

THE EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE YEAR AND UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE: THE HARE AND THE TORTOISE?

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ABSTRACT Comparing the measures and outcomes of European Architectural Heritage Year 1975 (hereafter EAHY 1975) with those of another key 1970s international conservation initiative, the UNESCO World Heritage system, this chapter argues that while the latter has grown, slowly and somewhat erratically, into a worldwide ‘empire’ under the aegis of contemporary global heritage branding, the impact of EAHY 1975, although initially more spectacular, has proved rather more ephemeral, not only for the obvious reason of its ‘one-off’ character, but also because, even in 1975, it looked backwards as much as forwards. The chapter begins with an overview of key aspects of EAHY 1975, highlighting the way that, despite efforts to foster local participation, it remained generally anchored in the traditional elite world of European historic-town conservation, with its distrust of commercialisation – characteristics that restricted its subsequent influence in an era of neo-liberalism. The second section of the chapter reviews the contrasting development of UNESCO World Heritage, which emerged in the early 1970s from a somewhat similar background to EAHY 1975, but whose strong links to tourism and commercialism, and openness to postmodern ideas of intangible heritage, allowed it to survive and prosper over the ensuing forty years in a world of increasingly aggressive heritage branding.

1. EAHY 1975 – A JANUS-HEADED MOVEMENT

The EAHY 1975 project began with high hopes as an exuberant celebration of conservation’s grand narrative of progress and ever-expanding scope, and, in particular, of its 1970s victory in Western Europe over the fallen colossus of modern architecture. In its vast and flamboyant programme of activities and pilot studies during 1975, it tried to reconcile the growing clamour for local cultural diversity with the idea of a common European heritage, and to combine traditional conservation and city-planning expertise with the burgeoning demand for community participation. But from the beginning, the EAHY 1975 initiative was permeated with ambiguities. It looked backward as well as forward, foregrounding the old, authoritative narratives of conservation, above all the centuries-old European discourse of the ‘historic town’ or *Altstadt*, which assumed the normative status within urban heritage of a dense, complex architectural and cultural fabric that could only properly be defined and safeguarded by experts.

Even in its origins, the concept of a EAHY was somewhat elitist in character. In Britain, it was first conceived in 1969 by an aristocratic ex-government minister and pioneer in urban-conservation legislation, Lord Duncan Sandys, and was put into effect from 1971 by a coalition of strongly expert-dominated, establishment bodies, led by the Council of Europe, in collaboration with the *International Council on Monuments and Sites* (ICOMOS) and *Europa Nostra*. From its beginnings in 1948, the *Council of Europe* (hereafter CoE) had projected a vigorous presence in the cultural and heritage sphere, especially following a 1954 *European Cultural Convention* (UK Parliament 1967; European Treaty Series 1954). It had promoted individual initiatives by international heritage luminaries such as Pietro Gazzola, who wrote in the mid-1960s of the “indivisible unity” of the “living organism” of European urban heritage, threat-

ened by war and ideological conflict: “The whole of Europe is a ‘historic centre’” (Gazzola 1975, 15, 54–59 and 112–113). In 1963, following a report by the Austrian delegate Ludwig Weiß, its Consultative Assembly had set out the first pan-(Western) European programme of heritage protection and authorised a Council-assisted pilot rehab project in Venice, followed by a succession of colloquia and meetings, culminating in a synthesis conference at Avignon in 1968: at the latter, Gazzola had stressed the pre-eminence of “cultural values” and “social order” in urban conservation (CoE 1963; CoE 1968). At the same time, a more socially elevated heritage voluntarism had begun to emerge, and had found expression especially in the founding of Europa Nostra, an international federation of elite amenity societies concerned with built and natural heritage. Enjoying Council of Europe consultative status, Europa Nostra had held annual conferences from the late 1960s (Europa Nostra 2014).

The general concept of a EAHY was first conceived by Sandys following the urban conservation-themed ICOMOS Oxford General Assembly of 1969 and a succession of subsidiary Council of Europe events in locations ranging from Palma to Avignon (ICOMOS 1969). EAHY 1975 was formally proposed in 1971 by an intergovernmental Committee on Monuments and Sites instituted by the Council. It would be the culmination of a wider five-year programme of activity aimed at the preparation of a new international charter, tailored to the specific circumstances of Europe. A previous Council-sponsored ‘European Conservation Year’ in 1970 had had little impact, as, like Stockholm, it was dominated by nature conservationists (Schaefer 1970). A three-year lead-up to EAHY 1975 was formally inaugurated in July 1973 in Zurich, with Sandys chairing the organising committee. The initiative was co-sponsored by ICOMOS and UNESCO as well as the Western-dominated Council of Europe and European Union



Fig. 1: Illustration from *Tre steder i Norge*, EAHY Norwegian commemorative booklet, showing the festive inauguration of one of the three Norwegian pilot projects (in Stavanger) [Farverådet]

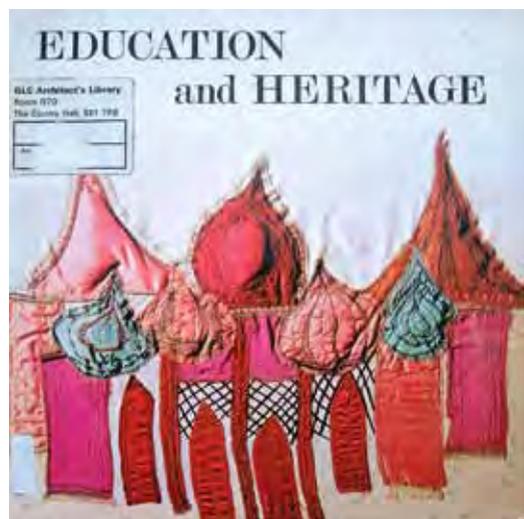


Fig. 2: Front cover of *Education and Heritage* (EAHY commemorative brochure issued in 1976 by the Heritage Education Group of the English Civic Trust). The cover features a needlework depiction of Brighton Royal Pavilion by girls of the Ravenscote County Middle School, Surrey [Civic Trust]

– which allowed the involvement of some socialist countries (Hungary, Poland, USSR). The remaining twenty participant countries were all Western, including the Holy See (Vatican City). During the three-year lead-up period, the Council sponsored a range of publications and other activities, including a 1973 report on European urban conservation (Dobby 1978, 100–105; CoE 1972; CoE 1974; Gazzola 1975, 112–117).

All these initiatives helped ensure that a somewhat anti-commercial ethos would be prominent within EAHY 1975: one of the starting points of the project had been the 1969 ICOMOS General Assembly in Oxford, which had bemoaned the heritage threat allegedly posed by tourism (ICOMOS 1969). During EAHY 1975 itself, ICOMOS intervened in support of this agenda by convening a symposium in May (1975) on the challenges facing small historic towns, held appropriately in Rothenburg ob der Tauber. Its proceedings, chaired by a leading international heritage grandee, Raymond Lemaire, sternly warned against over-exploitation of tourism, and led to the October 1975 *Bruges Resolution on the Rehabilitation of Historic Towns*. (ICOMOS German National Committee 1975; German Commission for UNESCO 1980; ICOMOS 1975a) (Figs. 1–3).

Another traditional heritage concept – the central role of the nation-state – was also embedded in the EAHY 1975 project from the start, with the idea of unity-in-diversity serving in effect as a project leit-motiv. A range of fifty pilot conservation projects was organised by national committees, under the coordination of the Council of Europe’s Committee on Monuments and Sites, with the aim of testing out in practice “new ideas on the rehabilitation of the cultural heritage as part of regional and urban planning”

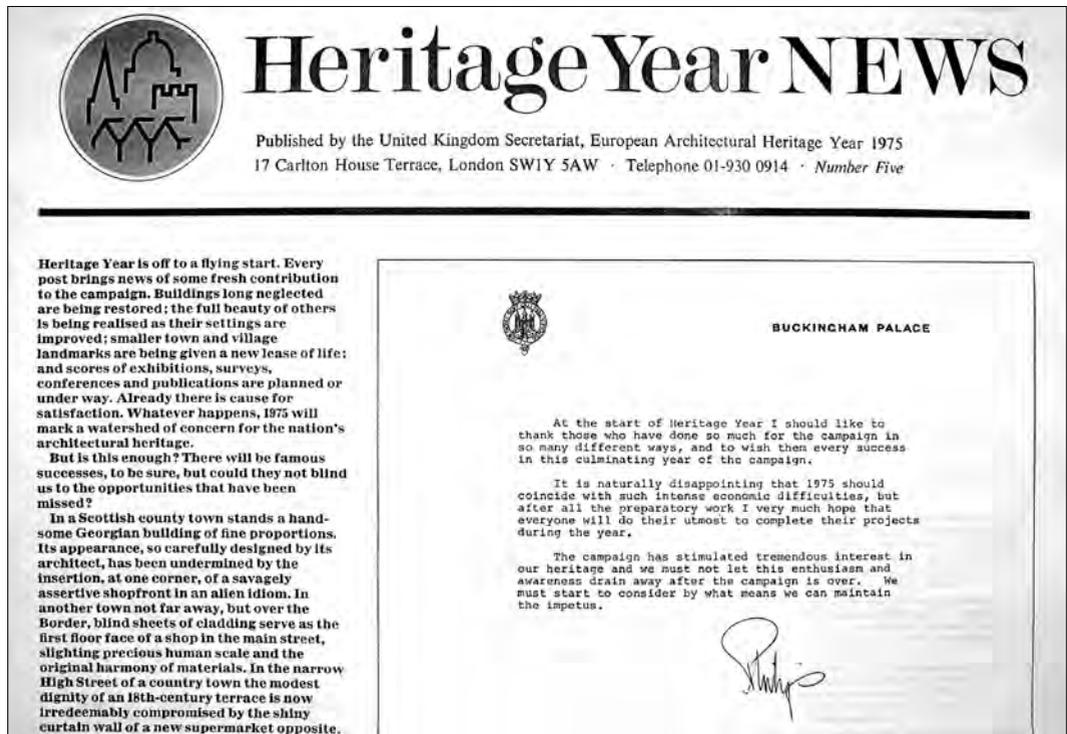


Fig. 3: Front cover of the official newsletter of the EAHY UK Secretariat (issue 5), including endorsement letter by Prince Philip [Civic Trust]

– an agenda that was, of course, in implicit opposition to Modern Functionalism’s assumed hatred of old districts (CoE 1973). The establishment-dominated organisational formula of the EAHY 1975 national initiatives was exemplified in the UK initiative, organised by a committee chaired by the Countess of Dartmouth, and with Prince Philip and government ministers as figureheads. The lessons of the pilot projects were evaluated at the culminating October 1975 congress in Amsterdam, and synthesised into a → *Declaration of Amsterdam* and a → *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage*, promulgated by the CoE (CoE 1975a; CoE 1975b; CoE 1976) (Fig. 4).

Although these pilot projects were naturally dominated by experts, there was a strong, at times contradictory attempt to offset this by local voluntary participation. The national committees acted as umbrella-



Fig. 4: The Amsterdam 1975 Conference (at conclusion of EAHY): visit by Prince Claus to Madurodam miniature theme-park [Meijer Pers bv]

organisations for a wide range of local exhibitions, lectures and preservation campaigns – not just in countries with a strong tradition of heritage voluntarism (such as Great Britain), but also in countries where dirigiste state centralism predominated. A participation-orientated overview book, *Votre ville est à vous*, was written by Yona Friedman and published by the CoE, while the more elitist Europa Nostra produced a 1975 report that stressed the traditional civic-art role of conservation in helping curb aesthetic ‘eyesores’ (Friedman 1975; Falser 2008, 104). However, through shortage of time, only well-established, conventional projects could credibly feature in the pilot studies. Within the UK, for example, the impressive-looking EAHY 1975 pilot studies, costing £2.75 million, were largely a re-badging of existing grants for somewhat ‘gentrifying’ regeneration schemes in Outstanding Conservation Areas (Chester, Edinburgh New Town, Poole and the Scottish old-town ‘Little Houses’) (Dartmouth 1975; Dobby 1978, 100–113; Pearce 1989, 2–8).

The → *Amsterdam Declaration* and *Charter on urban conservation* also stayed, in many ways, on familiar territory, and reiterated themes familiar since the early 20th-century work of Gustavo Giovannoni and Max Dvořak. These included the supposed threat from modernity; the importance of the everyday, ‘lesser’ urban heritage; and the need

for socially committed conservation embedded in the planning and education system. This latter was now updated for the modern age of rational management, under the catchphrase of “integrated conservation”. In case anyone felt that a shift towards managerial corporatism might be inappropriate in an age of participation and protest, this new strategy was expressed in a restrainedly impassioned rhetoric of European integration: “Apart from its priceless cultural value, Europe’s architectural heritage gives to her peoples the consciousness of their common history and common future. Its preservation is, therefore, a matter of vital importance” (Paragraph *a*). At the same time, the theme of unity-in-diversity, of place-specific identity, was emphasised to the point of repetitiveness, and local urban conservation traditions that actually differed relatively little in substance were foregrounded in the national initiatives, including the Giovannoni-style integration of conservation and planning in Italy, the *Heimatschutz*-style search for

wholeness in Germany, and the Patrick Geddes tradition of piecemeal urban regeneration in Scotland (CoE 1975).

2. THE SLOW STARTER: UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE

All in all, then, EAHY 1975 represented a celebratory update, rather than a radical transformation, of the established value-system of mid-20th century urban conservation, especially in its still distrustful relationship with tourism and commercialism. The position was subtly different in the case of another key international initiative of the 1970s, that of ‘World Heritage’. Less spectacular at the start, and more slow-burning, this is an initiative which has had far longer-lasting impact, owing to the way it chimed in with, and drew nourishment from, the emergent *Weltanschauung* of globalisation.

Its origins had nothing to do with volunteer civic engagement, and everything to do with the international and national rule of experts, gradually but inexorably reinforced by the growing prestige, within conservation, of market capitalism and international tourism. *The Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* was adopted by UNESCO in November 1972, and implemented in 1975. Its ‘local’ partners were the national governments themselves, or “State parties”. The convention stemmed ultimately from a succession of initiatives in the United States, focused on the natural heritage and inspired by the National Parks experience, with its potent fusion of educational interpretation and mass tourism. The suggestion of “a trust for the world heritage” had first been made by environmentalist Russell Train, at a 1965 *White House Conference on International Cooperation* convened by President Johnson, and the Nixon administration in 1968–71 developed this into a fully-fledged convention for natural landscapes. This natural-heritage initiative was paralleled by a late 1960s UNESCO convention for “cultural properties”. Only after several years and much inter-agency wrangling with nature-conservation bodies, were these incorporated into a single, UNESCO-administered system (Rodwell 2012; Cameron and Rössler 2011; Cameron and Rössler 2013; Leblanc 1984; Stovel 2006).

The need to balance the cultural and natural strands of World Heritage and minimize the bias stemming from state-party pressures, proved a constant running sore in the system’s early days, and was only resolved at a 1979 conference in Luxor, when a relatively centralized system, coordinated by French art-historian Leon Pressouyre, was established. Individual “properties” of “outstanding universal value” (OUV) were to be nominated by state parties, in accordance with operational guidelines agreed by ICOMOS, the *Rome Conservation Centre* (ICCROM) and the *International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources* (IUCN). Applications were assessed (in the case of cultural properties) with reference to six cultural criteria of OUV approved in 1976 by UNESCO: the OUV system was only finalised in its present form as late as 2005. Designated properties would be inscribed on a list (with the first designation in 1978). This would also specify if they were “endangered” (UNESCO 1972; Titchen 1996).

Thus the World Heritage project, like EAHY 1975, was significantly dependent on the judgements of experts, and laid emphasis from the start on a non-commercial, ethical rhetoric of duty of the international community; yet it would ultimately become ever more closely bound up with touristic and cultural-political branding. Perhaps appropriately, given this system’s inclusion of nature conservation, and its growing links with international tourism and capitalist modernity, the first country to sign up to the Convention, in December 1973, was the United States. The details of the system drew on *US National Parks Service* policies, including a system of buffer-zones inspired by 1940s American practice. Initially, most designated cultural properties were of a traditional monumental architectural character, and were concentrated especially in European tourist hot-spots – heightening the initial overlap with the scope of EAHY 1975. Some were individual buildings, but more typical was a complex group-property such as Bryggen in Bergen, where 1979 saw designation of a surviving area of wooden merchants’ houses,

including some restored in facsimile after 1940s–50s damage (Choay 2001, 221; Martin and Piatti 2009; Dagsland 2004).

3. FOUR DECADES ON: INTERNATIONAL HERITAGE IN A COMMODIFIED WORLD

Today, forty years on from these pioneering 1970s initiatives, the broad international context of architectural heritage has shifted radically. Both the old, heritage certainties of authenticity and the new, reformist emphasis on the agency of participatory community have been significantly diminished, both by the demand, stemming ultimately from postmodern culture, for ever-greater subjectivity in heritage values, and also by the growing power of explicit or implicit commodification. The effect of this has been curiously asymmetrical, undermining the long-term legacy of EAHY 1975 while pushing the World Heritage system ever further to the fore, in a protracted and at times roundabout process.

EAHY 1975 was typical of conservation's fleeting moment of triumph in Europe, in the way it briefly tied together conflicting ideals through authority-structures inherited from the era of modernist grand narratives. More doubtful, though, was the long-term impact of this colourful explosion of activity. At the level of charter-making, to be sure, its initial impact seemed considerable. The → *Amsterdam Charter's* stress on integrated conservation, as a process rather than an object, was taken up with gusto, both by national governments and in international initiatives – notably in the 1985 *Granada Convention for Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe*, which set up a procedure for national governments to establish statutory measures of integrated urban conservation (CoE 1985; Bell 1997). But the cumulative corpus of conservation charters is a vast and sluggishly-moving river, within which the contribution of any specific tributary is swallowed up and eventually disappears, as others flow into it. And by the 1990s, the underlying value-systems of conservation, as well as the charters of the post-Burra generation, were being radically reshaped by a succession of new influences.

The first of these new factors was the impact of neo-capitalist globalisation. The post-Cold War years witnessed the dissolution of conservation's old geopolitical boundaries, between west and east, and even between different national traditions. These intermediate units of heritage organisation were squeezed between the extreme individualisation of market choice on the one hand, and heritage globalisation on the other. There was a growing commercialisation – or, as Choay put it, “industrialisation” – of the heritage (Choay 2001, 144–115, 159 and 222–224). As recently as 1975, in the rhetoric of EAHY 1975, the dramatic conservation advances in the West had been strongly flavoured with utopian and anti-capitalist ideas. Previous to that, ever since the 19th century, commercialisation had been widely seen as an external force, sometimes enhancing the heritage but most usually threatening it – a menace that inspired constant rhetoric against unsightly advertisements or ‘Disneyland pastiches’. But from the 1990s, commercialisation was no longer unambiguously ‘the other’. Instead, it began to infiltrate the values of conservation itself – just as nationalism had in the 19th and 20th centuries.

This wide-ranging interpenetration of heritage and capitalism was increasingly exemplified in the role of World Heritage sites as hotspots of tourism and incoming investment, helped by the growing geopolitical and economic popularity of the World Heritage system. Originally, in 1975, twenty state parties had ratified the convention, but by 2009 this figure had soared to 185, with no less than 878 properties included on the World Heritage list (679 cultural, 174 natural, 25 combined: popularly known as ‘World Heritage Sites’). Administered by a UNESCO secretariat, known since 1982 as the ‘World Heritage Centre’, and a World Heritage Committee of 21 members nominated by state parties, the system also included a modest element of enforcement: properties endangered by supposedly inappropriate development could be publicly branded as such, and could ultimately be struck off the list. Although some of the most intensively-exploited heritage hot-spots, such as Rothenburg ob der Tauber – site of EAHY 1975's cautionary Smaller Towns conference in 1975 – remained outside the World Heritage system, in general

World Heritage status became intimately bound up with tourist promotion. For example, Lyon, in the year after its inscription in 1998, saw a 29% increase in tourist visitors (Pressouyre 1993; Cameron 2009; Von Droste 2011).

This close interaction with tourism was distinctly at variance with EAHY 1975's distrust of commercialisation and tourism. Arguably, this had both positive and negative aspects. It could act as a benign spur to economic growth and could even help politically in neutralising old passions and focusing people's attention on what they had in common, through its stress on universal values. In Europe, the traditional emphasis on the Old Town as a focus of cultural identity and 'life' was inexorably shifting from a divisive to a unifying factor. This process began with the 1980s Postmodern embrace of 'The City' as a socially-mixed, cosmopolitan ideal, and rose to a climax in the 1990s and 2000s emergence of a network of European World Heritage cities linked by low-cost air travel, competing with but also complementing one another through government-sponsored cultural festivals and economic-enterprise promotion. The World Heritage system actively emphasised values of peace and reconciliation, as shown for instance in the exemplary and even-handed Polish presentation of the history of Malbork Castle since its inscription as a World Heritage property in 1997, complete with enthusiastic research by curator Ryszard Rząd into the 19th-century German restorations once reviled by postwar Polish government conservators (Rząd 1993; Rząd 1996). In developments such as this, the *Amsterdam Declaration's* rhetoric about the "common history and common future" of Europe was to some extent being translated into reality.

What, though, of EAHY 1975's parallel emphasis on local diversity? In a series of editorials in the journal *Future Anterior*, optimistically assessing the conservation implications of globalisation and post-modern deconstruction, Ijlal Muzaffar and Jorge Otero-Pailos argued that heritage globalism was not a hegemonic movement imposed from on high, but a diverse phenomenon shaped by local practices and responses (Muzaffar and Otero-Pailos 2012, vi). But the growing process of globalising unification under the hegemony of the market also, equally, had potentially negative consequences for the traditional heritage ideal of place-specific identity. Just as the pre-1789 world of heritage had featured a strong hierarchy, with Rome at its head, so the post-1989 network of competing cities, especially within Europe, became subtly homogenised by a hierarchy of branding, with elite iconic cities at the apex (Florence, Venice, Paris, etc.) and lesser contenders contending for status and investment below – some of the cities being World Heritage but many more not. The more cities competed, in the more they arguably resembled one another, in their standardised recipes of branding, staging and "facile semanticisation" (Choay 2001, 145–148, 158–159 and 163; Harris and Williams, 2011). In effect, EAHY 1975's European heartland of 'authentic old towns' had been taken over by the marketplace ethos of World Heritage-style tourist branding.

These branding recipes often employed a mix of renowned, long-established architectural trademarks (often radically reshaped, as with Viollet-le-Duc's Notre-Dame), with supposedly more individualistic modern or signature heritage in up-and-coming cities – such as the reverent yet commercialised cults of Gaudí in Barcelona or Mackintosh in Glasgow – as well as a common background of supposedly vibrant, mixed-use hubbub. The interrelationship between Old Town and modern zoning had always had an implicitly standardised aspect, but now the pressure of the market was carrying that process rather further. The neo-modernist architect-critic Rem Koolhaas rhetorically asked in 1995, "Is the contemporary city like the contemporary airport – 'all the same'?" Increasingly, all urban heritage environments, not just picture-postcard Old Towns, were becoming active participants in that putative generic standardisation process. They were expected not just to act as architectural, social or cultural catalysts, as in the age of EAHY 1975, but to contribute actively to strategic economic regeneration, for example by helping re-invent de-industrialised cities through strategies of reconceptualisation and reconfiguring. In 2010, Koolhaas went so far as to argue that urban conservation had now become "an entirely new architectural language of disguised consumerism" (CRONOCAOS 2010; Koolhaas and Mau 1995, 1248; Wellman and Hampton 1999; Madgin 2010).

4. THE DISSOLUTION OF 'AUTHORITATIVE' CONSERVATION

At the same time as the old identity-boundaries of heritage were being challenged from outside by globalisation, the coherence of conservation was being eroded from within, by the assaults of a new, postmodern relativism – and here, again, World Heritage was drawn into playing a leading role. The discourses of special importance, authenticity, rarity and threat that had given conservation its sense of public urgency and authority throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, up to and including EAHY 1975, now began to wither away. If everything and anything could become heritage, how or why should anything be picked out for special protection? In the broader definition of what could be a valid monument, the gates were now thrown open to all-comers, under the influence of postmodern deconstruction, and of the radically new field of intangible heritage. A century earlier, Alois Riegl had highlighted the importance of reception in some heritage values, and EAHY 1975 had made strenuous efforts to enlist diverse local efforts in its pilot projects and local initiatives. But now, in the 21st century, reception seemed to have gobbled up everything else, just as in contemporary art or literature, and the value attributed to any heritage object was now seen as depending largely on the present-day host culture. Heritage academic Gregory Ashworth wrote in 2006 of “pluralising the past,” and proposed a wide diversity of politically and culturally-shaped models for the valorisation of heritage “as a resource for the modern community as a commercial activity” (Ashworth 2006). And the 1994 *Nara Declaration* jettisoned the definitions of authenticity that had underpinned all doctrinal definitions from the 1964 *Charter of Venice* through to EAHY 1975’s pilot studies and the outstanding universal values and operational guidelines of the *UNESCO World Heritage Convention*, proclaiming that “authenticity is a value judgement” (Ashworth 1994; Raymond Lemaire International Centre 2006; Larsen and Marstein 1994; Larsen 1995).

Within the doctrinal corpus of conservation itself, there was a growing tension between the authenticity implications of tangible and intangible heritage. The former retained the traditional conservation requirement for historical or material authenticity, the latter presupposed constant remaking. At the administrative ‘coal-face’ within the ever-growing structure of World Heritage, this new doctrinal relativism, coupled with the external demands on ICOMOS as an arbiter of nominations, fuelled a growing sense of instability. With the inevitable shift from the orderly, Eurocentric world exemplified by EAHY 1975 towards a polycentric, competitive globalization, developing countries exploited the increasingly all-encompassing significance criteria of cultural landscape to make forceful inscription bids, and in response to these pressures, the World Heritage system was drawn further and further into a circular process of enlargement-cum-dilution of the definitions of value and authenticity. In the course of this process, the concept of intangible heritage became ever more prominent. In 2003, a formal *UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage* defined the intangible heritage in an ironical echo of the grandiose rhetoric of opposites and ‘life’ once dear to *Heimat* propagandists. It was “traditional and living at the same time,” and potentially encompassed almost any cultural practice (UNESCO 2003). And in 2005, a revised set of *World Heritage Operational Guidelines* was promulgated. These overlaid the old, straightforward criteria of substance-based authenticity – design, material, workmanship, setting – with a proliferation of new criteria: traditions, technology, language, even “spirit and feeling” (UNESCO 2005, paragraph 82; Stovel 2006).

To administer this ever broader and more complex heritage potentially required an ever more complex bureaucratic process. Yet the outcomes on the ground often seemed disconnected from the ‘expert’ assessment of the outstanding universal values of nominations. At a 2010 UNESCO meeting in Brasilia, 21 new properties were added to the list, even though the expert advice had suggested only ten were eligible. The additions included a village near Riyadh associated with the Saudi royal family, and an imperial palace in Vietnam proposed as the site of a millennium festival. In decisions such as these, the relentless global expansion and, arguably, dilution of the scope of World Heritage went hand-in-hand with the practical reality of the politicisation of the World Heritage Committee, where countries were increasingly represented not by scholarly experts but by ambassadors whose job was horse-trading and manipulation of the nominations process (Economist 2010, 44–45) (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5: World Heritage inscription notice, Vilnius Town Hall, 1994 (with extra plaque of 2002 commemorating visit and speech by President G W Bush) [M Glendinning]

CONCLUSION

Seen from today's perspective of heritage globalisation, the tidy European *Altstadt*-world of EAHY 1975 now seems an age away, its combination of authoritative values and gentlemanly voluntarism banished almost from sight by the slow but relentless advance of bureaucratic/political heritage internationalism, as represented by World Heritage and the wider corpus of the charters. Might the next stage in this process be the complete dissolution of heritage into the wider processes of development – in effect, a *reductio ad absurdum* of the EAHY 1975 → *Amsterdam Charter's* call for “integrated conservation”? Certainly, today's explosion of urbanisation in Asia and elsewhere in the world often sidelines altogether the grand old conservation concept of authenticity – as highlighted by cases such as the protracted (1996–2010) and costly South Korean project to recreate a palace destroyed by invaders virtually without trace in 660 AD, as part of a major tourist-promotion effort by a backwater region, and to secure World Heritage inscription of the reconstructed palace, which included an 18-hole golf course, shopping mall, hotels and cultural institutes (*Korea Herald* 2010, 13). This was, of course, a completely new building complex, and thus almost unconnected to architectural conservation in the traditional sense: but that only underlined the pervasiveness of the destabilization of the established heritage values that had remained so strong at the time of EAHY 1975.

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