin. As far back as the 1880s, the then Chairman, Bill Wilson, travelled to America to hire the best industry experts. Our present management team composition shows we continue to search globally for talent. My colleagues on the Group Management Committee are a Brazilian, a Colombian, a Scotsman, two Americans and an Australian.

In trying to attract and keep quality talent in our company and our industry, challenges are emerging. Today we talk not of a 'labour force' but of a 'labour market' – that is, labour is utilised where it adds most value to the market overall (to private, public and social sectors). Australia must recognise that this labour market is only going to become more global.

Just two short years ago there was a massive talent gap in the resources industry. I believe this gap will return along with demand. We need, therefore, to be creative in ensuring the right labour is used in the right way. The two most obvious levers here are to increase the number of people with the relevant skills (through training or immigration) or to better allocate those with the relevant skills (through better incentives). In reality the solution will require a mix of both these levers.

SCALE

The increasing demand for resources also challenges Australia to think about whether we will have the scale to maintain our seat at the global resources table. History shows that during the last resources boom, countries and companies that did not keep up with the market lost their significance or were acquired. Between 1950 and 1970, the market capitalisation of the top five mining companies increased threefold in real terms. Over that period, three of the top ten mining companies dropped significantly in ranking, largely due to an inability to scale up with competitors.[21]

Only the largest companies have the necessary skill base and financial strength to develop assets to their fullest potential. For example, virtually all of the iron ore expansion projects currently under construction or committed to in the Pilbara, totalling some 150 million tonnes, are attributable to the three largest-scale producers.[22]

Over recent years, Australia has lost some market share in our core resources markets. If indeed we are entering a long-term period of higher demand, then someone will fill the demand. I hope I have shown how beneficial it is for a country to participate and lead such growth. To ensure this happens, Australian companies need to continue to build scale of operations within Australia.

FUNDING AND INVESTMENT

This brings us naturally to a discussion on funding the expansion required to meet future global growth. Here I would start by endorsing the points our Chairman, Don Argus, has recently made.

In order to build scale, Australia needs to consider funding of the next wave of resource-related infrastructure. Currently there are some 74 projects worth A$80 billion in an advanced stage of planning in Australia.[23]

Foreign direct investment, or FDI, in major national resources will always be a sensitive issue, and those sensitivities increase when investors have close connections with foreign governments. To my mind, the FDI debate in Australia often misses the critical investment issue. Capital sources to fund resource projects are limited, primarily due to a mismatch between the risk appetites of some funding sources and the inherent riskiness in the projects themselves.

The Australian banks are hesitant to take the lead on syndicating loans for very large projects because they fear that the syndication market may leave them over-exposed, a genuine concern given recent conditions. Foreign banks have shown more willingness to lend – for example, over the past five years five of the seven syndicated loans worth more than A$3 billion to Australian corporates had a foreign bank as lead arranger.[24]

Other than the mismatch of risk, there are some structural challenges which also constrain potential investors.

The Australian bond market (another typical source of debt funding for companies) has always been stunted, forcing many companies to issue bonds on foreign markets, at a higher cost. Existing shareholders can be a source of equity, and have been tapped extensively by many companies, from all sectors, through this downturn. While this can be effective as a tactical source of funds, it is not a long-term solution.

Although clearly not simple, a part of the solution lies in continued foreign investment, meaning that both Australia and Australian companies need to be open to this kind of investment, despite its immediate and strategic implications.

Fiscal and ownership stability are also critical for investment, especially in this industry. Resource-related infrastructure investments are typically measured in billions of dollars. The developments take many years to complete, and it can take many decades before returns on investments are realised. Not to mention that the developments themselves are inherently risky. Given this level of uncertainty, longer-term fiscal and ownership stability is a critical precondition for investment.

I have already mentioned how it is not down to good fortune and geography alone that Australia has become the supplier of choice for raw materials. A further advantage is that Australia has always had a stable economic and political environment. This stability has given the certainty needed for resource investment.

Again, this is something that we must not take for granted. History shows us that policies that threaten this stability can have significant long-term impacts.

The example from across the Tasman is quite telling. While Australia and New Zealand enjoyed the same level of income for most of the twentieth century, Australians are now a third richer than New Zealanders. While there are many potential explanations, there can be no doubt that increased government interference coupled with fewer policies to support growth led to increased economic uncertainty in that country.[25] In a world where capital is highly mobile, Australia must continue to make itself attractive to investment, or risk losing these critical dollars to another country.

Which brings us to the final challenge I'd like to discuss: the role of markets in the efficient exchange of resources around the globe.

Since the 1970s, a broad consensus has emerged that commercial market mechanisms are the best way to govern economic relations between parties and to regulate economies – that the allocation of resources between consumers can be most efficiently, effectively and peacefully determined by market prices.

Now is a critical time for all stakeholders to reaffirm a commitment to an open global resources market.

Despite recent concerns and attempts by some nations to secure access to resources,

'In a world where capital is highly mobile, Australia must continue to make itself attractive to investment, or risk losing these critical dollars to another country'

it is important to acknowledge that the risks of supply security are, at best, slight.

Markets in resources have functioned well through this extraordinary period of expansion, and yet have also held together, without government support, through one of the sharpest economic downturns in history. Throughout both periods, anyone willing to pay the market price has been able to get supply.

RESOURCE RESERVES ARE ASSURED FOR DECADES

The world's mining industry can meet growing demand for fuels and ores over coming decades, and any risks can be effectively managed by appropriate investment in spare capacity and moderate diversification of sources. Companies like BHP Billiton – and many of our competitors – have deep commitments to delivering the resources for which we are contracted.

The history of Japan's economic rise provides a useful lesson. At that time, it too had fears about natural resources security. In time, and on the basis of experience, Japan came to trust markets to deliver the raw materials it needed. For those countries industrialising now, the best answer to the question of resource security will again be found in trusting the hand of the market.

Some of you will be aware of the media attention that the annual iron ore price negotiations attract. For other exchange-traded commodities it is a very different story. And the reason the prices of most other commodities traded on the London Metals Exchange rarely get this sort of attention is that the price-setting mechanism is very transparent, accessible to multiple parties and fully reflects global supply and demand dynamics.

When commodities are traded in this way you also see the rational allocation of investment capital and long-term security of supply for customers. In these ways markets can be an enormously significant factor in easing anxieties over security of supply.

This logic and the mutual benefits of trade between suppliers and customers will prevail as long as we all remain committed to open, free-trade principles governed by market pricing.

Put simply, markets are the best way to allocate investments and resources. Commercial market mechanisms will ensure that developing nations' raw material demand is met, that suppliers obtain sufficient investment to meet the demand and that new deposits of raw materials are discovered.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion let me draw together the themes I have been exploring here.

Australia has done remarkably well from resources exports over the past few decades, and especially over the past few years. We all hope that it will keep doing as well in the future, and it clearly *can.*

Whether it *does* depends on two big questions: will demand for resources keep growing as strongly as we now expect, and will Australia, and companies like BHP Billiton with deep roots here, continue to meet that demand?

I strongly believe the answer is yes. But we should not take that for granted.

On the demand side, much depends on whether Asia's biggest nations can keep growing strongly, which in turn requires that both the domestic and international pressures of growth are managed effectively. It needs a peaceful, stable region and efficient markets within a free-trade system. No single country can make that happen, everyone must do their bit.

On the supply side, Australia will have to work hard to hold and expand its place in this market. We will have to stay ahead of our competitors.

What has given us the edge so far? It is not our natural endowment alone

– massive bodies of high grade ores not too far from the sea, and reasonably close to major customers. It has also taken adequate capital, a fiscally stable environment, world-class technology and management skills, political stability, a supportive regulatory environment, acceptable labour costs, and adequate infrastructure.

Australia must continue to get these things right. Our resources endowment provides great opportunities, available to few other countries. That endowment, however, also comes with an obligation to develop them to support the world's continued growth.

Maximising those opportunities matters greatly to Australia and the wider world. Much rides on how well we build on the opportunities we have. It is a prospect which is as sobering as it is exciting.

Thank you.

NOTES

1 BHP Billiton

2 BHP Billiton

3 BHP Billiton Annual Report 2009

4 Base year 2005, Economist Intelligence Unit, 25 September 2009

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8 UN Comtrade

9 Global Insight, 2009

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11 Australian Bureau of Statistics 5204.0—Australian System of National Accounts, 2007–08, Table Gross Value Added (GVA) by Industry; Australian Bureau of Statistics 5209.0—Australian National Accounts Input-Output Tables 1998–99

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15 IMF 'Australia 2009 Article IV, Consultation, Concluding Statement', italics my emphasis, 23 June 2009

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17 World Steel Association, James King, Global Insight, IMF, OECD, IISI, USGS

18 World Steel Association, James King, Global Insight, IMF, USGS

19 ibid.

20 Lowy Institute Poll, 2009

21 BHP Billiton; Datastream

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24 Dealogic

25 The Centre for Independent Studies, 'Why is Australia So Much Richer than New Zealand?', 4 December 2007

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