

The World Heritage Convention and the National Park Service: The First Two Decades, 1972–1992

Peter H. Stott

Introduction

AS RECOUNTED IN THE FIRST ESSAY OF THIS THREE-PART SERIES,¹ the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (the “World Heritage Convention”), was adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1972. The United States, and the National Park Service (NPS) in particular, had important roles in its development and in negotiations leading to its adoption. The NPS Office of International Affairs (OIA), which celebrated its 50th anniversary last year, participated in all phases of that development. This essay, published in the 40th anniversary year of the convention, recounts the US role in the first two decades of the convention’s existence, culminating in its 20th anniversary session in 1992 in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The United States was the first nation to ratify the new convention, and when it came into force in 1975, the US was on its governing body, the World Heritage Committee, for all but four of the sixteen committee sessions in the period through 1992. The US played a key role in the convention’s development: in addition to hosting the session of the committee at which the first sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List, at subsequent sessions it was a vocal advocate for the more problematic issues that began to appear almost immediately: the integrity of the list and the conservation of sites already inscribed. David Hales, the US Committee chair at that 1978 session in Washington, voiced the dominant sentiment of the period:

We viewed the Convention as—in many ways—a US initiative and an initiative that we wanted to help parent early on and bring it up the right way; that we felt it should be incredibly objective and unimpeachable in its judgments; that it needed to rely on professional expertise, not consensual votes as often dominated in some other international institutions. . . . And so we had a very strong interest in trying to create both a World Heritage List and the concept of World Heritage in Danger that would promote the conservation of precious resources that really belonged to more than a single country just because of their impact on the World.²

Division of International Park Affairs

The NPS Division of International Park Affairs (until July 1971, the Division of International Affairs) passed through its own changes in leadership immediately following ratification of the convention. After the death of international affairs chief Chet Brown, only a few months

The George Wright Forum, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 148–175 (2012).

© 2012 The George Wright Society. All rights reserved.

(No copyright is claimed for previously published material reprinted herein.)

ISSN 0732-4715. Please direct all permission requests to info@georgewright.org.

after Senate ratification of the convention he had helped to negotiate, NPS Director Ron Walker named Robert C. Milne as director of the division in 1974. Milne, only the second staff ecologist in the Park Service, had been the first director of the International Seminar on the Administration of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves. His former associate, Richard Cook, attributed to Milne much of the success of the division in this era:

The thing that Rob brought most effectively was a credibility, his own international credentials, a very kind of smooth, polished person, as well as field experience in the Park Service—and he knew how to talk to managers and get them enthusiastic.³

Throughout the 1980s, International Affairs ran active bilateral aid programs to other national park systems, with a substantial Peace Corps program and a wide variety of US Agency for International Development (USAID) projects. In 1987, the division was elevated to an “Office,” reporting directly to the director of the National Park Service. Milne, himself, attributes the change to the intense interest as well as the personal friendship of Director William Penn Mott (1909–1992), who had come to the National Park Service in Reagan’s second term:

[Bill Mott] was intensely curious about most anything new to him. I had organized a Committee of NGO leaders, State, USAID and Voice of America reps and a few others to give their thoughts on how NPS could contribute more effectively in international conservation, and among their recommendations was one that suggested that the Division be elevated to an Office reporting directly to him to put the weight of the Director and his office behind activities, direction and commitments. It was accepted. . . .

[Mott] had believed NPS had an appropriate leadership role in World Heritage and urged more involvement and participation at every turn as long as I could find the money to do it. With his backing and that of [the] State [Department], we were able move to the front row with the Committee. Ray Wanner [Bureau of International Organizations, State Department] was a key to that and had managed to convince Congress to continue to appropriate the US voluntary contribution to the Fund, even without US membership in UNESCO at the time which held us in good stead. With the reactivation of NPS and [the Department of the Interior] in World Heritage, it was the groundwork and it was possible to negotiate the Santa Fe hosting and take the Committee chair.⁴

But for a more complete picture of the road to Santa Fe, we need to return to the early days of the convention.

The convention enters into force: Preparing for Nairobi

The convention came into force in December 1975. Under its terms, the first World Heritage Committee, initially composed of delegates from 15 countries that had ratified the convention (the “states parties”), would be elected from the first General Assembly of States Parties, called to coincide with the next UNESCO General Conference, to be held in Nairobi in

November 1976. A few weeks before the Nairobi meeting, the State Department organized an all-day meeting to formulate positions.

The meeting was Richard J. Cook's first involvement in World Heritage. Just a month before, Cook, a former Georgetown graduate student with a new degree in international relations, had been detailed to join Milne to support his work on the World Heritage Convention. His experience in developing position papers in a format useful to the State Department made him a rarity in the National Park Service, and Cook would become the staff professional of the US delegation at committee meetings for most of the next 15 years. The first thing he was asked to do, he recalled, was to develop a draft US position statement for the Nairobi meeting. "There seemed to be a logjam," he remembered, "and for some reason what we sent up was well received. . . . It was my initiation into the importance of getting something in a format that the State Department needs and required."⁵ The final statement was over a dozen pages long, covering issues ranging from the need to see the US elected to the committee, to the inclusion of "experts" in both natural and cultural heritage on each delegation, to issues of funding, organization and documentation.⁶ In the end, the US was elected comfortably, winning the support of 23 of the 25 delegations voting.

The debate over World Heritage responsibility, Cook said, "was a real contentious issue when I first started being involved. I remember meetings at CEQ [Council on Environmental Quality], when it was [Deputy Assistant Secretary] Buff Bohlen fighting for Interior's lead role. And the State Department was kind of inclined, 'well, let's give it to Garvey.'"⁷ Robert R. Garvey (1921–1996), then the first executive director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and a vice president of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) with close associations with UNESCO, had been a key figure in the negotiation of the convention in 1972. In the end, it was Garvey who attended the Nairobi General Assembly session, and it was he who would represent cultural expertise on the US World Heritage Committee delegation for the next four years. Ultimately, it was not until the passage of the 1980 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act that the Department of the Interior was unambiguously given the responsibility for the World Heritage Convention.⁸

The Carter years and HCRS (1977–1981)

Within the National Park Service, however, the agency was facing its own contests. In January 1978, the Carter Administration created the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS)⁹ out of the NPS historic preservation programs and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

Among the consequences for the World Heritage program were divided responsibilities: because of HCRS's domestic heritage inventory programs, the new agency assumed "the primary role of meeting U.S. responsibility under the convention."¹⁰ Jim Orr, who would later move to OIA when HCRS was abolished, was the lead on World Heritage for HCRS. He was assisted by Jim Charleton (1946–2008), newly installed as a writer–editor in the National Historic Landmarks Program at HCRS. Beginning with the 1979 nomination of Independence Hall, Charleton prepared or helped develop most of the World Heritage cultural nominations over the next 15 years. With Ernest Connally (1921–1999), Charleton devel-

oped the first US tentative list and during his retirement, worked with OIA to complete the second tentative list issued in 2008.

Another legacy of HCRS is the role of the assistant secretary of the interior for fish and wildlife and parks in World Heritage. E.U. Curtis (“Buff”) Bohlen, deputy assistant secretary during the Nixon and Ford administrations, had already established a role for the assistant secretary’s office in World Heritage. David Hales, deputy assistant secretary during the Carter Administration, had a keen interest in international activities and saw his office as a means of coordinating HCRS and NPS participation in World Heritage—a means of avoiding “interagency feuding. . . . So you kind of had to go up to that Assistant Secretarial level to get someone to put it all together.”¹¹ The assistant secretary for fish and wildlife and parks has retained this role ever since, codified in the 1982 regulations.

Hales also set up the first interagency committee to review proposed nominations, formally called the US World Heritage Committee, but often referred to as the “Hales Committee.” The Hales Committee would become the model for the Federal Interagency Panel on World Heritage.

The first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, 1977. Hales led the US delegation to the first session of the World Heritage Committee, held in Paris at UNESCO headquarters, supported by Robert Milne, representing natural heritage, and Robert Garvey, representing cultural heritage. Interleaved through almost all of the prepared position papers was the theme of building and retaining the authority of the World Heritage Committee to make decisions, rather than the secretariat or the advisory bodies. The committee would therefore need to depend on the expertise of the individual member delegations: “experts, not diplomats” had been a strong US theme since the earliest negotiations over the convention. In the first committee session, all 15 committee members were represented by experts. Over the years, however, as committee sessions became more routine, experts became increasingly rare as heads of delegations, replaced by politicians or UNESCO permanent representatives.

Criteria for inscription. The primary business of the first committee session was the adoption of the first *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, including criteria for inscription developed by the advisory bodies named in the convention to review natural and cultural heritage, IUCN (the International Union on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) and ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites).

The inscription criteria for both cultural and natural properties had significant involvement from senior Park Service staff. Associate Director Ernest Connally had recently been elected secretary-general of ICOMOS, and Theodor (“Ted”) Swem (1917–2006), formerly director of the Office of Cooperative Activities under which the Division of International Park Affairs was placed, was then chair of IUCN’s Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas (CNPPA) and had charge of preparing the natural criteria.¹²

Connally had been founding chief of the NPS Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, and prior to the establishment of HCRS had put in place the first procedure for identifying cultural properties for nomination to the World Heritage List (Figure 1). His personal experience in the development of the criteria for the National Register of Historic



Figure 1. Ernest Connally (1921 – 1999), first chief of the NPS Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, at St Andrews by-the-Sea, New Brunswick, 1989. As ICOMOS secretary general (1975–1981), Connally was responsible for drafting the cultural criteria for the World Heritage Committee in 1976–1977. Photo courtesy of Janice Connally.

Places is evident in the formulation of cultural criteria for World Heritage. World Heritage cultural criterion (i) (“Represent a unique artistic or aesthetic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius”) is mirrored in National Register criterion “C,” property that “represents the work of a master.” Writing of World Heritage cultural criterion (iv) as it was adopted in 1977 (“among the most characteristic examples of a type of structure...”), Connally recalled that it “was expressly constructed to provide for inscription on the World Heritage List of transcendentally significant structures that would not classify as buildings. We were thinking primarily of engineering structures, such as bridges, tunnels, canals, etc.”¹³ (This intention was lost, perhaps unintentionally, when the committee revised the criterion in 1984, substituting the words “building or architectural ensemble” for “structure.”) Cultural criterion (vi), combining the associative aspects of events, persons, and ideas, was less persuasive to ICOMOS, then dominated by Europeans who felt that properties that did not have the physical features associated with the person or event being commemorated could not, by themselves, be recognized. It would soon be tested when the US nominated three sites under criterion (vi) by itself, associated, respectively, with a person and with events: the Edison National Historic Site and Independence Hall, both submitted in 1979; and the Wright Brothers National Memorial, submitted in 1980.

Milne and Hales already knew that the first proposal for a natural site would be Yellowstone. At the committee session “many representatives clearly indicated that the early submission of the nomination of Yellowstone National Park would be a valuable model.”¹⁴ A

decision on the cultural property was not made until later. But it was clear from the start that for this first round of nominations there would be two, one natural and one cultural. “We wanted it to be even,” Milne recalled, “cultural and natural—a modest two.”¹⁵ Mesa Verde, the Colorado cliff dwellings built by the Ancestral Pueblo people beginning in the 12th century, was ultimately chosen as the cultural submission.

The second session of the World Heritage Committee, Washington, 1978. The first three sessions of the World Heritage Committee (Paris, Washington, and Cairo/Luxor) were all distinctive in their ways, but none more so than that held in Washington in early September 1978. It was the first meeting at which sites were actually inscribed on the World Heritage List. It was also the first to be held outside of UNESCO, and the first in which the committee chair, elected by acclamation, would represent the host government.

The 1978 session was unusual in other respects: the number of sites being proposed (12) was quite small, all but two were nominations from members of the committee, and there was a serious attempt by most states to provide a balance of natural and cultural heritage nominations. There was a general feeling among all the committee members that the first designated World Heritage sites should be chosen with great care, since they would probably serve as precedents for subsequent additions and would thus set the course of the list for some time to come. The modest response to the committee’s call for nominations was interpreted by many as an opportunity to watch the first round and draw lessons on procedures and standards for later nominations.

Hales was elected to chair the committee session, establishing (as planned) the precedent that the host country would chair the session. Chris Delaporte, chief of HCRS, led the US delegation in Hales’ absence as chair, supported by Robert Garvey and Robert Milne, representing cultural and natural expertise, respectively.

In a recent interview, Milne recalled the optimism the committee felt about the work it was commencing:

There was a genuine feeling that international cooperation would focus global attention, funding, technical expertise, in situations that would warrant it. And the intent was the World Heritage sites were so significant that they couldn’t help but be magnets, focusing attention, developing mechanisms in addressing certain situations that could be replicated, a collaborative interchange between state parties.¹⁶

In the first inscriptions, the committee relied on the recommendations of its six-member executive bureau, read out by its rapporteur, the Canadian Peter Bennett. Unlike the practice today, no presentations were made by ICOMOS or IUCN. The committee inscribed as a group the nominations that had been recommended by the bureau. Only the day following their decision, as the committee was concluding work on the agenda items, did it reconsider its procedure and decide that in the future, nominations would be inscribed separately.

The committee expressed a willingness to make a one-year temporary assistance grant to the secretariat but drew the UNESCO director-general’s attention to the need for permanent staff with support financed by the regular program and budget of the organization. At

future sessions, this need would often be expressed by the US and other committee members.

The third session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairo and Luxor, 1979. With the committee's third session, which held its opening meeting in Cairo before traveling to its working sessions in Luxor (Figure 2), many of the procedures that have come to characterize committee sessions in the years since began to fall into place. Both IUCN and ICOMOS made brief presentations on nominated properties (although without slides) before the committee made its separate decisions; the number of sites proposed was far greater than at the Washington meeting, and the imbalance of natural and cultural properties, only hinted at in the earlier meeting, was much more pronounced. Seventy-four new nominations had been examined by the bureau the preceding May, as well as 15 that had previously been deferred. The committee eventually inscribed 45, including six new "serial properties" (a property type that the bureau had recommended the preceding June), seven urban centers; the first transboundary property, a proposal from the US and Canada for Kluane/Wrangell–St. Elias on the Alaska–Yukon border; and the first two "mixed" natural and cultural sites.

The session also saw the first application for inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Kotor in Montenegro (at the time in Yugoslavia) had been badly damaged by a destructive earthquake the previous April. Notably, the inscription was also the first "double" inscription, simultaneously placing the site on both the World Heritage List and the List in Danger. Not until 1982 would the Committee decide that it needed criteria to approve a site for the List in Danger, and the Yugoslav request was approved without substantive debate.

Edison, Independence Hall, and criterion (vi). For its second round of nominations, the US proposed two natural properties, Grand Canyon and Everglades national parks; and two cultural properties, Edison National His-

Figure 2. Chairpersons of the 1978 and 1979 sessions of the World Heritage Committee. Left: Shehata Adam, director of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization; right: David Hales, deputy assistant secretary of the interior for fish, wildlife, and parks, outside the Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari, at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairo and Luxor, Egypt, October 1979. The temple is part of Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis World Heritage Site, inscribed in 1979. Photo courtesy of David Hales.



toric Site and Independence Hall.¹⁷ While the bureau had approved without question IUCN's positive recommendations for the two natural nominations, the two cultural properties, both nominated under cultural criterion (vi) alone, proved more problematic. ICOMOS had recommended both, but concerning Edison, the bureau demurred: "Examination of this nomination had brought to light the difficulty of applying that criterion. In fact, the Bureau considered that its present wording could lead to an inordinate number of nominations. The decision on this nomination was consequently deferred pending revision of criterion (vi) which seemed necessary."¹⁸

"The criticism," Cook wrote afterward in a position paper, "centered not so much on the importance of Thomas Edison or his contributions, but rather on the acceptability of commemorative or associative sites where significance is based upon the persons, events, or ideas with which the site is most closely associated. Apparently, Europeans do not readily accept this as a basic principle in their preservation efforts." However, he went on, "such commemorative sites provide an important rationale for historic preservation in the U.S. experience, and we believe that they can be shown to have played an equally important role in other geographic and cultural regions of the world."¹⁹ The US would resubmit the nomination for the 1980 session, but by that time, the committee had revised criterion (vi) to exclude association with persons, and the site was not recommended by ICOMOS or the bureau.

The nomination of Independence Hall was a different story. The bureau had recommended that the committee inscribe Independence Hall, but Hales and the US delegation were cautious. "Because of the disagreements among Bureau members regarding criteria VI for the evaluation of cultural areas, and because of possible political considerations, there is some possibility of opposition to the Independence Hall nomination," Cook wrote a few weeks before the committee session.²⁰

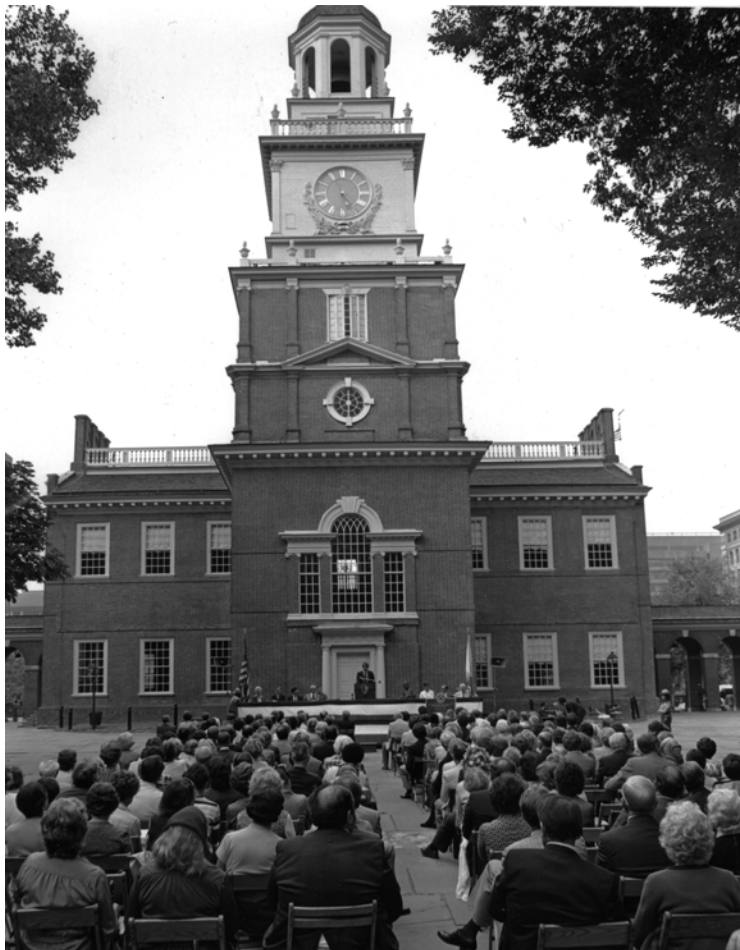
William H. Eddy, a consulting Park Service documentary filmmaker who traveled with the delegation to film portions of the meeting, recalled the drama surrounding the Independence Hall nomination:

Independence Hall was a very controversial thing. . . . There was a fairly strong feeling among some of the delegates that the signing of a Declaration of Independence for an African country in 1963 in a grass hut someplace, was not the same thing as the Declaration of Independence signed in Philadelphia two hundred years ago, in a building that no question was of spectacular architecture. But they felt that if it was nominated, it would exclude the thatched huts. The Africans didn't like that idea. . . . I remember being moved by the debate that took place. And I was impressed by David Hales' articulation. . . . "It's one thing to consider the Independence Hall as an outstanding example of architecture and not consider it as a turning point in human history. But if it isn't considered as a turning point in human history, none of these nominations are turning points of that kind." So, he said, 'I withdraw the nomination.' . . . Very impressive. And a silence sort of fell on the room, and there was a sort of an 'oh, boy' [moment].... David Hales didn't want it to go in as a piece of architecture. It was very impressive. . . . I thought it was one of the absolute critical points of the conference.²¹

In the end, the committee conceded the US perspective, and inscribed Independence Hall under criterion (vi) by itself (Figure 3).

Auschwitz. The nomination of Auschwitz Concentration Camp was also the subject of debate, both within the National Park Service and in the committee. Some, like Milne, were totally against it: “It just wasn’t the purpose of the List. And I felt the same way about war sites—battlefield sites. It was a misplacement of values.”²² The Canadian delegate, Peter Bennett, wrote that “even though in the opinion of ICOMOS, it may technically qualify . . . the intent of the convention on the cultural side has always been to commemorate man’s great creative activities and not his negative accomplishments.” He saw no objection to Auschwitz being listed once there was a good representation of cultural sites all over the globe, but it was too early for inscription, he felt.²³ Cook and Hales took the opposite stance: “I think that the convention,” Cook wrote in a memo to his chief, “at this point, with forty plus member states and a viable W.H. List, is strong enough to truly reflect man’s heritage in

Figure 3. Dedication of Independence Hall as a World Heritage Site, 1980. NPS photo courtesy of David Hales.



all its manifestations. The lessons of history are sometimes more effective because they are drawn from tragic examples of human error.”²⁴

Bill Eddy remembered Hales’ participation in the committee debate:

The debate came up about Auschwitz and about World Heritage in general: should it reflect only the best? Or should it reflect also the worst? That’s a hell of a question . . . it’s a *wonderful* question! And David concurred: yes, it should reflect the worst, that we can draw lessons from the negative as well as the positive.²⁵

Hales himself gave credit to the committee’s careful analysis of the question:

[W]e had some very serious, wonderful issues, like Auschwitz, that we were dealing with. And you would expect those to be contentious. But they weren’t particularly contentious; they were very thoughtful. There were broad differences of opinion on those, but they certainly weren’t contentious.²⁶

Ultimately, the committee agreed to inscription, but decided to “restrict the inscription of other sites of a similar nature.”²⁷ The French delegate Michel Parent had argued that “in order to preserve its symbolic status as a monument to all the victims, Auschwitz should, it seems, remain in isolation. In other words, we recommend that it should stand alone among cultural properties as bearing witness to the depth of horror and of suffering, and the height of heroism, and that all other sites of the same nature be symbolized through it.”²⁸

With its decision to inscribe 34 new cultural properties, nine new natural sites and two mixed properties, it was difficult to ignore the imbalance of cultural and natural sites. At the start of the meeting, in his address to the committee as outgoing chair, Hales had reminded it of its responsibility for the credibility of the list. “[T]he increasing imbalance between cultural and natural representation on the Committee” should be addressed “so that the credibility of the World Heritage List should not be put in doubt.” Furthermore, he reminded the committee that its own credibility “would be judged by the composition of the List.”²⁹ The committee established two working groups to review the natural and cultural criteria and review whether they were being applied sufficiently rigorously.

The most important recommendation to come out of these criteria evaluation meetings was the recognition that the advisory bodies and the committee needed to have a picture of the universe of possible nominations in order to “better define the selection criteria.”³⁰ It called for activating the convention’s Article 11(1), calling for “an inventory of property forming part of the cultural and natural heritage, situated in its territory and suitable for inclusion in the List.” These inventories, called “Tentative Lists,” were built into the revised *Operational Guidelines* when it was reissued by the committee a year later. In addition, both working groups found problems with particular criteria and suggested amendments to the *Operational Guidelines* that would further define and clarify these criteria.³¹

The fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, 1980. The committee’s fourth session was hosted by France at the Hotel de Sully in Paris. As before, David Hales led the US delegation, supported by Bob Garvey and Robert Ritsch, HCRS associate direc-

tor of natural programs. The meeting was notable for its close review of the proposed first revision of the *Operational Guidelines*, requested by the committee in Luxor. Changes included revisions to both natural and cultural criteria (the US delegation supported the removal of “persons” from cultural criterion (vi)), a new requirement for the completion of tentative lists, and a new section addressing the balance between nature and culture.

The new section was the result of a second attempt by the US to get the committee to address the growing imbalance between the number of natural and cultural properties inscribed. “How many cities, how many cathedrals, how many mosques” would be sufficient, Hales asked.³² At the US delegation’s request, the committee established a working group, chaired by Hales. The text of the working group’s report, contained in the report of the committee, was incorporated into a new *Operational Guidelines* section titled “Balance Between the Cultural and Natural Heritage in the Implementation of the Convention.” The five recommendations would remain in the *Operational Guidelines* unaltered until 2005. However, it is not evident that any of the five recommendations were ever (knowingly) implemented by the committee. In particular, the working group had hoped to improve the balance of natural and cultural properties by assuring that the chair was not held by persons with expertise in the same field (cultural or natural) for more than two successive years; and that at least two “cultural” and two “natural” experts were present at all bureau meetings to ensure balance in the review of nominations.

The committee’s fourth session was also notable for the first example of international politicization. For over a decade, Arab states had been insisting that UNESCO condemn Israel for what it saw as destructive archaeological excavations within the city of Jerusalem. In 1980, Jordan submitted to the committee a nomination file for the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls. The discussion was extraordinarily charged. Much of the debate centered around the disputed sovereignty of Jerusalem. Jordan argued, and some committee members accepted, that World Heritage should be divorced from politics. Pointing to the convention’s Article 11(3),³³ they noted that inscription merely recognizes outstanding universal value, not sovereignty or jurisdiction. While the US and all committee members agreed on the outstanding value of Jerusalem, the US argued that to ignore sovereignty was to ignore the pledge to preserve and protect. Ultimately, the committee agreed to examine a formal nomination at its regular Bureau meeting the following June.

Implementing the convention: Regulations and tentative lists. The 1980 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act, signed by President Carter in December, included an addendum that gave domestic legislative authority to the World Heritage Convention. The new provisions gave the Department of the Interior authority to coordinate World Heritage activities, working with the Department of State and other federal agencies; it directed Interior to periodically nominate properties of international significance on the condition that they included sufficient legal protection; and, significantly, prohibited nominations of nonfederal property without the written concurrence of the owner of the property.

The task of preparing the regulations to implement the new provisions fell on Jim Orr, World Heritage focal point at HCRS. However, within weeks of the directive, HCRS was abolished by the new Interior secretary, James Watt, and HCRS programs returned to the

National Park Service. Orr joined the Division of International Affairs where he continued to be the focal point for World Heritage.

The regulations also formalized the “Hales Committee” as the Federal Interagency Panel for World Heritage, charged with development of policy and procedures, evaluation of draft nominations, and promotion of awareness of the convention generally. The panel consisted of representatives from Interior (assistant secretary, NPS, and Fish and Wildlife Service), the Smithsonian, the Council on Environmental Quality, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the departments of Commerce (NOAA), and State, and was to be chaired by the assistant secretary or his/her designee.

Although no official archive of the interagency panel meetings has been found, Ernest Connally’s papers in the National Trust Library at the University of Maryland contain partial records and occasionally handwritten notes for 26 of the panel sessions from the decade 1981–1991.³⁴ Surviving participant lists (six survive for the period 1981–1986) show an average of 14 attendees, with usually about half that number made up of NPS staff. Usually the meetings were chaired by Assistant Secretary G. Ray Arnett or his successor, Deputy Assistant Secretary Susan Recce, and, during the first Bush administration, Knute Knudson. Occasionally OIA Chief Rob Milne or Rick Cook presided. Presentations to the panel on sites proposed were often made by staff from one of the landmarks programs, either Frank Ugolini for the National Natural Landmarks Program, or Jim Charleton or Chief Historian Edwin Bearss for the National Historic Landmarks Program, and their recommendations figure significantly in the decisions by the panel on which nominations should be pursued. Outside visitors to the panel included a chair of the World Heritage Committee, the Australian Ralph Slatyer, who spoke to the panel’s session in June 1982, and Anne Raidl of the UNESCO secretariat, who participated in the July 1984 panel meeting.

The surviving minutes record many of the issues raised and a wide variety of potential nominations. Some of those that were approved by the panel and reached the stage of publication for comment in the *Federal Register* included the Brooklyn Bridge; Nan Madol, an ancient city of the eastern Caroline Islands (then a US trust territory) that was designated a national historic landmark before becoming part of the newly sovereign territory of the Federated States of Micronesia in 1986; Katmai National Park, Alaska; the Wainwright Building, Missouri; and several natural parks in the American Southwest. The panel also discussed issues raised by recent and upcoming committee sessions.

The preparation of the US tentative list (called an “Indicative List,” to avoid any impression than a nomination might automatically ensue) had a very similar history to that of the regulations. Although the tentative list had been planned in the last days of HCRS, it was probably not until some weeks after the transfer of offices to the Park Service in the spring of 1981 that serious work was undertaken.³⁵

It seems likely that the first few weeks of the tentative list process were a mad scramble, as staff merged old lists and tried to winnow down the list to something manageable. The National Historic Landmarks office was given responsibility for assembling the cultural properties, and much of the work fell on Charleton. In an interview decades later, Charleton recalled the early phase of the tentative list process:

There was so much confusion and debate and discussion and dissension and disagreement over what ought to be nominated, that the only way in which it could be organized was to take the list of 275 cultural sites, reduce it to what seems in somebody's judgement the most important sites, send them in and then continue going on from there.³⁶

Between them, Charleton, Bearss, and Connally (by then NPS chief appeals officer for tax-act certification) brought the list of cultural sites down to about 50, excluding all sites without national historic landmark or national park status. Connally's own professional background, Charleton remembered, "influenced the inclusion of seventeen sites that relate to architecture—divided into three themes, early United States, modern, and Wright school architecture. At the same time, two persons in the field of natural heritage selected about forty natural sites."³⁷

The draft indicative list, published for comment in the *Federal Register* in September 1981, included 37 cultural properties grouped in themes and 29 natural areas grouped by physiographic province. The Park Service received 43 comments on the draft list, with several suggestions for additional listings, or other modifications to themes. Only four comments were construed as raising concerns about the regulatory impact of having a property listed. The final list, formally submitted to the UNESCO secretariat in April 1982, contained 47 cultural properties and 34 natural properties. Of those, one, the Aleutian Islands unit of the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge, was considered a mixed site.³⁸

By chance, Leon Pressouyre (1935–2009), the ICOMOS World Heritage coordinator in the 1980s, was visiting Washington in May. In company with NPS staff, including Connally, Pressouyre reviewed each of the cultural sites on the new list. His comments, surviving as Connally's penciled notes on a copy of the list, were supportive of many of the proposals. Examples from Pressouyre's comments included his proposal to submit the Chicago School buildings as a thematic group (Unity Temple, Oak Park, Illinois, and Taliesin, Wisconsin, he indicated, would be "key noms"); Brooklyn Bridge ("Why not?"); Washington Monument ("Consider the whole city plan as a monumental core"); New Harmony Historic District, Indiana ("National significance only").³⁹ Ben Levy, in a memo to the associate director, further summarized Pressouyre's key findings:

- The outlook for San Juan–La Forteleza (submitted later that year) was "favorable" if the nomination included a careful "comparative international context."
- Statue of Liberty (submitted in 1983): "very promising."
- Edison National Historic Site: Pressouyre had written the original rejection, but in discussions with Levy and Connally, thought that a recast nomination might be well received.
- Wright Brothers National Memorial: "ICOMOS is distinctly unfriendly to sites such as this one, that lack spectacular remains or have less than pristine historic integrity."
- Battle sites: nomination is "virtually futile."⁴⁰

Reagan Administration (1981–1989)

The arrival of Ronald Reagan in the White House in January 1981 signaled a major shift in

domestic and international policies. Opposition to the United Nations and UNESCO in particular was already strong among conservative organizations supporting Reagan's election, and in 1984 the president announced the formal withdrawal of the US from the organization over perceived threats to the free flow of information and organizational mismanagement. (The US rejoined UNESCO in 2003.) Despite its withdrawal, however, the US continued to play an active role in the convention, arguing that it allowed the US to show continued interest and leadership in international cultural activities.

Within a month of assuming office, Reagan announced the appointment as assistant secretary for fish and wildlife and parks of G. Ray Arnett, a Californian who had served as director of the California Department of Fish and Game during Reagan's term as governor. Arnett and Jim Orr would together attend the committee's fifth session in Sydney the following October.

As noted above, one of the new administration's first acts was to undo the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, returning the cultural heritage programs to the National Park Service. By the time the Federal Interagency Panel met at the end of June 1981, responsibility for preparing nominations had passed back to the NPS international affairs branch, "drawing on other offices, agencies and levels of government as needed."⁴¹ Charleton and the National Historic Landmarks Program were relocated in the History Division, headed by Bearss, the new chief historian.

"Monitoring." To the NPS International Affairs Division in this period, it was increasingly clear that the World Heritage Committee needed a better means of tracking the state of conservation of the sites it inscribed on the list. Prior to the fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, hosted by the Australian government in the Sydney Opera House, the division had flagged two natural nominations as causes for special concern: Djoudj National Bird Sanctuary (Senegal) and Nimba Strict Nature Reserve (Guinea). The delegation had been given the specific direction to "emphasize the importance of protecting sites nominated for inscription ... especially in cases where some question had been raised regarding a site's integrity or condition."⁴² Despite concerns that had been raised by IUCN since the site was first proposed in 1978, Djoudj was inscribed by the committee in 1981 "in the hope" that the Senegalese authorities "would take the protective measures necessary."⁴³ After Orr returned to Washington, he and the division drafted the first proposal for systematic monitoring of World Heritage sites. The proposal, made in January 1982 under Arnett's signature, proposed that the committee develop "a brief standardized form for use by each country in reporting on properties which they had nominated."⁴⁴ The proposed monitoring program would allow the committee to better evaluate requests for technical assistance, warn of possible need for inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger, and in general "allow the Committee to more effectively fulfill its responsibilities." Such a system, Arnett added, was already in use in the US national park system. "Reporting," Milne recalled, "was intended not to give 'score cards' but to develop a genuine interchange" between states parties with technical capacity and those without that capacity.⁴⁵

Although both the secretariat and the committee chairman, Australia's Ralph Slatyer, expressed support and interest in the idea, the bureau's response, when it met the following June, was less than enthusiastic and considered that the proposal was "premature, given the

current state of infrastructures in the majority of countries concerned.”⁴⁶ Additionally, some countries saw monitoring as interference. It did not help that the description of existing US monitoring practice, translated into French as “*système de contrôle*,” was interpreted by some committee members as “surveillance.” Over a decade later the concept would be approved by the committee as “periodic reporting.”

Department of State views of the World Heritage Convention. The State Department’s Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO) provided the coordination of US foreign policy interests as it related to the convention; it was also responsible for paying the dues both to UNESCO and to the World Heritage Fund. Established in 1949 in the post-war enthusiasm for internationalism, IO often played a low-profile role, as domestic political support for international organizations waned during the McCarthy era and the Cold War climate of distrust. In most administrations, bilateral actions were preferred over multilateral activities.

Rick Cook recalled the State Department’s view of the World Heritage Convention at that time:

I think politically the Department saw the World Heritage as a harmless thing ... but a useful thing that they could be involved in, maybe to just counterbalance all the negative stuff they were getting in the Press and from the conservation community following our withdrawal from UNESCO. . . . They didn’t mean it to have any teeth (and I think that’s still true), but I think they saw it as a useful exercise to counterbalance another part of their agenda.⁴⁷

Into this vacuum of interest by IO stepped another State Department office, the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES). OES had been established under congressional authorization in 1974, consolidating State Department review over a growing number of international environmental instruments and agreements. It was primarily concerned with regulatory instruments, like the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), adopted shortly after the World Heritage Convention and six months before Congress passed the OES authorization in 1973.

In the early 1980s, the bureau was following the CITES Convention, and in particular, the conservation of the white rhino. When Garamba National Park in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (then Zaïre) was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1980, OES took notice. Sharon Cleary, who would follow Milne as chief of OIA in the 1990s, had joined OES early in the Reagan administration. Cleary recalled OES interest in the conventions:

We had both CITES and World Heritage under our purview in my office. We were watching what the other agencies were doing; and we were engaged, because we were following the treaties from the substantive point of view rather than the budgetary (which is what IO did). And while the Interior Department implemented it, State Department wanted to know exactly what was going on in the environmental realm in terms of World Heritage. The crossover was things like in CITES where you had the protection of the rhino, but you didn’t have the

habitat being protected or reaffirmed by the Committee as needing protection. And so you were decimating the rhinoceros because no one was protecting the habitat.⁴⁸

Rick Cook remembered Cleary's first contacts with the Park Service:

As I recall, I first started hearing from her because she was reading some cables, and she came over and met with us. She was seeking out the information. . . . And I think that we just judged that it couldn't do us anything but good to have them focusing on this. And I think that's something she deserves credit for. She did a lot of good at times in that Convention when there was nobody else in the State Department paying attention to it.⁴⁹

Jerusalem, 1981–1982. The State Department's most substantial involvement in the World Heritage Convention up to this time was over the controversial inscriptions of the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls in 1981 and 1982. Following the contentious meeting of the committee in September 1980, Jordan submitted a revised nomination to the UNESCO secretariat for review by ICOMOS and the World Heritage bureau. When the bureau met in early May 1981, the US delegation was led by the State Department's director of UNESCO affairs, David Rowe, the first time that the State Department had led the US delegation. No Park Service advisors accompanied Rowe.

As expected, Jerusalem dominated the meeting. Pressure on committee members was also being applied by UNESCO's governing body, the UNESCO General Conference, which at its 1980 session had asked that the committee "speed up the procedure for the inscription of the City of Jerusalem on the World Heritage List and envisage its inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger."⁵⁰ The discussion continued for over two days, ending in a decision not to decide but to pass the nomination onto the full committee. In his report of the meeting, the IUCN representative, Jeff McNeely, reported that the US delegate privately mentioned that there was "a strong likelihood of American withdrawal from the World Heritage Fund if the Jordanian nomination is approved by the Committee." "Politics," McNeely wrote, "have come to the World Heritage."⁵¹

Rather than discuss the issue at its regular session in Sydney in October, the secretariat ultimately decided to convene an "extraordinary" session (the committee's first) at UNESCO headquarters on 10–11 September. During the debate, the United States delegation, again led by Rowe, objected explicitly to the nomination by Jordan as not conforming with the articles of the convention, which provide that the nominating state submit only those sites which are "situated in its territory;" require that the consent of "the State concerned" be obtained, and require that the nominating state provide an effective plan for the protection and management of the site. Nevertheless, by a vote of 14 to 1 with 5 abstentions, the committee decided to inscribe the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls on the World Heritage List.

The following June (1982), the Jordanians brought to the bureau their proposal to list the Old City on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Again unable to agree, the bureau asked ICOMOS and IUCN to draft criteria for the inscription of sites on the danger list, and passed the decision on Jerusalem to the committee without a recommendation.

At its session in December 1982, the committee did adopt the criteria for inscription on the List in Danger, which have remained part of the *Operational Guidelines* since. After a lengthy discussion, the committee decided, by the same margin as the previous vote for inscription, to place the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

Whether there was a connection between the committee decisions concerning Jerusalem and the subsequent elimination of US funding for World Heritage remains conjecture. One journalist reported that “congressional aides mention ‘the Jerusalem issue’ as one reason why American funding of World Heritage (\$330,000 in 1981) was eliminated in 1982 and 1983.”⁵² At the same time, others credited budget cuts in a time of austerity. “Not enough people know about World Heritage to lobby for it,” a State Department official was reported as saying in the same paper.

At stake for the US was its position on the committee, elections for which would take place at the forthcoming general assembly in October 1983. At the Interagency Panel meeting in early May 1983, Milne laid out the difficulties over funding. While the panel agreed that “from a professional view point, U.S. re-election to the Committee was desirable,” the candidacy would not be allowable if the US was still in arrears.⁵³ Assistant Secretary Arnett had already written to his counterpart at State, Assistant Secretary for International Organizations Gregory Newell, the year before. He had written again, just prior to the panel meeting, to remind Newell of the positive influence the US had had on policy and procedural questions. “It has, therefore, been our intention to urge an active U.S. candidacy for re-election at the time of the General Conference. . . . [H]owever, countries which are in arrears with the payment of dues for the current year and the calendar year preceding it will not be eligible for membership on the Committee. . . .”⁵⁴ Newell was not persuaded.

Once off the committee, it seems likely that the NPS International Affairs Division had not intended to field a delegation to attend the session in Florence at the beginning of December. However, a cable in November from the permanent delegation in Paris urged the US to attend: “UNESCO Secretariat officials are most anxious to have US observers attend the meeting as a sign of our interest in World Heritage, especially in light of the status of our contributions, and the fact that we did not run for the Committee.”⁵⁵ As a result, with probably only 48 hours’ notice, Recce and Cook arrived in Florence the evening before the meeting.

Although the decision to withdraw from UNESCO had not yet been publicly announced, it must have been clear to most observers what was coming. “We weren’t the most popular people at the ’83 meeting,” Cook recalled. And the administration’s decision not to pay its dues haunted the committee. “That was the whole issue,” Recce remembered. “We weren’t going to pay the dues. That’s when everything started unraveling in terms of being off the committee.”⁵⁶ At the opening of the session, the UNESCO director-general’s representative, Michel Batisse, called attention to the deteriorating condition of the World Heritage Fund: “There were still delays in the payments of voluntary contributions, some of which represent considerable amounts.” Almost all discussions involving expenditures were “liberally laced with references to ‘certain significant voluntary contributors who have made no payments at all recently.’”⁵⁷

Following the Florence session, no State or Interior representatives attended either of the next two committee sessions, held in Buenos Aires and Paris in 1984 and 1985, respectively.

However, the US soon began making efforts to reinstate funding. In a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz in April 1984, Interior Secretary William P. Clark argued that continued US participation in World Heritage would demonstrate “our continued support of such international program objectives when they are not subject to perceptions of UNESCO mismanagement and politicization.” Acceptance of the rationale would “justify State Department reprogramming of UNESCO support funds or requests for additional appropriations....”⁵⁸

The turning point in restarting US funding of the convention came following the official withdrawal of the US from UNESCO in December 1984. In a formal exchange of letters in 1985, the new secretary of the interior, Donald P. Hodel, and Secretary of State Shultz agreed that membership in the committee was in “the national interest.”⁵⁹ Membership in the committee would demonstrate the nation’s continued interest and leadership in international cultural activities despite its withdrawal from UNESCO. At the 1985 General Assembly, the US representative, the State Department’s director of UNESCO affairs, Martin Jacobs, made a strong statement of continued interest and support in the convention, noting that US financial contributions had resumed and that the US would seek re-election to the committee at the 1987 General Assembly.⁶⁰

The return of the US to the World Heritage Committee, Deputy Assistant Secretary Recce wrote in 1987, was “a renewed opportunity to influence by example, comment and technical contribution the importance of sending professionally competent participants to the session.” “U.S. actions and comments,” the delegation’s final report noted, “led to a reversal of previous tendencies not to question or oppose major proposals before it.” The absence of technical experts among delegations left the Committee hostage to the recommendations of both the secretariat and the advisory bodies. “Generalist representation,” the delegation noted, “tends to assign an unrealistic level of professional competence to ICOMOS and IUCN, and a reluctance to question their statements.”⁶¹

Gaps in the list

By the mid-1980s, most of the US properties nominated to the World Heritage List had been natural sites or National Park Service sites. In an attempt to nominate more architecture, the Park Service commissioned the US Committee of ICOMOS to produce a study of architectural properties on the US indicative list suitable for nomination.⁶² The study, by Antoinette J. Lee, was presented to the Interagency Panel by Chief Historian Ed Bearss in August 1986. It recommended three categories of sites: properties built by Thomas Jefferson, buildings of the Chicago School, and buildings by Frank Lloyd Wright. Lee concluded that there was more scholarly agreement on Jefferson’s work, especially the University of Virginia and Monticello, than on the other two themes, and the panel recommended that a nomination for Monticello and the University of Virginia should be pursued. The nomination was completed in 1986, submitted to UNESCO, and inscribed on the list in 1987. In 1988, NPS engaged

Frank Lloyd Wright protégé Charles Montooth to develop a nomination for Wright's Taliesin studio in Wisconsin and Taliesin West in Arizona (with additional Wright properties to follow in subsequent nominations), but on the nomination's submission, ICOMOS considered that only a comparative study of Wright's work would allow an adequate evaluation of the properties, and the nomination was deferred.

NPS undertook another theme study in anticipation of the forthcoming Columbian Quincentennial, the 500th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage. Early in 1988, following informal discussions, the Mexican permanent delegate to UNESCO had responded encouragingly to a US proposal for a joint nomination of Spanish Colonial missions in the US and Mexico.⁶³ Lee was again engaged to undertake a study of US missions, and her report was reviewed favorably by the panel in August, when it decided that a nomination for four US missions should be prepared. At the committee's 1988 session, the delegation publicly praised Lee's study, with the hope that it would stimulate both interest in nominations on the Quincentennial theme and also assist the committee in its approach to thematic nominations.⁶⁴ However, at the same session, the deferral of the US nomination for Taos Pueblo in order to conduct a binational comparative study suggested that a Spanish missions proposal limited to US sites would suffer a similar fate without evidence of Mexican consultation.⁶⁵ But, although OIA would later sponsor other binational cultural resource projects with Mexican authorities, by the summer of 1991 transboundary World Heritage nominations no longer had high priority for Mexico.

The road to Santa Fe, 1989–1992

In February 1989, the new administration of George H.W. Bush brought Manuel Lujan, Jr., from New Mexico as the new secretary of the interior. Knute Knudson, a planner and former state representative from South Dakota, was named as the new deputy assistant secretary for fish and wildlife and parks. Knudson's presence at all committee meetings, and his chairing of all interagency panel meetings during his tenure, testifies to his keen interest in a visible and active role for the US in the convention, a role he continued even after being named the department's deputy chief of staff a year after taking office. Discussions had already been taking place on means to recognize the Columbian Quincentennial in 1992. With a still-pending nomination for the New Mexican site of Taos Pueblo and a secretary of the interior from New Mexico, it is not hard to see the conclusion, probably by the second half of 1990, that the US should seek to host the 1992 meeting, celebrating not only the Quincentennial, but the 20th anniversary of the convention, the Fourth World Parks Congress (held in Caracas, Venezuela, that year), and what was expected to be the end of the US term on the committee. The US delegation informally discussed the proposal at the committee session in early December, and by the end of the year an exchange of letters between Secretary Lujan and Secretary of State George Baker gave the US government's official approval to the proposal.

In the meantime, other new initiatives were now also bearing fruit. "One thing I think we were always trying to do, and encourage in others," Rick Cook recalled recently, was to focus on "the emphasis the convention puts on bilateral cooperation among the states parties."⁶⁶ At the 1990 committee session in Banff, Alberta, the US and Soviet delegations together announced the completion of a joint report on the shared cultural and natural her-

itage of “Beringia,” the Russian and US territory on either side of the Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska. Begun in the mid-1980s under the auspices of OIA, the project had the enthusiastic endorsement of local officials on both sides of the strait. At a summit meeting in 1990, Presidents Bush and Gorbachev signed an agreement encouraging further cooperation. Ultimately, it was hoped that a joint US–Soviet World Heritage nomination would be presented to the committee. Although the plans for a larger park would be stalled by local political demands, the 1990 agreement resulted in an ongoing Shared Beringian Heritage Program established by the National Park Service with local communities in 1991.⁶⁷

The committee’s fifteenth session in Carthage, Tunisia, opened in the second week of December 1991. Heavy shelling by the Yugoslav Army of the Old City of Dubrovnik had started only three days before the session opened, and the committee was affronted at this deliberate action against a World Heritage site. In an equally deliberate statement, “the Committee decided, in accordance with the provisions of Article 11, paragraph 4 of the convention, to inscribe Dubrovnik on the List of World Heritage in Danger and to publicize this entry immediately.”⁶⁸ As if recognizing the significance of this action, taken without consulting the state party concerned, several delegates noted that the step was not an accusation, but an “affirmation that all States Parties to the convention are involved in this situation where a World Heritage city was seriously damaged by an armed conflict.”⁶⁹ Commenting approvingly on the significance of this action a year later, during the debate over the inscription of another site on the Danger List, Adul Wichiencharoen, head of the Thailand delegation, noted that “prior to the Carthage meeting, there had been a great reluctance to place sites on the Danger list without the consent of the State Party. Since the listing of Dubrovnik a year ago, there had been a sea change in attitude.”⁷⁰

Strategic orientations. One of the most important and potentially far-reaching initiatives undertaken was the development of recommendations to improve the working of the convention. In 1992, the committee held two expert group meetings to discuss “strategic orientations,” a 20th-anniversary activity proposed three years before as an opportunity to assess the convention’s operation and make recommendations for its future. The opening meeting was held in late June at the Department of the Interior in Washington, two weeks before the bureau’s regular session. At UNESCO’s request, a summary evaluation report of the comments of states parties had been prepared. At the same time, the US had circulated to all committee members, via its embassies in the member states, an 11-page working paper outlining a series of 24 recommendations and discussion points focusing on improving the technical competence of the Committee, assuring the integrity of the list, strengthening site monitoring provisions, and improving public information activities.⁷¹ By the time of the second meeting in October, the expert group had developed a list of 45 recommendations, in large part based on the original 24 proposed by the US.⁷² Perhaps the most radical of these recommendations was number 24, which called for inclusion in the Operational Guidelines of “the possibility of inscribing a site on the List of World Heritage in Danger, without a prior request from the State concerned.”

Unquestionably, the mood of the expert group, as well as that of the committee, was influenced by the shelling of Dubrovnik the year before. With little discussion and minor changes, the committee in Santa Fe adopted all 45 of the recommendations. In addition, the

US and Italy had proposed specific revisions to the *Operational Guidelines*, based on the recommendations. The US revisions included revised *Guidelines* text for 19 of the 45 recommendations. Concerning recommendation 24, the US suggested the addition of a parenthetical clause to the *Operational Guidelines*:

(the Committee is of the view that its assistance in certain cases may most effectively be limited to messages of its concern, including the message sent by inclusion of a site on the List of World Heritage in Danger and that such assistance may be requested by any Committee member).⁷³

In other words, in some cases, the most effective assistance the committee could offer would be inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger, which could be requested by any member of the committee—not just the state party in which the site was located.

From the beginning, the US had argued, in the words of recommendation number 23, that “inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger should not be seen as a sanction, but as the acknowledgement of a condition that calls for safeguarding measures, and as a means of securing resources for that purpose.”⁷⁴

The final text was adopted by the committee at its session in 1993, with the addition to the end of the paragraph of the words “or the Secretariat.”⁷⁵ The paragraph, with its modified wording, has remained in the *Operational Guidelines* since.

The twentieth anniversary session, Santa Fe, New Mexico

The 1992 session in Santa Fe must be considered one of the highlights of the decade. It was attended by both Interior Secretary Lujan and the new UNESCO director-general, Federico Mayor. At the opening session, the delegates heard addresses from Lujan, Mayor, New Mexico Governor Bruce King, and the “grandfather of the convention,” as he was introduced, Russell Train.

Jennifer Salisbury, deputy assistant secretary for fish and wildlife and parks, was elected to chair the session, one of the most activist in recent memory. With the previous year’s Dubrovnik attack fresh in everyone’s memory, and the 45 recommendations for strategic change ready to be adopted, the committee seemed to be acting with a new authority. In reviewing reports of the state of conservation of inscribed sites, the committee inscribed seven sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger, four without the consent of the state party.⁷⁶ The new authority of the committee and the advisory bodies was particularly noteworthy with respect to the nomination of Angkor (Cambodia), a personal imperative of the director-general’s. The newly appointed ICOMOS World Heritage coordinator, Henry Cleere, argued convincingly and at length that despite its clear merits, Angkor could not be inscribed on the World Heritage List without violating the committee’s own *Operational Guidelines*, in large part due to existing political instability: there was no adequate legal protection for the site, nor was there any governmental agency capable of carrying out conservation and management. Nevertheless, the committee felt politically obliged to inscribe the site. The compromise reached acknowledged the technical weaknesses of the nomination but called for waiving the *Operational Guidelines* requirements in this instance. The decision

was not to be taken as a precedent, but as a response to a unique situation; and furthermore, the committee would immediately inscribe the site on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Both the Thai and US delegations had agreed with the ICOMOS position, but both were persuaded by the compromise reached. In a formal written statement annexed to the committee's report, the US delegate laid out the reasons for his country's acceptance of the compromise, while at the same time congratulating ICOMOS "for the integrity of their position and advice to the Committee."⁷⁷

The meeting was also notable for the inscription of Taos Pueblo, the first Native American cultural site to be recognized as a living cultural site on the World Heritage List (Figure 4). At a special ceremony immediately following the inscription, NPS Regional Director John Cook introduced the lieutenant governor of the Taos Pueblo Tribal Council, Vincent J. Lujan, who spoke movingly of the past and future generations of his people who were so honored.

OIA also took the occasion to organize the first meeting of US World Heritage site managers. That of Mammoth Cave National Park, Superintendent Dave Mihalic, remembers the meeting as an eye-opener. "The best thing about the meeting, he recalled, "was the fact that all the managers were able to get in one place—including the [non-NPS] managers—the Cahokia Mounds, Monticello managers. And it was great not only to understand things all at the same time, but it was a great way to start thinking in a bigger picture, more strategic manner... But what was interesting was that there were a lot of Superintendents themselves who went back and took action."⁷⁸ Following the Santa Fe meeting, and in response to the disastrous Hurricane Andrew that had hit South Florida the previous August, Everglades Superintendent Dick Ring returned to the park and built a new visitor center with a special

Figure 4. Taos Pueblo, inscribed on the World Heritage List at the 20th anniversary session of the World Heritage Convention, September 1992. Photo courtesy of David E. Ruppert.



exhibit on the international designations of the park. Mihalic himself, after the Santa Fe session, would move from Mammoth to Glacier National Park, and, with OIA's support, set about reactivating the stalled World Heritage nomination for the park, a story that will be picked up in part 3 of this series.

The new, forward-looking environment was also a moment for stronger support for the fledgling World Heritage Centre in Paris. Earlier in 1992, in a meeting with the US observer to UNESCO two weeks after the center had been established, its new director, Bernd von Droste, described the critical financial situation, with no budget, as yet no office space, and three professional staff. Despite his optimism for the center's potential, its creation "could not have occurred at a more inopportune time, given the financial situation at UNESCO."⁷⁹ The Santa Fe meeting, with Director-General Mayor and senior Park Service staff present, provided an opportune moment to finalize a joint US-Canadian secondment to support the new secretariat. Hal Eidsvik, Parks Canada's planning director and former chair of the IUCN Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas, was recruited to fill the position. Former OIA Director Milne recalled the UNESCO director-general's enthusiasm when the idea was proposed to him:

One evening, we sat around, Russ Train, Mayor, and I, and we said, 'We have an idea: U.S. Park Service will fund, and Hal Eidsvik will be provided by Parks Canada, if you'll agree.' Mayor said 'Give me a piece of paper; I'll sign it.' It was done over one evening and one dinner. That's how Hal got there.⁸⁰

The final essay in this series will follow the rising tide of hostility toward international programs that shadowed the US efforts, both on the committee and off, as well as the US re-engagement with UNESCO and World Heritage over the last decade.

Endnotes

1. This essay is the second in a series of three on the role of the National Park Service in the World Heritage Convention. The first was published in *The George Wright Forum* 28:3 (2011), pp. 279-290. The essay is principally informed by the substantial archive of position papers, reports, and copies of State Department cables retained by the NPS Office of International Affairs at its offices at 1201 I Street NW, Washington, DC, and by a series of extensive interviews with Robert C. Milne, Richard Cook, David Hales, Edwin C. Bearss, Sharon Cleary, Blaine Cliver, William H. Eddy, Antoinette Lee, Dave Mihalic, Susan Recce, Ray Wanner, and Christina Cameron. OIA Chief Stephen Morris and staffers Jonathan Putnam and Phyllis Ellin have also provided advice and comment. I am also indebted to Janice Connally for her guidance and review of the manuscripts and papers of her late husband, Ernest Allen Connally. His papers, at the NPS Harpers Ferry Center (RG53) and at the National Trust Library at the University of Maryland's Hornbake Library, have also been important for this study.
2. David Hales, interview, 6 August 2009.
3. Richard J. Cook, interview, 25 February 2010.
4. Robert C. Milne, personal communication, 11 February 2012.

5. Cook interview.
6. "U.S. Position Statement, Final Draft, October 27, 1976, First General Assembly of States Parties. . . ." OIA archives.
7. Cook interview.
8. Section 401(a) of the NHPA amendments required that "The Secretary of the Interior shall direct and coordinate United States participation in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, approved by the Senate on October 26, 1973, in cooperation with the Secretary of State, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation."
9. An acronym pronounced "hookers" by old-time NPS staffers.
10. The distribution of responsibilities was spelled out in an August 1979 letter informing the State Department of the composition of the US delegation to the 1979 World Heritage Committee meeting. Letter, Bob Herbst, assistant secretary of the interior for fish and wildlife and parks, Department of the Interior, to Charles William Maynes, assistant secretary for international organization affairs, Department of State, 15 August 1979. OIA archives.
11. Hales interview.
12. Memorandum, Lee Talbot (CEQ) to Robert Milne, "Points to cover in US Position Paper," 27 September 1976. Talbot noted that the proposed criteria and other materials "are in good shape and should allow rapid implementation of the Convention." OIA Archives.
13. "ICOMOS was quite aware of the new discipline of industrial archaeology which had taken rise in the 1950s." Ernest Allen Connally, draft typescript notes for "Universal Value," courtesy of Janice Connally, Alexandria, VA.
14. "Report of the United States Delegation to the First Session of the Intergovernmental Committee . . . Submitted to the Secretary of State, David F. Hales, Chairman of the Delegation." Prepared by Robert C. Milne, advisor, National Park Service, 1 August 1977. OIA Archives.
15. Milne, interview, 6–7 June 2009.
16. *Ibid.*
17. The Division of International Affairs prepared the two natural nominations; the cultural nominations were prepared by Charleton, then with the National Historic Landmarks Program. The cultural nominations originally included the Wainwright Building, Connally's choice as the pre-eminent example of American skyscrapers (St. Louis, MO, 1899, by Adler and Sullivan). This choice must already have been on the draft list of proposed sites developed under Connally's guidance in 1976–1977. A full nomination was prepared and presented to the Hales Committee for approval. Only when Hales asked the question, "Has anyone consulted the State?" did staff realize that the building's owner, the state of Missouri, had not been consulted, and ultimately was not in agreement with the proposal. Cook interview; Memorandum, Jim Charleton to associate director, preservation of historic properties [Ernest Connally], "World Heritage Nominations for 1980," 22 October 1979. Connally Papers, Box 6.
18. "Report of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, 1979," Annex II. UNESCO

Doc. CC-79/CONF.005/6.

19. Position Paper, Agenda Item 6, "Amendments to the criteria for additions to the World Heritage List," October 10, 1979. OIA Archives.
20. Ibid.
21. William L. Eddy, interview, 16 April 2011.
22. Milne interview.
23. Letter, Peter H. Bennett, coordinator, liaison and consultation, Parks Canada, to Mrs. M. Raletich-Rajicic, UNESCO Desk, Cultural Affairs Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, 24 November 1978. OIA Archives.
24. Memorandum, Rick Cook to Rob Milne, 16 January 1979, "Peter Bennett's Correspondence Re: Auschwitz Nomination." OIA Archives.
25. Eddy interview.
26. Hales Interview.
27. Report of the World Heritage Committee 1979, para. 46. UNESCO Doc. CC-79/CONF.003/13.
28. Michel Parent, "Principles and Criteria for Inclusion of Properties on World Heritage List" World Heritage Committee working document CC-79/CONF.003/11, Paris, 11 October 1979, p. 21.
29. "Report of the World Heritage Committee, 1979," para. 12. The nomination was withdrawn, pending the revision to criterion (vi).
30. Ibid., para. 34.
31. David F. Hales and Robert C. Milne, "Report of the United States Delegation to the Third Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value, Cairo and Luxor, Egypt, October 22-27, 1979," p. 5. OIA Archives,.
32. Connally notes of meeting, Box 6, Connally Papers, Library of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, University of Maryland (hereafter, "Connally Papers").
33. Article 11(3): "... The inclusion of a property situated in a territory, sovereignty or jurisdiction which is claimed by more than one state shall in no way prejudice the rights of the parties to the dispute."
34. As referenced in note 13 above, Connally had been collecting materials for a planned history of World Heritage, to be titled "Universal Value: The World Heritage Convention and its Historical Background," which was left unfinished at the time of his death. His close association with Bearss and Charleton kept him informed of the work of the interagency panel even when he may not have attended many of the sessions (Bearss, personal communication).
35. "Preparation of a Tentative List of Future U.S. World Heritage Nominations," 22 June 1981. Connally Papers, Box 6.
36. March 2003 interview with Charleton, reported in Bart J.M. van der Aa, "Preserving the heritage of humanity? Obtaining world heritage status and the impacts of listing," PhD dissertation, University of Groningen, The Netherlands, 2005, p. 52.
37. J.H. Charleton, "Selecting America's World Class Treasures: The Indicative List of Potential World Heritage Nominations," *Trends* 26, no. 1 (1989): 15; cited in van der Aa,

- p. 52. The selection of natural sites was coordinated by OIA's Jim Orr.
38. UNESCO Doc. CLT-82/CH/CONF.015/2. The final list was published in the *Federal Register*, 6 May 1982 (47 FR 19648-19655).
 39. Connally Papers, Box 6.
 40. Memorandum, senior historian, Division of History [Benjamin Levy] through chief historian [Edwin C. Bearss] to associate director, cultural resources management, "Meeting with Mr. Leon Pressouyre, International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)"; 26 May 1982. The memo was drafted by Charleton. Connally Papers, Box 6.
 41. "Summary Report: June 30, 1981 Meeting of the Federal Interagency Panel for World Heritage." Connally Papers, Box 6.
 42. "World Heritage Committee, Fifth Ordinary Session, Sydney (Australia), October 26-30, 1981. United States Position," 16 October 1981, p. 2. OIA Archives.
 43. "Report of the World Heritage Committee, 1981," para. 15. UNESCO Doc. CC-81/CONF/003/6. Only a year later, after the approval of a request for technical cooperation, the committee encouraged the Senegal government to request inscription on the List in Danger, which took place in 1984.
 44. Letter, G. Ray Arnett, assistant secretary for fish and wildlife and parks, Department of the Interior, to Gérard Bolla, deputy assistant director-general for culture and communication, 5 January 1982. OIA Archives. Reproduced by UNESCO for the Bureau as UNESCO Doc. CLT-82/CH/CONF.014/2
 45. Milne interview.
 46. "Report of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, 1982," para. 17. UNESCO Doc. CLT-82/CONF.014/6.
 47. Cook interview.
 48. Sharon Cleary, interview, 4 April 2011.
 49. Cook Interview.
 50. 21C/Resolution 4/14, (21st General Conference, Belgrade, 23 September-28 October 1980), published in Records of the General Conference, vol. 1.
 51. Jeffrey A. McNeely, executive officer, CNPPA, "Trip Report, World Heritage Bureau, Paris, 4-7 May 1981." OIA Archives.
 52. David Douglas, "Saving the world's heritage—minus the US?" *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 January 1983, p. 23. Photocopy in Connally Papers, Box 6.
 53. "Summary of Discussions and Recommendations, Federal interagency Panel for World Heritage, May 4, 1983 Meeting." Connally Papers, Box 6.
 54. Letter, G. Ray Arnett, assistant secretary for fish and wildlife and parks, Department of the Interior, to Gregory Newell, assistant secretary, international organization affairs, Department of State, 3 May 1983. Connally Papers, Box 6.
 55. State Department Cable Paris 44916, November 1983. "UNESCO: World Heritage Committee Meeting, 5-9 December Florence." OIA Archives.
 56. Susan Recce, interview, 8 April 2011.
 57. State Department Cable Paris 47200, December 1983. "UNESCO: World Heritage Committee Meeting, December 5-9, 1983. OIA Archives.
 58. Letter, William Clark, [secretary of the interior] to George P. Schultz, secretary of state,

- 6 April 1984. Connally Papers, Box 6.
59. "Scope Paper, Thirteenth Session: World Heritage Committee, Paris, December 11–15, 1989." OIA Archives.
 60. "Minutes, Federal Interagency Panel for World Heritage, November 22, 1985 Meeting." Connally Papers, Box 5.
 61. "Summary, World Heritage Committee, Eleventh Session, Paris December 7–11, 1987," p. 4. OIA Archives.
 62. Antoinette J. Lee, interview, 30 March 2011.
 63. Letter, Miguel Leon-Portilla, permanent delegate of Mexico to UNESCO, to Richard J. Cook, OIA, 14 February 1988. OIA Archives.
 64. "Report of the World Heritage Committee, 1988," para. 72. UNESCO Doc. SC-88/CONF.001/13
 65. "Briefing Statement, Issue: Coordination with Mexican Delegation," Thirteenth Session, World Heritage Committee, Paris, December 11–15, 1989. OIA Archives.
 66. Cook, personal communication, February 2012.
 67. See www.nps.gov/akso/beringia/.
 68. "Report of the World Heritage Committee, 1991," para 29–30. UNESCO Doc. SC-91/CONF.002/15.
 69. *Ibid.*, para. 30.
 70. Peter Stott, "Santa Fe-92," [E-mail] Newsletter #4, pp. 1–2 (author's collection).
 71. State Department Cable 138284, May 1992, drafted by Jim Chamberlin of OES and Rick Cook of OIA. OIA Archives.
 72. "Item 6 of the Provisional Agenda: Strategic Guidelines for the Future," World Heritage Committee, 7–14 December 1992, Working Document WHC-92/CONF.002/4 (16 November 1992). See also Annex II, "Report of the Sixteenth Session of the World Heritage Committee, 7–14 December 1992," Document WHC-92/CONF.002/12.
 73. "Revisions of the Operational Guidelines Proposed by the United States of America." OIA Archives.
 74. Recommendation 23, item 6 of the provisional agenda.
 75. No discussion of the modification has been found in the published reports of the committee or bureau. However, it seems probable that the words were inserted based on UNESCO's reading of an outside legal opinion of Professor Patrick J. Boylan, provided to the committee at its 1993 session. See "Review of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: Revision of Provisions Relating to World Heritage in Danger and Emergency Assistance," UNESCO Information Document WHC-93/CONF.002/INF.6. In it (at para. 16), Boylan argued that under "exceptional circumstances or special urgency, the Committee or Secretariat ... may on their own initiative approach the State Party concerned ... asking if it wishes the Secretariat to examine the situation with a view to possible international assistance and/or inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger." The new words appear to tie interpretation of the US's original text to Boylan's view of the committee's authority.
 76. Srebarna Nature Reserve (Bulgaria), Angkor (Cambodia), Plitvice Lakes National Park (Croatia), Sangay National Park (Ecuador), Mount Nimba Strict Nature Reserve

(Guinea/Côte d'Ivoire), Manas Wildlife Sanctuary (India), and Air and Ténéré Natural Reserves (Niger). Of the seven, Angkor, Sangay, Mount Nimba, and Manas were inscribed on the danger list without state party consent.

77. "Report of the World Heritage Committee, 1992," Annex 6. UNESCO Doc. WHC-92/CONF.002/12
78. Dave Mihalic, interview, 18 February 2010.
79. Cable Paris 13807, May 1992. OIA Archives.
80. Milne interview.

Peter H. Stott, 7 Ocean View Drive, #108, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02125-3565;
ph.stott@gmail.com