Canberra—a planned capital city

I have planned a city like not any other city in the world. I have planned it not in a way that I expected any governmental authorities in the world would accept. I have planned an ideal city—a city that meets my ideal of the city of the future.

- Walter Burley Griffin, 1912

Introduction

- 2.1 Canberra is one of only a small number of the world's capital cities which have been planned and developed from their inception. Successive Commonwealth Governments have helped to ensure that the national capital has retained many of the fundamental design elements of the original Griffin design for Canberra.
- 2.2 This chapter addresses the Commonwealth's role and interest in the national capital, reflecting on Commonwealth involvement in the city's development from its inception right through to today. It also looks briefly at the major reforms and reviews that have occurred along the way. The chapter concludes by examining the significant design elements of the national capital which have endured and reflects on Canberra's status as a city of national and international significance.

The Commonwealth's role and interest in the national capital

2.3 Since Canberra was first confirmed as the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth, successive governments have maintained an ongoing commitment to its progression, notwithstanding that some governments proved to be more devoted to the development of the national capital than others. When self-government was introduced into the ACT, the Commonwealth ensured that it retained an ongoing responsibility for planning and development as it related to Canberra's role as the national capital.

2.4 The NCA stated:

There has always been a national interest in the way in which the Commonwealth has governed its responsibilities in the capital. At a strategic level, the aspirations and intentions of the Australian parliament have been identified in successive plans, which have been given legislative authority.¹

2.5 The following section of the report provides a brief account of the development of Canberra, which demonstrates the Commonwealth's continuing role and interest in the national capital.

The city that Federation created

...The Federal Capital should be a beautiful city occupying a commanding position, with extensive views and embracing distinctive features which will lend themselves to the evolution of a design worthy of the object, not only for the present but for all time...

- Hugh Mahon, Minister for Home Affairs, 1908
- 2.6 Section 125 of the Constitution provided that the seat of government 'shall be in the State of New South Wales, and be distant not less than 100 miles from Sydney.'2
- 2.7 Following a period of some dispute and the consideration of many potential sites, in 1908 the Commonwealth Parliament eventually determined that the seat of government would be in the Yass-Canberra district.

¹ National Capital Authority, Ms Annabelle Pegrum, *Transcript T1*, p. 27.

² Section 125, Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900 (Cth).

2.8 The then Minister for Home Affairs, the Hon Hugh Mahon MP, directed the District Surveyor, Mr Charles Scrivener, to examine the district to determine the most suitable territory for the seat of government.

Mr Scrivener reported that:

A city could be located at Canberra that would be visible on approach for many miles; streets with easy gradients would be readily designed, while prominent hills of moderate altitude present suitable sites for the principal public buildings. The capital would probably lie in an amphitheatre of hills with an outlook towards the north and north-west, well-sheltered from both southerly and westerly winds, and in the immediate vicinity of the capital there are large areas of gently undulating country...³

- 2.9 The site of Canberra was accepted and ratified by the *Seat of Government Acceptance Act* 1909.⁴
- 2.10 In 1911, an international design competition for the design of Canberra was launched. The competition attracted 137 designs. The winning design, by Chicago-based architects Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony-Griffin, was announced on 23 May 1912 along with prize winners for second and third place. (Griffin's design for Canberra is described later in this chapter.)
- 2.11 The original drawings by Marion Mahony-Griffin are held in the National Archives of Australia collection.
- 2.12 Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony met in Chicago at the Oak Park Studio of prominent American architect Frank Lloyd Wright. The 'living city' and 'organic' concepts promoted by Frank Lloyd Wright at the time influenced Griffin's plan, which integrated the city with the natural environment.
- 2.13 The three prize-winning entries were referred to a departmental board which prepared a new design incorporating elements of all three. This plan was approved in January 1913 and the name Canberra was unveiled at a ceremony on 12 March 1913.⁵
- 2.14 Following a change of government from Labor to Liberal in mid-1913, the departmental board was disbanded and its plan abandoned, and Griffin

³ Senate Select Committee appointed to inquire into and report upon the Development of Canberra, September 1955, *Report on the Development of Canberra*, CGP, Canberra, p. 13.

⁴ National Capital Development Commission, 1970, *Tomorrow's Canberra: Planning for Growth and Change, ANU Press*, p. 3.

⁵ National Capital Development Commission, 1970, *Tomorrow's Canberra: Planning for Growth and Change, ANU Press*, p. 6.

- was appointed as Federal Capital Director of Design and Construction to oversee the development of Canberra.
- 2.15 Little progress was made as funds were directed to the war effort and Griffin faced controversy amid a dispute with various Federal government bureaucrats. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1916 to inquire into aspects of Canberra's development and administration. The Commission found that Griffin's authority had been undermined and exonerated him of any blame.⁶
- 2.16 Griffin's contract as Director of Design and Construction expired in 1919 and was not renewed. Griffin declined an offer to serve on a new Federal Capital Advisory Committee, which was appointed in 1921.
- 2.17 The *Seat of Government (Administration) Act 1924* established the Federal Capital Commission which, in January 1925, assumed responsibility for the planning, construction and administration of Canberra. The gazettal of the 1925 Plan of Layout of the City of Canberra and its Environs—the Griffin plan with a few amendments—'gave substance to the commitment of the Commonwealth Government to the planning and development of the national capital.'⁷
- 2.18 It was only in 1927 that the seat of government was transferred from Melbourne to Canberra, and the Federal Capital Commission set about the task of transferring Commonwealth departments to the national capital.⁸
- 2.19 The onset of the Great Depression meant that the government reduced expenditure on the capital and, in 1930, the Commission was disbanded and the development of Canberra reverted to control by a divided departmental system of administration.⁹
- 2.20 In 1938, the National Capital Planning and Development Committee was established. It operated until 1957 but was an advisory body only and lacked any executive power.
- 2.21 The period from the 1930s through to the 1950s is widely recognised as a period of stagnation in the development of Canberra. This was a period, as Dr David Headon described, when 'war, economic depression, political

⁶ National Archives of Australia, 2002, *A vision splendid: How the Griffins imagined Australia's Capital*, Canberra p. 23.

⁷ National Capital Authority, *Submission 55*, p. 4.

⁸ Senate Select Committee appointed to inquire into and report upon the Development of Canberra, September 1955, *Report on the Development of Canberra*, CGP, Canberra, p. 13.

⁹ National Capital Authority, 2008, viewed 18 June 2008 http://www.nationalcapital.gov.au/corporate/history/03_1925-1930.asp.

expediency and a lack of cultural confidence led to the near disappearance of the Griffin Plan.' Narl Fischer remarked of the era:

The best that can be said about that period, and its surviving contribution to Canberra, is that it gave the trees a chance to mature, or that it did no permanent harm to the city.¹¹

The Senate Select Committee, Holford's observations and the rise of the NCDC

- 2.22 By 1954, the Commonwealth Government was dissatisfied with the lack of progress in the development of Canberra, as evident from its decision to appoint a Senate Select Committee to 'enquire into and report upon the development of Canberra in relation to the original plan and subsequent modifications, and matters incidental thereto'.¹²
- 2.23 Among the report's conclusions were the observations that 'Canberra's development has not been worthy of a national capital'¹³ and that 'the present form of administration is unsatisfactory for the task required of it.'¹⁴
- 2.24 On the progression of Griffin's plan for the national capital, the Select Committee noted:

Little has been done to develop the main features of the Griffin plan... After 40 years of city development, the important planned areas stand out, not as monumental regions symbolizing the character of the national capital, but, more as graveyards where departed spirits await a resurrection of national pride.¹⁵

2.25 In response to the Select Committee's report, in 1957 the government established the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) which began operations in 1958 as 'a comprehensive urban development

¹⁰ Dr David Headon, Submission 8, p. 20.

¹¹ Australian Institute for Urban Studies (ACT Division), 1988, Canberra: A people's capital?, Canberra, AIUS (ACT Division), p. 12.

¹² Senate Select Committee appointed to inquire into and report upon the Development of Canberra, September 1955, *Report on the Development of Canberra*, CGP, Canberra, Terms of reference.

¹³ Senate Select Committee appointed to inquire into and report upon the Development of Canberra, September 1955, *Report on the Development of Canberra*, CGP, Canberra, p. 48.

Senate Select Committee appointed to inquire into and report upon the Development of Canberra, September 1955, *Report on the Development of Canberra*, CGP, Canberra, p. 23.

Senate Select Committee appointed to inquire into and report upon the Development of Canberra, September 1955, *Report on the Development of Canberra*, CGP, Canberra, p. 54.

- authority charged to plan, develop, and construct Canberra as the national capital. $^{'16}$
- 2.26 Renowned British planner Sir William Holford was commissioned by the Government to report on Canberra's development. In his 1958 report, 'Observations on the future development of Canberra', Sir William recommended three objectives for the future of the national capital:
 - that the Garden City concept be retained;
 - that an improved traffic system needed to be developed; and
 - that Canberra should be developed as a cultural centre. 17
- 2.27 But, perhaps the most critical of the report's recommendations was the reinstatement of the lake to 'act as a unifying feature'. Sir William stated:

I can think of nothing more attractive or more exciting than the creation of water surfaces in the midst of the city. 18

- 2.28 The person appointed as Commissioner of the NCDC, Sir John Overall, reflected in his personal memoir that 'after forty years of stop-start progress on Canberra the NCDC had to be seen to be doing something, and doing it quickly.' 19 And so a period of intense development and expansion begun which saw major projects including Civic Square, Kings and Commonwealth Avenue bridges, Anzac Parade and Lake Burley Griffin completed by 1965. 20
- 2.29 In 1957, the Commonwealth Parliament established a Joint Committee on the Australian Capital Territory to oversee matters related to the planning and development of the Territory.
- 2.30 In 1964, the NCDC identified *Areas of Special National Concern* which would later form the basis of 'Designated Areas' which were incorporated into the 1990 NCP. The Areas of Special National Concern comprised the central area, the Yarralumla Diplomatic Area, Lake Burley Griffin and its Foreshores, the inner hills and ridges, the main avenues and approach routes, the Molonglo River corridor and some regional open spaces.²¹

¹⁶ National Capital Development Commission, 1970, *Tomorrow's Canberra: Planning for Growth and Change, ANU Press*, p. 6.

¹⁷ Holford W, 1958, *Observations on the future development of the Canberra, ACT, made at the request of the Commonwealth Government, CGP, Canberra.*

¹⁸ Holford W, 1958, *Observations on the future development of the Canberra, ACT, made at the request of the Commonwealth Government, CGP, Canberra, p. 11.*

¹⁹ Overall J, 1995, *Canberra: Yesterday, today and tomorrow: A personal memoir*, Federal Capital Press Australia, Canberra, p. 52.

²⁰ National Capital Authority, Submission 55, p. 5.

²¹ Mr David Wright, Submission 68, p. 15.

- 2.31 In 1966, American transport consultants Alan M. Voorhees and Associates assisted the NCDC in updating its transport plan to cater for increasing population projections. This resulted in the 1970 Y-Plan (so-called because of the basic Y configuration of the new towns around the central national area) which was predicated on the reliance on the car as the primary mode of transportation and was designed to sustain long-term growth.²²
- 2.32 The Metropolitan Policy Plan/Development Plan of 1984 confirmed the basic structure of the Y-Plan and retained the basic principles of the 1970 Plan as a valid basis for guiding metropolitan growth for a population capacity up to 400 000.²³
- 2.33 The NCDC was abolished in 1989, having seen the population of Canberra grow from 40,000 to 270,000.²⁴

ACT self-government and the establishment of the National Capital Planning Authority

- 2.34 The next significant change in the planning and development of Australia's national capital occurred in 1989 when self-government was introduced for the ACT. The advent of self-government for the ACT created a dual-planning regime whereby responsibilities for the planning and development of the Territory would be shared between the Commonwealth Government and the ACT Government.
- 2.35 The Australian Capital Territory (Planning and Land Management) Act 1988 (PALM Act) created the new provisions for planning and land management in the Territory. Under the Act, the Commonwealth created the National Capital Planning Authority (NCPA) through which it retained responsibility for planning and development related to Canberra's role as the national capital. In 1996 the NCPA's name was changed to the National Capital Authority (NCA) in recognition of the breadth of activities being undertaken by the NCA and an increase in activity in the areas of strategic development and promotion.
- 2.36 The PALM Act also facilitated the preparation and separate administration of two separate plans—the NCP and the Territory Plan.

 The object of the NCP is to ensure that Canberra and the Territory are planned

Overall J, 1995, *Canberra: Yesterday, today and tomorrow: A personal memoir*, Federal Capital Press Australia, Canberra, pp. 79-81.

²³ National Capital Development Commission, 1984, *Metropolitan Canberra: Policy Plan, Development Plan, Canberra, NCDC, pp. iii-iv.*

²⁴ National Capital Authority, Submission 55, p. 5.

²⁵ National Capital Authority, *Submission 55*, p. 6.

²⁶ Senate Environment, Recreation, Communications and the Arts Legislation Committee, *Estimates Transcript*, 25 September 1996, Canberra, p. 383.

- and developed in accordance with their national significance. The PALM Act states that the Territory Plan has no effect to the extent that it is inconsistent with the NCP.
- 2.37 During debate on the PALM Act in Parliament, former Senator and now Member for Fraser the Hon Bob McMullan, MP, addressed the Commonwealth Government's desire to maintain an interest in the future planning and development of Canberra:

This is one matter that is properly the business of the national Parliament, which will continue to have a significant responsibility to protect the national interest and the national capital aspects of the wonderful city of this Territory. Canberra does perform diverse functions and one of those functions is its role as the national capital. People in the ACT accept the uniqueness of that arrangement. They accept that the total planning autonomy that other States and Territories have is not appropriate in the ACT because of the peculiar national capital aspects of the city. That is as it should be. I welcome the fact that this principle is reflected in this legislation. In all the discussions that I have had with people in Canberra, the most fervent advocates of local autonomy have recognised that unique responsibility.²⁷

The NCA's *Griffin Legacy* Project (2004)

- 2.38 Thirteen years after self-government, the NCA embarked upon a major review of the Central National Area.
- 2.39 The aim of the *Griffin Legacy Project*, launched in 2002 by the NCA, was, among other things, to:
 - appraise the Griffin Plan and its relevance to the planning and development of Canberra, the nation's capital, in the 21st century;
 - extend the *Griffin Legacy* through a series of strategic initiatives which restore, where possible, the spirit and intent of the Griffin Plan; and
 - protect the integrity of the Griffin Plan, recognising its stature as a work of both national and international significance.²⁸
- 2.40 Upon launching the project the NCA stated:

We need to be clear about what of Griffin's vision has been developed, what remains to be developed, what needs to be retained, what no longer has continuing relevance, what elements

²⁷ Senator R. McMullan, Senate Hansard, 23 November 1988, p. 2602.

²⁸ Wensing, Crocket and Howorth, *Submission 32*, Attachment A, pp. 14-15.

can change, what elements should be considered inviolate and to reignite the philosophy of innovation in Canberra's planning.²⁹

- 2.41 After two years of study, the project culminated in the release in December 2004 of *The Griffin Legacy: Canberra the nation's capital in the 21st Century*—a strategic blueprint for the development of the central national areas of Canberra. The work has been recognised through a number of awards.
- 2.42 The *Griffin Legacy* was developed with the participation and support of the ACT Government.
- 2.43 At the launch of the document, the then Minister for Local Government, Territories and Roads, the Hon Jim Lloyd MP, remarked:

The *Griffin Legacy* is not a piece of esoteric academic research. It is a bold and ambitious plan for the nation's capital. It meets the challenges of the 21st century with a set of proposals to guide city revitalisation, to improve links to public attractions and open spaces, to enhance public waterfronts and to improve public transport.³⁰

- 2.44 The NCA also developed a model, located at the National Capital Exhibition at Regatta Point, which demonstrates how the *Griffin Legacy* seeks to transform West Basin into 'a vibrant and spacious lakeside promenade', City Hill into 'the heart of Civic' and Constitution Avenue into 'a grand boulevard'.
- 2.45 Implementation of the *Griffin Legacy* required as a starting point a series of amendments to the NCP. The NCA prepared four amendments which sought to articulate specific strategic plans for the Central National Area.³¹
- 2.46 The *Griffin Legacy* amendments were the subject of an inquiry by the committee in the 41st Parliament. That committee recommended that the amendments (which were presented to Parliament prior to the committee concluding its investigations) be disallowed so that the NCA had the opportunity to refine the amendments taking into account issues raised in the committee's report.

²⁹ Joint Standing Committee on the National Capital and External Territories, March 2007, Review of the Griffin Legacy Amendments, Parliament of Australia, Canberra, p. 5.

Lloyd J, Minister for Local Government, Territories and Roads, *Walter Burley Griffin's New Plan Launch*, media release, Parliament House, Canberra, 8 December 2004.

³¹ The Central National Area includes the Parliamentary Zone and its setting; Lake Burley Griffin and Foreshores; the Australian National University; the Australian Defence Force Academy; Duntroon; Canberra Park and Canberra Airport/RAAF Base Fairbairn. Also included are the diplomatic lands at Yarralumla, O'Malley, West Deakin and Red Hill.

2.47 The then Government did not support the committee's recommendation and the Amendments are now incorporated in the NCP.

The significant design elements of the national capital

- 2.48 Despite some modifications to problems which could not be foreseen in Griffin's time, the key features of the Griffin design which create the character and setting for the national capital remain intact today.
- 2.49 The Griffin design (*see Figure i*) placed Capital Hill at the centre of Canberra, forming a symbol of democratic national identity. The plan integrated the existing natural terrain of the area with the design, delineating a 'Land Axis' to link what is now Capital Hill and Mount Ainslie and a 'Water Axis' extending from Black Mountain through a proposed series of lake basins to the east formed by damming the Molonglo River. A third 'Municipal Axis' (now Constitution Avenue) ran parallel to the Water Axis from City Hill to Russell Hill.
- 2.50 The Land Axis bisects a triangle which is formed by Capital Hill, City Hill and Russell Hill. Within the triangle, which encloses the symbolic heart of the city, Griffin placed the most important buildings belonging to the Government and the people.³²
- 2.51 Other key aspects of Griffin's plan include the inner hills which remain free from urban development and provide the scenic backdrop and natural setting for Canberra's urban areas; the main avenues which provide vistas to the topographic features of the city; and the formal approach routes to the Central National Area.³³
- 2.52 The NCA reflected on the enduring significant design elements of the Griffin design in its *Griffin Legacy* document:

The Griffin Plan continues to provide a model city plan generated by civic and environmental values, and a public realm drawing together the finest of historical and modern principles of city living: a vast central park, gracious boulevards, garden suburbs, cultural places, monuments and integration with nature. While the

³² National Archives of Australia, 2002, *A vision splendid: How the Griffins imagined Australia's Capital*, Canberra pp. 6-8.

³³ National Capital Authority, 2004, *The Griffin Legacy: Canberra, the nation's capital in the* 21st *Century,* NCA, Canberra, p. 109.

original design has in the past been characterised as too ambitious, in 2004 this criticism is no longer valid.³⁴

- 2.53 The NCP identifies four main elements in Griffin's design for Canberra. These elements are:
 - the use of topography as an integral design feature and as a setting;
 - a symbolic hierarchy of land uses designed to reflect the order and functions of democratic government;
 - a geometric plan with the central triangle formed by grand avenues terminating at Capital Hill, the symbolic centre of the nation; and
 - a system of urban centres.³⁵
- 2.54 The key elements of the Griffin plan were identified as 'Areas of Special National Concern' by the NCDC in 1964. The Areas of Special National Concern later formed the basis of 'designated areas' and 'areas subject to special requirements' in the NCP, ensuring that the Commonwealth has retained responsibility for any planning and development affecting these areas. The issue of planning responsibility is discussed further in Chapter 6.

The national and international significance of Canberra

- 2.55 The NCA noted that Canberra's character and planning administration have 'made it a world class city with international standing.' The stated objective of the National Capital Plan (NCP) is to ensure that 'Canberra and the Territory are planned and developed in accordance with their national significance.'
- 2.56 In its publication *National significance and Australia's National Capital a perspective from Ottawa*, the National Capital Planning Authority stated that 'national significance implies recognition and appreciation by the nation':

³⁴ National Capital Authority, 2004, *The Griffin Legacy: Canberra, the nation's capital in the* 21st *Century,* NCA, Canberra, p. 109.

³⁵ National Capital Authority, 2008, Consolidated National Capital Plan, NCA, Canberra, p. 10.

National Capital Authority, Submission 55, p. 24.

Ultimately the significance of the Capital and its components is judged by the people of Australia... and is designed in the national consciousness.³⁷

2.57 The NCP attempts to convey the concept of 'national significance' as it is presented in the object of the plan. The NCP states:

The character and setting of Canberra are unique. Many elements of the planning which has produced today's Canberra are of great practical import: they have produced a city in which the work of government and national institutions, as well as the life of its citizens, can be conducted efficiently. Of no less import are the visual elements of the plan, those which have created fitting spaces, approaches and backdrops for the institutions, symbols and ceremonies of our federal democracy, and those which create the setting for the National Capital. This achievement is the realisation of the dreams and aspirations of those charged with expressing the national interest in the first days of Federation. Almost from the time of Federation the setting of the National Capital and its structure, its beauty and its efficiency, were seen by the representatives of the people as of national significance.³⁸

- 2.58 Matters of national significance in the planning and development of Canberra which are articulated in the NCP include:
 - The pre-eminence of the role of Canberra and the Territory as the national capital.
 - Preservation and enhancement of the landscape features which give the national capital its character and setting.
 - Respect for the key elements of Walter Burley Griffin's formally adopted plan for Canberra.
 - Creation, preservation and enhancement of fitting sites, approaches and backdrops for national institutions and ceremonies as well as National Capital Uses.
 - The development of a city which both respects environmental values and reflects national concerns with the sustainability of Australia's urban areas.³⁹
- 2.59 Canberra's significance on the world stage is derived from its origin as a planned national capital and 'because of its design and principles

Wright B, 1994, *National Significance and Australia's National Capital – A perspective from Ottawa*, National Capital Planning Authority, Canberra, p. 4.

Natinal Capital Authority, 2008, Consolidated National Capital Plan, NCA, Canberra, p. 6.

³⁹ Natinal Capital Authority, 2008, Consolidated National Capital Plan, NCA, Canberra, p. 10.

embodying social, economic and environmental sustainability. The Royal Australian Institute of Architects added that:

Anyone who walks or drives along Anzac Parade, connecting parliament with the War Memorial, or oversees from Mount Ainslie not only the city but the natural setting and unique landscape of the area feels and, in some way, understands that these works define Australia and the commitment of all Australians to a fair and democratic society.⁴¹

- 2.60 The international significance of Canberra is such that some groups, including the National Trust of Australia, believe that as Canberra approaches its centenary, there is cause for a debate on whether Canberra should be considered for nomination for World Heritage listing. The Trust told the committee that the World Heritage values and significance of Canberra would need to be articulated and defined before it gets to the stage of being nominated, but the Trust acknowledged that it is eager to advance debate on the issue.⁴²
- 2.61 A recent opinion piece in *The Canberra Times* by Professor Ken Taylor spoke about the rising international interest in planned cities, including capitals. Professor Taylor wrote:

This has found an outlet in representative examples accorded World Heritage listing. Brasilia (1987), the White City of Tel Aviv (2003), Le Havre (2005), with Chandigarh (India) placed on the Tentative World Heritage list in 2006 pending full inscription.

... As we approach Canberra's centenary is it not timely to look at Canberra's absence from this list of cities recognised internationally as outstanding planning achievements?⁴³

2.62 Dr David Headon also spoke in favour of raising debate on the issue:

...even if Canberra were to have the debate and then finally decide it was not for us, the fact is that between now and at least 2013 it is going to raise the bar to where we want it. So we are having the kinds of discussions we should be having.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Royal Australian Institute of Architects, Mr A. Tzannes, *Transcript T1*, pp. 68-69.

⁴¹ Royal Australian Institute of Architects, Mr A. Tzannes, *Transcript T1*, pp. 68-69.

⁴² National Trust of Australia - ACT Division, Mr Eric Martin, *Transcript T3*, p. 52.

⁴³ Professor Ken Taylor, 'Think outside the triangle', *The Canberra Times*, 14 April 2008, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Dr David Headon, *Transcript T7*, p. 6.

Conclusions

- 2.63 The Commonwealth has a genuine interest and responsibility for its custodianship of the national capital.
- 2.64 The committee recognises that the particular challenges presented by self-government mean that a dual planning system was a feature of the negotiated split between planning functions at that time.

Recommendation 1

2.65 That the Commonwealth Government affirm its direct and enduring commitment to the future of Canberra as a planned national capital on behalf of all Australians.