The World Heritage Convention and the National Park Service, 1962–1972

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Introduction[1]

Since its adoption in 1972, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (the "World Heritage Convention") has become the most widely recognized international environmental agreement, with close to universal ratification. The United States—under successive Democratic and Republican administrations between 1960 and 1981 the global leader in environmental conservation—had a critical role in the events leading up to its adoption and in the decade immediately following. The US introduced three key elements, without which today's international treaty would be, in UNESCO's phrase, only a "Red Cross for monuments."[2] These elements were: (1) the concept of the "the List" itself; (2) the dual obligation to protect both cultural and natural heritage; and (3) the phrase "World Heritage." These three elements were crystallized in the World Heritage Trust proposal, drafted in August 1971 by the National Park Service with support from other parts of the Department of the Interior. The Park Service also took part in the key negotiating sessions at UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) in 1972, when it was represented by the chief of the Division of International Affairs, Chester Brown.

Today, as the convention approaches its fortieth anniversary, these origins are increasingly shrouded and the debates forgotten. Not coincidentally, the National Park Service's Division of International Cooperation, antecedent to today's Office of International Affairs (OIA), was almost contemporary with this awakening and this year celebrates its fiftieth anniversary.

This essay, the first of a series of three on the role of the National Park Service and OIA in the evolution of the convention, examines the birth of the World Heritage idea in the new global conservation movement, and the US role in shaping it.

Harold Coolidge, the UN List, and the First World Parks Congress, Seattle, 1962

Although the World Heritage idea in the US has historically been associated with its propos-

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al at the 1965 White House Conference on International Cooperation (discussed below), a strong case can be made that the theme had been in development at least since the early 1960s by US conservationists.

The American zoologist and conservationist Harold J. Coolidge (1904–1985), has sometimes been called the "father of international conservation" (Figure 1).[3] In 1948 he was one of the founders of the Swiss-based International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN),[4] and one of its three original vice-presidents (in 1966 he would be elected president of IUCN). Coolidge saw the identification, analysis, and publication of sites and species as a key means of promoting their conservation and he was the founding chair of both the Species Survival Service (1949) and, in 1958, of a permanent International Commission on National Parks.[5] At its general assembly in Athens in 1958, IUCN adopted two further resolutions to promote parks at an international level: a resolution calling for the United Nations to establish and maintain a list of national parks and equivalent reserves as representing a subject of concern to all UN member nations; and a World Parks Congress. Coolidge was instrumental in both activities.

Figure 1. Harold J. Coolidge (1904–1985). Photo from Carnegie Museum, USA, ca. 1965; courtesy of IUCN Photo Library, Gland, Switzerland.

On Coolidge's initiative, the US placed the subject of a UN list of national parks on the agenda of the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). In addressing the April 1959 session, the US State Department representative, Christopher Phillips, using Coolidge's text, recalled many of the same themes that would be later used to urge the support of the World Heritage Trust: the origin of the national park idea in the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, and the importance attached to national parks for cultural, scientific, educational, economic and recreational purposes. There is evidence that Coolidge had originally intended that the UN list include "historical areas," but that he had been dissuaded by the State Department which thought this might confuse ECOSOC delegates, since these areas were "the direct province of Unesco."[6]

The ECOSOC resolution was adopted unanimously,[7] and, as expected, IUCN's Commission on National Parks was asked to develop the list. Two years later, the new *United Nations List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves* became the centerpiece and the principal reference document for the First World Parks Congress, held in Seattle with the cooperation and participation of the Century 21 Exposition (also known as the "Seattle World's Fair"). The theme of the Congress was "National Parks are of international significance for all United Nations Countries." Its sponsors included not only the National Park Service, but also UNESCO and FAO (the UN Food and Agriculture Organization). One hundred forty-five delegates from 63 countries attended the meeting (Figure 2), which brought together some of the key individuals and seminal themes from whom and from which the World Heritage concept would later emerge. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall gave the keynote address and NPS Director Conrad Wirth opened the first plenary session.

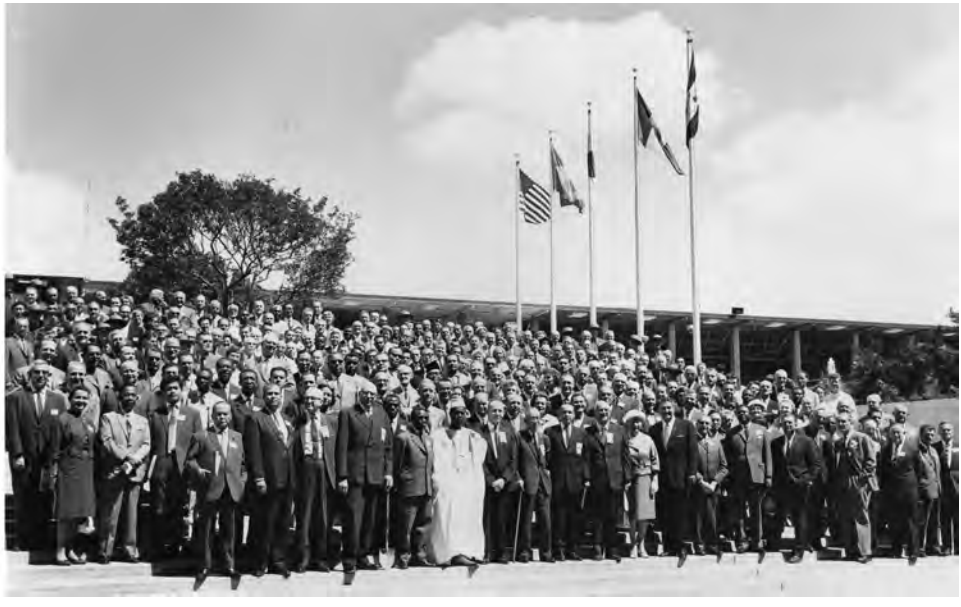

Figure 2. Delegates to the First World Conference on National Parks in front of the Civic Center at the Seattle World's Fair, 2 July 1962. Photo from Morley Studios, courtesy of National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, WV.

In his own address to the Parks Congress, Coolidge voiced an enthusiasm for the *UN List* that would later infuse the World Heritage List. He recalled the excitement of a park manager from Java when he discovered that his own park was on the *UN List*. "I am perfectly sure," the park manager told him, "that now we are in the U.N. world list, this will have considerable influence on my government and it will be a great help to me and also to the governors of other provinces in Java who are trying to maintain the same kinds of areas."[8]

Another participant, who three years later would develop the World Heritage Trust proposal for the White House Conference on International Cooperation,[9] was Joseph L. Fisher (1914–1992), president of Resources for the Future (Figure 3). In reviewing the types of areas suitable for national park systems, Fisher reminded the meeting of the importance of the "unusual scenic, scientific and historical areas" that were an important part of park planning. He pressed for the development of an international park system as a tool for bringing participants together in international cooperation.[10]

The conference adopted 28 recommendations. Number 12, echoing Fisher's theme, concerned park planning: the conference recommended that IUCN "study the need to establish a Committee on Park Planning" that would include "prehistoric, historic and cultural sites" as well as nature reserves and scientific areas for the purpose of assisting countries in developing park programs. At its first executive board meeting following the conference, IUCN adopted the recommendation, and, on Coolidge's encouragement, submitted a proposal to Fisher's Resources for the Future to direct this work.[11]

The Division of International Affairs

Figure 3. Joseph L. Fisher (1914–1992). Photo from Joseph L. Fisher Papers, Special Collections and Archives, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA.

Founded in 1961, the National Park Service's Division of International Cooperation was represented at the inaugural World Parks Congress by George C. ("Doc") Ruhle (1900–1994), who had been appointed as the first chief by NPS Director Conrad Wirth the year before. International concerns also played a role in Wirth's Long Range Requirements Task Force. Harold Coolidge, as chair of IUCN's Commission on National Parks, was advising the task force on the importance of "international park affairs."[12] The task force's report, published in 1964 as "The Road to the Future," included as one of its six objectives participation with other nations in "conserving, improving and renewing the total environment."[13] Referencing both the recent World Parks Congress, as well as UNESCO's "Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites," adopted a few months after the Parks Congress, the task force report called on the Park Service to share its experience in park management with other nations, and to participate with other national and international bodies in identifying natural and cultural resources and fostering an interchange of personnel. A draft version of the report also called for an NPS International Conservation Institute to train park managers around the world, a proposal that would be later taken up by the International Seminar on the Administration of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves. In what can only be seen as a prelude to the Park Service's involvement in World Heritage, another draft called for "an official international committee to promote identification, investigation, and conservation of sites of world interest [...] to preserve vanishing animal species, landscapes, and historic sites, and [to] explore means of establishing a world scientific and historic landmark system."[14]

The Division of International Cooperation took on an increasingly activist stance after George Hartzog's appointment as NPS director in 1964. The division was renamed the Division of International Affairs (DIA), and under its chief, C. Gordon Fredine (1909–2006), took on a wide range of new activities, several of which came to shape the direction of the division over the next 25 years.

One of the best known of the division's programs was the International Seminar on the Administration of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves. Launched in 1965 and co-sponsored by IUCN and the University of Michigan's School of Natural Resources, and later by Parks Canada, by the time the program closed in the early 1990s, its first director and former OIA Chief Robert Milne recalled, it had "trained almost every national park system director in the world." Similarly, cooperative partnerships with both the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Peace Corps came to support an extensive global wildlife reserve assistance effort.[15]

The World Heritage Trust and the White House Conference on International Cooperation, December 1965

The new Park Service activities were a reflection of an increased internationalism by the Johnson Administration. In response to the designation of 1965 as "International Cooperation Year," commemorating the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, President Johnson called for a White House Conference on International Cooperation. One of its 30 working committees was the Committee on Natural Resources Conservation and Development, chaired by Joseph Fisher. The members of Fisher's committee, drawn from corporations, government agencies, and nongovernmental organizations, included both Coolidge, in his capacity as director of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences, and Russell Train, the newly appointed president of the Conservation Foundation.

In its report, Fisher's committee called attention to the threats to "scenic, historic and natural resources [that were] part of man's heritage." After enumerating numerous examples, from the Grand Canyon of the Colorado to Angkor, Petra, and the ruins of Inca, Mayan and Aztec cities, the committee recommended the creation of "A Trust for the World Heritage" to stimulate "international cooperative efforts to identify, establish, develop and manage the world's superb natural and scenic and areas and historic sites for the present and future benefit of the entire world citizenry."[16] Although the debt to the four-year-old *UN List* is clear, this was the first time that an international proposal to list both natural and cultural heritage had been recommended.

The World Heritage Trust at IUCN

Both Coolidge and Train were enthusiastic about the trust proposal. About to be elected IUCN president, Coolidge invited Fisher to give one of the keynote addresses to IUCN's Ninth General Assembly, held in Lucerne six months after the White House meeting. In his address, Fisher reported on the outcomes of the White House Conference, including the call for a World Heritage Trust. Explicitly acknowledging the link between the *UN List* and a World Heritage List, he noted that the world list of national parks already prepared by IUCN would be an important start in the identification of natural heritage sites.[17]

With the encouragement of both Fisher and Coolidge, the IUCN general assembly and its executive board enthusiastically endorsed the World Heritage Trust concept to identify and protect both cultural and natural heritage. In its own concurrent session, the executive board adopted the World Heritage Trust as an IUCN project. However, the timing was not auspicious for the organization, and after several months of discussion, it concluded that it could not afford to undertake the project at that time.

Russell Train, as president of the Conservation Foundation, continued to speak to organizations promoting the trust. Among the most important venues was the International Congress on Nature and Man, held in Amsterdam at the end of April 1967. In this, and subsequent talks, he expanded on the possibilities of the World Heritage Trust, which he proposed would work in close collaboration with organizations such as IUCN and the new cultural nongovernmental organization, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), established with UNESCO's support only two years earlier. Although he acknowledged that nations would be sensitive of their own sovereignty, Train proposed that

this could be resolved "with a judicious combination of diplomacy and financial inducement." The "World Heritage" classification would be eagerly sought and sites so identified would "become the 'five-star' attractions of the world's rapidly expanding tourist business."[18]

Despite Train's promotion of the trust in 1966 and '67, no international organizations responded until the UN announced that it would hold a Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972. In 1970, IUCN decided to recommend World Heritage as one of several international instruments it would propose for adoption at the upcoming conference.[19] Lee Talbot, IUCN's first ecologist and a close associate of Coolidge's, had drafted the original IUCN executive board resolution in 1966. By late September 1970 he had developed a formal proposal for the board,[20] which would be expanded as the first of several draft convention texts by IUCN's new deputy director general, the Australian scientist and lawyer Frank G. Nicholls. Nicholls immediately began to assemble a high-level task force, inviting Train, as well as representatives from UNESCO and FAO to take part. In February 1971, he brought the World Heritage concept to the second meeting of the Stockholm conference's Preparatory Committee in Geneva, which decided that it should be further discussed at an Intergovernmental Working Group (IWG) meeting on conservation in New York the following September.

The first draft of IUCN's "Convention on the Conservation of the World Heritage" was reviewed at an IUCN task force meeting at the end of April. The UNESCO representative at the meeting was Michel Batisse (1923–2004), chief of its Division for Natural Resources and the person largely responsible for the Man and the Biosphere Program. Faced with an IUCN draft convention, Talbot recalled, Batisse "suddenly discovered what we had — or suddenly registered what we were doing — and he said 'But we (UNESCO) already had such a convention we've been working on, because our General Assembly several years ago directed us to do so.' But what he had was entirely cultural, at that time."[21]

Batisse was referring to a series of ongoing expert meetings and resolutions of successive UNESCO general conferences since 1968 that had recommended that the organization prepare an international instrument—a "Red Cross for monuments, groups of buildings and sites of universal value."[22] In principle, the intent of UNESCO's convention was an attempt to regularize the organization and funding of the international campaigns to save cultural property. For UNESCO, IUCN's proposal seemed a clear challenge to the organization's international mandate to protect cultural heritage.

Over the course of the next several months, both IUCN and UNESCO amended their respective texts in preparation for the IWG meeting in September. By June, UNESCO's text included a reference to "the work of nature or the combined work of nature and man," but the new definition made for a very long paragraph, Batisse later admitted, one that was complicated and quite confusing.[23]

Russell Train and the Nixon Administration relaunch the trust concept

In January 1970, President Nixon had named Train as the first chairman of the new Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ; Figure 4). In the first years of its existence, CEQ, with bipartisan congressional support, was the lead agency for promoting environmental legislation, both at the national level and internationally. Train recruited Talbot as CEQ's chief sci-

Figure 4. Russell E. Train in 1969, visiting a Navy submersible vessel on the Anacostia River while serving as undersecretary of the interior. Photo from Russell E. Train Papers, container 33, folder 5, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

entist and director of international affairs. Talbot's own agenda already included development of a World Heritage proposal, and Train agreed that he should actively pursue it.[24] With Train's support, Talbot drafted much of Nixon's environmental message to Congress of February 8, 1971. In part, the message endorsed the World Heritage Trust concept, and directed the secretary of the interior to develop the initiatives necessary.

In response to this directive, the Department of the Interior set to work. Theodor R. ("Ted") Swem (1917– 2006), then director of the Office of Cooperative Activities (under which the Division of International Affairs was placed), convened a series of meetings of Park Service and other Interior staff during the spring of 1971. With the participation of CEQ's Talbot, he circulated a 16-page position paper on the World Heritage Trust.[25] By August, Interior had developed a draft text for the "Convention on the Establishment of a World Heritage Trust." Like the IUCN convention, it called for a World Heritage "register" of natural and cultural sites, and, also like IUCN's draft, significantly left open the question of what government or international organization would provide the convention's secretariat. After further review by the State Department, this draft text would also be brought to the September IWG meeting in New York.

IWG meeting, September 1971

The IWG met in New York during 14–17 September to consider environmental agreements that could be reached at the Stockholm conference the following June. Although only the IUCN draft had been anticipated by the conference secretariat, both UNESCO and the US submitted their proposals. However, to the frustration of UNESCO officials present, their text was considered an internal document, then being reviewed by UNESCO member states for possible adoption by the next general conference, and therefore not appropriate for the Stockholm meeting. Furthermore, to many of the delegates, UNESCO's addition of 'and natural areas' to their convention at the last minute did not reflect a serious commitment of the organization.[26]

The end result of the meeting was that IUCN, in collaboration with the Stockholm conference secretariat, was asked to amend its draft to deal "principally with natural areas whilst not forgetting cultural sites" with a view to concluding the convention at Stockholm the following June.[27] It was acknowledged that UNESCO's draft, already on course for adoption by the UNESCO general conference in the fall of 1972, would cover mainly cultural properties.

US persuaded to support UNESCO as secretariat

The State Department was unsatisfied with the outcome of the New York meeting. It firmly

believed that a single international convention should cover both natural and cultural sites. But by January 1972, it had come to see that the World Heritage Trust *could* have UNESCO as its secretariat.

This change of direction was in part due to the persuasive mission to Washington of UNESCO's Gérard Bolla, the newly appointed chief of the organization's Department of Cultural Heritage. In UNESCO's opinion, Bolla explained to Carl F. Salans, the State Department's deputy legal counsel, neither the IUCN nor the UNESCO convention texts could be adopted by the Stockholm conference, but a UNESCO draft, appropriately modified, could be approved by the UNESCO general conference in November 1972. In response to Salans' insistence that natural and cultural heritage must have equal protection, Bolla gave his assurance that the UNESCO draft could be modified to reflect this.[28]

Bolla also participated in a larger meeting with officials from State, Interior, and CEQ to allow Bolla to respond to questions about UNESCO and the draft convention it had prepared. Participants included Lee Talbot, representing "nature" (Bolla noted); Robert Garvey, representing "culture"; and Chester Brown, representing the National Park Service. Robert R. Garvey (1921–1996) was then the first executive director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and an ICOMOS vice-president with close ties to UNESCO. Garvey would be a key figure in all of the World Heritage delegations through the end of the Carter Administration. Chester C. ("Chet") Brown (1909–1973), a landscape architect and planner, was then chief of the Division of International Affairs. Brown had attended the IWG meeting in September, and, like Talbot and Garvey, would be part of the US delegation at the upcoming UNESCO negotiating sessions in April and November.

Before he left Washington, Bolla was informed of US support for the UNESCO process. While the State Department representatives encouraged UNESCO to revise its own convention to give equal attention to natural and cultural heritage, it would at the same time submit its own World Heritage Trust convention to the meeting of experts to be held the following April.

Talbot attributed the change of direction to the influence of Garvey, whose background would have strongly favored a base in UNESCO with ICOMOS support.[29] IUCN's UN Representative, Richard Gardner, saw the alliance with UNESCO as "essentially political. UNESCO has a great deal of influence with the Russians and the developing countries." Furthermore, he argued, "an intergovernmental organization within the UN framework would be helpful in forcing the commitments undertaken by the parties and securing the necessary financing."[30] Bolla, himself, believed ("he learned afterward") that the decision had been taken at the White House.[31]

By mid-January, both State and Interior had produced draft convention texts, modifying the World Heritage Trust proposal with language from the UNESCO draft that had been circulating since the previous June. The two were combined in a single submission as the US comments on the UNESCO draft.[32]

Convergence at UNESCO[33]

The most critical meeting in the establishment of the convention was the three-week meet-

ing of the "Special Committee of Government Experts" that took place at UNESCO in April 1972. Originally called to fine-tune and adopt the comments that had been submitted by UNESCO member states to its last draft, in the end the meeting completely overturned the intent of the original UNESCO text and, in large part, created the text that was adopted by the general conference in November of the same year.

The US delegation was headed by the State Department's Carl Salans, and included Robert Garvey, Lee Talbot, and Chester Brown.

By far the most difficult and acrimonious issue, in April as in November, was over the issue of contributions to the World Heritage Fund. The US and several other developed states, wary of the growing obligations of multilateral instruments, vigorously insisted that contributions to the fund be voluntary. Garvey later called this debate "essentially a conflict between less developed countries who wished to show their willingness and ability to shoulder international obligations and favored the compulsory contributions system, and many developed countries (especially the United States), who, though expecting to bear most of the financial burden, feared serious difficulties and delays in securing congressional or parliamentary approval for a convention which *required* these contributions."[34]

In the end, the solution adopted by the general conference was a proposal from the Tunisian delegate, Rafik Said, allowing states parties to indicate at the time of adherence to the convention whether their contributions would be voluntary or compulsory, although both plans amounted to the same minimum amount.

Within minutes of the last US intervention, the convention had been adopted, with 75 votes in favor, 1 opposed, and 17 abstentions.

Looking back

In the end the World Heritage Convention, as it was adopted, completely turned UNESCO's original conception on its head. No longer was it a "Red Cross" to raise funds for the rescue of a "short list" of monuments in danger, such as Abu Simbel or Borobudur, and instead was transformed into a public awareness tool to call attention to all sites considered of "outstanding universal value." In hindsight, it seems doubtful that an instrument that would only have come into play when a site was threatened could have raised the funds necessary for a continuing series of major restorations—much less have awakened the same excitement in the general public that the World Heritage Convention has come to evoke.

Furthermore, it is hard to envision such an instrument gathering nearly the same support or enthusiasm if the subjects of its aid were only in those developing states that could not afford rescue and restoration in their own heritage department budgets, thus excluding the natural and cultural heritage of much of the developed world. By contrast, the World Heritage Convention captured the political, if not the popular, imagination immediately: applications to the World Heritage List jumped from 12 sites inscribed in 1978, the first year of inscriptions, to 74 new nominations from 25 countries one year later. How the World Heritage Committee, and the US—which helped to shape the committee's policies in the convention's first years in operation—chose to meet these challenges will be the subject of the second essay in this series.

Endnotes

1. This essay has benefited in particular from interviews and discussions with Robert C. Milne, OIA chief between 1974 and 1996; with Lee Talbot, former senior scientist at CEQ; with former State Department Deputy Legal Advisor Carl F. Salans; and with Russell Train, former chair of CEQ. Important documentary sources used included the papers of Russell Train (Library of Congress), of Harold J. Coolidge (Harvard University Archives), and the archived files of the National Park Service, CEQ, and the Department of State at the National Archives, College Park, MD. *L'Invention du "patrimoine mondial"* by Michel Batisse and Gérard Bolla (Paris: Club Histoire Association des anciens fonctionnaires de l'Unesco, 2003) has provided useful detail on the debates leading to the convention's adoption.
2. "Desirability of adopting an international instrument for the protection of monuments and sites of universal value," UNESCO General Conference Document 16 C/19, Sixteenth General Conference, Paris, 1970, paragraph 33. The report also dismissed the idea of an "International Register" out of a fear of divergent opinions (paragraph 55).
3. Lee M. Talbot, "The Coevolution of Science, Public Awareness and Policy," in Larry L. Rockwood et al., eds., *Foundations of Environmental Sustainability* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3–24.
4. Founded (with UNESCO's support) in 1948 as the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUCP) and later renamed the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), the organization kept its second acronym when it (temporarily) became the World Conservation Union in 1989. It is now once again known as IUCN. IUCN's history is fully recounted in Martin Holdgate's *The Green Web: A Union for World Conservation* (London: Earthscan, 1999).
5. Today, known respectively as the Species Survival Commission (SSC) and the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA).
6. Memorandum, Fred Packard to Harold Coolidge, 19 February 1959, concerning "Conference with Dr. [Walter] Kotschnig." Harold Jefferson Coolidge Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA (hereafter cited as "Coolidge Papers") HUG(FP) 78.14 Box 7.
7. ECOSOC Resolution 713 (XXVII), 1959; *United Nations List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves* (New York, 1961).
8. Harold J. Coolidge, "Future Prospects for International Cooperation in the Field of National Parks and Reserves," in Alexander B. Adams, ed., *Proceedings of the First World Parks Congress* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1964), 357–361.
9. Although Russell Train is often given the credit of being the "father of the World Heriage Convention," Train himself unreservedly identifies Fisher as the individual who introduced the concept of an international convention to protect both cultural and natural heritage. See Russell E. Train, *Politics, Pollution and Pandas: An Environmental Memoir* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2003), 142.
10. "Committee Report: Problems of National Park Planning" (Joseph L. Fisher and Gert Kragh, co-chairs), in *Proceedings of the First World Parks Congress*, 362–363.
21. IUCN Executive Board Minutes (14–26 November 1962), 3; Coolidge Papers, HUG

(FP) 78.14 Box 10.

12. Letter of Coolidge to Wirth, 28 June 1963; National Archives RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 0056.
13. *Road to the Future: Long Range Objectives, Goals, and Guidelines for the National Park Service* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1964); National Archives RG 79, Entry P-29, Box 9.
14. "The National Park Service Long Range Plan," Draft for the National Park Service Conference of Challenges, Yosemite Park, October 13–18, 1964; National Archives RG 79, Entry P-29, Box 2. Although both Coolidge and Starker Leopold, recently appointed chair of the Park Service's Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, supported the Conservation Institute, no source has yet been identified for the international committee proposal.
15. Robert C. Milne interview, 6–7 June 2009.
16. National Citizens' Commission, "Report of the Committee on Natural Resources Conservation and Development," White House Conference on International Cooperation, November 28–December 1, 1965; Samuel E. Belk Personal Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum (Boston, MA), Box 10.
17. Proceedings of the Ninth General Assembly, IUCN, 1966, 68–78. (Typescript, courtesy of IUCN Library, Gland, Switzerland.)
18. Train, "A World Heritage Trust," address to the International Congress on Nature and Man, Amsterdam, April 29, 1967; Mimeograph manuscript, Russell Train Papers, Box 69, Folder 2, Library of Congress.
19. Executive Board Decision EB.48/75: "… IUCN should take the initiative to crystalize [sic] ideas in this context and to recommend to governments throughout the world that an organization concerned with conservation of the World Heritage should be established under an international convention." Quoted in October 1971 IUCN Executive Board Agenda Paper EB.71.30; Coolidge Papers, Box 6.
20. Lee Talbot, personal communication, 11 November 2010. See also IUCN, "Preliminary Proposal for Establishment of World Heritage Trust," Tentative Outline for Project no. 1-2 / World Heritage Trust, September 1970; Coolidge Papers, Box 1.
21. Lee Talbot interview, 11 August 2009.
22. Cf. footnote 2.
23. Batisse in *L'Invention du "patrimoine mondial,"* 27. (Translation by the author. Subsequent citations to "Batisse" or "Bolla" refer to their respective essays in this work.) It seems likely that the UNESCO "preliminary draft" contains at least a "nod" to the IUCN text already in circulation: its preamble uses the phrase "world heritage of mankind as a whole," and reminds the world community that the protection of monuments was in UNESCO's constitution.
24. Talbot interview.
25. "The World Heritage Trust," unpublished paper, April 9, 1971. National Archives RG 429, Box 8. The author or authors of this paper have not been identified, but Rob Milne believes that (with substantial input from previous speeches by Train) it could well have been Swem himself. "Ted was the visionary and more strongly reflected the overall pat-

tern, mission, principles and model of the NPS and [was] a skilled negotiator in pulling factions together" (Milne, personal communication, 17 February 2011).

26. Memorandum, Talbot to Train, "Items for Discussion with Prince Bernhard," 3 November 1971. Train Papers, Box 74, Folder 7. See also Batisse, 28.
27. Frank G. Nicholls (IUCN World Heritage Task Force), "Draft (6) Text of Convention on Conservation of the World Heritage." Agenda Paper 1-2 TF.71/12. October 1971. Coolidge Papers, 78.20 Box 7, See also memorandum of Talbot to Train, "Items for Discussion with Prince Bernhard."
28. Bolla, 74.
29. Talbot interview.
30. Letter of Richard N. Gardner to Dr. Geraldo Budowski (IUCN director general), 28 January 1972. Coolidge Papers 78.20, Box 12. Gardner, a chaired professor of international law at Columbia University, was IUCN's United Nations representative during the preparatory meetings leading up to the Stockholm Conference. Gardner had been deputy assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs in the early 1960s and subsequently in various advisory posts in the United Nations.
31. Bolla, 75.
32. UNESCO Document SHC/MD/18 Add.1 (Paris, 10 March 1972). The State and Interior department drafts are included in the Coolidge Papers, Box 12.
33. For detailed accounts of the two UNESCO meetings, see Batisse and Bolla, *L'Invention du "patrimoine mondial,"* and the reports and transcripts of the two meetings: "Report of the Committee of Experts" (Unesco House, Paris, 4–22 April 1972), UNESCO Doc. 17 C/18; and "Report of the Thirty-third Plenary Meeting," 16 November 1972, UNESCO Document 17 C. For a detailed account of the two meetings from the State Department's perspective, see the series of its cables, National Archives RG 59, Subject Numeric Files, 1970-73, SCI 41, Box 2892.
34. Interview with Robert Garvey by Robert Meyer, quoted in Robert L. Meyer, "Travaux Préparatoires for the UNESCO World Heritage Convention," *Earth Law Journal* 2 (1976), 58.

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