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**Submission to Senate Committee Inquiry into Road Works and
Related Construction Activity at
Anzac Cove**

I write to express my deep concern over recent road works carried out on the Gallipoli Peninsula. I visited Anzac for the Commemorative Services marking the 90th Anniversary of the Landing and undertook a preliminary assessment of their impact on the archaeological, cultural and military heritage of the Peninsula. This assessment was informed by several years research into the campaign at Gallipoli and the subsequent creation/consolidation of Australian war graves at Anzac. In addition to this archival research, I have completed an Australian Research Council funded study of pilgrimages to war graves overseas, with particular focus on Gallipoli. This involved a survey of some 700 Australian pilgrims (a representative cross section in terms of class, gender, age, and locality). The results of this study have been published in several leading academic journals and form the basis of a monograph now under consideration by Cambridge University Press.

I believe the road works pose a serious threat to a site many Australians have long considered 'sacred'. The fragile geology of the Anzac area makes work of this scale particularly damaging, disturbing both physical and human remains of the 1915 conflict and dramatically and irrevocably altering the appearance of the landscape. Like many Australians I am concerned that road works of this sort have been undertaken

- Without preliminary assessments of their physical and cultural impact on the landscape
- In the absence of any significant consultation with all major stakeholders mindful that several Allied Armies served at Anzac and that Australian, British, New Zealand, Indian as well as Turkish soldiers are buried there.
- Without any genuine attempt to consult with members of the general public or representatives of various service organizations with some vested interest in the Gallipoli site.

I am particularly concerned that the development of road works at Gallipoli breaches the Australian government's longstanding commitment to maintain the Anzac area as a memorial to our war dead. It should be noted that the Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

entrusted the Anzac cemeteries to the care of Imperial War Graves Commission and that this was reaffirmed by the Montreux Convention of 1936. In both documents, it is clearly stated that 'the battlefield would not undergo military or commercial development'. Development here must be interpreted here in the widest possible way. As early as 1919, the Australian Government called for the preservation of the entire battlefield at Anzac and opposed the concentration of scattered Australian graves in a few major cemeteries. The intention, as CEW Bean put it, was to consider 'the whole Anzac area as one big graveyard' and preserve the landscape itself as a memorial. The New Zealand Prime Minister, William Massey, supported this proposal. The entire Anzac area, he told the British authorities, 'must be preserved and consecrated as a memorial'. This went well beyond the Imperial War Graves Commission's usual mandate to simply maintain graves and memorials in clearly set out cemeteries. It conferred a responsibility to protect and preserve the landscape itself.

The Turkish people have proved particularly receptive to this notion of the landscape as memorial. It is evident in Kemal Ataturk's famous address to some of the first major pilgrimages to the Gallipoli peninsula and it was reaffirmed by the creation of a Peace Park in 1999. In both cases, the Turkish government expressed a clear desire not to disturb the remains of the war dead or significantly alter the landscape that entombs them.

It is rumoured that the Australian Government is planning further road works and that these road works would extend across the very ridgelines where so much of the fighting took place. This would mar the appearance of the old front line, damage or destroy long subsided trench lines and inevitably unearth human remains. Many of those who lost family and loved ones on the Peninsula would view this as an act of desecration. A great many of my survey respondents have expressed this very concern.

With growing numbers attending the Anzac Day service at Gallipoli and the approach of the Centenary of the Landing, serious consideration must be given to facilitating the movement of large numbers of visitors across the Gallipoli peninsula. The authorities have a number of options including crowd flow management, the staggering of commemorative services and rotation of tour groups in an orderly fashion. The solution must be one that respects the integrity of the Gallipoli site and honours our obligations to past and future generations. The development of extensive road works across this physically fragile and culturally sensitive landscape is not a viable option.

I recommend that the government

- Works with both the Turkish authorities and all other Gallipoli stakeholders to develop a long-term strategy for the preservation of the Gallipoli peninsula
- Declare a moratorium on all future road works and related construction activity pending a (properly resourced) joint historical and archaeological survey of Anzac Cove
- Develop new strategies to facilitate culturally sensitive and genuinely educational tours of the Gallipoli peninsula

I wish the Government every success in this historic task.

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Archival sources referred to in this submission:

- CEW Bean, 'Gallipoli Report' NAA A2909/2 A453/1/3
- CEW Bean, Letters Concerning Australian Historical Mission, 1919, AWM 38, 8042/49
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Published secondary sources referred to in this submission:

- Bruce Scates, 'In Gallipoli's Shadow: , Memory, Mourning and the Great War', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol 33, no 119, April 2002.
- Bruce Scates, *Gallipoli's Shadow: Walking the Anzac Cemeteries*, forthcoming.

Unpublished secondary sources referred to in this submission:

- Bill Gammage, 'The Graves of Anzac', paper presented to international conference marking the 90th Anniversary of the Gallipoli Landing, Turkey, 2005.
- Bartolo Ziino, 'A Distant Grief: Australians War Graves and the Great War', Ph. D. thesis, University of Melbourne, 2003.