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1. Right to life and health of man

Health Protection

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1

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MEDIATION OF RISK CHEMICAL EXPOSURE^{1/}

by

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INTRODUCTION

Australia Australia is not considered one of the least-developed countries, the development of its economy to the present date has been far from uniform. At present it is experiencing a very experienced industrial growth, which is typical of the most advanced countries. This growth is based on the development of the oil industry, which is well known throughout the world. The oil industry is concentrated in a few large companies, the chief of which is the Australian Oil Refining Company. The Australian oil refining industry is developing rapidly, and the influence of foreign oil companies and oil companies in Australia is increasing, especially in the field of oil exploration and production. In addition, with the introduction of oil into the Australian economy, the Australian petroleum industry is developing rapidly, and there is a small domestic market with the import of crude oil, refined oil, and fuel oil. As a result, the country has already suffered from the costs of raw material imports, especially oil and natural gas, and transportation costs, influenced by government policies, and by international oil companies, which are finding it difficult, and as a result of liberal official policies, to compete with foreign oil companies, but to some large foreign-owned companies.

The purpose of this paper is not to give an assessment of the costs and benefits to the Australian economy of the specific manner in which the Australian industry has evolved, but rather to set out the nature of this development and the economic and non-economic factors underlying it, and to indicate the direction of future growth.

THE AUSTRIAN FAIR. — 1871. — VOL. I.

From the first it has been evident that the observations are not to be limited in the Australia, as the results of the antarctic expeditions have shown that the most important part of the world's climate is to be found in the southern hemisphere. The Australian continent is situated in the southern hemisphere, and the results of the antarctic expeditions have shown that the most important part of the world's climate is to be found in the southern hemisphere.

The first stage of the development of the economy was characterized by a period of rapid growth with great investment, accompanied by a large increase in the population. This was followed by a period of slow development, characterized by a decline in investment, a decrease in population, and a decline in the rate of economic growth. The second stage of the development of the economy was characterized by a period of rapid growth, accompanied by a large increase in the population. This was followed by a period of slow development, characterized by a decline in investment, a decrease in population, and a decline in the rate of economic growth. The third stage of the development of the economy was characterized by a period of rapid growth, accompanied by a large increase in the population. This was followed by a period of slow development, characterized by a decline in investment, a decrease in population, and a decline in the rate of economic growth.

During the twentieth century, the United States has been one of the most important centers of immigration in the world. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States has been a major destination for immigrants from around the world. The growth rate of the population in the United States has been affected by government policy, economic conditions, and social factors such as family size and government policies. The United States has had a long history of government policies related to immigration, including policies of restriction and encouragement. These policies have had significant impacts on the United States.

- (1) The first two, which are related to the effect of the population density and individual performance on the probability of infection, are identical. The parameter β is the rate at which an infected individual can infect others (infectivity), while γ is the rate at which an infected individual becomes non-infectious (recovery).

(2) Between 1 and 100% of young birds die from avian influenza, no older than 1000 days.

and liberal on foreign investment. At no time, however, was it considered expedient to offer special federal incentives, such as tax holidays or rebates, because the attraction of foreign capital, although important, is often offset by more attractive incentives which proved more effective. In the petrochemical industry, up to 1962, growth occurred mainly in polyethylene, polystyrene, methyl acrylate, ethylene derived resins, styrene, vinyl chloride, methyl methacrylate, ethylene derived resins, styrene, vinyl chloride, polyethylene, ethylene derived from locally produced ethane, methyl acrylate, acrylonitrile, and acrylate/hydro derived from ethane. In 1962, the introduction of vinyl chloride produced by chlorination of ethane, and the beginning of butene-1, the industry was again expanded. In addition to the expansion of butene-1, the industry was also expanded to include the production of some styrene derivatives, and especially in the period from 1962 to 1966. In addition to the heavy chemicals cited above, the following products, among other products, drugs and cosmetics, are produced. Although the heavier products industry was growing rapidly, particularly in the plastics industry, the resin products industry was growing rapidly, particularly in the production of resins, urea-formaldehyde moulding resins, polyvinyl chloride, polyvinyl acetate, polyvinylchloride and vinyl chloride. During this period, vinyl chloride took a third proportion of the market share, styrene, which probably provided the strength.

Up to 1962, there was no oil refinery in Australia, the result of the war and its aftermath. Firstly, as a result of political stability in the 1950's, and subsequently due to the incentives offered by government taxation, deregulation of roads, housing, water and electricity facilities, and the breaking of the protective tariff, foreign companies began to come forward in Australia in the early 1950's, and the first refinery was built. It was not until this period, however, that the technical problems in the form of refinery products were finally resolved, and particular to Australian manufacturers. The first initiative was the Foster Refinery, with a total capacity of 100,000 barrels per day, equivalent to 23.2 million litres per day. Catalytic cracking capacity is 150,000 barrels per day, and all refineries have facilities for catalytic reforming.

The average size of the Australian refineries is moderate by world standards, around 50,000 barrels per stream day, but the industry has proved able to function profitably without tariff protection, which was removed in 1961. The location of the refineries was determined by the proximity of markets, the existence of downstream port facilities, and other factors such as the State government incentives mentioned earlier. From the point of view of subsequent technological development, the refineries are reasonably well located, being close to the major city markets, although frequently distant from other raw material sources.

Subsequent to 1960 there has been rapid growth in the Australian chemical industry, particularly in the petrochemical industry, as a result of a greatly increased interest in Australia on the part of U.S. and European companies, many of which were concerned at protecting markets previously served by exports. During the period 1960/61 to 1966/67 the production of chemicals grew at a rate of 10.5% annually, whereas production of all manufacturing industry increased by 6.7% annually. The rate of investment in the industry was equally impressive, being 15.9% annually for the period as compared with 12.4% annually for manufacturing industry, and the total investment by the industry during the period amounted to approximately \$A 300 million*, of which 32% was supplied by inflow from overseas. It seems that much of this investment was prompted by concern for gaining or maintaining a position in the Australian market rather than from strict economic considerations, a motivating factor in foreign investment which has been described elsewhere in relation to U.S. direct investment in foreign countries.⁽⁴⁾ One of the consequences of this "band-wagon" effect, in the absence of government planning or controls on

* \$A1.00=SUS1.10

(4) See for example: Ya'ir Aharoni, "The Foreign Investment Decision Process" (Division of Research, Harvard Business School, Boston 1966) and for a discussion of the Australian context: J.T. Brach, "American Investment in Australian Industry," (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1966) Ch. III

foreign investment, has been the proliferation of plants of uneconomic size, as described in the next section.

In 1966/67 the output of the industry rose to \$A 313 million, the value added being \$A 177 million, but profitability has been low by most standards, ranging from 4.4% on shareholders' equity (after tax) in 1964 to 3.6% in 1967. Throughout the period from 1960-62 the chemical industry was subject to intense competition from imports from Japan, Europe and the U.S., and tariff protection and anti-dumping protection were considered to be inadequate. Up to 1964 the Tariff Board, a Federal Government agency, heard submissions by manufacturers and granted tariff protection on an individual chemical basis. The basis of the arguments put forward by the industry included the comparatively small size of the domestic market and the lack of scale economies, the lack of appreciable advantages in raw materials (petroleum, sulphur and rock phosphate were imported), the high cost of internal and coastal transport, and the exposure of the industry to the excess capacity of the large plants overseas which were able to export at less than full cost.

The Tariff Board, in considering individual products, could not allow for the interrelationships between raw materials, products and co-products, and tended to establish a level of tariff aimed at returning approximately 10% before tax on the depreciated value of the investment, provided that it considered that the local producer had suffered injury and was as efficient as could be expected. It was therefore necessary for the producer to suffer losses in order to establish a case, and the protection granted was not considered by the industry to be adequate in view of normal shareholder expectations. In 1963 the government decided that the chemical industry should be encouraged and ordered a comprehensive enquiry to determine the most appropriate form of assistance, and in 1964 heard submissions from a broad group of manufacturers represented by the Australian Chemical Industry Council. As a result of the enquiry, the Board concluded that the industry merited comprehensive assistance and established three levels of tariff: a 25% general duty for 16 chemicals; a 40% general duty for a further 14 chemicals; and a 60% general duty

for 5 products (polyethylene, 10%, synthetic rubber, vinyl acetate, and hydrogen peroxide), with preferential rates 10% lower in each case. In addition, to counteract dumping, current price controls will be imposed, based on normal domestic selling prices, net of excise, freight, duty and landing charges, which will be reviewed annually. The controls provided for anticipated future price increases of imported products. The Government does not propose any form of minimum tax assistance or subsidy (except a \$100 million loan, and the chemical industry remains subject to the same maximum import tariff as all other industry in the Commonwealth). Depreciation for tax purposes may be permitted at a rate faster than for a ten-year life, but only in claim. There will be an extra deduction of 20% of new equipment investment. This has been in effect for several years.

The net effect of the new tariff provisions has not been to increase the profitability of the industry. In fact, although there was a slight improvement in the prices of support values announced following the Board's report in 1966, profitability, measured by return on shareholders' equity, continued to fall, and the element price index in 1968 is 10% of its 1961 level (and only 86% of its 1961 level). The reasons for the continuing decline in profitability, the Council claims, are the reductions in support values following the annual reviews, the continuing price pressure from chemical products dumped on world markets, and the discriminatory basis used by the Board in determining funds employed.

In considering the Australian chemical industry's contribution to the external balance of payments, it is claimed by the industry's Council that the net import substitution now achieved amounts to \$A 150 million in 1968, after allowing for imported raw materials and tariffs. In addition, the industry has achieved a modest level of exports, amounting to about 5% of sales in 1968, or \$A12.5 million. In contrast, imports of chemical products in 1968 were of the order of \$A 250 million, (including raw materials for the domestic industry), of which it is estimated 75% are not produced locally. Capital inflow during the period 1966-1968 included \$A 175 million of new funds and \$A 123 million in retained earnings, and it is probably

— 1 —

it can be seen that these funds represent a net addition to the country's
available capital which would not have been obtained in the absence of a
foreign investment. The amount required to expand the economy by one size
unit is given by the ratio of the additional output to the additional foreign
investment. This ratio is called the marginal product of foreign capital.
It is evident that the extent of the marginal product of foreign capital
depends upon the nature of the investment. In the case of the foreign
investments in the United States, the marginal product of foreign capital
is approximately 1.5 times as great as the marginal product of domestic
capital. This means that the foreign investment in the United States
is about 1.5 times as efficient as the domestic investment. The higher
marginal product of foreign capital is due to the fact that foreign financing
entails lower costs of financing than domestic financing. The foreign
investor is able to obtain his capital at lower interest rates than the
domestic investor, and this results in more profitably.

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Given today's problems of world growth in the petrochemical segment of the chemical industry, and the pattern of production which is required to meet existing and future demand derivatives, before outlining their development in more detail, it may be useful to identify the present activity by location.

APPENDIX

CITY	SITE	COMPANY	PRODUCTS
SYDNEY	Botany	ICL AMCO	Intermediates, fertilizers, chlorine, chlorinated hydrocarbons, alkyl chlorides, carbon black, PVC, styrene, polypropylene
Kurnell	EWATZ		None
Kurnell	Phillip Island	ICI Australia, Carbon Black	None
Kurnell	AGP		None
Minto	Minto Park		None
Rhodes	ESR Chem.		Exo-technology, weather, stereo, organic acids
	CRBC-Pow		Polymer
	Laton Services		Urethane, emulsion, chlorinated hydrocarbons, silicones.
Silverwater	EWATZ		None
Intraville	EWATZ		None
Other			Several products incl. carbon black, polymers, acrylonitrile, propylene, anhydride
NEWCASTLE	Newcastle	Thom.	
	Eastern		Ammeter, emulsion, fertilizer
	Alton	ICL AMCO, Carbide, Laton, ICI	
MELBOURNE	Alton	EWATZ	None
	Alton		Urethane, emulsion
	AGP		Polybutadiene, MBR
	Union Carbide		Polyethylene (not planned)
	CRBC-Pow		PVC

1960 (cont'd.)

City	State	Country	Petro-chemical products
MELBOURNE	Victoria	Australia	None
SYDNEY	N.S.W.	Australia	None
BRISBANE	Queensland	Australia	None
Kaap	Queensland	Australia	None
Rooty Hill			None
WYELONG		Shell	Refinery
		Shell	Polymer alkali,
			Polypropylene (planned)
WENTWORTH		S.A.	Refinery
BONNIE			None
SALT		SUP- petro	Chemical plant
BRISBANE	Salter	America	Refinery
Island			None
	Fulton	Ammon	Refinery
	Gibraltar	Central Pacific	Ammonium urate
	Island	Philippines	
		new World	
	Finkenhu-	Central Ameri-	Ammonia
	ll	cana	
		Ammonium	
ADELAIDE	Willunga	S.A.	Refinery (17% chlorine-
	Cove		caustic plant, carbonyl
			oxygen)
PERTH	Kwinana	S.A.	Refinery
		Kwinana	Ammonia, nitric acid,
		nitrogen	ammonium nitrate,

The above list does not indicate the full range of chemicals and chemical sites, but covers the major petrochemicals.

Raw Material Availability:

Until recently, Australia was deficient in petroleum, natural gas, sulphur, phosphate, potash, bromine and fluorine, but recent discoveries have radically changed the situation. Petroleum discovered to date in the Bass Strait basin will eventually supply most of Australia's needs; reserves are estimated at 1,500 million barrels and further prospecting is in progress. Other small fields, at Coonie and Narraw Island, are in production, and natural gas is being piped to Brisbane from the Coonie field to the Austral Pacific Fertilizers plant, while construction of pipelines and treatment plants is under way for exploitation of the Bass Strait gas finds. Extensive deposits of asbestos in Queensland, and nickel in Western Australia have recently been discovered, and other raw materials for the chemical industry are available, but frequently costly due to transport charges. There is a shortage of suitable feedstocks due to the orientation of the local refineries towards gasoline, and requirements are imported.

Although the recent oil discoveries will undoubtedly replace imported crudes in Australian refineries, it does not seem likely that there will be any decrease in the cost of petrochemical feedstock, since the price for locally produced oil is set by the government at import parity plus a quality differential of about 10%. It is possible that, if more extensive finds are made, there may be scope for special price arrangements for export-oriented chemical users.

Development since 1960:

The first major petrochemical complex to be built in Australia was the Altona complex based on the P.R.A. refinery (formerly Standard-Vacuum, now jointly owned by Tokil, Esso and Texaco, 25%). The complex which cost \$60 million, commenced operation in 1961, and includes an ethylene plant employing steam cracking of refinery gases and rated at 46,000 long tons* per year, which is to be expanded to use ethane separated from Bass Strait

* All tonnage figures refer to long tons.

gas at the Sale separation plant. The butadiene obtained from the steam cracker is augmented by dehydrogenation of n-butylene to yield 21,500 tons of butadiene per annum. Other plants in the complex are:

"Inier-Chidell" low-density polyethylene plant, with present capacity estimated at 17,000 tons per annum, and with plans for high-density manufacturing,

Australian Synthetic Rubber's SIS plant originally rated at 30,000 tons per year, but recently modified to produce polybutadiene.

Dow's ethylene dichloride plant which provides feed for U.T. Goodrich's polyvinyl chloride plant, believed to have a capacity of 7,000 tons per annum (TAC capacity is in excess of 11,000 tons),

Dow's styrene monomer plant (14,000 tons per year), and polystyrene plant (3,500 tons),

CASE's expandable polystyrene plant (added in 1967),

"Seabat Chemicals" high-density polyethylene plant (originally 12,000 tons per year and recently expanded), established in 1967.

The "Iltim" complex has been referred to, as noted above, and profitability has gradually improved as capacity was more fully utilized. However, neither the ethylene dichloride plant nor any of the other units is of a size economically efficient enough to compete in the major industrial nations, although Union Carbide was successful in exporting 10,000 tons/yr of polyethylene for the SPRINT and COMPAC cables. The polyethylene supply will shortly be augmented by cracking of ethane supplied from the separation plant at Sale, which will have a capacity of over 100,000 tons per year.

The other significant technological development centred around ICIANZ at Latony, in Tahiti, where prior to 1960 ICIANZ had been producing LD polyethylene from dehydrochlorination of 100% flow curving propylene, and chlorinated solvents. When Shell constructed its ethylene plant at Clivde, ICIANZ agreed to purchase ethylene shipped by pipeline to its Rotany site for polyethylene manufacture (21,000 tons annually). Shell's

ethylene plant, now 8 years old, is rated at 25,000 tons per year, 15,000 tons of which is extracted from dry gas supplied by PAGAL. In 1963 ICIANZ installed a plant to produce carbon tetrachloride and perchlorethylene (10,000 tons) based on propane from the nearby refinery of BORAL, which also supplies residual oil to PAGAL's cracking plant. A further extension of ICIANZ activities to absorb ethylene from the Shell plant was the production of ethylene oxide, glycols and non-ionic surfactants, commenced in 1964, using the Scientific Design air oxidation process. ICIANZ probably entered into manufacturing partly to preempt Union Carbide, for whom ethylene oxide was an expected development, although the market was quite small (10,000 tons).

ICIANZ's PVC production was based originally on calcium carbide produced in Tasmania, but rising PVC demand necessitated imports. The process was costly, and the ethylene route was an obvious alternative. ICIANZ undertook a considerable research effort in developing an oxychlorination process to recover chlorine from byproduct hydrogen chloride, thus avoiding either wastage of chlorine or the need for a mixed ethylene-acetylene feed. The new ethylene dichloride plant, with a capacity of 40,000 tons per year, was the first commercial plant in the world to use the oxychlorination process. Concurrently with the new process for PVC, ICIANZ brought on stream, in 1966, a 70,000 ton per year ethylene plant based on steam cracking of naphtha, and associated with it is a 20,000 ton per year plant jointly owned with Phillips to manufacture SBR, polybutadiene and carbon black.

Also in the Sydney area is a group of plants based on the BORAL refinery mentioned above, which include the PAGAL cracking plant which produces dry gas for Shell's ethylene plant and light oil from which aromatics are extracted in a Udx plant. Benzene and a dilute ethylene stream from these plants are converted by Monsanto to styrene monomer using a UOP Alker process, and the monomer is converted to polystyrene for the NSW market by Monsanto and Dow. Under a reciprocal agreement, styrene produced by Dow in Melbourne is available also to Monsanto, as a means of reducing shipment between cities 500 miles apart.

Another example of the rationalization of production, which has only recently become accepted as feasible by the industry, was the agreement between Union Carbide and Monsanto whereby a new phenol plant was constructed by Monsanto to supply both companies. The plant was originally constructed in Belgium in 1954 employing the Scientific Design direct oxidation process, but has subsequently shut down due to operating difficulties. The company which is now in operation uses the cumene route, drawing propylene from the Altona refinery and benzene from BP's steel operations. Capacity is believed to be 10,000 tons per annum.

The Chemicals completed an 18,000 ton per year plant at Rhodes in 1967 to produce carbonylation alcohols (n- and iso-butanol and iso-butene) to replace old facilities based on fermentation. Shell completed in 1967 a plant to produce iso-propanol, aceton and methyl ethyl ketone, and COT Chemicals have announced plans for an expansion of their vinyl acetate monomer facilities to 10,000 tons capacity, using the Bayer process, and will produce 17,000 tons per annum of acetaldehyde using the "Dihyd" BOP process. (COT has a 49.7% interest in CSRC as a result of an acquisition in 1967).

Interest has been generated recently in nitrogenous fertilizers, resultant forming expansion in Western Australia, NSW and Queensland has resulted in increased interest in subterranean clover, and there has been a significant expansion in capacity. COTEC built a plant in Broken Hill in 1964 rated at 22,000 ton of ammonia per annum, based on the steam reforming of naphtha, and another in 1966 in a joint venture (Queensland Ammonium) at Gladstone in Queensland based on naphtha, with a capacity of 16,000 tons. This plant is proved to be successful for the growth of the market, and a 175,000 ton per year plant was recently completed at Newcastle by Isobar Nitrogen. In this COTEC has a 50% interest. The associated ammonium nitrate plant will have a capacity of 150,000 tons. Two other plants have been completed this year, bringing the combined capacity for ammonia to 360,000 ton per annum. The other plants are Austral Pacific Fertilizers (mainly liquid) Sydneynair Brisbane, based on natural gas from the Roma fields (24,000 tons) and Kwinana Nitrogen (30,000 tons) at Kwinana, Western Australia (100,000 tons).

Prior to the announcement of the \$80 per ton bounty on nitrogenous fertilizers, the domestic market was estimated to be around 15,000 tons in 1970 and up to 300,000 tons by 1975. Although the bounty will stimulate demand, it seems likely that Australian manufacturers will be seeking export markets for their products, at considerably low prices, with considerable economic incentives available.

FURTHER PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS

Table II includes recent estimates of major petrochemical capacity and domestic demand in 1970 and 1975. It should be recognized that there is little published data regarding plant capacities in Australia and that the demand projections are approximate; actual capacity in some cases may be greater than indicated. However, it is evident that there is excess capacity in several areas, notably ethylene (without expansion under way at Altona), styrene, polyvinyl chloride, carbon black and ammonia. Average plant size, except for the new ammonia plants, is well below the economic minimum suggested by recent standards. It is unlikely that Australian plants for major petrochemicals will attain a reasonable economic size for many years, if ever.

Several products are not manufactured in Australia, largely because of the small market. These include polyisobutylene (both Shell and Hoechst have unstructured plants), propylene oxide (approximately 1,000 tons), isocyanates (approximately 1,000 tons), pentamethyltoluene (1,000 tons) and tetra-ethyl lead. Propylene oxide may well be the next petrochemical product to be manufactured locally, although the chlorhydrin route would suffer from the high cost of chlorine and the chloro route would produce co-products of methyl methacrylate, acrylonitrile or styrene, for which the available domestic market is negligible.

Table II
Estimated Supply, Demand and Plant Size
(1000 long tons per year)

<u>Product</u>	<u>1968 Capacity</u>	<u>No. plants</u>	<u>Demand 1970</u>	<u>Demand 1975</u>
ethylene	170,000	4	120,000	200,000
propylene	80,000	2	20,000	25,000
polyethylene-LD	40,000	2	40,000	60,000
-HD	10,000+	1	20,000	30,000
caprolactam monomer	24,000+	2	30,000	40,000
vinyl chloride	26,000+	2	40,000	70,000
ethylene oxide	10,000+	1	11,000	18,000
vinyl chloride	10,000	3	20,000	25,000
isoprene	360,000	5	150,000+	300,000+
PPR rubber	50,000	2	30,000	45,000
formaldehyde	35,000+	4	38,000	55,000
acetaldehyde	2,000	1	9,000	12,000
	15,000 (U.C.)	1		
vinyl acetate	4,000	1	7,000	10,000
	12,000 (U.C.)	1		
toluol	11,000	1	16,000	25,000

* Denotes minimum estimate

(U.C.) denotes new facility under construction in 1969

The possibility of large-scale chemical plants aimed at export markets has been proposed as a means of gaining scale economies, and it is worth considering the potential of this line of development. Let us first consider the advantages or disadvantages Australia may have relative to other larger economies in this sphere of activity. The raw material position has been outlined earlier, and it seems that Australia now has local supplies of most of the raw materials needed by the petrochemical industry. If transport costs for raw materials can be reduced, either through direct subsidy or relaxation of restrictive policies, the industry would be competitive with most others in this respect, and would have advantages compared with countries such as Japan which depend largely on imported resources.

With respect to services, the most serious present cost disability of the industry is in electrical power, where in the past chemical manufacturers have paid prices which reflected the costs of the State electrical distribution networks. These prices are in excess of 1.0 cent per kWh, whereas present full generating costs are around 0.3 cents per kWh for the large thermal stations situated close to cheap coal sources. Recently State governments have made concessions to large new users (such as aluminum smelters) and there is scope for further concessions to the chemical industry. With ample reserves of coal and natural uranium, Australia should have advantages in electrical costs from which the petrochemical industry could gain a competitive edge, provided governments can be persuaded to price their product marginally.

Operating maintenance labour are not large components of cost, and Australia's net costs compare favourably with the U.S., but are higher than in Japan or Europe. Managerial and entrepreneurial talent are currently in very short supply, and although this factor is not recognized explicitly in operating costs, it is undoubtedly a limitation to perceiving and grasping opportunities for growth against world competition.

In costs of plant construction, lower Australian productivity (as compare with the U.S.) is offset by lower labour rates. The machinery and fabricating industry is well developed and can provide most items of

equipment. Plant construction costs, as a result, are very close to U.S. costs, being slightly lower where the imported requirement is minimal.

On the basis of considerations outlined above, it is reasonable to conclude that Australian petrochemical plants could compete on world markets if a sufficiently large scale of manufacture could be achieved and if the major part of production could be sold at full cost. These requirements have been met by the aluminum industry in recent years, despite the small scale of the domestic market. The difficulty for the chemical industry lies in disposing of its production at prices which cover both variable and fixed costs, and the history of chemical manufacture has demonstrated frequently that manufacturers with access to large domestic markets are prone to dump excess capacity on export markets at prices just above marginal cost to make some contribution towards fixed costs.

Some possibilities which suggest themselves are to charge the domestic economy more for its needs than the export sector by means of subsidy, tariff or taxation incentives, or to encourage export-only manufacturing zones supported by fiscal incentives, possibly using Australian resources and processing as an off-shore supplement to some other country's industry. In the first proposal, it may be that for some products the costs to the economy of partially subsidizing exports from large scale installations may be no greater than the costs of supporting a fragmented group of small plants through tariff protection, and the benefit to the balance of payments would be greater. However, in the strict economic sense, the solution seeks to impose a greater proportion of fixed costs on the domestic economy in order to supply exports at marginal cost, and should be considered as a device for subsidizing exports. On the other hand, the establishment of industries primarily intended for export requires the allocation of

fixed costs to the export sector, and depends on the existence of a market prepared to accept exports at full cost. It is possible, as has been suggested elsewhere, that such an arrangement could be negotiated between Australia and a nation deficient in resources, such as Japan, with economic benefit to both parties, but substantial political problems remain to be surmounted. In the near future, it seems probable that the Australian petrochemical industry will continue to require support, and that new ventures which capitalize on unique technological advantages and produce further rationalization of production will be more rewarding to the investor.





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