

**ANZAC DAY AMENDMENT BILL 2015**  
**ANZAC DAY AMENDMENT BILL (NO. 2) 2015**

*Cognate Debate — Motion*

On motion by **Mr J.M. Francis (Minister for Veterans)**, resolved —

That leave be granted for the Anzac Day Amendment Bill 2015 and Anzac Day Amendment Bill (No. 2) 2015 to be dealt with cognately, and for the Anzac Day Amendment Bill 2015 to be declared the principal bill.

*Second Reading — Cognate Debate*

Resumed from 11 November 2015.

**MR P.B. WATSON (Albany)** [11.42 am]: It gives me great pleasure to speak about the Anzac Amendment Bill 2015 and the Anzac Amendment Bill (No. 2). I am the principal speaker for the opposition.

**The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr P. Abetz)**: It means you get more time.

**Mr P.B. WATSON**: I do not know if I can speak for that length of time!

As I said, it gives me great pleasure to speak on the bills, especially on the history of the Anzacs in my electorate of Albany. I congratulate everyone involved in the Anzac commemorations that were held over what was a short period of time. I also want to congratulate some people who probably did not get recognition for their part in the lead-up to the Anzac commemorations, particularly the main one that we had two years ago. A group down there was called the Albany Centenary of Anzac Alliance. One of its instigators was “Digger” Cleak. Digger was a long-time member of the Albany RSL. He is in Perth now and I think he is on the executive of the RSL. Digger planted the seed for this group to get together. It included Laurie Fraser, Geoff Hands Jr, Peter Aspinall, and I think Milton Evans, who was Mayor of Albany at the time. I know that Geoff Hands is an ex-Army officer. He went overseas and spoke to people to organise people to come to Australia for the commemoration. These people never got the recognition that they deserved. The Premier brought in a government task force, which is fair enough, but I do not think that these people who did so much work, a large amount of which was voluntary, ever got recognition for their work. Even on the day of the centenary, these people were not recognised. It was very disappointing, considering the amount of work that they did. They did not do it for personal gain. They were former members of the armed services, except for the mayor, and they wanted to make it a tremendous event. The fact that it was taken away from them, probably halfway through the planning, was really disappointing. After that, we had a tremendous commemorative service and there were tremendous opportunities for Albany.

The Albany National Anzac Centre has been opened, and is probably one of the best of its kind in the world. For those people who have not been down to the Albany National Anzac Centre, visitors can go into the centre and pick up a card for a soldier—German, Australian, New Zealand or British. Visitors put the card in scanners located throughout the centre and as they walk through they are given the history of the gentleman. My card was that of a German soldier, and as I walked through the scans showed what he had done before he joined the army and his war service. This German soldier started off in the lower ranks and finished as a general or something very high. I was able to scan his war records—where he served, what he did and what happened with his company. The last scan showed me what he did after the war.

**The ACTING SPEAKER**: Members, there is a bit too much conversation taking place in the chamber. Can we just take our conversations outside or hush our voices a little more. Thanks.

**Mr P.B. WATSON**: He was a welder or boilermaker when he joined the army and afterwards he became a world-renowned writer in Germany. This display shows the human side of the war, and action in different theatres of the war, and we can see memorabilia. It is not only Australian and New Zealand soldiers, but German, British and even French soldiers. Over 100 000 people have been through that centre. I congratulate the state government, the commonwealth government and everyone who contributed to it, because it will be there for a long time.

I refer also to the Albany Anzac Peace Park. On Anzac Day I think Albany has one of the few memorial services that is attended by all our schoolchildren; they all come to the 11 o'clock service. Albany's Great Southern Grammar has over 600 children and every one of those children marches. Every school has a representative and they march all the way down York Street. This is the sort of thing that we have to do to keep the Anzac commemoration going for future generation. At the end of the march, the old diggers stand there in a guard of honour and all the children march through. It is a tremendous service. We have the dawn service, obviously at six o'clock. People have to get up there at half past three if they want a spot. People come from all over the world for the Albany dawn service. At the end of the service, everyone looks out over the ocean and they can see flares being lit from one side of the harbour to the other; there is not a dry eye in the house. I have

been going there ever since my dad passed on. He did not go to the Anzac Day service because there were too many bad memories for him. I said that I would go to every Anzac Day commemoration after that to remember not only him but all the mates that he lost and all the horrible things they went through. Albany is very lucky to have the dawn service. People have to be lucky to get up there and get a place. The first dawn service ever was held in Albany down on the rocks. Even though people in the eastern states try to say that they held the first, we know that the first was held in Albany.

Western Australia has been very lucky to have Graham Edwards as president of the RSL. What a remarkable man he is. It was great to see him as a finalist in the Australian of the Year awards. This is a man who has given so much to the RSL and to his country, not only as a serviceman when he had that horrible injury, but also as a member of Parliament. He is such a tough man. It is just great to see someone like Graham Edwards remembered in our community.

I now get on to the two bills—the Anzac Day Amendment Bill 2015 and the Anzac Day Amendment Bill (No. 2) 2015. We see that responsibility for the Anzac Day Act was transferred from the Treasurer to the Minister for Veterans and that this was approved by the Executive Council on 30 September 2015. The first bill was enacted in 1960, 55 years ago, so we have got to have changes. The Minister for Veterans is now looking after it, and I do not think that the opposition has a problem with that. The bill proposes that the contribution to the Anzac Day Trust will apply to events held on Anzac Day with a minimum attendance of 5 000 people. I wonder whether imposing that minimum means that less money will go to the trust. The only sporting event I can think of in Western Australia held on Anzac Day is an Australian Football League game. If that minimum number of 5 000 people is based on the ticket price, will the trust get the same amount of money as it did before when it was based on 60 per cent?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** The principle behind it is that two definitions will be in the regulations, and one is effectively what a sporting event is. We want to exclude people who are doing small things that are not for profit. We want to only encapsulate professional sporting events that people have to pay to get into—things such as the participants are professional sportspeople. We are predominantly looking at that. The member will notice in the contributions this year that Greyhounds WA made a significant contribution.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** It would not have 5 000 people at an event.

**Mr J.M. Francis:** I am not sure.

**The ACTING SPEAKER:** Members, there are too many conversations.

**Mr J.M. Francis:** One of the things about putting an arbitrary limitation on it is that, as the population grows in the future, 5 000 people might be a lot at the moment but it may not be a lot in five to 10 years' time. It is about finding that balance. We want to exclude professional sporting events before 1.00 pm on Anzac Day and also only encapsulate the bigger events that make serious money.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** From the money that went out last year, it was supposed to be 60 per cent of funds. I see that the Australian Football League, via the Fremantle Dockers, paid \$15 000. That would not have been 60 per cent of what was made on the day.

**Mr J.M. Francis:** There are two issues: firstly, whether it is the Fremantle Dockers or the AFL making the money, they have made a contribution of \$15 000 after they were asked and reminded of their obligations under the act. Going back to what the member said about this being dated back to 1960, when our forefathers and representatives—a lot of members from this house would have served in World War II and there were a lot more in the community—I do not know whether back in 1960 they would have had the —

**Ms S.F. McGurk:** Won't he get a chance to speak?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** He asked me by way of interjection.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** I asked the question.

**Mr J.M. Francis:** I do not know whether they would have had the foresight to see the rise of the AFL. But 60 per cent for something that would probably turn over millions of dollars —

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** I will ask about this during consideration in detail. It is something that concerns me.

There is now provision to allow the minister to approve an alternative contribution to the trust. It must be submitted within 30 days. That means within 30 days of Anzac Day they have to advise the minister. I cannot see an issue with Anzac Day falling on a Sunday. Previously, if Anzac Day fell on a Sunday, they did not have to pay, but now they will. That is a good thing. I will be interested to find out where the trustees will come from. I can understand trustees from ex-service organisations that might receive funds. Where will the minister draw

these people from? I can see that service organisations that have a leg in by being on the original board could provide problems. I will also follow that up during consideration in detail.

The purpose of the trust fund is not just to improve homes for ex-servicemen and their families; it is widened to include any proposal that benefits veterans and their families. It is only military veterans. I notice that a lot of the money went to the ex-service organisations. Do those funds only go towards fixing houses and things like that? Why does it say that the funds will no longer go towards improving homes for ex-servicemen and their families? Anyway, I will follow that up.

The penalties for contraventions of the legislation have increased from \$400 to \$5 000, which is good. I am looking at some of the listed funds. There are quite a few different organisations. Does the trust have the final decision on where this money goes, or does the minister? It is the minister. Has that only come in since the minister took over the trust?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** Correct.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** I will be interested to know what the trust will do now if the minister is making decisions about the money.

**Mr J.M. Francis:** It is a simple answer: the trust will make recommendations, but I, or whoever the minister is, will have the right to veto. It will be the exception rather than the norm.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** I am concerned about the fact the act has gone from Treasury to the Minister for Veterans and now the minister can hand out cheques that he could not do before. Maybe this is just a political thing. I have been in talks with groups involved in this and they are worried that the most high profile things, with the minister handing out cheques, have a better chance of getting done than some of the smaller ones because the minister will not get the bang for his buck. It is fair enough whether he does it or not. This is some of the feedback I have received from RSL people. I would be interested to hear, in the minister's reply, how much consultation there has been with the RSL—not only the main RSL, but also RSLs all over the state. As the minister knows, RSLs are in every regional town. How much consultation was there with war widows? Looking through all these groups here, a number of people are involved. I would like to know whether they had an opportunity to have any input into the bill before it was introduced.

I refer to the tickets. The minister is now saying that organisations will contribute a percentage of the ticket price. That only applies to events that attract over 5 000 people, does it not?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** Correct.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** So anything under 5 000, organisations do not have to pay anything to the trust?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** Correct.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** Say 40 000 people attend a Fremantle Dockers game. Looking at last year, the government received \$26 000 from sporting and racing contributions. I suppose if it gets five per cent of the ticket price from 40 000 people, it might get more. I assume the minister is looking at that. I am looking at the last lot. There is the Burracoppin Football Club, \$486; Warnbro Bowling Club, \$300; Kwinana Golf Club, \$1 181; and Greyhounds WA, \$9 496. I do not think the government will get that again because Greyhounds WA would not get 5 000 people to a greyhound meeting. There is \$10 000 the government might not get, but it might pick it up on the other one. If the minister takes the ticket price off the big ones, maybe the smaller ones could contribute something.

**Mr J.M. Francis:** The simple answer is they will not be obliged but we would encourage people to still contribute to it. That effectively happens now with the smaller ones anyway. They are doing it because they are good community citizens and they are good sporting clubs that have made a contribution.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** Okay. This will apply to regional areas as long as it is after one o'clock?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** Correct—on Anzac Day.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** We tried to have race meetings in Albany on Anzac Day. A lot of regional centres have sporting events on Anzac Day. We all know that Collingwood play Essendon on Anzac Day, and I am looking forward to that game this year more than any other game.

**Mr J.M. Francis:** So am I, member for Albany. We both are!

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** I noticed the annual government grant is \$300 000. Will that be changed? The government gives \$300 000 and the Department of the Premier and Cabinet gives \$35 000. Does that money go towards the overall running of the RSL?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** Does the member have the list of disbursements for this year?

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** Yes.

**Mr J.M. Francis:** The member will see where it has gone this time. Historically, it was predominantly only divided between Legacy and the RSL. They still are, equally, the main recipients of the proceeds from the fund. They will be required to spend that money on the limited functions of supporting veterans and their families.

Not only does the pie get a little bigger, but it is being divvied up so that other organisations can get help as well.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** I note that the minister's second reading speech reads —

The requirement for organisations to make a contribution to the trust amounts to the imposition of taxation. Section 46(7) of the Constitution Acts Amendment Act 1899 ...

Is that the reason there are two bills?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** Correct.

**Mr P.B. WATSON:** The opposition will be supporting the Anzac Day bills. I know that other opposition members want to talk about the legislation. I support the bills.

**MR M. MCGOWAN (Rockingham — Leader of the Opposition)** [12.01 pm]: I think the member for Albany has set out the opposition's position on the Anzac Day Amendment Bill 2015 and the Anzac Day Amendment Bill (No. 2) 2015 fairly well. No doubt it is a change that government has considered in doing so. In this context, I want to talk about what the proceeds of the bill might be used for, some of the issues that could be addressed and the things we might do in this country in what is a very significant anniversary.

This year, 2016, is the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of one of the most tragic years in the history of this country. I once read a story about the 10 worst things that have happened in Australian history. I think the top three—I agree with this—are first, the dispossession and terrible treatment of the Indigenous people of this country upon the arrival of European settlers; second, the destruction of much of our natural wildlife and the country's environment; and, third, what happened to this country in the First World War—the loss of life, the shocking casualty rate and the shocking tragedies that involved Australian soldiers, sailors and, indeed, airmen. The First World War dramatically impacted a country with such a small population. Of all the years of the First World War, the worst in terms of casualties was 1916. Indeed, 1916 represented a shocking deflowering and destruction of many of our young men in the battles in France, particularly at a place called Pozières. Pozières has receded from public consciousness in Australia. It is not somewhere that people have heard of nor is it somewhere that they know about. It is not a town or a battle that is commonly understood. Most Australians who go to France—I will talk about my visits shortly—go to a place called Villers-Bretonneux, which is on the outskirts of the city of Amiens. It is home to the major Australian memorial and it is where a new museum is being constructed. These days it is a place of pilgrimage for many Australians. It is, in my view, not as significant as the community or the 1916 battle called Pozières. I will explain the context of this.

I received a letter from a gentleman called Mr Barry Gracey, who is the president of the Pozières Remembrance Association. The reason that this letter is significant is that not only is it a very important issue, but also Mr Gracey is based in the town of Coffs Harbour, which is where I went to high school. He got my attention. He made the point that 100 years on from the Battle of Pozières, little attention has been given to it in Australia. Once upon a time, perhaps up until the 1960s or 1970s, a large number of men who served there together were still alive so it was prominent in the public consciousness because when they or their families got together, they would talk about past experiences—where they served, who they served with and the like. Pozières was prominent in the consciousness. After the First World War, a small town in Queensland was named Pozières in honour of what took place there. Since then it has been overtaken, as I said, by Villers-Bretonneux and the Anzac legend at Gallipoli, which, of course, has the most prominent role. Other battles and events from other wars have greater prominence and significance. I want to make the point to the house and to the people of Western Australia that there was no greater area where Australians died or sacrificed than Pozières. Nowhere else in the history of Australian arms did more men die or were casualties than at Pozières, and it was over an extremely short period. Nearly as many men died or were wounded at Pozières in a couple of weeks as there were in the entire Gallipoli campaign of eight months. I put that into perspective. That is how significant it was; that is how tragic it was for this country. Just so people understand, over the course of the battle, a two-week period, there were 23 000 Australian casualties, of whom 7 000 men or thereabouts died. For that our troops succeeded in annexing about a square kilometre of land. That was 23 000 casualties of which 7 000 were killed for a square kilometre of land. I will go into what people have said about it shortly, but Charles Bean said it “was more densely sown with Australian sacrifice than any other spot on earth”. I think that is true, yet no-one knows about it. No-one has heard of it. These days you could say its name and there would probably be one out of every 1 000 Australians who would know what you were talking about. I have a few proposals on this that I will go into later. Mr Gracey wrote to me and suggested that a proper memorial built needs to be built at Pozières. I have

another suggestion. I think the anniversary of the battle, which is 23 July, should be called Pozières Day. We have Long Tan Day, Anzac Day and Remembrance Day. We commemorate a whole range of things and I think we should call 23 July Pozières Day. It was the worst battle with the worst loss of life and some of the greatest feats of bravery in the history of this country, yet no-one knows about it. Perhaps on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary we should do something to make sure that people know something about it.

I will explain the area itself. I have been there four times. I have been to Europe four times and each time I have been to the battlefields of the Somme and on a couple occasions the battlefields of Belgium. To get to Pozières, I drove north of Paris for about two hours until I reached a small community called Albert, which was a base for the British Army in the First World War. It is the place with the famous cathedral with the slanted virgin on top. I drove from Albert in a north easterly direction and as I did so, I started to see cemetery after cemetery. They are British war cemeteries. As I entered Pozières, there was a massive cemetery on the left-hand side of the road. I entered what was a small village, fairly unmemorable in some ways. It is a small village in the north of France that has been rebuilt since the First World War. On the far side of town, there is a little memorial called the Windmill. The greatest number of Australian soldier deaths occurred in proximity of the Windmill. It is a small raised area with concrete blocks around it, which were blown up as part of the bombardments and the like. There is an Australian memorial at that site. As I drove in, on the near side of town there was an old German blockhouse, which is rather unusual. It is quite high. It was called Gibraltar by British and Australian soldiers. It sits there still and is an archaeological site with digs and the like. If you go there today and look at the old photos of this blockhouse, you will see that the area was pockmarked with thousands of shell holes and there were Australian soldiers carrying sandbags past it in the exact spot that you are standing. The blockhouse was fought over strenuously by Australian soldiers who took it, I think on the first day of the battle, and defeated the German forces there. Remember, the German forces were probably the toughest army the world had ever seen up until that point, perhaps the toughest army ever, and our Australian soldiers took the blockhouse. Right near there is the memorial to the 1<sup>st</sup> Australian Division, which looks like the memorial at Kings Park. Near that is a raised platform that people can climb, which is about two storeys high, to look out over the battlefield, which is the Somme. I will get to that in a moment as well. Looking out to the north is the Thiepval Memorial. The Thiepval Memorial is the British major memorial from the First World War; it has 73 000 names of British soldiers who served over a certain period and whose bodies were never found. That is about three kilometres north of Pozières. People can see cemeteries all around, filled with young commonwealth soldiers. There are a few German cemeteries in the area as well. Immediately to the south is the huge crater called La Boisselle, otherwise known as Lochnagar crater, which was exploded on the first day of the Somme.

The first day of the Somme was 1 July 1916. That is the infamous story of all the British soldiers getting killed on the first day when they marched into the German machine guns. That is the bit of history that a lot of people know. A book was written about it by a guy called Martin Middlebrook, which I read last year—it is an amazing story. The Battle of the Somme did not end there; it went on for about four or five months with continual pushes by the British forces and continual counterattacks by the German forces in the trenches at the Somme. The Somme holds special memory, particularly in Britain. If members visit any of these battlefields, they will always see busloads of British tourists. Every town in Britain has a memorial because so many British soldiers died at the Somme. In Australia, in my view, we always think of Gallipoli—it was an amazing campaign—or these days, increasingly, Villers-Bretonneux. Pozières does not exactly get a mention. When you visit the battlefield and stand on the raised platform, you see all this. It is really quite a remarkable place to tour around, in my view. That is why I have been there four times and had a look at all these different parts of it, because that is where, for many of us, our great-grandfathers risked their lives and the like. It is an important resonance.

The Australian forces were part of the Battle of the Somme. We played our role, commencing on 23 July. About five days prior to that, the Australians attacked at a place called Fromelles, which was a diversionary attack; also a tragedy and not successful. Then we went and played our part at Pozières on 23 July. I have a book here by a great author, Les Carlyon. He is the former editor of a major Australian newspaper and has written a bunch of historical books about these things. He wrote about the start of it and about Thiepval, which is where the big British memorial is, and that is the place that the British tried to take on the first day on the Somme and still could not take it 23 days later. It is stated on page 144 of *The Great War* by Les Carlyon —

Thiepval, on the same ridge as Pozières, couldn't be taken from the front. Thiepval was on the frontline; Pozières lay on the strong second line. The idea now was to use the British incursions below Thiepval to take Pozières and, from there, work back along the ridge in a hook-shaped offensive, past the strong point of Mouquet Farm, towards Thiepval, threatening it from the rear as well as the front. It was all rather untidy. Thiepval poked into the British lines; the British were now trying to thrust a salient of their own into the German salient. But Pozières, we should remember, was merely one battle of many going on here in late July.

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Only one battle of many going on there in late July—I think that is probably why it has been forgotten, because it was part of the overarching Battle of the Somme, in which hundreds and hundreds of thousands of commonwealth and German soldiers were killed or injured, and our bit was Pozières. It was small in that overall context, but for a country of four million people, as we then were, to have 23 000 casualties, including nearly 7 000 killed, in the course of a couple of weeks was monumental. I think that it has been forgotten because it was part of a major offensive that we were but a small part of, but it was monumental in Australian terms.

On 23 July, we attacked and it was a night attack.

**Mr J.M. Francis** interjected.

**Mr M. McGOWAN:** I think it was later in the battle, actually. I will look that up.

I quote Les Carlyon again on page 151, because it interestingly tells a little bit of the relationship between Australians and the British. I think maybe this is overstated at times, but I think it tells a little bit of the relationship. It reads —

On the afternoon of the Australians' first day in Pozières two colonels met on Dead Man's Road, which led back to Sausage Valley. The colonels had their maps out. They were trying to organise a second attack on a concrete blockhouse known as 'Gibraltar' on the western edge of the village. They talked —

As one wrote —

... 'amid dozens of corpses and moaning wounded, mainly German', and surrounded by blackened tree stumps that rose like stalagmites.

A messenger suddenly panted up with an envelope marked 'Urgent and secret'. Orders had changed several times that day: this could be important. The message was from Gough's headquarters. 'A number of cases have lately occurred of men failing to salute the army commander when passing in his car, in spite of the fact that the car carries his flag upon the bonnet. This practice must cease.'

Australian men went into battle on 23 July led by General Walker, whose chief of staff was General Thomas Blamey of Second World War fame. Prior to going into battle, the British high command tried to get us into battle earlier, but fortunately General Walker, who was a British officer, had resisted that because he said we were not ready. We went into battle on 23 July and we attacked on the south western edge of the village of Pozières with a view of getting around and enveloping the German forces at Thiepval, which was three kilometres north. It was tough going. We advanced; we took the Gibraltar blockhouse and a bunch of other German lines that had various names. The battles were at a place called the Windmill, the blockhouse and throughout the village of Pozières. Pozières was destroyed and there was fighting amongst the rubble and the like as we advanced from line to line. The Germans counterattacked regularly; as I said, they were a very formidable army with disciplined troops—highly organised and well equipped. They bombarded our forces with some of the most extreme bombardments of the First World War, including from the fortress at Thiepval, which was in effect behind our lines.

[Member's time extended.]

**Mr M. McGOWAN:** From at least three sides our soldiers were shelled by German forces. We attacked, we attacked and we attacked. The 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Divisions—bear in mind, we had five divisions on the Western Front in the First World War—were all engaged in this battle. It was heavy going. Many of our young men were killed, Victoria Crosses were awarded and there was much bravery. It was after Gallipoli. As horrible as the experience of Gallipoli was, this was immeasurably worse. After Gallipoli, it was a shock to our soldiers how tough it was in France. They acquitted themselves well and it is a source of great pride. Amazingly, it is regarded as a success in some of the histories I have read. It was shocking, it was hard, but we took ground and we held it, and we caused our enemies, the German army, a great deal of trouble during this particular component of the Battle of the Somme.

I will read out what Les Carlyon said about the end of Pozières. The book states that the Australians left for Ypres, which is in Belgium. That was for the battles of 1917, the following year, which were also horrendous; the Australians fought there. It is stated on page 244 of *The Great War* —

THE AUSTRALIANS LEFT for Ypres and a rest. They had taken 23,000 casualties here in less than seven weeks.

Most of them were taken in the first couple —

They had done so in an area not much larger than 600 acres, which meant around ten Australians had died for each acre. When the casualties from Fromelles were added in, the four Australian divisions had

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lost 28,000 men, the same as for the eight months at Gallipoli. The British divisions had suffered on a similar scale, but Australia's was a volunteer army.

Where were the replacements to come from? Conscription? Pozières, a dowdy farming village that didn't show on many pre-war maps, had brought sadness to thousands of Australian homes. Now it was about to bring bitterness to Australian politics.

At the end of Pozières, of course, there had been a decline in the recruitment in Australia of men for the Army, because it was a volunteer army, and it precipitated the efforts by some of our federal and state MPs to introduce conscription in this country. That in turn precipitated an extraordinary division—what we now term a “meltdown”—in Australian political life in which the Australian Labor Party divided and the Australian Labor Prime Minister swapped sides and became a National Prime Minister. The conscription referenda were defeated on two occasions. It was an extraordinary set of events in political life. By our standards these days, our debate and our issues are pretty minor in comparison to what was going on then. It precipitated that as well.

I want to read also from another book, a lovely book, written by Joan Beaumont called *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*. I want to read to members what she had to say on page 217. She quotes Charles Bean, a famous Australian historian, who was the historian of the First World War. I will read the quote from Charles Bean up-front —

At Bullecourt, Messines, Ypres and elsewhere Australian infantry afterwards suffered intense bombardment, but never anything comparable in duration or effect with this ... The Windmill site ... with the old mound still there—marks a ridge more densely sown with Australian sacrifice than any other place on earth.

That is the famous statement on the windmill at Pozières. I will now read out what Joan Beaumont had to say in her book —

Today the Windmill is a quietly evocative place. A path leads to a plaque that paraphrases Bean's tribute to the Australians' sacrifice. Australian and French flags flutter overhead and the landscape beyond reveals, even now, the pulverised soil and concrete detritus of battle. In the distance can be seen the massive Thiepval monument to the 73,000 missing of the Somme and the seemingly innocuous ridge to Mouquet Farm that cost so many Australian lives in August and September 1916. The Windmill has none of the drama of the heights of Gallipoli, and in recent years it seems to have lost ground as a site of national memory to Villers-Bretonneux, which since 2008 has been the site of an official Dawn Service on Anzac Day.

I suppose she makes the point in that that it is an amazing place—an amazing place of Australian endeavour and sacrifice. None of the men who were involved are still alive. Indeed, their children, if they are alive, are probably quite elderly these days. Their descendants are their grandchildren, their great-grandchildren or great-great-grandchildren. The men are not here to tell us about what happened. The site at the windmill, as Joan Beaumont points out, is a quietly evocative place. It has lost its resonance in Australian society to Villers-Bretonneux, to Anzac and to some of the other memorials and places. My plea to the community, and perhaps to the Parliament and to the country, is that in light of all of that sacrifice and in light of the fact that it was the worst battle in Australian history—it was actually regarded as a success at the time—and in regard to the fact that the Australian soldiers proved themselves in the toughest environment, in the toughest battle that Australian forces ever participated in, it is probably appropriate that we acknowledge it more fully.

Mr Gracey, in his letter, suggests that there should be another memorial or something of that nature at Pozières that is overarching. As I said, the current memorial is to the 1<sup>st</sup> Australian Division, yet three divisions served there. There should be an overarching memorial to all the Australians who served there, and perhaps a bit more interpretation of what went on. I agree with Mr Gracey on that. It would be affordable, cheap and easy for the Australian government to do it; it would not be expensive at all because it would add to the existing memorials. More than that, 23 July is the day it all commenced. It was the day the most tragic and hardest and most shocking battle that Australian forces ever participated in began. Therefore, why do we not name the day after that and call it Pozières Day? It would not cost anything; it would not hurt anyone. The men involved are gone and I am pretty sure their descendants would appreciate the recognition. The fact that 23 July is five or six months hence, on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary it would be the right occasion on which to do it.

That is my plea to Parliament on these Anzac bills. I appreciate that perhaps I have strayed somewhat from the intent of the bills, and I appreciate that the house has allowed me to do so. The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary is a very important occasion and it is one that we should acknowledge. My plea to the Australian government and to Western Australian government is to acknowledge it appropriately by renaming the day and participating and committing to another memorial at Pozières.

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**MR S.K. L'ESTRANGE (Churchlands)** [12.27 pm]: I rise to speak also on the Anzac Day Amendment Bill 2015 and the Anzac Day Amendment Bill (No. 2) 2015. It has been very informative listening to two members opposite give different perspectives on these important bills. I, too, would like to give a perspective, first, in the context of the history of our great state of Western Australia and its contribution to some devastating conflict over the past 100 years, and also to reflect on the intentions and efforts of the Minister for Veterans and what these bills are for.

As we all know, Anzac Day has become an increasingly important day for Australians. Schoolchildren of all ages are educated on the history of Anzac Day and about the units that fought and, more importantly, they start to research individuals—soldiers, nurses and others—who went away to World War I. Anzac Day now draws hundreds of thousands of people around the country to various memorials. Last year, for example, something like 100 000 attended the Perth dawn service and the march during the day, and many communities throughout Western Australia have large numbers attend their services to remember the sacrifice of those who served this country with distinction overseas and, of course, those who came home injured or wounded.

For me, there is a unit in Western Australia that I have a particular affection for—the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion. The 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion was mainly Western Australian—it had some South Australian soldiers in it in the first Australian Imperial Force—and it was part of the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade, which was commanded by the great general, Monash. Of course, General Monash's image is on the \$100 bill. He was probably the most successful commanding field general of World War I. The 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion in World War I fought in so many campaigns that it probably had more killed or wounded than was the case with any other infantry unit of that conflict, in famous battles such as Gallipoli, Pozières and Bullecourt, to name just a few. Three Victoria Cross winners also came out of that battalion.

I also want to touch on the 2<sup>nd</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> Battalion, which I also have an affection for, because that was very much a Western Australian battalion, with soldiers from the south west and out towards Kalgoorlie who fought in World War II. The most famous battle that the 2<sup>nd</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> Battalion soldiers fought in was of course the Kokoda Track battle. I have got to know two gentlemen over the years, who are still with us. Bill Grayden, who is about 95 years of age now and still going strong, is an amazing character. Bill was not only a very brave soldier at Kokoda and leader as a lieutenant, but also a member of Parliament. From 1947 to 1949, he was the member for Middle Swan; from 1949 to 1954, he was the federal member for Swan; and from 1956 to 1993, he was the member for South Perth. He had quite a distinguished career as a politician at both the state and federal levels over a long period. He introduced me to another fellow named Keith Norrish who was a soldier in the 2<sup>nd</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> Battalion. Keith Norrish's story is fascinating and it cuts to the chase of what I believe the Anzac spirit is all about. Although we have this amazing history from World War I, from where Anzac evolved, it is the spirit that lives through the people of Australia and was epitomised in many different battles over the century. I want to focus on Keith Norrish because he was a 2<sup>nd</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> soldier. I want to read an article from *The Avon Valley Advocate* of Thursday, 25 February 2016, headed "Northam Kokoda legend". It states —

LAST Saturday the 2/16th Battalion Association annual luncheon brought together soldiers who fought during World War II.

These included well-known Northam identity Keith Norrish.

Mr Norrish initially came to Northam for training with the 2/16th in June 1940 after enlisting in Cranbrook.

He left Fremantle for the Middle East on January 21, 1941, to take on the Vichy French in the western desert.

Mr Norrish was wounded at Damour River and then returned with the 2/16th to Australia in March, 1942.

Along with the rest of the 2/16th he went to Queensland for training in jungle warfare before departing to Papua New Guinea in August 1942 to advance along the Kokoda Track.

Mr Norrish and his company came under intense fire from Japanese forces in the battle of Efogi on September 8.

He received multiple bullet wounds to his chest including one round that entered his shirt pocket above his heart.

A friend, Richard Pelham-Thorman, had given Mr Norrish a steel mirror so that he could shave just 20 minutes before the attack, which Mr Norrish put in his pocket and which miraculously saved his life.

Mr Pelham-Thorman was killed in the engagement.

"Jim Moir was just 50 metres from me and we both got clobbered," Mr Norrish said.

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Despite a perforated lung, Mr Norrish undertook a five-and-a-half day trek down the Kokoda track to Koitaki near Port Moresby for treatment.

Each stop and at night he would prop himself in the fork of a tree so that fluid in his chest did not build up.

He showed amazing strength and determination for someone who was just 21 years old.

Mr Norrish returned to Australia where he recuperated.

He was commissioned and as Lieutenant Norrish was transferred to 2/2nd Battalion.

Once again he returned to Papua New Guinea in the Aitape–Wewak campaign in December 1944.

After the war Mr Norrish returned to the family farm in Cranbrook, before farming in Katanning in 1946.

In 1958 Mr Norrish came to Northam as sales consultant for Badgers Motors and after a bout of German measles he was sent to Faversham House, York, for convalescence where he met wife-to-be Peggy Bushell.

Quickly becoming part of the Northam scene, Mr Norrish went on to be the rural district representative for City Mutual Life Insurance.

He was an active member of the Northam Gun Club and the Northam Pistol Club and is held in high esteem in the area to this day.

He now resides in Bentley.

What a fascinating story about an ordinary Australian who signed up as a young bloke to represent his country, and did it with distinction. What incredible courage he showed to come through the Kokoda campaign. I knew that story about Keith Norrish because he and Bill Grayden had me to lunch at Parliament House many years ago. They knew I had an interest in politics and I was a serving soldier. I remember Bill and Keith telling me the story of the battle during which he was wounded and also of just how close the fighting was; the Japanese enemy was within arm's reach, shooting from within one to two metres. That is the close proximity of these engagements. They were incredibly brave men.

I now transgress away from that aspect of history and move more into the current context. The current context, of course, is that this nation has been heavily involved in war since about 1999. We obviously had the Korean campaign and the Vietnamese campaign before 1999, but we have had a fair bit going on since then, first of all in East Timor, then in Iraq and then in Afghanistan. We have also had soldiers serving in stabilisation and peacekeeping roles in the Solomon Islands and East Timor, and soldiers continue to serve in the Middle East and in parts of Africa. Our tempo of Australian military involvement in conflicts around the world has been high. On the one hand, we have this great remembrance of our history that dates back a hundred years, while, on the other hand, we have the current context of soldiers and families doing it incredibly tough. A number of soldiers did not come home, a number of soldiers came home with obvious wounds and a number of soldiers came home without obvious wounds but with what we now term post-traumatic stress disorder. The community has a collective responsibility for looking after the needy with regard to those who served. It is with this in mind that we need to reflect on the intent of the minister with this bill.

We know Anzac Day is symbolic of all sacrifices of Australians in war throughout the last 100 years. On a lighter note, we also know that Western Australians love and are passionate about their sport. Although the majority of Western Australians who follow the Australian Football League will support either the Dockers or the Eagles—they will be split—on the whole most Western Australians —

**Mr P.B. Watson:** Collingwood!

**Mr S.K. L'ESTRANGE:** I said “most”, member.

**Mr P.B. Watson:** Can we have a vote? There are three Collingwood supporters here.

**Mr S.K. L'ESTRANGE:** I know there are. Let us just move on with my speech. We do not need to bring the speech down a notch by talking about members who support Collingwood!

We know that the majority of Western Australians support the Dockers or the Eagles, and that is great. That can be challenging in some households, but we know that exists. On the whole, they are a very patriotic group of Western Australians. They are patriotic both to their football code and to the spirit of Anzac and the history of what Anzac represents. When those two great things are brought together, there are big crowds. I am focusing on the AFL because it is one event that draws big crowds; I am talking about an event that can draw 40 000 people as opposed to those people who love to play golf or go bowling. It is about these people coming together. I think

this bill could be termed a feel-good bill. It is a bill for all Western Australians to feel that they are contributing while also supporting both something that they love and are passionate about with their football and a very good cause to help those needy servicepeople and their families. It is a bit like a church collection plate. If we think of the AFL and a stadium filled with people, it is almost a symbol of handing the plate around out of respect for Anzac Day and taking a collection from the people who attend these events. People would love to know that they are contributing to a good cause. I think if most Western Australians stand in the stadium at an event that is their great football game, which is advertised and marketed as a celebration of remembrance for Anzac Day, they would love to know that a contribution from their ticket sales will go to a good cause.

In his second reading speech, the minister outlined the details of how this will work. On some of my own quick calculations I note that if 40 000 people turned up to a match—what would a ticket price be, minister?

**Mr J.M. Francis:** An average ticket price might be \$25 or \$30.

**Mr S.K. L'ESTRANGE:** We are dealing with a lot of money; 40 000 times \$20 or \$40 is a lot of money.

**Mr P.B. Watson:** They get only five per cent.

**Mr S.K. L'ESTRANGE:** The existing legislation provides for 60 per cent.

**Mr P.B. Watson:** They don't pay it.

**Mr S.K. L'ESTRANGE:** That is right, and 60 percent is probably unrealistic due to the costs the Australian Football League has to pay for the stadium and for running the event et cetera. It is entirely reasonable that five per cent of ticket sales is an appropriate levy for this very significant historical remembrance. I think the people of Western Australia would be very proud of that. I think they would be happy to know that a portion of their ticket price will go to a good cause. I am sure the AFL, too, would be very proud to be seen to be contributing.

In concluding, I see it in the spirit of Anzac, which is about looking after our mates. That is really what the spirit of Anzac is about; it is about looking after our mates, showing great courage and helping each other in really adverse situations. That flows through our Australian history and Australian culture in conflict. For a lot of Australians, the closest place to understand that mateship and put others before self is on the sporting field. I congratulate the Minister for Veterans on his initiative in trying to correct what might be an anomaly, because, as I said before, I think most of the sporting codes would support this. I think they would understand its intent, and the followers of their code would also very much support it. I commend the bill to the house.

**MR P.C. TINLEY (Willagee)** [12.42 pm]: I have great pleasure and sense of responsibility, or an obligation I suppose, along with the member for Churchlands, as an ex-serviceman, to make a contribution to this Anzac Day Amendment Bill 2015 and the Anzac Day Amendment Bill (No. 2) 2015. The opposition is happy to support the bills because, as odd as it might sound and as galling as it is for me to congratulate the minister on not particularly these bills, this is the end-game of seeing a wrong, and correcting it. The Anzac Day Act has been on the statute book since 1960 and has lapsed. It would be very interesting—I suppose it is a perverse interest—to find out when it first lapsed and when the contribution of 60 per cent of ticket sale proceeds of games and race meetings on Anzac Day paid to this trust stopped. I am very glad the government is taking seriously—it always has; there is no reflection on past effort either—the potential welfare benefit of what would often be passed off as a national matter for the federal government; that is, the welfare of veterans. The welfare of veterans is the responsibility of the entire society of all levels, formal and informal. This will give due representation to it.

Anzac Day has a long tradition. The member for Albany noted that the first Anzac commemoration was conducted in his town.

**Mr P.B. Watson:** City.

**Mr P.C. TINLEY:** At the time it was a village, member. I was speaking historically, not in contemporary terms. In fact, the commemoration happened not long after the Anzac landings. On 30 April 1915, bearing in mind communications at the time, at the first news of the landings, a half-day holiday was declared on that day. The authorities were quick to it. I suspect—my research can tell me—that might have been the government recognising what the citizens were doing anyway, which was leaving work because of their concern over the scale of what happened on Anzac Day. A memorial to those killed in the Dardanelles was first built in South Australia. It was unveiled by the South Australian Governor on 7 September 1915 and they called it Wattle Day. On the year of the event, they were straight into it. It very much touched the psyche of Australians, and the gravity of what happened at what later became known as Anzac Cove was not lost on the general population. I used South Australia as an example because it is the first recorded example of a memorial to the Anzacs or what later became known as Anzac Day. It was not until 1916, the year after, that 25 April was

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formally listed as the official Anzac Day. In fact, General John Monash, as has already been indicated by previous speakers, was material to that date being gazetted. Such was the reach of this grand field general that he took an interest in all matters, himself a Gallipoli veteran. A brigade commander on the day, he could have an influence through both Bean and Murdoch to prevail upon the government to ensure gazetting occurred according to the wishes of those who were part of the landing. In 1916, the commemorations occurred right across the front and General Monash required the troops to observe it at a unit level from that day in 1916. He was subsequently in France, making his way to be the corps commander of all Australian and allied—United Kingdom and United States—forces. He was the first general to command US troops in combat in a foreign war and, when the American troops arrived, it was their first entry into the First World War. Even in London, over 2 000 Australian and New Zealand troops marched through the streets to the city. At the time, they were called the Knights of Gallipoli. That was, in 1916, again, at the same time it was gazetted.

As the Leader of the Opposition quite rightly said, subsequent to Gallipoli, the events in France put them in context in terms of loss and effort. Nonetheless, it sits heavy in our psyche and our identity as a nation. In the First World War we lost 60 000 Australians and 18 000 Kiwis. Unfortunately, we often forget the NZ part, and at every commemoration I attend, I make sure I acknowledge that the New Zealand forces were involved. Their feats, support and participation in every battle is legendary.

**Mr P.B. Watson:** At the Albany service, they fly the New Zealand flag and sing the New Zealand national anthem.

**Mr P.C. TINLEY:** That is right; thank you, member for Albany. That is happening increasingly and a whole range of inclusions are occurring, and that is great. The contemporary Anzac Day commemoration is now quite inclusive. The Cockburn city Returned and Services League sub-branch, of which the minister is still a member—I will check the books to make sure he keeps paying up!—holds an Indigenous spirit dance. I was gobsmacked when I first attended that commemoration. The hardened men of the RSL had reached out to the Indigenous Australians to find a connection for them as well, so there is a permanent commemoration of Indigenous veterans, which is very, very important as an inclusive part of it. I remember on Anzac Day in 1979 when I was a member of the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion, marching down St Georges Terrace.

Debate interrupted, pursuant to standing orders.

[Continued on page 919.]