

CHARLES DARWIN SYMPOSIUM THREE

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**“DARWIN – A CITY IN THE EYE OF THE STORM:
RESIDENT CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE”**

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Darwin today is in the eye of the storm. Located as the fulcrum for the 'Arc of Instability' the City, served as it is by modern medical facilities, communication hubs and other infrastructure, is best placed to respond to incidents to our North or across a wide swathe of Northern Australia. We can provide assistance, succour to those in need, advice on a range of preventative programs and act as a staging post between the region and the south of Australia.

But it is not only the physical structure and location of the city that will help it cope with future emergencies, it is also the capacity and outlook of its population. The involvement of the community in preparing for and responding to a major terror strike here or in the region and appropriate laws to deal with the more unstable era in which we live.

In this paper I ask four questions about Darwin:

- Does the population have the capacity to respond to terrorism here or in our region?

- Have the population been sufficiently involved in preparing for a major incident?

- Are there opportunities for Darwin in the present unstable environment?

- Is legislation to counter terrorism adequate?

THE DARWIN PSYCHE (OR A CITY'S CAPACITY TO RESPOND)

Until 1999, I contend that Darwin was known as a place of disaster, of recovery, a place that had been damaged and the population always rebuilt it and pulled themselves up from the floor shook themselves and got on with life. It was a place of our own tragedies, not a place to which outsiders might turn for help but one to which outsiders would offer help.

World War Two epitomises this view of Darwin. On 19 February 1942, 81 planes were launched against Darwin whose harbour was full of ships. Eight ships were sunk, two were beached and later refloated and many of the other 35 ships in the harbour were damaged by bomb or machine gun fire. Darwin town and the RAAF aerodrome were also heavily damaged by the raid. A second raid of 54 bombers was launched two hours later on the same day. The raids on 19 February were the first two of sixty-four raids against the Darwin area and its nearby airfields, which bore the brunt of Japanese attacks on mainland Australia. Those who endured the bombing have been described in many

ways, ‘inspirational, brave and enduring’,¹ and at wars end ‘emerging from a monstrous shadow’.² The Wartime Prime Minister, John Curtin, talked of the gallantry of the civilians.³ The historian Alan Powell has written of ‘the courage shown that day or the cool action of police, ARP men and ordinary citizens’.⁴

One of the major events on the Darwin calendar is the commemoration of the Bombing of Darwin each 19th of February. At the 59th anniversary the Prime Minister, John Howard, expressed gratitude to the people of all backgrounds here in Darwin 59 years ago. ⁵

At the same occasion The Governor General said

We express our pride in this brave and vibrant multicultural city which has emerged from the destruction of wartime bombing and the devastation of 1974.⁶ (My emphasis)

The 1974 reference is of course to that other major event which devastated the city in recent memory, Cyclone Tracy

¹ CLA Abbott. *Australia's Frontier Province*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1950, p. 98.

² Alan Powell. *The Shadow's Edge: Australia's Northern War*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1998, p. 130.

³ PF Donovan. *At the Other End of Australia: The Commonwealth and the Northern Territory*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1984, p. 145.

⁴ Alan Powell. *Far Country: A Short History of the Northern Territory*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000, p. 194.

⁵ <http://www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/2001/speech760.htm>

⁶ <http://www.gg.gov.au/speeches/rtf/2001/sp010219.rtf>

on Christmas Day 1974. Tracy was first detected as a depression in the Arafura Sea in early December 1974. It moved slowly southwest and intensified, passing close to Bathurst Island on the 23rd and 24th. 'Then it turned sharply east-southeast, and headed straight at Darwin, striking the city early on Christmas Day'.⁷ Many residents were caught unprepared. Forty-nine people were killed in the city and a known 16 people perished at sea. 'The entire fabric of life in Darwin was catastrophically disrupted, with the majority of buildings being totally destroyed or badly damaged, and very few escaping unscathed. The total damage bill ran into hundreds of millions of dollars'.⁸

This was not the first time Darwin had been severely damaged by a cyclone: it also suffered greatly in both January 1897 and March 1937. Because of modern communication and media exposure Cyclone Tracy became better-known than the other destructive cyclones which have damaged it and is the event most often referred to when discussing cyclones in North Australia.

Books websites and journal articles all talk of the Tracy survivors in terms of tragedy, survival and human courage. The Northern Territory library website talks about 'the commitment of the people' when relating the return to Darwin

⁷ <http://www.bom.gov.au/lam/climate/levelthree/c20thc/cyclone4.htm>

⁸ <http://www.bom.gov.au/lam/climate/levelthree/c20thc/cyclone4.htm>

of evacuees.⁹ One citizen who went through the cyclone recalled how she thought the city could never recover and flourish; but it did.¹⁰

Studies into Darwin and its people made several comments which reinforce the view that Darwin people saw themselves as victims who had survived thanks to their own efforts and were now rebuilding their own city. 'The courage and humour of the residents...there is a kind of elitism developing' wrote a Red Cross worker,¹¹ 'a new climate...is just emerging...a vital growth point for the social fabric',¹² said another social worker. Alan Powell, the historian records 'there was a rare spirit in the town, a feeling of comradeship in a common cause'.¹³ Again, all these feelings were those of people who had gone through the cyclone, the survivor mentality.

Subsequently the survivor view has come to mean spirit, capacity to rebuild, that we, the locals of Darwin, were a real 'get up and go people'.

A Territory politician has put the view that 'We can allow Alice Springs to become a mere railway stop or we can grasp the nettle with both hands, as Darwin did after Cyclone Tracy, to

⁹ <http://www.ntlib.nt.gov.au/tracy/advanced/Evacuationb.html>

¹⁰ Allan Thompson Ed. *Cyclones, Floods and Flaming Furies: Anecdotal glimpses of Darwin and the 'top end' from the 1940s*, U3A, Darwin, 2000, p. 116.

¹¹ Murray Nicoll. Tracy: The Killer who called for Christmas, Australian Red Cross paper, 1975, cited in Cole Keith, *Winds of Fury: The Full True Story of the Great Darwin Disaster*, Rigby Ltd, Adelaide, 1977, p. 128.

¹² Cole. *Winds of Fury*, p. 129.

¹³ Powell, *Far Country*, p. 194.

turn the opportunities offered by the railway into something significant'.¹⁴

Even today, some commentators argue that Darwin remains a 'survivor city'. Nicholas Rothwell, a journalist with *The Australian*, wrote recently that 'Darwin still wears a patina of its brief past, as though it is doomed – in imitation of the tropical seasons that batter it yearly – to rise and fall in its own repeated rhythm'.¹⁵ I hold that this view is wrong that the Darwin population has transcended this view of life and moved to a far different perspective of their city and, indeed, their own role in today's world.

Clearly, tragedy brings a need for a glue to hold the community together to rebuild for the future, to thrive again as a community both socially and economically. We form teams and bond in times of crisis, look to help each other and together we survive and thrive.

This need for a reason to survive and thrive is probably seen in these few brief views of past tragedies of Darwin I have just recounted, the things that have helped the population get back on its feet after each disaster were that sheer guts and determination to thrive again.

¹⁴ John Elpherink, cited at <http://www.alicespringsnews.com.au/0644.html>

¹⁵ *Weekend Australian Magazine*, 2/3 August 2003.

This glue was recognised by Richard Putnam, the American author who wrote *Bowling Alone*, a key work on social capital, the formal name for the glue that binds communities.¹⁶ Putnam divides social capital into two distinct categories: that which bonds a dense network of people, and that which bridges between somewhat separate groups. Bonding social capital, Putnam suggests is the glue that binds a community together that might exist for some homogeneous identity-driven reason, such as an ethnic group or a religious organisation. It bolsters such communities making them stronger, a kind of “sociological superglue” that reinforces ties of loyalty and support amongst the constituent members. Bridging social capital, he argues, breeds outward-looking networks and can bring together people from a variety of backgrounds and create new common ground, a ‘sociological WD-40.’ The ties that bind are key for community development, and lead to a sense of pride, uniting a group and help a given community draw together to help itself both socially and economically. This is the Darwin ‘disaster glue’, linking social capital, being utilised to bind a city together and rebuild a future after past shocks.¹⁷

‘Without ... linking social capital, the poor will succumb more easily to natural disasters and economic shocks, and struggle to take up new opportunities for

¹⁶ Robert Putnam. *Bowling Alone*, Touchstone Press, New York, 2000.

¹⁷ Robert Putnam. *Bowling Alone*, p. 23.

advancement. ...Linking social capital helps alleviate the effects of disasters by providing access to a broader range of assets (e.g. official aid)¹⁸.

Yet, I believe that there has been a change to the form of bridging social capital seen in Darwin since the Australian led mission to East Timor in 1999. If you will, the material underpinning of our social capital has changed. No longer do we form teams to thrive and survive, we now want to share and care. That is we want to share our home and city with and care for others who are suffering. It is a real change, from survivor mentality to carer mentality.

Looking at the response to the events in East Timor during 1999 we can see this response. One view of the Darwin activity helping refugees at the tent city in Darwin was 'There are just so many unsung heroes working here.'¹⁹ The New Zealand Prime Minister praised the Northern Territory response to the tragedy of events in East Timor and we all accepted such comments with pride.²⁰ A Territory senator asserted that he 'for one, could not fail to be impressed by the actions of the many volunteers in our community, Territory government agencies, local aid organisations, and Northern Territory and federal public servants involved'.²¹ Almost a month after the crisis has passed the editorial in the local paper was to thank

¹⁸ <http://www.id21.org/insights/insights34/insights-iss34-art02.html>

¹⁹ *Northern Territory News*, 22 September 1999, p.5

²⁰ *Northern Territory News*, 7 October 1999, p.5

²¹ *Northern Territory News*, 8 October 1999, p.10

the people of Darwin, exploring how well they had responded to the events which we were in the middle of. 'It's been good for Darwin and a sign of this town's growing confidence in itself' wrote the Editor.²² That was the first recognition of the change, the population now had a growing sense of self-confidence in the face of disasters.

Then came the tragedy of Bali in October 2002 and once again Darwin found itself at the eye of the storm, again ready, eager and anxious to help. Anecdotal reports suggest that the airlift of the injured had originally been going to over-fly Darwin with the consequential risk to patient's lives. The Chief Minister, it is reported, lobbied hard for the mercy flights to bring the patients to Darwin for triage and immediate treatment rather than overfly the City.²³ The people Darwin were anxious to be at the forefront 'the Royal Darwin Hospital had been written into the history books and people were proud to work there' wrote one hospital worker.²⁴ The public overwhelmingly supported the medical workers who were involved in the Bali operation. People felt a sense of pride that 'their' hospital was at the forefront of the response.

St John Ambulance experienced tremendous support with offers of assistance from all over Australia. Former members, staff on leave and members of the community all offered to

²² *Northern Territory News*, 20 October 1999, p.10

²³ Discussion with Dr Len Notaras, RDH, on 22 June 2003.

²⁴ *Northern Territory News*, 18 October 2002, p.10

assist however they could. A local radio station broadcast the ambulance route and advised motorists to keep the roads clear whenever movement was underway. The roads were almost empty at these times. A fast food store supplied a breakfast of bacon and egg sandwiches to ambulance officers at extremely short notice. Employers around Darwin assisted by giving St John volunteers time off work so that they remain involved in the operation.²⁵

Subsequently there has been speculation by Ministers, senior public servants and media analysts that a new national disaster response centre will be based in Darwin. The Superintendent of the Royal Darwin Hospital , Dr Len Notaras, ‘says it is a logical proposition given Darwin's experience in coordinating responses to events such as the Bali bombings, the Katherine floods and the evacuation of East Timorese from Dili after the 1999 referendum’.²⁶ This is evidence of our brash, exuberant, almost over confident, more outward looking view of life with a burning desire to help others. Locating a vital asset in a remote and cyclone prone area does not seem to be an issue. We know how to help people is the over riding sentiment. Why the need to base such a facility here is not the question, rather that we demand to be leaders in the help provided to others. I caution however, that we should not become blinded to reason by our undoubted

²⁵ Bill Wilson. *To be Faithful, True and Brave: A History of St John Ambulance in the Northern Territory*, forthcoming.

²⁶ ABC Radio 18 August 2003

ability, Darwin does of course have problems for such a centre, the weather, potential for natural disasters in the city and remoteness from major infrastructure.

Will this view of our capacity, ability and desire to help others last? That of course remains to be seen but it is a question that others are asking.

Richard Putnam again:

Is September 11 a period that puts a full stop to one era and opens a new, more community-minded chapter in our history? Or is it merely a comma, a brief pause ... In short, how thoroughly and how enduringly have American values and civic habits been transformed by the terrorist attacks of last fall?²⁷

In the case of Darwin have we enduringly transformed our attitudes since 1999 or will we lapse back to the pre-1999 approach when another disaster strikes us as a city.

This new attitude which pervades the Darwin community leads to the next question Have the population been kept properly informed and involved in preparations for a terrorist incident here or nearby?

²⁷ Putnam, "Bowling Together," *The American Prospect* vol. 13 no. 3, February 11, 2002.

INVOLVING THE COMMUNITY

There are many cities overseas which have deeply involved communities in preparedness for major incidents, indeed to deal with street crime and social disorder as well as major threats from terrorism. The British Home Secretary, in a speech on harnessing social capital, recently noted how 'We are also developing new ways to improve security in collaboration with communities themselves'.²⁸

A major conference in the United States last year was build around the theme of using social capital to help defeat terrorism.²⁹ We do not yet appear to have adopted this approach in Australia, certainly not in the City of Darwin. The whole community needs to be involved in preparing to meet terrorism here or offshore. We no longer have the luxury to sit idly or silently by; relying upon others to protect our community. Citizen involvement is critical and we must collectively work together if we are to safeguard our homes and be prepared to help others. The authorities must use the goodwill and bridging social capital that is out there.

Have we thought to encourage volunteers to help in some way, to raise and train an increased number of volunteers with organisations such as Red Cross or to support the government

²⁸ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/docs/piuspeech.html>

²⁹ Building Social Capital: What a Citizen Can Do, held in May 2002, at the John F Kennedy School of Government.

agencies? No it appears not. A Harvard study has found that people's:

Desire to become involved in some way has more than doubled since Sept. 11, 2001. ... The challenge now is to keep this interest high by helping people find ways to get involved...This is a terrifically important opportunity but unless we're asked to do things, given real opportunities for engagement, this mood won't last.³⁰

We must do likewise; move to involve people now so that the interest and enthusiasm now apparent can be harnessed for the good of all in the future. We might transform the city in other ways too by involving the whole community in being prepared and looking at major issues.

Darwin does not have a large population by world or Australian standards. But we must acknowledge the value of networks and individual energy. Clearly people have poured their emotions into helping others affected by disasters but the authorities have not harnessed this effort. For all of the thought and energy that goes into reversing population loss in Darwin, there is virtually no acknowledgement of the role of community or social networks in the individual's decision to stay or leave. In reality, people value social networks, get involved with Darwin (or other place they live) through their

³⁰ <http://www.solutionsnews.org/brief.jsp?ID=12>

social networks, and ultimately place a strong value on staying close to their social networks. This is the stuff that location decisions are made of not on where buildings are situated. So instead of debating the location of a convention centre versus supporting the reopening of the Darwin Mall, maybe we need a different kind of investment policy. Not only one which wants to attract investment and encourage business in Darwin but also a policy which supports and values organisations and programmes that build relationships and networks among the city's population and harness that energy and those relationships in preparedness against an uncertain future.

All that energy spent on economic development, traditional or otherwise, is clearly needed and warranted, but it may ultimately yield little without creative investments in social capital and community building to harness the desire of a community wanting to be involved in helping those affected by terror or other disaster. It must not just be the City Council or Government which decides what happens; the community should be consulted.

OPPORTUNITIES (and threats)

There is one other area which government and the Darwin City Council might consider. That is the opportunity provided by a fear of terrorism. Urban living is becoming increasingly insecure and risk-prone. This insecurity results from rising

levels of crime and violence including terrorism. The risks associated with natural and man made disasters are also greater in urban areas where many people are living in close proximity to danger points including coastlines (Tsunami) or petrochemical plants (explosions) for example. The preparedness of large cities to deal with disasters and post-conflict situations is extremely limited. Yes, plans exist but the scope is still limited and the energy of the population has not been fully harnessed in preparing to deal with issues such a bio-terrorism. The growing incidence of crime and violence in urban areas is the result of an unequal and more materialistic society and the lack of adequate institutional and social controls and is frightening business in large cities. High concentrations of population and economic activities in cities also make them more vulnerable to today's newest risk factor, terrorism.

In Darwin never mind the opportunities, we have not fully thought the new era through and fully considered the threats. Our new police station sits on top of an underground public car park with all the potential for car bombs that such access brings about. Remember the first attempt to bomb the World Trade Centre, a bomb was located in a small van parked in the buildings car park. There are other buildings with a high risk that are not well protected, the ABC studios could be badly damaged with the consequent failure of communications. The Smith Street Telephone exchange is not fully secure and is an

easy target for a determined bomber Roberston barracks is not secure either. Also the risk at the Darwin airport. Walk across a small fence at Amy Johnston Avenue and a person can hide in the scrub in an ideal position to target aircraft at the moment of take off or landing.

We should also consider if there is an opportunity for Darwin to gain any benefit from the new situation in the world.

A recent study in the United States found that:

- People can live anywhere they want (relatively speaking) and are not as tied to a *place* as much as they used to be.
- There is a sociological return to family, stability, and faith.
- Terrorism makes a number of cities less livable than others... People in urban areas are twice as concerned about terrorism as rural folks.
- Terrorism causes companies to disperse their systems, data, and people. More and more companies are moving technical operations to heartland communities.³¹

³¹ <http://www.windley.com/2002/11/18.html>

We should consider therefore, if there is any opportunity to have large companies base themselves in Darwin which is, after all, less prone to a terror strike than Sydney or Melbourne. There are of course other problems such as natural disasters which might have to be faced but Sydney has its bushfires and Melbourne is not immune to natural hazards. Opportunistic maybe, and not an idea which supports networking and existing social capital, but, nevertheless, an idea which might help Darwin in this new unstable era.

ANTI-TERROR LAWS (Or have the terrorists won?)

The British Prime Minister is reported to have recently said that ‘Ours are not Western values, they are the universal values of the human spirit. And anywhere, any time ordinary people are given the chance to choose, the choice is the same: freedom, not tyranny; democracy, not dictatorship; the rule of law, not the rule of the secret police’.³²

But let us consider a hypothetical situation and test Tony Blair’s words against current Northern Territory and Australian laws.

It is August 2004. A terrorist bombing occurs in a large hotel in a country to our near north and it is reported that 300 Australians attending a conference in the hotel have been

³² *The Age*, 19 July 2003

killed and many more injured. Like 2002, the injured are being flown to Darwin for treatment and the threat of terrorism is high on everyone's mind.

You go to bed that night to get good night's sleep because the following day, with your next-door neighbour, you are going to Marrara to watch an England versus Australia Test Match. Naturally you worry about events to our north, but are unaware that there is any direct threat to Darwin itself.

Unbeknown to you however the police, ASIO and other security agencies have a different view. Intelligence is received from a source that Darwin is to be the scene of a bombing here too, one timed to maximise publicity because Darwin is receiving the injured from the earlier strike to the north.

Early the next morning you go to your neighbour's house to be greeted by your friend's tearful wife, she tells you that your friend and his 16 years old son are missing. She continues by explaining that about 2 am four men who said they were from ASIO detained the two because your friend was thought to have information about a planned terrorist attack. You ring a solicitor to represent your friend but he rings backs shortly to say that she is not acceptable to ASIO and cannot therefore represent your friend.

Worried you decide to go to the cricket match anyway using your friend's car as was planned as yours is being repaired.

On the way you see armed soldiers in the streets around the oval and notice that they are searching cars entering the car park. You query what is going on and are told that the Army has been called in to assist police due to the terrorism threat.

Then, as your drive into the car park, two Northern Territory Police members approach you and demand to know your name and address and tell you they are going to search you. When asked why, the police tell you that you are driving the car of a person who has been named in an authorisation by the Police Commissioner. You say you know nothing of any of this and all you are doing is using a borrowed car to go to see a cricket match. What is an authorisation anyway, you have never heard of one. You refuse to give your name because you say police have no grounds to ask for it and you are arrested.

After you arrive at the police station and you give all the information about your friend that you can together with your name and address you are released after some eight hours of intense questioning. Three days later your friend comes home and tells you that his arrest was a case of mistaken identity. A letter sent from a business acquaintance in Indonesia was similar as a known terrorist. And the bombing in Darwin, well it never happens.

All sound far fetched. Well it's not. In June new legislation to give ASIO sweeping new powers, broader even than those

possessed by the FBI and MI5 passed through the Commonwealth parliament and earlier this year the Northern Territory parliament passed laws which give very broad powers to police.

**AUSTRALIAN SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE ORGANISATION
(TERRORISM) AMENDMENT ACT 2002**

This Act provides that with the Attorney-General's approval, ASIO can obtain a warrant from a federal magistrate or a judge, as long as it has reasonable grounds for believing that detaining and questioning someone will substantially assist in the collection of intelligence regarding a terrorism offence.

That person will then be able to be questioned in the presence of a prescribed authority (who can be a current or former judge, or president or deputy president of the Administrative Appeals Tribunal). The detained person will be able to be questioned for a maximum of 24 hours (in a maximum of three eight-hour blocks), and this questioning can be spread over seven days.

This legislation fundamentally alters elements of the criminal justice system by removing significant rights, such as the right to silence and the presumption of innocence. The legislation provides for access to a lawyer, but the choice of lawyer and the role of the lawyer during the questioning process is restricted and ASIO has the right to veto any lawyer. And the

detained person must ask for the lawyer by name when first seeking legal assistance. During the questioning itself, the lawyer cannot interject or object to questioning.

READY RESERVE FORCE

An Army Reserve Response Force has been formed and is being drawn from existing Army Reserve brigades throughout Australia. It is based on existing formations, about 150 people are being formed into the force that can respond quickly should there be requirement.

The Ready Reserve Force will be based in Sydney, which also will cover Canberra, in Melbourne, Perth, Townsville, and Adelaide.

Army spokesman Major John Liston says that 'There won't be anything in Darwin, but there's a very, very large army presence in Darwin anyway. There won't be anything in Brisbane, but Brisbane has an already existing regular and reserve force there and Hobart is linked with Melbourne as well'.³³

The role of these soldiers is domestic security, low risk searches, cordoning off an area, providing security to key sites and similar tasks. In other words these troops are to be used in a civilian policing role without having either police training

³³ <http://www.abc.net.au/am/content/2003/s892761.htm>

or police powers. Whilst not having powers of arrest the use of troops in a civilian policing role is a new concept for Australia.³⁴ I have no difficulty with troops helping police but have grave reservations about this concept because it does not appear that adequate training or powers are being given to the troops involved as these are reservists not full-time soldiers.

NORTHERN TERRITORY TERRORISM (EMERGENCY POWERS) ACT

This Act provides that:

- Where the Commissioner of Police reasonably suspects an imminent threat of a terrorist act and where the use of the powers would substantially assist in preventing that act; or
- When a terrorist act has occurred and police reasonably believe the special powers will help in the arrest of those responsible, or minimise the harm to the public.

Based on credible information, the Commissioner may then enact the special powers in relation to a ‘target vehicle’, ‘target person’ or ‘target area’.

Police then have the power to search, without a warrant, a vehicle, person or premises, they suspect on reasonable grounds is the ‘target’.

³⁴ <http://www.abc.net.au/am/content/2003/s892761.htm>

Police can also use the premise for surveillance to protect people's health or safety, and can detain people for decontamination for up to 48 hours if a terrorist incident has occurred.

The emergency police powers also enable police to demand the disclosure and proof of identity and remove vehicles from an area.

Protections against excesses by police do exist in that:

- The Police Commissioner must notify the Minister for Police, Fire and Emergency Services of the intention to activate the powers.
- The Police Commissioner must, as soon as practicable, provide both the Minister for Police, Fire and Emergency Services and the Attorney-General with a written report on the activation of the powers and the situations in which they were used.
- An authorisation to activate the powers can only be made for a limited period of time.
- The Police Minister has the power to revoke the special police powers at any time.³⁵

The proposed legislation is the result of an agreement to have a national standard on counter terrorism legislation, and follows the barbaric events in Bali last October, and the events

³⁵ Northern Territory *Terrorism (Emergency Powers) Act*, 2003.

of September 11 2001. Nevertheless the powers are broad and sweeping. Powers never before seen in Australia and ones which have the potential to impact on every Territorian's way of life.

CONCLUSION

In drawing together the various strands of unconnected arguments about Darwin which I have raised this morning, let me again pose the questions that I started with and try to answer them:

- Does the population have the capacity to respond to terrorism? Yes, we have a new view of our role in the region and this should be harnessed.

- Have the population been sufficiently involved in preparing for a major incident. No, we must take advantage of the current attitudes of Darwin's population and encourage a greater awareness and involvement.

- Are there opportunities for Darwin in the present unstable environment? Yes, we may be able to attract business away from major centres.

Is legislation to counter terrorism adequate? Unfortunately it is more than adequate. One might say that terror has already won.

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