

THE PLANNING OF COMMEMORATIVE WORKS IN CANBERRA

On Death and Sublation

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INTRODUCTION

Decisions about the location and design of public memorials in capital cities shape national identity. They involve large financial and political investments, signature works by leading artists and architects, and permanent changes to some of the most prominent real estate in the nation. It is thus unusual that there has been little academic analysis of the design approaches and the decision-making processes that shapes the commemorative landscapes of capital cities. Commemorative planning plays a very high-level role in shaping Australia's capital city, Canberra, proactively through physical masterplans and landscaping schemes for the public realm, reactively through review processes for individual commemorative proposals, and also strategically through published guidance for future proposals. In all these planning processes, the memorial landscape is understood as having considerable potential for reflecting the community's changing historical consciousness and values. This nexus between form and values is complex. The aim of this paper is to analyse and test this nexus: to examine what kinds of commemorative forms and topics do and do not find adequate expression in Canberra's landscape, and why; and to better understand the difficulties and possibilities of guiding and coordinating the various commemorative proposals which are put forward by various parties.

After outlining the issues to be explored and the types of data that can shed light on them, the paper provides a brief history of the major memorials erected in Canberra up until 2002, and the rationales that shaped them. The main focus of the paper is then new commemorative projects that have developed in Canberra since the publication of the National Capital Authority's *Guidelines for Commemorative Works* (NCA 2002a). This involves analysing the masterplanning of four relatively new commemorative precincts, the design of several individual memorials recently developed within them, and two proposed memorials whose original forms and sites were rejected and revised. A concluding analysis identifies four kinds of difficulties that memorial proponents face, related to choice of site, type of artwork, subject matter, and how a memorial is judged against local interests.

MEMORIES: SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The historical development of Canberra's commemorative spaces and narratives parallels shifts occurring internationally (NCPC 2001; NCC 2006a, 2006b), although inflected by the particularities of local culture, history, landscape and politics. Many new memorials have been built in national capitals in recent decades (Vale 2008, Gordon 2006). The forms public memorials take have diversified. Memorials are increasingly designed as complex open space settings that visitors enter into, rather than solid objects to be viewed from a distance (Savage 2005). Also contributing to the increasing density and variety of commemorations is the increasing fragmentation of identity, with citizens making claims on behalf of different collectivities and different histories. Memorials tend to be more long-lasting and intransigent than other land uses. Conflicts arise between the panoply of memorials and other urban land uses, although urban development also constantly creates new potential sites for commemoration. Given the increasing demand for commemorations, and the physical and semantic constraints on viable sites, planning agencies in capital cities have begun applying to memorials some of the tools they traditionally used to rationally allocate other scarce resources: masterplans, regulatory policies, and guidelines.

Alongside the practical, spatial issues about the form, location and use of memorials, planning processes have to also address the potent semantic dimensions that make memorials rather different to most other land uses. A memorial's meanings can be conveyed through its architecture, its spatial relationships to other buildings and memorials, and historical events that occur near it (Vale 2008). New memorials' designers and sponsors are generally aware of the existing geography of memory and seek to manipulate it to shape national consciousness (Dovey 1999). There are inevitably tensions between the commemorative interests of various social groups, and between commemorative sites and values that persist from the past, people who remember today, and accommodating commemoration of events yet to occur. Memorials are not always celebratory of the State and powerful groups; they are not necessarily unifying. Indeed, counter-memorials often seek direct spatial, formal and representational confrontation of existing memorials in order to dispute their themes (Wijsenbeek 2010). For all these reasons, decisions about memorial siting and design are not just technical; they are often emotional and political.

In contrast to autocratic governments that conceive and build memorial landscapes exactly to their own wishes, in multi-party democracies with active civil societies, such as Australia, many public memorials are not initiated, funded or designed by the government itself. Ideas about what to commemorate, how, and where very often comes from ordinary citizens, and proposals are typically subject to broad public debate. The government regulates these private decisions. Canberra's NCA, like its Washington and Ottawa counterparts, has recently published policy guidelines for the site selection and design of future memorials.

By analysing the proposed themes, designs and locations of several memorials in Canberra instigated since the NCA's 2002 *Guidelines*, and the decision-making processes that shaped those memorials, this paper addresses several key questions about the planning of national capitals' commemorative landscapes. It identifies the range of aesthetic, social, economic and political values against which memorial locations are considered. It illustrates how these values are translated into general commemorative frameworks and into policies and practices for governing individual memorials, highlighting the different ways particular memorial forms and themes are judged against those values. It explores the relationship between general urban strategic plans, commemorative masterplans, and the procurement and approvals processes for individual memorials. Two ensuing lines of enquiry are the ways memorial forms, themes and policies vary between different precincts, and how public memorials confront non-commemorative planning objectives, such as open space needs. The paper draws on existing critiques of Canberra's planning, analysis of policy documents, correspondence and published debate among memorial proponents and regulators, spatial and formal analysis of memorials, and site analysis of built memorials.

COMMEMORATING WITHOUT GUIDELINES, 1913-2002

The following historical outline of Canberra's commemorative landscape draws substantially on Roberts (1990), reorganising his findings to focus on the spatial distribution of commemorative themes. Griffin's winning 1913 Canberra plan centred on a 'Land Axis' stretching north from the focal point at 'Capitol' Hill to the summit of Mt Ainslie; two symmetrical radiating avenues leading to the 'Civic' and 'Market' centres; a perpendicular Municipal Axis linking them; and a central, artificial lake as a perpendicular 'Water Axis'. The city would occupy the north lakeshore, government functions the south. Griffin felt the Capitol should incorporate a 'cumulative National Memorial' where 'Australian deeds, services and achievements' could be recognized. He reserved space on Capitol Hill for 'isolated monuments in the lower portion or congregated monuments on the crowning slopes'. The first commemorative construction was three foundation stones laid in 1913 for a 'Commencement Column' on the wide land axis between Capitol Hill and Camp Hill, proposed site of the permanent Parliament House, although they were originally placed off-centre. The column was never constructed, and the stones were moved to their current site on axis in front of the new Parliament House in 1988.

Three different memorials were created in Canberra to commemorate ANZAC (the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps), shortly after the 1915 Gallipoli Campaign. The first ANZAC memorial, 'Bellona', a 1906 bust of the Roman goddess of War, only reached Canberra in 1927. Briefly considered for siting outside the new, provisional Parliament House, it originally stood inconspicuously in the landscaped median of Commonwealth Avenue, the axis linking Capitol Hill to Civic, and has since moved to seven other locations. The grave of Major-General Bridges (1916), founding commander of Canberra's military college Duntroon, and subsequently leader of the Australian Army, who was killed visiting the front lines at Gallipoli, was designed by Griffin and sited high on Mount Pleasant, overlooking the college; not, as Griffin has proposed, at the Capitol. Third and most prominent was the Australian War Memorial (AWM), a large national monument, museum and archive, which finally opened in 1941 and expanded to honour Australia's general military history. Conceived in 1919, this edifice was inspired by the architecture and siting of Washington's contemporaneous Lincoln Memorial. It stands at the base of Mt Ainslie, terminating the major land axis from the Capitol to the mountain, where Griffin had proposed a major public leisure precinct. The execution of Griffin's plan thus reverses the intended principal vista, by focussing on the view to a military 'burial mound' at the north end, rather than to the government precinct at the south (Sonne 2003, Reid 2002, Fischer 1984).

Early proposals in 1916 for memorial statues to two prominent civic statesmen, a poet and Sydney's catholic cardinal, could not be taken forward in the absence of a plan for the Capitol site. Although the Prince of Wales laid a foundation stone for the Capitol during a 1920 visit, Griffin ended his involvement with the city's planning that same year, and the Capitol idea departed with him. In 1926, federal cabinet endorsed a statue in front of the provisional Parliament House of Sir Henry Parkes, widely regarded as the Father of Federation, but costs were prohibitive. In 1935 this location was filled by a statue of King George V, who had opened Australia's first parliament. This 13.5m high memorial blocked the axial view from the Parliament House entrance to the AWM, and in 1968 it was moved aside. Following a 1946 proposal to build a replica

Statue of Liberty on a Canberra hill to honour Americans killed in the Australian theatre of war, an Australian-American Memorial was approved, with the provision that it not be near the AWM. A 74m-high eagle-topped obelisk with two 11m x 36m flanking murals was then proposed for siting on the northern lakeshore of the central Parliament-AWM axis. Consternation over the blocking of this view, and over the symbolized transfer of allegiance from Britain to America, shifted its construction in 1954 to an alternate site on Kings Avenue, 200m before its crossing with Constitution Avenue, the then-undeveloped 'Market' vertex of Griffin's triangular core.

In 1965, the lake was first filled, and for the Gallipoli landings' 50th anniversary, the north half of Canberra's land axis, in front of the AWM, was developed into 'Anzac Parade'. This axis remains a focus for national commemorative marches to the War Memorial. Two wide roadways flanked a median paved with red gravel. Raised lawns along each side contained thick alleés of native trees, between which ten gravel 'niches' stood available for sculptural monuments. Eleven memorials have been erected here since 1968. Two of the earliest were replicas of destroyed originals on Middle-Eastern world war battlefields, which recognized specific Army divisions. The RAAF's early, abstract memorial (1973) stimulated more figurative commemorations for the Navy (1986) and Army (1989). The RAAF Memorial was augmented in 2002 by a representational backing wall including images, poetry and lists of battle honours. Later space-enclosing memorials commemorated the Vietnam and Korean Wars and nurses in military service. By 1990, eight of the ten original sites had been allocated; only two near the north end remained empty. Two additional memorial sites were created on Anzac Parade's northern corners, directly opposite the AWM. One became a memorial to Atatürk, Turkish commander at Gallipoli and first Turkish president (1985), funded by the Australian government to guarantee the official renaming of Gallipoli's Anzac Cove. The other, an Australian Hellenic Memorial (1988), was funded by Greek-born immigrants. These memorials reflected the rivalrous political power of their respective immigrant groups (Inglis 2008). The 2001 New Zealand Memorial, in the form of two giant arched basket handles, frames the southern entry to Anzac Parade. This gift from New Zealand marks Australia's centenary of Federation, and symbolises the two countries' close historic relationship, of which joint military operations are only part. Two new niches were later added near Anzac Parade's south end, reserved for future commemoration of the Boer War (South Africa, 1899-1902), and an Australian Peacekeeping Memorial. Surprisingly, the Gallipoli campaign lacks its own discrete memorial.

Beyond the Anzac Parade area, in 1970 two tall memorials were installed in Lake Burley Griffin, widely spaced to either side of the main land axis. A 150m water jet commemorates the bicentenary of Captain Cook's 1770 claiming of Australia. A 50m Carillon on a small island is Britain's gift celebrating Canberra's 50th anniversary. Canberra's National Capital Development Commission had earlier suggested such a carillon be constructed on the land axis in front of a lakeside Parliament House (Reid 2002).

REGULATING MEMORY

Since 1928, the *National Memorial Ordinance* has empowered the Canberra National Memorial Committee (CNMC) to vet national commemorative proposals. The CNMC has since approved over fifty memorials, but it has no mandate or budget to either plan for or commission memorials or define commemorative agendas; it merely reacts to proposals by others. The tight thematic and physical concentration of Canberra's existing memorials - around wars and the land axis - was one key stimulus for the *Guidelines* (NCA 2002a). Rather than site-specific masterplanning, the *Guidelines* focus mostly on principles circumscribing suitable justifications, themes and character for memorials. Commemorations must wait ten years after the event and must not duplicate existing themes. Natural disasters are generally considered inappropriate because they are not nationally significant. Nineteen different precincts are delineated as appropriate for particular commemorative subjects (fig. 1). Most areas north of Lake Burley Griffin are reserved for remembering military sacrifices and achievements, especially Anzac Parade (Area #1), the AWM (#2) and the summit of Mt Ainslie. South of the lake, numerous distinct 'campuses' are delineated within the parliamentary triangle, for memorials honouring organizations and individuals in 'Humanities and Sciences' (#10), 'Arts and Civics' (#11) and public service (#12). The land axis around Old Parliament House is organized chronologically for commemorating events before, around and since Federation. Outside Canberra's centre, sites are identified near the national university, museum, and other institutions, for related commemorations. The *Guidelines* restrict commemorations of foreigners to the relevant embassy grounds (#17). The guidelines also define areas not intended for memorials. Areas for commemorating reconciliation with Australia's indigenous peoples (#14), and an open space set aside for public activity (#13), are both prescribed as being available for interpretive artworks, installations and events, but explicitly not memorials.

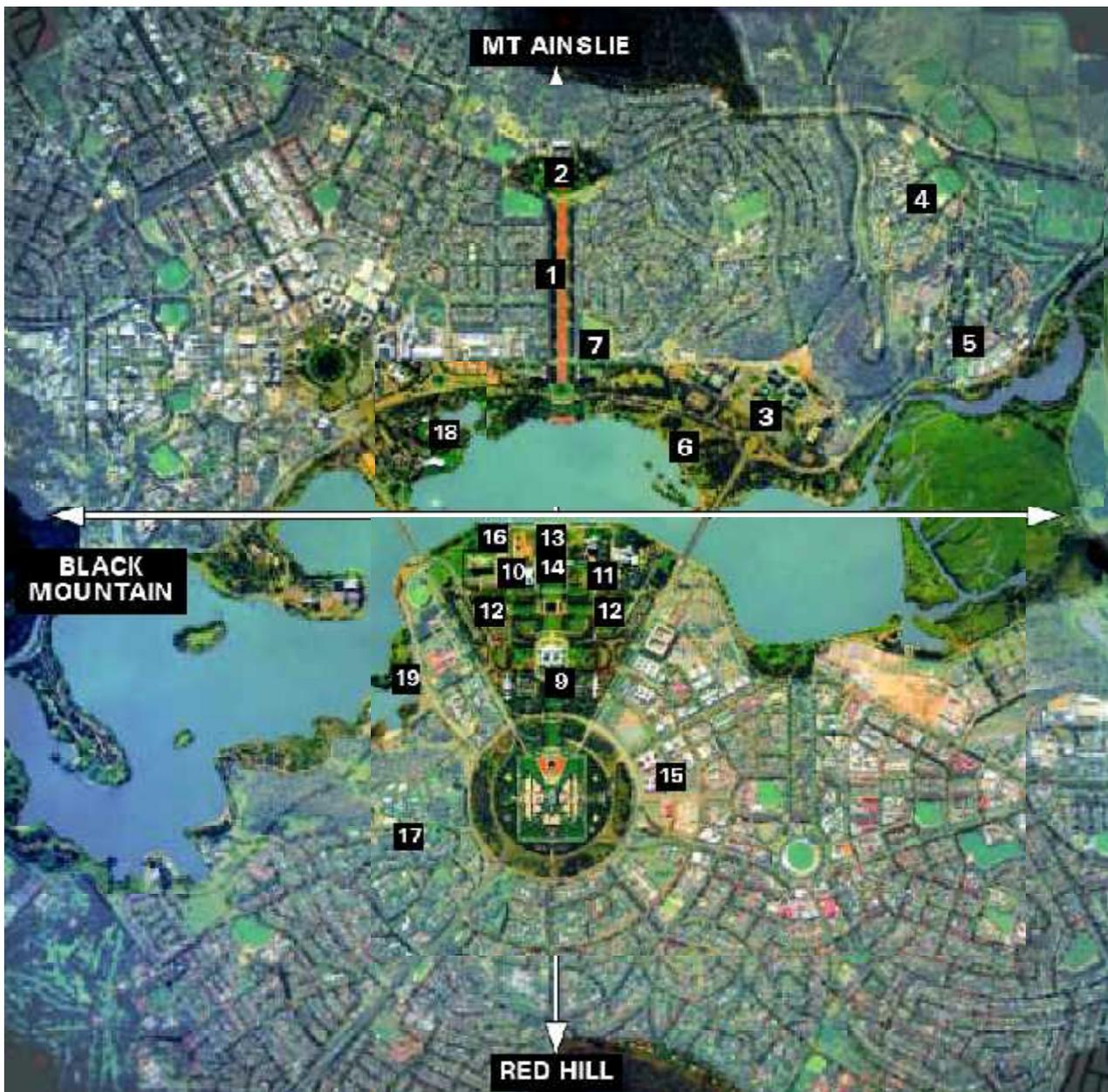


Figure 1: Commemorative Siting Classifications (adapted from NCA 2002a).

MASTERPLANS OF MEANING

By 1990, only 25 years after its initial construction, Anzac Parade was effectively full of memorials. Masterplan studies for physical redeveloping Anzac Parade (1990), as well as Canberra's 'Civic' vertex, City Hill (1992), for public pedestrian use and civic symbols were never taken forward (Reid 2002). Since 1990, two new commemorative precincts have effectively expanded Anzac Parade's physical and conceptual scope: the 'Sculpture Garden' immediately north within the AWM grounds, initiated in 1999, and Kings Park immediately south. The northern lakeshore within Kings Park had hosted Navy memorials since 1981, but other memorials have only been placed in the park since 2004. The two park settings provide ample, picturesque locations for new memorials, with few of the hierarchies, strictures and attendant controversies of Anzac Parade itself.

Both precincts have also provided natural thematic extension of Anzac Parade's focus on commemorating wars and the organizations that wage them. The Sculpture Garden has admitted 14 memorials, some with themes too specific to now find room within Anzac Parade - commemorations of particular battles, service units, or individuals – as well as several older, allegorical sculptural works, including 'Bellona'; a form unlikely to be proposed today. Kings Park has served the *Guidelines'* objective by hosting two national memorials to "non-military sacrifice, service and achievement", for the emergency services (2004) and police (2006). The Park's concept implies a close connection between civilian and military sacrifices in the name of national

values. Each of these Kings Park memorials is a low, long wall set at right angles to the lake, thereby establishing a contained environment for reflection while also providing elevated views across the lake to the civic and government institutions that such sacrifices are thereby shown to uphold. Nevertheless, the subsidiary nature of these sites suggests these subjects are of lesser significance within the national military cult.

An additional, minor precinct of military commemoration is the Russell Offices, effectively Australia's Pentagon. In Griffin's triangular plan, all three main vertices were occupied by very public functions: civic and market centres, and the Capitol's 'cumulative National Memorial'. Since the 1954 erection of the Australian-American memorial, the eastern vertex at Russell has developed as a symmetrically-masterplanned, single-use office complex for defence administration, ultimately evincing the true change in Australia's political commitments with the 1951 ANZUS treaty, and ignoring Griffin's geometry. With Anzac Parade and its extensions honouring Australia's own military commemorations, Russell's subsidiary role is for memorials to other nations' military co-operations with Australia. The 1991 Netherlands memorial consists of two low curved walls enclosing a small space for reflection within the grassy expanse of Blamey Square. It is unique among minor memorials in being aligned on a major axis, albeit obscured 'behind' the towering Australian-American Memorial. The *Guidelines* suggest Russell can accommodate commemorations of both international defence treaties and alliances and 'unique military operations' (the latter duplicating the roles of Anzac Parade and the AWM gardens). A small memorial plinth near the Netherlands Memorial remembers the 2005 crash of a Navy helicopter providing humanitarian aid in Indonesia. Both these memorials are largely invisible from Russell's main axial approach.

There has been relatively little new commemorative development south of Lake Burley Griffin, which was allocated to civic 'achievement and endeavour', despite the *Guidelines*' identification of numerous themes and precincts there. A fourth new precinct is Reconciliation Place (2001). Its masterplan was developed through an open competition. The project promotes 'understanding the shared history of indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians' (FCSIA/NCA n.d.). It defines a new cross-axis between Parliament and the AWM. Its central raised mound interrupts views and movement along the main land axis, displacing attention from the Griffin schema. Numerous fragmentary 'slivers' by various designers are strung out along the cross-axis, "each representing in word and image episodes in the reconciliation process" between the indigenous population and later European colonists (Vernon 2006:145). Visitors can take various paths among the artworks, which allows different readings. The slivers range from patches of landscape to primeval carved megaliths to sleek, angular assemblages of photo-etched steel and glass – implying, perhaps, a particular historical progression. The masterplan intends that new works will continue to be added as the process of reconciliation unfolds: a marked contrast to Anzac Parade's physical rigidity and the politicised assignation of its prime sites. The competition model showed a dense, fractured field of towering megaliths stretching from the National Library to the National Gallery. The potential is that both the layout and themes of this precinct can disrupt the affirmative narratives of the national capital, denying the State's hegemony in defining the past. Many artworks here are celebratory of individuals, actions and principles, but significantly, artworks also highlight three specific abuses of power against the Indigenous population that were used to define and empower the Australian State: the nullification of native land title, omission of Indigenous Australians from the national census, and the 'Stolen Generations' (Strakosch 2010).

In relation to this last theme, Reconciliation Place's prospective confrontations and reorientations of national values have themselves proved somewhat problematic. Indigenous groups protested that one artwork, 'Separation', which ostensibly "commemorates the systematic state removal of Indigenous children from their families during the 20th Century", was too abstract, effectively extending the State's silence on the subject, by omitting any reference to crimes, victims or perpetrators (Strakosch 2010:273). The objectors were permitted to install a far more explicit, didactic artwork directly alongside the original. Also titled 'Separation', its surface also has numerous drilled holes where those affected by the government's policies can add their own messages. It is a testament to the openness of the Reconciliation Place scheme that it can yield to community views and different representational preferences in this way. As Strakosch (2010: 274) notes: "On a small scale, this untidy juxtaposition of Stolen Generations memorials may mark a more genuine sharing of the national past than the earlier imposition of a unified and 'open' counter-monumental form."

In spatial terms, Reconciliation Place only confronts Canberra's conventions gently. One of Reconciliation Place's main functions is in fact providing a safe, comfortable and interesting connecting promenade for an educated elite who might walk across the expansive carparks between the National Gallery, High Court, National Portrait Gallery, and National Library: high modernist boxes scattered picturesquely along the lakeshore with little regard for visual axes or pedestrian connectivity (Vale 2008, Vernon 2006, NCA 2000). On a slightly wider scale, Reconciliation Place has also been critiqued as "as a conspiracy to undermine and eventually replace the (Aboriginal) tent embassy," a visually disorderly and politically contentious assemblage of tents, banners, flags and ceremonial fireplaces which has stood for almost forty years directly

in front of the former Parliament House, as a site of active political protest (Ware 2001). As with the two takes on 'Separation', "it seems necessary that the official Reconciliation Place must sit along side the tent embassy, offering alternative views on the reconciliation process and hope for its future" (Ware 2001). Reconciliation Place does little to confront the violent history of the State's claim to power; if anything, its subsidiary location, and the subdued representation and impermanence of its artworks actually tend to confirm the power and values of the State. Nonetheless, in terms of location, form, symbolism and subject matter, Reconciliation Place provides a radical contrast to the physical, conceptual and thematic traditions of State commemoration exemplified by Anzac Parade. It is a masterplanning strategy that at least in principle admits the complexity, contradiction, and continuity of memory.

THAT'S NOT HOW WE REMEMBER IT

The intent and impact of Canberra's commemorative planning concepts and processes can also be judged by considering two major civic commemorative schemes proposed since 2002 which did not get built, at least in their originally-proposed locations and forms. The first was an artwork commemorating the 2002 centenary of white women's suffrage in Australia. The proposed site was the northern end of Federation Mall, the grassy land axis between old and new Parliament Houses set aside for "Commemoration of politicians, political history and achievement, post 1901... including achievements by women" (NCA 2002b:15). A competition was launched in June 2002, sponsored by the federal Office of the Status of Women (OSW), with a \$550,000 budget, for "a durable, three-dimensional external work that is site specific and that will enhance the public space" (NCA 2002b:29). This was expressly to be a celebratory public artwork, not a memorial (which might presume a claim to permanence), and although it could be symbolic, it was not to be didactic or represent particular individuals. The winning scheme, *Fan*, by Jennifer Turpin and Michaelia Crawford, was selected by a steering committee of three leading arts administrators, and announced in early December 2002. This artwork was a 21m-high ochre-red kinetic sculpture with ten blades that would be stimulated into individual rotating movement by breezes, so that the fan would continuously open and close. The OSW's press release suggested the work's prominence, scale and movement were highly appropriate to the events being commemorated (Vanstone 2002). Because the artwork would be visible within the heritage-listed vista between the AWM and the new Parliament House, the Australian Heritage Commission was consulted; they advised the work would not adversely impact heritage values. Old Parliament House's governing council also apparently saw and endorsed the proposal. The artwork's design and site were approved by both Houses of Parliament in March 2003, and a media release was issued, noting that images of the artwork were available (Tuckey 2003, NCA 2003).

In late August 2003, the presidents of two leading non-governmental heritage advocacy organizations - the National Trust (ACT), and ICOMOS Australia - were quoted in newspapers criticizing the project for lacking consideration of heritage impacts on the view, and a lack of public consultation. An accompanying computer-generated image purporting to show how the artwork would look from the new Parliament House suggested its blades would interrupt the view of the AWM. After protests from the artists, a retraction was printed with a correctly-scaled image. A media debate was broadcast involving the heritage experts, politicians, the artists, and Romaldo Giurgola, chief architect of the new Parliament House (ABC 2003). The artwork was scaled down to 18 metres, apparently in response to wind-tunnel testing, and then to 16.5 metres, so it would not protrude above the Old Parliament House roof-line, and the number of blades was reduced, in an attempt to keep the project within budget. Costs rose to \$1 million, and the artists sought to revise the proposal. The responsible minister "stood by the artwork's design...saying the brave and challenging decision to give women the vote in 1903 needed a brave and challenging artwork" (McLennan 2003). But within two weeks, the project was officially cancelled. Reports suggest that several leading politicians from the ruling Liberal and National Parties were opposed to the scheme. Questions were raised about whether potential stakeholders and Parliament were really adequately advised about the artwork. The government's statement was that the project simply could not be completed on time and budget. Less than three months later, the replacement Minister for the OSW announced that the NCA had designed and would construct a permanent fountain to celebrate the centenary of women's suffrage. This was achieved within the remaining original budget. The fountain is located at the entry to the hedged-round House of Representatives Gardens, immediately east of Old Parliament House (Patterson 2003, NCA 2004). The fountain includes a paved timeline noting major events and individuals in the progress of women's political engagement: content at odds with the original project brief.

Whilst the original *Fan* scheme was still being deliberated, the controversy it aroused could still be seen positively:

In the end, perhaps this sculpture will have a real parallel with the struggles for women's suffrage. What may seem like a radical change for the time will eventually become a permanent and positive addition to the landscape. (ABC 2003)

But unlike women's suffrage itself, this representational struggle was ultimately unsuccessful. The new design and new location evoke gendered associations which infer social inequalities: invisibility and marginality; the softness of landscape and water; being passive and supine rather than upright, active and assertive. Banishment from the land axis suggests women have no place amongst Australia's fighters and leaders (Vernon 2005). The process that shaped this project also suggests more general political difficulties in shifting Canberra's symbolic and spatial inertia. The Senate Opposition leader summarises the project's trajectory thus:

The most charitable interpretation of this fiasco is that the Howard Government is not interested in public space, public art, or any history without meat pies, kangaroos, Captain Cook and cricket caps. So disinterested, that it allowed a slipshod process to produce a politically vulnerable sculpture at enormous cost to the taxpayer – then, didn't have the courage to defend the outcome. The result? A hasty cancellation and the rapid commissioning of another, smaller, cheaper, less visible work. (Faulkner 2004)

A second potential commemorative work which suffered death and sublation was the Immigration Bridge. This project was initiated in 2001 by an immigrant seeking to recognize immigrants' contribution to the Snowy River hydro-electric scheme. In 2002 a steering committee approached the NCA proposing a 400m-long pedestrian bridge over Lake Burley Griffin, linking the National Museum of Australia (NMA) to Lennox Gardens in the Parliamentary Zone. The idea was apparently put to them by the Museum's director; a similar bridge was also suggested in the winning entry for the 1997 NMA design competition. After discussing other options with the NCA, including "an individual sculpture or monument sited within the Parliamentary Zone or Kings Park", the steering committee favoured the first alternative (JSC 2009 Submission 60). It was already clear in 2002 that this was intended to be a high bridge with wide spans to preserve the yachting course on the western lake. A low bridge near this location was part of Griffin's original plan, and was also included in the NCA's *The Griffin Legacy* (2004b) which sought to incorporate early, unrealised elements of that plan. Immigration Bridge Australia (IBA), a non-profit company, officially launched their proposal in June 2006. The NCA facilitated discussions with lake users, including water-skiers, rowers, cyclists and the yacht club, over the bridge's potential impacts. The NCA also amended its own National Capital Plan (NCA 2011:T9:7) to include a high-span pedestrian bridge here. In 2006 the NCA also commissioned a Heritage Assessment and Heritage Management Plan (HMP) for Lake Burley Griffin (Godden Mackay Logan, 2009), with the aim of subsequently formalizing heritage listing of the lake (NCA 2010). In February 2009, a public inquiry was launched into the Immigration Bridge Proposal (JSC 2009), and in particular how its design development accounted for the heritage values of Lake Burley Griffin and the interests of lake users.

The Inquiry received submissions from four kinds of interest groups: five heritage organizations; lake users (five boating organizations, the ACT cycling advocacy organization and the Lake Users Group); 38 individuals plus the Residents' Association of Yarralumla, where the bridge would end; and only two organizations voicing support for the commemorative concept, including IBA. Several submitters questioned the necessity of a pedestrian link; few commemorative proposals need to satisfy such practical critiques of amenity. The Inquiry's summation of 'The arguments for and against the Immigration Bridge' includes only 10 paragraphs about the former and 47 about the latter. The various interests identified seem essentially irreconcilable. A suspension bridge with high clearance and minimal pylons, to allow yachting, would need long approach ramps for disabled and cycle accessibility, and would inevitably impact on heritage views, although the proposed design seemed to quite elegantly minimize the bridge's vertical thickness. The Inquiry's report had noted five other potential bridge locations, and 13 alternative forms of commemoration. Ultimately the latter option was chosen. IBA announced in March 2010 that the bridge was withdrawn, and they would seek to develop an 'Immigration Place'. In December 2010 they secured approval for their preferred site on Kings Avenue in front of the National Archives, an area within the parliamentary triangle not specifically designated in the *Guidelines*. Critiques of the Immigration Bridge outcome highlighted similar problems to those encountered by the suffrage artwork seven years earlier: the "culture of negativity that surrounds so many planning decisions in Canberra" and the deficiencies of the NCA's "consultation and consideration of heritage issues" (Canberra Times 2010).

WHAT MEMORIES MATTER

Analysis of the cases presented above highlights four distinct areas of tension that must be traversed by new commemorative proposals in Canberra, related to memorial sites, types, subjects, and the processes through which national memorials are judged against local interests.

Many proposed memorial sites seek to tap into the power of Canberra's existing diagrammatic plan. Many commemorations are attracted to the main land axis, but nothing is allowed to actually occupy it. The topographic completeness of Griffin's masterplan precludes extensions of that axis. The other two major

axes, Kings and Commonwealth Avenues, would seem to offer viable sites, but are heavily trafficked. Compared to Washington, in Canberra very few memorials are sited along its major axes; most are designed for close-up viewing. The few memorials that appear (literally) to define the meaning and history of Australia's capital are the AWM, the Australian-American Memorial, the Captain Cook Fountain and the Carillon, although the latter two might be taken for mere decorative follies. These four objects signal their significance through their visibility across space. The Carillon commemorates Canberra's own founding; the other three emphasise Australia's colonial ties, first to Britain and then to the U.S. Reconciliation Place, like Anzac Parade before it, illustrates the potential of formal sub-schemes fashioned around the land axis to define desirable sites, although its memorials are not visible along the land axis. The women's suffrage and immigration projects failed to embellish the basic symbolic framework. The shores of Canberra's lake offer potential, little-utilized since 1970, for further cross-axial commemorative settings – a solution already identified for Washington's riverfronts (NCPC 2001), and highlighted by the two new memorials in Kings Park. The other typical solution, illustrated by Kings Park and the AWM Sculpture Garden, is informal placement of memorials in green spaces close to Anzac Parade. Views across the lake from such memorials enhance their contextual meanings.

In terms of formal memorials types, despite detractors, designs for military memorials on Anzac Parade have broadly remained acceptable throughout their roughly historical formal progression from figural statues to abstract sculptures to enclosed spaces, to the two 30m-long quasi-military memorial walls in Kings Park. Despite aesthetic shifts, in urbanistic terms, designers have always confined their creativity to the 30m x 40m of Anzac Parade's niches, the visibility of which is constrained by the grove of trees. Reconciliation Place's individual memorials are also formally varied but urbanistically polite. The Australian-American memorial is an exception, reflecting the importance of the events and the remote nature of the site at the time, but its changed location confirms the principle of minimising interference with Griffin's key view corridor. The Carillon and water jet are very prominent but uncontroversial, going largely unrecognised as memorials. Commemorative structures that are more experimental and that have more visual impact introduce significant additional risks and concerns: the Immigration Bridge spanned high and wide over the lake, *Fan* was contrasting red and constantly moving. Issues surrounding memorial types are also related to the technologies they involve. A high, large-span bridge and a kinetic sculpture were untested design solutions in this setting, raising concerns about feasibility, safety and budget, and requiring lengthy design development. Addressing these concerns further impacted timeliness and financing, which further complicates the approvals process.

In terms of memorial subjects, the approval of commemorative works in Canberra depends on interpretations of 'national significance' by those with power. Several analysts have noted the dominance of military themes and symbolism in Canberra, rather than civil concepts such as democracy and diversity. This is partly explained by the early development of the military academy (1911) and war memorial (1919), both well prior to Parliament's arrival (Fischer 1984, Roberts 1990, Columbijn 2002, Beer 2009). But more generally it highlights the very different levels of engagement, interest, power, finance and contacts among different constituencies for commemoration. Formal commemoration of Reconciliation was driven not by politicised Aborigines, but by a government seeking to project a particular narrative. Immigrants and women are large but diffuse groups. By contrast, military institutions are highly organised, and have a specific, ongoing need to promote an ethic of sacrifice. The discovery of the need for specific national memorials to the emergency services and the police, the comparative difficulties faced by such broad civic commemorative themes as women's suffrage and immigration, and the general lack of public requests for other civic memorials, all suggest that even when all wars and military branches have been commemorated, society remains far more interested in, and committed to, commemorating sacrifices than achievements. Women are more prominently remembered in Canberra for nursing wounded soldiers than for fighting for the right to vote.

The technical, financial, spatial and aesthetic challenges faced by commemorative design proposals in Canberra are intertwined with procedural difficulties. These can arise when memorial sponsors are unfamiliar with the approvals processes, and push well forward with designs, locations and fundraising without clarity on permissions. It has also been suggested that the NCA lacks some combination of staff resources, expertise, and political savvy to facilitate adequate stakeholder consultation. The Immigration Bridge inquiry highlights that political obstacles are perhaps greater than professional ones: how should proposals for national commemorations be weighed against particular professional viewpoints and the spatially-localised interests of Canberra residents – among which we should include politicians, bureaucrats, and the military? The NCA can also be seen furthering its own wider planning objectives through the Reconciliation Place and Immigration Bridge commemorative proposals, which both enhanced wider pedestrian accessibility. Despite aspirations to political bipartisanship, the representativeness of decision-makers for memorial proposals is also questioned. While the ordinance framing the Canberra National Memorials Committee imagines a bipartisan panel of national political leaders, recent CNMC decisions have been made by the Home Affairs minister and the Secretaries of the Attorney-General's and Veterans' Affairs Departments (Stephens 2011).

The kind of independent judgment and systematic expert input from historians, planners and local residents which characterises Washington's commemorative planning (NCPC 2001) appears lacking in Canberra.

Although the Immigration Bridge inquiry invited broad public input, it primarily garnered vocal opposition from local boaters, heritage interests, and a residents' organization. These are all legitimate voices protecting particular values, but they are partisan, unrepresentative and uncompromising. A bridge that would have enhanced access for some user groups was abandoned because it would reduce it for others. A bridge which Griffin himself had proposed was criticised for spoiling the lake named after him. In the case of *Fan*, it's unclear that a kinetic sculpture would in fact have been an exception, given the large number of 'non-conforming' developments on Canberra's land axis since 1913, including the AWM, two Parliament buildings, and Anzac Parade. Canberra's *Guidelines* (NCA 2002a:5) suggest that existing memorials inconsistent with its spatial or thematic plans are part of the city's 'unique cultural tapestry'. Whilst Irreverence is listed among the *Guideline's* core values, the fate of *Fan* suggests that this statement applies only to 'grandfathered' examples. New kinds of memorials to new subjects are perhaps best served by starting out invisible.

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