Parliamentary Paper No. 242/1976

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

Alcohol problems of Aboriginals

Interim report on Northern Territory Aspects

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THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

The Committee was appointed by resolution of the House of Representatives on 17 March 1976.

The terms of reference require the Committee to inquire into, take evidence and report on :

- (a) the present circumstances of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people and the effect of policies and programs on them; and
- (b) such other matters relating to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people as are referred to it by -
 - (i) resolution of the House, or
 - (ii) reference from the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs.

A similar Committee was originally appointed in the Twenty-eighth Parliament and re-appointed during the Twenty-ninth Parliament.

Votes and Proceedings No.11, 17 March 1976.

Members of the Committee

Chairman .. Mr P.M. Ruddock M.P.

Deputy

Chairman .. The Hon. L.R. Johnson M.P.

Members .. The Hon. G.M. Bryant E.D., M.P.

Mr S.E. Calder D.F.C., M.P.

Mr P.H. Drummond M.P.

Mr R.M. McLean M.P.

Mr.L.G. Wallis M.P.

The Hon. W.C. Wentworth M.P.

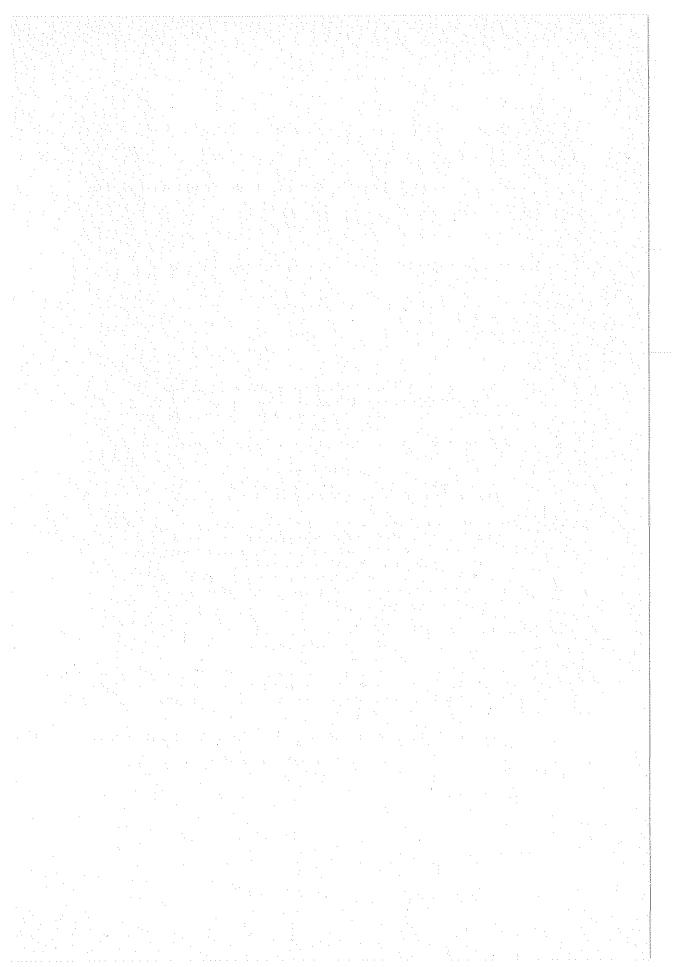
Clerk to the Committee - Mr C.S. Boorman

INQUIRY INTO ALCOHOL PROBLEMS OF ABORIGINALS

The following reference was given by the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs on 14 April 1976 1:

- Examine the impact of alcohol on Aboriginal communities.
- 2. Examine the social and other causes of the excessive use of alcohol in some Aboriginal communities, paying regard to the situation in both remote traditional communities and in urban situations.
- 3. Examine the advantages which might be gained by Aboriginal communities who face problems associated with alcohol from the experience which other communities have gained in successfully dealing with similar problems.
- 4. Examine the operation of laws including liquor laws in Australia in relation to the impact of alcohol on Aboriginal communities.
- 5. Consider the adequacy of Australian law in communities largely following a traditional life style, and the manner in which they may be encouraged and assisted to develop approaches to alcohol created behavioural problems based on traditional strengths and methods of control.
- 6. Recommend action aimed at assisting Aboriginal communities to overcome problems associated with the excessive use of alcohol and at reinforcing the initiatives which Aboriginals themselves might wish to take to deal with these problems and the consequential behavioural problems.

A copy of the letter from the Minister is given at Appendix 1.



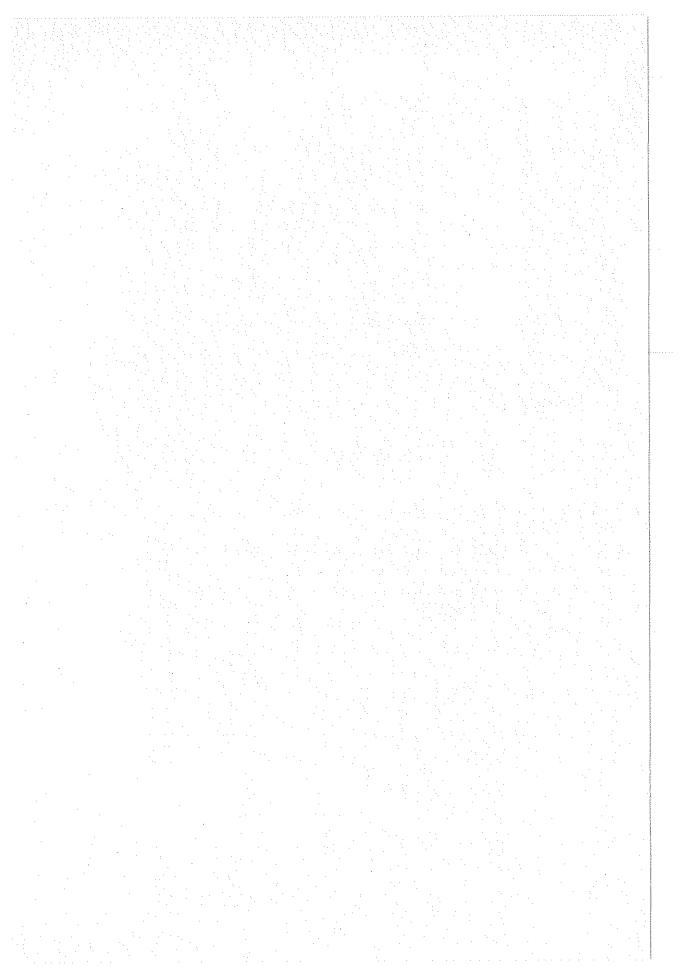
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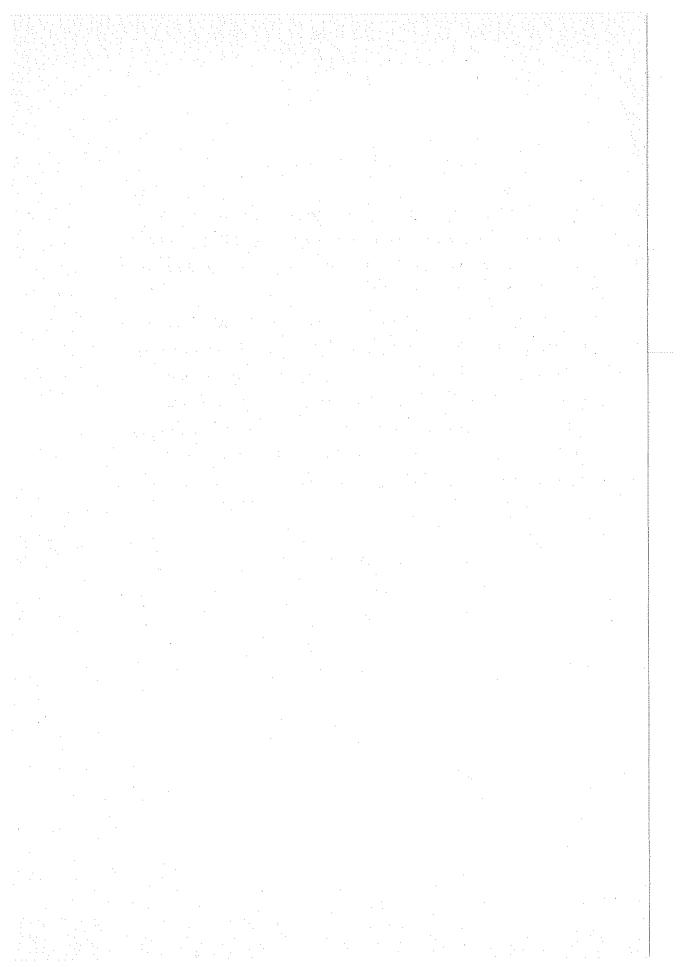
FOREWORD

Alcohol is the greatest present threat to the Aboriginals of the Northern Territory and unless strong immediate action is taken they could destroy themselves.

The Committee has programmed its Inquiry in all States and Territories. However, following inspections of Aboriginal communities and public hearings in the Northern Territory in late June and early July 1976, the seriousness of the situation highlighted the need for the Committee to submit an urgent Interim Report on the Northern Territory aspects of its Inquiry so that it could make public its concern.

The Committee has made recommendations, outlined in this Report, which are aimed at retrieving the situation in the short-term and commends them to the Government for immediate consideration.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee recommends that:

- there be greater co-operation and consultation
 between the Department of the Northern Territory
 and the Executive of the Northern Territory
 Legislative Assembly to improve the legislative
 process in respect of the Licensing Ordinance.

 (paragraph 78)
- enforcement of decisions by Aboriginal communities be supported by all resources of law.

(paragraph 85)

the law be amended to prevent alcohol being carried on charter aircraft, taxis, mail or other means to or in the vicinity of Aboriginal Missions or Reserves when a decision has been made by the community that alcohol be prohibited from the Mission or Reserve.

(paragraph 88)

4 a licensed club be established on a Mission or Reserve when that community has decided to allow the consumption of alcohol.

(paragraph 94)

funds be made available through the Aboriginal
Loans Commission or the Benefits Trust Fund
for the provision of club facilities.

(paragraph 94)

the Licensing Ordinance be amended to provide for special guidelines and conditions applicable to licensed clubs on Missions or Reserves.

(paragraph 94)

the personal liquor permit system in respect to Missions and Reserves be abolished.

(paragraph 95)

8 reference of the question of customary law to the

Law Reform Commission await the Committee's

determination on the important implications involved.

(paragraph 99)

9 sufficient specially trained police be recruited for the Northern Territory and the necessary facilities be provided to permit the increased mobility of police and the establishment of additional police stations on Aboriginal Reserves when requested by Aboriginal communities.

(paragraph 101)

the development of all alcohol education programs
be accelerated and that funds be made available
by the Government.

(paragraph 103)

detailed and accurate statistics be maintained on a regular and continuing basis on Aboriginal settlements.

(paragraph 115)

a Drug and Alcohol Authority be established in the Northern Territory and that the Department of the Northern Territory and the Executive of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly consult and co-operate on the processes necessary to introduce the legislation.

(paragraph 121)

Department of Aboriginal Affairs, be established in the Northern Territory and that it co-ordinate all the action necessary to implement programs aimed at reducing the alcohol problems of Aboriginals in the Northern Territory, including the recommendations in this Report.

(paragraph 123)

1 INTRODUCTION

Activities of the Committee

- 1 Public hearings were conducted in Canberra on 4 June 1976 at which the central offices of the Departments of Aboriginal Affairs and Health provided background information. In the Northern Territory public hearings were conducted in Darwin (3 days) and Alice Springs (2 days) at which evidence was received from four Commonwealth Government Departments, Missions, Members of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly, Aboriginal organisations, Aboriginal Legal Aid Services, the Mayor of Darwin, and interested citizens. In addition, submissions were received from a number of organisations and individuals and these were incorporated in the transcript of evidence.
- A list of witnesses who appeared before the Committee is given at Appendix 2. Evidence given at the public hearings is available for inspection at the Committee Office of the House of Representatives, the National Library of Australia and the Australian Archives. Copies are also held by the Libraries of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly and the Commonwealth Parliament.

Inspections

The Committee was anxious to see first-hand alcohol problems in a number of Aboriginal communities. For this purpose it divided into three Sub-committees and held informal discussions with Aboriginal leaders, community advisers and other interested persons in sixteen communities with a population of 10,000 out of a total Aboriginal population of 25,000 in the Northern Territory. A list of the communities visited and the approximate population of each are given at Appendix 3.

Publications

- An examination was made of some fifty publications on the subject matter of the Inquiry. Those of particular significance to the Northern Territory aspects of the Inquiry are:
 - "Report of the Board of Inquiry appointed to inquire concerning the Liquor Laws of the Northern Territory", 1973

 (Adams Report)
 - . "Darwin Drunks", 1975 (Milner Report)
 - . "Alcoholism and Aborigines", 1975 (Leary Report)
 - "40 Gallons a Head" (Alice Springs Regional Council for Social Development Report), 1975.

A complete list of the publications is given at Appendix 4.

2 IMPACT OF ALCOHOL ON ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

5 In its terms of reference the Committee was requested to -

Examine the impact of alcohol on Aboriginal communities.

The impact of alcohol on Aboriginal communities is well documented and the Committee received further evidence during its inspections and public hearings in the Northern Territory.

Extent of Drinking in the Northern Territory

- For the Northern Territory as a whole evidence shows that the consumption of alcohol greatly exceeds that for the rest of Australia on a per capita basis. Dr Milner in his report states that the per capita expenditure on alcoholic beverages in 1973 was \$133 for Australia and \$198 for Darwin.
- 8 The Alice Springs Regional Council for Social Development in its report "40 Gallons a Head" stated that the people of the southern region of the Northern Territory drink almost twice as much as any other heavy drinking community for which data is available.

- 9 Some witnesses told the Committee they saw no evidence that Aboriginals drink more or less than non-Aboriginals but that drinking among Aboriginals is more visible.
- These questions will be examined and reported upon in the Committee's final Report. However, the Committee observed during inspections that alcohol problems have devastated some Aboriginal communities in a way which has no parallel in other Australian communities.
- 11 The proportion of the income of Aboriginals spent on alcohol in the Territory appears to be very high. The Committee received evidence that in some Aboriginal communities the proportion could be as high as 50 percent and that the regular expenditure on beer could be \$35-\$50 per adult each week. Examples of communities with high rates of expenditure on alcohol are Bamyili, Garden Point and Snake Bay.

Major effects of alcohol

- 12 Aboriginal and other witnesses told the Committee that although the situation varies among communities, the effects of alcohol may have accentuated the following:
 - . breakdown of traditional Aboriginal society;
 - . heavy drinking sessions;

- drunkenness where in many cases Aboriginals drink with the sole intention of becoming drunk;
- fighting and brawling, often resulting in severe physical injuries;
- . wife beating;
- . rape;
- . neglect of family;
- . instability and breakdown of family life;
- . promiscuity and prostitution;
- . criminal behaviour;
- . poor attitude towards work;
- . untidy appearance;
- . destruction of property, particularly houses;
- . excessive noise;
- breakdown of health services where in some cases nurses have been withdrawn from settlements because of intimidation by drunken Aboriginals;
- breakdown of education services where hungry children perform badly at school because money that should have been used for food is spent on alcohol;
- removal of children from communities by mothers until the community returns to normal;
- absenteeism from school because of a lack of parental supervision.

Effect on Tribal Communities

13 The Committee believes that a major threat to the welfare of Aboriginals arising from excessive use of alcohol

occurs in traditional Aboriginal communities mainly because they have no experience with alcohol and, therefore, have not developed mechanisms or tribal sanctions covering its abuse.

- The result has been, in some cases, a breakdown in traditional authority, the discipline of clan elders and the movement away from tribal land. Alcohol may heighten tribal and family disagreements and jealousies, as well as promoting extreme tensions within communities.
- Information given to the Committee suggests that the population could be declining in those Aboriginal communities which have serious alcohol problems. In Snake Bay the number of deaths in 1975 and the first half of 1976 was approximately twice the number of births. In addition, the situation at 0enpelli in 1976 appears to have deteriorated since 1975 with the number of births and deaths being equal as at 30 June 1976. The Committee was also informed that at Snake Bay, Garden Point and Oenpelli the number of women pregnant at present is well below normal.
- Whilst figures supplied by the Commonwealth Department of Health (Northern Territory Division) for 1975 indicate that the natural increase of Aboriginals exceeds 2 percent, the Committee considers that the information contained in the previous paragraph gives rise to considerable concern.

3 CAUSES OF EXCESSIVE USE OF ALCOHOL

17 In its terms of reference the Committee was requested to -

Examine the social and other causes of the excessive use of alcohol in some Aboriginal communities, paying regard to the situation in both remote traditional communities and in urban situations.

The social and other causes of the excessive use of alcohol among Aboriginals have been well documented and the following factors have been mentioned as being significant in aggravating drinking problems in both traditional and urban communities.

Historical

- In the early days of white settlement Aboriginals tended to associate with itinerant white bushmen who spent their earnings in the nearest hotel. Aboriginals found this mode of living congenial and sought to imitate such behaviour.
- 20 Public houses became social centres of great importance and places of communication for Aboriginal men.

Social

- Aboriginals may have a deeply ingrained feeling of not being wanted in their own country and feeling a race apart in that they may be socially, mentally and physically confined to Reserves or relegated to the outskirts of towns.
- Some Aboriginals may see alcohol as a way of being accepted by both whites and their own people and as a means of overcoming fear arising from racial tension.
- 23 Excessive drinking may be due to aimlessness on the part of Aboriginals and a desire to forget depressing circumstances and low social status.

Cultural

- As mentioned in paragraph 13, Aboriginal communities following a traditional life style have no mechanism to develop tribal rules regarding the abuse of alcohol.
- 25 Traditional Aboriginals had no method of storing or preserving food so they tended to consume all their food when it was obtained. It has been suggested that this may be an underlying factor in some cases where Aboriginals drink a large amount of alcohol in a relatively short time. In addition, Aboriginals have a tradition of sharing.

26 Individual Aboriginals who are alcoholics need fear no retribution as there is no shame attached to being an alcoholic.

Medical

An opinion was expressed that there is no evidence of genetic factors making Aboriginals specially susceptible to alcohol. The Committee is not satisfied that this opinion has been sufficiently verified and believes that more research on the question is warranted.

Economic

- In some Aboriginal communities unemployment and inadequacies in housing, education, medical and recreation facilities may lead to excessive drinking.
- Significant increases in income, due mainly to award wages and improved social security payments such as unemployment benefits and child endowment, have given Aboriginals large amounts of money. Much of this may be spent on alcohol as the Aboriginal is unaccustomed to having so much ready money and is unable to understand concepts of budgeting and saving.

Availability of Alcohol

- 30 In many communities alcohol is readily available.

 Aboriginals in rural and tribal communities normally have access to licensed clubs, stores and hotels, both within major towns and in other areas. They will travel considerable distances by charter aircraft, private car, boat or taxi to obtain alcohol.
- Aboriginals in urban areas have almost the same access as non-Aboriginals to the large number of liquor outlets which are open every day. For example, there are 49 outlets in Alice Springs and there has been a proliferation in the past one or two years.

4 EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH ALCOHOL PROBLEMS

32 In its terms of reference the Committee was requested to -

Examine the advantages which might be gained by Aboriginal communities who face problems associated with alcohol from the experience which other communities have gained in successfully dealing with similar problems.

At the public hearings and during its visit to
Aboriginal communities the Committee was informed of steps
that have been taken by communities which are attempting to
deal with alcohol problems and these steps are described
below. The Committee has made recommendations later in this
Report in relation to certain of these efforts.

Tribal Communities

Some communities have established outstations which consist of clans or tribes who have moved away from the major settlements. Although alcohol problems may not necessarily be the only reasons for such a movement, there is no doubt that alcohol is a major contributing factor. Examples of communities which have established outstations are Yirrkala, Yuendumu, Oenpelli, Papunya, Hermannsburg and Umbakumba.

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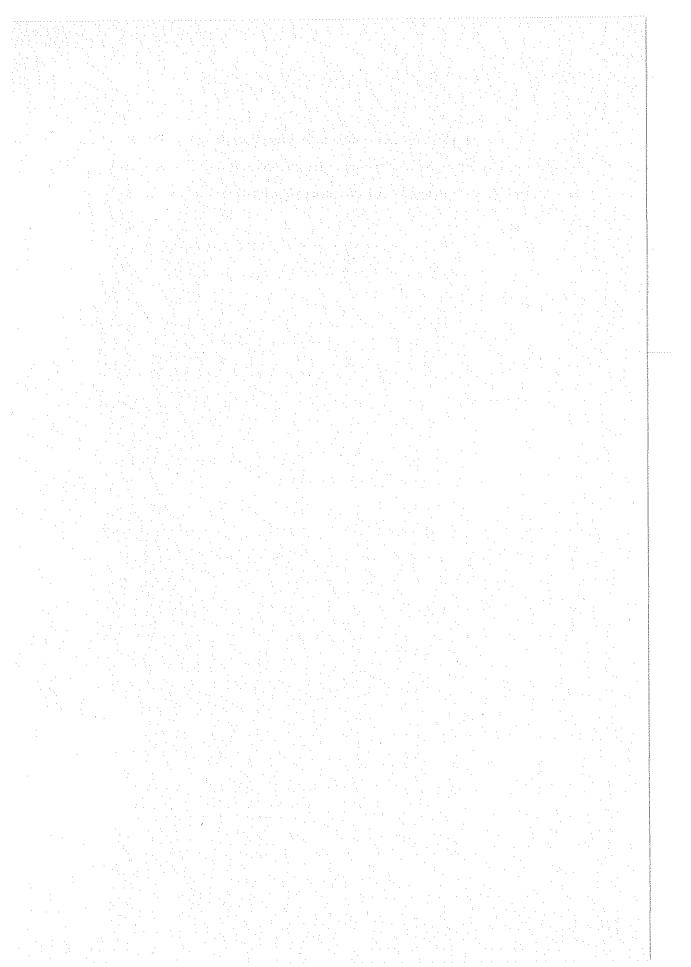
- Some outstations have had success in dealing with alcohol problems. Certain outstations prohibit alcohol but even in those which allow some liquor to be consumed there is a greater likelihood of tribal authority being maintained where there is a small homogeneous group with a distinct cultural heritage and where tribal leaders have some standing.
- Several communities have reacted to serious drinking problems by prohibiting alcohol within their communities. Examples are Elcho Island, Goulburn Island, Croker Island and Angurugu, although there is considerable evidence of 'sly grog' in some of these areas.
- Some communities have confined the sale of liquor to beer and these may have fewer problems than those where hard liquor is readily available. Examples of such communities are Bamyili, Umbakumba, Bathurst Island, Garden Point and Snake Bay.
- Licensed clubs have been established at Bamyili,
 Umbakumba and Bathurst Island. At Bamyili pool tables and a
 juke box are provided and provision is made for dancing and
 the serving of food. Cans of beer are sold one at a time and
 are opened on purchase.

- Rationing of alcohol has been introduced in a number of communities and appears to have had some success in limiting overall consumption. Examples are Bathurst Island (4 cans of beer per male adult club member per day), and Umbakumba (5 cans per adult club member per day). In some instances rationing has had harmful effects by encouraging consumption of the maximum quantity allowable. For example, when the Sub-committee visited Snake Bay the ration was 12 cans per adult per day and 24 cans on Saturdays. It is understood that the community has since reduced the basic ration to 6 cans per day. Rationing has also encouraged importation of liquor in contravention of the rules laid down by the community.
- Some communities have attempted to impose their own discipline as a means of controlling alcohol-related problems. At Yirrkala, with the co-operation of the local hotel, 60 people are not permitted to purchase liquor at the hotel. Orderlies have been appointed at Yirrkala, Elcho Island and Goulburn Island in an attempt to enforce the rules of the community regarding alcohol. Attempts at community discipline have not been completely successful, a major factor being that one clan member will not recognise the authority of a member of another clan.

Urban Communities

- 41 The following paragraphs describe facilities already established or planned in urban areas.
- In Alice Springs the Central Australian Aboriginal Congress provides a pick-up service funded by the Commonwealth Government. This service collects drunken Aboriginals from public places and takes them home. The Congress recently purchased a farm which it hopes to use for rehabilitation of alcoholics and it is envisaged that the pick-up service may bring drunks to the farm for treatment.
- In addition, the Regional Council for Social Development in Alice Springs has established a sobering-up centre which is open to both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. The Council has been unsuccessful in its application for Government funds but the centre can continue to operate for the present using voluntary helpers.
- In Katherine the Regional Council for Social Development has established a sobering-up centre with funds provided by the Commonwealth Government. The centre has been operating only for a short time and will act as a night shelter for drunken persons. The Council has made application for funds that would enable the employment of a full-time counsellor.

In Darwin the Alcohol and Drug Dependence Foundation plans to set up a sobering-up centre but as yet it has not been possible for funds to be made available.



5 OPERATION OF LAWS

46 In its terms of reference the Committee was requested to -

Examine the operation of laws including liquor laws in Australia in relation to the impact of alcohol on Aboriginal communities.

Northern Territory Ordinances applicable to the subject matter of the Inquiry are the <u>Licensing Ordinance</u> and the <u>Police and Police Offences Ordinance (Northern Territory)</u>.

These are discussed below.

Licensing Ordinance

Report of Board of Inquiry

Following a recognition that the Licensing Ordinance was in need of revision, the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory resolved on 3 August 1972 that a Board of Inquiry be appointed to inquire into, report on and make recommendations concerning all aspects of the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors in the Northern Territory. Mr Phillip Adams Q.C. was appointed Chairman and the Board reported to the Administrator on 28 June 1973.

- Among its recommendations the Report suggested action that would assist Aboriginal communities in dealing with alcohol problems. These recommendations were summarised in the Report 'Present Conditions of Yirrkala People' from the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs in the Twenty-ninth Parliament tabled on 25 November 1974, as follows:
 - the granting of an unlicensed club permit allowing the sale and supply of liquor in a social club established by an Aboriginal community, provided that the application for such a facility was approved by a majority vote;
 - the provision in the law for the appointment of 'peace officers' by Aboriginal communities for the purpose of the maintenance of law and order in the community;
 - the prohibition of the carriage of intoxicating liquor by taxi or chartered aircraft to or in the vicinity of a mission or settlement, without a permit from the licensing authority;
 - the conferring on the Court the power to order that a proportion of a problem drinker's income be paid to trustees for the maintenance of his wife and family;
 - the elimination of all forms of discrimination by licensees;
 - the institution of a Government education program imparting factual information about alcohol and aimed at developing responsible social attitudes by the Aboriginal people;

House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, Present Conditions of Yirrkala People (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1974), pp. 73-74.

- the imposition of a heavy excise duty on fortified wine and the restriction of the sale of methylated spirits;
- the reduction in the hours of trading of 'front bars' of hotels, stores with licences, and 'bottle shops';
- the changing of the Ordinance to make a licensee fully responsible if a drunken person is found on his premises;
- that storekeepers! licences be granted or renewed only if the store is a genuine general store or supermarket where the liquor section is ancillary to the main business.

The Committee supports the views of its predecessor that:

The Committee while not subscribing in detail to the Board's reasonings, considers that if most of the recommendations are implemented, the situation at Yirrkala and other Northern Territory centres should improve. 1

The Committee expresses concern that such views have not been acted upon.

The Committee is concerned that the Adams Report has not been implemented, despite the fact that three years have elapsed since its presentation. Evidence to the Committee was that there has been a considerable period of inactivity

Present Conditions of Yirrkala People, p.74.

since the Report was presented, although it is recognised that there may have been some delay as a result of Cyclone Tracy in December 1974.

The Committee has been informed that Policy Directions prepared by the Department of the Northern Territory have been approved in principle by the Executive of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly. The Committee was also informed that there is completely inadequate staff in the Legislative Assembly to prepare instructions for the Parliamentary draftsmen. Whilst the Committee recognises that there could be delays because of complexity of the legislation, it nevertheless believes, in view of the considerable delay that has already occurred, that this matter should be completed with the utmost expedition.

Renewal of Licences

The Committee received considerable evidence on the question of the law relating to the granting and renewal of a storekeeper's licence. A particular problem has arisen regarding the renewal of licences of stores operating near Aboriginal communities.

54. Under Section 36.-(1A.) of the Ordinance a ground for objection to the granting of a storekeeper's licence is:

that the quiet and good order of the neighbourhood in which such premises are situated will be disturbed if a licence is granted.

There is, however, no such provision for the renewal of a storekeeper's licence.

- Because there is no such ground for objection to renewal, the Oenpelli Council has been inhibited in its campaign to force the closure of the Border Store at East Alligator River which, the community claims, is responsible for many alcohol problems as it is the major source of supply of alcohol to that community.
- However, on 20 April 1976 the Licensing Magistrate refused to renew the licence of the store operating near the Roper River community. In his findings the Magistrate ruled that "the business has been and would continue to run without regard to the welfare of the local population." In addition, he said that "the good order and discipline of a large area and an otherwise stable population would be threatened if the licence was renewed."

Affairs in the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly told the Committee by letter dated 19 August 1976, that he "will be introducing an amendment to the Licensing Ordinance in the present session of the Assembly to cover the introduction of an additional ground of objection to the renewal of a Storekeeper's Licence. This amendment will provide, as a grounds for objection, that the quiet and good order of the neighbourhood in which the premises are situated has been or will be disturbed by the renewal of the licence." It is understood that the amending Bill has been introduced. The Committee commends this proposal and the action taken.

<u>Personal Liquor Permit System</u>

- 58 Under Section 140E.-(1.) of the Ordinance, liquor shall not be taken onto an Aboriginal Reserve or Mission without the prior approval of the person in charge of the Reserve or Mission. In practice permits are issued by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs but only with the concurrence of the Aboriginal community concerned. Permits allow unlimited quantities of alcohol to be brought onto Reserves by the holder.
- 59 Problems have arisen over the operation of the permit system. Where permits are granted hostility may develop

within the community because some people (Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals) have a right to bring alcohol onto Reserves and Missions while others do not have that same right.

Jealousy and resentment are the inevitable results and interclan differences may be exacerbated. Some permit holders are bringing large quantities of alcohol onto Reserves and selling it at a profit. Some non-Aboriginal contractors have been refused permission to bring alcohol onto a Reserve where Aboriginal Councils have determined that the Reserve be 'dry'.

Police and Police Offences Ordinance (Northern Territory)

- The significant step in the operation of the Ordinance occurred in October 1974 when the offence of drunkenness was abolished in the Northern Territory. At the same time a new section (Section 33A) was inserted into the Ordinance to ensure the safety and welfare of persons who, through drunkenness, became incapable of caring for themselves. That provision gave to the Police the power to apprehend and detain such persons for a limited period (six hours) or until such time as they were able to look after themselves.
- There was dissatisfaction with the above provision,
 mainly that the criteria had to exist before a Police Officer
 could take a person into custody and that the provisions

were expressed in such vague terms that the Police were apprehensive about exercising the power given to them.

- Consequently in February 1976, further amendments to the Ordinance came into operation. These clarified the grounds under which a Police Officer may, without warrant, apprehend and take into custody a person if the Police Officer had reasonable grounds for believing that a person is intoxicated. The amendment also provided for a person to be held in custody until 7.30 a.m. even if that person was no longer intoxicated.
- The Committee notes that concern was expressed that drunkenness was decriminalised without support facilities being available. Such support facilities may take the form of sobering-up centres, detoxification units and rehabilitation centres.

6 ADEQUACY OF AUSTRALIAN LAW IN TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES

64 In its terms of reference the Committee was requested to -

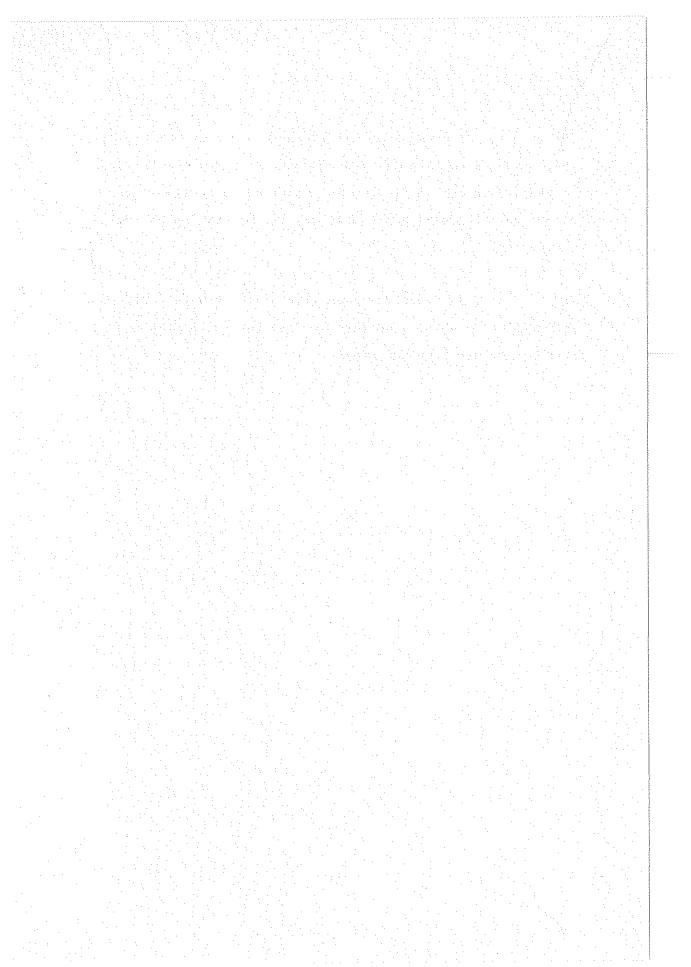
Consider the adequacy of Australian law in communities largely following a traditional life style, and the manner in which they may be encouraged and assisted to develop approaches to alcohol created behavioural problems based on traditional strengths and methods of control.

- In 1975 the people of Yirrkala, believing that

 Australian law was inadequate in dealing with serious alcohol problems that existed within the Aboriginal community, requested approval to exercise more control over their own people. The major proposals involve:
 - the appointment of uniformed Aboriginal orderlies with power to arrest and confine drunken Aborigines until sober or charged with an offence;
 - 2. a working agreement with the Northern Territory Police that, when practicable the arrest, and in all circumstances the custody of arrested Aborigines, will be matters for the Aboriginal orderlies;

- 3. an agreement with the appropriate
 Northern Territory authorities that
 charges against Aborigines will be
 heard by a court sitting at Yirrkala,
 with Aborigines assisting the judge
 or magistrate as assessors or as
 Justices of the Peace, and always
 with legal representation of the
 persons charged;
- 4. the recognition by Australian law of the legal authority of the Council of Leadership and the orderlies.
- These proposals are under consideration by the Commonwealth Government. The first proposal would not require legislative change but the other proposals would necessitate amendment of existing legislation.
- The Committee notes that the question of customary law has already been discussed at two seminars on customary law arranged by the Institute of Criminology. A resolution at one of the seminars supported the proposals of the Yirrkala people.
- The Committee has sought the advice of the North Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service and the Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service on the Yirrkala customary law proposals.

- The Attorney-General's Department told the Committee that the Attorney-General informed the Standing Committee of Attorneys-General on 17 June 1976 that he is considering referring the question of customary law to the Law Reform Commission.
- 70 At this stage the Committee does not have sufficient information to make a judgment on this complex matter and proposes to seek further advice.



7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

71 In its terms of reference the Committee was requested to -

Recommend action aimed at assisting Aboriginal communities to overcome problems associated with the excessive use of alcohol and at reinforcing the initiatives which Aboriginals themselves might wish to take to deal with these problems and the consequential behavioural problems.

72 Throughout the Report it was stated that recommendations would be made on the various issues that have been discussed. These are discussed below.

Movement to Outstations

- As mentioned in paragraph 35, some outstations have had success in dealing with alcohol problems.
- The Committee believes that movement to outstations is desirable and commendable. It accepts that decisions to decentralise are for individual communities to make and should not be discouraged.
- 75 At this stage of its Inquiry the Committee has not had the opportunity to observe the overall effects and

implications of the question of outstations and in view of this, further discussion will be deferred until the Committee's final Report.

Meaningful land rights to the people who do settle in decentralised communities will greatly assist Aboriginal people to impose their own sanctions on how to deal with the alcohol problem.

Amendments to Licensing Ordinance

Adams Report

- 77 In paragraph 51, the Committee emphasised its concern about the lack of action on the Adams Report.
- The Committee believes that closer liaison between the Legislative Assembly and the Department of the Northern Territory is desirable in the preparation of Drafting Instructions. It is therefore recommended that there be greater co-operation and consultation between the Department of the Northern Territory and the Executive of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly to improve the legislative process in respect of the Licensing Ordinance.
- 79 Whilst in overall agreement with the Adams Report the Committee believes that implementation of particular recommend-

ations of the Adams Report is of the utmost urgency. These are:

(a) That it be made illegal for liquor to be carried by taxi or chartered aircraft to or in the vicinity of a Mission or settlement without a permit from the licensing authority.

This matter is discussed later in this Report in paragraphs 87 and 88.

(b) That a licensee be made fully responsible if a drunken person is found on his premises.

Consequently, the Licensing Ordinance was amended about two years ago making the licensee responsible for ensuring that drunken or under-age persons are refused service. However, it appears that some licensees are unaware of the amendment or are not adhering to its provisions.

The Committee believes that this provision of the law should be rigidly enforced.

(c) That as an alternative to forfeiture of a licence the Liquor Commission have power to suspend a licence for any period up to 28 days, and that the list of offences be reviewed with a view to limiting the types of offences that could lead to forfeiture or suspension.

The Committee endorses that forfeiture of a licence may in certain circumstances be unduly harsh and notes that the courts may have been reluctant to invoke this particular section of the Ordinance.

Community Decisions

- The Committee strongly believes that each Aboriginal community should make its own decision as to whether alcohol should or should not be permitted onto a settlement.
- 81 It is recognised that under existing conditions there are difficulties in determining whether decisions that are made reflect the true wishes of that community.
- 82 In evidence to the Committee Pastor P. Albrecht stated that one of the major causes of problems arising from community decisions is that the present system of Aboriginal Councils ignores reality and merely represents a system imposed on Aboriginals. The Councils are properly constituted and elected but are, in practice, bodies of communication because decision-making is usually a matter for clans or tribes and cannot be imposed on an unrepresentative group of people. The practice of attempting to arrive at decisions by, for example, selecting a representative from each clan therefore would not work. Pastor Albrecht emphasises that in traditional Aboriginal society one clan does not have much contact with another.
- 83 The Committee agrees that it is necessary to determine the decision-making positions within communities

before establishing whether decisions of that community will have any possibility of being meaningful or valid.

- Various methods of formalising decisions made by communities have been suggested to the Committee. One such suggestion favoured by the Committee is for any proposal to be initially agreed to by tribal leaders and then ratified by two-thirds of the people living in the community. The Committee recognises that any method adopted must be that which is acceptable to a particular community and not one that the community is forced to accept.
- Once a decision has been taken every person living in that community must be prepared to abide by the decision and its enforcement should be given every encouragement.

 The Committee recommends that enforcement of decisions by Aboriginal communities be supported by all resources of law.
- There are two options open to communities. These are discussed below.

Ban Alcohol

At present communities face difficulties in ensuring that such decisions are upheld. For example, considerable quantities of alcohol are brought onto Missions and Reserves

by charter aircraft and taxis. Efforts that have been made to prevent this practice have been unsuccessful in that there is no law preventing the carriage of alcohol if it is part of personal luggage. Similarly, alcohol is sometimes sent to individuals in communities through the mail and the Committee was told that this is not an offence.

- As the Committee recommended in paragraph 85 that the enforcement of decisions by communities be supported by all resources of law, it supports the Adams Committee in this regard (paragraph 79) and recommends that the law be amended to prevent alcohol being carried on charter aircraft, taxis, mail or other means to or in the vicinity of Aboriginal Missions or Reserves when a decision has been made by the community that alcohol be prohibited from the Mission or Reserve.
- 89 The Committee believes that any decision to ban alcohol should apply to all members of the community, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. In this case the Committee sees no reason to retain the personal liquor permit system.

Allow Alcohol

90 Should an Aboriginal community decide to allow alcohol to be brought onto a Mission or Reserve the Committee

believes that a licensed club should hold the only liquor licence within that community. Such a club, properly established and supervised, presents the most practical method of encouraging sensible drinking patterns. Again, the Committee sees no need to retain the personal liquor permit system.

- For any club to be granted a licence there will need to be strict supervision of the guidelines and conditions established by Ordinance. For instance, provisions for the sale of nutritious food, adequate refrigeration, amenities and limited hours of operation need to be clearly specified and rigidly enforced. Conditions may provide limits on the amount of alcohol sold, and that the sale of alcohol be confined to beer which must be sold in cans, opened on purchase and available one at a time to be consumed on the premises.
- Penalties for breaches of conditions for the granting of licences must be such that they will serve as a reminder to communities of the importance of adhering to strict rules and regulations. For example, a licence may be forfeited or suspended until such time as a club could meet the necessary requirements and could demonstrate that it will act responsibly and conduct the club satisfactorily.

- There is no reason why clubs should not be run as commercial ventures with the assistance of the Benefits Trust Fund or the Aboriginal Loans Commission. Such clubs, if operated under strict guidelines as envisaged by the Committee, should avoid problems that have arisen in the past.
- 94 The Committee recommends that:
 - a licensed club be established on a Mission or Reserve when that community has decided to allow the consumption of alcohol;
 - funds be made available through the
 Aboriginal Loans Commission or the
 Benefits Trust Fund for the provision
 of club facilities;
 - the Licensing Ordinance be amended to provide for special guidelines and conditions applicable to licensed clubs on Missions or Reserves.

Personal Liquor Permit System

95 In view of the problems associated with the permit system discussed in paragraph 59 and the view of the

Committee that, irrespective of whether communities decide to ban or allow alcohol, there is no reason to retain the system, the Committee recommends that the personal liquor permit system in respect to Missions and Reserves be abolished.

Provision of Treatment Facilities

- The Committee acknowledges that various reports advocate the establishment of treatment facilities such as detoxification and rehabilitation centres, sobering-up units and pick-up services throughout the Northern Territory. Such facilities would operate for the benefit of Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals, mainly in urban areas.
- The Committee has been told that the Department of Health plans the development of such facilities subject to the availability of finance and other resources. The Committee is of the view that the effectiveness of treatment facilities, when established, should be kept under review.

Customary Law

In paragraph 69 it was stated that the Attorney-General's Department informed the Committee that the question of customary law may be considered by the Law Reform Commission.

In view of the far-reaching implications of this matter for so many aspects of Aboriginal life, including alcohol problems, the Committee proposes to undertake more detailed study before making firm recommendations and for this proposes to obtain further legal advice. It is, therefore, recommended that reference of the question of customary law to the Law Reform Commission await the Committee's determination on the important implications involved.

Police

- In view of the disruption to community life caused by alcohol as mentioned in paragraph 12 strong requests have repeatedly been made by some communities for the establishment of police stations at their communities. The Committee was informed of plans to meet such requests when personnel and funds become available.
- The Committee views the increased use of specially trained police as an important method of helping to maintain order in Aboriginal communities and recommends that sufficient specially trained police be recruited for the Northern Territory and the necessary facilities be provided

to permit the increased mobility of police and the establishment of additional police stations on Aboriginal Reserves when requested by Aboriginal communities.

Alcohol Education

The Department of Health informed the Committee that the following alcohol education programs are being undertaken for Aboriginals in the Northern Territory:

- . Seminars on the use of alcohol and drugs have been held in major centres. These seminars were aimed at increasing the awareness and understanding of alcohol and drug problems and stimulating local action to deal with them.
- . The use of alcohol has been incorporated as an important aspect of the Aboriginal Health Worker training program.
- A training workshop on health education has been held. The workshop was attended by representatives of seven Aboriginal communities.
- . A working group on the development of educational material (films, video cassettes, etc. on alcohol) has been established in Darwin.
- 103 The Committee was told that the above alcohol education services are in their early stages. The Committee believes that these programs are of great importance and

recommends that the development of all alcohol education

programs be accelerated and that funds be made available by
the Government.

Employment

- The Committee received evidence that in tribal communities following a traditional life style meaningful employment as a factor in reducing alcohol-related problems is not as significant as in urban areas.
 - In urban areas and fringe settlements near large towns provision of employment opportunities is seen as a definite step in reducing boredom and aimlessness that contribute to drinking problems.
 - 106 In connection with urban areas the Standing

 Committee on Aboriginal Affairs appointed in the Twenty-ninth

 Parliament, stated in its Report "Aboriginal Unemployment
 Special Work Projects":

Employment is recognised as a crucial element in the social, economic and political development of Aboriginals within the wider Australian community.

House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, Aboriginal Unemployment - Special Work Projects (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1976), p.10.

That Committee also recognised that employment is but one of a number of inter-connected factors such as health, education and housing, which contribute to Aboriginal advancement.

The major recommendation of that Committee was that the Special Work Projects Scheme be greatly expanded and that the Government make the necessary funds available. The Committee envisaged a two-tier system comprising a maximisation of the training component and a greatly expanded unemployment relief component. It was the Committee's view that the cost of an expanded Special Work Projects Scheme could be largely offset by reduced expenditure on unemployment benefits.

The present Committee notes that a working party on Aboriginal employment has been established by the Government and that the working party will take into account the recommendations made by the previous Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs.

The Committee notes that the Senate Select Committee on Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, in its Report

presented to the Senate on 26 August 1976, recommended:

That the special work projects scheme be allocated a sufficient level of funds to permit its expansion in order to reduce Aboriginal unemployment.

The Committee can only reiterate that everything possible should be done to provide meaningful employment for Aboriginals, not only to overcome their low social status but as a major aid in the prevention of alcohol abuse.

Need for Statistics

- During its visit to the Northern Territory the Committee had its attention drawn to the fact that in some areas there is a lack of accurate information about important matters such as health, employment, attendance of children at school, sources of income and patterns of expenditure.
- In addition, the Committee believes that, for Aboriginal settlements in particular, data concerning violence and alcohol-related crime, the source and

Senate Select Committee on Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, The Environmental Conditions of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders and the Preservation of their Sacred Sites (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1976), p. 241.

availability of alcohol and the incidence of drinking among men, women and children should be collected.

- Accurate statistics would allow authorities to become aware of particular needs and problems that would be identified by trends which at present may not be recognisable. Prompt action could then be taken where necessary.
- 114 The importance of adequate statistics is endorsed by the Hospitals and Health Services Commission in its

 Report 'Rural Health in Australia'. The Commission emphasises that there has been little progress in the establishment of a national collection system for Aboriginal statistics despite a recognition in 1973 of the need for comprehensive statistical data.
- The Committee therefore recommends that <u>detailed and</u> accurate statistics be maintained on a regular and continuing <u>basis on Aboriginal settlements</u>. Where practical, such information could be collected by Police Officers, Nursing Sisters, school teachers and officers of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

Hospitals and Health Services Commission, <u>Rural Health in Australia</u> (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1976),p.35.

Administration of Alcohol Programs

- The Committee was informed of two committees established to consider alcohol problems of Aboriginals.
- Advisory Committee comprising Central Office Departments chaired by the Department of Health and including the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the Attorney-General's Department. The function of this Committee is to plan and co-ordinate wide-ranging remedial measures dealing with problems created by excessive use of alcohol in Aboriginal communities on an Australia-wide basis.
- In March 1976 the Advisory Committee prepared an internal document 'The Philosophy and Roles of the Interdepartmental Committee on Aboriginal Alcoholism'. This paper is being considered by the relevant Departments.
- Advisory Council which was established in October 1975 and comprises representatives of Commonwealth Government Departments, the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly and interested organisations. The function of the Council is to co-ordinate alcoholism services and promote the establishment of an independent alcohol authority.

- The Chairman of the Council told the Committee that the Council has not been active because of a lack of funds for the programs suggested by the Council. Whilst recognising that the lack of funds may have restricted some of the activities of the Council, the Committee believes that there is much valuable work that the Council could have initiated.
- In relation to an independent alcohol authority mentioned in paragraph 119, Policy Directions were prepared by the Department of the Northern Territory and accepted in principle by the Executive of the Northern Territory

 Legislative Assembly. The Committee was informed that the same factors which have delayed amendments to the Northern Territory Licensing Ordinance apply in the preparation of legislation to establish the Authority. The Committee recommends that a Drug and Alcohol Authority be established in the Northern Territory and that the Department of the Northern Territory and the Executive of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly consult and co-operate on the processes necessary to introduce the legislation.
- Despite the existence of the two Advisory Committees this Committee believes that there has been a lack of co-ordination and consultation between the various Departments

and authorities. A contributing factor has been the involvement of four Commonwealth Departments, each with a functional responsibility on different aspects of alcohol problems of Aboriginals.

The Committee recommends that an Interdepartmental Committee, chaired by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, be established in the Northern Territory and that it co-ordinate all the action necessary to implement programs aimed at reducing the alcohol problems of Aboriginals in the Northern Territory, including the recommendations in this Report.

The Committee desires that the Interdepartmental Committee referred to above keep the Standing Committee fully informed of its activities on a regular basis.

September 1976

P.M. RUDDOCK Chairman

- 8 DISSENTING REPORT BY

 MR S.E. CALDER D.F.C., M.P.,

 THE HON. L.R. JOHNSON M.P.,

 AND MR L.G. WALLIS M.P.
- 125 We agree with other members of the Committee on conclusions and recommendations with the exception of the recommendation which advocates abolition of the personal liquor permit system.
- We note that the Committee endorses a system of 'local option' of decision-making by Aboriginal communities, yet recommends that the permit system be abolished. It must be remembered that permits are issued by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs only with the concurrence of the community concerned, so that communities already have the choice of approving or rejecting applications for permits.
- Although we share our colleagues concern over problems caused by abuse of the system, we believe that the permit system must remain a fundamental principle of the local option system of decision-making. We accept the right of a community to decide whether groups or individuals within that community ought to be permitted to consume alcohol.

We affirm our belief that problems arising from abuse of the permit system may be reduced by more effective control rather than abolition of the system. We therefore recommend that the personal liquor permit system be retained and that the operation of the system be effectively policed to avoid abuse.

S.E. CALDER

L.R. JOHNSON

September 1976

L.G. WALLIS

MINISTER FOR ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

Darwin
14 April 1976

Dear Mr Ruddock,

I appreciated the opportunity to meet with you and other members of the Standing Committee on 7.4.76 and am confident that the Committee will play an important role in informing Parliament on issues in Aboriginal affairs.

During our discussion we considered a number of matters which the Committee might investigate and I undertook to provide you this week with a firm reference, as provided for in the motion of appointment of the Committee. I have given the matter further thought and in view of the general interest and concern on the part of Committee members in this problem, have set down in the attachment a reference on alcohol.

I am very conscious, in referring this subject to the Committee, that excessive use of alcohol is not a peculiarly Aboriginal problem and that indeed the problem may be less severe among Aboriginals than among non-Aboriginal Australians. I am also conscious that some Aboriginal communities are coping with the problem admirably. On the other hand I am equally conscious that alcohol has been identified by Professor Rowley and others as a major destroyer of Aboriginal society since 1788.

I have been somewhat troubled, in considering the matter, by the point that numerous studies have been conducted into the effects of alcohol - the Northern Territory Division of my Department holds no less than 21 Reports on the matter - without a great deal of progress apparently being achieved. Consequently I see the recommendations of your Committee, and the degree to which they are capable of implementation, as being of the greatest importance.

My officers will, of course, be ready to help your Committee by suggesting previous studies which might constitute useful background. One Report in particular to which I would draw your attention is that submitted in 1973 by the Board of Inquiry under the chairmanship of

Mr Phillip Adams Q.C. into the Liquor Laws of the Northern Territory. Many of its recommendations are of direct concern to the Aboriginal community. There is some concern that the recommendations have not been effectively considered or implemented.

This should not be taken as a suggestion that the Committee examine primarily the situation in the Territory. Quite the contrary. The alcohol problems of some of the Northern Territory communities might indeed have been over-studied or subjected to excessive publicity. I have in mind particularly the communities at Yirrkala and Oenpelli which are also preoccupied by pressing issues in respect of mining. On the other hand some communities such as those on Bathurst Island and Melville Island and at Mowanjum, have given much thought to the effects of alcohol, and have made strong representations to my Department for assistance in overcoming the problems.

If after considering the attached terms of reference your Committee would wish to propose any amendment of them, I will be happy to discuss this.

I wish the Committee well in its inquiries and assure you that my Department will within its means, provide such assistance as the Committee might require. I look forward to considering the Committee's Report when it is completed, and hope that it will provide guidance on how to grapple with this crucial problem.

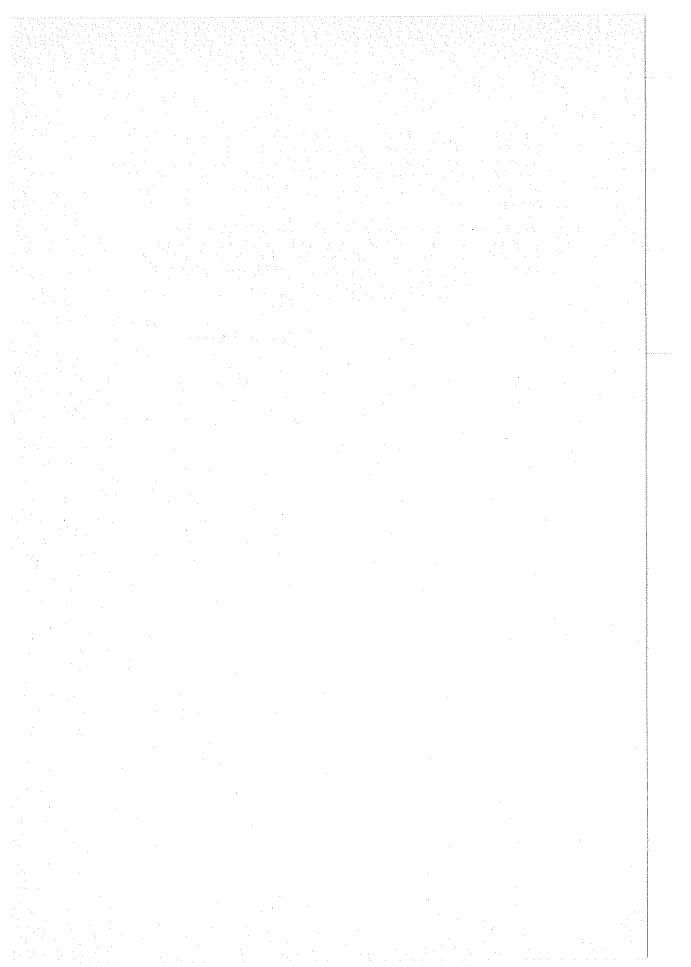
Terms of Reference

- 1. Examine the impact of alcohol on Aboriginal communities.
- 2. Examine the social and other causes of the excessive use of alcohol in some Aboriginal communities, paying regard to the situation in both remote traditional communities and in urban situations.
- 3. Examine the advantages which might be gained by Aboriginal communities who face problems associated with alcohol from the experience which other communities have gained in successfully dealing with similar problems.
- 4. Examine the operation of laws including liquor laws in Australia in relation to the impact of alcohol on Aboriginal communities.

- 5. Consider the adequacy of Australian law in communities largely following a traditional life style, and the manner in which they may be encouraged and assisted to develop approaches to alcohol created behavioural problems based on traditional strengths and methods of control.
- 6. Recommend action aimed at assisting Aboriginal communities to overcome problems associated with the excessive use of alcohol and at reinforcing the initiatives which Aboriginals themselves might wish to take to deal with these problems and the consequential behavioural problems.

Yours sincerely,

(R.I. VINER)



LIST OF WITNESSES

ALBRECHT, Pastor P.G.E.

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BISHAW, A.

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BUTLER, Rev. Canon N.H.

Chaplain, Church Missionary Society, N.T.

DODSON, Rev. Father P.L.

Parish Priest, N.T.

DOHERTY, Mrs M.

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EAMES, G.M.

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EGAN, Superintendent F.G.

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EDWARDS, J.

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LAYTON, Ms J.M.

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Parish Priest, N.T.

LESKE, P.E.

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President, Central Australian Aboriginal Congress, N.T.

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First Assistant Secretary, Planning Division, Department of Aboriginal Affairs, A.C.T.

NOWLAND, K.E.

Training Officer, Aboriginal Advisory and Development Services, United Church in North Australia, N.T.

ORMROD, G.

Director, Central Australian Aboriginal Congress, N.T.

PERKINS, C.N.

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Executive Member for Social Affairs, Northern Territory Legislative Assembly.

RABY, W.A.

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SOONG, Dr F.S.

Assistant Director, Health Education Branch, N.T. Division, Department of Health.

STACK, Ald. Dr E.M.

Mayor of Darwin, N.T.

TOMLINSON, J.R.

Social Planner, Darwin
Regional Council for
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Committee Member, Darwin
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Member for Tiwi, Northern Territory Legislative Assembly.

UNDERDOWN, L.J.R.

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VALADIAN, B.

Secretary, Aboriginal
Development Foundation,
N.T.

WALTON, R.G.

Assistant Director-General, Aboriginal Health Branch, Department of Health, A.C.T. WATSON, A.R.M.

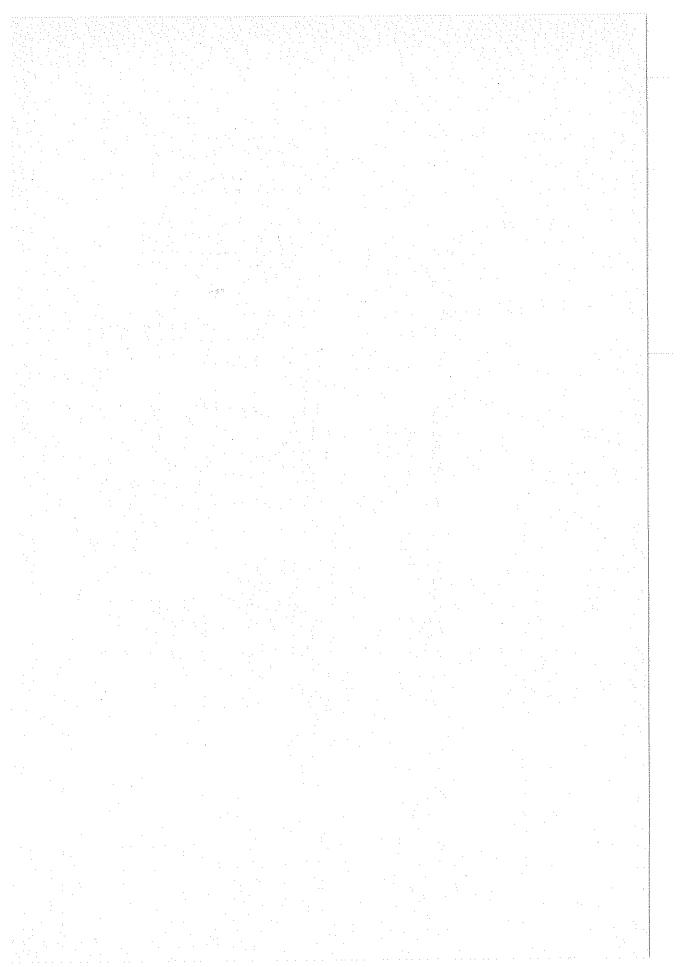
Senior Assistant Secretary Criminal Law, Justice and Family Law Division, Attorney-General's Department, A.C.T.

WELSH, A.R.

Field Guidance Officer, Community Development Section, N.T. Division, Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

WOOD, Rev. Canon C.M.

Interim Chairman, Darwin and Districts Alcohol and Drug Dependence Foundation.

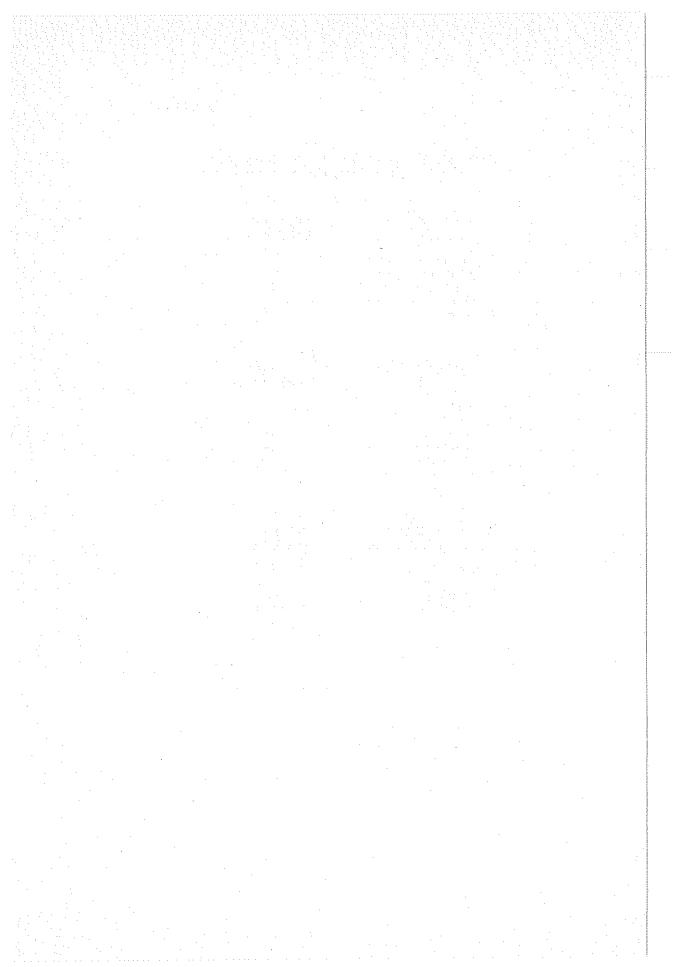


COMMUNITIES VISITED BY SUB-COMMITTEES

Sub-committee	approximate population
Bathurst Island	950
Garden Point	350
Snake Bay	250
Goulburn Island	250
Oenpelli	600

Sub-committee	approximate population
Katherine	250
Bamyili	500
Angurugu	600
Umbakumba	350
Yirrkala	1000
Elcho Island	1300

Sub-committee	approximate population	
Jay Creek	120	
Hermannsburg	650	
Papunya	900	
Yuendumu	1100	
Warrabri	650	
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