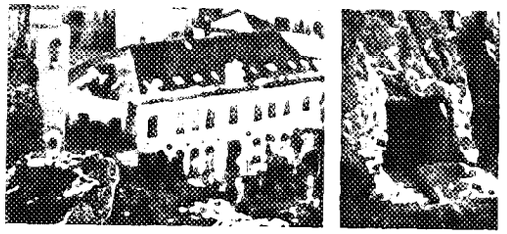

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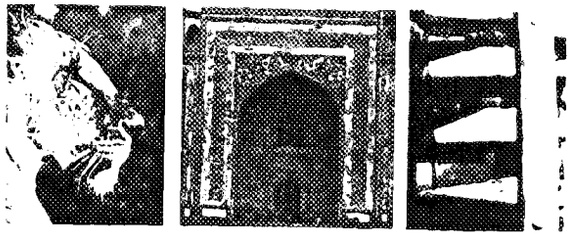
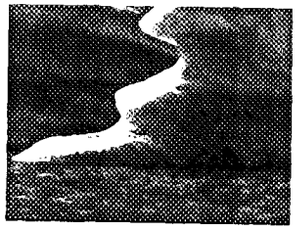
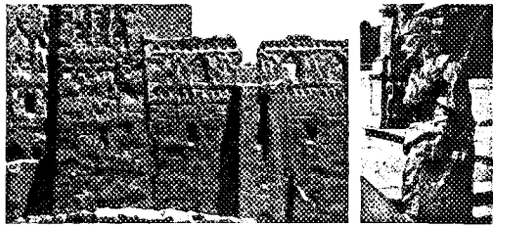


UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

The World Heritage Convention, twenty years later

LÉON PRESSOUYRE

UNESCO Publishing

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This study, undertaken on 10 June and revised on 4 December 1992 on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, has been graciously delivered to UNESCO by its author, Léon Pressouyre. Considering that it is of great interest to upcoming reflection and action, UNESCO and its World Heritage Centre have decided to publish and distribute it to the principal partners to the Convention. The opinions expressed here are not necessarily those of the Organization.

An earlier version of this text was distributed by the French National Commission for UNESCO in December 1992. From the drafting of the report to its final writing, the author took into consideration comments made by Françoise Bercé, Mireille Jardin, Azedine Beschaouch, Mounir Bouchenaki, Jean-Pierre Boyer, Yves Brunsvick, Bernd von Droste, Laurent Lévi-Strauss, Michel Parent, Georges Poussin, Jean Sirinelli. To all of them he extends his thanks.

Contents

Introduction

The origins, implementation, and evolution of the Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on 16 November 1972 have already been the subject of both unpublished reports[1] and publications[2].

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of one of the major instruments of international cooperation, it seems useful to assemble, in a critical document elements for retrospective and prospective reflection.

In this spirit, writing the history of the « World Heritage Convention » — as it is commonly known — will permit answering certain questions posed by its application and prospects.

The legal framework, twenty years later

The 1972 Convention became operational in 1975, upon ratification by twenty countries. At the 19th session of the General Conference in 1976, in accordance with the Convention, a World Heritage Committee and a World Heritage Fund were instituted. The Committee's first meeting, held at Organization headquarters in 1977, was dedicated to drawing up statutory texts and directives. A first version of the « Operational Guidelines », since regularly revised (latest revision dating to March 1992), was then adopted. These founding texts of 1972, 1976, and 1977 were drafted by the assemblies or by groups of experts, among which representatives of ICCROM and of NGO's such as ICOMOS and IUCN, worked side by side with jurists, administrators and policy–makers. They result from the balance of a certain number of principles and constraints, lengthily debated in preliminary discussions. Has the balance point reached in 1972-1976 withstood the test of time ? By considering the Convention's political and scientific dysfunctioning, a preliminary series of observations may be proposed concerning an eventual revision of this legal instrument.

1 SOME JURIDIC AND POLITICAL LIMITS OF THE CONVENTION'S APPLICATION

The principal constraints induced by the Convention are linked to the notion of sovereignty. In its preamble and its spirit, the Convention states that natural and cultural world heritage properties belong to all of humanity and are placed under its protection. Nevertheless, it recognizes that properties are located within the territories of sovereign States which, after having identified them and asked their inclusion in the List, pledge to ensure their being handed down to future generations. During the past twenty years, this fundamental contradiction has revealed the Convention's weaknesses in primarily three types of cases : impingement of sovereignty, transfer of sovereignty, properties endangered due to internal conflict.

1.a The question of **impingement of sovereignty** concerns above all States having a federal structure. The Convention's legal implications were understood in the most restrictive sense by the United States of America, which proposed, first and foremost, « federally owned » properties under the jurisdiction of the central administration of the National Park Service. The scientific consequences of this reading of the Convention, which makes the universal value of a property coincide with the notion of real property, have been perceived and sometimes criticized by the World Heritage Committee on several occasions, in particular at the time of the inclusion of Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site (C 198) and Chaco Culture National Historical Park (C 353 rev.).

However, the most interesting conflicts which have arisen as a result of the notion of impingement of sovereignty are those which have opposed the Australian federal government and the regional entities in two cases : Kakadu National Park (N/C 147), included on 30.10.1981 and extended on 11.12.1987 and the Tasmanian Wilderness (N/C 181 rev.), included on 17.12.1982 and extended on 15.12.1989.

The judgments issued by the courts on the occasion of these conflicts are fundamental documents, as much for the legal recognition of the Convention as for its interpretation. If a history of the Convention's jurisprudence were written, they should no doubt be part of it.[3]

1.b The question of **transfer of sovereignty**, which had not been expressly foreseen by the Convention, was recently posed in simple terms by the unification of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic on 19 May 1990, on the one hand, and by the unification of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on 3 October 1990, on the other.

Far more complex is the situation of properties located in countries dismembered and not reunited such as the ex-Soviet Union, which had ratified the Convention on 12.10.1988 or the ex-Yugoslavia which had adhered since 26.05.1975 : the accession to independence of several States will sooner or later pose the problem of ratification of the Convention to honor prior commitments. It already poses that of the revision of tentative lists initially drawn up by a national entity which has ceased to exist.

1.c The case of internal conflicts endangering the existence of a World Heritage property was clearly posed in 1991 by the events in Yugoslavia. Whereas the delegates (Serbs) of the State signatory of the ratification instrument of the Convention were denying before the UNESCO General

Conference and the World Heritage Committee the reality of the damage sustained by the Old City of Dubrovnik (C 95), included on 26.10.1979, the Director General decided, on the advice of the latter, to send a mission of experts and observers on site. In addition, its inclusion in the List of World Heritage in Danger was decided by the Committee.

On this occasion, the unsuitability of the Convention to a case of danger resulting from internal conflict within a country signatory of the document was clearly apparent. The suggested amendments in view of greater coherence appear extremely desirable.[4]

2 THE CRITERIA AND THEIR LIMITS

Inclusion in the World Heritage List is subject to a certain number of criteria proper to cultural properties on the one hand, and to natural properties on the other. These criteria have been selected for their scientific value after lengthy discussion. Are the selection standards they define satisfactory ? Do they exclude remarkable properties or, on the contrary, do they permit consideration of properties of questionable value ? Lastly, is the distinction deliberately made at the outset between the cultural heritage and the natural heritage still wholly valid ?

2.a Two elusive variables : authenticity and integrity

While enumerating the criteria justifying inclusion of a natural or cultural property in the World Heritage List, the Convention makes this inclusion subject to an unconditional prerequisite : cultural properties should fulfil the criterion of authenticity and natural properties the criterion of integrity.

If the intentions which guided the drafters of the Convention remain clear, it is nonetheless true that application of these criteria has raised numerous controversies within the World Heritage Committee and concerted relativization of their use is indispensable in practice.

The criterion of authenticity of cultural properties appears to have been, in the beginning, defined according to an European concept, itself mutable and extremely variable depending on the countries putting it into practice. Application of this criterion to European monuments or groups of buildings has revealed an initial series of difficulties. Should the present concept of preservation of historical monuments condemn prior unconstrained and often unadvised, reconstructions which have restored entire buildings to their supposedly original state ? With respect to this, one notes that the criterion of authenticity, as intended by the Charter of Venice, was rigorously applied during the evaluation of the Town of Carcassonne, property deferred in 1985, but not in the case of the Medieval City of Rhodes (C 493), included in 1988. In the latter, the

« embellishments » of the fascist era did not seem to constitute an impediment, in the former, Viollet-le-Duc's interventions provoked rejection. Twice the constraints of the criterion of authenticity have been clearly circumvented : the first in 1980 by the proposal for inclusion of the Historic Centre of Warsaw (C 30). The exemplary reconstruction of the Old Market Place and adjacent groups of buildings which had been dynamited by the Nazis was considered in itself a positive determining element : the Historic Centre of Warsaw was not included as an eminent example of medieval town planning, but as a unique example of *ex nihilo* reconstruction, bearing witness both to the will of a people deeply rooted in their past and to the scientific excellence of the restoration methods of Polish archaeologists and architects shortly after World War II. The second occasion to relativize the constraints of the criterion of authenticity was provided by the inclusion, in 1983, of the Rila Monastery (C 216) : the heavily damaged remains of the Khrelu tower and the subsisting early portions clearly did not permit considering this ensemble as authentic evidence of medieval monastic architecture ; but the Committee took into account the 19th-century reconstruction as distinctive testimony of the « Bulgar Renaissance » and the claims of identity displayed on a symbolic site, imbued with national history and orthodoxy.

The constraints of the criterion of authenticity, sensitive in the European realm, are even more unwieldy in other regions of the world. In Japan, the oldest temples are periodically identically restored, authenticity being essentially attached to function, subsidiarily to form, but by no means to material. This ceases to be academic with Japan having ratified the convention on 30 June 1992.

For the most part, the conservation of perishable structures, such as wood and adobe, requires restoration which flouts the strict concept of authenticity in all regions of the world where these materials are employed. The question has been raised regarding wooden constructions in the Scandinavian countries — in particular, Bryggen in Bergen (C 59), included in 1979, and Old Rauma (C 582), included in 1991 — where the replacement, however massive, of pieces of timber has not been considered as determinant of loss of authenticity. The same remarks have been made regarding wooden structures in tropical regions, such as the Ashanti Traditional Buildings in Ghana (C 35), included in

**Warsaw, the Old Market Place.
Life has resumed,
along with the traditional functions,
in this group of buildings
faithfully reconstructed after having
been dynamited by the Nazis.
Authenticity is here linked
to a vigilant collective memory
and strong claims of identity.**
Ph. All rights reserved

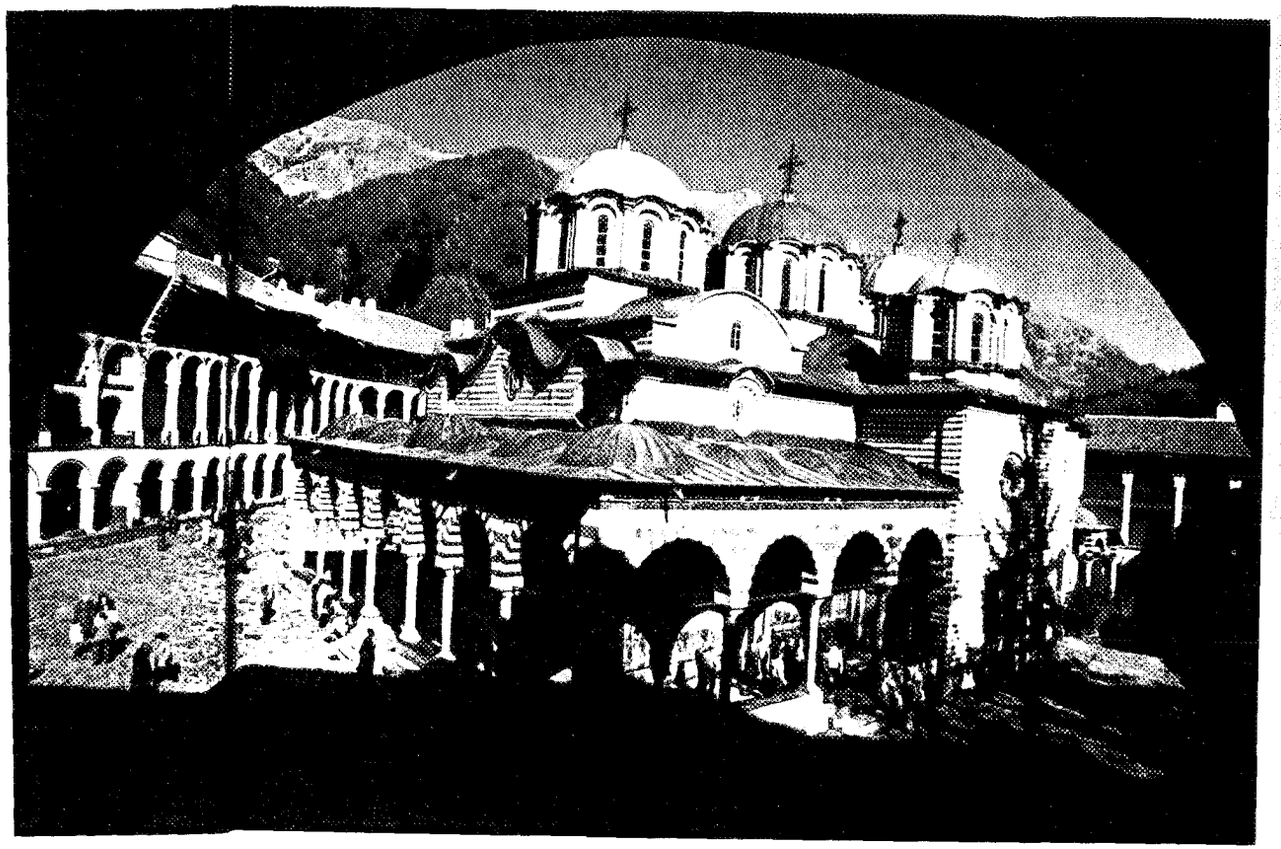
1980, or the Old Town of Galle (C 451), included within the perimeter of its fortifications in 1988.

The Committee's attitude has been more reserved concerning the buildings predominantly in earth, whether in mud, adobe, or unfired brick, nevertheless admitting that conservation of these fragile constructions requires periodic maintenance. In certain specific cases, such as Bahla Fort (C 433), included in 1987, the Committee considered that authenticity is linked to know-how and not to impossible perdurability of material. This decision could be considered as jurisprudence in the case of a great number of traditional structures characterized by the use of earth, wood, thatch or other materials of plant origin which would be excluded from inclusion in the World Heritage List due to stringent application of the European criterion of authenticity.

The application of the criterion of integrity to natural heritage properties, without having provoked such explicit debates, has likewise revealed non-negligible difficulties of interpretation. This criterion had been defined at the beginning of the 1970's by scientists concerned with designating a series of natural zones where the greatest number of geological, climatic, and biological characteristics would be preserved from all human endeavor destructive of ecological balance : creation of routes or other transportation networks, deforestation and agriculture, hunting or herding, and of course, mining and industry. It soon became clear that this interpretation of the criterion of integrity, refusing all anthropisation of nature, could only apply in vast natural parks strictly and scientifically managed by a large team of specialists, such as those in the United States or in Canada.

The first difficulties were raised during 1981 and 1982 by the inclusion of the Mount Nimba Strict Nature Reserve (N 155) and Taï National Park (N 195). The existence of a local population, for whom the protected zone is vital, the necessary integration in the management of these territorial entities of economic activities which could result in partial loss of the initial characteristics of the site was underscored from the outset by IUCN, which reports annually on the most notable transformations which have taken place in the great parks of Africa, Latin America and the Indian sub-continent.

Other, more specific, difficulties have recently appeared, when smaller countries wanted to include sites which were small in surface and heavily



Rila Monastery.
Few traces here, of Saint Ivan Rilski,
apostle to the Slavs in the 10th-century ;
the remains of the medieval convent,
with the Tower erected by Khrelu
in the 14th-century are engulfed
by a grandiose 19th-century construction :
the « Bulgar Renaissance » has built
its own symbolic monument
on this historically charged site.
Ph. UNESCO/A. Vorontzoff

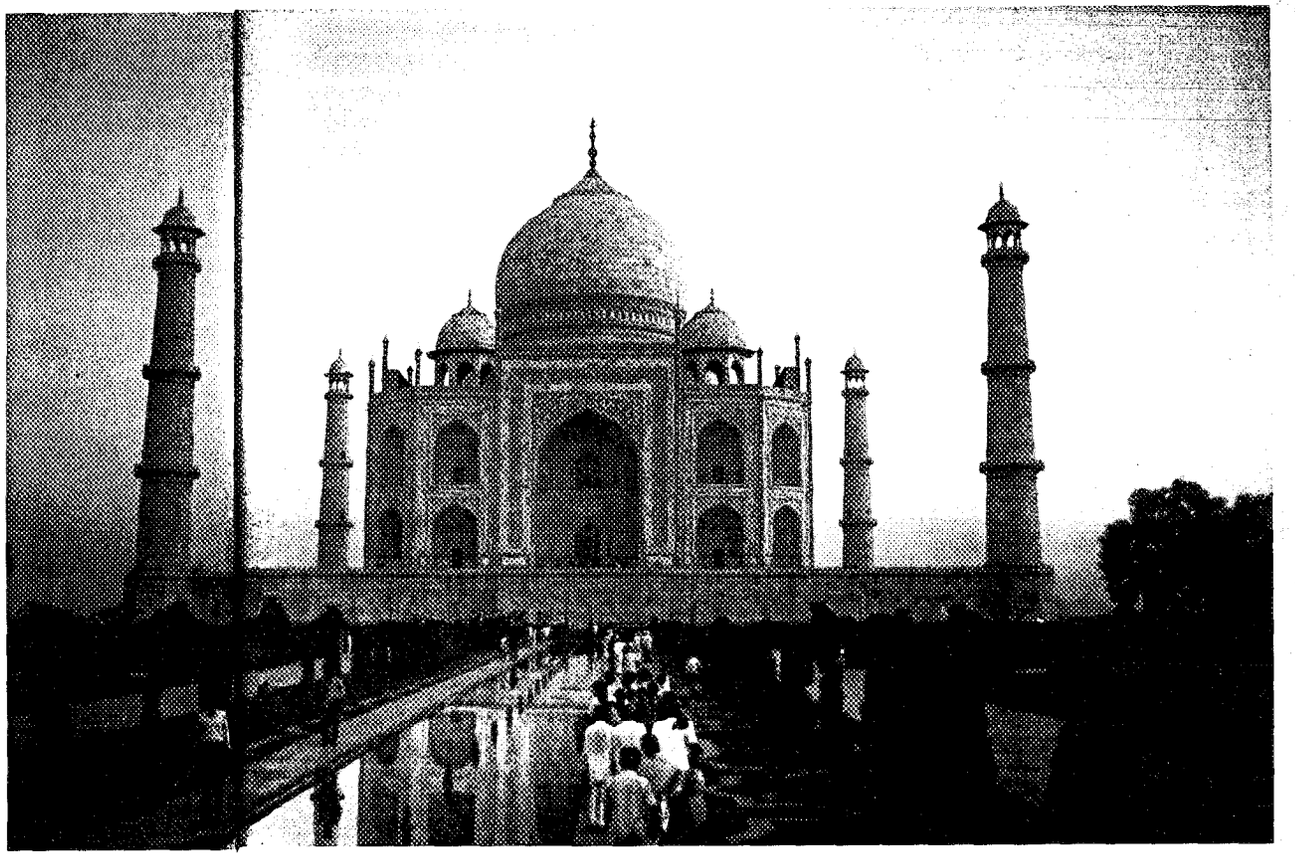
impacted by human activity. The traditional invocation of the criterion of integrity, which opposes all tentatives of this kind, brings into question the validity of a criterion which, in practice, serves the interests of large countries with prosperous economies having invested in a policy of vast national parks, spaces untouched by any human activity except tourism.

2.b Are the six criteria for inclusion in the cultural heritage List still valid?

The criteria defined in 1972 for inclusion of cultural properties have largely proven their relevance to the extent that they have been able to be applied in the critical examination of most of the nominations for inclusion. The Committe's jurisprudence leads to several statements.

I.2.b.1 Perceived as contradictory, the Convention's dual requirement of uniqueness and representativeness is rarely translated by inclusion on a sole criterion, a procedure which is nevertheless normally envisioned[5]. Only two properties, the Chateau of Chambord (C 161) and the Taj Mahal (C 252) have been included solely by virtue of criterion I, as if the singularity of the masterpiece, founding principle of the list of wonders of the world, disconcerts our contemporaries. More often, the notion of uniqueness is expanded by invoking the influence exerted by the masterpiece (criterion II) or counterbalanced by the paradoxical notion of representativeness (criterion III or criterion IV). Thus, the Madara Rider (C 43), unparalleled monument of Proto-Bulgar culture, was included by virtue of criteria I and II, after a long and interesting debate (26.10.1979).

Criteria III and IV, criteria of historical or typological representativeness, when applied to archaeological or historical properties have not, until recently, occasioned such misgivings : seventeen cultural properties are included solely by virtue of criterion III[6] : Al Qal'a of Beni Hammad (C 102), Serra da Capivara National Park (C 606), Anthony Island (C 157), Mesa Verde (C 27), Chaco Culture National Historical Park (C 353 rev.), Agra Fort (C 251), the Archaeological Site of Sabratha (C 184), the Rock-art Sites of Tadrart Acacus (C 287), the Hal Saflieni Hypogeum (C 130), Bryggen in Bergen (C 29), the Rock Drawings of Alta (C 352), the Historical Monuments of Thatta (C 143), Chavin Archaeological Site (C 330), the Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani and of Songo



Agra, the Taj Mahal.
The funerary mosque raised between 1631 and 1638 by Shah Jahân in memory of his wife Arjamand Banû is a monument unique in the world, due to the circumstances under which it was commissioned, to the design of its architecture and its gardens, to the perfection of its construction, which, legend tells, was carried out by 20 000 workers laboring without respite under the direction of master builder Ustad Ahmad Lahori.
Ph. UNESCO/Ph. Leclaire

Mnara (C 144), the Benedictine Convent of Müstair (C 269), the Old City of Berne (C 267), the Punic Necropolis of Kerkouane (C 332). Fourteen cultural properties are included solely on criterion IV[7] : the Hanseatic City of Lübeck (C 272 rev.), the Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis (C 291-275), the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat (C 321), the Historic City of Sucre (C 566), Abu Mena (C 90), the Mudejar Monuments of Teruel (C 378), the Fortress of Suomenlinna (C 583), the Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay (C 165), the Temples of Ggantija (C 132), Bahla Fort (C 433), the Ruins Takht-i-Bahi and Sahr-i-Bahlol (C 140), the Historic Centre of Lima (C 50 bis), the Old Town of Galle (C 451). As for criterion V, reserved for the inclusion of examples of traditional architecture which have become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change, it has been used alone in three cases : Ashanti Traditional Buildings (C 35), Hollokö (C 401 rev.), the Old Town of Ghadames (C 362).

It seems clear that, in Committee practice, the founding text has been applied using a rather flexible and consensual interpretation : a sole criterion is suspect of too great specificity. If criterion I discomfits, it is because, in the end, no absolute masterpiece (neither a Greek temple, nor a Maya pyramid, nor a Hindu pagoda) can pretend to be universally recognized. If criterion V disturbs, it is because, despite the remarkable evolution of collective mentalities, it seems to still imply condescending judgment, previously reserved to vernacular architecture, term the use of which the General Conference has seen advisable to reprove.

The risk of this policy is evidently one of inflation, particularly appreciable from 1987 to 1990 : inclusion appeared all the more justified the higher the number of criteria invoked. Three properties were even included by virtue of six cultural criteria : they are Taishan (N/C 437), the Mogao Caves (C 440), Venice and its Lagoon (C 394).

I.2.b.2 Recourse to criterion II has made apparent a great number of constraints connected to overrestrictive wording of this criterion

▼ By enjoining to only take into account influence exerted by a World Heritage property in the measure in which it is discernible on monuments or groups of buildings, the drafters of the 1972 Convention considerably reduced the scope of this criterion. This was brought out at the occasion of the inclusion of the Church and the Convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie with the « Last Supper » by Leonardo da Vinci (C 93) on 5.9.1980. Should this unqualified masterpiece of painting be considered as deprived of all posterity since the influence exerted is measured above all in the number of engravings and paintings it has inspired during four centuries before, in turn, inspiring the cinema?

The Committee judged otherwise, considering criteria I and II in this nomination. Afterwards, criterion II was likewise invoked in a similar context, for example, that of Mount Taishan (N/C 437) and Mount Huangshan (N/C 547): the argument taken into account is the influence exerted by Taishan and Huangshan on the development of landscape painting by creating motifs found even on Company of the Indies porcelains, popularizing throughout the entire world the stereotype of a Chinese mountain.

▼ An interpretative reading of criterion II has thus permitted, in a certain number of cases, to attach the notion of influence to the whole of the plastic arts, rather than restricting it to only groups of buildings. However, the Committee has hesitated to go a step further and recommend taking into account the whole of cultural relationships, including those concerning the immaterial heritage. This reticence has been perceivable on two memorable occasions : at the time of the inclusion of the Giant's Causeway (28.11.1986), the cultural criterion of influence exerted, through the Ossianic cycles, on Romantic production from Girodet to Mendelssohn, was challenged, and the property included only as natural (N 369). At the time of the inclusion of the Abbey of Lorsch, all references linking this abbey to the legend of the Niebelungen were avoided. Criterion II could thus not be applied to the group of monuments of which the principal element, the famous Torhalle, has, precisely, no issue (C 515 rev.).

▼ Finally, criterion II is based on a one-way concept of influence favoring the « prototypes ». Does this centrifugal concept of intercultural relations postulate by perverse principle, the idea, formally condemned by UNESCO, of « dominant cultures » ? The Committee has repeatedly regretted that one cannot, without specious arguments, evaluate influence received as one evaluates influence exerted. In 1985, particularly fruitful discussions preceded the inclusion of two Brazilian cultural properties, the Historic Center of Salvador de Bahia (C 309) and the Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Congonhas (C 334). Receivers of multiple and contradictory traditions before being, in turn, powerful transmitters of original expressions, these two sites where the encounter of cultures resulted in new forms make one deplore the lack of a criterion where the notion of influence would not be read in its traditional and quasi-colonialist sense. Has the 1972 Convention underestimated the phenomena of acculturation and « mestizaje » ?

2.c Are the four criteria for inclusion in the natural heritage List still valid?

In twenty years, 358 properties have been included in the World Heritage List. Of this number, only 98 have been by way of natural heritage. If one considers the fact that fourteen properties are « mixed », that is, both cultural and natural, the number of sites included as natural is reduced to 84. This disproportion in the representation of the two components of World Heritage has been often remarked and paragraphs I.A 6.III and I.A.6.VI of the Operational Guidelines revised in March 1992 expressly enjoin vigilance with regard to a better balance, in particular, by deliberately slowing the nomination rate of cultural properties, a recommendation which has had little effect.

In the minds of the drafters of the 1972 Convention, the notion of World Heritage was founded on the irreplaceable character of a certain number of properties in the collective consciousness of humanity. By treating the natural and the cultural heritage equally, as components of our memory and our identity, the Convention anticipated by some twenty years quite contemporary considerations, but it also confronted the organizations responsible for implementing it with a difficult problem of balance : should natural and cultural heritage lists be equivalent, or even aim for equal numbers ?

The root of the debate, to which many take exception, may seem trivial : since all properties in the World Heritage List enjoy the same theoretical protection and the same sacralization, once they have been included is it really useful to know if they have been chosen for their cultural rather than natural characteristics ? In truth, this debate periodically reopened by States Parties to the Convention and by the IUCN, prolongs old discussions and is underlain by complex geopolitical considerations.

We must keep in mind that the Convention is the result of two trends: one, emerging from the Athens Conference, organized in 1931 under the aegis of the Society of Nations, laid down the bases of the concept of world cultural heritage ; the other, which was vividly manifested after the Brunnen conference in 1947 and resulted in the founding of IUCN on 5 October 1948, picked up on more systematic bases the objectives already established in 1913 in Bern by the first international conference on the protection of nature.

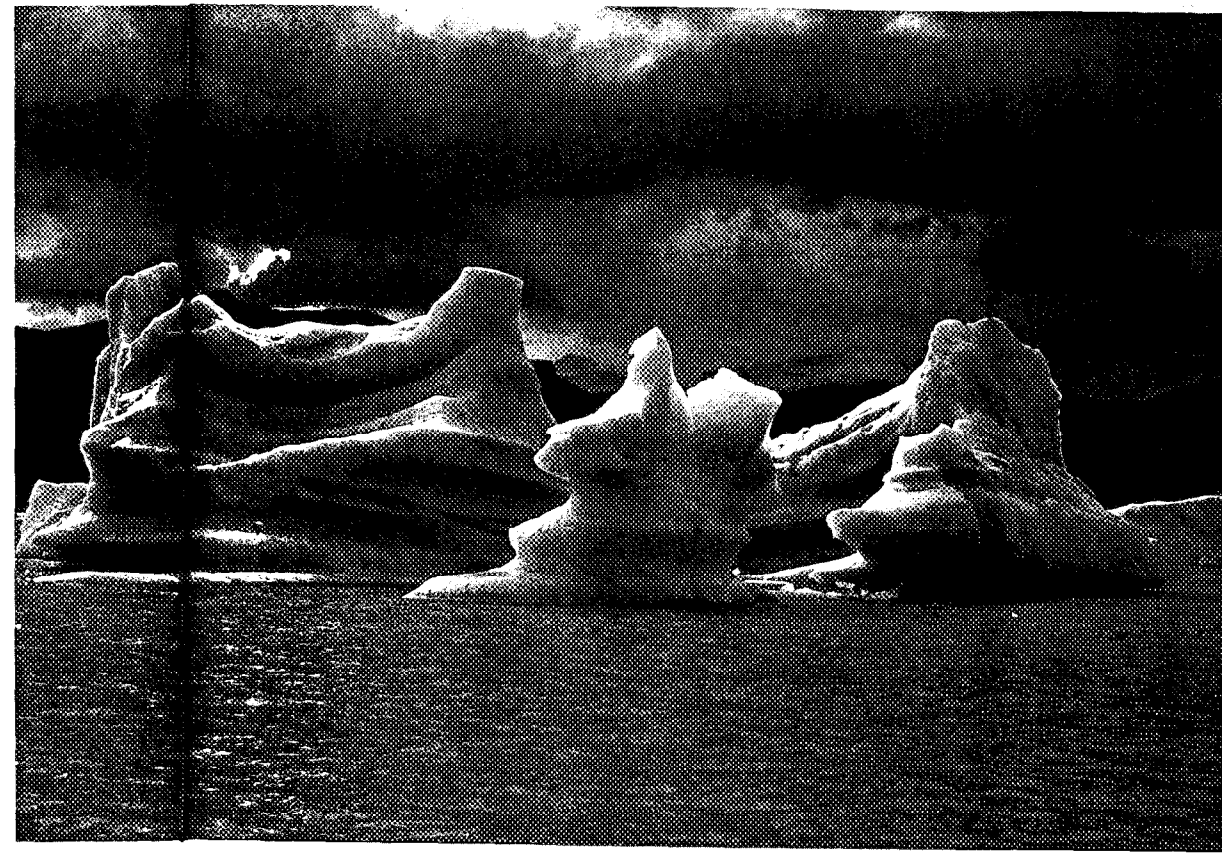
Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Congonhas.
In this votive sanctuary, built to commemorate a Portuguese immigrant's miraculous cure, European styles undergo radical destructuralization, giving rise to a typical Brazilian art.
Carved between 1800 and 1805, the twelve statues of the prophets by Aleijadinho, self-taught master from Ouro Preto, set-off, by their Baroque appearance, the primitive style of the seven *Passos* by the same sculptor which are inspired by 15th-century polychromed groups.
Ph. All rights reserved

The symbolic choice of the sites where these meetings were held (Athens for culture, Bern and Brunnen for nature) already touched upon the idea of geographic apportionment, in which the universe could be divided into « natural zones » and « cultural basins ». This concept of apportionment, according to which the cultural heritage masterpieces would be situated in a few « civilized », in the 19th-century sense of the term, countries, the remarkable natural heritage being the prerogative — or consolation prize — of « new countries », is evidently contrary to the spirit of the Convention.

- In criticism of the « lack of balance » between the lists, as periodically expressed by IUCN and several States Parties to the Convention, the numerical factor is always brought forward. Perhaps it has not been sufficiently emphasized that another approach would achieve inverse results : the surface of the planet covered by natural properties (often national parks of significant dimension) is certainly quite superior to that of cultural properties, many of which are isolated monuments. This obvious fact illustrates a fundamental disparity between the categories of properties, but does not help to resolve the problem of geographical balance between natural and cultural properties : too often the large parks are located in the large countries, which, in a round-about way, amounts to justifying the identification on a global scale of « natural zones » coinciding with « new countries ».

- The idea that the World Heritage List is menaced by a surplus of cultural properties rather than a deficit of natural properties, expressed or implied during several sessions of the World Heritage Committee, is rarely founded on a criticism of procedures for inclusion in the List. Which poses an initial question : are the criteria for inclusion under natural heritage operational ? If the application of criteria I and IV has not raised major difficulties, it is not the same case with criteria II and III, where interpretation has varied.

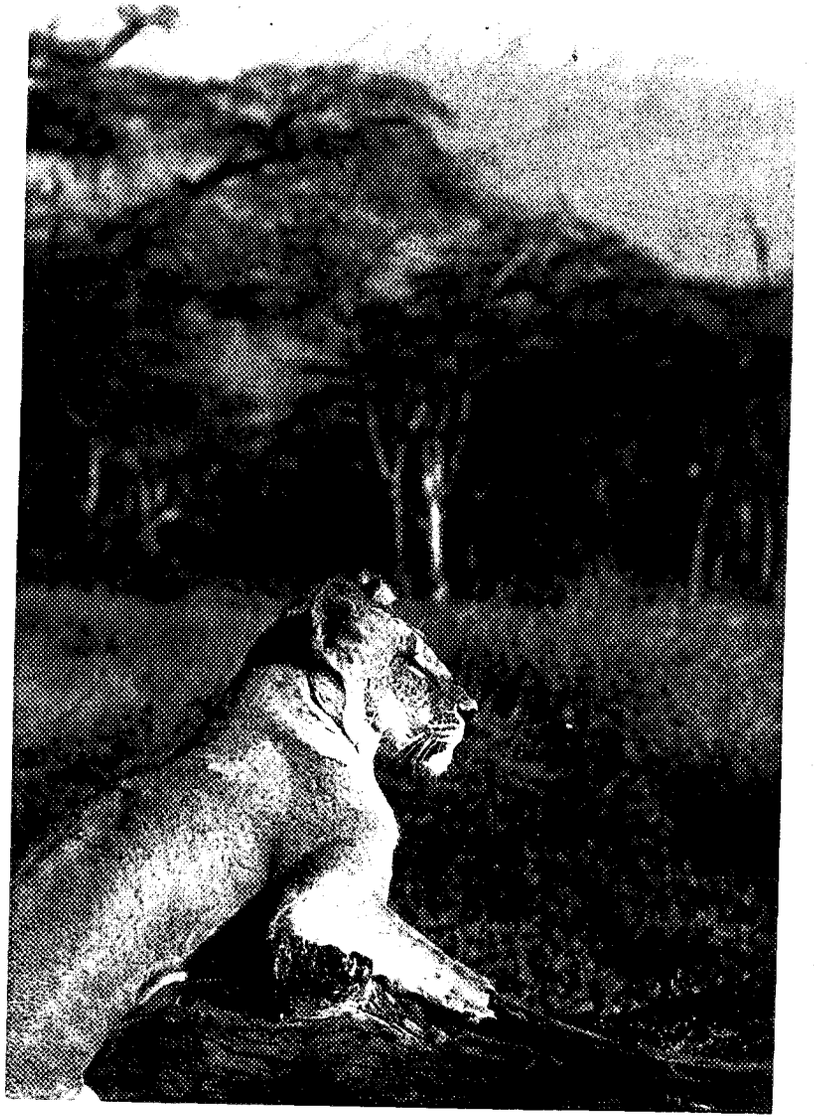
Criterion II concerns sites representing significant ongoing geological processes, biological evolution and man's interaction with his natural environment. But the application of this third parameter has been generally restricted to sites where the interaction between man and his natural environment has been, above all, manifested in the past and is today controlled, as in the Tassili n'Ajjer (N/C 179) and the great majority of Australian natural sites.



Los Glaciares.
One of the largest group of glaciers currently protected : in 1937 the Republic of Argentina enacted a law creating a 445 900 hectare national park and a 154 000 hectare national preserve comprising the perpetual snow cap of the Cordillera of the Andes and the forty-seven glaciers which issue from it and advance towards the Pacific or the Atlantic, such as the glacier Upsala.
Ph. UNESCO/J.C. Simon

In practice, the interaction between man and his natural environment raises far more misgivings on the part of IUCN than do ongoing geological processes or biological evolution rigorously exclusive of the human species. On that account, a large number of anthropic landscapes of obvious universal significance — rice terraces come to mind, for example — are excluded from a World Heritage List where the evolutional processes expressly targeted by article II are interpreted in a limiting fashion. One must acknowledge, however, that it is not the wording of criterion II which is in question. Only a draconian coupling of the provisions of this article with those of the integrity criterion could have brought about surprising rejection phenomena, such as the one manifested during another review of the Lake District nomination at the 1991 session. The small proportion of natural sites in comparison with cultural sites, thé fact that 35 countries have only included cultural sites on the List[8], are largely explained by the tightening of the Committee's positions, sensitive to arguments of defenders of an ecological policy inapplicable outside of the large national parks of the developed countries.

An analogous reading of criterion III has had the same restrictive effect. This criterion targets « superlative natural phenomena, formations or features, for instance, outstanding examples of the most important ecosystems, areas of exceptional natural beauty or exceptional combinations of natural and cultural elements ». These last two categories have given rise to the greatest number of reservations when occasion to interpret them has presented itself. If perception of the beauty of « unspoiled » - – meaning scarcely inhabited — nature poses no problems to experts due to a dominant sensibility inherited from Romanticism and the inception of the ecological movement, it stops being unambiguous when dealing with the combination, as exceptional as it may be, of natural and cultural elements : all « natural » representativeness was denied in 1979 to Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay (C 80), and in 1987 to Venice and its Lagoon (C 394). More fortunate, two sites nominated by China, Mount Taishan (N/C 437) and Mount Huangshan (N/C 547), two sites nominated by Greece, Mount Athos (N/C 454) and Meteora (N/C 455), two sites presented by Turkey, Göreme National park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia (N/C 357) and Hierapolis-Pamukkale (N/C 495) received the « label » nature under criterion III, but only after long discussion. With regard to this, the inclusion of these properties took place between 1985 for Göreme and 1990 for Huangshan. This is precisely the period when the Committee became aware of the difficulties with applying criterion III to the inclusion of natural properties. This criterion apparently paradoxical with the concept of integrity upheld by IUCN representatives would have contributed to eliminating all of the sites where the perception of beauty is rendered by an exceptional combination of natural and cultural elements, had not the



Kilimanjaro National Park.
The highest mountain in Africa (5 895 m) and the forests surrounding it received the status of national park from the Tanzanian government in 1973. The management of the 75 575 hectares exemplifies the problems posed by a fragile ecosystem where traditional ways of life and tourist development threaten the flora and the fauna in different fashions.
Ph. UNESCO/M.Batisse

Committee decided in a certain number of cases to consider the opinion of the NGO in charge of evaluating the cultural heritage.

2.d Are there « outcasts » to the Convention ?

Critical examination of the validity of the criteria brings out a certain number of weaknesses. These are sometimes due to the wording of the Operational Guidelines, however, still more often due to a too limiting interpretation held by the Committee and the Secretary. Two important categories of properties which the Convention could permit included have been affected, for different reasons, by an exclusionary policy one would think open to review : the contemporary architectural heritage, the industrial heritage. A third category of which even the definition causes problems, that of cultural landscapes, needs to be treated separately.

I.2.d.1 The architectural heritage of the 20th–century

The refusal to embark upon a policy of protection of the current heritage results from a combination of circumstances : during the fifth general session (Sydney, 26–30 October 1981), the Committee was to examine the nomination for inclusion of the Sidney Opera House (408) in the World Heritage List. The Australian government decided to withdraw the demand when Jorn Utzon's masterpiece (1957 – 1973) did not achieve unanimity. The Committee, aware of its responsibilities, then took the initiative of conducting a reflection on contemporary architecture in the form of consultations with experts, either at the Secretary's initiative or at the NGOs' initiative, primarily ICOMOS. To this day, this consultation has not resulted in specific proposals for three primary reasons :

- The « value increase » ensuing the inclusion of one the works of a contemporary architect, painter, sculptor or other artist on the World Heritage List would undermine the Convention's credibility.

- The work of great contemporary architects is international, each of them has worked on sites all over the world. In establishing a representative list of 20th-century architecture it would be difficult to respect the national and regional balance which the Convention should decidedly take into consideration.

- The « lack of proper perspective » does not permit a totally impartial judgment of the representativeness of contemporary works of architecture, notoriety not always being synonymous of quality.

These arguments have unequal merit. The first, of juridical and ethical nature, can be hardly opposed to UNESCO when other prestigious distinctions (such as the Nobel prize) are awarded to the production of living scientists and artists. The second could be turned around and the activity of the same artist on several continents could vividly manifest to the universality of the creation. The third appears to postulate that equitable judgment can only come with time. No one would subscribe to this conclusion : masterpieces perish, victim to time and man ; it can also happen that they are ignored and rediscovered.

In reality, the rejection of 20th–century architecture appears as pretense for other concerns : the refusal, for the traditionalists of heritage, to admit contemporary creation, the refusal, for the specialists of 19th–century architecture, to emerge from an elitist vision confined to the « great artists », the refusal, for developing countries, to include new elements to the already lengthy honors roll of rich countries.

From this point of view, it is fitting that the only inclusion which has inflected the rigid policy line defined in 1981 has been that of Brasilia (C 445) in 1987 : the choice of a contemporary urban group of buildings, work of Brazilian urbanist Lucio Costa and Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer, both living, in a country which is not among the most developed, reveals the inanity of the apprehensions voiced. It also recalls the urgency of a policy of protection : recent heritage is no less threatened by evolution than traditional archaeological or historical heritage.

I.2.d.2 The *industrial* heritage

The exclusion of 20th–century architectural heritage has been almost total. That of industrial heritage, more selective, is only apparent. If remarkable properties such as Ironbridge Gorge (C 371), have been included without difficulty, others, on the contrary, have not met with unanimity. The United Kingdom withdrew, in 1988, two nominations concerning the S.S. Great Britain and its dock (C 485) and the Menai and Conwy Suspension Bridges (C 497), New Lanark was successively deferred in 1987 and 1988. These measures call for commentaries. For historical reasons, the cause of industrial heritage was born in the United Kingdom and was for a long time connected with a school of thought which associates this heritage with that of industrial societies. It would follow from this—nowadays contested—postulate that, on the one hand, the only countries which could nominate industrial heritage properties are the developed countries, stages of the first or second industrial revolution, and on the other hand that all forms of the industrial society (including urban and social organization) are part of the industrial heritage, which explains, for example, the arguments developed on behalf of the inclusion of New Lanark.

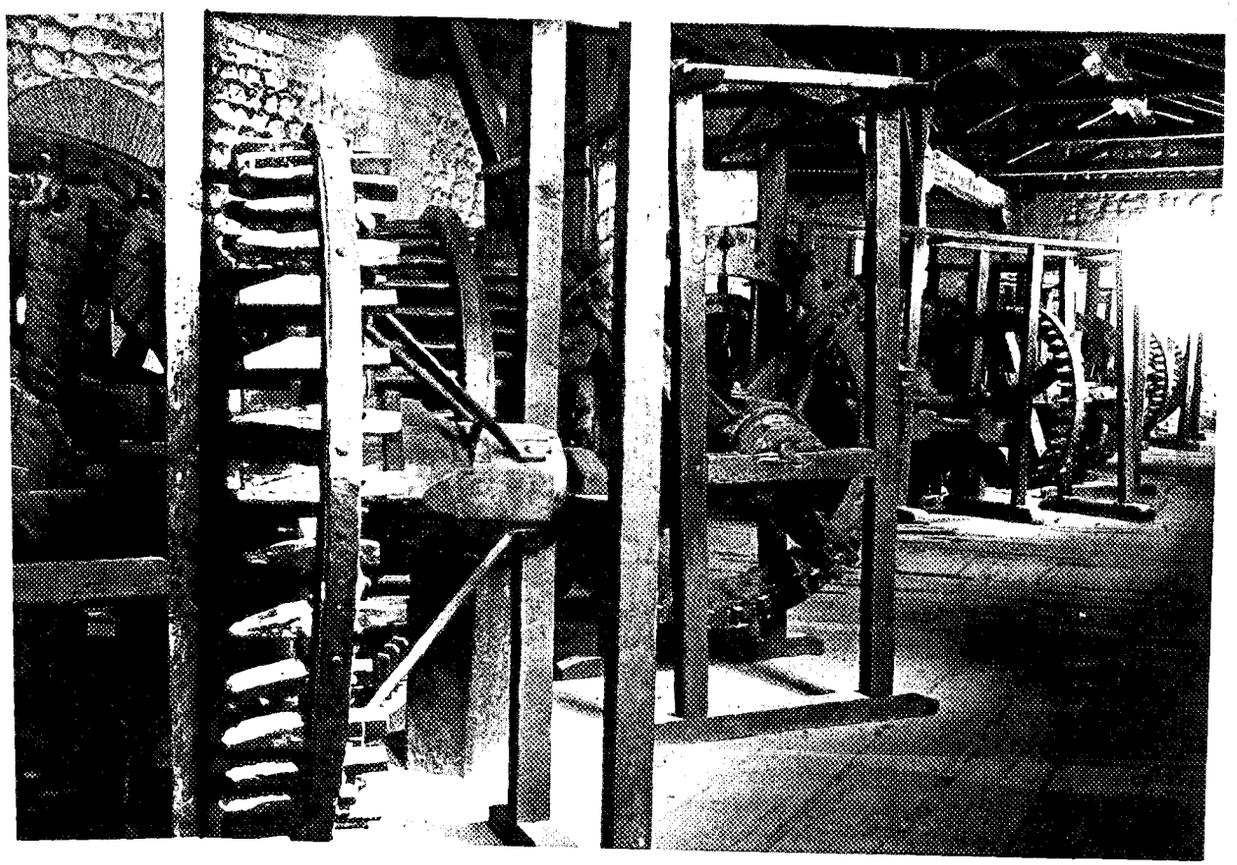
The Committee, while taking the initiative for studies such as the one sparked by the topic of 20th-century architecture, has wished to emphasize on several occasions its desire to treat the industrial heritage in a different sense than that of the founders of this notion and certain NGO's. Deliberately refusing the discrimination which would oppose « proto-industrial », « craft », or « traditional » heritage to that of developed or industrialized countries, it has manifested through a series of significant inclusions, its desire to open the concept of industrial heritage to the whole of humanity's heritage of techniques, without limiting the place or the period. Thus, the Wieliczka Salt Mine (C 32) and the Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans (C 203) were included respectively in 1978 and 1982; the Silver Mines and City of Potosi (C 420) were included in 1987. In 1988, two new properties emphatically expressed the desire to unite under the same protection the industrial sites and the towns they generated : in effect, during its twelfth session, the Committee included the Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines (C 482) and Trinidad and the Valley de los Ingenios (C 460).

Through resolute policy, the Committee has equally refused to create specific criteria for the category of heritage as such : refusal of the « museographic » solution with regard to archaeological sites has had logical repercussions, of sorts, during the examination of the Tonglushan Site (China) deferred in 1990. This remarkable site of copper extraction and metallurgy, unique in the world because of its date and surface covered, is today so reduced by continued mining operations that it no longer fulfils criteria which would have caused it to be selected some ten years ago.

I.2.d.3 « Mixed properties » and « cultural landscapes »

This question has, little by little, become the Convention's stumbling block and has given rise, since the twelfth session (Brasilia, 5-9 December 1988), during which a document was presented to the Committee as a result of the difficulties encountered by the Bureau (SC-88/CONF.001/10), to numerous positions being adopted, without any clear policy being defined.

It is, in the first place, a matter of lifting a purely operational obstacle : that of the dual examination of properties in question as cultural heritage and natural heritage.



Potosi.
At an altitude of 3 000 meters, the Cerro de Potosi silver mines have been exploited in an industrial manner since the Spanish conquest : shown here, the rolling-mills of the Mint. The inclusion of Potosi in the World Heritage List marked an important date in the implementation of the Convention : the industrial site as a whole, and not just the colonial city to which it gave rise, was taken into consideration.
Ph. UNESCO/I. Klein

Indeed, beyond this question of procedure, it is a matter of clarifying a concept which has not ceased to evolve spontaneously to the point of becoming, either exaggeratedly inclusive, or totally reductive. Should « mixed properties » be associated with « cultural landscapes » and to what extent ? Is a cultural landscape, above all, evidence of specific human activity having thoroughly transformed a natural landscape (such as rice terraces) or on the contrary, optimum affirmation of a form of art which has glorified it (thus the Fuji-Yama for Japanese painting, the Florentine countryside for Tuscan painting, as well as the Appalachians for the American landscapists from Frederick Church to Thomas Cole) ?

It is obvious that the Convention, between natural sites exclusive of human presence and the inhabited groups of buildings — towns or villages — should provide a means of protecting spaces modified by man and inseparable from history, whether they be memorial sites, outstanding examples of significant settlement patterns or simply, as provided for by the Operational Guidelines with regard to the natural heritage, « exceptional combinations of natural and cultural elements » (36.a.III).

The definition of a strategy liable to resolve the problems posed by a series of inconsistent decisions should be one of UNESCO's priorities shortly after the celebration of the Convention's twentieth anniversary.

I.2.d.4 The issue of movable heritage

Several times, requests have been put forth to extend inclusion to movable heritage, most recently by the Algerian delegation to the general Conference of 1991. This wish seems hardly realizable for several reasons.

▼ Since the concept of movable heritage only concerns the cultural heritage, the project may appear contradictory to the spirit of the Convention, which seeks a balance between natural heritage and cultural heritage.

▼ The variety of the laws in force constitutes a practical obstacle to the adoption of an international convention concerning movable objects. Certain legislations include (even if it entails merging them within a notion of national property) all categories of the physical heritage : sites, monuments and movable objects ; others, more numerous, establish clear legal distinctions between sites, real property and movable property (the definition of movable property « which becomes immovable by its nature or the purpose for which it is intended » constituting sometimes an additional nuance). It is difficult to harmonize these laws at the scale of a region[9], the task would be *a fortiori* more difficult for the entire world.

▼ The variety of cultural policies is another obstacle to the realization of this desire. Certain countries deliberately centralize the great masterpieces of painting, sculpture and precious art in large national museums, depleting the sites and monuments of their movable substance ; others, on the contrary, favor integrated conservation *in situ*, without there being a unique statutory model of this presentation (site museum, historical monument, etc.).

▼ The ravages of « elginism » and illicit traffic in works of art until the adoption of the 1970 Convention, and even after this date, constitute another obstacle to the implementation of protection of movable objects under the World Heritage Convention. The countries signatories to the Convention regarding measures to prohibit and prevent the illicit importation, exportation, and transfer of ownership of cultural properties are not always the same countries signatories to the World Heritage Convention.

It seems, thus, that the World Heritage Committee, the Secretariat, and the NGO's have adopted a wait and see attitude regarding the possibilities of extending the 1972 Convention to movable objects. While considering that the presence of substantial movable property on an archaeological site or in a monument constitutes an additional element of positive value, the Committee has not refused the inclusion of cultural properties despoiled of a significant part of their moveable decor for the benefit of a collection or a museum. To avoid that, in practice, these principles of protection not appear contradictory with the 1970 Convention, it seems desirable, on one hand, for UNESCO to recommend the joint adoption of the conventions of 14 November 1970 and 16 November 1972, and on the other, that the World Heritage Centre regularly participate to the proceedings of the intergovernmental Committee for the promotion of the return of cultural properties to their country of origin or, in the case of illegal appropriation, their restitution.

Implementation of the Convention

The modalities of the Convention's functioning, as defined in 1972–1976, involve the regular and quasi-institutional intervention of a certain number of partners : the States Parties, the World Heritage Committee, the UNESCO Secretariat, the advisory bodies. By analyzing the conditions under which these partners' activities have taken place until now, it is possible to differentiate some causes of success or failure of the policies of identification, protection, conservation and presentation of World Heritage hoped for in 1972.

1 THE ROLE OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THE CONVENTION

As of 4 December 1992, one hundred and thirty-two States have ratified the Convention, have accepted it, or adhered to it, these various juridic modalities being translated by a practically equivalent participatory potential. The « States Parties » (the UNESCO juridic vocabulary term employed) are the primary contributors to the implementation of the Convention since they are charged with elaborating the nominations for inclusion presented to the Committee after having submitted to it a tentative list of properties they intend to « nominate for inclusion to the World Heritage List during the next five to ten years »[10] . What has been the action of these States Parties ?

An initial observation can be made. There is a gap between the number of countries having actually included properties in the World Heritage List (82) and the States Parties to the Convention (132 as of the beginning of December 1992). The reasons for this difference in numbers are varied. Certain countries encounter real difficulties identifying within their territory a cultural or natural property the exceptional value of which would be universally acknowledged. However, that is evidently not the case with Chile, which ratified the Convention on 20.02.1980, and has not, since that date, proposed inclusion of Easter Island, a cultural property essential to the List.

The sovereignty of the States Parties to the Convention can hardly be held responsible, since it is one of the foundations itself of the United Nations

system. A systematic incitatory policy, were it to be adopted by UNESCO, could be misconstrued as setting forth the principle that each State Party should nominate one or several properties to the Committee. In its complexity, the question presented by the lack of mobilization of certain States Parties overtakes the one of the States which have not recognized the juridical instrument of 1972. What is the credibility of the notion of heritage of humanity as long as Austria, for example, has not ratified the Convention ? It would not be of much use to analyze the causes for the lack of engagement or disengagement of certain UNESCO States members in the policy inaugurated in 1972. On the other hand, the role of the States Parties to the Convention since its implementation can be the subject of various observations.

1.a Developed countries and developing countries

The developed countries have generally no difficulty in submitting to the discipline of the Operational Guidelines directing the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The United States, first country to ratify the Convention (07.12.1973), has always submitted to the Committee documents of high scientific quality. The identification of heritage, the setting up of complete documentation comprising all of the elements enumerated under title I.G.(54) of the Operational Guidelines (p. 12--15) does not pose any particular problem to a country endowed with a highly specialized administration and a significant academic infrastructure.

In the developing countries it is a very different case : the specific documentation to be provided with nominations of groups of buildings or sites (Operational Guidelines 54f) is practically impossible to put together in the absence of administrative services specialized in the area of cultural and natural heritage ; even assembling a bibliography poses a problem where there is a lack of libraries or when these are notoriously inadequate. Finally, the drafting of a nomination in one of the two working languages adopted by the Committee (English or French) can likewise constitute a strongly dissuasive requirement.

In practice, the generalization of preparatory assistance to developing countries which request it has corrected certain flagrant inequities. But this is hardly a satisfactory solution. Insofar as it refers the identification of heritage to an expert foreign to the country, it creates the conditions for a different reading of the Convention. Ideally, preparatory assistance should not be limited to the drafting of the nomination, but should include, in addition to an action of increasing sensibility on the part of those responsible for the heritage in the countries in which it takes place, ancillary measures (creation or improvement of a specialized library, a drafting or photography service, etc.). These

undoubtedly costly measures which depend on the World Heritage Fund should perhaps be reserved to those of the 41 LDC's enumerated in 1990 which have ratified the Convention.

1.b Centralized countries and decentralized countries

More than the form of government, monarchy or democracy, the State structures influence the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. A highly centralized system, such as that in Egypt, may promote thematic and geographic narrowing of nominations, the most spectacular of the large groups of buildings included on the list being that of the Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae (C 88). On the other hand, a federal system or an organization founded on strongly defined regional authority will have difficulty managing balanced representation of the different territorial components of the State Party to the Convention. These structural disadvantages clearly appeared in the case of nominations proposed by certain countries, such as the United States of America, inclined to reason in terms of States of the Union, or Germany, which is based on the existence of the Länder. The federal or decentralized systems seem to aggravate the disadvantages of the Convention, which links the definition of World Heritage properties to the existence of current States instead of taking into consideration the existence of natural regions or cultural areas which in no way coincide with the historically dependent definition of these States.

1.c World Heritage and identity strategies

The inclusion of natural properties being generally more consensual, it is within the domain of culture where identity strategies are more strongly manifested. Twenty-three States have deliberately played the capital's card by obtaining inclusion in the World Heritage List of either the city where the seat of political power is concentrated, or a part of this city, or of a monument or group of monuments symbolic of this city.[11]

This type of nomination, through which national identity is expressed in a symbolic manner, has been generally encouraged by the Committee, considering the unmistakable heritage value consolidated in most of the capitals, whereas the nominations concerning highly symbolically charged « national monuments », such as the National Monument at San Jose, Costa Rica (C 105) or the Warrior's Cemetery and Monuments of Freedom of Riga (C 605) have been judged incompatible with the principles of universality proclaimed by the Convention.

The idea of national identity founded on continuous historical legitimacy and anchored in the long term has been illustrated, first, by the inclusion strategy of

Bulgaria, which was also one of the first countries to sign the Convention (07.03.1974). The affirmation of the distinctiveness of the Thracian tomb of Kazanlak (C 44), of the « protobulgar » rock bas-relief, the Madara Rider (C 43), of the Rila Monastery, eclectic monument of the « Bulgarian Renaissance » (C 216), have marked, from 1979 to 1983, the adoption of a strongly nationalist discourse which has at times established jurisprudence.

On the other hand, many States have sought to extol the diversity of their heritage based on the variety of cultures it brings together. More satisfying for the spirit, this approach is no less liable to dangerous deviations : in sampling its heritage, from the Decorated Grottoes of the Vézère Valley (C 85) to the Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans (C 203), France has not thought, by deliberately expressing the lengthy historical formation processes which characterize it, to throw off balance a World Heritage List in which Lascaux is placed side by side with Altamira and the Roman amphitheater of Arles with the Coliseum, the Pont du Gard with the Aqueduct of Segovia or yet, Fontenay Abbey with that of Poblet. However, this identity perception of cultural diversity would need to be acknowledged as such by minority cultures and by other countries. By affirming in principle the heterogeneity of ancient or subsisting cultures federated by the Ottoman empire, Turkey has included the Hittite Monuments of Hattusha (C 377), the Lycian archaeological site of Xanthos (C 484), the Hellenic sanctuary of Hierapolis-Pamukkale (N/C 485), the Christian Monuments of Cappadocia (N/C 357), the Great Mosque and Hospital of Divrigi (C 358) – without speaking of the Historic Areas of Istanbul where remarkable monuments of all periods, from the Roman world to contemporary Turkey, coexist. Nevertheless, no significant examples of Armenian and Georgian cultures have been proposed, an omission which representatives of these minorities could point out.

The option chosen in this last case is not unique. In like manner, the Syrian Arab Republic does not envisage, at this time, to nominate the Krak des Chevaliers ; for the moment China has included on its tentative list neither the Lhassa architectural grouping, nor other elements of Tibetan heritage. In fact, the implementation of the Convention authorizes a reading which may be interpreted by either temporarily setting aside the cultural identity of an ethnic, linguistic, religious, or political component, or by pressing a claim regarding cultural properties considered inseparable from national identity. With regard to this, one may evoke the extremely fruitful discussions which in 1981 preceded the unavoidable inclusion of the Old City of Jerusalem at Jordan's request (C 148), but, on the contrary, the failure of the nomination for inclusion of the archaeological Sites in Northern Ireland submitted by the United Kingdom : compared to those of Eire, the Ecclesiastical sites of Lough Erne (C 427) and of Navan Fort (C 490 rev.), did not convince the World Heritage Committee. Other fundamental questions of the same type have unfortunately not been tackled until now due to obvious political reasons.

2 THE ROLE OF THE WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE

Since 1976, the Committee has played an essential role and its action has greatly contributed to the Convention's success. Without anticipating here the results of the evaluation which the Committee is conducting on its own account, it nevertheless appears useful to formulate certain observations in view of improving its functioning.

2.a The Committee should regroup a majority of specialists from all the regions concerned. The very unequal representation of countries and regions brings out the disparities of situations expressed in point II.1.a. These are aggravated by the fact that the Committee meets sometimes at the Headquarters of the Organization, which permits the members of the permanent delegations to follow the work, sometimes in a host country, reducing all the more participation by certain LDC's and developing countries. The World Heritage Fund, which permits defraying the travel expenses of certain Committee members, is not, under the circumstances, the ideal source of financing.

2.b The Committee should have the means to monitor its policy. Elected for one session, with a large turnover of a percentage of its members every two years, this decision-making body has no memory of its own and loses, as a result of turnover of the commissions, the means for long term action. These failures are inadequately mitigated by the existence of the Secretariat, whose action will be evoked under II.3.

3 THE ROLE OF THE SECRETARIAT

The UNESCO Secretariat is the Committee's memory and allows the policies of identification, preservation, conservation, and presentation of World Heritage it has defined at each session to be placed in the long term. The Secretariat has not failed this essential task, however, the range of its action has been reduced by several structural factors and by the resulting intellectual options.

3.a Until the creation of the World Heritage Centre, the disconnectedness of the Secretariat, which depended from two different UNESCO Sectors, the Science Sector and the Culture Sector, contributed to

widening the rift between the natural heritage and the cultural heritage. The need for single management of the Convention had thus become evident and the creation by the General Director of a World Heritage Centre on 1.5.1992 should be hailed as an extremely positive structural modification.

3.b The insufficient number of personnel made available to the Secretariat by the Organization has been periodically highlighted. This prevents it from carrying out its mission above and beyond day to day duties (setting up Bureau and Committee meetings, elaborating and transmitting the proceedings, preliminary processing of the nominations, corresponding with the States Parties to the Convention, with the Committee, with the NGO's, etc.). On the other hand, the remarkable work accomplished these last few years in the area of World Heritage promotion has been carried out practically by a single person.

3.c The recruitment of personnel, which until now has excluded cultural heritage specialists from access to positions of responsibility, curtails the Secretariat to a management function. Possibilities of dysfunctioning arise, due either to the slowness of communication with members of the Bureau and the President of the Committee, or to rapid decision making without previously consulting those in charge.

3.d Because of the background of the international officials occupying positions of responsibility at the P-5 or D-1 level, and who have, within the Culture sector, been essentially recruited among administrators and jurists, the scientific policy of the Committee is interpreted in a restrictive and, in the long term, prejudicial manner. Thus, in jurisprudence, contingency decisions taken during a session during the examination of a specific property are incorporated into the corpus of doctrine of the Convention and the Operational Guidelines. This interpretation is particularly prejudicial to the future of the Convention with regard to sensitive sectors, such as contemporary architecture, traditional villages and cultural landscapes. The Secretariat assumes great, and undoubtedly excessive, responsibility by recalling, after each election of a new Committee, that it had decided to suspend any new inclusions of properties under these categories, awaiting a « global approach » which all absence of methodological consensus puts off indefinitely.

4 THE ROLE OF THE ADVISORY BODIES

The Convention provides for delegating the preliminary examination of nominations presented by the States Parties to two NGO's — IUCN for the natural properties and ICOMOS for cultural properties. ICCROM may be consulted regarding all restoration problems which concern the cultural heritage.

These advisory bodies have consecrated a significant portion of their activity to the Convention. However, their manner of action is diverse and has, moreover, varied.

4.a IUCN's expertise

IUCN has at its disposal a network of experts and the financial means to permit a thorough evaluation of major natural heritage properties. All of the properties brought before the World Heritage Convention have been subject to one or several visits and a detailed report.

IUCN's orientation is that of the 1960's. Essentially concerned with the protection of large preserves, this NGO appears to encourage a sampling system of major geological, climactic, and biological features which has allowed it draw up a tentative list of World Heritage. It isn't certain that the « scientism » of this attitude corresponds to the present situation.

4.b ICOMOS's expertise

ICOMOS does not have at its disposal a network of experts and financial means comparable to those of IUCN, but it has national Committees and specialized Committees. Having quickly established that the national Committees could not have political power opposed to that of the States Parties to the Convention and that the specialized Committees had scientific selection principles which risked skewing the representativeness of the World Heritage List[12], ICOMOS has chosen, in 1980, a coordinator in charge of assembling all of the data necessary to inform its Bureau and reporting to it. The evaluation thus results in three phases of work : consultation with the experts, consultation with the Bureau of ICOMOS, drafting a document submitted to the World Heritage Committee. This system, amended in 1991[13], errs often by lack of recent information verified on-site. The missions approved by the Secretariat obviously concern only a small number of particularly sensitive nominations.

4.c ICCROM's expertise

ICCROM has only been called upon to express itself on a restricted number of nominations having a very specific technical aspect. The evaluation of risks, methods of conservation and materials employed constitute an essential contribution to the Committe's work. However, improved coordination between ICCROM and ICOMOS appears necessary on the doctrinal level

in order to avoid the risk of growing contradiction among the conservation policies practiced by States Parties to the Convention, UNESCO, in the case of international campaigns, and the experts mandated by the various NGO's.

The future of the Convention

Two decades of application of the Convention allow us to assess its results, to challenge the legal instrument and procedures, to reflect on the future of World Heritage, even if it entails redefining the goals pursued, as a result of the evolution of opinion and avatars of the different sites included before 1992. This critical evaluation and anticipatory reflection do not deem it advisable to take the radical course of revising the Convention as proposed by the permanent delegation from Italy at the 139th session of the Executive Council (document 139 EX/29 of 28 April 1992). The program commission and the Council's external relations hesitated, on 21 May 1992, to create a consulting group of experts « for the purpose of examining in depth the report which the General Director will present to the 140th session of the Executive Council on all of the questions and initiatives regarding a possible improvement in the protection of world cultural and natural heritage » (document 139 EX/PX/DR.5). Concern with stalling the Convention's dynamic by a revision procedure necessitating at least a pause, which was expressed by certain States Members (paragraph 3), prevailed at that time. It is all the more necessary to clearly formulate the questions that the Executive Council will have to examine during its 141st session. Some of these are, necessarily, provocative : does the public's opinion of the Convention reflect that of the States ? Is scientific opinion compatible with that of NGO experts charged with its implementation ? Without failing to recognize the need for a reflection conducted on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary by all of the active participants to the Convention (UNESCO, with the reports of the Director General, the Secretariat, the World Heritage Committee, the advisory group of experts designated 21 May 1992 ; the States Members, with the reports of the ministries concerned and the national commissions ; the NGO's) it seems desirable to provide for different types of inquiries (from the survey to the specialists' round table) more broadly associating public opinion to the work already planned.

1 THE CONVENTION AND PUBLIC OPINION

The question which comes up first concerns the Convention's visibility, this being obviously rather disproportionate according to the regions concerned. But it would be too simplistic to relate this to the level of education, or even more rudimentary, the degree of literacy in the countries concerned. In fact, the Convention's image in public opinion depends on several factors, some of which are evident, such as the role of the media or the links with international assistance, others, more difficult to evaluate. Resorting to surveys, as mentioned above, would do a great service by revealing a statistical reality difficult to evaluate within our current state of knowledge.

1.a The Convention, the media and public opinion

As with all actions by UNESCO, the Convention is inadequately popularized by the media. The causes of this situation are multiple, but the Organization is the first responsible : reinforcing the press service should be a priority of the Organization in the coming years. One of the essential functions of the World Heritage Centre should be the management of relations (anarchic at present in spite of sustained efforts by the person in charge of World Heritage promotion) among UNESCO, the editors, the press agencies, the newspapers and periodicals, the radio stations and the television networks.

In the absence of this indispensable information centre, what is, in fact, the situation ? It is characterized, first, by a phenomenon of subcontracting : the World Heritage Convention is described according to editorial and media logic which is, at times alien, to its spirit. These tend to favor primarily the main languages of communication, such as English, French and Spanish ; however these are also dangerous in the sense that they widen the rift between the developed and the developing countries by strongly linking the notion of heritage with its touristic exploitation. It is symptomatic of a general situation in that, in its supplement to issue 13930 of Friday, 10 November 1989, the newspaper *Le Monde* ran the feature « *For your vacation : The 314 UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Reporting from the five continents* » and chose to present accessible sites under a heading « *Getting there* » which included the addresses of travel agencies and prices for trips and stays.

Besides these intentional choices, editors and journalists generally favor the spectacular : after their revision, the World Heritage List tends to turn into a list of « wonders of the world », the writers obviously finding themselves disconcerted when dealing with less famous sites included under criteria III, IV, or V. This selective perception merits commentary. One may ask if, in effect, the current evolution of the World Heritage List reflects contradictory logics : that of the States, which strongly demand the inclusion of memorial places such as the

Rila Monastery (C 216) or Santo Domingo (C 526), that of the « humanists » who support the nominations concerning the Auschwitz Concentration Camp (C 31) or the Island of Gorée (C 26), that of the « specialists » for whom the List would lose its meaning if the Torhalle of Lorsch, key monument of the Carolingian Renaissance, were not included (C 515 rev.). In the measure in which the media's judgment, if it does not reproduce public opinion, determines it, should inclusion in the List of the most awaited and least controversial properties be expedited in order not to risk eventual loss of credibility of the Convention ? Under this hypothesis, informal consultation of the conveyors of public opinion which constitute the world of publishing, the press, and the audiovisual sphere could provide, on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary, some general answers which would be interesting to analyze.

1.b The Convention, international assistance and public opinion

Public opinion had for a long time judged UNESCO's action on behalf of cultural heritage from a few spectacular actions linked to international campaigns : the rescue of the Temples of Abu Simbel and that of Borobudur are good examples. Persistent misunderstanding links the idea of World Heritage with that of an international campaign : public opinion forgets that, at the time of the inclusion of the Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae (C 88) in 1979, these had already been rescued from the waters of Lake Nasser (1964–1968) and that, at the time of the inclusion of the Borobodur Temple Compounds in 1991, the restoration of the temples, ongoing since 1971, was practically finished. In practice, many international campaigns have thus preceded the inclusion of the site they concerned in the World Heritage List : the most recent example is the start of the work on the Angkor restoration, announced during the General Conference in 1991, without this remarkable site figuring in the List at that time. The World Heritage Committee and the work group set up by the former at its eleventh session (Paris, 1987) have expressed their dissatisfaction with this practice, having recommended inclusion in the World Heritage List prior to launching new international campaigns.

As a general rule, it appears difficult to comply with this request. The inclusion and the launching of an international campaign respond to two different logics and their juridic mechanism is quite distinct. Still, public opinion must be informed of two little known facts : an international campaign may concern a site which will never be included in the World Heritage List ; inclusion in the World Heritage List does not *ipso facto* entail financial aid from the international community. In this manner, a series of misunderstandings would be avoided, which from the richest countries to the LDC's, alter the image of the Convention, considered by the former as gratuitous display on an honors roll

Aït Ben Haddou.
The traditional architecture of the pre-Saharan region is well represented in the South of Morocco, where persist a large number of fortified villages, nowadays threatened by neglect. The Ksar of Aït Ben Haddou, included in the World Heritage List in 1987, is one of the most authentic and best preserved group of buildings. However the problem of its survival comes up, bearing upon that of the maintenance of extremely vulnerable brick achitecture.
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and by the latter as the motive for some kind of sponsorship. If on the other hand, the practice which attributes in priority the meager resources of the World Heritage Fund to disadvantaged countries cannot be challenged, perhaps one should reflect upon some of its perverse effects : in making the LDC's the beneficiaries of international solidarity — in the form of funds, materials, and experts — UNESCO involuntarily contributes to keeping them in a dependent position and risks, at the same time, of standing for « globalization » of know-how : the adobe techniques promulgated by the specialists are the same at Aït-Ben-Haddou (C 444), at Sana'a (C 385), at Bahla (C 433), or even Chan Chan (C 366). In depriving the rich countries of all aid, UNESCO risks, on the contrary, seeing them adopt conservation policies condemned by the international community and denies itself in fact all possibility of monitoring compliance with the Convention.

2 THE CONVENTION AND THE EXPERTS

The Convention was conceived in 1972 as an instrument of international cooperation entrusted to political authorities — the States — the faculty of expertise being assigned to the World Heritage Committee, but, in practice, largely delegated to the two NGO's concerned — IUCN and ICOMOS — as well as to ICCROM. This system which clearly subordinates « scientific » choices to « political » choices, has been criticized on several occasions and in fact entails a certain number of risks, lack of expertise being less obvious than establishment of a corpus of doctrine peculiar to the Convention, marginalizing it with regard to the scientific world. The appointment by the States of genuine experts to the World Heritage Committee posing problems (see *supra* II.2), the evaluation proceedings by the NGO's being varied (see *supra* II.4), one may ask if the celebration of the Convention's twentieth anniversary could be the occasion to put together a round-table of international experts. Diverse initiatives in this direction, such as those of the World Heritage Centre and the Executive Council could be then coordinated. These experts, belonging to academic or scientific institutions yet chosen *intuitu personae*, could be readily consulted on several points regularly evoked by the Committee : inclusion of new categories of properties, minority cultures, etc. Perhaps it would be useful, at least in the short term, to endow UNESCO with an advisory authority of the « scientific council » type, the form as well as the scope of this authority remain to be defined.

2.a Should a numerical limit be set for the List ?

This question has been asked, either by the Committee, or the delegations, or the Secretariat, or the NGO's at almost all of the sessions since 1976. It reveals sometimes a concern for political efficiency — the list would lose its credibility if it were to be indefinitely lengthened following the circumstances — sometimes a requirement for scientific rigor (in including in a « tentative list » all of the properties which merit being placed under the protection of humanity, UNESCO would mask the temporary and incomplete character of a list in the making).

In fact, the determination of an arbitrary numerical limit (1 000 ? 1 500 ? 2 000 ?) desired by the « policy makers » appears less unacceptable than that of a « tentative list », wanted by the « scientists ». The establishment of such a list — even in an informal manner — would run into fundamental objections. How would the States Parties react to the inclusion in this list of properties deliberately excluded from their tentative lists (see *supra* II 1.c) ? How would the States which have not ratified the Convention accept seeing the international community dispose of their heritage ? On what absolute criteria would the

decision finally take place, when the practice of the Convention proves the relativity of largely contingent choices : remarkable sites, such as the Qin Shi Huangdi (C 441) are revealed by archaeology ; it took the occasion of the celebration in 1992 of the « Encounter of Two Worlds » for the international community to acknowledge the eminent symbolic quality of the Monuments of Santo Domingo (C 526), finally new categories of heritage such as towns, rural landscapes, contemporary architecture, are claimed by the collective memory as the scientific community becomes aware of their value, harbinger of public opinion in constant evolution.

2.b Can a World Heritage « typology » be defined ?

This question is strongly linked to the previous one. The group of experts designated by the Committee during its eleventh session and meeting under the Chairman, Ambassador Ananda Guruge, dedicated a large portion of their work to the preparation of a global approach project and a functional typology with the goal of improving the procedures of inclusion in the World Heritage List. This project, presented to the Committee during the twelfth and thirteenth sessions, began to be applied before being finally challenged by the Committee during its fifteenth session (Carthage, 1991). In the minds of its promoters, for the most part experts in natural heritage, such as J.D. Collinson, it was a question of defining, from properties already included on the list, a classification matrix taking into account functional, historical (cultural area or civilization), and esthetic (art historical epoch or style) parameters. This procedure presents two major drawbacks.

III.2.b.1 In basing itself upon an examination of the 1987 List, it sets World Heritage into the categories represented at that time, without seriously taking into account the existence of types of properties ignored or underrepresented (contemporary architecture, traditional villages and habitats, rural landscapes).

III.2.b.2 In bringing attention to historical (cultural area or civilization) and esthetic (art-historical epoch or style) classification criteria, it favors taking inventory of the better known properties and condemns to oblivion the forms which have not been accepted into the history of civilization and the history of art. Thus, the philosophy of this « functional typology » rejoins, by way of laborious scientism, that of the « wonders of the world ».

3 THE CONVENTION AND THE HERITAGE

The Convention in its preamble affirms that « the cultural and natural heritage is part of the invaluable and irreplaceable property...of humanity as a whole » and that « the loss by deterioration or disappearance, of any of these highly precious properties constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world ». It proposes to « assure as best as possible the appropriate identification, protection, conservation and presentation of this irreplaceable world heritage ». Without coming back to the juridic, political, scientific or other problems posed by identification of world heritage, one may ask what have been the effects of the Convention on the « appropriate protection, conservation and presentation » of properties included on the List.

3.a The Convention is a force of incitation and dissuasion

The Convention's effectiveness is never as strong as it is during the preliminary investigation of the nominations submitted by the States with the intention of including a property in the World Heritage List. At the time, it represents a considerable force of incitation and dissuasion. Two striking examples illustrate its positive role. During the preliminary examination of the nomination regarding the Medina of Tunis (C 36) in 1979, an urban development plan which would have prolonged the avenue Président Bourguiba by a thoroughfare of the same width, cutting the old town in two, was still an issue. The united front formed by the Tunisian archaeologists and historians, the NGO's and the World Heritage Committee, justly estimating that going through with this project was incompatible with inclusion in the World Heritage List, led officials to abandon it. When the procedure for inclusion of the site of Delphi in the World Heritage List was initiated, the Greek government contemplated, with assistance from the USSR, installing a bauxite processing plant near the site, heavily modifying the characteristics of the environment and destroying the harmony of a landscape which cannot be dissociated from the monuments which are there, concentrated at the foot of the Phedriades, between the slopes of Parnassus and the gulf of Corinth. The Committee's very strong reaction, relayed by the UNESCO Secretariat, made the Greek government decide, not without creating heavy political tension, to give up on the project and to move the plant's installation to the north of the Parnassus range, approximately 70 km away from the site. Only then was Delphi included in the World Heritage List (C 393), on 11.12.1987. In a less spectacular manner, the comments by the NGO's and the Committee, effectively supported by the Secretariat, have improved the protection of natural and cultural sites prior to their inclusion in the World Heritage List.

Does the Convention's effectiveness rest intact after inclusion ? To ask this question is akin to formulating in a more provocative manner the problem of monitoring. The Italian delegation has not hesitated to denounce the deficiencies in the present system and to propose a revision of the Convention founded on three initial principles :

- Renunciation by the State of exclusivity to World Heritage Sites and sharing responsibility with the international community.

- Attributing to UNESCO the authority to verify and intervene in case of need.

- Attributing to the Committee the authority to inspect and carry out technical supervision of all work undertaken by a State with regards to a protected property.

This request for review (document 139 EX/29 of 8 April 1992) has not been supported by the Executive Council (139 EX/PX/DR.5 of 21 May 1992). At least it has attracted attention to the Convention's deficiencies in the domain of monitoring. Four of these are analyzed below.

3.b The Convention, the Heritage, and tourism

The Convention proposes as a goal the presentation of heritage but shifts the responsibility to the States. Lacking specific action from the international community, implementation policies are extremely diverse. They range from *de facto* abandonnement of certain sites — as can be seen and lamented in the case of Tiya (C 12), or to a lesser degree, at Khami (C 365) — to touristic overexploitation which seriously alter their character. This unforeseen consequence of the Convention concerns in particular certain countries, which have, from the beginning, used it as an instrument of touristic policy, as in the case of Turkey : the numerous debates concerning Göreme and the Sites of Cappadocia which took place in the World Heritage Committee, as well as at the World Conference « Tourism and the Environment » (Tenerife, 12-15 October 1989) after the inclusion of this mixed property (N/C 357) in 1985, have shown that the international community was incapable of controlling the anarchic development of a « tourist focal point » managed solely in function of its immediate profit-making capacity. However, it would be an injustice to limit ourselves to citing this extreme case : many countries which officially extol a « moderate » touristic policy have come up with development projects for heritage sites which are not without harmful effect to the environment :

Göreme and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia.
Long time consecrated to solitude and prayer,
the fragile rock churches of Cappadocia
— the site of Daïfuku is shown here — are today
encroached upon by seasonal mass tourism,
invasive and polluting. The problem
of impossible adaptation between
the symbolic value of a site and
its economic development
is posed in urgent terms.
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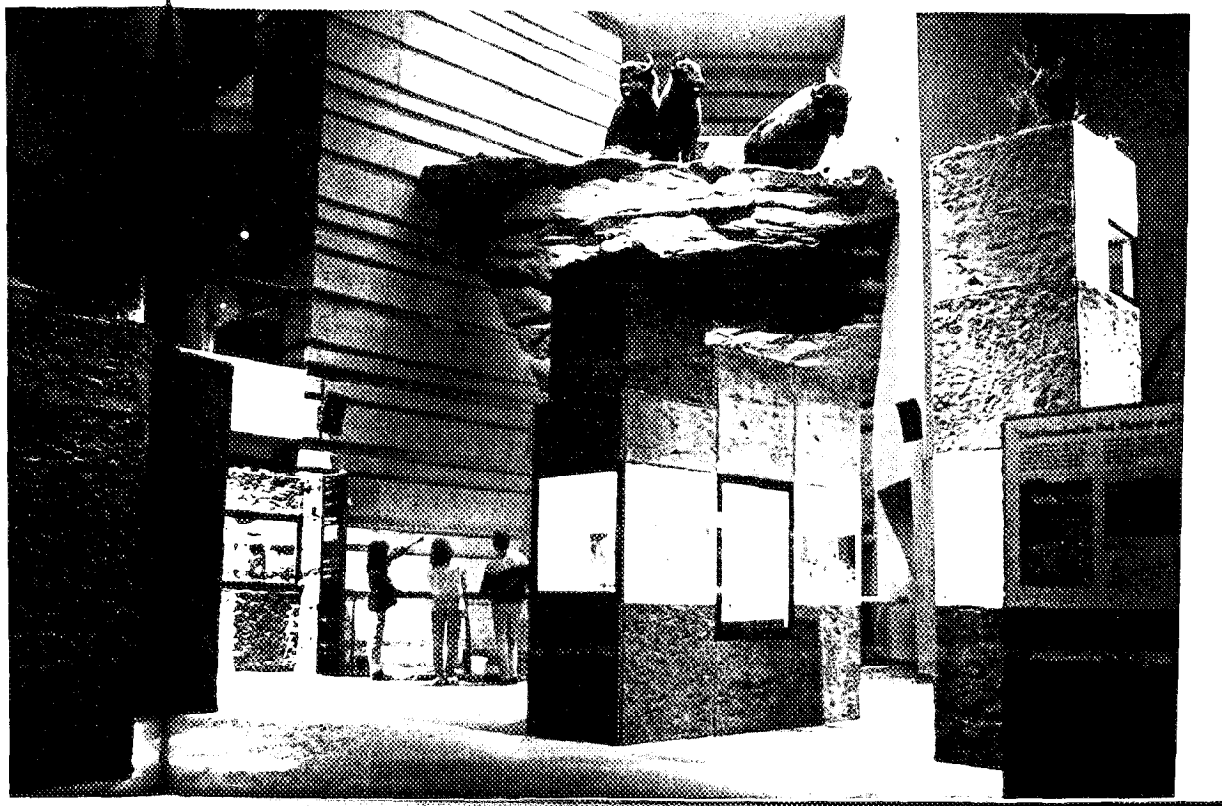

Head-Smashed-in Buffalo Jump.
This great prehistoric bison kill site
was at the time of its inclusion
in the World Heritage List untouched
by human occupation :
one only saw the prairie
and the cliff where herds chased
by hunters would plunge to their death.
Nowadays, the didactic logic
of a site museum takes the place
of the visual experience.
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such as Canada in the case of the Anse-aux-Meadows (C 4) and the Head-Smashed-in Buffalo Jump (C 158), transformed into site museums, or France, which has for a long time given official support to questionable development projects connected with the Pont du Gard (C 344) or the Château de Chambord (C 161). In fact, at this time there is nothing which prevents a country from practicing an « enhancement » policy contrary to the doctrine of the Committee and the goals of the Convention.

Seeing that the property is included, requests for information and injunctions addressed by the Secretary often have little effect.

Concerning the safeguarding of natural sites, a better form of planning is perhaps in the making. The need for effective control of interaction between man and nature resulting in setting a limit to the number of visitors has for a long time been upheld by those in charge of the parks and by the representatives of the various NGO's (IUCN, WWF, etc.). In 1992, the Rio Conference and the Statement on the Environment and Development have had the effect of sensitizing world opinion. UNESCO's engagement in a policy of monitoring of this Declaration can only have beneficial effects regarding the control of certain sensitive sites in the World Heritage List : in particular, forest zones and maritime or oceanic zones.

3.c The Convention and the symbolism of World Heritage

In bringing to the attention of humanity as a whole a certain number of remarkable properties, the Convention tends to create a new category of symbols. This is manifested by the affixing of plaques, whose form, appearance, and content are defined by Operational Guidelines inspired by the Committee and the Secretariat. However, this symbolic value may also take the form of a monument built on the site to express or explicate its exceptional character. It isn't surprising to note that these symbolic structures are more frequently planned or built on cultural sites included under criterion VI. In this manner, one was able to follow, in the case of Gorée, the avatars of a Memorial to Slavery, at first conceived as a colossal statue erected on the island site itself, then, considering the reservations expressed by the Committee, as a coastal monument which did not impinge on the integrity of the registered site. The

Great Barrier Reef.
Off the eastern coast of Queensland, the Great Barrier Reef is dotted with a tangle of intermittent coral reefs for more than 2 000 km along the continental shelf of North-East Australia. Great Barrier Marine Park was created in 1975. The exemplary protection of this unique biotope harboring more than 1 500 species of fish and approximately 400 species of coral could today inspire the policy of the international community, more concerned now than in the past by the preservation of the seas and the oceans.
Ph. UNESCO/G.B.R.M.P.A.

case of Gorée is not unique and a great number of States Parties to the Convention seem to be concerned with giving sites, chosen because they are heavily historically charged, a kind of symbolic overload. This is what the Lisbon Cultural Centre, built in the registered zone which separates the Tower of Belem from the Monastery of the Hieronymites (C 263), represents. The construction of this new « sentinel of Tage », the work of architects Vittorio Gregotti and Manuel Salgado, so affected the World Heritage Committee, that, in 1990-1991, they tried in vain to mitigate a project already *en route* : the Centre, whose management has been entrusted to the « Discoveries Foundation », financed at 50 % by the State of Portugal and at 50 % by private capital, should evidently be ready for the commemoration of the « Encounter of Two Worlds » in 1992.

The same calendar determined the construction at Santo Domingo of the costly and highly controversial Faro de Colón inaugurated the 6 October 1992 to commemorate the *Quinto Centenario* of the discovery of America. The numerous protests resulting from the high cost of this immoderate structure in one of the countries of the world where problems of health, housing, sanitation and education should receive priority treatment should not mask another issue, inherent to the monitoring of the Convention : should the States be free to modify the cultural characteristics of a site by monuments which purport to exalt and may debase it ?

Often evaded, this question was strongly put in a situation where it is not the case of a so-called additional structure but an appropriation for a new purpose which infringes upon the profound cultural reality of a site : the installation of the Carmelite convent in the building called the Old Theater of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp, authorized by the Polish government on 14 June 1984, obviously constituted a breach to the integrity of the site included in 1978 on the World Heritage List under criterion VI (C 31). It was not until 19 February 1990, when, after a lengthy polemic, the cornerstone of the new convent was laid, 500 meters away from the camp. This Convent, associated to an information, meeting, dialogue, education and prayer Centre, appears ready to house the Carmelite community by 1993. The Old Theater will again be turned over to the Auschwitz Museum and will resume its role as a memorial to a tragedy : the Zyklon B used in the gas chambers and the « salvaged material » taken from victims were stored there. At the same time, the cross erected on the Holocaust site will be transferred to the new Convent.

3.d The Convention and the cities

The 1972 Convention had not expressly mentioned cities but these entities found themselves included in the « groups », a convenient category due

to its flexibility. Because they are historically and symbolically heavily charged, cities have, since the beginning, served the identity policies of States Parties to the Convention (cf. *supra* II.1.C). From the seventh session onwards (Florence, 1983), their inclusion in World Heritage List has followed an accelerated pace. Discussion bearing upon the adaptation of the notion of « Historic Centre » to the cities of « new countries », such as Quebec (C 300), included in 1985, or on the admissibility of contemporary creations, such as Brasilia (C 445), included in 1987, have not hindered a dynamic which results in the overrepresentation of cities, in proportion to other categories of properties, in the World Heritage List.

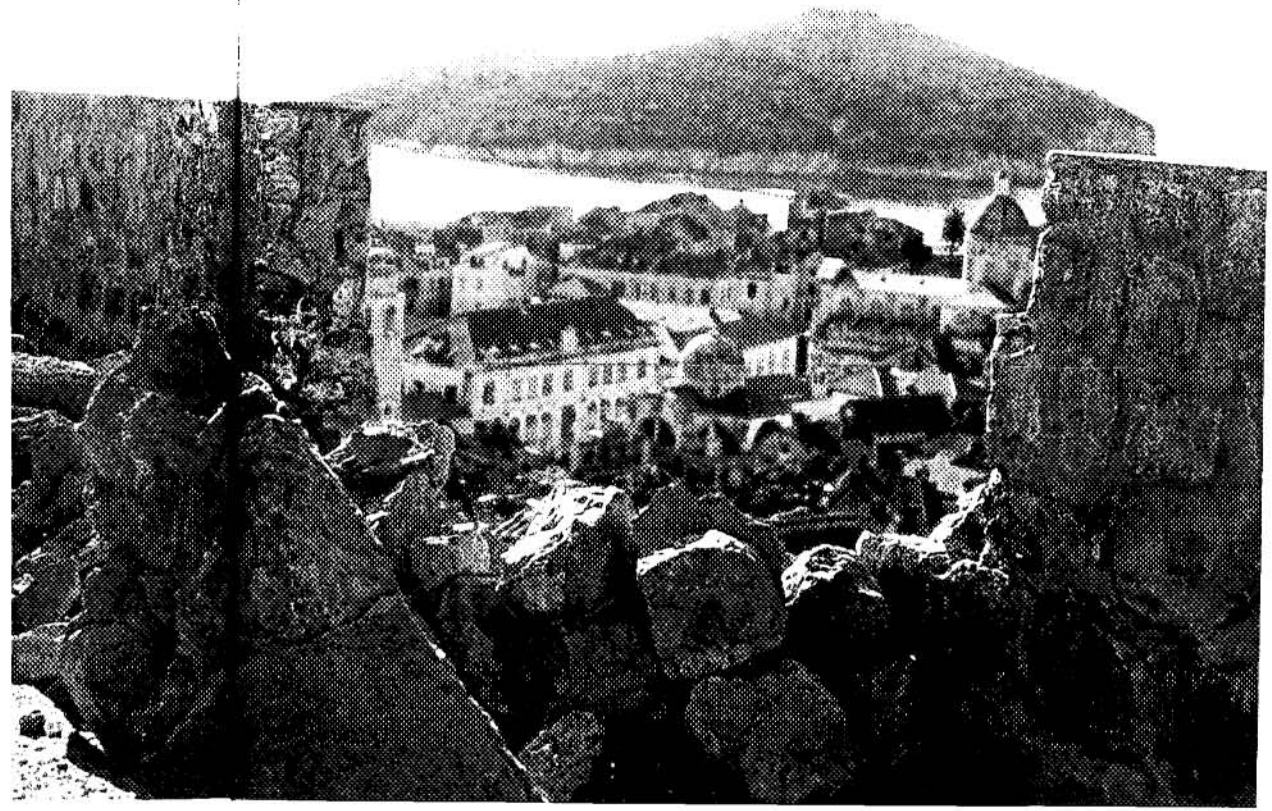
The International Conference of World Heritage Cities, organized in Quebec from 30 June to 4 July 1991 under the patronage of UNESCO and the municipality of Quebec takes great credit for stating in urgent terms the problems which confront the administrations. « The realities of modern times (...) exert upon old urban centers pressures which are at times considerable : overpopulation, aging infrastructures, real-estate speculation and transportation are only some of the obstacles which the policies of preservation of historic neighborhoods are up against ». Nevertheless, if it played an important role by federating the world heritage cities within a heavily structured association, this Conference seems to have failed to define a conservation policy applicable in all cases. With regard to this, the *Management Guide* distributed as a preprint to participants limits itself to formulating eight very general fundamental recommendations.

The great interest of this intentionally neutral text is to refer, in the preamble (B 7), to all international, regional, and national juridic instruments adopted since the Charter of Venice (1964) and suggesting (in contrast to the so-called « Charter of Toledo », adopted by the ICOMOS General Assembly in Washington in 1987), the existence of great regional specificities due to similar constraints : the future of the towns on the World Heritage List seems to rest upon the drafting of national charters (such as the Charter of Petropolis, drawn up by the Brazilian National Committee of ICOMOS en 1987) or upon regional reports, such as the one which concerns the World Heritage sites in Latin America and the Caribbean and which the UNDP/UNESCO Regional Project submitted to the World Heritage Committee in December 1991.

3.e The Convention and the Heritage in Danger

Awareness of real dangers which menace a non-negligible number of properties included in the World Heritage List would lead to think that the procedure for inclusion of these properties on the List of Heritage in Danger constitutes an adequate response permitting the international community to

intervene in accordance with the provisions of the Convention. In practice, as it has already been pointed out (cf. *supra* I.1.C), the modalities of « endangerment » hardly permit this type of action : it remains that the World Heritage List is — erroneously — considered as some sort of « Honor Roll » and inclusion in the List of Heritage in Danger as being placed on the dock of dishonor. The results of this attitude (cogently analyzed by the Permanent Delegate of Italy in his letter of 5.02.1992 to the President of the Executive Council) that recourse to the List of Heritage in Danger is only done in concert with inclusion in the World Heritage List in extreme cases : advanced ruin of the property of Bahla Fort (C 433) in 1987, natural catastrophe for Angra do Heroismo (C 206) in 1983, critical political situation for Jerusalem (C 148) in 1981. The review of procedures currently taking place following the inclusion of Dubrovnik on this List in December 1991 should endow this provision of the Convention with the enforceability it lacks.



Dubrovnik.
The « Pearl of the Adriatic » has sustained repeated attacks by the Serbian forces since 1991. The breaches opened in its walls by artillery, the partial destruction of churches and palaces, were harbingers of merciless war in ex-Yugoslavia. The World Heritage Committee included Dubrovnik in the List of Heritage in Danger in 1991. Since that time, several UNESCO missions have gone there.
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Conclusions and propositions

The conclusions from the two meetings of the group of experts held in Washington from 22 to 24 June and in Paris from 27 to 30 October 1992 were not able to be integrated into this document, the first version of which was drafted 10 June 1992 and submitted at the 16th session of the World Heritage Bureau on 6 July (being very rapidly updated 4 December 1992). It is all the more important to highlight the convergence of the views of its author (co-reporter at the Washington meeting along with A. Turner) with this group's conclusions and strategic orientations on three points.

1 UPHOLDING AND PROMOTING THE CONVENTION

There is no need to revise the Convention, a satisfactory juridic instrument, however the States Members of UNESCO which have not yet ratified it should be encouraged to do so. On the other hand, closer links should be established between the World Heritage Convention and other international conventions and recommendations.

2 REVISING THE OPERATIONAL GUIDELINES

This should be carried out with a very pragmatic frame of mind, taking into account dysfunctioning observed since 1980. This review should not be entrusted to a single authority but to a largely representative group made up of representatives from the States Parties to the Convention, together with the Committee, the World Heritage Center, the NGO's, the international experts already familiar with the functioning of the Convention. With this regard, the review of the Operational Guidelines could be one of the first tasks to undertake.

3 TRAINING AND THE CONVENTION

In order to become more operational, the Convention should be known and practiced at the regional level. The experience of regional « work-

depend on criterion IV : Agra Fort (C 251), Bryggen in Bergen (C 59), the Convent of Müstair (C 269), the Old City of Berne (C 267).

7. Two properties which seem to depend on criterion III have been included under criterion IV. These are the Temples of Ggantija (C 132) and the Ruins Takht-i-Bahi and Sahr-i-Bahlol (C 140).
8. Germany, Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Cyprus, Colombia, Cuba, Egypt, Russian Federation, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, Iraq, Italy, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Mozambique, Norway, Oman, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Portugal, Syrian Aran Republic, Dominican Republic, Holy See, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia, Ukraine, Yemen.
9. In 1988, this author drafted a preliminary report for the Council of Europe entitled *Objectifs et modalités d'une protection du patrimoine mobilier integrée à la protection du patrimoine architectural de l'Europe*.
10. The recommendation regarding the establishment of tentative lists became a requirement at the Committee's seventh session (Florence, 5-9.12.1983). Since that time, constructive meetings to coordinate regional tentative lists have been held in Paris (1984 and 1987), Mar Del Plata (1984), Bergen (1986), Bamako (1987), and New Delhi (1987).
11. Brasil, with Brasilia (C 445) ; China, with the Imperial Palace of Beijing (C 439) ; Cuba, with Old Havana ; Egypt, with Islamic Cairo (C 89) ; Ecuador, with the City of Quito (C 2) ; the Russian Federation, with the Kremlin and Red Square, Moscow (C 545) ; France, with Paris, Banks of the Seine (C 600) ; Greece, with the Acropolis, Athens (C 404) ; Hungary, with Budapest (C 400) ; Italy, with Rome (C91) ; Malta, with the City of Valletta (C 131) ; Mexico, with the Historic Centre of Mexico City (C 412) ; Nepal, with Kathmandu Valley (C 121) ; Peru, with the Historic Centre of Lima (C 500 bis) ; Poland, with the Historic Centre of Warsaw (C 30) ; Portugal, with the Monastery of the Hieronymites and the Tower of Belem in Lisbon (C 263) ; the Syrian Arab Republic, with the Ancient City of Damascus (C 20); the Dominican Republic, with the Colonial City of Santo Domingo (C 526) ; the United Kingdom, with the Westminster group of buildings (C 426) and the Tower of London (C 488) ; the Holy See, with Vatican City (C 286); Switzerland, with the Old City of Berne (C 267) ; Tunisia, with the Medina of Tunis (C 36) ; Ukraine, with Saint-Sophia and Kiev-Pechersk Lavra in Kiev (C 527) ; Yemen, with Sana'a (C 385).
12. The specialized Committee on rock art manifested action on behalf of the inscription of Val Camonica (C 94), the first of cultural properties included by Italy (26.10.1979). Afterwards, the specialized Committee on vernacular architecture campaigned on behalf of the inscription of the Old Town of Plovdiv (C 2181, deferred in 1983. In 1991, consultation of the specialized Committee on Wood resulted in a favorable recommendation regarding the Old Church of Petäjävesi (C 584), however, the Committee did not follow the advice of ICOMOS. The multiplying effects of consulting the national Committees are similar, except in the case where these are in opposition with their governments, a situation which leads them to criticize the official nominations.
13. The new policy of ICOMOS has been defined by a declaration from its president Roland Silva, to the World Heritage Committee (Carthage, 9-13.12.1991).