“On the ground” of the international bureaucracy of Ethiopian World Heritage-making

Ethiopia and UNESCO: strategic cooperation in the Global Sixties

“Ethiopia decided join UNESCO instructions given ambassador London sign constitution sending him instruments acceptance for deposit – Akalework Habtewold, Minister of Education and Fine Arts”.

This telegram, arriving at UNESCO headquarters in Paris on May 26, 1955, confirmed Ethiopia’s membership in the organisation. The confirmation had been anxiously anticipated and was met with a sigh of relief in the offices of the Director General Luther Evans as well as the department tasked with relationships with member states, as it had been preceded by three years of diplomatic efforts from UNESCO’s side. Ethiopia was among those developing countries which UNESCO secretariat staff began to tour in the 1950s in order to win over the newly independent nations to UNESCO’s mission. Following a visit of an Ethiopian diplomat to UNESCO, the staff of the office of the Director General and the natural science department decided to move forward and “sell Unesco to Ethiopia, meaning to put together a concise overview of those parts of the programme that could be most interesting for Ethiopia and convince them to join UNESCO”.

There were good reasons why, among the developing countries, recruiting Ethiopia as a member state was a top priority for UNESCO during the 1950s. Ethiopia was considered a key location and state within the emerging UN landscape. As opposed to other developing countries in Africa and elsewhere, Ethiopia was not a newly founded nation undergoing a decolonisation process but one which had managed to stay clear from colonial domination for most of the time. During the period of Italian occupation, which lasted from 1935 to 1941, emperor Haile Selassie I secured Ethiopia’s spot in the international community by appealing to the League of Nations for support. While his speech did little to impede Italian aggression, it earned Ethiopia a certain standing in international organisations, specifically in the UN, of which it eventually became one

443 Telegram from Akalework Habtewold to UNESCO, 26.5.1955, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. i.
444 “À la suite de la visite […] le Dr. Naidu m’a demandé de “vendre de l’Unesco” à l’Ethiopie, c.à.d. de lui préparer un topo sur les points du programme susceptibles d’intéresser l’Ethiopie et de la faire adhérer à l’Unesco”, [sic](translation my own), note from DG after meeting with Dr. Naidu (BRX), 19.5.53, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. i.
of the founding members in 1946.\textsuperscript{445} Cultivating contacts close to the evolving landscape of international organisations, in particular the UN, had been an important aspect of Ethiopian diplomacy and foreign politics. By the time that the international organisations commenced their operations in Africa, Ethiopia was able to look back at a history of good personal relationships with many of the agencies, and was therefore in a somewhat advantageous position.\textsuperscript{446} Ethiopia unquestionably played an influential role in the UN, as demonstrated by it holding one of the first African Group’s seats in the UN Security Council from 1967–68 and the candidature of Lij Endalkachew Makonnen for the post of UN secretary general in 1971.\textsuperscript{447} This was paralleled by the government’s proactive appearance within all the UN’s special agencies. By 1954, Ethiopia had already been a member of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the FAO, the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), the World Bank, the World Health Organisation (WHO), the Universal Postal Union (UPU), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and several other international organisations, and the UNESCO secretariat did not intend to fall short in this regard.\textsuperscript{448} Being aware of its special position within the UN system, Ethiopian delegates to international organisations also understood themselves to be uniquely positioned as spokespeople for developing and African countries as a whole. Ethiopia, according to their own understanding, was predestined to act as a voice representing developing, and especially African, countries.\textsuperscript{449} Haile Selassie I’s pre-existing and prevalent relationship with the UN as well as the apparent political stability of Ethiopia compared to other African states at the time made Addis Ababa a preferred location for diplomatic activities. With the inauguration of the Africa Hall compound as the headquarters for the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in Addis Ababa in 1961, Ethiopia’s relevance to the UN system

\textsuperscript{445} Christopher S. Clapham, “The Era of Haile Selassie”, in Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi, ed. Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet (London: Hurst, 2015), 191–96.

\textsuperscript{446} Office of the Resident Representative of the UNDP, ed., The United Nations in Ethiopia 1951–1966: An Account of Technical Assistance and Pre-Investment Activities Carried out by the United Nations and Its Specialized Agencies at the Request of the Ethiopian Government (Addis Ababa: Berhanenna Selam Printing Press, 1966), 5–7.

\textsuperscript{447} Haile Sellassie I University and Institute of Ethiopian Studies, A Good United Nations Man; Brief Background Notes on the Candidacy of Lij Endalkachew Makonnen (Addis Ababa: Central Print. Press, 1971).

\textsuperscript{448} Note from René Maheu to René Chevalier, 26.8.54, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. i.

\textsuperscript{449} Haile Selassie I, “Address to the Ethiopian Parliament, November 2nd, 1958”, Ethiopia Observer 3, no. 3 (1959): 68; Richard Pankhurst, “Ethiopia and the African Personality”, Ethiopia Observer 3, no. 3 (1959): 70.
was given a material expression. Haile Selassie I’s donation of the compound and several modern representative buildings designed for over three hundred UN employees, with offices and a conference hall, Africa Hall, was meant to demonstrate Ethiopia’s capacities as both a regional and an international player. Equally important was Ethiopia’s aspiration to take on a leading role in the Pan-African movement and other regional African liberation movements, resulting in the headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity being installed in Addis Ababa in 1963.\footnote{N.N., “Economic Commission for Africa”, *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): 317; Balaṭa Ba-lalachaw Yehun, *Black Ethiopia: A Glimpse into African Diplomacy, 1956–1991*, first edition (Los Angeles, CA: Tsehai Publishers & Distributors, 2014), 102–3.}

The UN and most of the UN special agencies installed liaison offices within the compound, thereby cementing Ethiopia’s position in diplomatic circles. To strengthen their ties with other UN agencies regarding project management and coordination, UNESCO also needed a permanent presence in Addis Ababa. The issues contained under the mandate of the UN specialised organisations presented urgent and obvious fields of action for the Ethiopian government, such as food and health and development funding and finances. From UNESCO’s perspective, these engagements promised to directly contribute to solving some of the country’s most urgent problems.\footnote{Theodor C. P. Lilliefelt, “United Nation’s Technical Assistance”, *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): 290–93.} However, UNESCO struggled to convince the Ethiopian government of their point of view. Ethiopia’s reluctance to accept the proposed aid may very well have been due to UNESCO’s low standing in the organisation’s early years.\footnote{Maurel, *Histoire de l’UNESCO*, 179–80.} In the official correspondence, the Ethiopian government’s responses to the initial approaches for membership were very hesitant, questioning the possible benefits in comparison with the expected budget contribution. In response, UNESCO secretariat staff stressed in numerous attempts, by letter and during a personal visit, the areas of potential collaboration. Activities related to international conservation efforts were among the issues mentioned to the Ethiopian government in these letters and meetings. The protection of cultural goods in the case of armed conflict and the regulations for international archaeological excavations were explained, and the special interest Ethiopia might have in these issues was underlined, as well as the opportunity to participate in the drafting of conventions.\footnote{Letter from Dr. Naidu, 20.5.53, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63), pt i.} They further emphasised the advantages for Ethiopia, which would include not only collaboration on the issues under UNESCO’s mandate, education, science and culture, but also
the possibility of receiving assistance with them. Eventually, Ethiopia decided to join UNESCO when education was declared a political priority and UNESCO seemed like a promising channel to receive international support for the educational sector.

Unfortunately, in their heavy promotion efforts of the potential technical and financial assistance, the secretariat staff was somewhat overselling UNESCO’s capacities at the time. Since UNESCO membership had been advertised to the Ethiopian government with a focus on the possibility of receiving funding and assistance, immediately after attaining membership the Ethiopian government started applying extensively for assistance. Diplomatic tensions rose when most of these applications could not be approved due to budget limitations. Ethiopian delegates and government representatives were quick to express their disappointment with the amount of available assistance, which in their eyes appeared low in comparison with the funds available through other international organisations. UNESCO secretariat staff, upon visiting the country, found the organisation’s purpose misunderstood. The approach of the Ethiopian government, taking UNESCO merely for another development-aid agency, was considered a “shocking” misconception by the delegation.

Nonetheless, UNESCO could hardly afford to put further strain on their relationship with Ethiopia. As the organisation was able to provide more substantial development funds through the UNDP from the 1960s onward, Ethiopia was built up as a model country for development cooperation. The secretariat’s long-standing plans for UNESCO to have a permanent physical presence in Addis Ababa eventually bore fruit when a general liaison officer post and a regional social science field office were opened in Addis Ababa at the beginning of the 1960s. Field offices like the one in Addis Ababa were meant to balance out global disadvantages by providing “assistance for researchers working in all regions remote from the main centres of scientific and technical activity, in particular by establishing contacts with colleagues in countries in those regions and providing them with the information and documentation they lacked,” reflecting the view of the

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454 Note from André de Blonay to Camille Aboussouan, 1.7.1952, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. i.
455 Letter from René Maheu to Akalework Habtewold, 5.7.1955, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. i.
456 Especially in the educational sector, by far the largest area of collaboration and activity between UNESCO and Ethiopia, numerous requests were submitted; letter from Malcolm Adiseshiah to Roger Barnes, no date, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. i.
457 Report of a visit to Addis by Dr. Adiseshiah in 8/1958, no date, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63), pt. i.
458 Michel Conil-Lacoste, The Story of a Grand Design: UNESCO 1946–1993, People, Events, and Achievements (Paris: UNESCO, 1994), 35.
UNESCO secretariat that the organisation was to strengthen its position, outreach and possibilities for cooperation, specifically in developing countries.

During the first UN Development Decade UNESCO expanded through operationalisation, as an unprecedented amount of funds to conduct projects became available through the paradigmatic shift of the UN. UNESCO had two operational programmes related to development, the Participation Programme and the Technical Assistance programme. With these two development programmes in place, UNESCO gained notably in relevance and, more importantly, in publicity and visibility.

UNESCO’s Participation Programme or “Programme of Activities of Member States” was developed as a means to give assistance to member states, complementary to the planned activities foreseen in the regular budget. According to the original agreement, assistance through the Participation Programme was neither limited to developing countries nor tied to the development paradigm, but to the overarching objectives of UNESCO. Over time however, the Participation Programme became a de facto development aid programme on a small scale. Within the twenty years after its inception in 1955, the programme gained enormously in scope and demand. A twofold increase in member states to UNESCO was accompanied by a twenty-fold increase in the total amount of requests submitted. This is easily explained by the fact that most of the new member states were former colonies. In terms of geographic distribution, the highest amount of funding was allocated to African countries since the highest number of requests also came from them.

Corresponding with the technical assistance programme of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), UNESCO started its first explicit development activities in 1950. In the following years, numerous experts and consultants were assigned to provide technical assistance to member states upon their request, usually for short-term missions of only a few weeks. The main areas for requested assistance were in education, especially literacy and science. In 1966, UNESCO was made a designated executive agency for the UNDP and was allocated a sizeable budget through which it could start largerscale development projects. Through this association with the UNDP during

459 Maurel, Histoire de l’UNESCO, 290.
460 Peter I. Hajnal, Guide to UNESCO (London: Oceana, 1983), 103–9; N.N., The Participation Programme of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Why, What, How (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), 13.
461 Fernando Valderrama Martínez, A History of UNESCO (Paris: UNESCO, 1995), 67; for 1954, he lists one hundred and twenty-five missions to thirty-six countries, 98.
462 Conil-Lacoste, The Story of a Grand Design, 49.
the first UN development decade as well as through the new emphasis on development in the Participation Programme, activities in developing countries offered ample opportunities for UNESCO to apply its operations and expertise in a territory much larger than in the years up to then. Having only recently gained their independence, most of these countries were also new members of the UN system. For many developing countries, this meant that during the 1960s and 1970s assistance and aid spiked in the educational, scientific and cultural sectors. Effectively, with the developing countries’ growing requests and the funds at UNESCO’s disposal to respond to them, UNESCO transformed itself broadly speaking, from an intellectual to an operational organisation.

**Ethiopia as a voice for developing and African countries in UNESCO**

In many ways, Ethiopia acted as a role model for African and, more generally, developing countries on the international stage during the development decade. Influential Ethiopian personalities provided input to UNESCO’s programme in the organisation’s General Assembly. Based on their experiences in development cooperation and Ethiopia's special political status as Africa’s only non-colonised nation, they pushed for changes in the general structure of the organisation as well as in individual programme areas of UNESCO while also making valuable contributions to a number of policies and programmes within UNESCO. Not long after Ethiopia formally joined UNESCO as a member state, Akalework Habtewold, former Ethiopian Ambassador to France and then Minister of Education and Fine Arts, and later Minister of Justice in the imperial government, would become the first African President of the UNESCO General Assembly from 1960 – 1962. He functioned as head of the Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO and the Ethiopian delegation to UNESCO, both roles installed within the government by legal proclamation in 1964, and filled with a rank of government officials, mainly from the Ministry of Education.

The day-to-day operations at UNESCO Headquarters during the period 1960 – 1980 illustrate how the working reality of UNESCO as a predominantly European institution might have fostered an urgent need for representation by the

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463 Rist, *History of Development*, 88 – 90; Murphy, *The United Nations Development Programme*, 85 – 88.

464 Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO, *UNESCO in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press, n.d.), 14.

465 Bulletin of the Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO, May 1969, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) NC.
first African personalities in UNESCO. Despite the strong representation of Ethiopia in the programme activities and meetings, there were not many Ethiopians among the staff of UNESCO, and repeated attempts by the Ethiopian Delegation to amend this situation were declined by the secretariat on several occasions. The secretariat justified this by claiming a lack of competence on the candidates’ side or the unavailability of suitable positions.⁴⁶⁶

Ethiopian delegates at the time argued that the cause of the general structural imbalance in the UN system was the inappropriately marginal position of African countries in particular. To this end the Ethiopian delegation to UNESCO, declaratively speaking on behalf of the group of developing countries, acted at the forefront in promoting more UNESCO regional centres and field offices to be installed so as to enable quicker communication.

The opening of regional offices, and the decentralisation of UNESCO’s administration and operations, was expected to lessen the burden on the UNESCO headquarters in Paris over time, according to the Ethiopian position. Based on their experiences through the numerous assistance projects, the Ethiopian delegation had, for several years, advocated a decentralisation of UNESCO and an increase in the number of regional offices and centres to balance out the inefficiency of many of UNESCO’s actions in developing countries that often required “constant and close follow-up” and “quick on the spot action based on adequate experience and knowledge of the area”.⁴⁶⁷ With their new field office in Ethiopia, UNESCO had finally gained a foothold on the African continent which was to become of the greatest strategic importance to its operations.

Foreign expertise and financial aid for Ethiopian state modernisation and diplomacy

After the emperor’s return from exile in 1941, foreign expertise remained vital to rebuild the government in Ethiopia. The genesis of the Ethiopian institutional landscape during the 1960s and 70s was characterised by aggravating political and social conflicts. During this time frame, Ethiopia underwent a process of state transformation and centralisation of state power. In the end, the government of Emperor Haile Selassie I failed, along with his attempts to bring all op-
posing political forces in the country under his leadership, and the imperial government was overturned by a socialist revolution in 1974. Existing systems of land tenure and administration were gradually but forcefully replaced by a bureaucratic state organisation, under both the imperial and the socialist governments, despite obvious differences between both forms of government. Many political and intellectual figures became victims of the purging efforts, the “Red Terror” years after the revolution. Still, a continuity existed in terms of institutions that were built up, and in terms of a large-scale restructuring of political and economic resources in favour of a new ruling class that emerged in Addis Ababa. Territorial conflicts in the region led to a further centralisation of power and an aggressively nationalist agenda emerged to maintain what was nonetheless a frail political unity.⁴₆₈ Faced with an extreme skills shortage in the country, the Ethiopian government had a growing need of foreign expertise in the face of ongoing processes of transformation. The impetus to expand institutional bureaucracy was difficult to put in practice, and the few Ethiopian civil servants and politicians who had received adequate training, or had obtained their degrees from European or American universities, were facing workloads and demands on them for expertise that were increasingly difficult to handle.

However, it was not just internal rebuilding and modernisation efforts that were difficult to carry out. In their bureaucratic analysis of international organisations, Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore explain how the expansion of international organisations led to new demands for creating institutions and implementing norms and policies. Like in many developing countries, in Ethiopia the knowledge and skills necessary to build up a functional bureaucratic state infrastructure became more and more dependent on foreign funds and on foreign expertise.⁴₆₉ Initially, establishing collaboration with UNESCO on a practical level was difficult for Ethiopian government agencies. The main challenge was to provide appropriate counterparts in government functions for actual contact with specific divisions of the UNESCO secretariat and a national commission for UNESCO, as required by the organisation to effectively implement the assistance projects. The staff assigned to form an advisory committee in order to prepare the National Commission expressed regularly how overwhelmed they were

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⁴₆₈ See the more detailed analysis in ch. 4; works with a particular focus on the institutional development of the Ethiopian government include: Christopher S Clapham, *Haile Selassie’s Government* (New York: Praeger, 1969); Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity*; Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*; Bahru Zewde, *A History*.

⁴₆₉ Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*, 8, 9, 34.
with their workload. After more than ten years, the advisory committee was eventually transformed into a National Commission for UNESCO in 1967, strengthening the collaboration in ongoing projects as well as advancing the matter of the visit of UNESCO’s DG René Maheu.

Specialised knowledge and manpower were lacking in particular in those areas that saw a rapid technological modernisation during the 1950s and 1960s, such as communication, printing, publishing, or archiving. It was difficult to meet the basic requirements for an international organisation to function either because supplies were not available or equipment was too expensive. For example, the Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO had to request equipment and stationary supplies from UNESCO itself. Even basic office staff were not always available—in 1967 the UNESCO chief of mission had to handwrite all of his correspondence for a period of several months, as there was “not a single stenographer” in the entire Ministry of Education to support him. How difficult the lack of materials and equipment made it for the institutions to operate reveals a closer look at the day-to-day project management of the heritage conservation projects: often, material and equipment bought for individual projects could not be maintained adequately or be replaced when outdated. The Centre for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (CRCCH), for example, was entrusted with the inventory and documentation of movable and immovable cultural heritage. As such, it had a photograph section which served both as a documentation centre and as a source of information for educational and research activities. This section was supposed to play an important role in the promotional activities planned in connection with an international UNESCO campaign to preserve the monuments and sites of Ethiopia. When approaching the planning stage of the campaign, the equipment was deemed to be too old and thus inadequate to meet the demands for its services. The difficulty of the work of the photography division can be illustrated by noting that no colour film or adequate processing was available in Ethiopia at that time. Through the international conservation projects under UNESCO and UNDP, the necessary means to obtain the material were available in theory. Yet, with the project account only allowed to

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470 The establishment of the National Commission is easy to trace in the correspondence in UNESCO X07.21 (63) NC.
471 Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO, *UNESCO in Ethiopia*, 15.
472 Request for equipment and stationary supplies, 29.12.1983, in: UNESCO BRX AFR 4.
473 Letter from Mr. Green to Mr. Terenzio, no date, UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. iii.
474 Request for inventory of immovable and movable cultural heritage (provision of equipment), December 29, 1983, in: UNESCO BRX AFR 4.
operate in Ethiopian dollars, ordering material from overseas was also out of
question.\textsuperscript{475}

In addition to the lack of support staff, equipment and office supplies, for
many Ethiopian officials dealing with UNESCO, it was impossible to acquire a
closer personal experience of large parts of UNESCO’s activities and practical
work routine as the Ethiopian government wasn’t able to fund them to go on
study tours to other countries or international organisations. This held true
even for those who were employed directly by the Ethiopian National Commis-
sion for UNESCO. The Ethiopian government regularly submitted requests to
the Participation Programme to enable the government agencies to better collabor-
ate with UNESCO and other international organisations. Among the aid re-
quests was an international study grant for the Secretary General of the Ethiopi-
an National Commission for UNESCO “to study the experiences in the different
Sectors and Divisions of UNESCO on project preparation, monitoring and evalu-
ation”\textsuperscript{476} and a grant for financial support for the building of a public library and
documentation centre for UN-related issues in the offices of the Ethiopian Na-
tional Commission for UNESCO.\textsuperscript{477}

The challenges developing countries such as Ethiopia were facing in the
emerging UN Development and Assistance bureaucracy were far from unknown
to the UNESCO secretariat. In fact, to establish the various UNESCO programmes
of assistance, UNESCO’s civil servants were supposed to offer guidance and,
where appropriate, “stimulate” requests, i.e. point out programmes and possibil-
ities of interest to a national delegation, propose a request and offer support for
submission. UNESCO divisions then offered help to review the submitted re-
quests so as to ensure their approval, and would often hand back a request
with detailed instruction about how to rewrite the request and redefine the
goal towards this end.\textsuperscript{478} This was deemed necessary not only to maintain the
correct bureaucratic procedure but also to ensure the use of funds provided with-
in the allocated time.

\textsuperscript{475} Note from E. Olsen to Mr. D. Lindowski (Field Equipment and Subcontracting Division of
UNESCO), 22.5.1978, in UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. vi.
\textsuperscript{476} Letter from Abdulmenan Ahmed to J. Kabore, 9.1.1984, in: UNESCO BRX AFR 4.
\textsuperscript{477} Participation Programme request from December 29, 1983, to be considered in 1984, in:
UNESCO BRX AFR 4.
\textsuperscript{478} See for example the offer to assist in further requests for the ETH 74/14 project, containing
detailed instructions on the correct order of steps and authorities to involve on the Ethiopian
side in the letter from A. Pasquali to Tesfaye Shewaye, concerning the progress of the campaign
planning, 20.1.1981, in: UNESCO 069 (63) AMS.
That Ethiopia lacked a skilled workforce can partly be explained by the fact that the country’s first university, Haile Selassie I University, renamed Addis Ababa University in 1974, was not opened until 1950. The same period also brought reforms to the existing system of secular secondary education as a part of Haile Selassie I’s development plans. Before the educational reform policies of the 1950s, secondary education was mainly provided by religious institutions. For example, in 1958 there were altogether not more than twenty-two secondary schools in Ethiopia, including the British and French Schools, which were meant to satisfy the needs of international experts and diplomats as well as the Ethiopian upper class. 479 The introduction and development of higher and secondary education was planned by Western education experts who took their inspiration from Western schools. Classes were given exclusively in English. In the beginning, experts in higher education, mainly from Canada, managed a staff of largely European and American professors and lecturers who taught arts and humanities, natural sciences, engineering, economics, and law to primary cohorts of a few hundred students in total. 480 In these first years, the number of Ethiopian students studying abroad, as part of the overseas study programme of the imperial government, was still exceeding the number of domestic students by more than 60%. However, by 1960, that is after ten years, the number of students at Haile Selassie I University had grown significantly, and by 1968 more than four thousand students were enrolled at the university in Addis, as opposed to two thousand students studying abroad. 481

Under these circumstances during the 1950s and 1960s, it seemed untenable to produce the amount of skilled workforce in Ethiopia that was needed to amend the skills shortage in the country. The Ethiopian state administrative infrastructure continued to depend on foreign experts and Ethiopian nationals who had received overseas training which remained a privilege of the upper classes despite the instituted overseas studies programme. Only a few Ethiopians had the financial means to pay not only for their offspring’s studies at a foreign university but also for secondary level education at one of the European private schools in Addis Ababa.

479 N.N., “The University College of Addis Ababa (Editorial)”, *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 6 (1958): 195–213; Sylvia Pankhurst, “Education in Ethiopia: Secondary Education”, *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 5 (1958): 162–64.
480 Balsvik, *Haile Selassie’s Students*, 21–31; N.N., “The University College of Addis Ababa (Editorial)”. 196.
481 N.N., “Ethiopian Overseas Study”, *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 6 (1958): 222; Teshome G. Wagaw, “Access to Haile Selassie I University”, *Ethiopia Observer* 19, no. 1 (1971): 39.
In this context, foreign expertise was indispensable to the state so as to cover even basic bureaucratic functionality and state responsibilities. For example, according to the general statistics published by the Ministry of Education for 1951/1953, seventeen hundred and fifty-five Ethiopian employees are listed for the Ministry of Education and two hundred and thirty-three foreign employees. These figures did not, however, include schoolteachers, many of whom were foreigners, with some being drafted from the ranks of the Peace Corps.

To lay the foundation of national expertise across all sectors of the government and bureaucratic infrastructure, foreign advisors were hired to serve in institutions across all branches of the Ethiopian government. To achieve their goal of capacity building, cooperation and agreements with international organisations or on a bilateral basis were sought after by the Ethiopian government in a wide variety of fields. When analysing the governmental and political development of Ethiopia during the 1960s and 1970s, foreign experts and consultants need to be considered as an important group of actors. The number of foreign actors involved in knowledge production and distribution steadily increased as a result of politically strategic efforts. The majority of development investment and assistance was sourced through bilateral cooperation, e.g. through the American Point Four Program or through British and Swedish development aid to Ethiopia. In her analysis of the Ethiopian government, written in the 50s, Margery Perham first interpreted this as a continuation of the politics of Menelik II to use the presence of foreign advisers to the government as a central institution and as a means to strengthen the monarch’s power against the provincial leaders and national political elites through these international ties. Later researchers of Ethiopian development politics and diplomacy also came to the same conclusion, that Ethiopia’s strong African and international standing strengthened Ethiopian internal political stability and the central government’s power.

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482 N.C. Angus, “The Imperial Ethiopian Institute of Public Administration”, *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): 312–15.
483 Ethiopia, Ministry of Education, ed., *Year Book* (Addis Ababa, 1950), 208.
484 Anne-Marie Jacomy-Millette, “Anatomie d’un pays en voie de développement à la lumière de ses engagements internationaux: le cas de l’Éthiopie”, *Revue générale de droit international public* 4 (1974): 1026–36; Clapham, Pausewang, and Milkias, “Government”, 103–7.
485 Harold G. Marcus, “Haile Selassie’s Development Policies and Views, 1916–1960”, in *Études Éthiopiennes, Vol. I. Actes de La Xe Conférence Internationale Des Études Éthiopiennes, Paris, 24–28 Aout 1988*, ed. Claude Lepage, vol. 1 (Paris: Publications de la Société Française pour les Études Éthiopiennes, 1994), 646.
486 Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, 92–95.
487 Clapham, Christopher. “Ethiopian development: The politics of emulation”. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 44, no. 1 (1. März 2006): 137–50, https://doi.org/10.1080/
Haile Selassie I had approached the presence of foreigners in Ethiopia in general as a strategic element in both his national and foreign policy scheme, in order to strengthen his internal political position.\textsuperscript{488} Collaborating with foreign expertise and establishing a close-knit relationship with the community of foreigners was supposed to silence development plans proposed by members of the constitutional assembly in Ethiopia and to demonstrate his status and power.\textsuperscript{489}

In a similar manner, Haile Selassie I used the international organisations to obtain financial and expert assistance for Ethiopia. The effort to transform the Ethiopian empire into a constitutional monarchy with a bureaucratic apparatus was linked productively with the expansion and increasing operationalisation of international organisations during the 1960s and 1970s. International organisations, their expertise, and their assistance programmes were part and parcel of the expansion of the bureaucratic infrastructure in Ethiopia. In this regard, the option of being a member of UNESCO became of interest as soon as it was clear that it would promise the Ethiopian government further access to funds and expertise, in fields of which were considered somewhat foundational for state-building. In all their efforts and statements the Ethiopian delegates stressed that their guiding principle with regard to Ethiopia’s membership in UNESCO was in “education and science, because these two areas constitute the primary foundation for development.”\textsuperscript{490} Requesting financial and technical assistance to foster economic development was an obvious incentive for Ethiopia to join the UN system. External aid had a strategically important place in Ethiopian state development, and membership in international organisations opened up new possibilities to expand this strategy.\textsuperscript{491} The numerous requests which Ethiopia submitted to UNESCO illustrate how the Ethiopian government agencies readily slotted the funding available through UNESCO’s programmes into existing or newly created vacant places in the administration which domestic resources couldn’t sufficiently cover.\textsuperscript{492}

\textsuperscript{488} Viveca Halldin Norberg, \textit{Swedes in Haile Selassie’s Ethiopia, 1924–1952: A Study in Early Development Co-Operation} (Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1977); Clapham, \textit{Haile-Selassie’s Government}, 18–19.

\textsuperscript{489} Perham, \textit{The Government of Ethiopia}, 1.

\textsuperscript{490} H.E. Mr. Seifu Mahteme Selassie’s speech to the 16th Session of the General Conference 1970, no date, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. vi.

\textsuperscript{491} Clapham, \textit{Transformation and Continuity}, 220–21.

\textsuperscript{492} See ch. 2.
The efficient and strategic use of UNESCO experts as a resource for Ethiopian state-building becomes evident when taking a closer look at the high number of requests that the Ethiopian government submitted to UNESCO’s Participation Programme and other programmes in all sectors in the 1970s: education, science, social sciences, human sciences and culture, and communication.⁴⁹³ These numbers illustrate the density of foreign aid through UNESCO to Ethiopia during this period: between 1968 and 1970 alone, forty-two UNESCO missions took place in Ethiopia, among them four major projects, financed by UNDP and executed by UNESCO. Between 1950 and 1971, 101 UNESCO fellowships were awarded. The main fields of assistance were indeed education and science. Other fields included heritage conservation and communication.⁴⁹⁴ Statistics show that the general amount of technical assistance to Ethiopia rose to over 35 Million USD per year until 1972.⁴⁹⁵ Technical infrastructure, education, economic development, natural and agricultural resources, and health were the key areas of the overall development cooperation and technical assistance. Cultural politics and heritage-making were also established in this context. In all these areas, foreign expertise was key to the institutionalisation and establishment of the relevant bureaucracy.

A diplomatic visit by the Director General René Maheu in 1968, which included several formal and ceremonial meetings with the Emperor Haile Selassie I, further strengthened the ties between Ethiopia and UNESCO. In the resulting aide memoire of 1971 UNESCO pledged further assistance to Ethiopia in exchange for Ethiopia promising to implement a number of structural reforms laid out in UNESCO’s programme.⁴⁹⁶ Maheu’s visit to Ethiopia demonstrated how from the beginning the relationship between Ethiopia and UNESCO surpassed the status of a routine diplomatic effort. Instead, the relationship is exemplary for the com-

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⁴⁹³ Examples include requests for: Assistance for Amharic Language study, Equipment for Recording, Assistance for Organisation of Pan-African Pre-History Congress, Assistance to Organise Congress of Ethiopian Studies, Fellowship in Archives, Fellowship in Mass Media Education, Workshop on Book Development; Letter of approval of requests, 7.5.71, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) A 136.
⁴⁹⁴ Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO, UNESCO in Ethiopia, 18.
⁴⁹⁵ This figure is excluding assistance to defence, not counting the very large number of fellowships financed from external sources and not including contributions by small donors such as religious and other voluntary organisations, which were presumed to be large but not assessable; UNDP, “Report on Development Assistance to Ethiopia in 1972 – Prepared by the Resident Representative of the UNDP in Ethiopia,” i (1972).
⁴⁹⁶ Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO, UNESCO in Ethiopia – Prepared by the Ethiopian National Commission for Unesco on the Occasion of Unesco’s 25th Anniversary (Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press, 1971), 15.
plexity and degree of entanglement between the work of international civil servants and government institutions, permeating the UN system from the start. The common need of both incoming international experts and the emerging Ethiopian bureaucracy was to increase their operational power. These efforts were similar to the “self-empowerment” strategies Rosemary O’Leary has observed for US environmental governance. I argue that her observations on the importance of mid-level career bureaucrats in policy implementation and the “bureaucratic politics behind the legislation” are just as relevant for international organisations. The working climate between UNESCO headquarters, the UNESCO and UNDP regional and field offices as well as the Ethiopian government remained productive and largely uninterrupted throughout the revolutionary decade, primarily because of strong diplomatic ties, a sort of mutual strategic dependence on operational works to be carried out and the availability of international development funds.

**Ethiopian personalities in UNESCO**

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ethiopian-UNESCO relations were fruitfully extensive. In the field of heritage-related activities as in other areas, this was not only because of the organisational transformations, but also due to influential and proactive individuals. One of them was Akalework Habtewold, the Minister of Education from 1967–1969, who had also acted as the first African President of UNESCO’s General Assembly from 1960–1962 and issued the first assistance requests regarding wildlife conservation. The other was Aklilu Habte, an Ethiopian education scientist who was appointed a member of the initial Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO before being promoted to president of Addis Ababa University. He proved to be a very responsive contact in Addis Ababa’s scientific community according to the general correspondence between UNESCO’s regional office and headquarters. Aklilu's affinity to UNESCO’s programme and organisational bureaucratic structure alike was complemented by an exceptionally friendly relationship with all UNESCO officers. This relationship stands out in the correspondence as a key element, resulting in a period of efficiently initiated UNESCO projects and missions as well as the adaptation of numerous UNESCO
programmes and activities in the early 1970s. Aklilu Habte’s reputation within the international organisation was most prominently conveyed when Director General Amadou-Mahtar M’Bow invited him to a strategic roundtable about UNESCO’s future in 1975.⁵⁰⁰

Aklilu Habte also served as the Chairman of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa and the first meeting of this committee was hosted by Ethiopia in 1971.⁵⁰¹ The project for a General History of Africa originated in a motion towards “The Rediscovery of Africa”⁵⁰² in the wake of decolonisation, necessitating “a factual reappraisal of the African Past” as opposed to the dominating colonial narrative of Africa as a place without history, one supposedly lacking signs of past civilisations such as political and social institutions of relevance. The project encompassed eight volumes, each dedicated to a different historical period. Remarkably, this new periodisation defined the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 as a decisive moment in African history, putting it at the beginning of the last volume that was dedicated to the period leading up to the time of publication in 1993.⁵⁰³

Ethiopia’s commitment to this project was a sign that, despite the relevance of UNESCO as an additional source for technical and financial assistance, there can be no doubt that key figures, such as Aklilu Habte, were thoroughly invested in the idea of UNESCO on a more conceptual and discursive level. Emancipating African heritage and history and the Pan-African idea in order to manifest identity and power in the new global order were of specific importance, and strategically employed by the Ethiopian government to support the historical narrative of Ethiopia as one of Africa’s strongest and oldest countries. Aklilu Habte was assigned Minister of Culture in early 1975.⁵⁰⁴ His personality was the reason why during his tenure the collaboration between UNESCO and the Ethiopian government would be more fruitful than ever before or after. It was a prolific period for Ethiopian cultural institutions in general and for heritage-making in particular.

⁵⁰⁰ Letter form M’Bow to Aklilu Habte, 14.3.75, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. vii.
⁵⁰¹ H.E. Mr. Seifu Mahteme Selassie’s speech to the 16th Session of the General Conference 1970, no date, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. vi.; UNESCO in Ethiopia, 14, 15.
⁵⁰² Title of the UNESCO Courier issue in October 1959.
⁵⁰³ Teshale Tibebu, The Making of Modern Ethiopia, xv.
⁵⁰⁴ N.N., “Changing Relationships in International Co-Operation: An Interview with Aklilu Habte”, Prospects 5, no. 1 (March 1975): 12, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02220203.
Ethiopia: model country for heritage development projects

Ethiopia’s relations with UNESCO and the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and the preceding conservation programmes need to be understood in the context of the strategic use of foreign resources through the government and in light of the personal relationships that were explained above. Several aspects of the relationship between Ethiopia and UNESCO during the 1950s, 60s and 70s are relevant to the general history of the World Heritage Programme.

Addis Ababa, the new African diplomatic hub for UN-agencies, facilitated a kind of accessibility between Ethiopian government institutions, foreign research experts and UNESCO and UNDP officers that would prove crucial to the intense cooperation between UNESCO and Ethiopia during the 1960s and 1970s in general. The strategic relevance of the Ethiopian-UNESCO relationship and the productive work rate between them functioned to set the general tone for over a decade of extensive UNESCO activity in Ethiopia starting with the organisation’s operationalisation phase in 1965, during which the field of heritage-making would reap extraordinary benefits from the available assistance projects.

An analysis of reports for cultural heritage-related missions in the database of the UNESCO library and archives shows the global scale of UNESCO activities in heritage-making that preceded the World Heritage convention. 162 consultants’ reports document shorter missions and larger projects in a number of developing countries until 1980. The activities were similar to those undertaken in Ethiopia: museums and concrete preservation projects, touristic exploitation of cultural monuments for development purposes, suggestions for bureaucratic and legal institutions, proposals for larger programmes and long-term developments. In comparison, the South American countries of Brazil and Mexico, the Middle Eastern countries Iran and Yemen and the North African countries Tunisia and Morocco were most actively engaged, with a large number and a wide range of projects. African countries south of the Sahara, however, were barely represented in this period. Only Senegal and Nigeria received two missions each, and Sudan one. Without knowing the circumstances of the cooperation in more detail it can’t be stated with absolute certainty, but the situation in Ethiopia seems to stand out among other African countries. The correspondence and documentation of the Ethiopian projects certainly gives that impression.

505 Admittedly, the analysis as well as the result were only tentative; in advanced search mode on https://unesdoc.unesco.org, I searched for “words from record: heritage” and selected “UNESCO” as source and set the date limit to 1980.
Ethiopia, in the eyes of UNDP and UNESCO representatives, was highly suitable as a testing ground for large-scale development cooperation in the area of heritage-making. In particular the UNDP staff pushed for Ethiopia as the main base for the establishment of a regional project, together with the already successful UNDP general country programme, as the government promised to be much more receptive to international cooperation than other African countries.

For a proposed safeguarding campaign for East African heritage, similar to the Nubian Monuments Campaign, an East African Conservation centre for training local experts was supposed to be set up in the course of the ongoing UNDP conservation project at major Ethiopian heritage sites. Ethiopia was supposed to serve as a model country for preservation of cultural heritage, and foreseen to have a key role as a regional centre of conservation expertise in Africa, much like Indonesia in South East Asia.

It would seem that after more than ten years of consultation and conservation efforts through UNESCO’s experts in Ethiopia, the conditions for heritage-making had matured enough by 1974 to take the next step towards shaping the Ethiopian national heritage in accordance with the universal standards of heritage. Yet despite several preparatory missions, the Ethiopian authorities were still not prepared to launch the safeguarding campaign that they had requested and envisaged many years ago. As another preparatory step, the seven-year project entitled *Presentation and preservation of selected sites* was launched in 1975, funded and organised by UNDP and administered by UNESCO. This project was deemed necessary to build up in the first instance the national capacities for receiving and putting to use international donations for safeguarding that would be made available once the campaign would be launched.

The project, listed as UNDP project ETH/74/014, can easily be considered the most important contribution towards the institutionalisation of cultural and natural heritage in Ethiopia. It employed two experts as architect restorers for a period of five and three years, and work was carried out at selected monuments in Gondar, Lalibela, Lake Tana, Axum, Harar and Yeha. The project was termed a

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506 UNDP Country Programme for Ethiopia 1978, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. viii; P lingerleith and Rollet-Andriane, “Regional Centre for Conservation of Cultural Property”.
507 Letter from H. Daifuku to E. Amerding, 17.6.1974 in UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. i.
508 UNDP/ETH/74/014, Terminal Report, 1.
509 The campaign was acknowledged by UNESCO’s General Conference in 1976 (resolution 19 C/4.126), but not implemented until 1988; International campaign to safeguard the principal monuments and sites of Ethiopia—campaign strategy and action plan 1988–1997, May 1988, in: ARCCH, 14–1, UNESCO, Folder 1.
“one-of-a-kind development program”\textsuperscript{510} because it was launched in the form of cooperation between the Ethiopian government and UNDP. It served as a model project for UNDP, which deemed the strategy of supporting the institutionalisation and shaping the bureaucratic infrastructure as the most viable element of their overall development mandate. The eager receptiveness of the pre- and post-revolutionary Ethiopian governments was supposed to lead to a successful outcome which would convince other developing countries to agree to similar long-term projects with UNDP, concerning the establishment or reorganisation of government institutions.

The immediate objective of this seven-year heritage project was not so much the actual conservation of monuments, but rather to enhance the capabilities of the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports in the administration of antiquities. The associated report stressed how embryonic the existing bureaucratic and institutional structure in Ethiopia still was up until the very beginning of the project, and how much UNESCO was involved in building up the modern government structures from the ground. The early activities were largely concerned with the establishment and operation of the newly founded CRCCH as a capable organisation:

Principles and outlines of organisation, administration, planning and implementation of work, budget preparation and accounting systems where prepared and presented to the government, together with suggestions for general patterns of duty in job description for four staff. Particular attention was given the [sic] preparation of reporting systems, and the classification and filing of the project correspondence.\textsuperscript{511}

A secondary objective of the project was to promote an infrastructure within which the various activities of surveying sites and monuments could be organised, and furthermore to continue and develop the programmes for the conservation and development of sites and monuments along the “Historic Route” for touristic purposes. The activities included a training component, including fellowships for some Ethiopians, and onsite courses in architectural conservation, a research component investigating and dealing with the revival of local lime mortar production and, for the largest part, “restoration of monuments and expanding the Ministry of Culture’s capability to administer and preserve the national heritage”.\textsuperscript{512}

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\textsuperscript{510} Letter from P. Stulz to B. Bernander, 28.3.1978, in 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. vi.
\textsuperscript{511} UNDP/ETH/74/014, Terminal Report, 4.
\textsuperscript{512} Ibid., 2, 3.
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In many cases restoration work had to be conducted from scratch, starting with an inventory, a topographic survey, microbiological studies, mapping and a photogrammetric survey of the site. The project also included vast administrative activities such as building up a national inventory of antiquities, drafting a more effective legislation and establishing a more effective and frequent communication pattern with relevant international organisations. The Polish legal expert E. Gasiorowski, commissioned as a consultant within the framework of ETH/74/014, presented fully worded draft legislation as well as a comprehensive to-do list of recommendations. This list was almost all-encompassing in terms of the necessities of heritage-making. First, Gasiorowski suggested a revision of the existing legislation to better address ownership issues of antiquities. Second, in his eyes, he called for more research as necessary precondition for heritage-making in Ethiopia. This would include drawing up a classified register of historical objects, monuments and art objects. Third, by updating existing export control regulations, he wanted to strengthen the position of the national Museum, so that it would constitute a bulwark against the illicit trade and illegal export of antiquities. Fourth, and lastly, he encouraged the training of local specialists in both the preservation and presentation of cultural heritage.¹³

Despite the political and societal turbulence caused by the regime change in 1974, the promotion of national heritage, especially cultural heritage, fit very well within the political paradigms of both the old empire as well as the new government in place after the revolution. Heritage-making and related international projects were affected by the uncertain situation after 1974, but most representatives of international organisations had stayed in the country throughout the revolution.¹⁴ Overall, the institutional activities in conservation were not disturbed, but actually received continuous support:

The Secretariat considered at various times the possibility of freezing the project, waiting for more favourable conditions, but in the light of reactions from local authorities, it was thought preferable to maintain the execution of the project even at a reduced pace.¹⁵

The change of government included, however, a political re-orientation of cultural politics according to socialist principles, aimed at shifting the emphasis of the project away from the presentation of sites for tourism towards the “preservation

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¹³ Letter from Makaminan Makagiansar to H.E. Lt. Col. Goshu Wolde, 15.9.1981, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) A 136.
¹⁴ Letter from John C. Philips to Miss Mc Kitterick, 27.6.1975, in UNESCO X 07.21 (63), pt. viii.
¹⁵ Memo to Deputy DG from Makaminan Makagiansar, 8.4.1981, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. ixb.
of the cultural heritage of the Ethiopian people.” To ensure this the government insisted on having tighter control over foreign research and conservation activities related to heritage, demanding more elaborate reports on all restoration work, including “an initial photographic record before any work commenced and also a final photographic report when the work was completed”, a practice which had not been followed until then.

Apart from high security risk areas where work could not be undertaken, the grounds for delays of the conservation-projects with UNESCO’s involvement were similar to the problems which had occurred before 1974, such as the delayed release of government contributions, critical shortage of trained local personnel and difficulties in identification of candidates for fellowships.

A major aim of UNESCO’s division of cultural heritage was to create an infrastructure for international conservation principles in order to gather knowledge and establish workflows for future projects in the field of universal heritage. When UNESCO tried to engage countries in conservation, it was commonly inhibited by the simple fact that state agencies in the countries lacked the capacity to deal with conservation. As a study conducted by UNESCO in 1955 had shown, few developing countries had government institutions responsible for conservation and the standards and methods of institutionalisation varied drastically between individual countries.

It is not surprising then that in the text of the World Heritage Convention of 1972, the provision of technical assistance was mentioned as an integral approach, to help not only with actual conservation efforts but also with building the necessary infrastructure. In 1972 the World Heritage Convention was presented to and adopted by the general conference of UNESCO. René Maheu, the Director General of UNESCO, stressed the achievement of “harmonizing” nature and culture, highlighting the competing claims for a definition of “universal” heritage by the various expert circles. The conceptual core of heritage-making that was installed as part of UNESCO’s scope of responsibilities at this convention was scientific knowledge, guarded by the scientific advisory bodies. These organisations served as gatekeepers and ensured UNESCO’s defining authority for universal heritage. Initiating this foundation of international expert organisa-

516 Letter from John C. Phillips to M. Jimenez, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) pt. i.
517 Memo to Deputy DG from Makaminan Makagiansar, 8.4.1981, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. ix.
518 See the Syrian response in UNESCO 069:72 A 14 pt. ii.
519 See ch.1; response letters to first UNESCO query in 069:72 A 14 pt. ii.
520 Titchen, “On the Construction”, 65–67; Cameron and Rössler, “Voices of the Pioneer”, 20–24.
tions concerned with natural and cultural heritage conservation (IUCN, ICCROM and ICOMOS) had resulted in a network of international heritage experts or a “family concerned with heritage”⁵²¹—architects, conservators and environmentalists from the West with an internationalist agenda. ICCROM experts were active in numerous countries.

For example, Harold Plenderleith, inaugural director of ICCROM from 1959–1971, had until then built a career as an archaeologist, working with Howard Carter and Leonard Woolley, and a conservator, including a ten-year appointment as the keeper of the British Museum Research Laboratory.⁵²² During and after World War II he was involved in activities of the League of Nations’ International Museums Office. He also wrote The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art, dubbed “the bible of every conservator”⁵²³ by his colleague at ICCROM, Jukka Jokilehto. For UNESCO, Plenderleith undertook numerous missions evaluating either individual conservation projects or issuing recommendations concerning national strategies of conservation in a host of countries (the United Arab Republic, Albania, Morocco, Malta, India and Pakistan). On other missions he explored the establishment of training programmes and centres in the Asia-Pacific region and East Africa. He developed courses to train conservators at ICCROM, in Rome, and in their home countries and institutions.⁵²⁴

Another like-minded spirit was Sandro Angelini, a founding member of ICOMOS in 1965 and later the director of the Italian national commission of ICOMOS. Like Plenderleith, Angelini could look back on a bright career in his home country, Italy, where he worked as an architect specialising in the reconstruction of historic towns and buildings, in addition to being a prolific painter in his spare time. Between 1967 and 1979 a UNESCO mandate took him to Ethiopia, Easter Island and Guatemala, Oman, Panama, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Java, where he undertook extensive conservation and restoration works.⁵²⁵ All these efforts targeted sites, countries and regions where a lack of

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⁵²¹ Jokilehto and ICCROM, ICCROM, 8.
⁵²² Andrew Oddy, “Harold Plenderleith and The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art”, Intervención (México DF) 2, no. 4 (December 2011): 56–62.
⁵²³ Jokilehto and ICCROM, ICCROM, 17.
⁵²⁴ This list of countries serves to indicate the geographical concentration of conservation missions in developing countries, but is based only on mission reports kept in the UNESCO archives; a more exhaustive search in the archives of ICCROM would surely yield a more comprehensive, much longer list.
⁵²⁵ Bruno, “I restauri”; see also the information on the anonymous website: http://sandroangelini.eu/.
funds for conservation prevailed, and conceptualised building heritage institutions from the scratch, not just caring for individual sites and monuments.

To summarise, the 1970s were a decade of consolidation and “manifestation of doctrine”⁵²⁶ for universal heritage. Experts became important as institutionalised gatekeepers of knowledge which was the legitimising base for all of UNESCO’s actions and programmes. Experts in cultural and natural heritage, each in their sphere, collaborated in demonstrating their expert knowledge and status in their field was universally applicable, thereby feeding the policymaking process behind the World Heritage Convention.

Yet, in contrast to the universal approach and the international scope, the circle of people involved in the creation of international organisations for the conservation of monuments was small and close-knit, composed almost entirely of experts with a high academic reputation such as renowned professors or chief state conservators from countries such as the two official founders of ICOMOS, Pierro Gazzola from Italy and Raymond M. Lemaire from Belgium. They aimed for the creation of a network that would promote and empower their cause and, more importantly, their agency.⁵²⁷ Their class, education and national background was, in the 1950s, relatively homogenous, and provided the core of actors that would set up the principles, ideas and institutional foundations of the international organisations that would be involved in shaping the global conservation policies in the 60s and 70s.⁵²⁸ They could communicate with little effort due to their spatial proximity and shared ideological and academic home bases, a fact which greatly fostered the connection, collaboration and rise of the international heritage network. Many examples in the correspondence between the cultural heritage division of UNESCO and ICOMOS, ICCROM and IUCN are written not only in an ostentatiously familiar or friendly tone, but also include references to personal connections. This collegial atmosphere, created by these more informal parts of the overall communication, certainly im-

⁵²⁶ Bruno, 42.

⁵²⁷ Pierre Gazzola, the first director of ICOMOS, was promoted into his position by Prof. G. Angelis d. Ossat, one of the main organisers of the Venice charter conference in 1964 and first Director of the ICCROM. Gazzola had previously worked with Georges Henri Rivière, the founding Director of ICOM, and entertained close collaboration with UNESCO’s Hiroshi Daifuku, who was his successor as programme specialist of the Museums and Monuments division of UNESCO. Bruno, 8–10; Cameron and Rössler, “Voices of the Pioneers”, 186.

⁵²⁸ Deese, “The New Ecology of Power”, 208; Wöbse, “Globales Gemeingut”, 149; Rehling, “Kosmopolitische Geschichtsschreibung”, 392–93; Simone Schleper’s insightful description of the environmentalists’ network: Schleper, “Life on Earth”, 31–49.
proved the workflow and helped to nudge projects in their intended directions.$^{529}$ These personal connections anchored universal heritage in the Western cultural hemisphere, and demonstrate that the universal heritage discourse was largely a domain of white, male academics from Europe.

$^{529}$ One of many examples that occur in the files is the letter from Eduard Sekler to Hiroshi Daifuku, 22.11.1978, on the occasion of Eduard Sekler coming to Paris for an ICOMOS symposium, in which Sekler wonders whether they will find time for an informal talk related to the Kathmandu Valley and Sukothai, in: UNESCO 069:72 A 01 ICOMOS 06.