

Chapter Four

'When the land is returned the struggle does not end' (Day 1994:102)

Prior to the granting of the lease several camps were established at various times on the Kulaluk lease by Aborigines not wishing to live at Bagot or other areas in Darwin. More permanent dwellings were also constructed by Fred Fogarty and other Kulaluk residents out of debris from the cyclone and anything else found around Darwin. At the time of the granting of the lease Bill Day moved permanently on to Kulaluk and set up his camp half way between Fred's place (which was on an island in the Ludmilla creek system where he lived for a time with Violet Adams) and Bobby Secretary's camp (at the northern end of the lease close to the Drive-in-Theatre where he lived with Bessie Murine and other friends and relatives). Gardens were established in a bid to make Kulaluk self-sufficient and trees and mangroves were planted to regenerate some of the areas affected by the cyclone, sand-mining and the digging of drains. During the early 1980s Day built several shelters at his camp which became the favourite destination of a number of children from Bagot and Kulaluk (see photographs 20, 21 & 22). Day ran formal holiday camps for a number of years as part of the Darwin Council's Vacation Activities Program at Kulaluk. The children were able to go fishing, crabbing, camping, walking and swimming on the Kulaluk lease. They also went roller skating, to the films and were given the materials with which to draw and paint.

The granting of the Special Purpose Lease facilitated the development of a community infrastructure at Kulaluk as it became recognised as an authorised camping area. Financial assistance for vehicles, wages, tools, housing and other amenities at Kulaluk has increased since the granting of the lease with the Aboriginal Benefit Trust Fund, the Aboriginal Development Foundation, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the Aboriginal Liaison Unit of the Chief Minister's Department all being instrumental in channelling financial assistance to the Gwalwa Daraniki Association as well as assisting them in the preparation of plans for the development and management of Kulaluk. More recently the Department of Lands, Housing and Local Government, the Office of Local Government and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Commission (ATSIC) have been involved with the planning and funding of developments at Kulaluk. Kulaluk gaining an official status also meant that the population residing on the Kulaluk lease began to increase. In 1980 twenty-five people were recorded living at Kulaluk while currently there is between eighty and one hundred people living on the lease - depending on the season. People from Darwin, Belyuen, Port Keats, Daly River and Thursday Island are among those resident at Kulaluk although people from all over the Northern Territory as well as North Queensland and the Kimberley region in Western Australia visit or live temporarily at Kulaluk. While the community infrastructure at Kulaluk began to be developed and more people moved onto the lease to become permanent residents it was not long before the inviolability of the lease was threatened by outside interests.

Dick Ward Drive

As the construction of the Nightcliff-Fannie Bay Connector Road was practically a precondition to the signing of the Kulaluk lease work began on the road almost immediately after the lease was granted. Trouble soon ensued when it was discovered that the company contracted to build the road was removing filling from the old Ludmilla dump site. Representatives of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association had signed an agreement with the company which agreed to the removal of 6,000 to 8,000 cubic meters of fill for about \$2,000 with the company agreeing to leave the 'area excavated in a clear and tidy manner, free draining towards the sea' (Cooper 1985a:6). The agreement was opposed by Day and Fogarty who claimed that not all members of the Association had been consulted over the agreement, that the agreement was therefore unconstitutional and that the Association had other plans for the land (*Darwin Star*, 27 March 1980 in Cooper



Photograph Fifteen: Bill Day
(Northern Territory Archives, WB Day Collection NTRS 75 Photo 70)



Photograph Sixteen: A campsite at Kulaluk, 1978
(Northern Territory Archives, WB Day Collection NTRS 75 Photo 16)

1985a:6). An appeal to the Minister for Transport and Works and the Mines Branch resulted in the company being requested to apply for an extraction licence which effectively stopped the removal as such a licence could not be given in a suburban area. Work continued on the road with an alternative supply of fill and the road, ironically called Dick Ward Drive, was eventually opened on 22nd July 1980 by Bobby Secretary. What this meant for the Kulaluk lease was that it was now cut into several pieces and that 'any future land use considerations would be subject to certain restrictions such as pedestrian and vehicular access and more stringent conditions applied to planning approval' (Cooper 1985a:7). The road was also to cause disruptions to the natural drainage patterns on the lease as it impeded tidal patterns and blocked up swamplands which resulted in the death of mangroves and increased the breeding habitats for mosquitoes (Cooper 1985a:7).

A Multi-Million Dollar Canal Housing Estate?

The year following the opening of Dick Ward Drive, land at Kulaluk again became the focus of attention. Pressure for inner city housing development threatened the inviolability of the Kulaluk Lease when the private developer, Redco¹, proposed to build an extensive canal housing estate partly on the large area of mangroves and low lying coastal swamp lands found on the lease. The Redco proposal involved a \$30 million canal estate development, called the East Haven Canal Estate, which was to be based around a large salt water lake and incorporated 700 housing sites as well as a large marina. This development, in the Ludmilla Creek area, required the removal of mangroves and the building of a large earth bund wall and lock gates to cope with the high tidal ranges (Cooper 1985a:11). The Redco proposal needed to increase the number of building blocks available to them and therefore sought to include part of the Kulaluk lease within their proposal. Redco proposed to the Gwalwa Daraniki Association that in exchange for the needed land they would carry out such works on Kulaluk as 'a new fishing creek and jetty, bitumen road access and car parking at the Kulaluk community site and a fishing marina adjacent to the settlement with deep water access to the sea' (Gamble 1981).

According to Redco, the development benefits of the proposal were:

- A huge, deep salt water lake providing a relatively safe environment for children's aquatic sports plus boat storage and launching facilities, public beaches, parklands and recreational amenities.
- A major new residential suburb of a style and appeal unsurpassed in urban Darwin - close to the sea and to the inner city area with its existing employment and recreational facilities.
- Re-afforestation of the East Point Peninsula with Rainforest, Banyan, Casuarina, Paper Bark and Eucalypt forests - in accordance with the East Point Reserve Trustees recently completed management plan.
- Re-development of a badly degenerated, polluted inner city area into an attractive suburb with extensive recreational facilities.
- Elimination of present Sewerage Treatment Plant odours and major pollution problems.
- Employment during development stage and construction of homes. Possibility of long term employment for Kulaluk community on parkland maintenance and manufacture of adobe bricks.
- Tourist attraction of lake and ancillary facilities.
- Aquatic sports facilities, fishing and safe anchorage for smaller boats (Redco 1981).

¹ Real Estate Development Corporation Pty Ltd. The canal estate proposal occurred against a spate of development projects for Darwin's foreshore which included a \$5 million motel and water slide complex at Bullocky Point, a \$7 million mariner at Vestey's Beach which incorporated a medium density housing project and a marine centre at Doctor's Gully (Cooper 1985b).

Letters to *Bunji* and local newspapers indicated widespread community concern over the Redco proposal. This land, considered by conservationists to be a significant part of Darwin's urban 'greenbelt' providing 'abundant habitats for a wide variety of flora and fauna species' was characterised by developers as 'worthless wasteland' - primarily because of such human impacts as dumping and road construction together with a lack of commitment to an effective management plan for the area. Apart from this threat to Darwin's greenbelt the scheme was opposed because of the social, recreational, educational and economic value of Ludmilla creek. Concern that the filtering function provided by the mangroves for pollutants as well as the impracticability of the project because of the possible effects of a severe cyclone gave the proposal further bad press. According to Cooper, Redco responded by denigrating the Ludmilla Creek system as 'polluted' and 'degenerate' (Cooper 1985a:11).

Bill Day, who with the exception of Fred Fogarty, has probably done more than any other individual to ensure that Aborigines get to keep at least some of Darwin, gets more than a little angry when he hears people, such as the manager of Redco Real Estate Pty Ltd, Mr Doug Gamble, describe the surrounds of Ludmilla Creek as wasteland ... Redco Real Estate is, of course, the company which wants to spend \$30 million building houses either on, or bordering, Kulaluk ... Kulaluk, is of course, the land granted [to] all of Darwin's Aborigines, not just the Larrakeyah as many seem to think, by way of compensation for the land and dignity they have lost through the arrival of whites (NT News, 10 September 1981 in Cooper 1985b).

A meeting to determine the level of support for the proposal by Aborigines in Darwin was held in September 1981. Several speakers at the meeting focussed on the possible destruction of Ludmilla Creek and the impact of this on their lifestyles as well as showing deep concern that this proposal was the first of many which could lead to the alienation of the land as had occurred at Bagot. While there was some support for the proposal the meeting finally resolved to oppose the scheme (Cooper 1985a:12). A newspaper report on the meeting concluded 'this potentially powerful lobby is not prepared to stand by and see the gains of the land rights movement lost' (*The Advertiser*, 17 September 1981 in Cooper 1985a:12). Soon after, Day was to claim that Redco, who only wanted to lease the Kulaluk land, had offered the Gwalwa Daraniki a sum of \$78,000 - a move described by Day as a 'bribe' (Cooper 1985a:12).

Kalalak Creek in danger: The HEART of Kalalak is a big salt-water creek and mangrove swamp. The company called REDCO wants to smash down the mangroves and dig up the creek. They want to cut out the heart of Kalalak and kill the land. REDCO wants to make a lake with houses for rich people all around. They will call this kind of housing, 'canal Housing estates' (Bunji, May 1981).

Associate Diploma of Community Work students at the Darwin Community College conducted a survey 'to assess opinions of both the residents adjacent to the proposed Redco Canal Scheme for Ludmilla Creek and the present users of Ludmilla Creek'. The Redco scheme was selected for study because it was a 'major development project' and because 'it could provide an additional housing and recreational asset, or it could result in considerable environment damage, it could cause major social difficulties, and it was yet another proposed development affecting land owned by Aborigines' (Darwin Community College nd). One hundred and fifty five questionnaires were completed by residents adjacent to the creek and users of the creek. The students also spoke with Redco representatives, politicians, environmentalists and a city councillor as well as visiting the sewerage works, touring the creek, and holding discussions with public servants and council employees expert in the matters under investigation.

The student's survey found that the creek was used primarily for fishing, crabbing, prawning and swimming and it was a threat to these pursuits which most worried the users of the creek. Other concerns expressed in the survey by Bagot and Kulaluk residents were that it would ruin the beauty of the place, people would no longer be able to get 'salt-water' food or bush medicines and that it would 'change country' (Darwin Community College nd). Further concerns included that the proposal would result in increased traffic, noise and other pollution as well as destroying the ecology of the area and preventing recreational activities in natural bushland in an easily accessed area. Some of those surveyed thought that the scheme would bring 'progress', that the bund wall would protect against tidal surges and that the reforestation of areas would attract more animals. The scheme would also attract employment, upgrade the locality and would provide more areas for outings. In particular, residents at Kulaluk and Bagot thought that some benefits of the scheme would be: extra money to assist Kulaluk; a chance for more interaction with non-Aborigines; and the parks would be nice 'if they were allowed to use them' (Darwin Community College nd). However, people at Kulaluk noted their concern that the scheme would raise the value of their land which could lead to increased rents and rate charges.

Overall the survey showed that the majority of adjacent residents and users of the creek were opposed to the scheme. The students findings were:

- There will be a considerable advantage in style of living for those citizens who can afford the price of a block fronting onto a canal.
- There will be employment created if the scheme goes ahead, but most, if not all, of this employment would be created wherever the housing was built.
- The canal scheme will require considerable public money to be spent just to allow it to go ahead, eg the resiting of the sewerage works, traffic solutions, health and educational facilities.
- There will be a high public expenditure needed to maintain this development, upkeep of lock, bund walls, public space, dredging channel, monitoring the cleanliness of the lake, etc.
- There is going to be a considerable loss to the poorest citizens living in the area, in particular they will lose a major part of the fish, crab and prawn areas and they will lose an important hunting and bushwalking area.
- The proposed scheme could exacerbate any storm surge problems.
- There could be health and ecological difficulties created by the scheme.
- The scheme will cause increased social problems in the adjacent areas, noise, traffic, competition for health and educational services.

The students concluded their study by saying that as they had surveyed the people who would be most affected by the proposal and found that such a large majority were not in favour of the scheme 'we do not feel there are sufficient reasons to warrant it being allowed to proceed' (Darwin Community College nd:8).

The findings of this survey together with continued protest by the public and in the media about this proposal set back Redco's plans. Paradoxically, the release of the Government's Foreshore Protection Plan gave some hope to Redco (see Appendix Three). In seeking to take 'unprecedented action to protect Darwin's valuable foreshores' this new plan divided the Darwin coastline into two zones. Those areas in Zone A would be protected 'from any further threat of development' because of their 'recreational and scenic value' while those in Zone B were identified as 'having no particular recreational value in their present state' which meant that the Government would 'entertain proposals with commercial development' for these areas (Northern Territory 1982a). Ludmilla Creek, as well as the Kulaluk lease, were included in Zone B which allowed for 'some improvement or controlled development ... [as] necessary before such areas could be useful to the community' (Cooper 1985a:13). Proposed developments in Zone B would be examined by the Planning Authority and would need to undertake an environmental impact assessment as well as publicly exhibit the

development proposal (Northern Territory 1982a). In answer to Bill Day's concerns about the limitations of the Foreshore Protection Plan the Minister for Lands and Housing, Marshall Perron, replied that although the Government had given a commitment to Redco to allow for the completion of a feasibility study of the scheme, in the formulation of the Plan he was 'guided by one overriding criterion - the wishes of the people' (Perron 1982).

Community opposition to the project resulted in Redco drafting a new plan which excluded the Kulaluk lease. The proposal received a further set back when the Water Resources Division who controlled the Ludmilla Sewerage plant insisted that the cost of relocating the plant (approximately \$8 million) be borne by Redco. This together with growing public dissent and Redco's difficulties in completing a full feasibility study for the scheme made Redco apply to the Lands Allocation Branch for an extension to the deadline for the feasibility study. This was extended until May 1984 but the study was not submitted and so the application was declared lapsed, although technically not rejected (Cooper 1985a:13). In May 1985 it was announced that the Government was considering a 'multi-million dollar development proposal for the Ludmilla Creek area' by Floreat Plumbing. Public submissions were called on the proposal which would cover 170 hectares and provide residential land for up to 5,000 people incorporating a residential marina and associated facilities at Ludmilla creek. The Aboriginal Sacred Sites Protection Authority opposed the development claiming it would 'constitute a serious detriment, not only to the Aboriginal communities involved, but also to the wider Darwin community'. Once again the environmental and social value of the creek to the neighbouring Aboriginal communities was emphasised and the Authority's report concluded by recommending that Ludmilla Creek be incorporated into the East Point Recreation Reserve (AAPA 1985). In a strong letter from the Gwalwa Daraniki, it was stated that:

With this Association having no intention of ever surrendering even a centimetre of the Lease it would seem to us that if the Floreat Plumbing proposal was ever to eventuate it would be outside the Kulaluk Lease and with no approval or cooperation [sic] from this Association (Gwalwa Daraniki Association 1985).

Today this area has remained 'undeveloped' and focus has swung to the Cullen Bay Marina and Bayview Haven 'developments'.

The Mosquito Drains

As mentioned previously the building of Dick Ward Drive and the subsequent construction of drainage easements under the road caused considerable disruption to a tidal tributary of Ludmilla Creek which runs the length of the lease along the coast. Apart from reducing freshwater input to the tidal mangrove zone downstream it also resulted in the intrusion of salt water during high tides to the freshwater swamp area. This, together with ineffective drain maintenance caused them to become silted and blocked with weeds and grass which resulted in pooling problems and the formation of mosquito breeding habitats (Cooper 1985a:8). Urban expansion into Darwin areas prone to mosquito breeding increased public pressure on the Government to deal with this as a potential health problem. An immediate solution was the application of an extensive malathion fogging program by the Darwin City Council on mosquito infested areas. Concern over the chemical used in this fogging program resulted in its use being discontinued. Plans for building an extensive system of open unlined drains in high mosquito density areas were subsequently made public in July 1983. The focus of these plans was more on the costing and construction of the drains in controlling mosquito populations rather than on any consideration of the environmental effects or the practicality of the engineering solution (Cooper 1985a:9).

Representatives of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association were consulted with and agreed to the construction of an extensive system of drains through part of the lease. However,

neither they nor the Conservation Commission were aware of the 'full ramifications' of the scheme as no environmental impact report was produced (Cooper 1985:3-4; see photographs 18 & 19). When the contractors for the Darwin City Council entered the Kulaluk lease to begin on the construction of the drains, Bill Day's footbridge was knocked down and the contractor's dredging machine was bogged in the mud. Opposition to the construction of the drains by some Kulaluk residents and conservationists led to a meeting between representatives of the Aboriginal Sacred Sites Authority, the Darwin City Council, the Northern Territory Environment Council and Bill Day. At this meeting such issues as the lack of an environmental impact study, the drastic drainage measures, and the wisdom in carrying out such works at the beginning of the wet season were raised. While noting these concerns the City Council decided that work should be resumed that day on the 'ricefields' section of the Kulaluk lease. In what seemed a scene set for confrontation a Channel Eight television crew arrived to film the continuation of work but were ordered from the lease by the Kulaluk manager, Richard Baugh, who was accompanied by the police (Cooper 1985a:9-10). 'Later that day, largely due to the Council's miscalculation of the boggy nature of the lease, the machine was removed and work halted indefinitely' (Cooper 1985a:10; Day 1994:123).

At the 1982 Annual General Meeting of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association, Gordon Tapau had been elected President and Bill Day the new Secretary (Day 1994). The following month an unsuccessful attempt was made to sack Day for sending a letter of support to a Queensland Black Protest Committee on behalf of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association. Members of the Association not present at the meeting which agreed to support this group believed that Day's actions could have jeopardised continued funding from the Northern Territory Government (pers. comm. Bill Day 1995). The letter incident together with Day's determination to oppose the drain construction resulted in him being issued a 'Notice to Vacate' his Kulaluk camp by the Executive Committee of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association via the North Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service (Cooper 1985a:10). This bid to evict Day was unsuccessful and he chose to remain at Kulaluk and continue to fight the drain construction (Day 1994:123-134).

Work began again on the drains in September 1984. This resulted in a 'bitter confrontation' during which barricades and obstructions including broken glass and nails were laid in the path of the machines and a dredging machine was damaged. Day, representing the 'Kulaluk Liberation Front', together with a number of children protested against the dredgers claiming, 'We are interested in this land, in protecting our environment ... There has been no impact study to find out how much damage dredging will do here' (*NT News*, 24 September 1984:2, NTRS 75 (4)). Police were called in to patrol the area and were placed on stand-by to ensure the work continued unhindered. An injunction was again granted to the Gwalwa Daraniki Association to remove Day from the lease. This injunction was almost immediately dissolved and at subsequent Supreme Court eviction proceedings, action to evict Day was adjourned indefinitely (Cooper 1985a:10). The drainage work was completed in October 1984 and at the time of writing his report, Cooper noted that work to flatten the resulting spoil piles had not been possible until the marine mud had dried out. Cooper advised that the Darwin City Council should immediately begin 'monitoring environmental damage caused by the construction of these drains with the aim of developing both a program of rehabilitation and guidelines to avoid the same mistakes being repeated' (Cooper 1984:4). Several years later a Mosquito Control Advisory Committee was established to monitor and coordinate the mosquito control programs recommended by the joint Government-Darwin City Council Mosquito Task Force formed because of heavy mosquito infestation (*NT News*, 16 June 1990:3). Mosquitos have continued to pose a persistent problem for Darwin residents with no effective solution being implemented. In addition a report commissioned by the NT Department of Lands, Housing and Local Government in October 1994 relating to the investigation of stormwater drainage on the Kulaluk lease shows that problems associated with stormwater drainage caused by runoff and tidal intrusion continue to present a significant problem on the lease. Work has recently begun again at Kulaluk on the further digging of drains in a bid to cope with water runoff and to



Photograph Seventeen: The Fitzer Drive gate at Kulaluk leading to Fred Fogarty's 'Fish Camp'
(Northern Territory Archives, WB Day Collection NTRS 75)



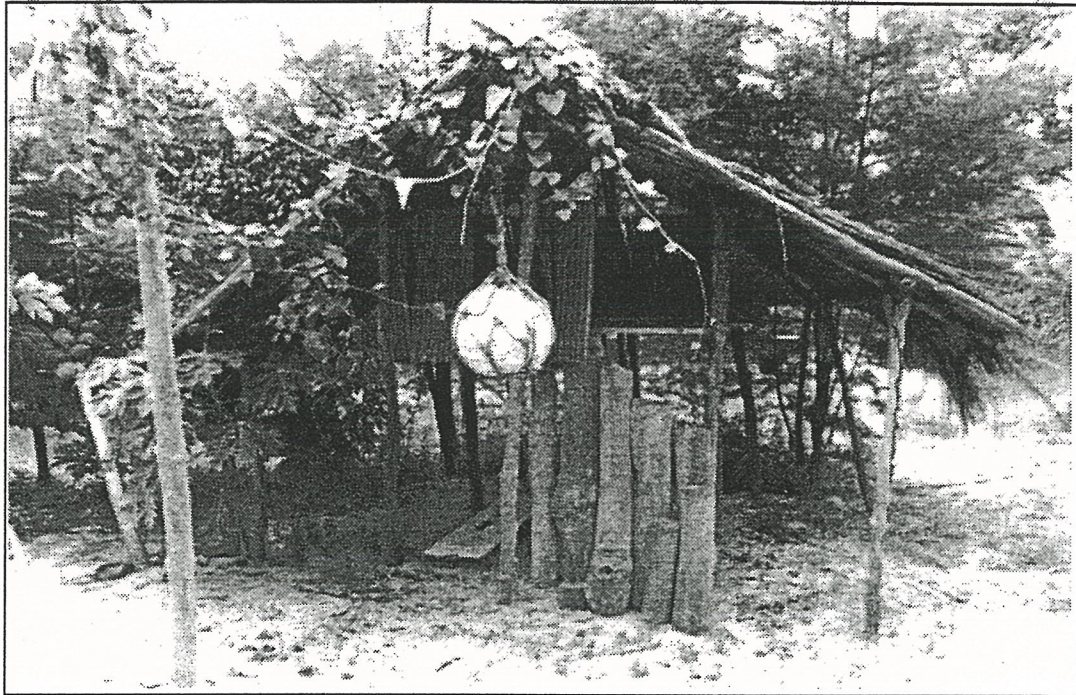
Photograph Eighteen: The Mosquito Drains. This drain lies along a tidal creek line which runs parallel to Ludmilla Bay from Coconut Grove to Ludmilla Creek – the dead mangroves may be the result of Cyclone Tracy, but regeneration has been retarded by the impedance of tidal flushing due to a siltage block downstream and the restriction of fresh water input from the upper reaches of the creek
(Henderson 1984)



Photograph Nineteen: The Mosquito Drains. This photograph shows converging mosquito drains through the area known as the 'rice fields' on the Kulaluk lease – some pats are becoming overgrown and the spoil banks on the far left and right of the photograph impede the movement of runoff into the drains (Henderson 1984)



Photograph Twenty: Mural on hut, Kulaluk 1984
(Northern Territory Library PH0108/0002
Photograph courtesy of the *Northern Territory News*)



Photograph Twenty-one: Shelter at Kulaluk, Bill Day's camp. Early 1980s.
(Northern Territory Library PH0108/0009
Photograph courtesy of the *Northern Territory News*)



Photograph Twenty-two: Bill Day's camp. Early 1980s.
(Northern Territory Library PH0108/0015
Photograph courtesy of the *Northern Territory News*)

lessen mosquito problems during the wet season. In addition, sand and soil from the lease is currently being dumped on areas prone to mosquito breeding on the lease and the Darwin City Council monitors the mosquitos on the lease following each king tide.

The Transient Camps

As can be seen from the preceding chapters control of Aboriginal movement and living places has been a significant feature of any legislation or policy enacted in respect of Aborigines in urban areas. Darwin has always been regarded as Larrakia country but as the town developed Aboriginal groups from neighbouring areas and then from more outlying regions came into Darwin either permanently or on visits for various reasons such as to receive medical treatment; to escape internal difficulties in their home communities; to attend court or receive legal advice; to shop for items unavailable in their community's retail store; or for holidays and to visit friends and relatives. These people, known as 'transient campers' or 'fringe dwellers', were considered a 'problem' and legislation was once again enforced to make camping on beaches illegal which resulted in the Darwin City Council proceeding with prosecutions against offenders². In the NT Parliament, the Member for Nightcliff, Dawn Lawrie lamented the announcement of another report on the issue of Aboriginal town campers saying, 'we have had enough research. We know what the problem is and we know that the solution is to find some area of land and provide the basic facilities'. Lawrie warned that the Government had to 'face the fact' that the allocation of land for the purposes of 'permanent fringe dwellers and visitors' was necessary - 'I know it is a hard decision but the longer the decision is put off less and less suitable land will be available, antagonisms will increase and the situation will deteriorate' (Lawrie 1980).

Lawrie's advice was not heeded and the Government established a Task Force on Darwin Town camps comprising representatives from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Aboriginal Development Foundation, Department of Community Development and the Aboriginal Liaison Unit (Cooper 1985a:16). According to Cooper's report the Task Force conducted surveys of illegal camps and pressured the residents to conform to urban standards and to move to 'legal' areas. He states that approximately 200 people, half of them Aboriginal were being arrested under the Summary Offences Act each month and City Council officers continued to enforce by-laws (Cooper 1985a:17). The final recommendations of the Task Force concerned the need for firmer legislation on public drinking and increased penalties for breaches of by-laws (Cooper 1985a:17).

According to Cooper's research, the Lord Mayor Cecil Black, campaigned for Council re-election in May 1981 on a platform which included 'the relocation of illegal Aboriginal Town Camps to Bagot and Kulaluk' and a petitioning of the Government not to make available further Council land for transient camps (Cooper 1985a:16). At an October 1981 Civil Liberties Meeting, in a speech about Darwin's Aboriginal town camps, Black stressed, 'I do not support nor does my council support the alienation of further land within the municipality until the existing land has been fully and properly utilised'. Not realising that the policy of 'assimilation' had been replaced by one of 'self-determination', Black asserted, 'If the Aboriginal people are going to become part of our society and be fully integrated into our system and thus have the benefits of living in our society, they have to be prepared to conform with the standards that we are setting' (Black 1981:3). Aborigines who rejected moves to establish camps on already granted leases would have to 'train to live together' as it was not 'beneficial for the overall community' to alienate further land for the establishment of these camps (Black 1981:3).

² A 1980 report on Darwin Aboriginal Town Camps submitted to the NT Minister for Community Development confirmed that there were about 33 official town camps in the Darwin area. Some of these camps were only used occasionally and the nature of these camps was indicated by such factors as shade from the sun, relative isolation from outside influences, and close proximity to the hospital, relations, Aboriginal hostels, Mission offices and alcohol retail outlets.

Mr Black said on TV that he will FORCE all Aboriginal people camping in Darwin to go and live at KALALAK. Mr Black would turn Kalalak into another Kahlin Compound. The Gwalwa Daraniki Association holds the lease for Kalalak. The Association wants to help campers. The Association does not want to control a concentration camp. If Cec Black wants trouble, he will get trouble (Bunji, October 1981).

In earlier negotiations over the Kulaluk lease the Gwalwa Daraniki Association had agreed to have other Aboriginal groups on Kulaluk as long as they were 'compatible' and Cooper reports that Government authorities were 'quick to take advantage of the opportunity which this willingness presented' (Cooper 1985a). Plans to establish two Aboriginal transient camps on 32 hectares of land in Ludmilla situated between Dick Ward Drive and Bagot Road and Fitzler and Totem Roads were announced in October 1981 (*NT News*, 13 October 1981 in Cooper 1985b). In negotiations between the Department of Community Development and the Gwalwa Daraniki Association over the planning of these camps it was resolved that the Government would provide such facilities as access roads, electricity, water, septic or sewerage and ablution facilities. Shelters and accommodation units were to be the responsibility of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs with the Gwalwa Daraniki Association negotiating with them for the funds for accommodation. All negotiation and funding was to go through the Gwalwa Daraniki Association 'except where agreement is otherwise reached' and the Gwalwa Daraniki Association was to be consulted prior to any government developments on the camps. Structures and facilities would become the property of the Association and basic repairs and maintenance of the camps was to be the responsibility of the Association. The land was to remain as part of the Kulaluk Special Purpose Lease under the terms and conditions of that lease and the Gwalwa Daraniki Association was to be the management body for the development with the Northern Territory Government having no further responsibility once the facilities were developed. Occupation of the camps was to be by Aborigines not normally resident at Kulaluk and the Association was to decide which groups could use the site. It was 'hoped that, upon completion ... Aboriginal transient visitors to Darwin will have serviced places, acceptable to them and as much as possible constructed by themselves to stay at when they visit our community' (Coburn 1981).

When a Conservation Commission bulldozer arrived to begin clearing the land at Kulaluk for the camps they were met by a hostile Bill Day and Fred Fogarty who claimed that not all members of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association had been consulted over this issue nor given their permission for the proposal to go ahead. It was resolved that before any final decisions could be made regarding the camps a belated Annual General Meeting of the Association should take place. A subsequent meeting of the Darwin Action Group on Transient Camping³ recorded newly elected Kulaluk President, Albert Treves, stating that 'only acceptable groups may camp at Kulaluk' and that the new camps should not be used as a 'dumping ground' for Aboriginal people (Cooper 1985a:17). A further letter from Treves informed the Minister for Community Development that an Executive Committee meeting of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association had agreed unanimously in principle to the establishment of the two transient camps on the Kulaluk Special Purpose Lease (Treves 1982). This letter was however treated cautiously because of concerns that there was only one signatory on the letter and it was unclear whether this view reflected the community's views (Cooper 1985a).

Plans for the camps dawdled while the Northern Territory Planning Authority resolved to rezone the land at Kulaluk to a Special Instrument Zone. The purposes of this change was to 'encourage a staged development over the total area of the land in a manner that is

³ This group was organised by the Department of Community Development and composed of a representative from the NT Police, the City Council, the Aboriginal Liaison Unit, the DAA and the Gwalwa Daraniki Association.

compatible with the surrounding environment'. It also provided for 'flexibility to the Aboriginal community to use the land for particular uses necessary for the well-being of that community' (Northern Territory 1982b). Under this new zoning all of the land east of Dick Ward Drive, which included the proposed sites for the transient camps, would be zoned for housing while much of the remainder of the lease was to be zoned for Aboriginal community uses. Cooper believed that this new zoning would open up a significant portion of the Kulaluk lease for sub-division which would in effect circumvent a major intent of the granting of the original special purpose lease, that is, that accommodation be 'principally for the Larrakia people'. This rezoning proposal was opposed by the Darwin City Council who claimed that the main area was right in the flight path and a further area was on the foreshore dunes (Cooper 1985a:18). The Kulaluk lease is currently zoned either O1 (Open Space) or R6 (Community Living).

A change in leadership of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association signalled a change in focus on the transient camp issue. The new interim Kulaluk manager, Richard Baugh, agreed to the building of the transient camps but did not concur with the proposed location suggesting that if the camps were built on the proposed site they would remain 'empty and unused'. Baugh recommended that the camps be built on the western side of Dick Ward Drive near the old Ludmilla Dump as the site was conveniently placed for access to buses, Bagot reserve and recreational areas. It was further proposed that:

The site offers plenty of scope for improvement and it is requested that a strip of trees be planted along that section of Dick Ward Drive as a screen and that each shelter be landscaped with plenty of trees. The whole paddock should ideally be levelled so that grass and weeds can be mown and the camps should be kept to the edges of the area with access from Fitzer Drive straight down to the mangroves for those people who wish to reach this popular fishing spot without walking through the camps (Gwalwa Daraniki Association 1982).

In addition the Gwalwa Daraniki Association believed that since the people who would be using the lease 'all have their own homelands, they could not expect to monopolise the more scenic areas of the lease' (Gwalwa Daraniki Association 1982). In reply the Minister of Community Development, Jim Robertson, stated that the change in location of the camps would 'necessitate the creation of another road access onto Dick Ward Drive' which 'could lead to an unsatisfactory situation'. Consequently the Department of Community Development was 'unable to support the development of the alternative site' and it was suggested that the Association reconsider its decision to relocate the camps (Robertson 1982a). The following month, Robertson sent a letter to Bill Day reprimanding him for trying to refocus the debate over the positioning of the transient camps to one which questioned whether Kulaluk was actually the right place for them. Robertson informed Day that the:

Government has no intention of interfering with other Association matters [however] may I point out ... that changing ideas and requirements in respect of the development of the camp area and the failure of the Association to agree to the Government, through the Conservation Commission, cleaning up the appalling condition of the Kulaluk land close to public view, make our relations extremely difficult ... A little more co-operation on your part could see positive decisions made which benefit Association members and the rest of the community (Robertson 1982b).

Day drafted a lengthy letter to the Minister for Aboriginal Development criticising the proposal. His apprehensions over the plans included that the presence of transients 'would seriously hinder the traditional family/community orientated use of the Kulaluk lease by urban people'; that the camps could become an 'odious, implanted institution more reminiscent of the old Compound'; the camps would be beyond the resources of the Gwalwa Daraniki to control; that the 'unique inner city wilderness' could be destroyed; and the centralised camps proposed a 'health risk'. Day finalised his letter stating that he