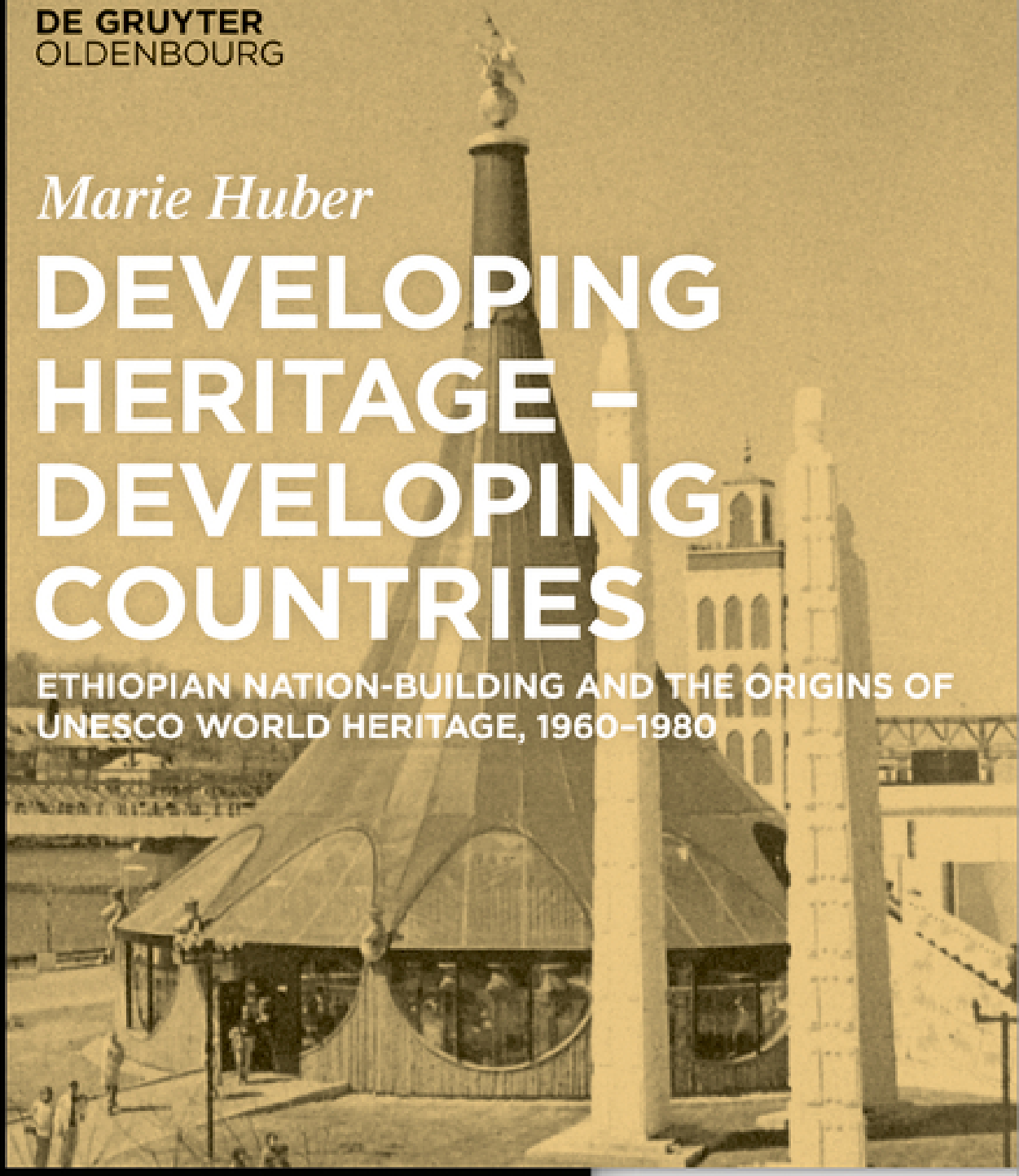
DE GRUYTER
OLDENBOURG

Marie Huber

DEVELOPING HERITAGE – DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

ETHIOPIAN NATION-BUILDING AND THE ORIGINS OF UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE, 1960–1980



AFRICA IN GLOBAL HISTORY

DE
G

Marie Huber

Developing Heritage – Developing Countries

Africa in Global History

Edited by
Joël Glasman, Omar Gueye, Alexander Keese and Christine Whyte

Volume 1

Marie Huber

Developing Heritage – Developing Countries

Ethiopian Nation-Building and the Origins of UNESCO World Heritage, 1960–1980

DE GRUYTER
OLDENBOURG

Published with the kind support of the Gerda Henkel Foundation, Düsseldorf.
GERDA HENKEL STIFTUNG

The publication of this work was supported by the Open Access Publication Fund of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

ISBN: 978-3-11-068023-2
eBook ISBN (PDF): 978-3-11-068101-7
eBook ISBN (EPUB): 978-3-11-068109-3
ISSN 2628-1767
DOI https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110681017

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020914717

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

Cover image: Pavilion of Ethiopia at Expo '67 © Benjamin News, 1967.
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Acknowledgements

My name is on the cover of this book; it probably took me about as long as I required to finish it in order to also believe in my authorship. Celebrating one's achievements – I have learned – is just as much a part of professional growth as being open to reflection and criticism, or staying humble. This book being the revised version of my dissertation manuscript, the journey of its creation was long, took place against some odds, and through and through was interwoven with my private life. It is important to me to write this at the very beginning of my book, to contribute to a more honest, healthy and equal work environment in the academic field – one where excellence is measured as rigorously and as objectively as possible, while at the same time acknowledging that research is conducted and written down by humans in varied life circumstances, which is a beautiful and important fact, and the only way to bring forward the questions that matter.

In conclusion of my eight-year journey of preparing, researching, writing and revising for this book, being now able to write down the names of those who supported me throughout is easily the single most moving and rewarding moment of it. I want to start with thanking Sandrine Kott, who encouraged me when I most needed it, and who convinced me to pursue this project. Likewise, I want to thank Andreas Eckert, who gave me and my ideas an academic home at the Humboldt University in Berlin and helped me steer the project through some stormy waters. A special thank you also goes to Kiran Patel, who took the time – over his Christmas break nonetheless – to provide in-depth comments on and guidance for my first ever research proposal, helping me to bring it up to a competitive standard. Alexander Keese and Heike Wieters have mentored me on my career path with the kindness and the insights of senior colleagues that I believe are truly indispensable for any junior scholar. I want to thank Baz Lecoq, who allowed me to create courses out of my research work, and my students for a teaching experience that was truly fruitful to my research. Finding colleagues to discuss life, research and everything in-between meant a lot to me: Camille Louise Pellerin, Clara Rellensmann, Alexander Meckelburg, Dirk Bustorf, Stephanie Lämmert, Kerstin Stubenvoll, Laetitia Lenel, Dörte Lerp, Samuel Coghe, Sarah Bellows-Blakely, Daniel Tödt, Marcia Schenk, Christoph Kalter, Peter Lambertz and Lennart Bollliger. I consider myself lucky to know and have worked alongside you.

Of all the conferences and workshops I attended in relation to my research, two stand out in particular, one on the "Global History of Development" (2017), organised by Iris Borowy at Shanghai University, and one on "Heritage on a

Global Scale" (2017) organised by Andrea Rehling at the Institute of European History in Mainz. Both times, the discussions helped mature the ideas I presented in a chapter. To compose research insights into good quality academic writing is often a rather solitary, time-consuming undertaking. However, the final version of this book is also the work of helpful editors and commenters, especially Matthias Huber, Christine Whyte and Jan-David Miemitz. I also would like to thank all editors of the "Africa in Global History" series and the staff at De Gruyter, especially Rabea Rittgerodt and Jana Fritsche for their trust and support, and for making my research work a part of this cutting-edge, exciting new series. I could not have wished for a better place to publish my first book.

The decision to investigate the Ethiopian case came about after the project had already been in development for about two years. Without the generous and uncomplicated funding of the Gerda-Henkel-Foundation, I could have never followed through with this vision. During my two weeks as a visiting scholar at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies at the Universität Hamburg, I was warmly welcomed into the community of Ethiopian Studies, a first and important step towards understanding Ethiopia past and present, to a degree adequate enough to produce a credible case study. A special thanks goes towards Andreas Wetter and his Amharic classes. The larger part of the research was conducted abroad, and I am very grateful for the archives and institutions which hosted me. The staff of the UNESCO archives division in Paris, in particular Adele Torrance, provided much help and insights, as did the conversation with Mechthild Rössler, director of the World Heritage Center. I appreciate very much the time she made in her busy schedule to talk to a young and inexperienced scholar. Without the support of the Centre français des études éthiopienne in Addis Ababa, I doubt my time in Ethiopia would have been nearly as productive and meaningful. I want to thank the staff and the other visiting scholars for practical support, great discussions and wonderful company: David Ambrosetti, Guillaume Blanc, Jean-Renaud Boisserie and Marco di Nunzio. While in Ethiopia, Benno Boer of the UNESCO regional office generously shared his time and resources to support my project and enabled an invaluable insight into UNESCO's work to me. On the more practical side, I have the école élémentaire Leonardo Da Vinci in Fontainebleau and the German Embassy School in Addis Ababa to thank for hosting my daughter during my research stays. I also want to thank Michael Mammo, who organised all my domestic travel in Ethiopia, and who became a dear friend, and Mekonnen, our trusted driver in Addis Ababa, without whom I could not have navigated the school hours and a full-time research workload.

Friends and family come last, but of course not least. Eirik Høyer Leivestad was a worthy intellectual sparring partner in preparation for my defense. My pa-

rents have been relentless supporters, morally, financially, practically – having this kind of acknowledgment in your life is invaluable. Providing my children with a role model and a breadwinner has been among the strongest, most resilient motivations for my work, but they also brought me joy when things didn't go as planned and have kept me on my toes and made sure I took required time off. No words can adequately caption the role my husband had in my success, but I will try anyway: my most ardent supporter, editor, cook, comforter, critic, cheerleader and coach – my achievements would not have been possible if it wasn't for your companionship at every step of the way.

Contents

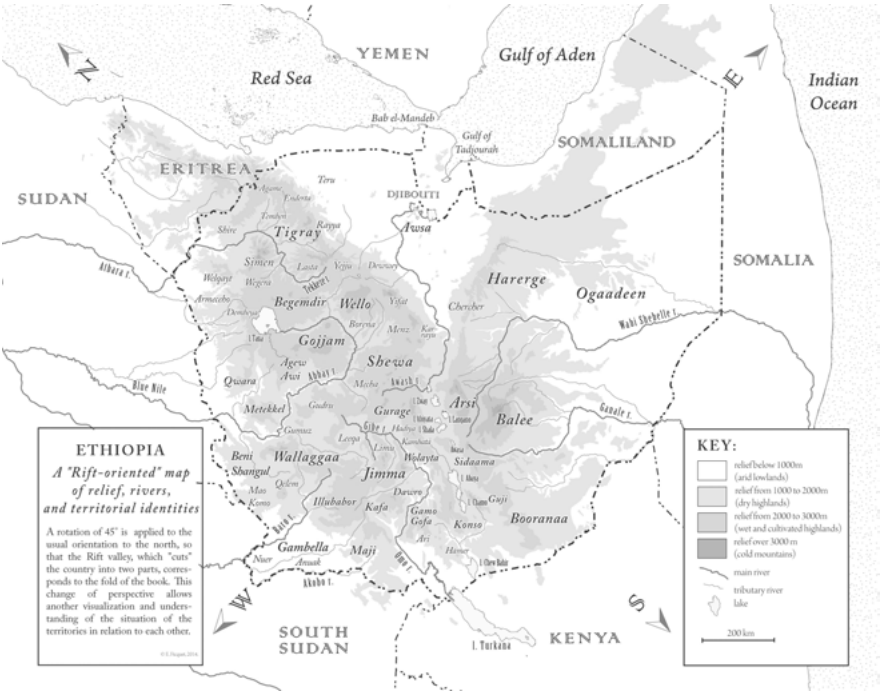


Figure 1: Ethiopia – A "Rift-oriented " map of relief, rivers, and territorial identities, *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, edited by Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet. London: Hurst, 2015, p. xvii–xviii.

List of Abbreviations

ARCCH	Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage
CRCCH	Centre for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage
DG	Director-General
EAL	Ethiopian Airlines
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EEC	European Economic Community
ETO	Ethiopian Tourist Organisation
EWCA	Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Authority
EWCO	Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FIJET	Fédération Internationale du Journalistes et Ecrivains du Travail
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOM	International Council on Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
IUOTO	International Union of Travel Organisations
NALE	National Library and Archives of Ethiopia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
TPLF	Tigrayan People's Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	UN Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	UN World Tourism Organisation
UWAS	UNESCO World Art Series
WHO	World Health Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Introduction

The small northern highland town of Lalibela is Ethiopia's single most important Christian pilgrimage site, mainly because of its 12 rock-hewn churches from the twelfth century. Remotely located at an elevation of 4,500 metres, the town had been difficult to access by road until an airstrip, serviced by a domestic connection from Addis Ababa, was opened in 1959. While interested foreign visitors sometimes had made their way to Lalibela since then, a big change was underway from 1965 on. In that year, Princess Ruth Desta, granddaughter of Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie I, arrived in Lalibela, entrusted by the emperor to supervise and accelerate the construction of the Seven Olives Hotel, the first high class hotel in the region, and the first to accommodate tourists rather than pilgrims, for it to be completed in time for the visit of Queen Elizabeth II in February 1965. Once completed, Swedish and American missionaries were put in charge of managing the hotel project. Unfortunately, the Queen's visit to Lalibela was suspended after the Queens Flight deemed the rugged, unpaved airstrip as not safe enough for a royal visit. Despite this, the preparation of tourist infrastructure and promotion of Lalibela as a tourist attraction were successful and 1965 marked the year of an ever-increasing influx of international tourists to the town. During the months she spent in Lalibela, Princess Ruth committed herself not only to the hotel project but also to the restoration of the churches, which were difficult to access, and heavily affected by centuries of rainfall that had been eating away the delicate sandstone, and a large-scale international restoration project started in the same year. It was in fact a collaborative effort between the International Center for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments (ICCROM) and the US-based International Fund for Monuments, and dispatched a number of European conservators and technicians under the guidance of an Italian architect-restorer. The funds and expertise came from these organisations, while the Ethiopian government administered the projects.[1]

This first project was the overture to 20 years of extensive international cultural and natural conservation projects in Ethiopia, funded and expertly managed by foreigners commissioned by the Ethiopian government, culminating in the awarding of the title of UNESCO World Heritage to seven Ethiopian heritage sites between 1978 and 1980. The number of heritage sites was remarkable

1 Cheques and spreadsheets in NALE, 1.2.26.5, Lalibela Committee; International Fund for Monuments, *Lalibela-Phase I: Adventure in Restoration* (New York: International Fund for Monuments, 1967); Ivy Pearce, *An Ethiopian Harvest: A Collection of Experiences Garnered* (Worthing: Churchman, 1988), 116–18.

 https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110681017-003

then, in the first years of the World Heritage Programme, and is now, for an African country anyway. The *mise-en-valeur* of the Lalibela churches and other Ethiopian monuments for touristic purpose and representative state visits demonstrated at once the glorious past and the progress underway in Ethiopia, and turned Lalibela and other heritage sites into a stage to showcase the past, present and future of the nation. Antiquities and, in a similar manner, the Ethiopian highlands, at that time, were not only established as the official national heritage; they became one of Ethiopia's most valuable assets, or patrimonial resources.[2]

The story of Ethiopia's national heritage and its making with the help of foreign and international aid during the 1960s and 1970s sits right at the centre of politically, socially and economically turbulent times. It is not possible to comprehend Ethiopian nationalism and its relevance for internationalism without understanding how developmental and national identity politics were related, and how ideas of progress and history were constructed and instrumentalised by the governing elites.

More broadly speaking, I want to show that through national heritage, *the International* materialised in the developing world, during the what can be called the modernist, foreign aid era of development during the 1960s and 70s of the twentieth century. More specifically, my aim with this book is to show that the making of World Heritage happened intertwined with national heritage and how development thinking was conducive to the politicisation of heritage in a developing country.

The international involvement in the conservation of Lalibela and other Ethiopian heritage sites was part of a global process, the colluded rise of the concept of universal heritage and national heritage, catalysed through international organisations, at a time when the importance of Africa and African countries in the world shifted towards a new role. A place where this was most significant and evident is Ethiopia. Understanding the links between Ethiopia, UNESCO and the World Heritage programme during its initial phase provides insights into the complex processes of knowledge production of nation-states in the new international world order shaping up during the "Global Sixties".

The modern Ethiopian state came into being when, from 1889 on, Emperor Menelik II built diplomatic relationships with Europe to acquire technology and expertise, secured the international recognition of Ethiopian sovereignty and expanded the state territory into the south. The nation and its boundaries would

2 Lisa Breglia, *Monumental Ambivalence: The Politics of Heritage* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 30.

remain fragile and a threat to government integrity and state power for the following decades, and references to the past were invoked to stabilise the rule over Ethiopia. When the prince regent Ras Tafari was crowned as Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1930, he legitimised his rule with references to the 3000-year-old Solomonic, biblical tradition, an image he knew would resound well with the international political stage and in return strengthen his interior position as a central power in opposition to the ruling Ethiopian elites of princes and landowners. After the military revolution in 1974, the socialist *Derg* renounced the more recent past as a feudal, centralist and absolutist period, but propagated the Pan-Ethiopian empire and its historical continuity, underpinning a violent and expansionist authoritarian rule that lasted until 1991.

This official version of Ethiopian national identity was not only subject to political tactical and strategical manoeuvres of the government. At the same time, Ethiopia became a very important symbol in the African decolonisation and nation-building process as well as in internationalist movements of Pan-Africanism, the Non-Aligned-Movement and Communist-Marxist Internationale. Ethiopia's supposed historical exceptionalism as Africa's longest-lasting empire and ancient civilisation provided a strong counter-narrative to the colonial paradigm of the impossibility of self-rule for contemporaries in the 1960s from within and external to Ethiopia, and Ethiopian nationalism constituted the new African political nationalisms, as well as Pan-Africanism, during that time to a significant degree. Ethiopian history, in this understanding, alluded to key features for nation-state-building that were thought to be missing in other African countries: a tradition of sovereign rule.

As I will show, the conservation efforts in Lalibela, orientated towards its accessibility for an international audience, were part and parcel of the Ethiopian nation-building process, not only because they framed an existing religious heritage site and *lieu de mémoire* as national heritage. They demonstrate that heritage conservation was not only a technical matter, but also included the allocation and management of resources.[3] Conserving the monuments in Lalibela as national heritage was part of a state-building and modernisation process, constituted of development-led thinking and planning, which ensured that the nation-state-building in Ethiopia happened on the terms of those in power. During the 1960s, the development paradigm superseded other issues in global policy and

3 William Logan, Michele Langfield, and Máiréad Nic Craith, "Intersecting Concepts and Practices", in *Cultural Diversity, Heritage and Human Rights: Intersections in Theory and Practice* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 17–18.

development planning dominated the political language in African countries.[4] The conservation of monuments and nature involving UNESCO during the 1960s and 1970s delivered a legal instrument for exclusion and repression of ethnic and cultural groups, for threatening livelihoods, by allowing the Ethiopian government to map national claims over existing territories.

It is easily overlooked that, contrary to the role of Ethiopia as a symbol in the anti-imperial struggle, the Ethiopian state was in itself a colonising empire. Ethiopian historiography was dominated by the idea of a greater Ethiopian state, including the territories of Eritrea and the Ogaden region inhabited by Somali people, located in the East of Ethiopia at the Ethio-Somalian border. Throughout the twentieth century, this idea of a greater Ethiopian state was utilised and conceptualised within the political framework of establishing Ethiopian imperial rule. Western and Ethiopian scholars and intellectuals alike produced a dominant version of Ethiopian history which in the 1980s began to be challenged by a re-reading from the periphery, through the emerging fields of Oromo, Somali and Eritrean studies. Institutional heritage-making in Ethiopia therefore had a decidedly international dimension and the political dimensions of national heritage in Ethiopia relate to the historiography and political thinking in Ethiopia throughout the twentieth century.[5]

Even though it has been widely discussed how students and peasants, especially those from southern Ethiopia, mobilised the national question in pre-revolutionary and revolutionary Ethiopia, we know very little about the institutional response to these positions. State institutions concerned with implementing national and international policies considerably shaped the imaginaries underwriting the intellectual discourse of Ethiopian nationalism. Today, after decades of history writing under strong state censorship, the ethnic federalism politics of the past 20 years gave way to histories of the contestants of Ethiopian identity, and their ethnic nationalisms, be they Tigrean, Oromo or Amhara, calling for a deeper investigation of the politicised nature of the official Ethiopian heritage and the Ethiopian World Heritage sites.[6] I hope to contribute to these recent his-

4 Andreas Eckert, ""We Are All Planners Now." Planung und Dekolonisation in Afrika", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 34, no. 3 (2008): 396.

5 Sara Marzagora, "History in Twentieth-Century Ethiopia: The "Great Tradition" and the Counter-Histories of National Failure", *The Journal of African History* 58, no. 3 (November 2017): 425 – 44; Alessandro Triulzi, "Battling with the Past: New Frameworks for Ethiopian Historiography", in *Remapping Ethiopia: Communism and After*, ed. Wendy James, Donald L. Donham, and Elsei Kurimoto (Oxford; Rochester, NY: James Currey, 2002), 280 – 85.

6 Pietro Toggia, "History Writing as a State Ideological Project in Ethiopia", *African Identities* 6, no. 4 (2008): 319 – 43, https://doi.org/10.1080/14725840802417869; Bahru Zewde, "A Century of

toriographies of Ethiopian nationalism by analysing a set of institutions and their engagement with foreign and international actors, to show how much Ethiopian nationalism was comprised of validation through internationalist and Western frameworks.

Furthermore, many studies of the history of the Ethiopian state focus on ruptures, crises and conflicts.[7] A more extensive institutional history of the Ethiopian state has yet to be written, but the investigation of the two (natural and cultural) conservation authorities as well as the analysis of government publications aimed at an international audience in this book demonstrate that this history is one of a continuous evolution running steadily (and in parts unaffected) under the rough political current. To better understand this history of Ethiopian state institutions, I suggest that the state-building process has to be analysed vis-a-vis the nation-building process – and as one that took place during a time when new international ideas and institutions became more relevant than ever, during the beginning of the Global Cold War, decolonisation and the end of empire.[8] If nation-building, as some argue, is the establishment of a national identity aimed at constructing the cultural legitimacy of a country, I argue it functioned as the front end of the new internationalisms. And to keep with the metaphor, I suggest to think of state-building, meaning the establishment of a bureaucratic infrastructure, and means of governance beyond the state administration, as the back end.[9] In Ethiopia, where no frame of bureaucracy and administrative infrastructure had been left behind by a colonial power, the lack of state bureaucracy presented a significant obstacle towards the implementation of international assistance programmes. Building an administrative and bureaucratic infrastructure was a key element of Haile Selassie I's imperial consolidation pol-

---

Ethiopian Historiography", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 33, no. 2 (2000): 1–26; Christopher S. Clapham, "Rewriting Ethiopian History", *Annales d'Éthiopie* 18, no. 1 (2002): 37–54, https://doi.org/10.3406/ethio.2002.1013.

7 Donald Nathan Levine, *Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, 2nd ed. (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Alain Gascon and Roland Pourtier, *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des Hautes Terres du Sud* (Paris: CNRS, 1995); Wendy James et al., eds., Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After (Oxford: James Currey, 2002).

8 Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, "Rethinking the History of Internationalism", in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 4–5.

9 Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 8; Béatrice Hibou, *The Bureaucratization of the World in the Neoliberal Era: An International and Comparative Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 10.

itics, and many ministries and state departments were built up during the 1960s with the help of bilateral and international assistance. The Ethiopian heritage institutions are exemplary of the huge scale of institutionalising and indigenising Western knowledge production and state bureaucracy in developing countries that started in the 1960s, facilitated by the UN.

Development and the concept of raising and levelling standards of living on a global scale was part of the UN founding idea, and was inspired by three main concerns and experiences.[10] Firstly, European post-war reconstruction and, secondly, an overall technocratic thinking that had extended its reach into the economic sphere, and which became prominent during the financial strains of both world wars. Thirdly, the debates surrounding the increasing instability and difficulties of European colonial politics were important conceptual building blocks for the particular concept of development as it should unfold as a major concern of the UN. The aforementioned aspects of development as a reconstruction effort, and development as a technical solution to social problems, thereafter connected "the economies of European reconstruction and the geography of colonial development".[11] The notion of underdevelopment quickly diversified into the distinction between economic weakness as a consequence of war, and the more structural weakness that resulted from colonisation or was declared to be rooted in a general under-civilised state of some societies, in effect continuing colonial argumentations. Technical internationalism became a new political action framework that looked towards social engineering and interventionist economic policies as a pathway to prosperity.[12]

10 For a history of the term development see: Albert Sanghoon Park, "Does the Development Discourse Learn from History?", *World Development* 96 (2017): 52–64; for an overview of the UN-System and development see: Amy L.S. Staples, *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Health Organization Have Changed the World, 1945–1965* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006); Olav Stokke, *The UN and Development: From Aid to Cooperation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); and Marc Frey and Sönke Kunkel, "Writing the History of Development: A Review of the Recent Literature", *Contemporary European History* 20, no. 2 (2011): 215–32, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777311000075.

11 Daniel Speich Chassé, "Technical Internationalism and Economic Development at the Founding Moment of the UN System", in *International Organizations and Development, 1945–1990*, ed. Marc Frey, Sönke Kunkel, and Corinna R. Unger (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 23–45.

12 Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, trans. Patrick Camiller, 3rd ed. (London; New York: Zed Books, 2008); Speich Chassé, "Technical Organizations", 30–32.

In the process of decolonisation, many new states joined the UN System and caused the UN to undergo a metamorphosis during this decade, when these so-called developing countries gained a majority representation in the UN General Assembly and presented a Third World bloc that acted as an "alternative 'we' to both imperial incorporation and national separation".[13] This new majority pushed for a programmatic shift towards development as empowerment and as a major responsibility of the international community, coining the 1960s the First UN-Development Decade. According to this new understanding of development, the UN was supposed to provide mainly technical and request-driven assistance through their specialised agencies and replace the earlier top-down and donor-driven aid programmes.

It is within this framework that the notion of development as a predominantly economic enterprise was conceived, and visions of the future shifted from technocratic, social-engineering solutions towards an idea that providing funds and knowledge would help the states "develop" solutions by themselves. This notion would dominate development policies and actions for the following decades. After 1955 there were no specialised agencies or organisations in the UN system whose programmes were not permeated in some way with the concern for economic development. Some, like the World Bank, simply turned into development agencies.[14] Others contributed to relevant policymaking within their areas of specialisation. The development decade resulted in a large-scale expansion of a global development-industry, as the UN resolutions resulted in a re-framing of existing initiatives.

In 1966, the UNDP was founded in an attempt to merge existing development programmes and to streamline and prioritise the UN assistance programmes according to the new development paradigm. The UNDP was supposed to act in a coordinating role, distributing existing funds among the UN specialised agencies, among them UNESCO, as well as running separate programmes specific to more acute concerns. Nearly all UN activity in the new developing countries became the domain of UNDP,[15] including the follow-up project to the first restoration efforts in Lalibela, which entailed the conservation of a larger number of Ethiopian monuments. Fostering economic development through tourism to her-

13 Frederick Cooper, "Writing the History of Development", *Journal of Modern European History* 8, no. 1 (2010): 17; Chloé Maurel, *Histoire de l'UNESCO: Les trente premières années. 1945 – 1974* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010), 141 – 42.

14 Michele Alacevich, *The Political Economy of the World Bank: The Early Years* (Stanford, CA; Washington, D.C.: Stanford Economics and Finance; World Bank, 2009).

15 Craig N. Murphy, *The United Nations Development Programme: A Better Way?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 78 – 79, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511618000.

itage sites was introduced as the key reason to provide funds for this project, which considerably accelerated the conservation of selected sites and monuments. As a part of this project, international experts, sent by UNESCO, manned the departments for cultural heritage and wildlife conservation, drafted legislation, inventoried antiquities, mapped national parks and prepared the World Heritage nomination for submission to UNESCO. How much the UN special agencies and their experts were a formative influence for the state- and nation-building process can be studied in Ethiopia, where a dense layer of experts was woven into the growing Ethiopian state-bureaucracy, to be found in every sector of government activities, most of them dispatched by a UN special agency, be it UNESCO, FAO, WHO or others.

As outlined above, from their inception, development efforts were characterised by technocratic and paternalistic thinking, by the act of defining others as deficient and being entitled to know how they can be helped, causing an inherent structural hegemony of the very concept of technical assistance.[16] Development shares several characteristics to the discourse identified as Orientalism by Edward Said, in producing, from the standpoint of an assumed Western cultural hemisphere, realities of the world that dictate "politically, sociologically, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively."[17] International organisations engaged in and further advanced this mode of systematising the world in Western terms, rendering Africa, Asia and Latin America into underdeveloped representations of Europe and North America. To show the power dynamics underpinning both the discourse and practice of development, the manifold activities labelled as or identified as development cooperation have to be analysed by combining the study of the concepts, institutions and theories with the study of their implementation, meaning the activities and projects that took place as development efforts as well as mapping the stakeholders and looking at the way they talked about it.[18]

16 Frederick Cooper, "Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans, and the Development Concept", in *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 64–92; for a more recent state of the debate see Emmanuel Akyeampong et al., eds., *Africa's Development in Historical Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

17 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 3.

18 Hubertus Büschel and Daniel Speich, "Konjunkturen, Probleme und Perspektiven der Globalgeschichte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit", in *Entwicklungswelten: Globalgeschichte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2009), 9.

Since the 1970s, critical positions have been established, arguing that development in the international system effectively was a neo-colonial effort, identifying many of the same mechanisms and effects that had characterised colonial control.[19] Recent historical studies of development planning and politics, however, show that they were also utilised in many African countries by political elites to reinforce the nation-state-building as well as acquisition of funds for the benefit of the few rather than the many. I want to support these findings by shifting attention from the dichotomy of Western and non-Western, developed and underdeveloped, hegemony and dependency to the complex power dynamics and relationships at play behind development projects. Following heritage-making, state-modernisation and development, I argue, connects actors and institutions historically in a shared process of knowledge-production and world-making.

Many works analysing the impact of global heritage policies and international organisations on a local level suffer from ascribing agency to an international organisation, such as the UN, but even more so for the UN special agencies such as UNESCO, in their totality.[20] International organisations were from the beginning not only political arenas or diplomatic stages, but also large-scale bureaucracies[21] and derived much of their authority from expertise and operated on the basis of rules that experts had defined.[22] Recent historiographies of international organisations analyse them as knowledge-producing institutions, with a special focus on experts that fulfilled a crucial role as brokers and mediators between

19 Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London; New York: Verso, 2018); Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

20 Christoph Brumann and Lynn Meskell, "UNESCO and New World Orders", in *Global Heritage: A Reader*, ed. Lynn Meskell (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 27. The paper provides an extensive literature review.

21 Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004); John G. Hadwen and Johan Kaufmann, *United Nations Decision Making*, 3rd ed. (Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff & Noordhoff, 1980); Jarle Trondal et al., *Unpacking International Organisations: The Dynamics of Compound Bureaucracies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

22 As Peter M. Haas explains, the knowledge-based interpretation as a reaction to uncertainty, or, simply speaking, a set of problems a state actor sees itself confronted with, is essential to the creation of institutional solutions on a state and, in the case of the UN, inter-state level; Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination", *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 3–4, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300001442; Maurel, *Histoire de l'UNESCO*, 261–75.

the local, national and international sphere.[23] International organisations, and the experts employed in their service, formed a global communication elite in control of information and knowledge about both their member states and the organisations' inner workings as the top nodes of a "long distance network".[24] To contribute to broaden the empirical base for understanding how this expert hegemony was produced and reproduced on a daily basis, this book looks into the work behind the scenes and into the bureaucratic and administrative conditions and into the offices of the staff of UNESCO's headquarters in Paris, UNESCO's Addis Ababa office, the offices of IUCN in Morges, ICOMOS in Paris and ICCROM in Rome, and those of the Ethiopian counterparts.

In order to become compatible to the UN system and the financial and knowledge resources available through it, Ethiopia needed to provide the language and institutional counterparts for collaboration on the operational level. International experts and Ethiopians trained abroad ensured the compatibility for the development aid programmes. The heritage expertise commissioned through UNESCO rendered an existing network of heritage sites and their history into a language that could be computed by the operational guidelines of the international bureaucracies. This serves as an example for the specific, internationalist style of knowledge production which considerably shaped the emerging bureaucratic infrastructure in many countries, while the power relations and the knowledge production related to the development discourse remained anchored in the headquarters of the UN agencies, in Rome, Paris and New York.[25]

---

23 Ibid.; Wolfram Kaiser, *Writing the Rules for Europe: Experts, Cartels, and International Organizations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Davide Rodogno, Bernhard Struck, and Jakob Vogel, *Shaping the Transnational Sphere: Experts, Networks, and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015); Sandrine Kott, "International Organizations: A Field of Research for a Global History", *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 8 (2011): 446–50, https://doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok-1641.

24 Gunnar Folke Schuppert, *Wege in die moderne Welt: Globalisierung von Staatlichkeit als Kommunikationsgeschichte* (Frankfurt; New York: Campus, 2015), 39; Frederik Schulze, "ANT und Globalgeschichte: Ein erster Eindruck", in *Techniken der Globalisierung: Globalgeschichte meets Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie*, ed. Debora Gerstenberger and Joël Glasman (Bielefeld: transcript, 2016), 281–90, https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839430217-013; Rosemary O'Leary, "The Bureaucratic Politics Paradox: The Case of Wetlands Legislation in Nevada", *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 4, no. 4 (1994): 443–67.

25 I would argue that it is conceptually fuzzy who exactly can be considered a Western or non-Western expert. Most regularly, African elites with European training were acting as cultural brokers, even though they were not necessarily regarded as such in Europe; Martin Rempe, *Entwicklung im Konflikt: die EWG und der Senegal, 1957–1975* (Wien; Köln; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 61, 239–40; Philipp H. Lepenies, "Lernen vom Besserwisser: Wissenstransfer in der "Entwicklungshilfe" aus historischer Perspektive", in *Entwicklungswelten: Globalgeschichte der Entwick-*

The new international order forming in the 1960s was underpinned by various internationalisms, which African voices constituted to a significant degree.[26] With the rise of the new multilateral and Third-World internationalisms, political leaders worldwide had to reformulate the national identities they claimed to represent, in a more far-reaching global process. In this context, African intellectuals acted as representatives of sovereign, independent nation states and actualised the discourse of a particular African identity and intellectuality. Various projects emerged to rewrite African history as Africa's own history, with some of them casting African history as a decidedly un-modern, un-industrial history, and eventually interpreting the postcolonial period as African enlightenment.[27] From today's viewpoint, this process was in many ways not an emancipation but a renewal of the mechanism of producing knowledge about Africa within the Western academic system, rendering the supposed act of emancipation into a rewriting of African history as a universal, Eurocentric history in the service of new political elites.[28] The re-appropriation and emancipation of heritage-

lungszusammenarbeit, ed. Hubertus Büschel and Daniel Speich (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2009), 49–54; Andrea Rehling, "Kosmopolitische Geschichtsschreibung und die Kosmopolitik des UNESCO Weltkultur- und Naturerbes", in *Bessere Welten: Kosmopolitismus in den Geschichtswissenschaften*, ed. Isabella Löhr and Bernhard Gißibl (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2017), 389–92; Rist, *History of Development*, 74. Although it is fruitful to see them as a group, it is important to understand that expert communities are far from being homogenous, as the individuals in them have different backgrounds, motives, incentives and levels of agency. While I don't provide a detailed comparison of the biographical background of the experts, I came across Indian, Swiss, Polish, British conservators and education experts, all working in Ethiopia as "foreign experts". It would be enlightening, for example, to further investigate the colonial trajectories in the experts' biographies, meaning people who received expert status in a colonial context, regardless of the provenance.

26 Byrne, Mecca of Revolution; Christoph Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World: Decolonization and the Rise of the New Left in France, c. 1950–1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

27 Bahru Zewde and Congrès international des historiens africains, eds., *Society, State, and Identity in African History* (Addis Ababa; Bamako: Forum for Social Studies, 2008); Messay Kebede, "Eurocentrism and Ethiopian Historiography: Deconstructing Semitization", *Intejethistud International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 1–19; Andreas Eckert, "Afrikanische Intellektuelle und Aktivisten in Europa und die Dekolonisation Afrikas", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 37, no. 2 (2011): 244–74; Brenda Cooper and Robert Morrell, "The Possibility of Africa-Centred Knowledges", in *Africa-Centred Knowledges: Crossing Fields and Worlds*, ed. Brenda Cooper and Robert Morell (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2014), 2–6.

28 Bogumil Jewsiewicki and V.Y Mudimbe, "Africans' Memories and Contemporary History of Africa", *History and Theory* 32, no. 4 (1993): 1–11, https://doi.org/10.2307/2505629; Paulin J. Hountondji, "Knowledge of Africa, Knowledge by Africans: Two Perspectives on African Studies", *RCCS Annual Review* 1 (2009): 121–31, https://doi.org/10.4000/rccsar.174.

making therefore formed a relevant issue in the process of decolonisation—having a national heritage meant having a national identity and belonging to the community of sovereign nation states.[29] UNESCO served most prominently as a framework to promote the importance of history and heritage as a strategy for empowerment and fostering the nascent national identities of the new member states in the era of decolonisation; in other words, providing development-aid for nation-building.[30] The General History of Africa, initiated under the first African Director General of a UN-agency, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, was the outcome most indicative of this trend.[31] With the Ethiopian example, I support the critical analysis others have provided so far on the role of African historiography, inventing traditions, and as a part of it, identifying cultural and natural heritage to augment national identity. Looking through the lens of UNESCO, in the files I studied to understand UNESCO's cultural and natural heritage politics during the 60s and 70s, I found evidence of similar entangled histories of universal heritage and national identity like that of Ethiopia in several other countries at the time, for example Egypt, Indonesia, Burma. However, I have only included references to other national contexts where they serve a comparative purpose. The main focus in this book will be on the Ethiopian case study, seen as an example of a global trend towards a growing importance of national identities. This trend occurred between theoretical and practical internationalisms with the institutionalisation of national heritage as an integral part of the internationalist project that would result in the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention and the World Heritage List of 1978 onward.

The history of the concepts of "heritage" and "conservation"[32] as universal principles is one that originates within the context of European and US post-war internationalism at a time when there was an ever-increasing, all-encom-

29 Andreas Eckert, "Ethnizität und Nation in der Geschichtsschreibung zu Afrika seit 1960", *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 11, no. 4 (2001): 17–30.

30 Andrea Rehling, "Universalismen und Partikularismen im Widerstreit: Zur Genese des UNESCO-Welterbes", *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 8 (2011): 414–36, https://doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok-1644.

31 Unesco International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, *General History of Africa*, vol. 1–8 (Paris; Berkeley; Oxford: Heinemann; UNESCO; University of California Press, 1993).

32 A concise summary of the variation of the interpretation of the term heritage can be found in: Astrid Swenson, ""Heritage", "Patrimoine" und "Kulturerbe": Eine vergleichende historische Semantik", in *Prädikat 'Heritage': Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, ed. Dorothee Hemme (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2007), 53–74.

passing emphasis on the symbolic inscription of things as heritage all over the Western world.[33] In this history, UNESCO acted as the main driving force behind a global engagement with these and other concepts related to heritage, such as authenticity – taken to be the guiding principle behind the conservation of historic monuments and landscapes in a specific national context – thereby detaching them from the French and Anglo-Saxon traditions in which they arose. Such traditions have evolved in an entangled manner with scientific disciplines and specialised professions such as art history, archaeology for cultural heritage, as well as biology and geography for natural heritage. With the nineteenth century European imperial expansions, the "discovery" of treasures and adventures became a systematic team effort between these disciplines and politics, approaching the extra-European territories in search of monumental remains of narratives that formed part of the Western historiography, such as the Levant and the Horn of Africa.

World Heritage, as defined in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, however, was a global phenomenon, not unilaterally originating and spreading from Europe but engaging with and reacting to emerging nationalism in developing countries. The public debate about the restitution of African cultural goods from European national museums to their places and cultures of origin is an actualised version of debates which originated within UNESCO during the 1970s, and the long-term projects for the conservation of cultural heritage in Ethiopia under the guidance of UNESCO can serve as a case study to illuminate the ambiguity of the debate of African heritage and African cultural property in Western institutions. The understanding that African states and historians did not necessarily find Western involvement in their cultural or natural heritage problematic complicates some of the political positions which call for complete restitution of African objects housed in European museums in no unclear terms.[34] During the 1960s, Ethiopia simultaneously issued restitution claims to the United Kingdom and Italy, exercised rigorous control of foreign archaeologists excavating Ethiopian historical and pre-historical sites, and cooperated with Italian conservators and French archaeologists, inviting them to be involved in the project of re-writing Ethiopian national history. While neither these restitution cases nor UNESCO's involvement were part of my studies, I believe reading the history of the establishment of Ethiopian national heritage sites with the extensive involvement

33 Markus Tauschek, *Kulturerbe: eine Einführung* (Berlin: Reimer, 2013), 10 – 13; Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1 – 14.

34 Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, *Restituer le patrimoine africain* (Paris: Philippe Rey, 2018).

of UNESCO can provide important historical context and an understanding of the actors, networks and interactions that the global heritage-making entailed.

The concept of universal heritage was related to the discourses of nationalism, imperialism, colonialism and their "principles that aspired to build a totality in which everybody would be included but not everybody would also have the right to include."[35] In practice, this meant that the concepts and scientific methods related to the Western heritage discourse translated into an elaborate and specific set of formal standards for the conservation of natural and cultural heritage, making these academic disciplines and their experts, now labelled conservators, into gatekeepers, who gained relevance from this institutionalised setting, combining a universalist discourse with a worldwide practice.[36]

The study of heritage as part of the development discourse and practice, others have argued, helps to understand memory and heritage-making in the nation state as a global history, and why this process regularly involved external actors and their imaginations of a particular national history and identity.[37] I want to add to this field of critical heritage studies with a historiography of the operationalisation phase of international organisations during the 1960s, when a renewed outwards expansion of Europe resulted in the application of Western concepts and technologies of heritage on a global scale and consequently integrated heritage in the development discourse, as a way to better the cultural integrity of underdeveloped countries.[38] Conservators, that is Western heritage experts, positioned themselves as actors and facilitators in a development process that was guided by a strong culturally rooted paradigm. Their discourse and practice was critical for the application of conservation in African countries and the build-up of international conservation policies in new nation states and it is

35 Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 160 – 61.

36 The requirements for the elaboration of standards evolved significantly over time, having today reached a point where it is expected that several years of preparation work are potentially necessary for a site to comply with all the requirements for a successful application; Thomas M. Schmitt, *Cultural Governance: zur Kulturgeographie des UNESCO-Welterberegimes* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2011), 368 – 72.

37 Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006), 42 – 43; Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, "Introduction", in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, ed. Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2; Kendall R. Phillips and G. Mitchell Reyes, eds., *Global Memoryscapes: Contesting Remembrance in a Transnational Age* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011).

38 David Held, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 39.

key to the analysis of history, politics and the production and instrumentalization of national identity in past and present African states.[39]

Without denying the notion of a Western discourse as a crucial influence in shaping the history of countries constructed as the non-Western "Other", I want to complicate our understanding of how conservation evolved in a developing country and help explain why heritage presents today one of the most important assets—financially, socially and politically—for many African societies.[40] Heritage-making, from a state perspective, is not only an institutional and scientific but also a territorialising practice. Heritage can be a legal instrument, regulating ownership over the site in question, and conservation law can legitimise expropriation, an issue of concern especially for agrarian or pastoralist societies and indigenous people, where land-use and land rights are the most pressing. As a result, heritage has to be also seen as a tool of governance, an aspect that is most relevant in developing countries because it allows new argumentation and legitimation for governments to infringe on customary land rights. Heritage, like development, is what Arturo Escobar has described as a "pervasive"[41] discourse and practice, because it runs through all aspects of a society in its implementation, including legislation, land use, institution building, policymaking and identity construction. This aspect of heritage as a governing practice is central to understanding why the development paradigm has politicised heritage even further. As an answer to the numerous works studying heritage culturally, looking at the processes of cultural memory and imagined community that lead to the invention of a collective past, this book delivers a detailed account of bu-

39 Winfried Speitkamp, ""Authentizität" und Nation: Kollektivsymbolik und Geschichtspolitik in postkolonialen afrikanischen Staaten", in *Nationale Mythen – Kollektive Symbole: Funktionen, Konstruktionen und Medien der Erinnerung*, ed. Klaudia Knabel, Dietmar Rieger, and Stephanie Wodianka (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 225–43.

40 More generally on the "other": Said, *Orientalism*; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ""Can the Subaltern Speak?": revised edition, from the "History" Chapter of Critique of Postcolonial Reason", in *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, ed. Rosalind C. Morris (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 21–78; Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture: With a New Preface by the Author* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); used on specific examples: Marija N. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Derek Peterson, Kodzo Gavua, and Ciraj Rassool, eds., *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Unfortunately, the volume follows a colonial/contemporary distinction which makes it more difficult to generalise the findings.

41 Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 6.

reaucratic and institutionalised processes of heritage-making, the varied "on the ground" practice complementing the discourse of heritage.[42]

In my study of Ethiopian national heritage I drew on two sets of sources in particular: First, I relied on images of Ethiopian heritage, as they circulated in tourism promotion material and government publications, to gain a better understanding of the imaginations, visual representations and ideas that were constructed in the service of the nation state and aspiring national elites. Second, I took a close look at official correspondence and mission reports to comprehend the making of heritage, concrete actions, and the bureaucratic and legal processes created around and behind heritage which significantly shape the actual outcome and production of heritage. This includes documents of the World Heritage Committee and the respective departments within UNESCO that provided assistance and reviewed nomination files (changing names and organisational structure several times over the course of the research period), further documents from the ICCROM, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), the agents carrying out operations in Ethiopia (especially UNDP), Ethiopian state-affiliated actors (the Ethiopian delegation in Paris and the government executive, i. e. ministries for culture and sports, and agriculture and environment), as well as research institutions, the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University (IES) and the Institut éthiopien d'études et de recherches, the preceding institution of today's Centre français des études éthiopiennes (CFEE).

However, not all these perspectives were equally accessible during the time of my research. The UNESCO archives had extensive holdings concerning all aspects of UNESCO's relations with Ethiopia, allowing insight also in the activities of UNDP, ICOMOS and IUCN. The country, department and issue-based files contain mainly correspondence and notes as well as reports, enabling a deeper look into the everyday work of the UNESCO secretariat and the connections and net-

42 Camila del Mármol, Marc Morell, and Jasper Chalcraft, "Of Seduction and Disenchantment: An Approach to the Heritage Process", in *The Making of Heritage: Seduction and Disenchantment*, ed. Camila del Mármol, Marc Morell, and Jasper Chalcraft (New York: Routledge, 2015), 3; David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, 3rd ed. (München: C.H. Beck, 2006); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed. (London; New York: Verso, 2006).

works of the individual departments.[43] This complemented the official documents, such as reports of meetings and the Director General, of which UNESCO provides a large body of files in digital form, including films and photographs, and many files concerning the World Heritage Programme from its inception, including Committee meetings and the documentation for all World Heritage sites. IUCN, ICCROM and ICOMOS all have archives or libraries that can be accessed and which I visited, which contain some grey literature as well as photographic material that is otherwise unavailable, but they do not keep regular archives that enable an investigation of the institutional backstory through correspondences and internal reports. No such contact or entry point is available in the case of UNDP at all. As a matter of fact, a particular closed-gate politics is practiced, making the institution unavailable for historical inquiry in a direct avenue. I had to rely on copies and transcripts which were part of files I accessed at UNESCO and Ethiopian archives. Combining all of these sources, I achieved a vivid image of the process-driven nature and a day-to-day practice in the offices and field offices, an on the ground view into the UN during the 1960s.[44]

Despite the main official language of Ethiopia being Amharic, many government affairs were conducted in English and I used these English-language sources for my analysis. Unfortunately, the National Archives of Ethiopia only holds some material from the imperial ministries up to 1974, and the existing material is scarce. For example, the complete file on the Lalibela project, which went on for several years, is comprised of only twelve individual documents. The two conservation authorities, the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCH) and the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Authority (EWCA), have internal archives and libraries that I was permitted to access. The Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and the Kennedy Library, both part of Addis Ababa University, were a fruitful source of Ethiopian government publications and tourism-related material. Other archives and libraries I visited to obtain Ethiopian government publications, tourism promotion press material and re-

43 I would like to give a special mention of one of the most crucial categories of sources this study is built on: UNESCO (and to a small extent other UN agencies) mission reports. Published reports are accessible through the online repositories of the UN agencies; they are numerous and very dense in terms of content. They contain invaluably operational details and technical information about development projects and the cooperation between international organisations and national governments. They also usually include expert evaluations, which reveal mindsets and expectations of international experts. I argue they represent a body of literature in its own right, and that more methodological debate on this literature would be desirable.

44 Kott, "International Organizations", 1–2.

search works from the 1960s–1980s include the New York Public Library,[45] the Hiob Ludolf Center for Ethiopian Studies at Hamburg University, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin,[46] the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Archives and Library[47] and the Berhanu Abebe Library of the CFEE in Addis Ababa.

To try bring some balance into the lack of Ethiopian government documents versus the extensive holdings of the UNESCO archives, I used academic and other publications, such as travel guides and personal memoirs, written during the period in question, the 60s, on the topics of heritage, conservation and Ethiopia. It is important for all this literature published in the 1960s and 1970s to be read critically and they function more as a primary source here than as secondary source or literature reference. The works of Margery Perham, Donald Levine, John Markakis and Nega Ayele, Richard and Sylvia Pankhurst (to name just a few), all renowned scholars or stateswomen at the time, contain many views and paradigms, among them essentialist, colonialist and racist ones, that are extremely problematic from today's viewpoint. This book is based on research efforts with a focus on providing an overview over the manifold types of sources that can be useful for understanding the relationships and processes occurring between countries and international organisations. And while for many of the sources cited here it would be desirable to go deeper into their individual analysis, regarding the context of their production, authorship and whereabouts, I understand this work as a proposition on how to write African history as global history, pairing disparate types of documents and sources so as to open up many new lines of inquiry.

As an addition to my analysis, I had the opportunity to conduct a few personal interviews with experts involved in the Ethiopian World Heritage sites, namely Yonas Beyene, from the Ethiopian Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage and former Ethiopian delegate to the World Heritage Committe, Prof. Dr. Hans Hurni, Professor for Geography in Berne, Switzerland, who worked as an expert in wildlife conservation in Ethiopia for over twenty years and who was personally involved in the nomination process of the Ethiopian natural heritage sites, especially the Simien National Park; and Dr. Jean Renaud Boisserie, Director des Recherches at the CFEE. Most helpful information

45 Particularly the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and the Science and Industry Library, which had a collection of all Ethiopian development plans.

46 The Staatsbibliothek holds some years of the *Ethiopian Herald*.

47 The SOAS Archives hold several personal files of British researchers and diplomats, documenting their activities in Ethiopia, including confidential reports and private correspondence with people in Ethiopia.

regarding the history of tourism in Ethiopia was provided to me in an email exchange, and a short personal meeting, with the journalist Arefaynie Fantahun.

Ethiopia officially uses the Ethiopian calendar, but all dates have been converted to the European calendar format for continuity. As regards the transliteration of Ethiopian names and terms, I followed the English or French transcription used in each individual primary or secondary source, which may have resulted in some inconsistencies.

Chapter Synopses

1. Tourism was part of economic development planning in African countries, building on colonial images of Africa; culture and wildlife were considered economic resources; cultural tourism and conservation of monuments for tourism were part of UNESCO's programme in the 1960s; in cultural tourism projects, the development paradigm was merged with a tourist gaze on cultural and natural heritage in developing countries; tourism development plans in Ethiopia resulted in a selection of heritage sites most suitable for tourism; their image and symbolic value was amplified through tourism promotion.

2. Ethiopian nationalism relied on the Aksumite paradigm, stressing Ethiopian exceptionalism and the need for a unified Greater Ethiopia; a distinct visual language of Ethiopian nationalism emerged, of which historical monuments formed a key part; Western narratives and imaginations of Ethiopia and archaeological research interests of expatriates supported the construction of an official Ethiopian national identity; Ethiopian heritage served representation and communication in an international and Pan-African context; cultural assimilation politics fostered an Amhara-dominant national identity.

3. Western Ethiopian Studies were established in the nineteenth century; the 60s witnessed a renewed academic and state effort of re-writing Ethiopian history and the building-up of state institutions for research and administration of history and heritage; diplomacy and foreign research interests were crucial for the operations of state institutions, most researchers were foreigners in the beginning; through UNESCO, numerous conservation and heritage-making projects took place, providing the administrative and formal prerequisites for Ethiopian World Heritage nominations.

4. Some examples show that research and conservation projects depended on local actors and their knowledge, who in turn tried to reap benefits from the collaboration; heritage projects were characterised by a structural marginalisation of traditional conservation knowledge; the international standards and scientific principles and their universalist underpinning had a strong normative effect on heritage traditions; the colonial and imperial legacies of international

heritage conservation were embedded in the international organisations; severe land use conflicts arose from claims to heritage, to the detriment of inhabitants of heritage sites and their surroundings.

5. The bureaucratic side of the implementation of heritage followed other paradigms and rules; strategic goals were influencing the cooperation of UNESCO and Ethiopia on both sides; Addis Ababa gained location value as a African diplomatic hub; Ethiopia was envisaged as voice for other African countries in the UN and UNESCO; foreign advisors and foreign aid were part and parcel for state modernisation in Ethiopia; personal connections and education background of Ethiopians in UNESCO were vital for project orientation and implementation; Ethiopia was chosen as UNDP model country for large-scale projects, with the seven-year heritage project as first examples.

Destination Ethiopia: Heritage sites for tourism development

In 1963, the UN Conference for International Travel and Tourism in Rome issued *Recommendations on International Travel & Tourism*, declaring tourism to be "a vital element in the framework of the United Nations Development Decade".[48] In the subsequent campaign, the governments of developing countries were strongly encouraged to prioritise the tourism sector in their development plans.[49] The UN International Tourist year in 1967 provided a strong visual outcome of this programme, in addition to the 1966 UN ECOSOC policy, "inviting the international financing agencies to provide the developing countries [...] assistance for the promotion of tourism."[50] At the same time, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) released a recommendation "urging [...] particularly the developing countries to promote tourism, which makes a vital contribution to their economic growth."[51]

Tourism planning in Ethiopia

The widespread enthusiastic forecasts regarding the economic potential of tourism development for African countries, produced during the 1960s, were received with open ears in Ethiopia. Modern tourism in Ethiopia started with the national airline, Ethiopian Airlines (EAL). Founded in 1946 in partnership with the private US-corporation Trans World Airlines (TWA), EAL was crucial for national integration and economic development in Ethiopia, and a big asset in rebuilding the image of the country. The airline was a very successful enterprise, earning profit soon after its founding, and gaining a reputation for its services. Addis Ababa became a relevant African hub for air travel, which in turn strengthened Ethiopia's power and relevance on an inter-African as well as an international scale. Establishing domestic air trade routes fast forwarded Ethiopian national integra-

48 United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism, *Recommendations on International Travel and Tourism* (Geneva: United Nations, 1964), 17.

49 Marie-Françoise Lanfant, "Tourism in the Process of Internationalization", *International Social Science Journal* 32, no. 1 (1980): 15.

50 UNESCO General Conference, "Resolutions of the Fourteenth Session, 1966" (1966), 62.

51 Ibid., 63.

 https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110681017-004

tion, because it increased mobility and connections between existing urban centres, and the capital.[52]

As early as 1950, EAL began to promote package tours within EAL's domestic flight routes to the international audience residing in Addis Ababa, which was composed of diplomats, foreign experts and their families.[53] As most of these expatriate residents were remunerated from external sources, and this particular kind of domestic tourism presented a means to absorb a part of this foreign exchange into the Ethiopian national economy, from the 1960s Ethiopian airlines advertisement started targeting the North-Atlantic market.[54]

In the context of tourism, experts argued for investment in conservation to increase the destination value of heritage sites. Consequently, in Ethiopia, like in most African countries, national parks and monuments were part of the tourism commission's responsibility, and the conservation and general investment in the sites of cultural and natural heritage turned into aspects of development planning. In the second five-year development plan of 1962, "the pleasant climate, mineral hot springs, natural beauty, historical monuments and hunting possibilities [...]" were seen to "constitute untapped sources of the national wealth and offer great possibilities for the development of planned tourism."[55] The plan foresaw selected government investment in building hotels and other accommodation, and opening tourist-information centres abroad. Further plans included the restoration works on historical monuments, and the development of one selected site with additional facilities as a showcase-project. As a side note, the establishment of game-reserves and national parks as tourist attractions was included in the "Fishing & Forestry" section of the plan.[56]

With the establishment of the Ethiopian Tourism Organisation (ETO) in 1964, the government acknowledged the increasingly central role of tourism for economic growth. The ETO was responsible for several aspects related to tourism development in order to systematically address existing problems. In its duty-free

52 Ethiopian Airlines, *Bringing Africa Together* (Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Airlines, 1989), 100–103; Theodore Geiger, *TWA's Service to Ethiopia* (Washington, DC: National Planning Association, 1959), 62–71.

53 Travel News, no date, in: NALE 1.2.12.01, Ethiopian Airlines.

54 I argue to understand this as a strategy of the Ethiopian government to monetise Addis Ababa's role as a diplomatic and international hub, through the luxury hotels, the high import tax on luxury goods and the duty-free shops of the ETO. Vojislav Popovic, *Tourism in Eastern Africa* (München: Weltforum, 1972), 91. Several brochures in: NALE 1.2.12.01, Ethiopian Airlines; Addis Ababa became the most important African hub for air travel, Geiger, *TWA's Service*, 71.

55 Imperial Ethiopian Government, *Second Five Year Development Plan, 1963–1976* (Addis Ababa: Berhanenna Selam Printing Press, 1962), 240.

56 Ibid., 150.

shops, "King Solomon's Mines", they sold "tourist art" handicraft articles in addition to regular duty-free items such as liquor and tobacco. These articles resembled traditional cultural items and were specifically designed and produced in workshops operated by the ETO. This created additional income, enabling the ETO to expand and operate tours and car-hires. The ETO and EAL also operated a number of tourist-hotels, meaning hotels suitable to host international travellers and tourists. Most importantly, the ETO developed a marketing strategy as well as extensive tourism promotion material.[57]

Tourism was stated in the third five-year development plan of 1968 as the key to bettering the country's economic well-being. With neighbouring countries such as Kenya held up as positive examples, "it was envisaged that much more attention will be given to the possibilities of tourism as a potential source of foreign currency than has been possible in the past."[58] A more integrated, inter-sectoral approach turned tourism in a government responsibility and the new, coordinated development plan for tourism defined very clearly the central role of the government in the tourist industry.

A decade of more extensive tourism planning followed these assessments. In the 1969 a grand *Ethiopian Tourist Development Plan* was commissioned from an Italian planning firm. The high expectations for tourism were detailed out in this plan. In just eight years the investment planned for tourism was believed to have returned equivalent benefits in full, in addition turning a capital investment of 92 million Ethiopian dollars into a total income of 450 million Ethiopian dollars within thirteen years, with indirect benefits believed to be four times as high.[59]

To reach these goals, great investment in tourism was needed. "The lack of necessary infrastructure, the lack of special air fares making it possible to include Ethiopia in East African and all-African tours, the lack of travel promotion in overseas markets"[60] all presented difficulties that had to be overcome. The Ethiopian government reached out for international assistance for tourism planning. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) conducted an independent assessment and stated that "tourism would be the second most important source of foreign trade for Ethiopia (following the export of coffee)". The Bank was convinced of tourism as a crucial factor for economic

57 Ayalew Sisay, Historical Development of Travel and Tourism in Ethiopia (Addis Ababa: the author, 2009), 92; Tafesse Habte Selassie, "Tourism", in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 973.

58 Letter from Belai Abbai to Malcolm Adiseshiah, 4.1.1968, UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. iv.

59 Ianus. Organizzazione per gli studi e le ricerche di economia applicata S. p. A., *Ethiopian Tourist Development Plan* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1969), 12.

60 Popovic, *Tourism in Eastern Africa*, 97.

development, as it seemed capable of considerable expansion.[61] Subsequently, a World Bank loan for the development of tourism—including the preservation of sites and monuments—was approved.[62]

At least in the funding proposals and consultants' reports, tourism was played up as a cure-all of Ethiopia's development problems. Not only would it earn the revenue necessary for further economic development, it would also initiate key infrastructure projects such as transportation and electricity that had failed to be realised in their own right.

UN-sponsored tourism planning for developing countries in the 1960s

The roots for tourism as it became an item on the agenda of international development programmes go back to the European, and more particularly British, tradition of the nobility touring other countries as part of their education, also known as the *Grand Tour*. The transformation of work-life-organisation that took place with the industrialisation in European societies brought a new availability of leisure time, which was often combined with a desire to travel for recreational purposes. The introduction and elaboration of paid holidays since the 1920s made way for the concept of leisure time that could be spent travelling elsewhere. This became feasible for a significantly large number of workers, a contrast to previous times where travelling for recuperation and education had remained a privilege of the upper and middle classes. The ever-growing number of salaried workers that were entitled to paid holidays contributed to the growing volume of travel that had begun to be classified as touristic. The stabilised political situation and the rapid economic growth after the end of the Second World War in Western Europe, Australasia and North America and the large-scale economic, social and technological changes occurring alongside resulted in a tremendous rising of tourist numbers and a booming tourism sector. The extent of available investment eased the expansion of necessary infrastructure and the increase in disposable income caused a significant yearly growth of the sector. Finally, the technological innovations of motorisation, the expansion of railway and road infrastructure and the introduction of air travel made mass transportation easier, less time-consuming and affordable.[63] In the contemporary understanding of the 1960s, tourism was distinguished as a decidedly modern,

61 Project report, no date, in UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. vi.

62 Letter from M. Jiminez to Bruce Stedman, 13.3.74, in UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. i.

63 Manish Ratti, *History and Geography of Tourism* (New Delhi: Rajat Publications, 2007), 22–24.

European phenomenon, not least because only a certain percentage of the world's population was able to engage in such travel. In tourism development planning, non-Western and pre-modern forms of travel, such as pilgrimage, were not included.[64] For tourism planners, the world was clearly divided into those who travel and those who are travelled to, the Western and Non-Western countries, and domestic tourism was something that did not exist in developing countries.[65]

The growth of tourism eventually turned it into a powerful factor in economic development, quickly acquiring importance in many national economies, increasing the business of tour operators and all branches of the hospitality industry, be they accommodation, food or entertainment. International organisations and networks were formed, the most important of these being the International Union of Travel Organisations (IUOTO), established in 1946. IUOTO concerned themselves with issues relating to travel conditions, especially visa and passport regulations, but also joint regional advertising and the definition of standards. To strengthen its policymaking capacities and following a majority vote backed largely by developing countries, in 1974 IUOTO was transformed into the UN World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and elevated to the ranks of a UN special agency, excluding the private sector members.[66] The UNWTO, in undertaking more targeted attempts to centralise tourism policies internationally, brought forward important global tourism policies like the 1980 Manila declaration and the 1982 Acapulco Document.[67]

Most noteworthy about the work of these international organisations is the fact that the recommendations and policies explicitly stated tourism to be a critical factor for challenging global inequality. In the official resolutions and statements, tourism was explained as a mechanism to redistribute the resources of rich societies to poor ones, contributing to the restructuring of the international economic system towards the New International Economic Order. Among econ-

64 Dennison Nash, "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism", in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, ed. Valene L. Smith, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 33–52, https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812208016.37.

65 Krishna B. Ghimire, ed., *The Native Tourist: Mass Tourism within Developing Countries* (London; New York: Earthscan, 2001), 8–11.

66 World Tourism Organisation, "Creation of the Inter-Governmental World Tourism Organization", *ATR Annals of Tourism Research* 2, no. 5 (1975): 237–45; United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism, *Recommendations*.

67 "Manila Declaration on World Tourism", *UNWTO Declarations* 6, no. 4 (30 October 1980): 1–4, https://doi.org/10.18111/unwtodeclarations.1980.6.4.1; United Nations World Tourism Organization, "Acapulco Document", August 1982, http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/unwtodeclarations.1982.8.4.1.

omists and other international development experts, tourism held a particular value for developing countries to materialise economic potential and surpass their "under-development".[68] The biggest advantage of tourism, in their opinion, was that it was a non-threatening export industry, offering a product that was not in any competition with the domestic industries of the Global North.

Mass-tourism on a global scale was, despite the exploding numbers of tourist arrivals during the 1960s, largely confined to the Western hemisphere. The vast majority of arrivals were registered in Europe and Northern America, meaning it was Europeans traveling inside of Europe or American or Canadian citizens traveling inside Northern America. A smaller number of tourists from these Western countries travelled to non-Western countries, generally neighbouring ones. Tourism business did not yet exist in most developing countries, yet, this favourable development was readily projected onto regions rich in potential destinations all over the world, such as South East Asia, Latin America and East Africa by planners and politicians. The increase in global revenue from foreign tourism by 75% between 1958 and 1963 seemed to justify the build-up of tourism as the universal remedy for countries lacking a developed industrial sector or natural resources ready to exploit.[69] Many planners, entrepreneurs and politicians predicted rising numbers of tourists to developing countries, resulting in a steady growth of tourism, a growth that would divert cash flows from the prosperous countries of said tourists straight into the national economies of their destinations.[70]

Surveying Ethiopia's natural and cultural heritage

With economic development becoming the *ultima ratio* for all sizeable amounts of funding within the UN system, tourism was a welcome opportunity to connect a chronically under-financed activity, the conservation of cultural and natural sites, to existing cashflows.[71] It was a generally accepted fact that there was a lack of funds for conservation in developing countries, and that tourism could serve as a potential source for these funds. Some experts went even further, stat-

68 Emanuel de Kadt, World Bank, and UNESCO, eds., *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), xiii; Lanfant, "Tourism", 19.

69 N.N., "1967 – International Tourist Year", *UNESCO Courier* 19, no. 12 (1966): 6.

70 Popovic, *Tourism in Eastern Africa*, 188.

71 This is the general tone of the numerous reports and papers, illustrating the cultural tourism discourse in UNESCO, in: UNESCO 069:72:380.8 A 193.

ing that the conservation of monuments and wildlife presented the only major potential for tourism in most developing countries, as people would not travel so far simply to spend leisure time at a beach. Cultural and natural heritage, in most developing countries, was considered an attraction at the core of a destination.

International nature conservation experts agreed that African fauna, flora and habitat was the most urgent conservation problem of the time.[72] In 1960, Julian Huxley, former Director General of UNESCO, African wildlife biologist and prominent spokesperson for eugenics and geo-engineering, embarked on a mission for UNESCO, "to investigate the problem" of conservation and wildlife in East and Central Africa.[73] After touring the national parks of Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar, Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) and eastern Congo and South Africa he wrote: "The situation can still be saved provided that the conservationists can induce African governments and the African public to understand and follow an ecological approach".[74]

After this first mission, international conservation experts sought for more effective ways to interest African governments in natural and wildlife conservation. A special project for "Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in modern African States" was conducted by IUCN and FAO, with the intention of assisting interested countries in establishing wildlife conservation strategies. The framework of this "African Special Project" went back to an IUCN decision in 1960, after which two designated experts started to travel and promote a number of Eastern African countries. The FAO/IUCN African Special Project encompassed two approaches to natural protection— conservation as well as resource mobilisation. At the 1961 conference in the context of the special project, European and US-American wildlife experts and African politicians concluded that only through the economic incentive would natural conservation be successful in African societies. In his speech, the Tanganyikan Minister of Lands and Surveys, T.S. Tewa, explained:

> It must, however, be said that the almost mystical and romantic regard for wild animals which some people have, has often puzzled the peoples of Africa. To many Africans, the

72 Gerald G. Watterson, ed., Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Modern African States: Report of a Symposium Organized by CCTA and IUCN and Held under the Auspices of FAO and UNESCO at Arusha, Tanganyika, September 1961 (Morges: IUCN, 1963), 3, https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/NS-001.pdf.

73 Julian Huxley, "The Conservation of Wild Life and Natural Habitats in Central and East Africa: Report on a Mission Accomplished for UNESCO, July–September 1960 [Serial No. NS.61/D.31/A]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1961).

74 Ibid., 12.

> elephant is a dangerous agricultural pest, the lion a savage killer of men and stock, and the wildebeest an unwelcome competitor for scarce grazing. Residents in Africa expect protection from damage by game and they expect to see that where human interests and those of animals conflict, the interests of animals are allowed to prevail only in carefully chosen and restricted areas. But if the mass of my countrymen are to be enlisted in the ranks of conservationists, they will need to be convinced not only that the animals in these restricted areas, that is the Parks and Reserves, can be more use to them alive than dead, but that the money necessary to preserve them would not be better spent on more schools and doctors. In other words, they will expect us to see that what they are told is "their heritage", however valuable it may be as a cultural asset, can still be made to earn its keep. Can this be done? I believe it can—through tourism.[75]

After the experts had made their initial tour, where the idea was introduced to the new African national governments, the Ethiopian government proved particularly receptive to the concept.[76] Ethiopia was included in Julian Huxley's 1960 report, together with some other African territories of which he delivered an assessment by proxy, based on reports of IUCN observer G.G. Watterson. In this brief section, the value of Ethiopian wildlife was measured exclusively in terms of interest and attraction for a Western audience: "Ethiopia possesses fine mountain scenery, wonderful canyons, large upland areas with a cool climate, and many sites of great historical and archaeological interest. There is still a fair abundance of interesting wild animals, especially in the south of the country, but it is being seriously and rapidly reduced by illicit killing." In 1963 Akalework Habtewold, Ethiopian Minister for Agriculture, submitted a request to UNESCO, asking for assistance for the development of national parks and the protection of wildlife in Ethiopia. In his address to the DG and the General Assembly of UNESCO, Akalework Habtewold stated: "It is our wish to manage and develop national parks and wildlife reserves in such a way as to secure the preservation of their flora and fauna, provide centres of biological and ecological research, and contribute to the growth of the national economy, especially through the development of tourism and game cropping."[77]

---

75 T.S. Tewa, "The Value of the Tourist Industry in the Conservation of Natural Resources in Tanganyika", in Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Modern African States – Report of a Symposium Organized by CCTA and IUCN and Held under the Auspices of FAO and UNESCO at Arusha, Tanganyika, September 1961, ed. Gerald G. Watterson (Morges: IUCN, 1963), 337, https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/NS-001.pdf.

76 T. Riney and P. Hill, "FAO/IUCN African Special Project: Interim Report on Ethiopia" (Rome: FAO, 1963), 1–2.

77 Julian Huxley et al., "The Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Ethiopia [Serial No. NS/NR/47]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), 6.

The request was met positively: "Fully conscious of the scientific, cultural, educational social and economic importance of the natural habits, of the wildlife, constituted by a large variety of species, some of which are endemic, of the remarkable landscapes and archaeological sites of Ethiopia which represent an inheritance of universal interest the DG decided to support the request."[78]

In 1963, a further UNESCO mission was dispatched to Ethiopia, composed of senior experts from European and American institutions of wildlife conservation. It was headed by Julian Huxley, with the other members of the mission L. Swift, former Director of the Division of Wildlife Management, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Dr. Barton Worthington, Deputy-DG of the United States-based charity organisation Nature Conservancy, and Professor Theodore Monod of the Musée national d'histoire naturelle in Paris. Julian Huxley had been on a mission concerned with "The Conservation of Wild Life and Natural Habitats in Central and East Africa" in 1961, leading him to include second hand information about the relevance of Ethiopian wildlife and scenery, prompting a recommendation to consign a mission to further investigate on the matter.[79]

The mission's main concern was, per definition of the request, wildlife, but corresponding with the DG's feedback, the final report contained remarks on cultural monuments as well.[80] This indicates that all actors involved understood national heritage as a portfolio of sites, and in a way that it would inherently encompass both natural and cultural sites. During the short period of two weeks, the experts produced little more than very general recommendations, emphasising the lack of conventional, functional government institutions required to practice conservation in the first place. The report also contained, however, a suggested selection of sites, namely the "Managasha National Park", "Matahara Proposed National Park in Awash", "Abijatta Lake Proposed National Park", a "Proposed National Park in the Rift Valley" and "A Scenic National Park at the Source of the Nile.[81] Another mission from UNESCO embarked to Ethiopia, during 1964/1965, carried out by Leslie Brown, former Director of Agriculture in Kenya, and Major Ian Grimwood, former Chief Game Warden of Kenya, in order to "provide assistance to the Ethiopian Government in the field of conservation of nature and natural resources, their restoration and enrichment." The consultants themselves described their missions as leading to positive results,

78 Ibid., 6.

79 Huxley, "The Conservation of Wild Life", x.

80 John H. Blower, "Wildlife Conservation and National Parks: Ethiopia – (Mission) September 1965–September 1969 [Serial No. 2351/RMS.RS/SCE]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1971), 6; Huxley et al., "The Conservation of Nature", 9–16.

81 Huxley et al., "The Conservation of Nature", 32.

highlighting specifically the establishment of a government authority for wildlife, the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation (EWCO). Remarkably, as with Huxley et al., Grimwood and Brown referred in their reports to the proposal for the establishment of a conservation board in charge not only of wildlife but also "archaeological resources".[82] The proposal went as far as to claim that only tourism would provide the justification needed for the board to successfully carry out conservation:

> The present wildlife potential of Ethiopia is insufficient to support a large tourist industry on its own, in face of competition from nearby East African countries where game is more plentiful and more easily seen. The richness of Ethiopia's fauna lies more in its uniqueness than in the spectacular number of variety of animals to be seen, which tends to make it of less interest to the general public. The country has, however, historical sites and antiquities such as are to be found nowhere else in Africa south of the Sahara. It also has some of the grandest scenery in the world. Only by the inclusion of such attractions into the first major tourist circuits does it seem likely that a large enough flow of visitors can be created to provide the Board with the means to carry out its present primary task of saving some of the country's rarer animals.[83]

The idea that African natural heritage on the one hand needed protection from African people and on the other hand was a promising economic resource combined racist and paternalistic thinking and shaped the tourism planning in many newly independent nation states in Africa. The parallels to the international programmes for the conservation of built heritage are striking: tourism appeared as an issue among international heritage experts from the 1950s on, and came with a distinct economic rationale. It was mentioned as early as 1949 as one of the "problems of common interest to organisations concerned with [...] sites and monuments of art and history" in a meeting of experts, taking place at UNESCO.[84] Tourism, and more specifically the economic potential of tourism as regards historic sites, was a factor that arose from the international perspective on historic monuments and the creation of the idea of a global heritage landscape. Monuments, sites and nature were already features of tourist destinations in Europe, so the principle was transferred to the new international scope, and

82 Blower, "Wildlife Conservation", 6; Ian R. Grimwood, "Conservation of Natural Resources: Ethiopia – (Mission) November 1964–February 1965 [Serial No. WS/0865.66 REV.AVS]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1965); Leslie H. Brown, "Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources: Ethiopia – (Mission) 30 December 1964 to 1 April 1965; Report [Serial No. WS/0865.192/AVS]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1965).

83 Brown, "Conservation of Nature", 2.

84 Unesdoc, Georges Henri Rivière, "Meeting of Experts on Sites and Monuments of Art and History; Paris; 1949".

the idea of economic profit from tourism to benefit the conservation of monuments was expressed in proposals, such as the 1951 plan to adopt an international convention that would institute a special tourist tax for the preservation of monuments and museums.[85]

The intertwining of the growing relevance of tourism and the development paradigm turned cultural and natural heritage into an economic resource, and provided a unique chance for UNESCO to enter the development playing field. By 1960, while mainly involved in educational efforts of technical assistance, UNESCO's division for cultural heritage saw itself at the intersection of both of the main arguments for tourism: the idea that tourism could promote international understanding and education, as well as the requirement to develop cultural heritage as a resource in a responsible manner, and felt obliged to advance both causes.[86] Tourism, for UNESCO, promised to be a highly effective pedagogic tool, aiming to present the monuments as teaching institutions for history. UNESCO initially saw itself as only concerned with tourism in cases where tourism development projects carried a cultural component.[87] Its contribution to tourism aimed to counterbalance the purely economic interest in tourism research and planning with educational, cultural and scientific impulses.

In 1962, tourism was stated to be an important means of action in the first plan of proposed action for UNESCO's international campaign for monuments.[88] UNESCO's division of museums and monuments commissioned a study to evaluate tourism statistics, in order to develop a concept for an "international fund for monuments."[89] These concerns were motivated by an acute shortage of funds for the aspirations of international conservation experts. They turned to a more strategic planning, considering what would produce the most promising positive public response.

In the context of the first UN Development Decade, the conservation of natural and cultural heritage and the promotion of tourism and the concerns of development were combined into a momentous plan called "Associating the preservation of cultural property with the development of tourism":

85 Ibid., Preliminary Study on the advisability of international measures for the institution of a special tourist tax, submitted to Executive Board, Paris, 12.1.1951.

86 UNESCO, 72/EX/Decisions, Art. 10, 1966.

87 Letter from J. Hardouin, no date, in: UNESCO 069:72:380.8 A 193.

88 Template letter from DG René Maheu to ministers of member states, 31.7.1962, in: UNESCO 069:72 A14.

89 Letter from Giorgio Rosi to Conrad André Beerli, 2.8.62, in: UNESCO 069:72 A14.

> How can money be raised for the restoration of protection of the world's heritage of monuments? A new Unesco [sic] plan offers an answer—turn the monuments into paying affairs. Unesco [...] suggests, that countries should turn their cultural assets into economic ones by giving priority to monuments in programmes of tourist development. [...] Unesco is studying how funds for such projects can be obtained from regional and international organisations and through the U.N. Development Programme, since the tourist industry is seen as a key factor in economic development.[90]

In practice this resulted in a number of expert missions concerned with tourism, based on requests from developing countries. Between 1966 and 1980 alone, missions were carried out to the following twenty-three countries: Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cyprus, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia (Bali), Iran, Libya, Malta, Mongolia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Kenya, Pakistan, Peru, the Dominican Republic, the United Arab Republic and Thailand.[91] The tourism development missions between 1966 and 1980 were all very similar in terms of the initial task outlined, and consisted of assisting the government in developing recommendations on the establishment of tourism as a source of economic development, and in giving directions for developing existing resources of natural or cultural sites to a standard sufficient for their touristic exploitation. Operating strictly on the premise that historical sites and natural beauty presented the only potential points of touristic interest in all of the aforementioned countries, the consultants travelled to assess the respective sites in question, and the country in general, according to their destination value. In most cases, the experts were affiliated not with the field of tourism or economic planning, but rather with the fields of architecture, art history or natural science. Nonetheless, they were tasked with analysing the tourism potential, and counted hotel beds and smooth surface road-kilometres, evaluated the quality of service and attractions offered, and delivered investment and profitability recommendations. Finally, they developed concrete plans and proposals, ranging from legislative and administrative changes to social and urban planning, as well as specific restoration works.

In Ethiopia, Lalibela was the first site of extensive international cooperation and official engagement with the Ethiopian government to restore the monuments and provide for their conservation. Initially, Ethiopia requested to launch

90 N.N., "Cultural Tourism: The Unexploited Treasure of Economic Development", *UNESCO Courier* 19, no. 12 (1966): 11–13; Unesdoc, "UNESCO. Executive Board; 72nd Session; 1966," n.d.
91 Decisions taken during the Sixth Review of Operational Projects financed from UNDP, UNFPA and under funds-in-trust, May 1982, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. ixb; surely a comparative study of all the countries would bring fruitful insights regarding the influence and role of these missions.

an international safeguarding campaign modelled after the Nubian Monuments Campaign. Even though UNESCO did not want to commit to a full-sized safeguarding campaign immediately, "they wanted to prove that His Imperial Highness' appeal to them was met with favour, they approved the idea of sending immediately to Ethiopia, at their own expenses, an expert to make financial estimations and technical suggestions about the restoration, provided that the Ethiopian party took charge of the local expenses (hotel and transport) of the said expert."[92]

This resulted at the beginning of 1965 in a joint suggestion by UNESCO and the American Society of Archaeology to the International Fund for Monuments, a newly founded American organisation (whose Chairman was Colonel James A. Gray), which "immediately agreed to make the Lalibela Project the first one to be launched by the new organization."[93] These efforts were later considered by UNESCO and UNDP staff as a kind of preparation for further successful international projects in Ethiopia.[94]

Soon after the works in Lalibela began, UNESCO's first mission concerned with the institutional advancement of Ethiopian heritage-making dispatched Richard Howland, Professor for Archaeology and Art History, Secretary-Treasurer of the U.S. National Committee of ICOMOS and chairman of the Department of Civil History at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., in 1967 to bring forth "practical recommendations and suggestions [...] for those who have the heavy responsibility for developing an Antiquities Administration for Ethiopia."[95] This endeavour resulted in a report entailing *Recommendations for the Organization of the Ethiopian Antiquities Administration*. The technical director of the Lalibela project, architect Sandro Angelini of ICCROM, oversaw and planned the restoration work, but returned for follow-up missions with a more general scope.

Ian Grimwood and Leslie Brown had already stated in their report that only tourism would provide the justification to install conservation institutions that could successfully carry out "the primary task of conservation, believing that

92 S. Pierre Pétrides, Memorandum on the Project for Restoration and Conservation of the Monuments of Lalibela, in NALE, 1.2.26.5, Lalibela Committee.

93 Ibid.

94 Such as the ETH 74/14 project: "Lalibela was also the place where the project could record massive progress of work – succeeded in close cooperation with the local administration and the church itself." Draft report of the Tripartite Meeting from 27.1.1978, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. vi.

95 "Recommendations for the Organization of the Ethiopian Antiquities Administration: Ethiopia – (Mission) February–March 1967 [Serial No. 89/BMS.RD/SHC]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1967), 1; Richard H. Howland, "Journey to Ethiopia's Past", *UNESCO Courier* 20, no. 11 (1967): 39 – 42.

conservation alone would not provide enough priority and incentive in the eyes of the Ethiopian government."[96] Indeed, the issue of cultural and natural heritage attracted attention as an item of development planning due to its potential for creating tourist destinations and establishing tourism as an economic sector in Ethiopia. In 1968 the Ministry for Planning and Development submitted a request to UNESCO to send an expert for legal and organisational aspects of cultural heritage, so as to build a systematic foundation for the development of sites of cultural heritage as tourist destinations.[97]

The Cultural Heritage division of UNESCO had its eye on Ethiopia, as did the UNDP regional representative in Addis Ababa, with the objective in mind to execute a larger-scale project, combining development planning, tourism and conservation of monuments, and presented this possibility to the Ministry of Planning in 1968.[98] In pointing to the possibility for a larger amount of funding to be made available as a follow-up to the initial project, UNESCO managed to secure the interest of the Ministry of Planning, which added considerable weight to the cause of conservation. Together with the economist Louis Mougin, in 1968 Sandro Angelini offered a report titled *Proposals for the development of sites and monuments in Ethiopia as a contribution to the growth of cultural tourism.*[99] Two years later in 1970, the consultant B.G. Gaidoni conducted a study on *Cultural Tourism: Prospects for its Development*.[100] All of these missions contained, in parts, recommendations to the institutional organisation of the heritage-making institutions as well as the legislation regarding heritage.

Tourism presented a recurring component of all conservation activities in Ethiopia. For many it carried a promise of salvation for developing countries, and several targeted activities guided by that belief were initiated within UNESCO and other institutions like UNECA and FAO during that time. These included surveying the touristic potential of countries based on economic prospects or infrastructural investment schemes that aimed to improve the standard of tourist destinations and make them more accessible. In this zeitgeist, another

96 Grimwood, "Conservation of Natural Resources", 2.

97 Letter from Belai Abbai to Malcolm Adiseshiah, 4.1.1968, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) AMS, pt. ii.

98 Response to letter from Malcolm Adisehsia to Belai Abbai, 14. 2.1968, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) AMS, pt. ii.

99 Sandro Angelini and Louis Mougin, "Proposals for the Development of Sites and Monuments in Ethiopia as a Contribution to the Growth of Cultural Tourism: Ethiopia – (Mission) May–June 1968 [Serial No. 893/BMS.RD/CLT]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1968).

100 B.G. Gaidoni, "Cultural Tourism; Prospects for Its Development: Ethiopia – (Mission) September–October 1969 [Serial No. 2031/BMS.RD/CLT]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1970).

of Sandro Angelini's missions in 1971 finally brought a concrete working plan for the development of individual sites alongside the "Historic Route" to the table.[101]

Doing cultural tourism in Ethiopia

In the eyes of the heritage experts, the existing heritage sites were merely a few diamonds in the rough, loosely strewn across the country. The international experts perceived a dire need for structural improvement, conservation and image promotion. Gaidoni, the only UNESCO expert dealing with Ethiopian tourism development with a specific background in tourism expertise, travelled along the "Historic Route" and, although he admitted that the monuments needed restoration and protection from vandalism and weathering, his main concern was the lack of destination value from the presumed tourist's point of view. In addition to the improvement of hotel facilities, the service and number of available beds in general, his assessment was characterised by the idea that the monuments alone would not create enough value to make travel there worth the tourist's while and money. For Lake Tana, he proposed, after an initial restoration of the churches on the Lake's islands, the addition of sailing clubs, fishing lodges, bathing establishments and more, to "insure [sic] that visitors will come". For Gondar, he suggested a golf course, tennis courts and bowling grounds—clearly having the European/British upper-class tourist in mind.[102] And, for Lalibela: "Entertainment is totally lacking. At least a small cafe or bar should be built [...]. A miniature golf and a swimming pool would add diversion for the tourist, because visiting the churches in the villages [...] would take more than one day."[103]

With all the modernisation and addition of leisurely facilities for the tourists' sake, however, he cautioned that "the alteration to the character of the locale and to the landscape that these suggested changes would inevitably introduce, must be confined to the already urbanized areas" so as "not to alter in the least the appearance and authenticity of these other localities". He wrote further that, "It would be a pity to destroy the possibility of the elation of discovery."[104] Most noteworthy are Gaidoni's suggestions to not only improve the monuments as sights, but also to establish a showcase of local arts and crafts, as well as per-

101 Sandro Angelini, "The Historic Route: A Work-Plan for the Development of the Sites and Monuments: Ethiopia – (Mission) June 1971 [2468/RMO.RD/CLT]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1971).
102 Gaidoni, "Cultural Tourism", 24.
103 Ibid., 38.
104 Ibid., 17–18.

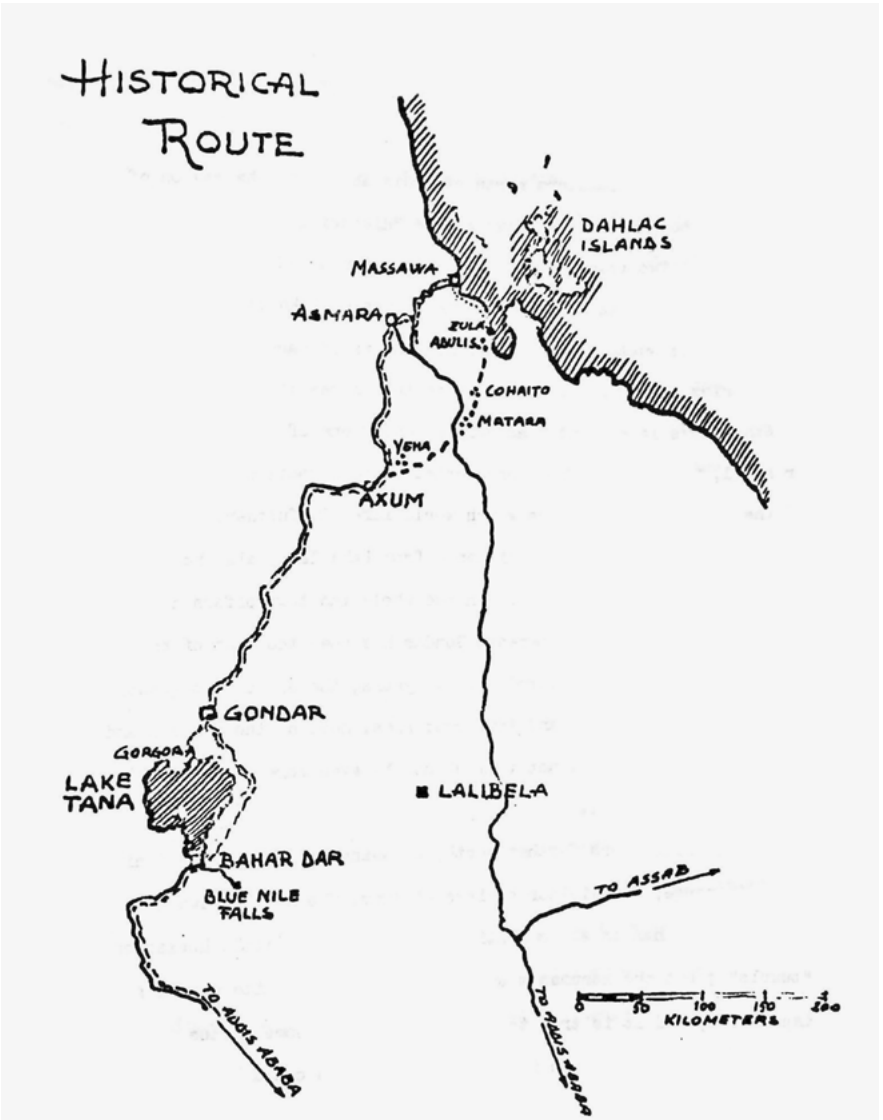


Figure 2: Historical Route, Gaidoni, 11.

formances for the purpose of tourist entertainment. He suggested to enable the government to take ultimate control over the manner of representation of the varied local ethnic identities of Ethiopia.

In accordance with the idea that tourism to the country's heritage sites would improve economic development, the first natural and cultural conservation consultancies and projects were concerned as much with tourism as with the heritage sites themselves.[105] In the project reports, the internationally acclaimed architects, art historians and wildlife experts who were sent on these consultancy missions by UNESCO relentlessly emphasised the contribution that the development of historical monuments and sites would provide towards the growth of tourism.

The experts' assessment of the tourism potential of individual heritage sites and their surrounding regions had a direct influence on which sites were given priority in the direction of international funds and national institutional capacities for conservation. Furthermore, it influenced the general programmatic direction of heritage-making in Ethiopia. Grimwood and Brown emphasised in their reports that a large enough touristic potential would only be created with a combined promotion of natural and cultural heritage, acknowledging at the same time the greater relevance and potential of cultural heritage as opposed to natural heritage. Consequently, the efforts taken in the following years were mainly in the areas of cultural heritage conservation and presentation.

As regards wildlife conservation, tourism underwent a transformation during this period from game safaris towards an emphasis on natural observation and photo safaris, and this process caused the proper development of a consistent strategic approach to suffer. The planning of the "Historic Route" influenced the establishment of natural heritage insofar as the distribution of resources goes. The Simien National Park was chosen as a focal point for these efforts as it was adjacent to the planned "Historic Route", and promised to provide touristic potential because of the unique mountain-riff-scenery as well as the rare species present.[106]

After more than ten years of consultation and conservation efforts through UNESCO's experts, 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, Ethiopian heritage was still not in a position to launch the safeguarding campaign that had been requested and envisaged for it. As another preparatory step, a seven-year project entitled *Presentation and preservation of selected sites* was launched in 1975, funded and organised by UNDP and admin-

105 Huxley et al., "The Conservation of Nature"; Brown, "Conservation of Nature"; Grimwood, "Conservation of Natural Resources"; Angelini and Mougin, "Proposals for the Development"; Gaidoni, "Cultural Tourism"; Angelini, "The Historic Route".

106 Gaidoni, "Cultural Tourism", 49.

istered by UNESCO.[107] 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 with the campaign launch.[108]

Originally the project ETH 74/14 was titled *The Development of Cultural tourism: preservation and presentation of sites and monuments*[109] and with the new *raison d'être* of heritage sites as tourist destinations, the project qualified as one of the "sharper focus and greater impact potential [...] projects which are economic but which have maximum multiplier effects"[110] that UNDP tried to establish as a priority in Ethiopia. Although after a personal visit the UNDP resident representative Alan Elliott was doubtful in internal correspondence about the realistic possibilities, in the official language of reports and requests and also correspondence with the Ethiopian authorities, the promotion of tourism was enthusiastically defended and fostered by UNDP and UNESCO representatives.[111] After the first several missions, UNESCO acknowledged that the government would need more assistance to "promote tourism and increase the value of cultural heritage and natural sites."[112]

After the 1974 revolution, the government still desired the development of tourism, but its valuation shifted.[113] The declaration on "Economic Policy of Socialist Ethiopia by the Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia", issued on February 7, 1975, stated that, "It should, however, be emphasised that the conservation of wildlife, birdlife, etc. particularly of the rare species, and the preservation of the antiquities will be viewed primarily as national objectives in their own right and not only as a means of attracting foreign visitors."[114] Although in the UNDP country programme for Ethiopia for the period 1983–86 the UNDP still stated "the high importance which the Ethiopian government accords to the dimension of culture in the development process",[115] the development of heritages

107 UNDP/ETH/74/014, Terminal Report, 1.

108 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.

109 Project proposal, no date, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. i.

110 Memo from E. Amerding, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. i.

111 Memo from A. Elliott to Director BMS, 21.1.69, UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. v.

112 Memo from Director BMS to DG, October 1970, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. vi.

113 Aleme Eshete, *The Cultural Situation in Socialist Ethiopia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1982), 19.

114 Quoted in: Ayalew Sisay, *Historical Development of Travel and Tourism in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: the author, 2009), 162, 163.

115 Letter from J.B. Kabore, to Mr. K.F.S. King, UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. ixb.

sites as destinations was no longer considered as important. In reality not only the re-orientation of the political paradigm but mainly the ongoing political and military conflicts presented a strong inhibiting factor for all tourism activities. Travel bans and states of emergency made large parts of the "Historic North" inaccessible to foreigners for almost a decade. In the years between 1983 and 1988, the tourism sector had a very low priority, as over a third of the national budget was allocated to defence and internal security. The nationalisation of all private hotels, tour operators and agencies prevented any possibility of foreign private investment. Furthermore, tourism suffered from the continuous lack of infrastructure and from insufficient marketing.[116]

UNESCO and UNDP representatives attempted to adapt the project guidelines to the new political directions and paradigms of a new administration which refused to see culture as complimentary or to be simply employed in the service of tourism and economic development, and emphasised how "for the preservation of cultural heritage, in this context a development of cultural identity would provide important guidelines for economic development, in which tourism components were not vital, but would be a result."[117]

Turning the heritage sites into destinations

While the development of tourism never did accomplish what had been predicted in the 1960s, the promotion of tourism and the scientific expert evaluation of heritage sites were however of major importance in helping create a tourist image of Ethiopia. Experts agreed early on that any planning had to revolve around creating a strong image of Ethiopia that would have a specific appeal to tourists. According to the UN tourism expert Vojislav Popovic, Ethiopia's main asset in terms of tourism was, in fact, not the mass-tourism market flowing into coastal resorts or which looked for easy, pre-arranged "wildlife-coast" pack-

116 The independence of Eritrea resulted in the loss of some of the most promising tourist destinations along the Red Sea coast, according to: Frederick A. Frost and Tekle Shanka, "Perception of Ethiopia as a Tourist Destination", *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* 348 – 50 (1997). Until the 90s, the tourism brochures from the 60s and 70s presented the only tourism promotion material available and they are today still sold at souvenir stalls at the tourist destinations, supposedly because no new ones exist in sufficient quantity.

117 Draft report of the tripartite meeting from 27.1.1978, Project ETH/74/014, in: UNESCO 069:72(63) UNDP pt. vi.

ages, but its "appeal [...] to the well-to-do, sophisticated sightseeing tourists".[118] These were the experienced international travellers seeking out the unique and largely different attractions of Ethiopia: unspoiled nature, fascinating landscapes, numerous ethnic groups and "the long history of independent rule, the traditional dynasty whose origin is interwoven with legend of the pre-Christian era [...which] make Ethiopia a country whose original features can very well be used to create a touristically very attractive image in the minds of the public and tour organizers."[119]

Like Popovic, Gaidoni stated that "the first and most urgent task in the process of building a tourist industry in Ethiopia must be the creation and diffusion of the tourist image of the country." He sketched out:

> First, like Egypt, Ethiopia has its own unique architectural and historical reality, with sites like Gondar, Axum, and Lalibela as outstanding tourist offerings. Secondly, like Kenya, Ethiopia boasts the wildlife resources of its national parks, Awash, Simien, and Bale. Lastly, Ethiopia betters either Egypt or Kenya with its sunshine and sea beauty, Massawa, the Dahlak Islands, and in general the Red Sea coast. This Ethiopia can offer a triple image, but because Ethiopia is also an African country, this image must be thoroughly African. What I mean is this: Even if Ethiopia is building modern cities and new industrial enterprises, it has to offer the tourist points of interest he does not find at home, be that in Europe or North America. It is this other world image which must be established to attract the attention of the prospective tourist. The proper tourist image, then, is the first thing an ETO team of experts should establish.[120]

The establishment of tourism as a state economic sector had a strong impact on both image production and the circulation of knowledge of Ethiopian heritage. In order to attract foreign investment and to promote Ethiopia as tourist destination on the international market, two government institutions were put in charge of tourism marketing concepts and campaigns: EAL and the ETO. Both institutions received foreign technical assistance and foreign advisors contributed significantly to the production and planning of tourism images and slogans. Tourism promotion experts from Germany, the UK and France, funded via bilateral programmes of technical cooperation, worked for the ETO, developing tourism promotional materials that would advertise the benefits of Ethiopia in the language of Western commercial advertising.[121] EAL's early tourism promotion al-

118 Popovic, *Tourism in Eastern Africa*, 92.

119 Ibid., 90.

120 Gaidoni, "Cultural Tourism", 7.

121 At least six full-time advisors, two of which were responsible for the development of publicity, over a duration of several years, are listed in the following reports: UNDP, "Report on Development Assistance to Ethiopia in 1972 – Prepared by the Resident Representative of the UNDP

ready operated with catchy slogans, such as "The Wonderland Route" or "The Land of Queen of Sheba", alluding to the Western fascination with Ethiopian heritage and history.[122]

The director of the ETO was Habte Selassie Tafesse, formerly head of the press and information department of the Ethiopian Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and head of Tourism in the Prime Minister's Office. He received his primary education and socialisation growing up in Athens as the foster child of a Russian Orthodox Christian family, and his secondary education in Alexandria, Egypt, where his Ethiopian birth father served as ambassador for Ethiopia. He received his higher education in the USA.[123] He brought a decidedly Western, state of the art expertise, and sense for marketing and image promotion to all areas of government publications directed towards a foreign audience.[124]

After the establishment of the ETO in 1966, a full-scale marketing strategy was developed under his direction, including the slogans "The hidden empire" and "13 months of sunshine", which referred to the Ethiopian use of the Julian calendar as opposed to the Gregorian one, resulting in an additional month[125] and implying, in the marketing copy, not only the benefits of a consistently mild and sunny climate throughout the year but also that for the tourist more was to be found than expected in Ethiopia.[126] Habte Selassie also created Ethiopian Pavilions for the World Expositions in Montreal, Canada in 1967 (which can be seen on the cover image of this book) and in Japan in 1972, as well as regularly showcasing Ethiopia at the Internationale Tourismus-Börse (ITB) in Berlin. Part of this strategy was image production that established and curated the sites of cultural and natural heritage as touristic destinations. These images were orientated towards the Western interest in Ethiopia, focusing on exoticised images of "ethnic" faces and singling out monuments.[127]

---

in Ethiopia," 41, 42; UNDP, "Report on Development Assistance to Ethiopia in 1973" (Addis Ababa: Office of the Regional Representative of UNDP, April 25, 1974), 46, 47.

122 Pamphlets, in NALE 1.2.18.01, Ethiopian Airlines.

123 He spoke Greek, English, French and Russian but was not a native Amharic speaker.

124 Interview between Arefayne Fantahun and Habte Selassie Tafesse, May 2016 in Addis Ababa, notes kindly provided to me by Arefaynie Fantahun; Tafesse Habte Selassie, "Tourism".

125 To balance out the leap year.

126 Ethiopian Tourist Organisation, 13 Monate Sonnenschein in Äthiopien, 1971.

127 The images of the posters to the thirteen month campaign were and are widely popular and can still be found serving as decoration in Ethiopian restaurants today. Personally, I have seen them in every Ethiopian restaurant I have visited so far, in Berlin, London and Oakland, CA. Furthermore, in Facebook-groups dedicated to sharing historical photos of Ethiopia, these images are frequently shown and continue to circulate.

For the planning of tourism in Ethiopia, the establishment of a portfolio of historic sites along the "Historic Route" was firmly connected to the belief that only these sites held enough potential to attract larger number of tourists, deemed a necessity to onset the general touristic development of Ethiopia.[128] After the overall tourist development plan from 1969, another plan was commissioned with a US-consulting firm, selecting that tourism investment and development should be concentrated on the "Historic Route" for the decade 1970 – 1980, and be connected to the establishment of a chain of eight first-class hotels along the "Historic Route".[129] The "Historic Route" formed the core of the marketing strategies of both EAL and the ETO, which published numerous pamphlets, books, posters and brochures. More than thirty different pamphlets, dedicated to individual places or activities of touristic interest, demonstrate the broad scope that tourism development enjoyed for a brief period: guides for day trips from Addis, fishing, camping, diving, white-water rafting, as well as pottery, jewellery and wild flowers.[130] For the period of two years, a monthly newspaper, *Tourist News*, was published by the ETO in English and French (as *nouvelles touristiques*), containing a rotating stock of articles about the main sights as well as changes in current information.[131] At the core of the promotional material remained the "Historic Route" or the "Historic North" and most of the guidebooks published are decorated on the cover with isolated, iconic images of the classic heritage sites in Lalibela, Axum, Gondar and Simien, or contain a map of Ethiopia assembled of nothing but the images of the main heritage sites.

Archaeologists of the French "Institut éthiopien d'études et de recherches" as well as heritage experts working for the government authorities for cultural heritage (CRCCH) and wildlife (EWCO) contributed texts and images towards the production of the brochures and travel guides published by the ETO, such as the brochure *Big Game*, which was produced in collaboration with John Blower—who served as the director of EWCO—or *Ancient Sites of Northern Ethiopia*,

128 Angelini and Mougin, "Proposals for the Development", 5; Grimwood, "Conservation of Natural Resources", 6;

129 Ayalew Sisay, *Historical Development of Travel and Tourism in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: the author, 2009), 110 – 12; Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and PPR International, London, *Ethiopia – Opportunity for Investment in a New Chain of Tourist Hotels*, n.d.

Ayalew Sisay, *Historical Development*, 110 – 12; Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and PPR International, London, *Ethiopia – Opportunity for Investment in a New Chain of Tourist Hotels*, n.d.

130 A complete list of all examples found during my research is attached in Appendix I.

131 Ethiopia Tourist News, Monthly Publication of the Ethiopian Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Tourism and ethiopie nouvelles touristiques, Publication Mensuelle du Ministere Ethiopien du Commerce, Industrie et Tourisme.

which included texts by Francis Anfray, archaeologist at the French Institute.[132] Within just a few years, an array of symbolic images of Ethiopia was created that helped to manifest the key tropes of ancient empire and isolated natural beauty as icons representing Ethiopian history and heritage.

This gave experts a double function, turning them, in addition to their expert role, into mediators of knowledge to an interested, educated Western public. A particularly vivid example is the round trips organised by the British Swan Tours in 1972–73. Four "special interest tours" altogether were taking place in Ethiopia, with renowned scholars of Ethiopian Studies accompanying the tours as guides—Richard and Rita Pankhurst, historians and political activists for the Ethiopian cause, two key figures for the scientific and political development of Ethiopia in the twentieth century. Other tours were guided by Sir Patrick Kirwan, a British archaeologist who had undertaken research in Axum among other sites in the Horn of Africa, and the historian Edward Ullendorf.[133] In a similar manner, in 1971, the US American Wilderness Expeditions Inc. offered a guided "Ethiopian Highlands Tour", advertising that for ten of the fourteen days of the tour, the group would be accompanied by British-Kenyan zoologist Leslie Brown, a seasoned wildlife advisor to international organisations, as well as to the Ethiopian government, who also lectured at the university in Addis Ababa. In the advertisement for the tour, beneficial effects of tourism to the Ethiopian highlands were emphasised: "The influence of international travelers can be determinative on this issue [environmental degradation through agriculture], as Ethiopia is most anxious to develop tourist trade. And few tourists will be anxious to visit a burnt-out and plowed under wasteland devoid of wildlife."[134]

Consulting and the tourist gaze: UNESCO's cultural tourism development projects

How did the promising and paternalistic tourism plans translate into reality? During the 1960s many African countries indeed started to see the arrival of tou-

132 John Blower, *Big Game in Ethiopia: Hunting and Photographic Safaris in Africa's Newest Game Country* (Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Tourist Organization, 1984); Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and Francis Anfray, eds., *Ancient Sites of Northern Ethiopia*, 1967.

133 Swan (Hellenic) LTD, 1972–73 special interest tours of Ethiopia, 15.6.72, in: SOAS Kirwan papers, Box 4, 3–70.

134 Wilderness Expeditions Inc. – Ethiopian Highlands 1971, in: IES, Tourism Miscellanea 5.

rists, but the situation and the results varied tremendously between countries.[135] In some countries, for example Morocco and Tunisia, the tourism sectors were economically beneficial, but the necessary sectorial investments still left the tourism sector as a net consumer of surplus, meaning that the overall profit from tourism was still lower than the investments. This created a positive balance for economic development but a negative one for the gross national product. For some countries on the other hand, such as Kenya and Tanzania, earnings through tourism were relatively weak but still a major contributor to GNP and presented, for some years at least, the largest source of foreign currency in otherwise weak economies. According to Kenyan geographer Joseph B. Ouma, who undertook tourism research during geographical fieldwork inEast Africa, in 1968, tourism presented the largest source of foreign currency for some East African countries like Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, and it was a vital factor of economic development, even ahead of coffee or tea.[136] In the end, differences between individual developing countries were large and not easy to explain, let alone to compare or transfer, in effect rendering the prognosis behind the tourism development policies of ECOSOC, UNCTAD and the respective expert studies as pure speculation.[137]

In reality, in many countries the growth of a national tourism sector was inhibited by the lack of effective state policies. Furthermore, the allocation of resources, consistent sectorial planning and a feasible integration of tourism in national development plans was beyond the capacity of many governments. In fact, it was often the case that an increase in tourist arrivals didn't necessarily result in corresponding growth in the tourist sector. Package tours, organised by European or North American tour operators, were often completely devoid of any substantial effect on the national economy of the destination country, as the profit was earned in the tourists' country of origin. This resulted in a very low rate of gross foreign exchange inflow, with the operators having no viable interest in buying and hiring locally, justifying their decision by referring to the insufficient standard available. The introduction of protectionist European airport and char-

135 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Elements of Tourism Policy in Developing Countries – Report by the Secreteriat of UNCTAD*, United Nations Publication, E.73. II. D.3TD/B/C.3/89/Rev.1 (New York: United Nations, 1973), 6 – 7.

136 Joseph P.B.M. Ouma, *Evolution of Tourism in East Africa (1900 – 2000)* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1970), preface.

137 Herbold Reginald Green, "Towards Planning Tourism in African Countries", in *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*, ed. Emanuel de Kadt, World Bank, and UNESCO (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 80.

ter-flight regulations made it impossible for African and Asian airlines themselves to operate flights for tourists from Europe to their countries, adding to that negative effect.[138] It was a catch-22 situation: countries that lacked funds to provide the necessary infrastructure also lacked the tourists required to generate the critical amount of income necessary for these funds.

Nevertheless, while these countries served as examples of the positive impact of tourism on economic development, presenting exaggerated prognoses for the economic benefit was a common strategy in consultant reports to stimulate a maximum amount of investment and follow-up funding. International experts' assessment usually led to the inclusion of their recommendations in the national five-year development plans, prompting the launch of further technical assistance for infrastructure and vocational training, for preservation and for the presentation of sites. Technical assistance linked to conservation and tourism carried with it secondary benefits in terms of infrastructural investments and tourism development opened up yet another line of argumentation for large projects from the World Bank or similar donor organisations.[139]

The positive expectations of the potential benefits and outcomes of tourism were tempered by strong criticism which questioned not only these promises and potential benefits, but also drew attention to the negative impact and inherent risks for the destination countries in the developing world. The promises of tourism remained a dream removed from reality for many countries and a strong critical tourism discourse emerged in parallel from the 1960s. Because of the general skills shortage in many developing countries, tourism development would not only cause a brain drain from more important sectors, but would also necessitate a high cost in expatriate skills. Due to its complexity and context-sensitivity, tourism was declared to be a highly unsustainable economic product. Anchored in a scientific analysis of sociocultural costs and benefits, studies aimed to show the exploitative tendencies of speculative land booms, the high investment nec-

138 Ibid., 83, 89; N.B. Salazar, "A Troubled Past, a Challenging Present, and a Promising Future: Tanzania's Tourism Development in Perspective", *Tourism Review International* 12, no. 3/4 (2008): 4–6; John Sorana Akama, "Neocolonialism, Dependency and External Control of Africa's Tourism Industry: A Case-Study of Wildlife Safari Tourism in Kenya", in *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities, and Representations*, ed. C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2004), 147–50.

139 Emanuel de Kadt, "Introduction", in *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*, ed. Emanuel de Kadt, World Bank, and UNESCO (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 11; Frank Mitchell, "The Value of Tourism in East Africa" (Discussion Paper No. 82, University College, Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, Social Science Division, n.d.), 7; Ouma, *Evolution of Tourism in East Africa*, 77.

essary to create jobs in the tourism industry and the reinforcement of divisions along social strata through large scale developments.[140]

One of the responses that developed from the criticism of (mass) tourism was the concept of cultural tourism. One paradigm of tourism that guided commercial expansion and touristic enterprises was "bringing the known to the unknown", but the detrimental effect of commodifying culture and heritage on local communities and traditional values and cultural practises was quickly raised as an issue. After several studies on the social impact of tourism, the conclusion that tourism presented not only a chance for education and income but indeed a veritable danger to traditional culture in hosting countries became more widespread. In a report from 1974, Peter Lengyel, editor of UNESCO's *International Journal of Social Sciences*, shared his observation on cultural tourism in Bali, which was a major focal point where tourism and its effects were perceived as a problem by the political authorities of the country itself: "It would seem to me to be impossible in these days of mass travel for a small but well-known place [...] to maintain its culture in a frozen state since obviously the changing life and the consciousness [of the local population] will cut them off increasingly from their own roots."[141]

He argued for an international responsibility to empower local culture, and educate and train the local population better so they would have something to shield them from the "tastes of undiscriminating Philistines",[142] who were just trophy-hunting for objects that resembled their imagination of the destination. Cultural tourism provided an alternative to tourism as a means to increase economic development or for profit, and was supposed to curb the destructive impact of economic principles on cultural identities and communities. Through efforts such as sensitive marketing arrangements, the government-guided production of arts and crafts souvenirs, or planning codes aiming to create an "integrated environment", one that is beneficial for locals and tourists alike in

140 This critical discourse marked the beginning of an orientation in anthropological tourism research towards the impact of tourism, establishing concepts such as John Urry's theory of the "tourist gaze" and its transformative power on host societies: de Kadt, World Bank, and UNESCO, *Tourism: Passport to Development?*, 34–49; Lanfant, "Tourism", 17–22; Walter van Beek and Annette Schmidt, "African Dynamics of Cultural Tourism", in *African Hosts & Their Guests: Cultural Dynamics of Tourism*, ed. Walter van Beek and Annette Schmidt (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: James Currey, 2012), 1–33.

141 Report on cultural tourism in Bali from Mr. Peter Lengyel, January 1974, in: 069:72:380.8 A 193.

142 Ibid.

historic urban centres, cultural tourism was believed to help the preservation of cultural and craft traditions.[143]

In reality, UNESCO's cultural tourism assistance projects were not exactly a counter-concept, but merely an attempt to connect some of UNESCO's cultural concerns to a more widely recognised line of argumentation for development assistance. When promoting the issue of cultural tourism and conservation to governments of developing countries, in many cases UNESCO argued for and justified the initiative of projects with the supposed economic stipulation resulting from the projects. In Burma, a request for assistance for conservation was declined, with UNESCO stating it could only give funds if the conservation was for tourism development purposes.[144] It was declared a prerequisite that firstly tourism had been evaluated as a major source of potential income to the country and then, secondly, the monuments could be proven to contribute significantly to that potential. Through UNESCO a counter-position to the economic focus within the tourism discourse in particular, and the development discourse in general, was voiced, but it remains questionable whether these efforts ever amounted to any significant impact. Just as the economic analysis lacked an understanding of the socio-cultural aspects of tourism development, the reports drawn up by those who were conservators and architects by training lacked economic expertise, yet they included estimates for the capital public and private investments necessary for the planning and development of airport infrastructure and road networks.[145]

Next to an understanding of the technological and economic implications of tourism, it is part of a distinctly modernist discourse, representative of changing worldviews and global-local relationships within the reality of the modern, post-industrial societies of the Global North. As explained earlier, other forms of society in earlier periods had variations of mass travel, the most prominent being pilgrimage, but only in the distinct setting of employed, industrial and post-industrial labour could travel be fully conceptualised as tourism. Per its definition, the technical assistance for the development of tourism was confined to develop-

143 Emanuel de Kadt, "Arts, Crafts, and Cultural Manifestations", in *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*, ed. Emanuel de Kadt, World Bank, and UNESCO (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 68–76.

144 Letter from Hiroshi Daifuku to T.R. Gairola, 21.5.1970, in: 069:72 (591) AMS. Document courtesy of Clara Rellensmann.

145 Angelini and Mougin, "Proposals for the Development", Annexes 3 ,4, 5, 6, and 9; J.C. Pollacco, "Nepal – Development of Cultural Tourism" (Paris, September, 1968: UNESCO, n.d.), 12–18.

ing countries. The experts, however, were of Western provenance.[146] When these experts spoke of tourism in their reports, they operated strictly on the basis of the imagined potential of tourism coming from Western countries to the so-called developing ones.

In a study commissioned in 1968 by the UNECA, the UN tourism expert Vojislav Popovic argued for the tourism potential of Eastern African countries in particular based on the steady rise of the average disposable income in Western countries. Given the equidistant location of Eastern Africa to Western tourists' countries of origin in comparison with more established destinations,[147] he argued further that it would only be a matter of developing competitive destination values and promoting them effectively. He identified the North American and the Japanese markets as the most relevant target groups for marketing and pricing strategies, necessitating a focus on reducing the cost of transportation as a first step, and in shaping the tourist attractions to the liking of American tourists as a second step[148]. According to Popovic, leisure and nature would be not be interesting enough for American tourists to travel overseas, but cultural performances, artefacts and places would do the trick: "American tourists are genuinely interested in people, their way of life, both modern and traditional, old customs, folk dances and songs, old architecture, large cities, shopping, handicraft, and with good promotion a considerably larger number of American tourists may become equally interested in wildlife."[149]

Spending power existed mainly in Western countries and among African elites, and developing countries were marketed as destinations using images that would reflect the ideas of Western customers or alluded to upper class ideas of leisure. Cultural heritage and practices were transformed into "intangible products" and "aesthetic services", ready to be consumed by tourists.[150] Perceptions of these countries were shaped according to orientalist, exoticist ideas and UNESCO engaged and accelerated the production of these images with its

146 As an exception could be considered the chairman of the Maltese Tourism Commission, who served as an expert advisor for the report on Nepal, while at the same time the Maltese government received a similar mission: J. Mougin, "Malta – Conservation of Sites and Monuments in the Development of Tourism" (UNESCO, 1967); E.A. Connally, "Nepal" (UNESCO, 1968).

147 Such as the Middle East (including Turkey and Greece), the USA, Canada, Mexico, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Bermuda and Trinidad and Tobago: Popovic, *Tourism in Eastern Africa*, 16–17.

148 Ibid., 17–24.

149 Ibid., 25.

150 What Jonas Larsen and John Urry describe as "intangible products" and "aesthetic services": Jonas Larsen and John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: SAGE, 2011), 77, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446251904.

cultural tourism missions and publicity activities.[151] Often, the development experts' assessment extended beyond the economic sphere, going as far as to praise the supposedly beneficial "social welfare" effects that the mere presence of tourists (which they imagined as rich, white foreigners) would have for the local people. The type of tourism promoted by the UNESCO cultural tourism missions was related more to the historic origins of tourism from British and French upper-class travels, the Grand Tour, than to the mass tourism phenomenon and thus enhancing the discursive quality of heritage activities as a representation of a Western worldview.[152]

A very influential doctrine held by many experts and politicians was that many developing countries, especially in Africa, were virtually bare of raw resources or the potential to modernise and industrialise fast enough to keep pace with a growing global economy. In order to achieve significant earnings of foreign currency, the key object was to find a trade that would make it possible to achieve the maximum amount of commodification without requiring a large investment or any industrial production.[153] Tourism promised to readily deliver on that expectation and was seen as the most valuable export product for some countries. Experts commonly made gross generalisations, claiming that tourism would soon be "the fastest growing and potentially the largest single East African foreign exchange earner". After his 1960 mission for the conservation of wildlife in East Africa, Julian Huxley summarised and emphasised what many believed to be the solution for East Africa in particular:

> The total revenue from tourism in the four territories of East Africa together is today well over [GBP] 10.000.000. I would prophesy that this could certainly be increased fivefold, and quite probably tenfold, within the present decade. So long as Western prosperity continues, with Western populations (and their revenues) increasing and Western industrialization being intensified, it is safe to forecast that more and more people will want to escape farther and farther from it and its concomitants, in the shape of over-large or over-crowded cities, urban sprawl, noise, smog, boring routine, deprivation of contact with nature, and general over-mechanization of existence. Air travel will certainly become cheaper and more popular, and will be able to take more people farther afield on more adventurous journeys. Given that there is no major war in the world and no outbreak of violent disorder

151 Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, *Tourism Promotion and Power: Creating Images, Creating Identities* (Chichester, NY: Wiley, 1998), 165–67, 211–12; C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, "Introduction", in *Tourism and Postcolonialism*, ed. C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker (London: Routledge, 2014), 9–10.

152 Patrick Young, "A Place Like Any Other?: Publicity, Hotels and the Search for a French Path to Tourism", in *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History*, ed. Eric G. E. Zuelow (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011), 130–32.

153 Watterson, *Conservation of Nature*, 22.

> in our region, an increasing proportion of this population of travellers could be readily induced to make eastern Africa their goal.[154]

The stereotypical images and imperialist thinking shining through in Julian Huxley's argument here were characteristic for the tourism planning language. Experts considered tourism to East Africa to be fuelled mainly by the "growing preference of the European public for sunny and warm climates", and the desire to enjoy "unspoiled nature, including tropical forests, magnificent waterfalls, lovely lakes, unusually scenic mountains",[155] features perceived to be on the decline in Europe due to the transformation of landscapes through industrialisation and the spread of high-density urban agglomerations. Natural conservation experts agreed: "The National Parks and reserves of Africa have a wonderful opportunity of filling a world need—modern man's craving for contact with nature."[156]

As regards UNESCO and the experts working as consultants on the tourism missions, the tourism assistance offers a glimpse into the mechanics and workings of the international system during a crucial period of growth. Possessing an area of operations in the field of tourism development gave UNESCO a means to increase its influence and relevance. Carrying out these studies helped UNESCO and its commissioned experts to strengthen their role as producers and brokers of knowledge within the development discourse and beyond. It sheds light on the fact that international organisations like UNESCO and their international policies provided a hub for a multitude of interests, bestowing a label that could easily be appropriated in different ways by the different actors involved. As already stated, for many governments, one of the biggest immediate economic benefits of tourism development was its potential to open up further possibilities for accessing large scale infrastructural development funding.

Without the economic incentive of cultural tourism, no funding would have been available for developing countries to put into effect the conventions regarding heritage protection. Projects, such as the creation of inventories or scientific evaluation according to the elaborate standards of ICOMOS, would not have been possible through the existing development budgets of the Participation Programme, Funds in Trust or the World Heritage Fund. Larger projects, such as institutional development and legislation in Ethiopia, were necessary in many developing countries to meet even the basic requirements.[157] Those projects were

154 Huxley, "The Conservation of Wild Life", 87–88.
155 Popovic, *Tourism in Eastern Africa*, 14, 19.
156 Watterson, *Conservation of Nature*, 22.
157 See ch. 3; Terminal Report, ETH/74/014, 2.

only possible because larger amounts of money could be redirected from development programmes such as the UNDP, Special Funds or the World Bank.

The final reports of the tourism missions all shared a deeply invasive way of looking at the countries, their people and their culture. In short, they approached the local cultures and national identities with a tourist gaze—the view of tourists on their surroundings, which is guided by a set of expectations in the tourists' minds, and objectifies people, places and cultural practices.[158] Through the tourism development missions, knowledge production within the context of the development decade was furnished with a particular dimension of touristic imagination. The promotion of tourism relies on a consensual language used and comprehended between the producers and recipients of the promotional material.[159] Tourism, like heritage, necessitated a discussion about people, places and events in terms that would be understood by the major audience for tourism in the Western hemisphere, and consequently shaped local culture and nature into narratives and concepts that would fit into the Western worldview.[160] UNESCO and the other international actors involved were in charge of cultural production and the representation of cultural identities, providing meaning to how those cultures were seen everywhere else and acting as knowledge producers for national and cultural identities.

Like in Ethiopia, within many developing countries this imagery, and the paternalistic development ideologies behind the cultural tourism missions, were not far from the local ruling elites' perspective on the people living at sites of potential touristic interest. The Western experts' assessment of what constituted the country's most relevant history was often very similar to the idea of those internationally connected and educated elites.[161]

From a long-term perspective, tourism missions did indeed create a long-lasting destination value in many developing countries, insofar as they had a significant impact on the evolution of national heritage conservation and the World Heritage Programme. Through their reports the consultants established and unlocked funding for collaboration and for expert activity in the heritage sector of

158 Morgan and Pritchard, *Tourism Promotion and Power*, 169; John Urry, *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies* (London: Sage, 1990), 1–3, 110–12.

159 Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation", in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi: SAGE, 1997), 13–24.

160 Nash, "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism", 45–46.

161 Keith Hollinshead, "Tourism and New Sense: Worldmaking and the Enunciative Value of Tourism", in *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities, and Representations*, ed. C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2004), 38–39.

many countries. In particular, this contributed significantly to the success of the World Heritage Programme in its early years, as many countries could provide at least some heritage sites that would meet the elaborate scientific standards required for a World Heritage nomination. Tourism missions represented a critical mass of activities that notably fostered the successful implementation of the World Heritage Convention by providing a stock of heritage sites ready for nomination as World Heritage. These sites had been restored and conserved in collaboration with UNESCO. Without all these preceding activities in cultural tourism, owing to the development decade, there would not have been so many sites already in the UNESCO system by the time the World Heritage Programme came into being.

Tourism as vehicle of heritage-making

The increased priority on the development of tourism prompted an increase in attention from UNESCO, as it promised to provide larger budgets for projects to develop.[162] Shortly after the Ethiopian Ministry of Planning announced the new orientation of the development plan as regards tourism, UNESCO's office of relations with member states (not the cultural heritage division) organised a mission to Ethiopia. The monuments, wildlife areas and scenic landscapes lacked the provisions to be visited by larger crowds or a high number of visitors over the year. In 1968, even the infrastructure of the major points of touristic interest, along the "Historic Route", was assessed to be largely insufficient and incapable of absorbing even a relatively minor growth in tourist numbers.[163] Initiating this mission, similarly to previous successful missions in other countries "where important projects for conservation and development of sites and monuments [were] now under way", were a team composed of an architect-restorer, an economist-planner and a member of the UNESCO secretariat.[164] This interaction marked the beginning of the many activities involving UNESCO that would result in the consideration that Ethiopian heritage was fit to be included in the World Heritage list.

As a result of this, during the visit of UNESCO's DG René Maheu to Ethiopia, cultural tourism was adopted as a special point into the cooperation agreement between the imperial Ethiopian government and UNESCO. The detailed explana-

162 In the letter from Belai Abbai to Malcolm Adiseshiah (footnote 553) the word tourism was circled in red.

163 Angelini and Mougin, "Proposals for the Development", 5.

164 Response letter from Malcolm Adiseshiah to Abbai, 14.2.68, UNESCO X07.21 (63) pt. iv.

tion of the "cultural tourism" point declared that UNESCO would provide assistance in creating an inventory of monuments and works of art, as well as for the preservation and conservation of nature.[165] UNESCO's heritage experts readily picked up on the assessment that tourism was crucial for Ethiopia's economic development and that the country had great potential, as tourism would provide the funds necessary for conservation. This explains why the UNESCO missions for cultural and natural heritage between 1968 and 1984 were concerned with tourism planning efforts in relation to wildlife and cultural heritage conservation.

The gravitational influence of development aid and expected tourist revenue re-structured and re-aligned the national heritage landscape of Ethiopia, whereby in addition to the economic aspect, heritage-making also served varied political agendas. Developing tourism in Ethiopia was as much motivated by economic prospects as it was by the outlook of creating a strong, world-wide iconography of success. The proponents of tourism predicted that "the time will come when the Ethiopian Tourist Organization will be proud of [...] being the sole organization to succeed in moving Ethiopia into the channels of world economy, in order to operate wherein any country must first of all be known."[166]

The use of symbolic images of monumental and natural heritage sites in Ethiopia is impressively visible in the first tourism campaigns and in general government representation in the years following the Italian occupation period and the subsequent years of recovery, development and modernisation. The "Historic Route" and maps of "Greater Ethiopia" were used to install a dominant historical narrative. Images of heritage were condensed into a strong iconography of national heritage, utilised to foster national identity and serve as an important tool for governance and representation. In the Ethiopian imperial state, and likewise in the following military government and under the Derg, the use of selected historic sites served to create the image of a country that had a right to its claims of power and relevance in the international order, and likewise held the promise of developing into an economically strong nation.

The international heritage experts took the increased relevance derived from the touristic initiative to their advantage, and tried to argue that only with a properly set up scientific standard of conservation, as state responsibility,

165 Aide-memoire on points of agreement reached at the inter-ministerial meeting on cooperation between the imperial Ethiopian Government and UNESCO, 31.7.1968 in: UNESCO X07.21 (63) pt. iv.

166 Ianus. Organizzazione per gli studi e le ricerche di economia applicata S. p. A., *Ethiopian Tourist Development Plan*, 13.

could the development of heritage-sites into destinations reap fruitful results. They were aware that "the Ethiopian Government [was] in no better position than other governments to devote large sums of money to conservation for ethical reasons alone"[167] and that conservation in its own right would remain a low-priority task in terms of budget allocation. In their report, Angelini and Mougin suggested a very detailed restructuring of the existing bureaucratic infrastructure of all authorities related to tourism. Realising that tourism concerned the responsibilities of nine Ministries altogether, they concluded that the ETO should be attached to the Prime Minister's office, to sit near yet outside the necessary ministries.[168]

Because of the economic reasoning that tourism was necessary for development, heritage-making changed status from a relatively peripheral issue in the government's responsibilities to a more central role, involving the Ministry of Planning. Tourism accelerated the process of heritage-making in Ethiopia significantly, with an emphasis on developing those aspects which were particularly relevant for connecting Ethiopian heritage to the concept of universal heritage. Angelini, in his work plan for the "Historic Route" insisted on an inventory of all heritage sites, like Howland, which was to be started in the "Historic Route" area.[169]

As a matter of fact, it was only through the incentives provided by tourism that the conservation and heritage-making projects of UNESCO found an administrative counterpart in the Ethiopian government that would actualise certain projects towards implementation. After the input of all experts in the development of tourism, the "Historic Route" was given the highest priority by the Ministry of Development and Planning.[170] It is important to note that the missions of Angelini and Mougin (preparation of tourism development), Angelini (the "Historic Route") as well as Gaidoni (tourism development) were not requested by the Ministry of Education or in context of the Antiquities Administration, but by the Planning Commission, which was in charge of the five-year development plans and part of the Ministry of Development and Planning.[171] Tourism had turned the making of Ethiopian heritage into a development activity. As a consequence, heritage-making gained in relevance within the administration; from being the concern of only two smaller ministerial departments for cultural and natural conservation it respectively became an inter-ministerial matter. The

167 Grimwood, "Conservation of Natural Resources", 5.
168 Angelini and Mougin, "Proposals for the Development", 31.
169 Angelini, "The Historic Route", 13; "Recommendations", 3–5.
170 Angelini and Mougin, "Proposals for the Development", 4.
171 Letter from Belai Abbai to Malcolm Adiseshiah, 4.1.1968, UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. iv.

more extensive bureaucratic procedures of heritage-making that followed, necessitated by the economic planning and facilitated by new actors such as the tourism consultants, should prove useful. In many of these tourism planning efforts, the requirements for documentation and management planning, which were particularly important to fulfil the formal criteria for World Heritage, were already partially or wholly fulfilled.

Heritage as image of the nation

The symbolic use of heritage played a crucial role in Ethiopian domestic and international political communication. Visual representations of a strong Ethiopia, embarking into modernity on the foundations of a past that was referred to as the "Great Tradition", were used to create and promote an image of Ethiopia as a modern country with international reach and impact. The historiographical framework of this Great tradition was the state nationalism of the Ethiopian monarchy and was actuated in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, to support and legitimise centralisation, imperial expansion and modernisation of the Ethiopian nation-state. It centres around the legendary biblical encounter of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and the relocation of the Arc of the Covenant from Jerusalem to Aksum through their son in the aftermath of the encounter. Documented in writing for the first time in the fourteenth century, this mythology explained the foundation of the Ethiopian monarchy and positions Ethiopia as the new Zion and Ethiopians as the new chosen people of God. The Ethiopian exceptionalism narrated in this mythology ascertained the lineage of the monarchic rule and explained racial differences between high- and lowland population and between Christian centres and non-Christian peripheries within Ethiopian state territory. Alongside the "teleological unfolding of such monarchy-centred and divinely orientated history" as the foundation for an Ethiopian national identity, monarchy was presented as the "moulder and the guarantor of this identity".[172]

Establishing images of Ethiopian exceptionalism during the 1960s and 1970s

The Great tradition played a central role in how the Ethiopian nation was imagined and articulated by political and intellectual actors, and by outsiders. Elisabeth Wolde Giorgis has argued that Dipesh Chakrabarthy's assumption of a myth that performs as an objective truth and that functions as an imaginary bonding between nation and citizen applies to the analysis of Ethiopian nationalism, too.

Applying a more complicated approach of Benedict Anderson's category of "imagination", she makes a point that "In Ethiopia, the unifying ideology of nationhood between the rulers and the masses was a successful strategy that de-

172 Marzagora, "History", 6; see also Wendy Laura Belcher, "From Sheba They Come: Medieval Ethiopian Myth, US Newspapers, and a Modern American Narrative", *Callaloo* 33, no. 1 (2010): 239 – 57.

fined the ways the nation was presented not only as the primary source of loyalty and solidarity, but also as the rallying image in the discourse of modernity."[173] The historical imaginary derived from the Great tradition was central in how Ethiopian modernity was narrated and was the social base of Ethiopia's modern nation building. While for a long time the biblical myth of Christian highland enclave was the core of this imaginary, the sensational paleontological discoveries extended this exceptionalism further to the very beginnings of human life on earth.[174]

Several scholars have recently analysed the intellectual history of the Ethiopian national imagination in scholarship and literature, responding to increasing critical perspectives from a number of renowned senior scholars on historiographical practices in Ethiopia and Ethiopian historical studies.[175] They have delivered very thorough analysis of written works by Ethiopians. Yet, their analysis doesn't go deeper into the influence of the Western view of Ethiopian culture and history and the abundant image-production related to the Great tradition. Government publications from various sectors and levels utilised photographs and drawings to illustrate the Ethiopian nation and constructed distinct visual imaginaries of Ethiopian past, present and future. Ancient monuments, natural scenery and wildlife featured very prominently in this image production.

From the 1950s on, images of heritage were part and parcel of governments' communication strategy and in line with Haile Selassie I's extensive use of media to create an iconography and image-cult of his leadership. The selected visual representation of heritage as national monuments turned into an iconography of national success in its own right.[176] When Ethiopia intensified its efforts to obtain technical assistance and development funds, beginning with the first Ethiopian five-year development plan in 1959, the Ethiopian government started

173 Elizabeth Wolde Giorgis, "Charting out Ethiopian Modernity and Modernism", *Callaloo* 33, no. 1 (2010): 85.

174 Izabela Orlowska, "Forging a Nation: The Ethiopian Millennium Celebration and the Multiethnic State", *Nations and Nationalism* 19, no. 2 (2013): 304–5, https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12021.

175 Marzagora, "History"; Triulzi, "Battling with the Past"; James de Lorenzi, *Guardians of the Tradition: Historians and Historical Writing in Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015).

176 Jeylan Wolyie Hussein, "The Subtle Connection between the Greater Ethiopia Image, the Ideology of Blaming and Silencing, and the Cult of Emperor Haile Selassie", *The Australasian Review of African Studies* 27, no. 1 (2005): 63–64; John Gartley, "Control of Media and Concept of Image by Haile Selassie I", in *Études éthiopiennes: Actes de la Xe conférence internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris, 24–28 août 1988*, ed. Claude Lepage, vol. 1 (Paris: Société française pour les études éthiopiennes, 1994), 653.

to produce publications to present and advertise investment opportunities internationally. In this context, Ethiopian history, heritage sites and monuments gained relevance as national brand icons, and were used to illustrate and symbolise Ethiopia's continuity as a form of proof of the high potential there for success and development.

The book *Economic Progress of Ethiopia* was published in 1955 as part of the imperial Silver Jubilee commemorations by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. It was "intended as an outline of some aspects of the massive progress [...] during the twenty-five years of the inspired reign of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I".[177] In a collection of short articles the sectoral development of financial, agricultural, health, education and communication affairs in Ethiopia between ca. 1925 and 1950 was described, and supported by more than eighty pages of detailed statistics regarding these matters. On the book's cover, the title was embossed in gold, together with a drawing of the large Aksum Obelisk. On the first page, the same obelisk is portrayed as a black-and-white drawing, with the surrounding scenery in Aksum, including other monuments, trees and people. The detailed observations of the more recent past were connected in the ancient past of the Aksumite empire, locating the modernisation and progress underway in Ethiopia on a historical trajectory.

Promotional material, whose principal aim it was to convey the idea of economic success and successful development to a worldwide audience, frequently came adorned, illustrated with images of heritage sites. As an example, see *Patterns of Progress – Ethiopia – Past and Present*,[178] published in 1967 under the auspices of the Ethiopian Ministry of Information. Starting with a biographical overview of Haile Selassie I's life and an anchoring of Ethiopian history in antiquity, the modern government and its achievements in various sectors are then presented, illustrated with images of modern machinery, spotless urban scenes of modern Addis Ababa and neatly dressed people. As will be shown, the images in these government publications circulated widely through diplomatic relations and international networks. The image production of the tourism promotion, built around the same core-portfolio of monumental heritage and highland scenery, intensified this circulation.

In the official representation of the socialist government, the Abyssinian, north-Ethiopian culture was still central. Many representatives of the Amharic elites who had shaped cultural politics of the imperial government continued

177 Ethiopia, ed., *Economic Progress of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, 1955), vii.

178 Ministry of Information, ed., *Ethiopia, Past and Present*, Patterns of Progress 8 (Addis Ababa: Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department; Ministry of Information, 1967).

in their functions and maintained their status as elite heritage-makers after the revolution. In publications like the book *Ethiopia—a decade of revolutionary transformation*, published in 1984 by the Ministry of Information, the country's history was utilised as a lead-up to the glorious revolutionary present, spread out over six pages and with photos of the most prominent heritage sites. The introductory section concluded with a paragraph arguing the revolution to be the historical moment of fulfilling "the determination of the Ethiopian people to defend freedom, independence, human dignity and justice", which had been denied them by the old system.[179]

Heritage as a political asset took on a prominent role in foreign policy and diplomacy. The monumental heritage functioned as a form of social as well as cultural capital that underpinned Ethiopia's claim to international recognition and appreciation. The Ethiopian government aimed to maintain and expand the image of a strong country in order to stabilise political power and enable foreign investment. According to the elite historiography of the "Great Tradition" of the Ethiopian empire, Ethiopia was the most advanced civilisation in Africa, an idea that played an important role in the regional positioning of Ethiopia and beyond.

Ethiopia's resistance against colonial occupation was firmly woven into the larger narrative of the "Great Tradition", of a strong, continuous and ancient empire which was naturally the leader of African states and therefore a key partner for the United Nations and the West. In the context of the Pan-African movement during the 1960s, this image of Ethiopia as Africa's oldest empire became especially relevant, and promoting it formed a central element in Haile Selassie I's foreign policy. In order to strengthen his domestic position, Haile Selassie I placed a particular emphasis on international relations in his politics. His international political strategy was twofold and combined a repositioning of Ethiopia within the African continent and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), as well as on the international diplomatic stage of the UN. Images of the classic monumental cultural heritage sites were employed in rhetoric and visual representation to support these political strategies to an international audience of politicians and diplomats.

Haile Selassie's achievement of succeeding against the Italian occupation, without undergoing a longer existence as a colony, had turned Ethiopia into an aspirational symbol for the independence struggles of other African countries

179 Propaganda and Culture Committee of the Founding Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia & 10th Anniversary of the Revolution, ed., *Ethiopia: A Decade of Revolutionary Transformation, 1974–1984* (Addis Ababa: the committee, 1984), 17.

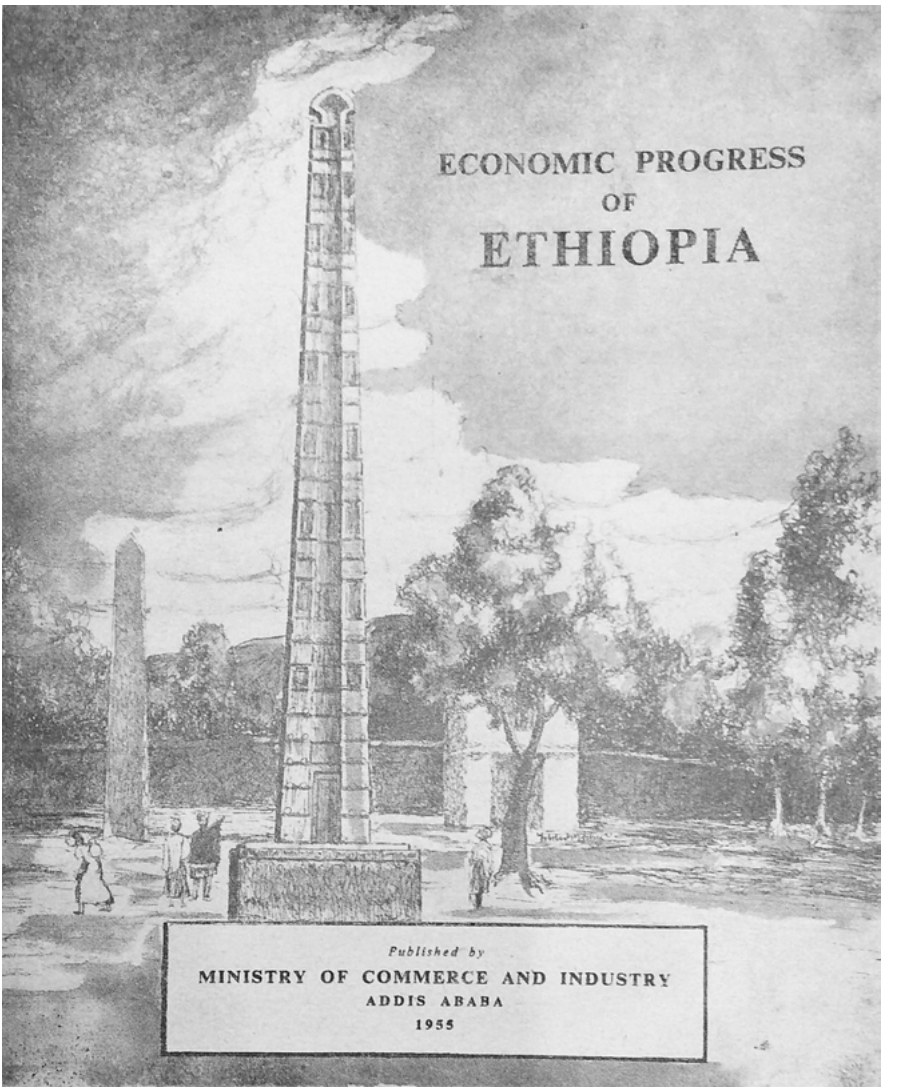


Figure 3: Cover image, Ethiopia, ed. *Economic Progress of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa, 1955.

in the 1950s and 1960s. Political leaders of nationalist movements referred to Haile Selassie I's Ethiopia as an important role model for resistance against colonial oppression, and many of them also expressed their respect for "the one great African kingdom which, except for a single tragic interlude which only enhanced his claim, had stood through two millenia [sic] and had shone, at least to

the intelligentsia, as a beacon of independence and African civilization [sic] to the rest of a continent held in subjection to Europe."[180]

Ethiopian intellectual elites identified readily with this description delivered by the British Historian Margery Perham in her 1969 book on the Ethiopian government and displayed "pride in their own history and cultural heritage which had not been rendered inferior by a prolonged European colonial presence"[181].

During the 1950s and 1960s, the glorification of Ethiopian history by African nationalist movements shifted the Ethiopian self-perception of not belonging to Africa.[182] At the same time, Ethiopia started to open up and to orientate politically towards the African continent. The Ethiopian political position claimed superiority in the process of the re-formation of the African continent as a political entity through reference to a particular Ethiopian national heritage. Haile Selassie I strategically engaged in the role of African leader awarded to him by the leaders of national liberation movements of African states, and used this role to strengthen his political power. He directed, at least in an African context, his external politics towards an understanding "that the Ethiopian people belong to the coloured nations of Africa" and Ethiopia was "a connecting link between Africa and Europe."[183] Early on, he received leaders of African independence movements as official state guests, and provided support to political refugees. During the peak of decolonisation from around 1960, the Pan-African idea had experienced a decisive shift from a discourse largely located in the African diaspora to an applied movement on the ground that became ever more prominent and relevant as a political concept.[184] The foundation of the OAU seemed to materialise this vision of a continental unity that would aid in overcoming the damages caused by colonial rule and develop competitive strength

180 Margery Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, 2nd ed. (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), lix.
181 Randi Rønning Balsvik, *Haile Selassie's Students: The Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1952–1977* (Addis Ababa; East Lansing, MI: Addis Ababa University Press; African Studies Center, Michigan State University, in cooperation with the Norwegian Council of Science and the Humanities, 2005), 209.
182 Balsvik, 206–7; Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, l–li.
183 Mission report, no date, in: UNESCO 008 (63) MP 03.
184 Also the emergence of the Rastafari movement in connection with the prophetic statements of Marcus Garvey's black nationalism was based on a version of the "Greater Ethiopia" image: the image of "Ethiopia as a sacred sovereign", Giulia Bonacci, "From Pan-Africanism to Rastafari: African American and Caribbean "Returns" to Ethiopia", in *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, ed. Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet (London: Hurst, 2015), 151.

on an international level.[185] Yet the process of African unification was challenged by a political division between more radical democratic demands and more conservative positions, resulting in the formation of different groups in pursuit of African unity. From an Ethiopian point of view, demanding the maintenance of national sovereignty for the newly created African states worked in favour of Ethiopian geopolitical interest, especially when the sanctity of colonial borders was invoked during the dispute over the Ogaden region. Through diplomatic efforts, Haile Selassie I eventually secured a position in which the Ethiopian approach would seem to represent the interest of the majority of the newly independent African states, overruling ideas of a continental integration, a continental government and any redrawing of boundaries.[186] Haile Selassie I's strategy included the installation of the headquarters of the OAU in Addis Ababa, officially promoting Ethiopia, and more specifically Addis Ababa, to the centre of inter-African diplomacy.[187]

The installation of the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa was part of a larger strategy by the Ethiopian government to establish Addis Ababa as a major location for African and international political conferences, and as a diplomatic hub. The Ethiopian government was able to provide a sufficiently independent infrastructure, including conference and office buildings, high-end hotels and the well-connected services of EAL. Furthermore, the image of Ethiopia as an African leader and the only stable African country played to the advantage of Haile Selassie I, who acted as spokesman for Africa on the international stage and managed in 1958 to secure Addis Ababa as the site for UNECA. UNECA, as well as several other UN agencies, could be conveniently housed in the newly built Africa Hall, a modern, representative building, provided at the cost of the Ethiopi-

185 Andreas Eckert, "Bringing the "Black Atlantic" into Global History: The Project of Pan-Africanism", in *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s–1930*, ed. Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 240 – 42; Peter O. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776 – 1963* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982), ix; Asfa-Wossen Asserate, *Der letzte Kaiser von Afrika: Triumph und Tragödie des Haile Selassie* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 2014), 291 – 99.

186 Ethiopia had a keen interest in opposing the strongest opponent of withdrawal, Somalia, as this would have cost Ethiopia some territory in the south, which, while populated mostly by Somalis, did have the prospect of oil reserves. Dereje Feyissa and Markus Virgil Hoehne, "One State Borders and Borderlands as Resources: An Analytical Framework", in *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa*, ed. Dereje Feyissa and Markus Virgil Hoehne (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 4 – 5; John Markakis, *Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (London: SAGE, 1998), 54.

187 Christopher S. Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 222.

an government.[188] Events such as the hosting of the UNESCO conference on education in African states in Addis Ababa in 1961 demonstrated the capacities that the Ethiopian government claimed for the country, and that others readily projected onto it.[189] In all these efforts, the representation of Ethiopia as a strong country on the diplomatic and the international stage was connected to the narrative of the "Great Tradition", enriched by the defeat of colonial rule as further proof of Ethiopian "Greatness".

The foreign image of Ethiopia

The construction of an image of the Ethiopian nation through images of heritage was influenced from the Western image of Ethiopian heritage as well. From the 1920s on, a shift in Ethiopian historiography emphasised the Ethiopian tradition as a unique and independent development, sharing roots with Western civilisations in ancient empires, scripture and Christianity. This historic exceptionalism was connected to a narrative that Ethiopian elites had cultivated for centuries and actualised with Western racist concepts and a distinct notion of not belonging, culturally speaking, to Africa. Ethiopian highland elites and Western diplomats alike did not consider Ethiopians as African. They believed that the larger part of Ethiopia had cultivated an atmosphere of a "splendid isolation", politically as well as culturally, to protect the Christian tradition against uncivilised influences from the African continent. These existing traditional racist prejudices towards the supposedly more "Negroid" population of the rest of Africa resonated with popular Western concepts of African inferiority. When Ethiopian political relations were re-routed to the European metropolises of the colonial empires during the nineteenth century, intellectual orientation, as a consequence, shifted towards Europe as well. In education and historiography, African affiliation was played down and Ethiopian history was instead rewritten in universal categories that allowed for an easier connection to the history of Western, Eurocentric civilisation.[190]

---

188 R.K.P.P., "The Economic Commission for Africa", *Ethiopia Observer* VII, no. 2 (1963): 99.
189 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Final Report" (Addis Ababa, May 15, 1961), v, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000077416.locale=en.
190 de Lorenzi, *Guardians of the Tradition*, 63–65; Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, xlix; Robin M. Derricourt, *Inventing Africa: History, Archeology and Ideas* (London; New York: Pluto Press, 2011), 105–6.

It is worth drawing attention to the image of Ethiopia held by international and development workers. In a fortunate amalgamation of Ethiopian historiography and heritage practice with Western representations and projections a specific image of Ethiopia was constructed, one that presented Ethiopia as Africa's only non-African country, endowed with civilisation, and therefore history and heritage as opposed to just folkloristic art. This image allowed for the perfect matching of selected Ethiopian heritage sites with the markers of authenticity for heritage as defined by Western experts when knowledge about Ethiopian cultural and natural heritage started to circulate through the expanding international networks. Publishing activities in particular, facilitated through UNESCO, contributed to the broad reach of the international heritage-expert's work.

Ethiopia's cultural heritage, per the mediation of UNESCO, raised favourable awareness in the broader public and was featured prominently several times in UNESCO publications. The sudden increase of photographic images relating to Ethiopia in these publications is particularly noteworthy. Not only were UNESCO's publications in the *Courier* or in scientific organs relevant to the promotion of the new image of Ethiopia to a Western intellectual public, but there was also a broader range of publications from experts or those declared to be such.[191] This was an extensive pool that reached beyond the sphere of conservation specialists that included diplomats, entrepreneurs, travellers and researchers alike, all of which communicated their findings and observations to each other, institutions, governments and the general public. The emerging fields of cultural and natural tourism, as well as the travel and exploration activities of foreign experts posted in Ethiopia, resulted in a growing number of publications and reports during the 1960s and 1970s. The most important common feature in these reports of Ethiopia was the presentation of a non-African, ancient empire. In this narrative, emphasis was placed on Ethiopia being a culture with non-African and Christian roots. This was employed to explain Ethiopian culture's quality as a civilisation, to which one could ascribe a certain superiority and even supremacy.

The UNESCO *Courier* featured articles about Ethiopia on several occasions between 1959 and 1967, all of which focused on Ethiopian antiquity and its historical exceptionalism. In 1959, an article titled "The Greatness of Ethiopia" lauded the geographical features of Ethiopia which "call to mind some of Europe's mountains rather than Africa", further explaining that the Ethiopian people had a unifying kinship to the white race "despite their dark skins" with the result "that long ago a civilisation grew up which distinguishes Ethiopia from the Negro-inhabited parts of Africa, by which it is largely surrounded, and which

191 More generally about the *Courier*: Maurel, *Histoire de l'UNESCO*, 159 – 60.

gives to the country affinities with the lands of ancient civilisation—Egypt, Syria and Arabia".[192] The article continues in praise of the substantive age of Ethiopian civilisation, as well as the high stage of development and uninterrupted, untouched continuous preservation, correlating these to Arabian provenance and firm Christian belief. In addition, images of the Aksum Obelisks are featured on the first page of the magazine, declaring Ethiopian history to be "one of the most intriguing chapters in African history".[193] Although this entire *Courier* issue dedicated to "Africa's Lost Past" was not short of articles about other African kingdoms and civilisations, written in the context of the endeavour of the African History project, the article on Ethiopia stood out because it insisted on the continuity of empire as opposed to the "lost", "unknown" or "forgotten" ones of other African countries. Ethiopia was distinguished because, in the eyes of the editors and writers of this *Courier* issue—as opposed to the rest of the African continent—its degree of civilisation had supposedly allowed it to remain in charge of its own history.

In 1961 UNESCO published a volume on Ethiopian manuscript paintings in the UNESCO World Art Series (UWAS).[194] What is striking about this album is the attitude of discovery in which it is made, which rings familiar with typical Western representations of non-Western cultures. Initially, WHO's maternal health specialist, the German Otto Jäger, stationed in Ethiopia from around 1958 onwards, turned to UNESCO after having seen some ancient manuscripts while traveling in the northern region around Gondar in a private capacity. He suggested to UNESCO that they should attend to them.[195] Jäger, together with the editor of the UWAS Peter Bellew, and an Italian photographer, undertook a tour of several weeks to gather the necessary material. The correspondence running in parallel to the production of the book reveals a strong sense of adventurism and entitlement, and an ostensible "us" and "them" perspective on Ethiopian people. Even the more distinguished research experts who were commissioned to write introductory essays for the volume reciprocated their explicit remarking of their "discovery" of the manuscript paintings on several occasions.[196]

192 Jean Doresse, "The Greatness of Ethiopia", *UNESCO Courier* 12, no. 10 (October 1959): 30.
193 N.N., "Giant Obelisk of Ancient Ethiopia", *UNESCO Courier* 12, no. 10 (October 1959): 2.
194 Jules Leroy, Otto A. Jäger, and Stephen G. Wright, *Ethiopia: Illuminated Manuscripts* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1961).
195 Letter from Otto Jäger, no date, in: UNESCO 7 UWAS (63).
196 Project correspondence, in particular between Stephen Wright and Peter Bellew, in: UNESCO 7 UWAS (63).

Upon on publication of the completed volume, the *Courier* dedicated an article to the topic, written by Abbé Jules Leroy, author of one of the book's introductory essays and former director of the "Institut éthiopien d'études et de recherches" (in the following: "Institut"). Again, the article emphasised the unique qualities of Ethiopian civilisation: "Here, at an elevation of seven to thirteen thousand feet, was created and developed a civilisation which, from the point of view of political and cultural achievement and from that of the artistic monuments which record its long history, has no parallel in all Tropical Africa."[197]

This article, while generally similar in tone and ideas to the 1959 one, once again explained the concept of a "non-Negroid" race, continuous advanced civilisation and a stronger link to the Arabian Peninsula than to Africa. Additionally, Leroy insisted very strongly that only through Christianity had a "flowering of art", on par with that of the Byzantine world, arrived and developed in Ethiopia.[198] Otto Jäger, who was criticised by the others involved in the book's production for his unsound interpretation of the Ethiopian manuscript paintings,[199] was nonetheless allowed to pen his own article on the paintings three years later in 1964 in the *Courier*, and was referred to as "author of several works on Ethiopian painting".[200] In a tone of popular science, he focused on art as a "folk tradition" and his article was devoid of the term "civilisation". However, he insisted on the continuity and greatness of the culture, and for illustration he chose photos of contemporary Ethiopia resembling scenes from the old paintings, such as religious procedures and clothing habits, aiming to depict a lifestyle of the Ethiopian people that had remained unchanged throughout the centuries. This article pointed out in direct terms that Ethiopia "culturally belongs to the world of the orient",[201] and was rich in orientalist descriptions and attitudes. It was in this regard not far from the other, more sound articles.

Richard Howland's 1967 mission concerning the establishment of the Ethiopian antiquities administration[202] prompted him to write an article for the *Courier*. Howland, a US-American Art Historian, introduced his readers to the subject with the impression of a deserted, uninhabited country, building up to the sur-

197 Jules Leroy, "The Art of Ethiopia's Painter-Scribes", *UNESCO Courier* 14, no. 12 (December 1961): 30.

198 Ibid. This research perspective, however, is certainly not surprising giving Leroy's clerical provenance.

199 Several letters in: UNESCO 7 UWAS (63).

200 Otto A. Jäger, "Art of Ethiopia", *UNESCO Courier* 17, no. 10 (October 1964): 23.

201 Jäger, 19.

202 See above, 2.2.

prising, unexpected discovery of the "incredible richness of the antiquities of Ethiopia" upon his arrival. Interestingly, Howland stressed this aspect: "This is a land of contrasts, it is so highly developed as a leader in contemporary African affairs, and yet so remote and medieval and untouched in its hinterlands. The antiquities are glorious and of international significance to archaeologists and art historians, but one travels to seek them outside the capital."[203] Unlike former articles, Ethiopian history was not a main focus here. Instead it centred on the value of its remains as veritable cultural heritage, living up to Western notions of the concept. Nonetheless, similar lines of argumentation reflecting the mainstream, essentialist ideas of Ethiopian Studies at that time were emphasised, although in more subtle language, speaking of "a sophisticated development that reflects Arab as well as European connexions".[204] In tone the article reads like an updated variant of the adventurism of the earlier articles, in the style of travel writing, pointing out the explorative challenge of the journey to the Ethiopian antiquities, but also mentioning the nascent touristic efforts and, of course, UNESCO's efforts to unify research and preservation of heritage.

Expatriate hobby-archaeologists

Beginning in the 1950s, Ethiopia's cultural heritage, especially the sites of early Christian worship such as the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela or the Tigray rock-churches, became known to the growing number of foreign experts that came to the country as diplomats or development workers and Ethiopia gained reputation as a "happy hunting ground for amateur scholar-adventurers".[205] In the same period, natural heritage also attracted interest, and Ethiopia was becoming known as a country for ornithologists and those interested in smaller rare animals. It also promised opportunities to observe nature away from the big game safaris and hunting-oriented tourism that was prevalent in other African countries. The unique landscape of the highland-plateau also attracted mountaineers and those interested in the country's geographic features.[206]

203 Ibid., 40.

204 Ibid.

205 David Richard Buxton, "Ethiopian Medieval Architecture: The Present State of Studies", *Journal of Semitic Studies* IX (1964): 239.

206 Brown, "Conservation of Nature", 2; Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and Jill Last, *Endemic Mammals of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1982); Emil K. Urban, *Shell Guide to Ethiopian Birds* (Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Tourist Organization, 1980).

Most of the first tourists in Ethiopia had not travelled purely for the purpose of visiting the country itself, but were there already to serve in the framework of development cooperation. These foreign experts had a decidedly practical advantage in comparison with other tourists and researchers. Outside of the capital and larger towns, mobility in Ethiopia was very limited. Though domestic flights connected the most important towns with Addis Ababa, any travel in the countryside required a four-wheel-drive with an experienced driver, or horses, mules and guides, due to the condition of the transport routes and general problems of navigation, especially during the rainy season. These circumstances rendered traveling in Ethiopia a costly and time-consuming enterprise, which required a certain flexibility in terms of schedule, and was difficult to organise from afar if one did not have local contacts.[207]

A particularly good example of the hobby-archaeologists' part in the production of a historical imaginary of Ethiopia is the so-called discovery of the numerous rock churches in Tigray, northern Ethiopia, through a number of foreigners during the 1950s and 1960s. These rock churches were located in a remote and secluded part of northern Ethiopia, and had supposedly existed as continuous places of worship over several centuries and contained murals as well as Christian manuscripts. Their existence had intrigued some of the international development workers who were posted to the region, and word of them quickly spread to Addis Ababa. One of these workers was Otto Jäger, who was posted on a WHO assignment in Tigray and had started exploring the churches near him.[208] A story similar to that of Otto Jäger is that of Ivy Pearce, born in Great Britain and raised in New Zealand, a nurse, missionary and teacher at the Haile Selassie I University.[209] During her time in Ethiopia, she travelled to the rock-churches of Tigray several times, initially inspired by Otto Jäger's reports. She organised these tours as field trips for herself and other interested foreigners. In 1972, with Otto Jäger, she published the guide book *Antiquities in Northern Ethiopia*.[210] Ivy Pearce notably glorified the early Christian tradition and its continuous existence in her writings, stating that her own Christian belief had prompted her to spread the

207 Organised trips (like the one offered from Swan Tours, see ch. 1) were taking place but presented an exception. The number of available hotel beds and the general tourist statistics illustrate the extent of tourism: Gaidoni, "Cultural Tourism", 51–53; Ianus. Organizzazione per gli studi e le ricerche di economia applicata S. p. A., *Ethiopian Tourist Development Plan*, 22–24.
208 See above, he produced the UWAS Album on Ethiopian manuscript paintings.
209 Pearce, *An Ethiopian Harvest*, back cover.
210 Otto A. Jäger and Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia: A Guide* (Stuttgart; London: Brockhaus; Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1974); Ivy Pearce, "An Andrews Adventure and Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Cave and Rock Churches of Lasta", *Ethiopia Observer* 12, no. 3 (1969): 142–63.

knowledge about the rock-churches and Ethiopia in general. In terms of more official and institutional research, the "Institut" would only embark on its first scientific, systematic mission of the churches in 1970, ten years after Otto Jäger's first tour.[211]

At the beginning of the 1960s, barely any general introductory literature, travel writing or guidebooks on Ethiopia existed, which is why writings and reports of private travels and tours in Ethiopia were received with great interest by European publishers and magazines.[212] The earliest book of this kind was the illustrated book *Lalibela* by Irmgard Bidder, published in 1959 and containing a report of her travel there, with numerous photographs of the rock-hewn churches, as well as her attempt at periodisation and connecting Ethiopian history within the occidental historiography.[213] In her foreword, she declared her intention: "This book [...] would like to draw the reader's attention to a historical and religious centre of Ethiopia and to stimulate scientific research."[214] Bidder was the wife of the German ambassador to Ethiopia and for her expedition she was able to rely on the official support of the government as well as the church.[215] Like Ivy Pearce later, she was officially received by the governor of Tigray and was equipped by him with mules, guides and armed guards for the entire time of her trip.[216]

Between 1964 and 1967, Georg Gerster, a Swiss photographer holding a PhD in philosophy, travelled around Ethiopia and also published a book about Lalibela. The essays for his book were contributions from scientific experts, and he produced high-quality aerial photographs, publishing his images in *National Geographic* and other internationally acclaimed magazines.[217] For Gerster, his stay in Ethiopia represented his personal "search for the holy grail", which he

211 N.N., "Une mission scientifique étudie les Eglises-Rocs du Tigre", *Ethiopie nouvelles touristiques* 2, no. 7 (1973): 1.

212 R.D. Greenfield, "Ethiopian Itineraries: Some Routes in Northern Ethiopia", *Ethiopia Observer* 6, no. 4 (1963): 313.

213 Irmgard Bidder, *Lalibela* (Köln: DuMont, 1959).

214 "Dieses Buch [...] möchte die Aufmerksamkeit der Leser auf ein historisches und religiöses Zentrum Äthiopiens lenken und die Forschung der Wissenschaftler anregen", [translation by the author], ibid., 7.

215 Entering the churches, especially for the purpose of photographing murals and manuscripts, required not only an official permit and letter of recommendation; it depended ultimately on the final decision of the priest in charge of guarding the site. All of the books and articles discussed here give a detailed account of these difficulties.

216 Pearce, "An Andrews Adventure"; Bidder, *Lalibela*, 31–33.

217 Georg Gerster, "Searching out Medieval Churches in Ethiopia's Wilds", *National Geographic* 138, no. 6 (December 1970): 856–84.

claimed to have found in the isolation and intensity of the early Christian tradition he experienced in Lalibela. Ethiopia was not Gerster's first engagement producing images for the cause of universal heritage – he had already photographed some of the most spectacular images for the Nubian Monuments Campaign.[218] Gerster in fact became one of the most important producers of images for the occidental historical discourse that had evolved since the 1960s around the alleged re-discovery of Ethiopia.[219]

Due to their rich and unique images, these new publications were received with vivid interest by the general public and within the field of Ethiopian Studies. The detailed documentation of the churches and religious ceremonies were considered highly valuable and appreciated by researchers. The hypotheses brought forward by the lay-historians, however, faced criticism.[220] Ethiopian cultural and natural heritage had by that time surpassed its existence as a niche interest known only to a few experts, and was no longer a hermetic discourse of insiders. The establishment of these broader international networks, that included but were not limited to experts and international organisations, is an important factor in the image and knowledge production that formed part of the making of Ethiopian heritage during the 1960s and 1970s.

Lavishly illustrated publications such as these allow us to trace how Ethiopia's image as the country of the "Great Tradition" gained in currency from the 1950s onward. They further show that knowledge production about Ethiopian heritage sites was not the exclusive domain of experts but, rather, was open to contributions by many other actors as well. They are a phenomenon accompanying the "boom years" of Ethiopian heritage-making in the 1960s and '70s. International publications like coffee table books, travel guides and photo-essays mirrored each other's representation of Ethiopia as Africa's only empire. The selection of photographs and drawings as well as the canon topics centred around the narrative of the monumental remains of an advanced civilisation, the Queen of Sheba myth and the endurance of early Christian culture in an isolated location and unique natural features. This international coverage helped

218 For example the photos of the dismantling of the Nubian monuments, letter from Conrad A. Beerli to Georg Gerster, 30.9.63, in: UNESCO 069:72, A 14; Georg Gerster, "Saving the Ancient Temples at Abu Simbel", *National Geographic* 129, no. 5 (May 1966): 694–742.

219 N.N., "Un imagier de l'Ethiopie: le Dr. Georg Gerster", *Ethiopie nouvelles touristiques* 1, no. 10 (1972): 3.

220 Especially, Irmgard Bidder's attempt to argue for a pre-Christian origin of the churches was considered untenable. Nonetheless, the book still presented a milestone for the research on Lalibela because of its detailed photographs and drawings; Sylvia Pankhurst, "Mrs. Bidder on the Trail", *Ethiopia Observer* 4, no. 7 (June 1960): 229–34.

the promotion of Ethiopia through images of national heritage gain significant momentum.

Heritage-making in Ethiopia was a state affair, and consequently the image production was controlled through censorship, which applied to all publications and press produced and published in Ethiopia. Haile Selassie I's and Mengistu's personal support of projects involving the location of cultural heritage, and the book projects resulting from it, illustrates the decided importance of heritage-making and the monopolisation of the related image and knowledge-production in the Ethiopian political landscape. The books of Irmgard Bidder on Lalibela or Georg Gerster on the stone churches, for example, not only make ample reference to the generous support and permission of Haile Selassie I; both books also include a personal forward by the emperor, as well as his portrait. In publications addressed to a broader Western audience, a foreword by Haile Selassie I was mandatory for an authorisation for publication by the Ethiopian government. When the UWAS Album on Ethiopian manuscript paintings was reaching its final production stages, the publisher was obliged to include a portrait and foreword of the emperor in order to receive the final permission for publication.[221]

This control of image and knowledge-production ensured that images of Ethiopian heritage would only circulate in a tightly determined manner and in the service of building-up an international Ethiopian national identity. In the book *Churches in Rock* by Georg Gerster, Haile Selassie I's words were:

> Ethiopia is proud of its culture, which is without interruption from the fourth century AD to today. This is owed to the Christian faith, which victoriously withheld all influences and disturbances throughout the times and remained firmly anchored in Ethiopian culture. [...] currently foreign researchers from various countries, together with the United Nations and the *Institute*, are working towards conserving this heritage and finding out as much as possible about the creators of these monuments and their lifes [sic].[222]

While the conservation of heritage eventually slowed down under the socialist regime, the use of heritage as a tool of representation to produce and hold up Ethiopia's national image internationally was still relevant. The socialist government, too, commissioned Western journalists, scholars and other experts to produce coffee table books, highlighting Ethiopian heritage. Although these books did not usually include government promotion in explicit terms, the circulation of images of historical and natural wonders nevertheless promoted the country

221 Several letters concerning the finalising of the book production, in: UNESCO 7 UWAS (63).
222 Georg Gerster, *Churches in Rock: Early Christian Art in Ethiopia* (London: Phaidon, 1970), 1.

in a positive way and therefore strengthened the government, particularly given the restricted access policy of the government to the heritage sites in the north, the places of main interest to foreigners. Between 1984 and 1988, the Ethiopian government under Mengistu Halie Mariam commissioned the British journalist Graham Hancock to produce a representative coffee table book and several other publications, all to promote the country in a positive way through history and culture. Hancock worked together with scholars of Ethiopian Studies on these publications, most notably with the renowned Ethiopian Studies expert Richard Pankhurst, who served as the director of Addis Ababa University's Institute of Ethiopian Studies for many years. For researching and photographing the historical sites, they were equipped with a government permit and granted special access privileges to the areas in the North, closed off due to war and conflict.[223]

The superlative narratives of Ethiopia peaked with the discovery of the supposedly oldest humanoid remains in 1974. Even though paleontological expeditions were conducted in Ethiopia since 1902 (Omo Valley), only in the 1960s did Ethiopian excavation sites of early human stone tools and humanoid remains gain international attention, inside the scientific community as well as from the general public. In the Omo Valley, a primary site of interest with a unique richness of geological and paleontological remains, a multidisciplinary team of French, Kenyan and US-researchers unearthed, among other things, the skeleton of Lucy, or *dinknesh* in Amharic, then the oldest known humanoid remains.[224] Lucy and other fossils quickly served as a powerful image spreading and creating the idea of Ethiopia as the "cradle of humanity" —an image that fitted well into the existing narrative of Ethiopia as one of the oldest advanced civilisations in Africa with a supposedly unceasing legacy. In the 1984 publication *Ethiopia – A Decade of Revolutionary Transformation 1974–1984*, the Propaganda and Culture Committee of the Founding Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia wrote the ten-year history of the new revolutionary government as a Marxist story of advancing the centuries-old struggle for total freedom from serfdom, listing achievements in education, health and mass political organisation. Preceding these praises and their statistical illustration was an eight-page introduction explaining Ethiopian ancient history and Ethiopian exceptionalism as key foundations for the revolutionary success. Ethiopia, the text explained, was naturally put in control of the surrounding regions, due to its highland-ge-

223 Graham Hancock, *The Sign and the Seal: The Quest for the Lost Ark of the Covenant* (London: Arrow, 2001), 8–9, 43; Hancock explicitly refers to the following book as a result of such a commission: Graham Hancock, Richard Pankhurst, and Duncan Willetts, *Under Ethiopian Skies* (London; Nairobi: Editions HL, 1983).

224 Derricourt, *Inventing Africa*, 83–84.

ography, and was in possession of a "wealth of untapped natural resources".[225] In referring to archaeological studies, the pre-historical findings and the possibility of Ethiopia as the origin of man were connected to the history of the Ethiopian civilisation, accompanied by a photograph of the Lucy-skeleton. On the following pages, photographs of well-known monuments illustrated the historical overview until the twentieth century: the Aksum obelisks, a Lalibela-church, a stela from the South of Ethiopia and the Gondar-castles.

Historicising the national territory

History and heritage were the foundations for the construction of a Pan-Ethiopian national identity, and had a special role in the transformation of Ethiopian society. The national question is seen by many as one of the core continuities along which the political revolutions and conflicts in Ethiopia during the twentieth century developed.[226] Beginning under Haile Selassie I in the 1960s, the construction of national identity was a state project, employing education and historiography to graft a dominant historical narrative of an Amharic "Greater Ethiopia" onto the existing socio-political realities. To understand this, it is necessary to understand the diverse composition of the Ethiopian society as a multiethnic society populating a vast territory, stretching over different climate zones.

A good starting point to understand the complex and conflictual nature of a united Ethiopian national identity is reviewing the manifold different attempts to categorise the composition of Ethiopian society. There is no one common sense model which serves as the starting point to explain modern Ethiopia, but many individual interpretations. This is true not only of more directly political or otherwise propagandistic writings, but also in most works from the field of Ethiopian Studies.[227]

---

225 Propaganda and Culture Committee of the Founding Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia & 10th Anniversary of the Revolution, *Ethiopia*, 11.

226 Bahru Zewde, *The Quest for Socialist Utopia: The Ethiopian Student Movement, c. 1960 – 1974* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: James Curry, 2014), 187 – 221.

227 See the overview in Teshale Tibebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896 – 1974* (Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1995), xxii–xxiv; most of the works cited here vary from each other in how they conceptualise the base line of distinctions in Ethiopian society, e. g. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 29; John Markakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1978), 21 – 29; Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity*, 20 – 26; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855 – 1991* (Oxford; Athens, OH; Addis Ababa: James Curry; Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press, 2001), 1 – 10; Gascon and Pourtier, *La Grande Éthiopie*, 204 – 5; Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, 49 – 69; Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet, eds.,

As a starting point, the people living in the territorial boundaries of the Ethiopian state could be divided according to four major religious groups: Orthodox-Christian, Muslim, Falasha-Jewish and various pagan traditions. They could also be divided according to the nine major language groups: Amhara, Tigrina, Gurage, Saho, Gada, Somali, Sidama, Afar and Beja. Their classification as ethnic groups, however, leads down a slippery slope. Historically, many of today's ethnic identities cannot be traced back long before the nineteenth century, for only a few of them have a written tradition, and historical linguistic research indicates layered and complex processes of language-related identity formation.[228] It is the subject of ongoing debate as to how the ethnic groups in the Horn of Africa evolved over time and along which lines they should be distinguished from one another.[229] And while some works of research calculate over seventy languages, these languages often just vary to the degree of a dialect from each other. To equate spoken language with ethnicity signals a flawed reasoning. Likewise, ethnicities do not run along the geographical or geological borders, nor along administrative units. Save for Falasha-Jewish, religious affiliation is spread across the linguistic groups and the regions. Often, ethnic self-designation of certain groups varied from their political and linguistic categorisations, following a discursive dynamic rather than changes in the socio-cultural realities of a region. These categories and their delineation play a crucial role in most social and political conflicts in recent Ethiopian history, but they only make sense when read against a context of climate, geography and administrative and political boundaries.

Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi (London: Hurst, 2015), 17–22.

228 Wolbert Smidt, "The Tigrinnya-Speakers across the Borders", in *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa*, ed. Dereje Feyissa and Markus Virgil Höhne (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2010), 61–84.

229 On the problem of the political construction of ethnicities in Ethiopia see the introduction in Donald L. Donham and Wendy James, eds., *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, 2nd ed. (Oxford; Athens, OH; Addis Ababa: James Currey; Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press, 1986); and the very detailed breakdown of the proclaimed groups and identities and the subaltern position especially of the Oromo in: Éloi Ficquet and Dereje Feyissa, "Ethiopians in the Twenty-First Century: The Structure and the Transformation of the Population", in *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, ed. Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet (London: Hurst, 2015), 17–51.

Some scholars have tried to understand the history of Ethiopia through the history of its natural resources and as environmental history.[230] The variety of geographical and climate zones, ranging from mountainous highland regions to lowland deserts and tropical rainforests, appears to offer an obvious and more neutral feature of diversification and the opportunity to grasp the influential historical trajectories by looking at the different agricultural traditions. The Semitic highland communities in the north relied on sedentary ox-plough agriculture of grain crops, and the pastoralist, nomadic low-land communities in the south cultivated starch crops. This categorising of landscapes, too, however has quite significant socio-political implications, as this process is far from being unanimously conducted, or appreciated.[231] Communities, government agencies and international experts each have varying interpretations of the existing categories, and environmental crisis and the exploitation of natural resources influence the value ascribed to different zones.[232] It was within national state politics that these concepts of an environmental determination of Ethiopian society were established alongside cultural identities as defining elements for an Ethiopian historiography.[233] Several competing international mapping missions during the 1960s and 1970s contributed to a database of maps on Ethiopia that has yet to be deconstructed, in order to be properly interpreted.[234] The north-south division of Ethiopia is best understood as being "not simply geographical, nor merely historical"[235] and is first and foremost a helpful analytical starting point, important to understand the socio-political aspects of Ethiopian history

230 James C. McCann, *People of the Plow: An Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800 – 1990* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); James C. McCann, *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa, 1800 – 1990* (Portsmouth, NH; Oxford: Heinemann; James Currey, 1999), 79 – 108; Pour une histoire environnementale de l'Éthiopie, Études rurales, 197/1 (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2016), https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10619.

231 Very differentiated maps for climate and crop divisions are provided in Gascon and Pourtier, *La Grande Éthiopie*, 202, 206.

232 Bertrand Hirsch, "Une histoire de la violence", *Études rurales* 197, no. 1 (2016): 173, https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10705.

233 Guillaume Blanc and Grégory Quenet, "Les études éthiopiennes et l'environnement", *Études rurales* 197, no. 1 (2016): 17 – 19, https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10638.

234 Little is known about the history of cartography in Ethiopia from 1900 on; some basic information: Wolbert Smidt, "Cartography from the 18th Century Onward", in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003); Mekete Mekete Belachew, "Modern Cartography", in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003); Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, "The Imperial Ethiopian Mapping and Geographical Institute", *Professional Geographer* 8, no. 2 (1956): 6 – 7, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0033-0124.1956.082_6.x.

235 Markakis and Ayele, *Class and Revolution*, 21.

in general and indispensable to understanding the history of the Ethiopian World Heritage sites in a national and local context.

The complex diversity of the Ethiopian society reflected a profound structural inequality that characterised Ethiopian society at the beginning of the 1960s. The reasons for this inequality have their roots in a number of historical-political developments. Throughout the twentieth century, the evolving hierarchy of the different social and ethnic groups in relation to the central government and to the provincial rulers can be traced in a geographical manifestation of centre-periphery or north-south inequality.[236] The nation-building process in Ethiopia started at the end of the "Era of the Princes", with the re-centralisation of imperial authority under Tewodros II in 1855. Under the reign of Emperor Menelik II at the end of the nineteenth century, the territorial expansion came to a high point. Menelik II established a centralised government through imperial invasion and diplomacy, but the government failed to fully develop its capacities under his reign and was subsequently weakened in the period of Italian colonial occupation. Broadly speaking, over the course of Menelik II's twenty years of centralisation efforts, different levels of adaptation to the new bureaucratic and patrimonial imperial structures resulted in varying degrees of assimilation and integration of specific groups into the main transformation processes of Ethiopian society overall.[237] While some of the provinces united under Menelik II maintained relative political power, others were completely overtaken and subject to resettlement policies. The provinces from the south in particular were forced to take in settlers from the north, and were ruled by imposed governors who were compensated for their political and land-right losses in the north by the granting of these positions.[238] The varying degrees of soil-fertility in the different regions added a strong geopolitical aspect to north-south inequality. The differences in highland and lowland climate and agricultural traditions compelled the imperial regime, as well as the socialist one, to conceptualise the country's South as a resource to be exploited in order to meet the needs of the North which it supplied with food, land or labour power.[239]

The uneven distribution of resources was a crucial factor in terms of inequality, not only due to climatic features but also because of traditional systems of land tenure and their rapid transformation throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Exploitative sub-state level organisational structures of society had

236 Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 181.

237 And also a varying degree of integration into the leading historical narrative for the nation, Toggia, "History Writing", 335–36.

238 Bahru Zewde, *A History*, 87–90.

239 Gascon and Pourtier, *La Grande Éthiopie*, 180–82.

encouraged and enabled the systematic extraction of surplus value at the expense of peasants over centuries.[240] Different land tenure systems had developed in the North and the South. While in both systems the right of the nobility to collect tribute – *gult* – existed, peasants in the North were protected through a form of private ownership, the *rist* system, in which land-rights were inheritable, but not sellable on the market. In the process of state modernisation and centralisation of power, *gult*-holders in the South were encouraged and allowed to turn their domains into private property. This effectively turned large parts of the peasant population of the southern provinces into wage workers with no rights to the land they lived on.[241] This process, which had started under Haile Selassie I's government, significantly fuelled the consolidation and mobilisation of revolutionary forces from the peasants of the south during the 1974 revolution.[242] North-South inequality was a central topic in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary socialist propaganda.

Just two months after the outbreak of the revolution, the Derg implemented a rigorous land reform with the total nationalisation of all land and complete eradication of private land ownership. Although the legal situation of the southern population of tenants and landless peasants improved largely through this reform, in effect the stringent state control of agricultural production, including forced resettlement and collectivisation as well as fixed government prices, put a further strain on the rural population. The growing discontent and anxiety of the rural population, in turn, fuelled the militant oppositional upsurge starting in the north and leading to the overthrow of the Derg in 1987.[243]

The north-south and the centre-periphery dichotomies were for a long period widely accepted among Ethiopians and foreign scholars alike.[244] It does not, however, hold up to more recent analysis, which suggests viewing the periphery as a constructed political entity that would vary over time and did not constitute a homogeneous entity at any given point, nor did an idea of the "historical core zone" of the Ethiopian state. Creating a centre and a periphery began with the

240 Donald Crummey, "Banditry and Resistance: Noble and Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Ethiopia", in *Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa*, ed. Donald Crummey (London; Portsmouth, NH: James Currey; Heinemann, 1986), 133.

241 Crummey, Donald, *Land and Society in the Kingdom of Ethiopia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 226 – 260.

242 Bahru Zewde, *The Quest for Socialist Utopia*, 126 – 27.

243 Bahru Zewde, *A History*, 241 – 43; Dessalegn Rahmato also points out the disintegrating effect of the villagisation and land reform efforts under the Derg: Dessalegn Rahmato, *Famine and Survival Strategies: A Case Study from Northeast Ethiopia* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1991), 25 – 26.

244 Triulzi, "Battling with the Past", 276.

establishment of the new capital, Addis Ababa, around 1900, which sat at the conceptualised centre of the imagined totality of Ethiopian space.[245] Nonetheless, it is this constructed centre-periphery and north-south divide that must be understood in order to analyse the politicisation of heritage in Ethiopia. The idea of centre and periphery, and north and south, became a central structuring principle of governance and readily lent itself to a teleology of nation-building, declaring it as essential for national unity that the peripheral regions orientate and subordinate themselves progressively to the national core of the central government. The historical narrative of state modernisation as a completion of the destiny of an Ethiopian national state in the territory of "Greater Ethiopia" and that had supposedly evolved naturally over centuries was one constructed along these lines, and fruitfully fed into these politics.[246]

Heritage and the claim to Greater Ethiopia

While competing historical narratives formed a crucial part of the revolutionary and oppositional movements in Ethiopia, they all shared a common ground in the historic anchoring of a contemporary Ethiopian society to the "Great Tradition". In an attempt to pursue modernisation by finding a true tradition, a claim reiterated by the imperial as well as the socialist government, the Aksumite Empire was referenced as a model of success and as an anchoring point for the origin as well as the destiny and future of the Ethiopian nation in the historic discourse.[247] In addition to the culturally assimilated national identity, a territorial

245 Donald L. Donham, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History", in *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, ed. Wendy James and Donald L. Donham, 2nd ed. (Oxford; Athens, OH; Addis Ababa: James Currey; Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), 20, 31; Alessandro Triulzi, "Nekemte and Addis Ababa: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule", in *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, ed. Donald L. Donham and Wendy James, 2nd ed. (Oxford; Athens, OH; Addis Ababa: James Currey; Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), 68; Christopher S. Clapham, "Controlling Space in Ethiopia", in *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, ed. Wendy James et al. (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), 11.

246 Clapham, "Controlling Space", 11.

247 This is classified as an intellectual tradition of Ethiopia which is based on importing foreign concepts as Ethiopian interpretations, resulting in using European ideas to discover a specific Ethiopian solution, and to stimulate change, Matteo Salvadore, ""Knowledge Is an Immovable Eternal Law Which Rules the World": Gäbre-Heywät Baykädan's Blueprint for Ethiopia's Sovereign Modernity", in *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, ed. Svein Ege et al., vol. 1 (Trondheim: Department of Social Anthropology, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2009), 131.

unity was manifested in the claim to "Greater Ethiopia", insisting on a delineation of the Ethiopian state including Eritrea and parts of Somalia (the Ogaden).

In a way, the Derg continued these centralisation efforts in a very radical way by the means of their project of *encadrement*, a restructuring of the existing provinces as ethnic provinces, completely replacing the existing administrative units. This meant creating a national identity through the creation of a new spatial structure and breaking apart the power of existing ones.[248]

The ethnonationalism of the radicalised political movements was in opposition to the national unity of the claim to a "Greater Ethiopia", and the proponents of the various ethnonationalist movements spoke of the Ethiopian empire as an Amhara-dominated colonial enterprise. This rhetoric and approach by these various movements intensified and radicalised drastically in reaction to the authoritarianism of the Derg regime.[249]

Haile Selassie I attempted the project of governing a unified "Greater Ethiopia" as the leader of all ethnic groups united by the framework and the supposedly shared history of the great Ethiopian heritage. The revised constitution of 1955 consequently contained an explicit reference to this narrative and a claim to direct lineage for Haile Selassie I as a descendant of Menelik I and the Queen of Sheba— he was supposedly the two hundred and twenty-fifth descendant in this direct line.[250] The exhibition of ethnicities and cultures in the museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies supported this colonial strategy of expressing a wide claim to territory and political power through the representation of cultures in a museum.[251] Complementing these political actions, the "Greater Ethiopia" claim was rigorously transported as the ideological underpinning of national representation, with most of the image production related to Ethiopian heritage.

In 1962, the Ministry of Informationpublished a large-format brochure of one hundred and fifty pages entitled *Image of Ethiopia*, including colour photographs and illustrations and a comprehensive overview of all aspects of political, social and economic developments.[252] Preceded by a biography of the emperor and portraits of him and the empress, the first chapter of the brochure provided

248 Clapham, "Controlling Space", 14–24.

249 Messay Kebede, *Ideology and Elite Conflicts: Autopsy of the Ethiopian Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2011), 287–305. However, the primacy of ethnic over social and economic reasons for the insurgencies is at least questionable today and remains difficult to assess.

250 Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopians* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 24; Hancock, *The Sign*, 24.

251 Stanislaw Chojnacki, "The Preservation of Ethiopia's Cultural Heritage (Lecture Delivered at the Meeting of the Society of Friends)" (Addis Ababa, December 18, 1969).

252 Ministry of Information, ed., *Image of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Press, 1962).

a four-page historical introduction. This chapter illustrates the enduring relevance and role of monumental heritage sites in the government's self-presentation and self-perception, and reveals the crafting of a ruling historical narrative: "Ethiopia, one of the oldest countries of the world and the senior independent nation of the African continent, has a long and uninterrupted history dating from before the Christian Era.[...] The Ethiopian people is of an ancient race [...] preserved through investigation and by monuments, stelae and inscriptions, in an area extending from the Red Sea Coast to the southern lakes." Starting with a paragraph on the Solomonic roots of the Ethiopian imperial dynasty, followed by just a single sentence on the "325 recorded rulers" since then, the main consideration was given to an extended praise of Menelik II's centralisation efforts and Haile Selassie I's reforms as the main achievements in modern Ethiopian history. Such claims about recent events contrasted with photographs of the pre- and early Christian monuments in Aksum and Gondar which accompanied the text.

On the very first page upon opening the brochure, the readers were presented with an outline-map of Ethiopia, and small drawings of monuments, animals, crops and industrial and transport infrastructure strewn across the map. This type of outline-map of Ethiopia, delineating a blank territory on the inside, can be found on publications from all periods. The maps prominently featured iconic depictions of Ethiopian heritage, natural and cultural, or ethnic peoples. Most common was a map showing the "Greater Ethiopia" outline with isolated emblematic depictions of heritage and culture, such as in the pamphlet *Bird's Eye View of Ethiopia* published in the late 1960s by the Ethiopian Tourist Organisation (ETO), which has only the large Aksum Obelisk hovering over the otherwise blank space of the isolated Ethiopian outline map.

Outline-maps of Ethiopia were circulated widely, to a range of audiences. In the national atlas for Ethiopia, which was produced in three editions in 1962, 1981 and 1988, the numerous illustrated maps of Ethiopia did not include neighbouring territories, with the state boundaries surrounded by the white background of the pages. This establishment of a national geo-body as a demonstration of national sovereignty over a certain territory and people served to delineate the imagined community.[253] On brochures and government publications, currency, stamps and letterheads, the Ethiopian geo-body was the logo

253 Jordana Dym, "Democratizing the Map: The Geo-Body and National Cartography in Guatemala, 1821–2010", in *Decolonizing the Map: Cartography from Colony to Nation*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017), 163 shows this for Guatemala.

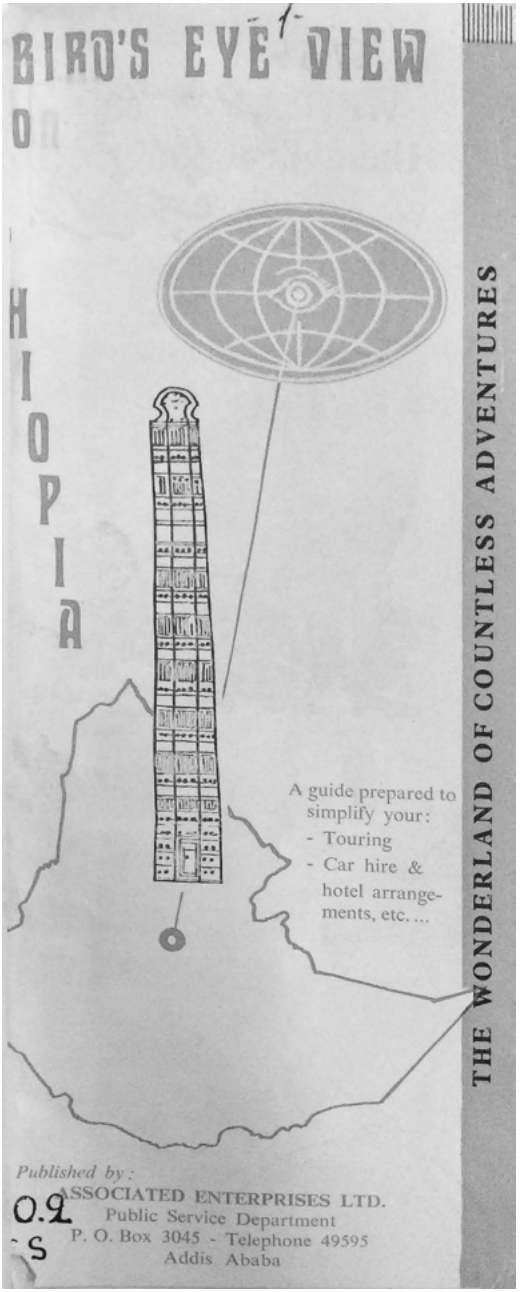


Figure 4: Cover image, *Bird's Eye View of Ethiopia*, Associated Enterprises Ltd. Addis Ababa, n.y.

of the Ethiopian nation and, together with the iconic drawings of monuments and natural features, became part of a lasting national inventory.[254]

The representation of Ethiopian heritage sites on these outline maps conceptually defined, located and evenly distributed patrimonial resources across the national landscape.[255] The Greater Ethiopia on these maps was presented as the national territory, filled with a collage of icons of heritage and culture, leaving no blank space in-between, such as in the 1976 *Tourism Review*.[256] On the cover, which states in both English and Amharic the title of the brochure as well as the fact that it is published by the Ethiopian Tourism and Hotel Commission, watercolour paintings of ancient monuments, modern churches, the modern town hall of Addis Ababa, wildlife and scenes of rural and religious life are merged into a colourful array within the outline of Ethiopia, surrounded by the completely blank and monochrome territories of the neighbouring states.

On the cover of the 1989 publication of the Ethiopian Ministry of Information *Ethiopia: A Cradle of History* are drawings of the main monuments of the World Heritage sites in Aksum, Gondar, Lalibela, Harar and the pre-historic site of Sidamo, placed within an outline map which is transparent and layered over a panoramic photo of the Ethiopian highlands, filling the entire page as a background image on the cover. This book brought together an essay on the historic development of Ethiopia and a selection of maps illustrating the history of the Ethiopian state. The actual language of the text and the visual language of the maps suggested Ethiopian state history as the centre of regional development, and a continuous, consequent outwards expansion of the Ethiopian empire throughout the past centuries.

Heritage and territorial conflicts in the Horn of Africa

The claim to power of the central Ethiopian government of the pre- and post-revolutionary period was not only contested internally, but more critically in the direct regional surroundings. Ethiopia's territorial demands were legitimised, from the official Ethiopian viewpoint, by the historical tradition that was claimed as

254 Sarah A. Radcliffe, "National Maps, Digitalisation and Neoliberal Cartographies: Transforming Nation-State Practices and Symbols in Postcolonial Ecuador", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 34, no. 4 (2009): 429 shows this for Ecuador.

255 The concept of the "patrimonial resource" is borrowed here from Lisa Breglia, who made similar findings in Mexico: Breglia, *Monumental Ambivalence*, 30.

256 Ethiopian Tourism & Hotel Commission, ed., *Ma-hdara turizem / Tourism review* (Addis Ababa: Tourism Promotion Department of the Ethiopian Tourism & Hotel Commission, 1979).

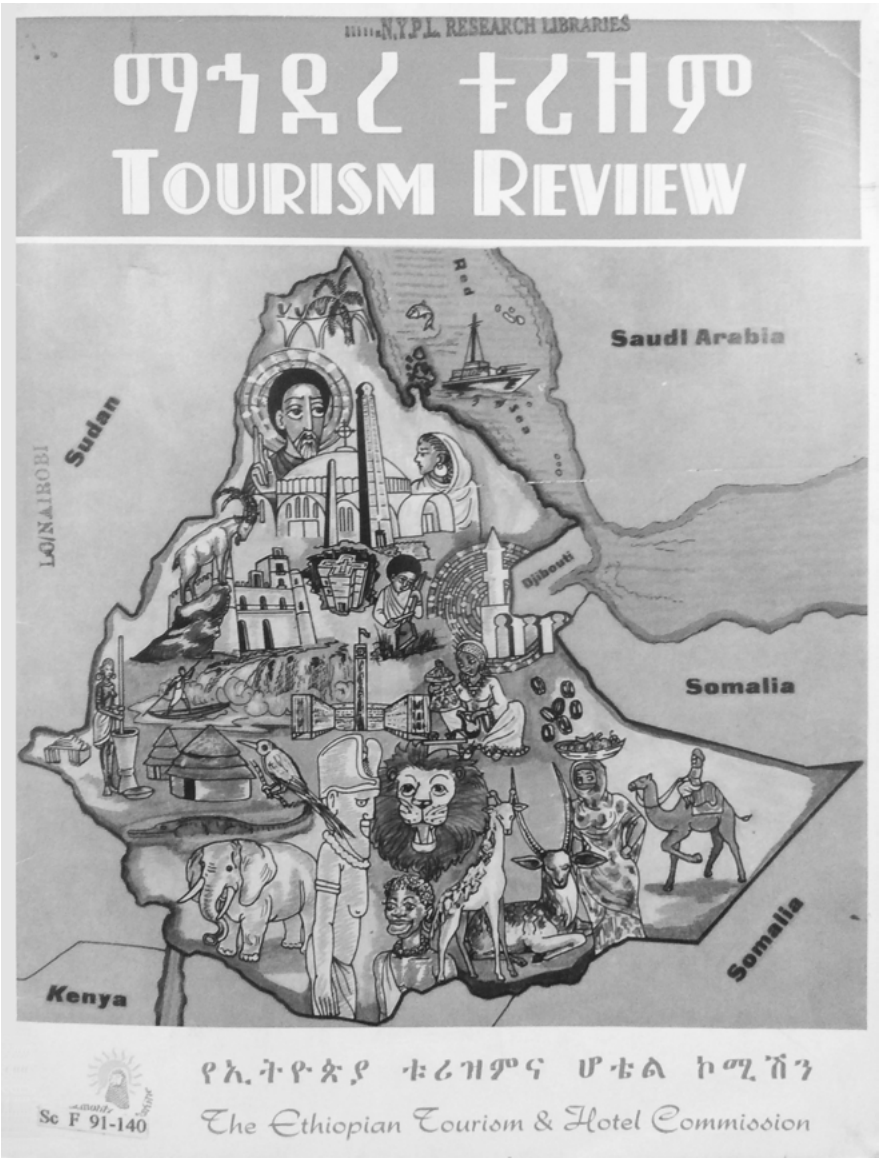


Figure 5: Ethiopian Tourism & Hotel Commission, ed. 1979. *Ma-hdara turizem / Tourism review.* Addis Ababa: Tourism Promotion Department of the Ethiopian Tourism & Hotel Commission.

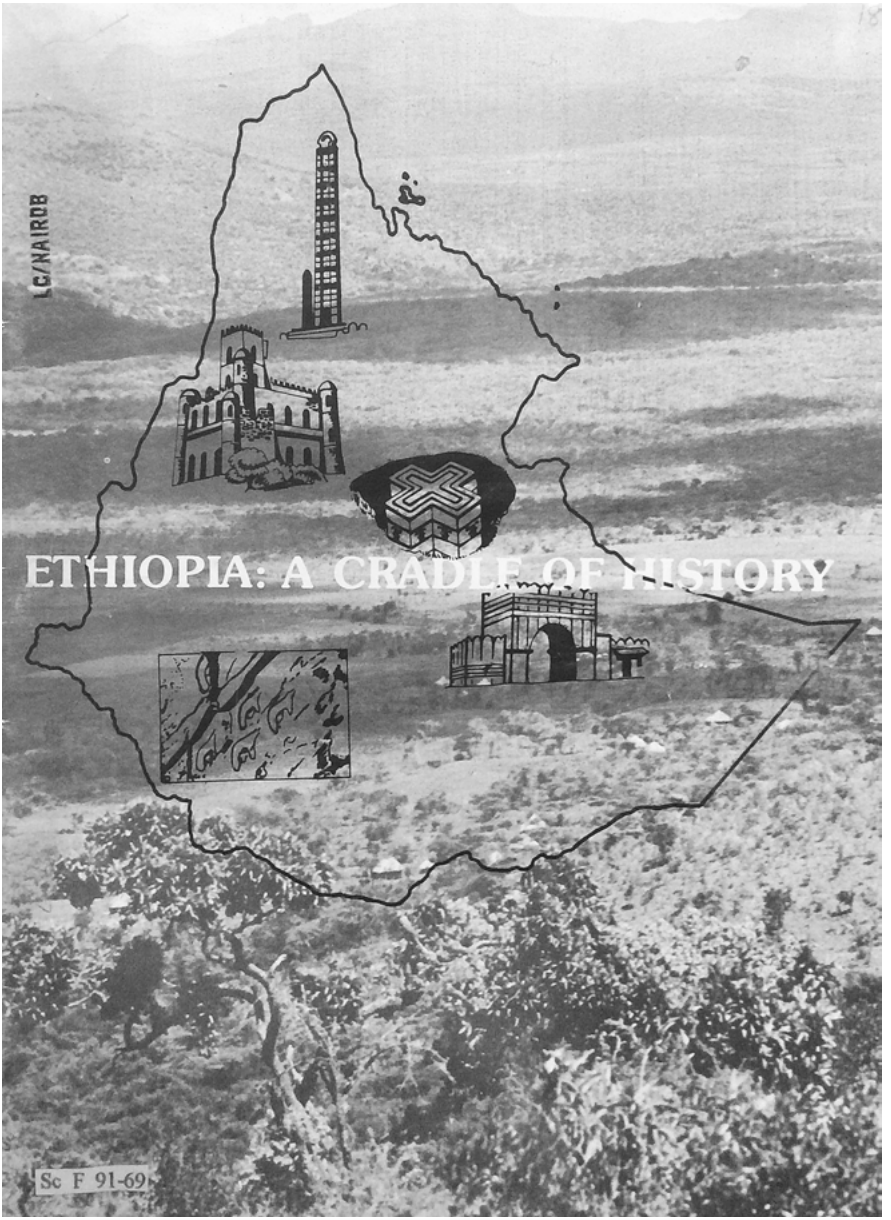


Figure 6: Ethiopia, ed. 1989. *Ethiopia: A Cradle of History.* Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information, Department of Press.

national history. Heritage and the establishment of historic claims formed part of a political strategy, also in regards to the conflicts at the disputed margins of the "Greater Ethiopian" state territory.

International relations were an external factor in the formation of an Ethiopian national state after the end of the Italian occupation in 1941. The recognition and validation of Ethiopian state boundaries by other state powers was a result of diplomatic efforts, and in a time that notably fostered the principle of building the international system as one between sovereign governments, this helped greatly to establish the central government's power over Ethiopian territory.[257]

Ethiopia was at the heart of several conflicts in the Horn of Africa. As a legacy of arbitrarily drawn colonial borders, the Horn of Africa, until today, is one of the most conflict-ridden regions of the world, and borders and borderlands, questions of nationalism and identities, and land claims as well as cross-border movements are at the centre of these conflicts. Ethiopia's disputed south-eastern border with Somalia was the cause of the particularly violent Ogaden War in 1977, which prompted international involvement and, although ending in 1978, did not immediately succeed in establishing a peaceful situation in the Ogaden region, which was still claimed by Somalia until 1980. In the north of Ethiopia, the conflict with Eritrea had been brooding ever since the annexation of the former federal state of Eritrea into the Ethiopian empire, and throughout the entire period of the Derg regime until Eritrean independence in 1990. Especially the last of these two conflicts fuelled the internal ethno-liberation movements and their provocation of armed conflict, putting many regions of Ethiopia into the shadow of armed conflict for many decades.[258]

Ethiopia's claim to a regional hegemonic position was strongly tied to the historic narratives of a Greater Ethiopia and instrumentalised to justify the denunciation of federalism, nationalist movements and the territorial claims of Somalia. Thus, the territorial conflicts and the necessary foreign regional positioning of Ethiopia also perpetuated the establishment of historical narratives of Ethiopian hegemony. The image of Ethiopia, constructed with the aid of an internationally acclaimed national heritage, also has to be interpreted in this context. The "Greater Ethiopia" maps shown above illustrate this image construction, as they simply extended, as if naturally, over disputed territories. An outline-map, including Eritrea and the Ogaden as part of "Greater Ethiopia", published during these conflicts, certainly had an impact beyond the tourism marketing sphere.

257 Clapham, "Controlling Space", 11.

258 Dereje Feyissa and Hoehne, "One State Borders", 4–6.

There is another aspect that suggests that for Haile Selassie I establishing heritage was part of a larger political strategy to sustain the state centralisation and consolidation process. International relations were a highly relevant factor in the formation of the Ethiopian national state. The recognition and validation of Ethiopian state boundaries by the larger international powers, during a period where the international system was being built as a system between sovereign national governments, greatly contributed to strengthening the central government's grip on the country's provinces.

Monopolising heritage-making through cultural assimilation

In the political construction of an Ethiopian national identity, the affiliation and streamlining of cultural identities was a crucial factor, and in order to monopolise heritage-making as a state affair, a politics of cultural assimilation and censored historiography was institutionalised. All historic research and historic mediations, such as history schoolbooks and museum exhibitions, were highly censored and adapted according to the political programme. Claiming the relevant existing heritage sites as national heritage, in particular the cultural heritage sites of the historic north, so as to furnish the "Great Tradition" narrative, was a strategy to stabilise the central government's power, both imperial and socialist. This dominant narrative was built not only on praising the dynastic success, but also on a systematic silencing and devaluing of non-Christian and non-Amharic groups, such as the Oromo, who were often portrayed as detrimental to the development and culture of the Ethiopian empire in mainstream historiography by both Western and Ethiopian scholars.[259]

Haile Selassie I had introduced a revised constitution in 1955, which, as a part of this stabilising strategy, aimed to achieve national identity by imposing cultural assimilation on the provinces. With the revised constitution, Amharic was declared as the official language of Ethiopia, even though only 25% of the population were native speakers.[260] The prioritising of Amharic as the *lingua franca* for the Ethiopian national state reinforced a cultural assimilation strategy that built on the Abyssinian narrative, essentially arguing that the imperial heritage of Axum, Lalibela and Gondar alone had reached "a standard of cultural development and progress comparable to any attained by any other country in

259 Hussein, "The Subtle Connection", 64–65.

260 Balsvik, Haile Selassie's Students, 10; Paulos Milkias, *Haile Selassie, Western Education, and Political Revolution in Ethiopia* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria, 2006), 53–58.

the civilised world."[261] The Amharic and Semitic cultures purportedly provided the only valid historical legacy and heritage of Ethiopia, usurping all other narratives in the official representation. In the historiography, non-Christian groups were rendered into a bulk of "Jewish, Arabic and [...] Nubian immigrants"[262] and sidelined into a negligible influence at the margins of the Axumite empire.

An element of revolutionary propaganda was devoted to denouncing Haile Selassie's cultural assimilation politics as part of "feudal" imperial politics. Consequently, the Derg claimed to disregard the cultural assimilation policy and to strengthen the autonomy of different ethnic groups within the Ethiopian national state. Religious and language diversification were installed as official institutions after 1974, to demonstrate that the equality of all cultures and nations within the great Ethiopian nation had been achieved through the socialist government. Yet, this official promotion of the "self-determination of cultures" was executed under the leadership of the central government. This supposedly empowering and radical political claim left no doubt that the self-determination was nevertheless to be strictly confined to remain within the defined boundaries and authority of the Ethiopian national state. Mengistu Haile Mariam's call for "unity or death" for the Ethiopian people served as a propaganda slogan to some and as a threat to many others.[263]

Religious identity played a crucial part in the consolidation of the new national identity. Haile Selassie I's achievement of the re-nationalisation of the Ethiopian Orthodox church increased his popular success and at the same time his position over the church. The reinstalling of an Ethiopian Patriarch as head of the church, as opposed to the then-existing tradition of an Egyptian one, further supported his centralisation efforts, as the church became more dependent on the state and the distributed monastic institutions became weaker. Historically, the Orthodox church had been an important landowner in the centralised feudal system, collecting taxes and overseeing education as well as health services in many areas. Under Haile Selassie I, these functions were transferred to the government and the church was given the role of an "ideologue" within the imperial government, "providing moral and divine legitimisation of the Solomonic dynasty and imperial dominance."[264] After the 1974 revolution,

261 Ministry of Information, *Ethiopia, Past and Present*, 11.

262 Ibid., 10.

263 John Markakis, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 245.

264 Kostas Loukeris, "Church and Attempted Modernization in Ethiopia", in *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Kyoto, 12–17*

all church property was seized and nationalised, and was, according to the socialist orientation, written out of national identity.[265] From 1980 onwards, religion was once again officially endorsed as part of the Ethiopian national identity, to gain popular support, and to establish and strengthen the identity of peaceful religious coexistence in Ethiopia and the existence of a successfully multi-ethnic state.[266]

From 1950, historiography was installed systematically in the nascent academic landscape, when a number of Ethiopian historians were sent to be trained in Western academic institutions in order to produce a version of Ethiopian history that could be made to compete with Western history and integrate with it. Ethiopian and non-Ethiopian historians alike "did not question the "Great Tradition" of a centralising, independent and unitary State rooted in an ancient past and led by an innovative monarchy".[267] In effect, Ethiopian historiography, even as it became an academic discipline in the 1950s, did not happen autonomously, but in the service of the national state, and largely relied on existing cultural and ideological constructs as opposed to being an investigative, empirical field. And this was the case for Ethiopian historians and foreign historians of Ethiopian history alike.[268] Shortly after the first cohort of students had graduated from Haile Selassie I University, they radicalised the discourses of national identity, history and heritage, calling for a quest for a "true Ethiopian" way, attempting to graft Western principles, liberal values and modernisation onto the existing "distant past" and "Great Tradition" narratives assumed by the government.[269]

Through the *de facto* assimilation of all cultural identities into the Amharic, Christian, north-Ethiopian cultural identity, the dominant narrative of the national identity was set and so were the representative uses of heritage and the heritage sites. The most effective institutions for enacting this linguistic and historical politics were those of education and the military.[270] Ethiopian society traditionally lacked a middle class, a fact seen by many as an impediment to modernisation and progress. The military was the only available path for class

December 1997, ed. Katsuyoshi Fukui, Eisei Kurimoto, and Masayoshi Shigeta, vol. 2 (Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, 1997), 214–15.

265 Stéphane Ancel and Éloi Ficquet, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC) and the Challenge of Modernity", in *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, ed. Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet (London: Hurst, 2015), 76–80.

266 Loukeris, "Church and Attempted Modernization in Ethiopia", 216.

267 Triulzi, "Battling with the Past", 278.

268 Ibid., 276–78.

269 Milkias, *Haile Selassie*, 79–100.

270 Bahru Zewde, *The Quest for Socialist Utopia*, 193.

mobility, and by imposing Amharic as the only language for the military, Amharisation gained significant momentum under Haile Selassie I.[271] After the revolution, the new government was formed of leading actors from the military, in effect putting the socialist government into the hands of the newly Amharised elites.[272]

Haile Selassie I had put an emphasis on developing secondary and higher education. After the revolution the official policy shifted towards prioritising alphabetisation of the masses over higher education. This resulted in an steep increase in primary education, with an emphasis on quantity of access and largest possible regional coverage. In the *zemecha* development campaign, all students enrolled in secondary schools and university were dispatched on a mandatory teaching mission into the rural areas of Ethiopia, so as to enforce revolutionary politics despite the lack of administrative capacities of the Derg.[273] This strategy aimed at producing a high basic functional literacy among the population rather than competitively educated candidates suitable for more specialised and advanced training. In this process, a different kind of cultural dominance was introduced through the Amharisation of secondary school education, resulting in a decline of English-speaking students. Consequently, the rising number of high school graduates did not translate into a larger number of students qualified to enter university, as higher education still largely happened in English. This meant that socialist education policies led to a generational rift between an educated elite, who had benefited from the imperial educational system, and the following generation of more basically-educated Ethiopians. This educated elite formed a crucial part of the leadership level in post-revolutionary Ethiopia.[274]

The institutional knowledge production happened intertwined with political turmoil and change. On the one hand, the discourse of national identity during and after the revolution also consisted of revealing the decadence and malfunction in the recent empire. However, while the imperial state was critically attacked for its feudalistic traits, and held responsible for the inequality in Ethiopia, the socialist government also relied on a version of the historically rooted, unitary state in need of strong central leadership. In this logic they linked them-

271 Salvadore, "Knowledge", 129.

272 Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 185–90; Jacob Wiebel, ""Let the Red Terror Intensify": Political Violence, Governance and Society in Urban Ethiopia, 1976–78", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 48, no. 1 (2015): 17; Gérard Prunier, "The Ethiopian Revolution and the Derg Regime", in *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, ed. Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet (London: Hurst, 2015), 217–19.

273 Clapham, "Controlling Space", 15–16.

274 Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity*, 150–52.

selves back to a tradition of the "people of Ethiopia" that had to be freed from the chains of feudal repression by the socialist revolution, and brought to their true calling. A key argument of the student movements that transcended revolutionary propaganda into that of the socialist government after the revolution was to frame the Ethiopian imperial times as feudalistic, exploitative and "blood-thirsty", having spoiled the country's great past.[275] More specifically, the government pledged to make monuments and national heritage accessible to the masses, to educate everyone about the "Great tradition" of Ethiopia to help with the socialist endeavour, and declared the preservation of cultural heritage as part of the zemecha development campaign.[276]

After the 1974 revolution the conservation of natural heritage and wildlife, too, was framed as an act of revolutionary liberation. In the official newspaper *Ethiopian Herald*, a regular series of articles was published to educate the Ethiopian public about the Ethiopian heritage and the necessity to preserve "the progressive cultural heritages of the past"[277] to advance the socialist revolution and reconstruction of society. The 1978 brochure *Wildlife Conservation in Socialist Ethiopia* presents a good example:

> This ancient heritage of forests and wildlife is one of the precious natural resources of Ethiopia. But over the centuries the feudal overlords, straddling the back of the country, exploited these resources and very tragically depleted them. The vast areas of land, denuded of the giant trees once that covered it, bear silent testimony to this mindless cruel destruction. [...] The feudal regime had, only of lately, made some faint attempts at conserving these wildlife resources and the forest. Still the destruction continued. But with the onset of the popular revolution in Ethiopia in 1974 which overthrew the feudal regime, conservation has gained momentum and has become a massive force. From the very beginning of the revolution, the PMAC [Provisional Military Administrative Council] declared total conservation of the wildlife and forest resources of Ethiopia as a part of its avowed policy.[278]

In contrast to these images of heritage and national identity, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, official politics had to compete with a lively intellectual tradition and political discourse. Opposition groups and movements made the case

275 Bahru Zewde, *The Quest for Socialist Utopia*, 39.

276 Statistics on Cultural Development in Ethiopia, February 1975 in: ARCCH, 14–1, Folder 5; Ayalew Sisay, *Historical Development*, 162–63.

277 "Cultural Revolution, Cultural Heritage", *The Ethiopian Herald*, 27.12.1978; similar articles, all in *The Ethiopian Herald*, include: "Socialist Society, Cultural Progress", 20.12.1978; "Preserving Nations" Relics', 5.2.1980; "Africa in Antiquity", 4.8.79; "Prelude to Party Formation – Care for Nation's Resources and Heritage", 25.12.82.

278 Forestry and Wildlife Conservation Development Authority, *Wildlife Conservation in Socialist Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Forestry and Wildlife Conservation Development Authority, 1978), 4.

for or against assimilation and the historic identities of the major (ethnic) groups were discussed in a nuanced, yet agitated and propagandistic manner. The distinct Marxist and nationalist orientation of the student movement formed the ideological basis for radicalisation and mass-mobilisation leading up to the revolution. Consequently, the aggressive use of historic narratives and heritage as a weapon in the revolution and the subsequent years influenced the political dimension of national heritage. The Ethiopian student movement applied Marxist concepts of feudalism and imperialism and the official historic narratives of empire were turned against the government in many of the student writings, justifying its overthrow. This confrontation of traditional power structures with modern theory has to be read against a transnational process, and can be compared to campaigns in other African countries, such as the demystification campaign of Guinea's Sekou Touré, during which traditional religious and political practices of secrecy and fetishes were publicly revealed as an act of modernisation and liberation.[279] Denouncing the "Great Tradition" was a key slogan of the student movement, calling instead for the creation of a state "in which all nationalities participate equally in state affairs". In one of its most influential chants, the student movement proclaimed the goal that no longer "to be an Ethiopian, you will have to wear an Amhara mask [...]".[280] Slogans like this were responsible for the successful mass mobilisation of marginalised ethnic/regional identities in the protests.

Contrasting interpretations of history and claims to heritage resulted, during the course of the student movements, not only in a revolutionary propaganda that would then reach further into the post-revolutionary government, but also in feeding the theoretical background and ideological foundation of the various national liberation fronts.[281] The revolution had actualised the question of national identity and with the dimension of cultural identity had thus turned the question of national heritage and historic narratives into a cultural conflict. Heritage, once more, was only represented by the "Historic North" sites and the ruling elites of the Ethiopian state. The ethnic national movements rejected the concept of an Ethiopian empire as a succession to the great, classical tradition that was simply spoiled by imperial feudalism and had to be freed by revolutionary forces. In fact, the post-1974 regime was confronted by renewed accusations that

279 Bahru Zewde, *The Quest for Socialist Utopia*, 129 – 30; Mike McGovern, *Unmasking the State: Making Guinea Modern* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).
280 Walleligne Mekonnen, "On the Question of Nationalities in Ethiopia", quoted in: Balsvik, *Haile Selassie's Students*, 277; Marzagora, "History", 12 – 13.
281 Bahru Zewde, *The Quest for Socialist Utopia*, 258.

it continued the empire in a different guise and suppressed the distinct ethnic identities.

The Tigrayan People's Liberation Front in particular built their insurgency on this argument and refused to let the Tigrayan heritage—after all, save for the two paleontological sites in the deserts of the Lower Valley of the Omo and the Awash, all Ethiopian World Heritage sites were located in Tigray—be affiliated with the official promoted Amhara-centric Ethiopian identity. Similarly, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, as well as the Oromo and Western Somali Liberation Front, raised the accusation of colonial continuity by the Ethiopian socialist regime of the Derg, directly linking it to the expansionist tendencies of Menelik II and Haile Selassie I, and declaring it an "act of internal colonialism".[282] Throughout all the social changes and transformative processes of the revolutionary decade 1970 – 1980, history and heritage as a spatial and symbolic representation became a crucial tool in the political opposition for marginalised groups, basically deriving a contrary version, one that rendered the "good empire" into the "bad empire". In this climate the quest to legitimise the political present through the past became a contested territory, and the imperial state, the revolutionary groups and forces as well as the socialist government each had to make it a priority to monopolise the establishment and representation of heritage.

Yet, despite the strong oppositional voices among intellectuals—especially those of the diaspora—heritage-making in terms of officially labelled national sites remained a state monopoly, and thus a strategy exclusively available to those holding government power. From an analytical viewpoint, the construction and self-designation of ethnic identities of Tigrayans, Oromos, Eritreans, Ethiopians, Amharas and others has in itself to be seen as a set of discourses monopolising the dimension of political conflict for the constitution of these ethnic identities. In the context of the revolution, regionalist demands and historiographies attached in the service of them, and the revisionism of exiled Ethiopians, transformed the field of Ethiopian historiography into a minefield, on which it became ever more difficult to practice balanced research that was impervious to instrumentalisation.[283]

The cultural assimilation and establishment of a dominant historic narrative and selection of heritage sites became a mirror for the social inequalities prevailing and fuelling the civil conflicts of the 1960s and 1970s. Essentially, Ethiopian

282 Marzagora, "History", 21.

283 Triulzi, "Battling with the Past", 279; this is also clear from the works of Western scholars at this time, e. g. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*; Markakis and Ayele, *Class and Revolution*; Graham Hancock explicitly mentions his relations with the Derg in Hancock, *The Sign*, 8 – 9, 43.

history, in the "Greater Ethiopia" narrative, remained, like many European histories, a history of the upper class or of the elites, not the peasants who composed the large majority of the population. This focus of attention on the monuments of antiquity and the medieval period reinforced the idea that Ethiopia's history and heritage was to be found in the northern highlands. This left aside the larger part of the country, rendering more than half of it into an "Ethiopia without monuments", marginalised in the narrative of national representation. As with the monuments, historically significant processes, such as the revolutionary years, were exclusively located in and associated with the north.[284]

Because of the revolutionary decade of the 1970s and regional conflicts in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopian nation-building cannot be clearly understood as a continuous process. Despite the ruptures caused by the revolution, however, Ethiopian history throughout the twentieth century can be viewed in light of a continuous process of power centralisation. The politicisation of heritage is best interpreted along these trajectories of centralisation and nationalism. The establishment of national heritage in Ethiopia, and the underlying question of national identity, were rooted in the changing dynamics of competition for authority, territory and resources outlined above. In territorial conflicts, claims were made on the basis of historical narratives and heritage.

In the most recent scholarship of Ethiopian historians, many authors define Haile Selassie I's and Mengistu Haile Mariam's politics as internal colonisation. Often, the view that even with the ideological shift of the 1974 revolution the pattern of hierarchy and centre-periphery relations remained unchanged is the introductory assertion for a study of the political systems and social history of marginalised regions and ethnicities, such as Abbas H. Gnamo's study on the Arsi-Oromo, or Temesgen Baye's work on Muslims in Ethiopia.[285] Without lending oneself to the particular historiography of any of the distinct national identities in Ethiopia, understanding Ethiopian national history in the twentieth century as imperial history opens up the possibility of interpreting the use of heritage and national parks as a powerful political tool.

284 Gascon and Pourtier, *La Grande Éthiopie*, 13–16.

285 Abbas H Gnamo, *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire: 1880–1974; the Case of the Arsi Oromo / by Abbas H. Gnamo*, African Social Studies Series BV013510202 32 (Leiden [u. a.], 2014); Temesgen Gebeyehu Baye, "Muslims in Ethiopia: History and Identity", *African Studies* 77, no. 3 (July 3, 2018): 412–27, https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2018.1475634; see also: Jeylan Hussein, "Taking Narratives on Identity-Based Conflicts in the Horn of Africa Seriously: The Case of Intergroup Conflicts at Pastoral Frontiers in Ethiopia", *International Journal of Peace Studies* 21, no. 1 (2016): 1.

Building up Ethiopian heritage institutions

For centuries knowledge of Ethiopian history was produced at royal courts and in religious institutions, both of which have contributed to laying the foundations of a modern, essentialist tradition of national historiography. Written accounts of political events in the Aksumite kingdom date back to the seventh century BC and include factual as well as entirely celebratory stories. The supposed genesis of Ethiopian history from a civilising mission of the Semitic Arabian kingdom of the Sabaeans around 1000 BC is the grand narrative conveyed by this mainstream historiography. By the beginning of the twentieth century it would come to dominate the self-perception of Ethiopians as well as the world's image of the country. Thus, Ethiopian historiography of the early twentieth century was in large parts based on and continuing this imperial tradition. Many of the historical writings that appeared during this period were centred around "celebrating the agents, values, and institutions of the Solomonid imperial order".[286]

Western Ethiopian Studies and the rise of academic and state historiography in Ethiopia

In the late nineteenth century, a growing number of archaeological, paleontological, anthropological and, more generally, scientific expeditions travelled to Ethiopia, often with the support of European colonial empires eager to explore new territories for colonial expansion by gathering information about the isolated and protectionist empire.[287] These expeditions often served as starting points for a broader production of Western knowledge about Ethiopia, since, for the first time, information about Ethiopia was available to an audience that transcended scholarly circles. The early twentieth century saw the establishment of Ethiopian Studies as an academic discipline in many Western countries. The focus of this nascent discipline was on linguistics and theology or a combination of both as much of the research centred around the comparative study of early

286 de Lorenzi, *Guardians of the Tradition*, 13.

287 Such as the Deutsche Aksum Expedition, Asfa-Wossen Asserate, "Äthiopien vor 100 Jahren", in *Im Kaiserlichen Auftrag: Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, ed. Steffen Wenig, vol. 2: Altertumskundliche Untersuchungen der DAE in Tigray/Äthiopien (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2011), 29–34.

Christian manuscripts.[288] Many Western scholars were intrigued by the existence of an enclave of early Christian tradition on the African continent, while also drawing on the classical trope of Ethiopia as the faraway land of early European historiography, which has found its classical expression in the writings of Homer and Herodotus, who had already reported on a powerful, wealthy and impressive empire. According to this historiography, from the origins of this Nubian kingdom the Ethiopian Empire developed, first, into the Aksumite empire and then into the Abyssinian kingdom of medieval times, while at the same time resisting the rise of Islam in the surrounding area. All of this came to be viewed as the continuous story of the Ethiopian Empire from ancient times to the present, with particular emphasis placed on the Christian undercurrent in Ethiopian history. The legendary origin of Aksum was attributed to the story of the Queen of Saba, King Solomon of Israel, and their son, Menelik I, who stole the Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem to found Ethiopian Christianity and lend its name to the Solomid Dynasty. Among Europeans the "Prester John" myth was repeatedly associated with Ethiopia from the fourteenth century onward. According to this legend, an idealised version of unspoiled Christian tradition had miraculously been preserved in a remote African location.[289] Places, events and traditions deemed historically relevant by Ethiopian elites did not differ much from those cherished by Western scholars but, rather, seemed to confirm their preconceived ideas.[290] Western research interests from the seventeenth century elaborated an "orientalist-semiticist" paradigm, which not only reflected the Great Tradition of the Ethiopian empire but argued for racial and ethnic origins of Ethiopia in the Middle East.[291] This genealogy, in the eyes of Ethiopianist scholars, explained the supremacy of Ethiopian Christian culture internally, towards other population groups, and externally, towards Black African people.[292] Western Ethiopian Studies actualised and complemented the Aksumite paradigm of Ethiopian Orthodox ecclesiastical scholarship, that tied Ethiopian history to

288 For an overview see the contributions in Rainer Voigt, ed., Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert: Akten der internationalen äthiopischen Tagung Berlin 22. bis 24. Juli 2000 / Ethiopian Studies in the 20th century (Aachen: Shaker, 2003); Maria Rait and Vladimir Vigand, "Genesis of the Ethiopian Studies and Its Future Trends", in *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Kyoto, 12–17 December 1997*, ed. Katsuyoshi Fukui, Eisei Kurimoto, and Masayoshi Shigeta, vol. 1, 3 vols (Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, 2008), 242–46.

289 Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 6–8, 15–19.

290 Teshale Tibebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia*, xvii.

291 Teshale Tibebu, xii.

292 Edward Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 32; Teshale Tibebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia*, 76.

the dominating trajectories of biblical mythology, a tradition of scripture and relative geographical isolation of the highland communities.[293] Closely connected to this grand narrative was the proclaimed exceptionalism of Ethiopian historical development, which had resulted in the emergence of what Westerners and Ethiopian elites considered Africa's only advanced civilisation.

Emperor Menelik II, whose reign spanned the period between 1889 and 1913, already had a very clear-cut vision of the Ethiopian Empire as a modern nation state, and followed a "politics of ruins"[294] as part of his overall plan. He sought to complement the official and vernacular historicist writings of Ethiopian intellectuals with the material reality of historical monuments and sites reminiscent of the Christian empire. To this end he commissioned systematic research into church ruins. Such research extended in particular over those territories, which were the core of the renewed imperial expansion, but had a predominantly Islamic population. In some places, ruins were excavated and revived as places of faith, often accompanied by the building of a new church near the remains of an old one. In other places remnants of royal buildings were excavated and then connected to existing churches or monasteries in the vicinity. Bertrand Hirsch and François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar have provided an in-depth analysis of these and other policies implemented by Menelik II. They have also demonstrated parallels between his vision and the European model of creating national identities which emerged during the nineteenth century. Nationalist cultural politics fused language, folkloristic traditions, architecture and the conservation of antiquities into a collective patrimony and a national identity, which were conceptualised in reference to a constructed communal past of all citizens. An important trait of this shared past was its relation to a concrete historical population, such as the Celts, the Hellenic people, the Romans – or, in the Ethiopian case, the Aksumites.[295]

Contrary to the European nations, however, Ethiopia was lacking the "ideological apparatus" of press, universal expositions and the communities and networks of collectors and invested bourgeoisie.[296] At this point, the national project in Ethiopia and several European imperial projects crossed paths in their shared interest in locating early traces of civilisation, whiteness and Christianity in

293 There are also racist implications regarding the idea of a "Semitic" Culture. See Tibebu's overview: Teshale Tibebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia*, xvi, xx.

294 Bertrand Hirsch and François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar, "Aksum après Aksum. Royauté, archéologie et herméneutique chrétienne de Ménélik II (r. 1865–1913) à Zär'a Ya'qob (r. 1434–1468)", *Annales d'Éthiopie* 17, no. 1 (2001): 60, https://doi.org/10.3406/ethio.2001.991.

295 Ibid., 60–63.

296 Ibid, 64.

Ethiopia.[297] In 1906, Menelik II requested the help of a German archaeological expedition to Aksum, which resulted in the first large-scale excavations of ancient monuments in Ethiopia. In connection with the historiographical sources from earlier periods, archaeologists focused on exploring the monumental remains of these ancient and medieval empires. From a Western viewpoint, the increase of archaeological research in Ethiopia equalled a "discovery of the Christian Ethiopia".[298] From an Ethiopian viewpoint, these research collaborations continued a tradition of diplomatic relations initiated by Ethiopians with European imperial powers, turning European expectations of a legendary Christian kingdom in Africa to their own advantage. For centuries, Ethiopians had managed to realise their interest in technological exchange by contributing to the creation of an "Ethiopianist library" in Europe.[299]

Many Europeans who travelled to Ethiopia undertook studies about the Ethiopian wildlife and natural history in the broader sense, covering everything from animal and plant species, via geology and geomorphological formations, to the exploration of natural resources. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many researchers practised a generalist approach to studying and collecting, guided by personal interests and chance encounters just as much as by specialised scientific research questions. From the twentieth century on, a number of US-American and European Museum and exhibition projects expanded their systematic natural history collections. During 1926 – 27 *Field-Museum-Chicago Daily News Abyssinian Expedition* collected animal and plant specimens, among them 1000 bird skins alone, following the latest scientific practices, including observation, preparation and painting and zoological and botanical categorisations. In the context of the French ethnographic *Dakar-Djibouti Mission*, which traversed northern and central Ethiopia between 1932 and 1933, animal specimens were collected to be exhibited in museums in France.[300] In the first half of the twentieth century, the Western production of knowledge on Ethiopia was established more firmly in the institutional landscape of European academia, while the community of scholars grew constantly. After the Italian occupation of Ethiopia had ended in 1941, the activities of European, American and Japanese researchers began to increase and expand beyond linguistics and theology, traditionally the core areas of Ethiopian Studies in the West. Prehistoric and

297 Derricourt, *Inventing Africa*, 105.

298 Jean Leclant, *Découverte de l'Éthiopie chrétienne* (Paris: Archeologia, 1975).

299 Salvadore, "Knowledge", 4.

300 Thomas Guindeuil, "Nature, culture, même combat? Sciences et conservation sur le campus d'Addis-Abeba (1950 – 1974)", *Études rurales* 197, no. 1 (2016): 129, https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10679.

paleo-anthropological studies identified promising territories with an abundance of pre-historic fossils to be explored in the Ethiopian part of the East African Rift Valley, where some of the earliest remains of human life on Earth could be found. From the 1950s on, ethnographers and anthropologists started to study the cultures and societies of "ethnic units" or "tribes", in particular in Southern Ethiopia.[301] This is one of the reasons why, in the following decades, a broad institutional framework for conservation of both nature and culture was put into place. In addition to the archaeological sites from the classical and medieval periods, natural and prehistoric sites now became part of the established national heritage. These new research interests went well with Ethiopia's international political representation, in which the emphasis on Ethiopia's exceptionalism as Africa's oldest empire played a crucial role.[302]

Establishing cultural and natural governance in Ethiopia through heritage institutions

The history of the Ethiopian natural and cultural heritage institutions illustrates the need for a strategic integration of foreign expertise and knowledge production into the nascent institutional landscape of the modern Ethiopian state and the important role UNESCO played in this process. In the context of strategic state transformation under Haile Selassie I towards a bureaucratic, constitutional monarchy, new institutions were established for many areas of government responsibility. Between 1943 and 1966, fourteen new state ministries were installed. They were soon to be complemented by a large number of specialised agencies for intersectoral concerns which required more technical expertise, such as highways, aviation, electricity or tourism.[303] The cultural and natural heritage-related institutions that were created during this time should be analysed not only as parts of the transformation of government, but also as part of a more encompassing cultural governance system. Thomas Schmitt has analysed how the gradual institutionalisation of conservation of cultural heritage in the Algerian M'zab Valley, and the global institution UNESCO (and eventually the World Heritage programme) have structured political change at the local

301 Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*, 19; Gascon and Pourtier, *La Grande Éthiopie*, 14.

302 Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, xlix, l; Delphine Lecoutre, "L'Éthiopie et l'Afrique", in *L'Éthiopie contemporaine*, ed. Gérard Prunier (Paris: Karthala, 2007), 160 – 66.

303 Christopher S. Clapham, Siegfried Pausewang, and Paulos Milkias, "Government", in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 865 – 66; Bahru Zewde, *A History*, 201 – 9; Teshale Tibebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia*, 120 – 24.

level. Building on this, a similar analytical approach is useful to gain a better understanding of the genesis of Ethiopian heritage sites. In addition to this interdependence, or in Schmitt's words "dialectic", of global-local, in Ethiopia the national level has to be included as another level of analysis.[304] Studying the actors and mechanisms beyond national state institutions makes the wider societal and political regulation of cultural and natural heritage visible. For this cultural and natural governance in Ethiopia, a key element was to institutionalise knowledge production as a state domain in the educational, scientific and cultural sectors and to bring in technical expertise from Western countries. Tracing the construction of Ethiopian national heritage as part of this institutionalisation over several decades until the 1970s allows us to observe how foreign researchers, an emerging Ethiopian elite, a growing bureaucratic apparatus and UNESCO all contributed to install heritage-making as a state domain, to define which historical remains and natural sites were considered national heritage, and which weren't.

The research expeditions of the nineteenth century also marked a starting point for a project of political and technological modernisation in Ethiopian history, as international technical cooperation projects took place in relation to these expeditions. In order to obtain the imperial permission for expeditions of this kind, intensive diplomatic efforts were necessary. Since the Ethiopian imperial government was interested in technical cooperation of any kind, European states sent high-ranking experts to evaluate the possible economic potential and establish a positive relationship with the Ethiopian imperial government.[305] European researchers, missionaries and civil servants worked as consultants for the imperial government and served in diplomatic missions for their respective countries of origin. As part of these diplomatic exchanges, support for the creation of state cultural institutions was negotiated, meaning that the first national museum and other cultural institutions had been established in the context of diplomatic strategies and with the help of foreign expertise from around 1900 on.

Existing religious and cultural traditions of conserving and declaring heritage were contested and claimed as an imperial state affair during the government of Emperor Menelik II, whose policies were motivated by his dual attempt to consolidate imperial power while also creating a modern nation state. The national archive was founded in 1908, together with a ministerial system as an el-

304 Schmitt, *Cultural Governance*, 56 – 57, 95 – 97.

305 For example the Swiss engineer Alfred Ilg: Elisabeth Biasio, *Prunk und Pracht am Hofe Menileks: Alfred Ilgs Äthiopien um 1900 / Majesty and Magnificence at the Court of Menilek* (Zürich: Verlag NZZ, 2004), 80 – 87.

ement of the imperial government, and later merged with the government library whose establishment goes back to the Italian occupation government.[306] The first diplomatic collaboration engaged upon by the Ethiopian imperial government was with the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo. Between 1922 and 1926, the French Capuchin François Bernardin Azais negotiated, on behalf of the French government, an agreement between the two states in which the French side was granted permission for archaeological excavations in the empire in exchange for setting up an Ethiopian national museum and establishing a system of classification and collection of objects at the imperial court. These negotiations took place in 1930, under the aegis of Ras Tafari, the future Emperor Haile Selassie I. Ras Tafari had a close-knit relationship with the French Capuchins, some of whom had served as his private teachers.[307] The museum never took shape in its intended form, as the Italian invasion and the following years of occupation forced the emperor into exile where he remained until 1941. While the Italian government had created some cultural institutions and also undertaken some restoration works in Gondar, it had also removed a number of valuable antiquities from the country, the most notable being a large stela from Aksum (also known as the Aksum Obelisk). The restitution of cultural heritage items was part of the 1947 peace treaty Italy signed between Ethiopia and a number of other states, but the economic situation of Ethiopia and lack of adequate state institutions made it difficult to realise the restitution, which would only take place many decades later, in 2005.[308]

The National Library and Archives (NALE), founded in 1944, were among the first cultural governance institutions created by Haile Selassie I in the framework of his nation-building politics. It comprised archival functions, a museum and an archaeological section. During the 1950s and 1960s, several more museums and research institutions were created: the ethnological museum and the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) were established together with the first Ethiopian university, Haile Selassie I University, later renamed Addis Ababa University. The National Museum, the Natural History Museum in Addis Ababa and the Archaeological Museum and Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Asmara (Eritrea) also arose from these cultural institutionalisation politics. In parallel to the creation of cul-

306 Solomon Gebreyes Beyene, *A History of Cultural Heritage Management in Ethiopia (1944–1974): Aspects of Cultural Heritage Management in Ethiopia* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2010), 18–21.

307 Amélie Chekroun, "Un Archéologue Capucin En Éthiopie (1922–1936): François Bernardin Azaïs", *Afriques*, January 27, 2011, 5–6, http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/785.

308 Richard Pankhurst, "Ethiopia, the Aksum Obelisk, and the Return of Africa's Cultural Heritage", *African Affairs* 98, no. 391 (1999): 229–39.

tural institutions in charge of antiquities, legislation was introduced in 1966 and complemented by two executive orders in 1966 and 1974, to provide a legal definition of antiquities and a legal ground to executively safeguard antiquities and prevent illicit trade. To increase capacities for monitoring and handling antiquities, the French-Ethiopian cooperation initiated at the beginning of the twentieth century was further advanced in 1952 with the foundation, through a bilateral agreement, of the "Institut éthiopien d'études et de recherches". The "Institut", although financed largely by the French government and hosted by the National Archives, was to be part of the Ethiopian government and its newly formed archaeological section. The "Institut" was officially entrusted to establish a collaboration of French and Ethiopian archaeologists, paleo-anthropologists, art historians and historians. However, the majority of researchers remained French for many years. The "Institut"'s activities covered all areas of research as well as the collection and exhibition of monuments and artefacts. Its foundation marked a starting point of the first systematic effort to survey Ethiopian archaeological sites.[309]

On the Ethiopian side, this research programme was part of a newly emerging school of Ethiopian state historiography, which aimed to write Ethiopian history into the Western, Eurocentric world history. The leading argument of this world history was that Western civilisation had been shaped by the antagonism of its superior philosophical ideals and its failed historical realities. Ethiopia, on the other hand, was considered unequalled in terms of "moral civilization",[310] but in dire need of modernization to become an internationally recognized nation-state, for which it depended on the study of Western civilisation and the support of Western nations. Kebbede Mikael, the author of *Ethiopia and Western Civilisation*, the seminal book on new Ethiopian world history, would serve as the first director of the "Institut"'s archaeological section and co-editor, alongside the French archaeologist Jean Leclant, of the "Institut"s academic journal, the *Annales d'Ethiopie*.[311] The museums, the university and research institutes were modelled after European institutions and directed and staffed by a large number of expatriate academics from Europe and the USA and by the first, small, cohort of Ethiopian scholars trained in Western universities. Giovanni de Lorenzi understands the 1950s as a watershed moment in Ethiopian Studies, for it was then that Ethiopian scholars began to combine their Western training

309 Kebede Mikael and Jean Leclant, "La section d'archéologie (1952–1955)", *Annales d'Éthiopie* 1 (1955): 1–10.
310 de Lorenzi, *Guardians of the Tradition*, 115.
311 Ibid., 114–15.

with their intimate knowledge of Ethiopian languages and cultures to implement new methods and research frameworks, thereby "indigenising" Ethiopian Studies.[312]

The evolution of the governance over natural resources is more fragmented, and also less documented to date. The environmental, wildlife and natural protection in Ethiopia concerned several branches of government and stretched over several institutions. More recently, scholars have suggested that the century-old tradition of church forests can be considered the origin of natural conservation institutions in Ethiopia. The groves and communities in the direct periphery of Ethiopian Orthodox churches were considered sacred ground, which brought Menelik II to pass comprehensive regulations of forest use when Ethiopia faced a firewood shortage at the beginning of the twentieth century.[313] While the first regulations concerning the protection of wildlife and hunting regulations, especially for big game, date back to 1909, wildlife reserves were delineated for the first time during the Italian occupation in 1930, and more elaborate game regulations were defined subsequently by Haile Selassie I in 1944. These regulations would eventually include a selection of endangered species that were excluded from game hunting.[314] In their designation and implementation, these controlled hunting areas resembled those of the neighbouring British colonies, indicating that the idea to install protected natural zones as part of the national project was conceived of during Haile Selassie's time in British exile from 1936 to 1941.[315] In 1966, the first three proposed areas for national parks were established in the Awash Valley about 200 kilometres east of Addis Ababa, the Simien Mountains in north-eastern Ethiopia and the Bale Mountains, 250 kilometres south of Addis Ababa.[316]

From the 1960s onwards, a range of government institutions which were concerned with natural conservation were founded, including the Ministry of Agriculture, the Game Department and the Forestry Authority. Ethiopia had been in sight of the network of former colonial African Wildlife researchers-turned-inter-

312 Ibid., 118 – 19.

313 Izabela Orlowska and Peter Klepeis, "Ethiopian Church Forests: A Socio-Religious Conservation Model under Change", *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 12, no. 4 (2018): 674, 677, https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2018.1519659; interview with Hans Hurni, May 12, 2015, Berne (CH). McCann, *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land*, 84 – 102.

314 Jesse Hillman, "Ethiopia: Compendium of Wildlife Conservation Information, Vol. 2", 1993, 11 – 13, EWCO library; Blower, "Wildlife Conservation", 3.

315 Guillaume Blanc, *Une histoire environnementale de la nation: regards croisés sur les parcs nationaux du Canada, d'Éthiopie et de France* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015), 180.

316 Ministry of Agriculture Planning Committee, *Third Five-Year Development Plan* (Addis Ababa, 1967), 5.

national-conservation-advocates who sought to rescue and protect the African wildlife from poaching, farming and potential industrialisation.[317] When one of their members, Julian Huxley, became the first DG of UNESCO, he was able to leverage his position to shape the environmental agenda of international organisations and to direct funds towards conservation work. Organised through the IUCN and the FAO, in a number of preparatory missions and conferences, experts visited African governments, among them the Ethiopian, and explained in detail which areas and species were threatened the most in their eyes.[318] They also outlined regulations for environmental protection. As a consequence of this, the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation (EWCO) was established in 1964. It would eventually become the most important institution in terms of Ethiopian natural heritage.[319] As with the archaeological institute, the EWCO was formally established as a part of a ministry, in this case the ministry of agriculture, but was directed and later supported by foreign experts, who outnumbered their Ethiopian colleagues. Foreign experts were not only vital in running the EWCO but also as head managers or wardens of national parks. A primary responsibility for the experts in these positions was monitoring and mapping wildlife, as well as the systematic documentation according to the standards and guidelines of the international organisations, such as IUCN and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF).[320] These organisations would often act as sponsors for experts to undertake these tasks. From 1965 to 1971, John Blower, a former British Colonial Senior Park Warden and wildlife advisor from Kenya, served as a Wildlife Conservation Advisor and Senior Game Warden and the first head of EWCO.[321] In line with his training, prior expertise, and the prevailing spirit of the international natural conservation organisations at that time, Blower promoted a concept of wildlife protection that revealed a traditional colonial understanding. He focused on the establishment of national parks and game reserves

317 Anna-Katharina Wöbse, "Framing the Heritage of Mankind: National Parks on the International Agenda", in *Civilizing Nature: National Parks in Global Historical Perspective*, ed. Bernhard Gissibl, Sabine Höhler, and Patrick Kupper (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 148.

318 Riney, T., and P. Hill. "FAO/IUCN African Special Project – Interim Report on Ethiopia". Rome: FAO, 1963.

319 Blower, "Wildlife Conservation", 8; today the institution is called Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Authority (EWCA).

320 Hillman, "Compendium of Wildlife Conservation", 11–14.

321 Interview with Hans Hurni, May 12, 2015, Berne (CH); Hillman, 13; Blower, "Wildlife Conservation", 7–9.

in order to disable interference from their indigenous inhabitants.[322] He undertook extensive surveys to build up the database necessary for zoning and other conservation measures and where necessary commissioned a number of biologists for survey work such as his fellow countryman Melvin Bolton, who spent over five years visiting most of Ethiopia to conduct preliminary ecological surveys to identify new game reserves and remaining wildlife resources.[323]

Foreign research interests and the creation of Ethiopian heritage institutions

Together with the establishment of modern state institutions for culture, heritage and heritage-making were institutionalised in museums, research and conservation institutes. Both Ethiopian and foreign scholars and experts who participated in this process shared an understanding of heritage-related knowledge production and the role they assigned to state institutions. In a way, the institutionalisation and evolving heritage governance which occurred in Ethiopia since the 1950s shows many parallels to the development Anne Eriksen has studied for Norway between the mid-eighteenth and the late twentieth centuries. In focusing on the discursive practices surrounding the changing relevance of historical remains in society and politics, she describes the gradual, not always linear shift from antiquities to heritage over a period of one hundred and fifty years. Of particular importance, she explains, were changing regimes of historicity. When in the nineteenth century the assumption of history as a process of change became more widely accepted, specialised academic disciplines were established on this premise, all intended to bring empirical evidence for development and progress. Monuments, natural icons such as certain sites or species and objects, arranged and displayed in museums served as metonymies of national history.[324] Bearing in mind the composition of the academic landscape in Ethiopia in the 1950s, which comprised US and European scholars and a select few national elites, the heritage discourse and the role of heritage institutions were shaped by a shared understanding of world history and Ethiopia's place in it. Centred around the campus of the Addis Ababa University College / Haile Selassie I University, an academic community united by a general interest in Ethiopian heritage

322 Guillaume Blanc, "Violence et incohérence en milieu naturel: une histoire du parc éthiopien du Semēn", *Études rurales* 197, no. 1 (2016): 149–52, https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10691; see also ch. 4.4.

323 Melvin Bolton, *Ethiopian Wildlands* (London: Collins and Harvill, 1976), 18.

324 Anne Eriksen, *From Antiquities to Heritage: Transformations of Cultural Memory* (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 24–25.

began to emerge in 1952 when Stanislaw Chojnacki, the librarian of the AAUC, started collecting ethnographic objects and zoological specimens, in a curiosity-cabinet kind of way, with the intention to establish a museum for Ethiopian tradition and culture.[325] Chojnacki was not alone in his opinion that the academic community lacked institutions, organisations and structures and out of the scholarly community grew a vibrant scene of associations, societies, journals and magazines, some of which would have a short lifespan, although others are still in print, such as the *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, issued by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. It is important to keep in mind that the academics who organised and met through these fora would all go on to become key figures in Ethiopian academia and other government institutions. Foreigners who were admitted into these circles would contribute a great deal to the international reputation of the Ethiopian academia. For example, one of the most important periodicals up to 1974, the *Ethiopia Observer*, was edited by the British historian Richard Pankhurst, who served as the first director of the IES. The *Ethiopia Observer* was published and distributed both in the United Kingdom and in Ethiopia.[326]

Upon opening the university proper in 1963, many of these more personally motivated practices of collecting and preserving within the different academic disciplines coalesced into a more clearly shaped effort to create separate museums dedicated to particular aspects of national heritage, both cultural and natural. The collections became gradually more systematic. They had two aims, first to educate the public about the need for conservation, and, second, to showcase the Ethiopian nation to official visitors. In 1963, together with the IES, the Ethnographic Museum was opened in the premises of the IES, with a research library. To underline the central role of museums in the national project, the IES and its museum were housed in a former imperial palace. The archaeological museum was installed in a newly erected building, near the NALE compound, which was inaugurated for the crown jubilee in 1955.[327] In 1964, the Natural History Museum was founded. It finally opened in 1969, in a new building of the faculty of sciences.[328] The exhibition in the museum was installed by Leslie Brown, a member of the New York Zoological Society, who had served as an advisor to several

325 Guindeuil, "Nature, culture, même combat? ", 128 – 29.

326 Ibid., 132.

327 Kebede Geleta Terefe, "The Evolution of Archaeological Research and Research Monitoring Institute in Ethiopia: The Case of the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCH)" (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 2008); Kebede Mikael and Leclant, "La section d'archéologie (1952 – 1955)".

328 Guindeuil, "Nature, culture, même combat?", 141.

African countries for IUCN and UNESCO in the 1960s and 1970s. His case might serve to illustrate the close-knit nature of the heritage-making community in Ethiopia during that time. He acted as an advisor for EWCO in 1964 and 1965, taught at the university in Addis Ababa and developed teaching material for future university courses, most notably *Conservation for survival – Ethiopia's choice*.[329]

The compound effect of UNESCO's involvement

Despite this vibrant intellectual life in Addis Ababa, however, many of the heritage-related measures did not meet the requirements for official heritage responsibilities. Establishing the first national parks and protected natural zones initially amounted to little more than a formality, as the government did not have the means to execute the plans it had signed up to – at least this is what the first generation of foreign consultants and observers expressed in the concluding recommendations of their reports.[330] As was the case with the cultural heritage institutions, an ongoing shortage of resources also impaired natural conservation. Equipment and infrastructure, whether it was cars, guns, roads, radio communication, were lacking. A shortage of staff meant that many posts such as guards, rangers and district managers were left unoccupied. Trained personnel, skilled management staff, financial and technical equipment were insufficient or non-existent and consequently these institutions lacked the necessary bureaucratic efficiency to achieve the desired impact. The NALE and all institutions that were created in the following decades had in common that foreign experts remained in charge of a large part of the activities.[331] Similarly, the legislation remained ineffective as it suffered from a lack of executive means and further detailed regulations and definitions.[332] At times, the national skills shortage was particularly negative for the cultural institutions. A recurrent theme in the correspondence between the UNESCO field office and headquarters was consultants complaining about having to recruit from a small pool of trained nationals deemed sufficiently loyal to the government. This meant that, below upper management level, filling positions in the heritage institutions was particularly

329 Leslie H. Brown, *Conservation for Survival – Ethiopia's Choice* (Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University, 1973).

330 Brown; Grimwood, "Conservation of Natural Resources"; Blower, "Wildlife Conservation".

331 Ibid.; Kebede Geleta Terefe, "Evolution", 30–36.

332 Eugeniusz Gasiorowski, "Legislation for the Safeguarding of the Cultural Heritage of Ethiopia – (Mission) [Serial No. FMR/CC/CH/81/119]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1981), 2.

difficult and enjoyed a lower priority than the perpetuation of an official heritage portfolio. In addition, training national heritage expertise on a larger scale was virtually impossible – the first archaeology courses at Haile Selassie I University were introduced in the 1970s. The nearest opportunity to train wildlife rangers was at the Mweka College in Tanzania, but the number of Ethiopians trained there was nowhere near sufficient to provide for the vast territories established as protected natural zones.[333] In short, for a number of reasons, from the beginning on, all of the Ethiopian heritage institutions were dependent on international experts to operate properly as well as to further develop.

The 1960s and 1970s were comprised of a highly active, dense series of international engagements that would form a vital contribution to the Ethiopian national heritage-making process. In addition to bilateral efforts, the creation of heritage institutions was notably accelerated through UNESCO's involvement. Obtaining external financial aid was a key working principle of the museums, the NALE, CRCCH and EWCO, as not enough substantial national funding for them was available, and UNESCO and the UNDP, as well as the IUCN, were, during the 1960s and 1970s, the most important donors. This was not necessarily because of the rather modest amounts of money that were directed towards Ethiopian heritage institutions, a far more important reason being that UNESCO was in a much better position to recruit international experts.[334] The activities of UNESCO did not stop at concrete restoration projects, such as the one in Lalibela, but went far beyond. Heritage-related activities included the full range of UNESCO's possible means of assistance, such as the award of fellowships and provision of technical equipment. Consultants commissioned by UNESCO also developed detailed recommendations for the creation of a full-bodied institutional infrastructure to enable state-led conservation, including draft legislation for the protection of antiquities and the demarcation of protected natural zones, measures the Ethiopian government had struggled to implement.

In the archives of UNESCO, twenty-four mission reports document the numerous and intense activities that took place between 1965 and 1985. The increase in international activity and available funds turned to the advantage of those embryonic Ethiopian institutions concerned with natural and cultural her-

333 Training in Mweka was only for assistant and ranger level, not managerial level; fellowship applications and training programme in: UNESCO 069:7(100) A 218; Hillman, "Compendium of Wildlife Conservation", 8.

334 UNDP/ETH/74/014, Terminal Report; a lot of the correspondence between the respective departments at UNESCO, the UNDP Resident Representative in Addis Ababa and the Chief Technical Advisor of the ETH/74/014 Project regarded the specifics and possibilities of the requests that Ethiopia could fruitfully file, in: UNESCO 069:72 (36) A 136.

itage conservation and effectively delivered a substantial contribution towards the establishment of Ethiopian national heritage, as often through a UNESCO project some theoretical planning could be put into practice. For wildlife and natural conservation, in 1963, 1965 and 1971, successive UNESCO missions led by Julian Huxley, Ian Grimwood, Leslie Brown and John Blower respectively evaluated and developed "tools of conservation"[335] for the Ethiopian government. These "tools" pertained to the different realms of legislation and administration, management and research, information and education, tourist industry and finance. Interestingly, not all of UNESCO's experts came to the same conclusions: thus, in 1963 Huxley et al. recommended the establishment of a conservation board. Their recommendation was duly implemented soon after the publication of the report. However, Ian Grimwood and Leslie Brown found the same board to be insufficient both in scope and authority.[336] They suggested improvements in a newly developed three-year plan for conservation, but also took matters into their own hands and carried out field expeditions to select regions where they had identified the need for better protection and urged the board to appoint a senior game warden. Leslie Brown also stated his educational and publication activities at the university and his collaboration with the ETO (to produce tourism booklets) in the report, stressing the importance of "stimulating interest in wild life [sic] on the part of the public".[337] Apparently, John Blower, who would be appointed as the senior game warden shortly after the mission's recommendation, was invited to Addis Ababa by Brown during this, to discuss his future appointment. After his appointment as senior game warden ended in 1969, Blower was hired by the newly established EWCO, which was funded through the UN Technical Assistance Programme. For six months his post was that of a "Unesco Expert on Wildlife and Conservation".[338] As such he had to give an overview of problems, progress and further recommendations. In his eyes, his efforts and encouraging first measures, which he lists in detail in the report he submitted at the end of this consultancy, were still unlikely to achieve full success, mainly because of a lack of control, management and legislation. In addition to explaining a number of site-specific conservation measures, based on his surveying, his recommendations reiterated and specified the need for an institutional restructuring of the existing wildlife department and stronger government policy (including a draft proclamation).

335 Huxley et al., "The Conservation of Nature", 29.

336 Ibid., 32; Brown, "Conservation of Nature", 2; Grimwood, "Conservation of Natural Resources", 1–2.

337 Brown, "Conservation of Nature", 2.

338 Blower, "Wildlife Conservation", iii.

As described above the institutional development of the cultural heritage institutions, namely the NALE, the archaeological section and the "Institut", was well underway by the time UNESCO was involved, for the first time, in the conservation of the Lalibela churches. Still, external assistance was needed to build the existing, smaller institutions up to a fully functioning capacity, as they were not yet able to carry more than concrete restoration and conservation works namely administration and general staff and facility management, policy recommendations, public relations, and fiscal operations. Most importantly, however, the archaeologists and historians of the existing institutions wished to establish closer collaboration with UNESCO, ICOMOS and other international organisations. Through UNESCO's help, they were able to invite the ICOMOS member and renowned US American Art Historian Richard Howland, who developed a three-year masterplan to achieve these goals.[339] Despite his recommendations, in the following years the priority was given to the restoration of sites and monuments for tourism development, rather than the institutional advancement. In 1968, 1970 and 1971, three missions altogether were dedicated to identifying those historical sites with the most appeal and accessibility, mapping out a "Historic Route" and more detailed planning of restoration (including budgets, experts required etc.).[340] The bulk of this planning was done by the Italian conservator Sandro Angelini, who estimated a total cost of over USD 1.7 million over the course of three years, shared between the UNDP and the Ethiopian Government. The plan was too costly and too ambitious in scope to be carried out, but it formed the basis of a renewed request for UNESCO's assistance from the Ethiopian government in 1972, which resulted in a more feasible programme, developed by G.S. Burrows in 1974. A long time in the making, these subsequent missions converged into the seven-year UNDP project ETH/74/014, which streamlined restoration and conservation works as well as the administrative improvements.[341]

Along with the heritage administration, the new Ethiopian National Museum, the successor institution to the archaeological museum, was also built up with the help of foreign experts provided through the UNESCO technical assistance programme over the course of several years, beginning in 1974. More or less every step taken towards establishing the Ethiopian National Museum followed the framework of an expert mission from UNESCO. In 1974, P.A. Cole-

339 Howland, "Recommendations".

340 Angelini, "The Historic Route"; Angelini and Mougin, "Proposals for the Development"; Gaidoni, "Cultural Tourism".

341 Flemming Aalund, "Preserving Ethiopia's Cultural Heritage", *ICOMOS Information* 2 (1986): 5–6.

King first reported about a broader strategy on the development of museums and set up a catalogue of exhibits at the IES, and in 1977 B.B. Lal spent one month restoring selected pieces for the New National Museum. In his report he expressed his annoyance about the piecemeal approach to constructing the museum over several years and through many small missions and initiatives.[342] Building up conservation laboratories, including equipment and a specialised library, formed a continuous part of the museum project. For a short while it was even planned to install a regional centre for conservation and to train conservators for the whole East African region.[343]

More importantly, in 1976 a new institution uniting all cultural heritage functions under one roof was established. Initially an expansion of the "Institut", the new "Centre for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage" (CRCCH) was systematically built up from 1977 on when the UNDP project ETH/74/014 provided opportunities to request funds and expertise. In 1979 the CRCCH was installed as a separate department of the Ministry of Culture to elaborate and fully nationalise responsibilities for heritage-making and administration. It had an organisational structure containing independent departments for inventory and monitoring, research, conservation and permissions, all of which would have been previously handled within just one office.[344] Through the Cultural Heritage division of UNESCO, several consultants were hired, who contributed to the expansion and organisational development of the CRCCH. Consequently, while the director and the administrative staff of the CRCCH would always be Ethiopian, still the expertise and many key actors involved in knowledge production were largely of Western provenance.

Contrary to the ruptures and violence occurring in the higher echelons of the political system after the revolution of 1974, daily operations continued at the heritage institutions. Many of the Ethiopian and foreign staff hired through the international organisations remained in their positions, such as Teshome Ashine, Director of the EWCO, or Berhanu Abebe, the director of the CRCCH for several years after its establishment, who was among those historians who

342 B.B. Lal, "Restoration of Works of Art in the Ethiopian National Museum – (Mission) 25 September – 25 November 1976 [Serial No. FMR/CC/CH/77/140]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1977).

343 Harold J. Plenderleith and Louis Jacques Rollet-Andriane, "Regional Centre for Conservation of Cultural Property: East Africa – (Mission) November 1974 [Serial No. 3190/RMO.RD/CLP]" (Paris: UNESCO, 1975).

344 Kebede Geleta Terefe, "Evolution", 59 – 60; since 2000 the name of the institution is Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCH).

had received their training abroad during the imperial government.[345] In particular through the UNDP project ETH/74/014, several more important steps in terms of institutionalisation happened. In 1981, a state of the art legislation for cultural heritage and national heritage inventory were created during two missions.[346]

The archaeological and natural research on the other hand was significantly restrained during the 1980s. One reason was the aftermath of the sensational finds of the oldest known humanoid paleontological remains in the Lower Valley of the Omo and the abundant findings in the Lower Valley of the Awash. These two sites, which were otherwise remote and difficult to access, had received World Heritage recognition and had drawn focus of numerous foreign research teams to the sites. From an early point, the excavation fields in the Omo and the Awash Valley were contested terrain since more sensational finds were expected. After the discovery of Lucy in November 1974, the increased international attention made it more and more difficult for the government to maintain the mainly bureaucratic control they had successfully held over the processes.[347] Part of the controlling mechanism was demanding a strict procedure of only temporary export of findings and making renewed permits conditional on the return of the exported objects. Every expedition party worked under the supervision and within the strict permission framework of the CRCCH, while being funded exclusively by foreign institutions, such as the National Science Foundation (NSF), the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or the Musée de l'homme in Paris. However, the administration and the conservation and research infrastructure in Ethiopia was overwhelmed with the requirements that came with the sensational findings—laboratories, museums, storage facilities and trained staff. Fierce competition among the researchers only added to the difficulties. Another reason was that the major natural and cultural heritage sites were located in the north of Ethiopia, where insurgent military forces of the TPLF had begun to create unrest, premeditating the Ethiopian Civil War that would last until 1991. Many regions were

345 Interview with Hans Hurni, May 12, 2015, Berne (CH); de Lorenzi, *Guardians of the Tradition*, 117.

346 Gasiorowski, "Legislation for the Safeguarding"; D.P. Abotomey, "Creation of a Cultural Heritage Inventory System" (Paris: UNESCO, 1981).

347 Interview with Jean-Renaud Boisserie, May 16, 2016, Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) Donald Johanson and Maitland A. Edey, *Lucy: The Beginnings of Humankind* (London: Granada, 1982); Niall Finneran, "Lucy to Lalibela: Heritage and Identity in Ethiopia in the Twenty-First Century", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 1 (2013): 41–61, https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2011.633540.

under restricted access, and restoration works and archaeological excavations had to be put on hold for several years. Eventually the government decided to halt all research and stopped handing out permits altogether. In an attempt to remain in control, the Ethiopian government announced a complete ban on paleontological excavations between 1981 and 1991.[348]

With the Ethiopian heritage institutions forming part of emerging international networks of conservation and heritage experts, in Ethiopia two complementary sides of the discourse of safeguarding heritage would come to dominate the institutional development: that of safeguarding the heritage of the past from modernity, emphasising the key role of heritage in the construction of identity through (national) belonging, and that of protecting it from illicit trade, emphasising the notion of heritage as property, national or international.[349] The global heritage discourse at the level of UNESCO and other international organisations and the national heritage discourse in Ethiopia aligned temporally during those years, indicating that heritage was a more globally encompassing process. Conceptually, the shift from antiquities to monuments which was premeditated by intellectual discourse since the late nineteenth century resulted in a discovery of the past, localising it in constructions and objects, which had to be preserved as links to earlier periods.[350] In comparison to the Norwegian examples mentioned earlier, it is possible to trace how the older notion of objects and sites as part of a project of universal knowledge databases changed in Ethiopia over the course of little more than twenty years.[351] New museums emerged, curating objects and monuments along an historical trajectory and as part of the national project, charging the objects and sites with a sense of belonging, creating a direct relationship from past to present and feeding into the construction of national identity.[352] At this moment, select natural sites and animal species, such as the Simien mountain range and its endemic Walia Ibex and Semien Fox, were also transformed into national icons and their images were featured on stamps and in tourist guidebooks. The writing of particular sites and emblematic objects into this national identity became important as a new "technology of governmentality" as part of the modernisation project in Ethiopia.[353]

Thomas Guindeuil has described how in the 1960s the imperial family started to acquire religious objects for the ethnographic museum, mobilising the

348 Roger Lewin, "Ethiopia Halts Prehistory Research", *Horn of Africa* 5, no. 4 (1982): 51–55.
349 Guindeuil, "Nature, culture, même combat?", 135–36.
350 Eriksen, *From Antiquities to Heritage*, 97.
351 Ibid., 100–101.
352 Ibid., 105.
353 Ibid., 137.

money of the more affluent international circles of Addis Ababa for more extensive acquisitions over the following years. These acquisitions were largely done through antique-dealers in Addis Ababa, who received stolen or illegally sold objects of church treasuries. During this time, with reference to Christian roots of Ethiopia, the term heritage became more widespread, serving to justify the acquisition as a joint effort of foreigners and of those in power.[354] In the official language as well as in the UNESCO-Ethiopian correspondences and those among experts, the terms antiquities, monuments and heritage (or patrimoine in French) were used in parallel and somewhat interchangeable. The first reports on wildlife conservation, especially the mission of Huxley et al., make rather ample use of the term, referring both to natural and cultural items. Sandro Angelini's 1971 report contains a section on an "inventory of the cultural heritage", consisting of one for monuments and one for art objects, but he also refers to the "Ministry of State for Antiquities"[355] and uses the term antiquities several times in a more general meaning when referring to historical sites. A more frequent and eventually dominant use of the term heritage can be observed in the written documentation and correspondence related to the UNDP project ETH/74/014, while in the final project report the term antiquities is not used at all. With the establishment of the CRCCH, heritage is officially installed in the title of the institution, even when in some government proclamations a residual use of the term antiquities can be observed for another few years.[356] Within the projects and institutions for wildlife and nature, the reporting and the correspondence have a more technical or scientific tone and the term heritage does not appear often in the writings, unless in direct reference to the World Heritage status of the Simien National Park.

The "boom years" – making Ethiopian heritage World Heritage

With the institutional history of heritage-making in Ethiopia and the information contained in the UNESCO reports in mind, it is easy to understand why Ethiopia was able to respond productively when the invitation was circulated in 1978 for applications to the World Heritage List. The Ethiopian government had reached its peak institutional capacity for heritage-making by that time, after two decades of intensive international assistance that included a build-up of institu-

354 Guindeuil, "Nature, culture, même combat?", 136.

355 Which did not exist, perhaps a careless oversight in a report written retrospectively and not while still residing in Ethiopia?

356 Aleme Eshete, *The Cultural Situation*, 37.

tions as well as specific sites. Personal and professional networks had formed over the period, and international heritage experts were able to act as brokers, helping to connect the remotely located Ethiopian heritage sites with the central government and the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. The UNESCO reports, over time, had fostered a compilation of selected sites into a circuit that eventually resembled the first cluster of heritage sites included in the World Heritage List. These sites not only complied with the UNESCO-sent Western experts' notion of what was considered "outstanding" but also demonstrated what was considered to be Ethiopia's most valuable history at the time from the government's viewpoint, namely the ancient monuments of northern Ethiopia.

The success of all Ethiopian requests to any of the international organisations for technical and financial assistance was essentially based upon a well-running system and a network of experts in place, with connections and channels already established. And the field of conservation activities was no exception to this fact. The impact of these decade-long efforts to build up the institutional heritage-making capacities in Ethiopia showed considerable results during the 1970s. Because many international experts were already involved in relevant conservation activities in both the natural and cultural fields within Ethiopia (with UNESCO providing the most prominent platform for them), Ethiopian national heritage was registered and recorded by Western standards. The extensive documentation that existed, a prerequisite for the positive evaluation of the World Heritage nomination through ICOMOS, had been created for the main Ethiopian heritage sites either in the context of the research of the "Institut", through prior UNESCO expert missions, or the WWF specialists working in the Simien Mountains. Through the experts and consultants present in the country, in 1978 Ethiopia was able to submit nominations that could smoothly pass evaluation by ICOMOS and IUCN according to their scientific standards, while only having national resources at its disposal that represented the bare necessities of heritage-making infrastructure. Because of the ongoing project ETH/74/014, institutional capacities were in place to attend to the newly ratified World Heritage Convention. In fact, in the context of the extent of the project ETH/74/014, the World Heritage Nominations appear like a side effect of a large-scale plan to establish proper institutionalised national heritage conservation.

After the commencement of the project ETH/74/14 for the "Presentation and Preservation of selected sites", the associated expert and the architect restorer of the project carried out extensive and detailed documentation and prepared information on management plans for individual sites as well as the national inventory. These management plans and the project activities presented important practical stepping-stones for the nomination of selected sites as World Heri-

tage.[357] The preparation of Ethiopian heritage sites for inclusion in the World Heritage programme was foreseen as a part of the project from the beginning, and the experts employed for the project "took active part in draft completion of the nomination forms."[358]

The historian Berhanu Abebe, who served as director of the CRCCH during that time, was well-versed in international collaboration in the field of heritage-making and historic research, and immediately understood the relevance of the invitation to submit nominations to the World Heritage programme in increasing potential support from the international community for the conservation of Ethiopian heritage. In addition to the support received from the ETH/74/014 project team, Berhanu Abebe turned to UNESCO's Division of Cultural Heritage, requesting a "Consultant for the Preparation of the Drawing-up a World Heritage List":

> In conformity with the World National and Cultural Heritage Convention I should like to request a Consultant for a four weeks [sic] stay in Ethiopia to assist our Department in drawing-up a list of outstanding sites and monuments to be presented for inclusion in the World Heritage List. We consider this request being a logical consequence of the Ethiopian Government's ratification of the mentioned convention and we give the request activity high priority. At the same time we want to emphasize the support which the visit of the Consultant could give to our newly created Inventory Department as well as to the preparation for the implementation of the resolution 19/126.[359]

As a result, the Iranian archaeologist Firouz Bagherzadeh, of the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research, who had completed similar assistance in several other countries, was sent to Ethiopia and assisted with the preparation of the World Heritage nominations.[360] The nomination list the Ethiopian government submitted to the fourth session of the World Heritage Committee in 1978 (which was the first one to decide on sites to be included on the World Heritage List) was the most extensive in comparison (eleven sites, the next highest number was Tunisia with four sites) and is a testimony of the vivid heritage-making activity in Ethiopia at the time.[361] The nomination dossiers for the Simien National Park, the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, the Fasil Ghebbi Castle in Gondar

357 Job description from 23.3.1978, UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. vi.
358 Note from Erik Olsen to Berhanu Abebe, 8.9.1978, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. vii.
359 Letter from Berhanu Abebe to Percy Stulz, no date, in: UNESCO 069:72 (100) A 218.
360 Cable from Percy Stulz to Firouz Bagerzadeh, March 1978, in: UNESCO 069:72 (100) A 218.
361 UNESCO, Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, List of nominations to the World Heritage List and of requests for co-operation received from States Parties, 31.5.1978, WHC CC.78/CONF.010/07.

and the historical remains of ancient Aksum contained a wealth of material. Drawing on the existing scholarly literature and ongoing ecological and archaeological research and conservation works, it was easy enough to support the nomination with photographs, plans, maps, drawings and other relevant information, commonly referred to as "documentation" by UNESCO and ICOMOS. The Simien National Park and the Lalibela Stone Churches were accepted in the first round, and according to the Swiss Geographer Hans Hurni, who was employed by the EWCO throughout the 1970s, a management plan had been drafted in a last minute effort to ensure a World Heritage application of the park.[362] Included in the documentation for the Simien National Park was also tourism promotion material, such as the "Safari Ethiopia" brochure. For Lalibela, a management plan, including a topographic map of the church-area and an inventory, was submitted, as well as a number of international press clippings.[363]

As the conservation activities under ETH/74/014 were highly selective, only a few sites were eventually progressed far enough in the heritage-making process so as to qualify for the World Heritage nomination. For several of the sites submitted, the documentation was not deemed sufficient enough for the application to be considered according to the IUCN and ICOMOS evaluation and they were declined World Heritage status. Of Melka-Kontoure, Yeha, Bale Mountain National Park and the Abijatta Shala Lake National Park as well as the Eritrean sites of Adulis and Matara the following was noted: "All these nominations were deferred by the World Heritage Committee due to the absence of the necessary documentation, requests by the Advisory Bodies for more thorough site evaluations, as well as the submission of a tentative list of properties which Ethiopia intended to nominate. Furthermore, neither of the two natural sites, Bale Mountain National Park and Abijatta Shala Lakes National Park, were yet legally defined and protected under Ethiopian legislation."[364] For these sites, ICOMOS requested more detailed documentation and reviewed the revised nominations as sufficient in the following year (Gondar) and two years after (Aksum, Tiya, Omo and Awash). In the end, seven World Heritage sites were inscribed for Ethiopia by 1980, in the middle of a strenuous fifteen-year period of civil war, border conflicts and "Red Terror".

362 Interview with Hans Hurni, May 12, 2015, Berne (CH).

363 WHC CLT Nom 10, 11, 12.

364 Peter Stott and Flora van Regteren Altena, "Report of a Mission to Ethiopia to Conduct a Workshop on Management Plans for World Heritage Sites and to Examine the Current Status of World Heritage Sites in Ethiopia, 17–25 September 2004" (UNESCO, October 22, 2004), CLT/WHC/NOM 10.

None of the archives that hold relevant files for the Ethiopian World Heritage Sites (UNESCO, ARCCH, ICOMOS Documentation Centre) kept records such as accompanying correspondence that would allow access to the original submission from supporting documents after the 1978 session of the World Heritage Committee. The documentation material was either conservation or research related or of technical or scholarly nature. In the nomination file for Tiya, a separate page was added, listing "organisations which hold documents about Ethiopia" in Paris, together with a handwritten note listing the most relevant francophone periodicals. Given that the review of all nomination dossiers took place in the ICOMOS office in Paris, it is possible that the archaeologists, following the request to provide more documentation, thought it possible that the reviewer would be familiar with the Christian heritage sites, but not with the sites from the megalithic period. While the first mentioning of the Stelae fields of the Soddo region in Southern Ethiopia as a noteworthy archaeological site came in 1905, archaeological surveying and excavations did not start until 1974. Much like the Eritrean heritage sites, these southern heritage sites had enjoyed a much lower priority in the tourism development planning and consequently in the large-scale conservation projects and programming which took place during the UNDP project ETH/74/014.

With little to no touristic destination value, no monuments and no scenery declared to be iconic, the Lower Valley of the Omo and the Awash had not been part of any international conservation or development efforts either. Their nomination, at this time, owed largely to the scientific relevance, which was obvious within the experts' community, even if "Lucy's" discovery was still a few months away when the submissions were due to be sent to Paris. The nomination files included a rudimentary photographic documentation of the landscape and some excavation works and otherwise simply referred to the unique and rare quality of the sites as rich conservatories of over five million years of human and animal evolution, and its international renown among palaeontologists. For the bibliography section, the statement "It is numerous" (Omo) and "It is abundant" (Awash) seemed to suffice. When ICOMOS reviewer Léon Pressouyre wrote the proper justification statements for the sites early in 1980, he added the discovery of humanoid fossils to the criteria for inscription.[365]

The UNESCO missions and their ramifications in the Ethiopian administration elucidate a clear causality between the "heritage boost" for institutional heritage-making through UNESCO and the "heritage boom" through the increase in

365 ICOMOS Senior Programme Specialist Gwenaëlle Bourdin explained this to me in an interview I conducted on May 26, 2015.

archaeological and paleontological research work going on during the 1960s and 70s in general, and the consequent "boom years" of Ethiopian heritage-making in the period from 1972 to 1978. Ethiopia had a key role in conservation and development projects of UNESCO. The history of the organisations which would eventually serve as advisory bodies to the World Heritage Committee, IUCN and ICOMOS has more than some points of connection with the making of Ethiopian national heritage as World Heritage. As one of the first countries to respond to UNESCO's programme activities in heritage and wildlife conservation in the 1960s, Ethiopia was the target location for several of the first missions and projects for cultural and natural heritage conservation.

World Heritage and Ethiopian local realities

Most of the internationally recognised heritage sites had an overlap of national, local and international interests, impacting the livelihoods of local populations. World Heritage was conceived by a small network of professionals with a shared set of beliefs and a shared notion of validity – what Peter M. Haas has termed an "epistemic community" in a larger internationalist context. Haas developed this analytical concept to understand better the growing relevance of expert-knowledge in the policymaking process, in particular for global policies. While based on scientific principles and research experience, this knowledge is nonetheless normative, technocratic and far removed from actual sites and local contexts.[366] Moreover, World Heritage was then elaborated from universalist ideas into an operational programme. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the establishment of Ethiopian national heritage and World Heritage was characterised by heavy international involvement, and by a continuous internal and external politicisation of heritage. Heritage emerged as a new political resource in a conflicted and crisis-ridden Ethiopia during the 1960s and 1970s, to underline territorial claims and cultural dominance of the political ruling class. Through UNESCO's involvement and the presence of international experts, state heritage institutions in Ethiopia were modelled after the internationally dominating standard, encompassing more technical aspects of heritage-making (i.e. how to conserve, inventarise, etc.) as well as global norms for cultural policy. As a part of this standard, heritage has to be identified and preserved within a system of institutional governance. The attention from international researchers and conservators contributed to the commodification of heritage sites in Ethiopia. However, when looking at the impact of the internal and external politicisation of heritage as well as the impact that establishing heritage had on the ground, at the local level of the direct surroundings of the heritage sites, threats and opportunities alike arose for the population. And while a priori, local knowledge was assumed to be largely non-existent, heritage-making in Ethiopia, and in particular the making of World Heritage there, relied on locals acting as brokers and mediators of relevant knowledge. This micro-level of heritage-making suggests a degree of agency within the local communities that reflects a more multifaceted interpretation of the socio-political context of heritage-making.

366 Haas, "Epistemic Communities", 3, 10; Lynn Meskell, "Cosmopolitan Heritage Ethics", in *Cosmopolitan Archaeologies*, ed. Lynn Meskell (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 1–27.

A glimpse into the role of locals for research and conservation projects

Local actors were important for heritage-making as knowledge and cultural brokers. On location in the natural as well as cultural heritage sites, the local population served as go-betweens for researchers, foreign experts and tourists through the surroundings. In a tourist booklet for the Omo region in Southern Ethiopia, produced by the ETO in the late 1960s or early 1970s, "The Archaeologists" and the excavation sites near Kalam were listed as one of the destinations of interest for adventurous tourists. The photos showing the archaeologists at work also show a number of Black excavation workers, some in tribal attire, some in Western clothes. On one of the photos, a Black man, with tribal hair and skin decoration and without clothing, and a white man in a shirt sit opposite each other, looking down into a small wooden crate, examining its contents. The caption identifies the couple as "Archaeologist and Geleb assistant sorting through findings at work."[367] As was and is common for excavation works, it seems that the archaeological excavations in Omo regularly employed local workers, among them tribesmen without a formal education.

In this regard, the foreign interest, as well as national prioritisation, presented an opportunity for the local population—they worked as assistants and guides and could trade their extensive knowledge of the surroundings and the oral history tradition regarding the sites as valuable information to the foreigners. Graham Hancock, in his popular science book on searching for the Ark of the Covenant in the late 1980s, wrote that to him, it was obvious that "everyone in Aksum knows" the history of the sites and he claimed his work was reliant to a crucial extent on the strong local oral tradition.[368] Gledhill Stanley Blatch, a British businessman and hobby-archaeologist who visited Axum for the first time in 1967, engaged in personal correspondence with some of the locals who had previously assisted him during his stay. In his papers, which are held the SOAS archives in London, are a bunch of handwritten air-mail letters which allow us to retrace these relationships. From letters such as those he received from H., a high-school student, it is evident that he traded for the local's knowledge of antiquities by offering a small donation towards his staying in school. H.'s letters also reveal a perception of the visitor's interest as a connection and resource in a situation of political turmoil and existential threat. H. insisted that writing those letters, in which he informed Blatch about the situation in Tigray regarding the

367 Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and Ted Shatto, *Omo Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press, n.d.), 18–19.
368 Hancock, *The Sign*, 503–4.

accessibility to the rock churches and other sites, put his life in danger in times of political unrest in the region.[369] He explained that H. never stated his full name for safety reasons, as he reported about the situation in the area and suspected all mail to be read before being shipped abroad.

In the correspondence with Yirga Endaweke, "a simple and poor teacher"[370] in his own words, who worked occasionally as a tourist guide in Aksum, we learn that Yirga organised the purchase and shipment of paintings from Axum to London for Blatch, and in return asked for support in the publication of a small tourist guidebook he had produced. Yirga hoped to advance his professional opportunities through this publication: "So by this booklet, I can make acquaintance with some great people like you was my hope. Then by the help of such people, I may get scholarship. [...] Your excellency, I want you to help me and to try your best for me."[371]

These letters provide us with a small and personal insight, and they help to illuminate the role of the particular antiquities of international interest. In this regard, maintaining and establishing the sites as international heritage was a question of securing income, at least for parts of the local population. The inhabitants of the towns of Lalibela, Aksum and Gondar particularly understood the possibility of making themselves heard, or pursuing their particular goals, and how they might connect directly from their local level to the international level while circumventing the national government. Establishing personal relationships with foreign experts, be it as knowledge providers or by assisting them in their negotiations with the local clergy in order to obtain visitor permits, would strengthen their own position and agenda, especially in the years after 1974.

Marginalisation of traditional conservation knowledge through international standards

Aside from these local interactions, however, the activities of international heritage experts only very selectively included local knowledge into the heritage-making process. The official goal of the UNESCO and UNDP-organised assistance projects in Ethiopia was "to build a broad platform of self-reliance and skilled

369 Tigray Correspondence, SOAS, Blatch papers, file no. 15.

370 Letter from Yirga Nedaweke to Mr. G.S. Blatch, December 25, 1974, Tigray Correspondence, SOAS Blatch Papers, file 15.

371 Letter January 21, 1975.

manpower" for heritage-making.[372] The intention and attempt to put conservation and related knowledge into the hands of Ethiopians was articulated in all working plans. Officially, building capacity by training counterparts was both a requirement and a desired outcome for a technical assistance mission, but in practice this was often far from reality. Although the facilitation of national knowledge production was part of UNESCO projects, such as the training of staff in conservation techniques or the establishment of long-term training programmes, the lack of resources to properly equip and staff institutions and the political conditions in Ethiopia hampered the long-term successful outcome of such training attempts. Additionally, there was the difficulty in finding suitably trained people to start the specialised training in the first place.[373] Regularly, the lack of skilled manpower and expertise, and the insufficient standard of academic and vocational training of Ethiopian experts, was used as an argument to raise funds for projects and for fellowships of Ethiopians to study in Europe. It was an explicit project goal of ETH 74/14 to "enhance the capabilities of the ministry in the administration and surveying of sites and monuments by practical in-service training followed by international fellowships".[374] The training of experts was decided on an individual basis with only a select few being allowed to continue their studies abroad. Prior to the fellowship the subsequent position of these individuals was already set, e. g. a painting restorer in Lalibela would restore a specific painting for two years; or another might become director of the IES; or another the head of CRCCH. In addition to these restrictions regarding the pre-selection of candidates, applicants for the fellowships were expected to have a good academic track record, and they had to provide medical examination records and pass language tests.[375]

Sometimes the Ethiopian authorities were even less convinced of their capacities than the international experts themselves. In order to conduct a photogrammetric survey of heritage sites, the CRCCH requested an expert mission during the project ETH 74/014. The chief architect of the project, Erik Olsen, together with the archaeologist Francis Anfray and the photogrammetry expert Maurice Gory, assessed the situation, and concluded that the Ethiopian resources were actually sufficient. The CRCCH had several qualified employees who, in their eyes, required only further specialist training in order to be suitable to the task, a solution they deemed both cheaper and more sustainable. Yet, they had to work to convince the Ethiopian authorities of this fact, a process that

372 Letter from Zewde Gurmu to Dr. K. King, 4.3.81, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. vii.
373 Letter from D. Najman to Mr. J.M. Saunders, 27.11.1975, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) A 136.
374 UNDP/ETH/74/014, Terminal Report, 2.
375 See the fellowship applications in UNESCO 069:72 (63) AMS and UNESCO 069:72 A 136.

took up several months. Eventually an inter-agency cooperation was launched and both the CRCCH and the Ethiopian Mapping Agency each sent a photographer on the fellowship to Europe.[376]

An additional factor inhibiting the establishment of local expertise and knowledge production was the general skills shortage which prevailed in Ethiopia during that time. Members of staff who had received specialist training in an area of conservation as part of an international assistance project were not necessarily employed in a position where they could put their particular expertise into practice. Instead, they were given other assignments within the administration. For example, out of those having received specialist training as part of the project ETH/74/014, "only one of the architects [...] trained [...] has been engaged by the Ministry of Culture [...]. The person studying as a building restorer completed his thesis work and was supposed to go to Denmark, but was assigned to administrative duties in the Project Section of the Ministry of Culture [...]".[377] In the eyes of the UNESCO consultants evaluating the conservation practice in Ethiopia, such a staff policy amounted to trained experts being wasted on unrelated jobs.

The relevance of international expert knowledge for the institutionalisation of knowledge production in general, and heritage-making in particular, was concomitant with an ignorance of knowledge production at the local level. Institutionalising Western knowledge production resulted in creating standards and systems that were impossible to sustain and grow from Ethiopian national capacities alone, especially in regards to the extensive management plans for the World Heritage sites. International involvement and training had in effect reinforced foreign control over knowledge production. An element of most expert missions was the evaluation of the national experts' work in order to ensure that they were working according to European standards. The ICRROM experts regularly evaluated the performance of Ethiopian staff as part of their restoration missions, while on the other hand the foreign experts themselves were rarely, if ever, evaluated. It was only on the basis of complaints that particular sections of their work could be re-examined.[378] Despite an occasional positive evaluation, such as ICCROM Director Harold Plenderleith's assessment of the CRCCH conser-

376 Correspondence and notes regarding the photogrammetry fellowships, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. ixb.

377 UNDP/ETH 74/14, Terminal Report, 7.

378 Confidential letter from Erik Olsen to Tesfaye Shewaye, 21.2.1980, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. ix.

vator Mammo Mugale as "well qualified to supervise or indeed to execute"[379] necessary first aid restoration in Lalibela, the Western experts participating in the conservation projects in Ethiopia regularly stated that conservation would only be possible by continuing the practice of recruiting qualified and experienced technicians and restorers from abroad.[380] In contrast to this assumed hierarchy on the part of ICCROM, the restoration works in Lalibela were met with criticism regarding the diligence and site-specific knowledge of architect-restorer Sandro Angelini.[381]

The Ethiopian Orthodox church acted as the guardian of all church-related, religious heritage sites, yet this was only occasionally mentioned in the correspondences or reports, and not once was a concrete contact or counterpart in the church organisation referred to or named. As a result also from the separation of church and state, the conservation efforts of the Ethiopian Orthodox for her cultural and natural heritage ran parallel, but entirely separated to the national and international efforts. In Axum, for example, a 2005 UNESCO monitoring mission was surprised to find that the close proximity of church and state antiquities had led to a contested development of museum and conservation projects, infringing on each other's protection measures so gravely that the World Heritage Committee discussed the listing of Axum on the list of World Heritage sites in danger.[382]

Looking at the history of heritage-making institutions in Ethiopia and the role of international heritage-experts and UNESCO, in particular in the years between 1972 and 1978, makes it possible to see these years as "boom years" for heritage-making in Ethiopia. These years were simultaneously the preparatory years between the ratification of the World Heritage Convention and the compilation of the first World Heritage List, which explains the increase in activity and funds on UNESCO's side. By then, some of the central government's efforts to-

379 Ethiopia—The Restoration of Cultural Property—A Preliminary Report, 6.-16.12.1973, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. iv; the mission's main goal was apparently to examine whether or not Sandro Angelini had done damage to the churches through his use of concrete during the restoration works in the 1960s.

380 Letter from Gerard Bolla to Tekea Zere, no date, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) A 136.

381 Elisabetta Bruno, "I restauri di Sandro Angelini in Etiopia" (Venice: Università Ca'Foscari Venezia, 2017).

382 Stott and van Regteren Altena, "Report of a Mission to Ethiopia to Conduct a Workshop on Management Plans for World Heritage Sites and to Examine the Current Status of World Heritage Sites in Ethiopia, 17–25 September 2004"; Hiluf Berhe Woldeyohannes, "Aksoum (Ethiopia): An Inquiry into the State of Documentation and Preservation of the Archaeological and Heritage Sites and Monuments" (Toulouse: Université Toulouse le Mirail – Toulouse II, 2015), 252–62, https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01341824.

wards institutionalising heritage-making, which had started in the 1960s, had become manifest at a national scale. The involvement of UNESCO marked a turning point in Ethiopian heritage-making as the incipient national efforts and expertise could be merged into projects that benefited from the increased international attention and the new funding possibilities through UNESCO.

Funds, expertise and technical equipment for heritage production could have never been provided to the same extent by the Ethiopian government. In 1967, the Ethiopian Ministry of Agriculture stated that "as far as possible [wildlife protection] staff will be recruited locally in the areas concerned, since it is important that such men should be familiar with the country and its wildlife".[383] But even when such relevance was given to local knowledge, the requirement for the extensive mapping and inventorying of heritage sites, photographic documentation, drawings and population counts of plant and animal species would have been impossible to fulfil without the work of international experts and the funding of international technical assistance programmes. The establishment of the two government authorities, CRCCH and EWCO, with the help of foreign funds and expertise, meant that conservation practice was carried out according to Western principles. From the onset, knowledge production occurred within international expert networks, albeit under the control of the Ethiopian government. As a result, knowledge of Ethiopia circulated worldwide, contributing to the generation of an image of Ethiopia compatible with Western historiography and shaped by Western ideas of Ethiopia, with Ethiopian national heritage a foreign domain and an elite representation from the beginning.

The case of the Muslim city of Harar, which was among the sites nominated in 1978, is interesting because more visibly than at the other Ethiopian heritage sites, regional authorities acted as stakeholders. In Harar, both the government and the international experts encountered a vibrant and engaged tradition of heritage-making through local families which collected, preserved and displayed objects in historical buildings. In 1979, the Ethiopian Ministry of Culture, together with the Chief Technical Advisor of ETH/74/14, undertook a mission to Harar to promote the positive effects and intentions of NGO and International Organisation conservation efforts. The aim of this mission was to gain support for the cause of heritage-making and conservation under the ministry's authority, but also to familiarise local leaders with the official terms and concepts of the global

383 Ministry of Agriculture Planning Committee, *Third Five-Year Development Plan*, 7. Hans Hurni expressed a similar approach towards the local knowledge of preventing soil erosion in our interview from May 12, 2015 in Berne (CH).

heritage regime. In Harar, the participants had to acknowledge a vivid and engaged culture of heritage-making:

> Prior to the mission's arrival in Harar on 26.10.1979, in the afternoon arrangements were made for all planned meetings, discussions, plus a display of the survey and a reorganization of the small museum. The latter partly improved by items borrowed from citizens in the town. [...] On the exhibition was shown the survey-some 80 maps filled-in with colour indication in accordance with observation and the valid legend—a montage of photos with the theme: "A TOWN/its people/their places/their houses/ITS DECAY", a historical outline on Harar prepared by the Elders of the town and a remarkable study on the traditional houses, the technique and materials, with samples and indications where to be found—this study was prepared by an Hararian of the age above 85 years. The museal part covered old manuscripts, weapons, dresses, household articles etc.[384]

Although the members of the mission positively approved the heritage activities in Harar, they were unable to negotiate a concept with the local authorities in Harar relating to how to integrate a masterplan for the conservation of Harar into the existing programmes of the Ministry. Only in 1994 did Harar become a World Heritage site, because after 1991 the government was open to a more community-based approach to conservation.

The normative effect of internationalism and universalism

The international heritage and conservation activities in Ethiopia from the 1960s on were shaped by a Western discourse and practice of conservation, one that was often opposed to or negated existing uses of the sites in question and practices of preserving and remembering them. The relevance of Lalibela as pilgrimage site, for example, and the practical implications for the conservation of the churches that entailed are curiously absent in the UNESCO conservation reports. Many archaeologists and conservators understood themselves first and foremost as scientists or technicians in possession of objective knowledge. Their work was not typically informed by local functions or practices connected to the heritage sites. They operated on the premise of a universal culture, a fact which in their eyes was empirically grounded in an objective reality.[385]

Historic Monuments and landscapes and the conservation of their authentic features form the core of a nation's heritage according to this tradition, which

384 Letter from E. Olsen to Tesfaye Shewaye, 14.11. 1979, in: UNESCO, UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP pt. ix.

385 Eriksen, *From Antiquities to Heritage*, 56.

emerged in the context of French and English romanticism and antiquarianism and resonated well with other European nationalist discourses from the late eighteenth century. In connection to this, scientific disciplines and specialised professions, art history, archaeology and architectural conservation, evolved and grew in relevance.[386] The central premise of scientific conservation was to treat cultural values and "authenticity" as universal and empirically evident categories that could be observed and measured. For the European nation states, locating national history in heritage sites and monuments became a constituting element. The colonial expansion of European empires set off many projects for the "discovery" of treasures and sites and set off an interplay of archaeology and politics, for which the extra-European territories were explored for monumental remains of narratives that were regarded as central to the Western history.[387]

Mark Mazower has argued that with the decline of the European empires and the emergence of a new international order, international organisations first emerged as imperial devices to stabilise the political world order and power asymmetries.[388] They created a new frame of reference, and global genealogies. As a part of this, conceived at the pinnacle of the age of empire, the international heritage discourse can serve as an example for how the distinctions between imperialism, colonialism and universalism are important and useful, but also rarely clear-cut, and that it is important to consider relationships on a scale of inequalities and coercing mechanisms.[389]

Internationalism and universalism were important ideological frameworks for the foundation of UNESCO, driving the activities and programmes of the organisation in the early years in particular. Within this framework the concept of universal heritage, understanding conservation as a common responsibility of the international community, was installed as part of UNESCO's mandate. In connecting existing traditions and the Western discourse of heritage with the internationalist project, UNESCO provided a platform for a network of heritage-experts and created expert organisations as institutional gatekeepers of universal heritage. This aligned with the organisation's role as knowledge producing au-

386 Ibid., 25–26; see also Astrid Swenson's comparative analysis: Swenson, ""Heritage", "Patrimoine" und "Kulturerbe"".

387 Charlotte Trümpler, ed., *Das große Spiel: Archäologie und Politik zur Zeit des Kolonialismus, 1860–1940* (Köln: DuMont, 2008) and the essays and biographical notes in the volume.

388 Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 31–39.

389 Raymond B. Craib, "Cartography and Decolonization", in *Decolonizing the Map: Cartography from Colony to Nation*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 16.

thority for the internationalist and universalist discourses, in particular historical knowledge that was constructed as part of Western historiography and a Eurocentric world history narrative.

The internationalist project behind UNESCO's foundation was also characterised by a type of thinking which valued a well-established tradition of scientific rationality as a guiding principle for political decision-making.[390] During the founding process, the idea that UNESCO should become a community of scientists and intellectuals developing guidelines for the future would increasingly shape the structural and programmatic outline of the organisation. The proponents of intellectual cooperation had even argued against setting up UNESCO as a member-state driven organisation, and giving leading intellectuals voting memberships equal to the political representatives in the organisational hierarchy.[391] While this concept did not fundamentally find its way into the constitution of UNESCO, scientific experts and their knowledge were embedded in the ideological and structural foundations of UNESCO.[392]

The internationalist and technocratic ideologies that guided the formation of UNESCO also explain the emergence of natural and cultural conservation as a goal under UNESCO's mandate. Conservation of, and concern with, a universal world heritage was a legacy from the time of the League of Nations, and UNESCO inherited in accordance the existing international structures for conservation. Two key concepts of World Heritage—the idea of a universal, common heritage of humankind and the common responsibility to make efforts to protect and conserve this heritage—were already conceived during that time.[393] The idea held

390 Haas, "Epistemic Communities", 8; Speich Chassé, "Technical Organizations", 30; Lepenies, "Lernen vom Besserwisser", 37.

391 Hans Heinz Krill, "Die Gründung der UNESCO", *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 16, no. 3 (1968): 272–73.

392 On a practical level, the political debates on whether UNESCO should be set up as an intellectual cooperation or an intergovernmental organisation would later have very direct effects on the conservation activities. Ratification of conventions and financing of activities as an intergovernmental organisation had a more binding character for the member states. At the same time, both ratification and financing were also more influenced by political tendencies and subject to extensive bureaucratisation. J.P. Singh, *UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization): Creating Norms for a Complex World* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2011), 7.

393 Sarah M. Titchen, "On the Construction of Outstanding Universal Value: UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the Identification and Assessment of Cultural Places for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" (Canberra, Australian National University, 2006), 22–34; Anna-Katharina Wöbse, "Globales Gemeingut und das Naturerbe der Menschheit im Völkerbund und den Ver-

that in order to achieve the overarching idealistic goal of world unity and peace, efforts had to include a practice of heritage, and this idea prominently integrated itself into UNESCO's founding process and was subsequently embedded in the constitution of 1946, which states that one of the organisation's tasks was to assure "the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science".[394]

From its foundation, UNESCO provided an important platform for the existing academic discourse and initiatives concerned with conservation, fostering the gradual development of recommendations and conventions for the protection of natural and cultural heritage. Actors from within UNESCO, namely members of the secretariat, worked on establishing new expert networks or connecting UNESCO to existing ones for natural and cultural heritage conservation, in order to position the organisation as strategically central within the several international discourses of cultural and natural conservation. The establishment of these international conservation organisations and policies served the purposes of gaining and maintaining control over the scientific principles and cultural values and ensuring an effective gatekeeping role for knowledge production.

Colonial and imperial legacies of international heritage conservation

In theory and practice, the concept of universal cultural heritage and the conservation programmes and projects executed under UNESCO'S mandate had a colonial legacy, which can be explained in part through the ideological origins of UNESCO and in part through the scientific principles which guided the practice of conservation. The universalist thinking that was woven deeply into the foundation of UNESCO was essentially Eurocentric and colonialist. When speeches, programmes, essays and other documents spoke of international or universal issues, they were first and foremost concerned with European issues and arguing from a European or at best North-Atlantic perspective, since the majority of participants and intellectual architects of the organisation were representatives of the most influential empires in North America and Europe. The founding debates took place at a time when large parts of Africa and Asia were under colonial rule and many of the founding actors had a past or present function as colonial administrators or worked as intellectuals in an academic environment that had en-

einten Nationen", in *Global Commons im 20. Jahrhundert: Entwürfe für eine globale Welt*, ed. Isabella Löhr and Andrea Rehling (München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014), 134–35.

394 UNESCO, "Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization" (1972), Art. I, 2c.

gaged in colonialist knowledge production for decades. They conveyed, in their debates, the widely accepted naturalised notion of Europe as the place where, through progress and development, civilisation had reached its height, and the tenet that much of these accomplishments were owed to ancient traditions of empire, colonisation and white cultural superiority.[395]

Since around 1900, several European countries had been in an accelerating competition for excavation rights in North Africa, the Levant and the Anatolian Peninsula. Searching for remnants of mythical sites such as the Holy Land in Palestine, Babylon and Mesopotamia in Iran and Iraq, Troy in Turkey or the Pharaonic Egypt had developed from individual curiosity and side-projects of military exploration into a matter of national prestige, imperial claim-staking, religious calling and collecting of treasures for European museums.[396] This archaeological race, fuelled by the dynamics of colonial expansion, necessitated, for the first time, negotiations on cultural heritage and its conservation at an international, diplomatic level. At conferences such as the 1937 International Conference on Excavations in Cairo, delegates discussed the legal implications for archaeological excavations within the international order – over the heads of those who lived and worked in the vicinity of the heritage sites.[397]

Consequently, UNESCO provided, from its foundation on, an important platform for the existing academic discourse and initiatives concerned with conservation, effectively linking them under its umbrella.[398] Following the destruction caused by two World Wars, many European states were confronted with extensive reconstruction undertakings for their cities, and their cultural monuments in particular. For representatives of these states, some of them key players in the formation of UNESCO, the necessity of international cooperation on a tech-

395 Falser, Michael. "Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: Methodological Considerations", in Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: From Decay to Recovery, ed. Michael Falser (Cham: Springer, 2015). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-13638-7_1., 4; see also: Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: Norton, 2011); Debbie Challis, *The Archaeology of Race: The Eugenic Ideas of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

396 Trümpler, *Das große Spiel*, 16 – 17.

397 Charles de Visscher, "Conférence internationale des fouilles (le Caire, 9 – 15 Mars 1937) et d'Oeuvre de l'office international des musées", *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée* 18, no. 4 (1937): 701; I want to thank Christopher Zoller-Blundell for bringing my attention to this conference.

398 Andrea Rehling, ""Kulturen unter Artenschutz"? Vom Schutz der Kulturschätze als Gemeinsames Erbe der Menschheit zur Erhaltung kultureller Vielfalt"", in *Global Commons im 20. Jahrhundert: Entwürfe für eine globale Welt*, ed. Isabella Löhr and Andrea Rehling (München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014), 165 – 66; Ana Filipa Vrdoljak, *International Law, Museums and the Return of Cultural Objects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 116 – 17.

nical and practical level was apparent and this produced a very favourable climate for the existing international associations of architects and restorers to connect with UNESCO.[399] Restoration architects, archaeologists and urban planners convened under the organisation's sponsorship and campaigned for the conservation and restoration of existing architectural heritage to formulate a counterposition to the radical modernist movement, which argued for a demolition of old structures and the creation of new, technologically advanced urban design.

UNESCO seemed to many an ideal platform in which to act, as an independent international institution where professionals and experts concerned with conservation could meet government and civil society representatives in need of larger scale actions. As a first project, the International Centre for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments (ICCROM or "the Rome Centre") was founded in 1959 under the supervision of UNESCO's cultural department. The centre's purpose was to facilitate the collaboration of experts, and to efficiently provide the highly specialised expertise for monuments deemed to be in need. One the one hand, ICCROM was tasked to carry out conservation projects, and on the other hand, it was supposed to provide an international reference point for information, research, consultation and training. ICCROM, in the minds of its founders, would provide and circulate the esteemed knowledge and science of conservation in a more binding manner through the power of UNESCO's backing, in lieu of financial means to engage in concrete conservation projects of cultural—and predominantly architectural—heritage. In 1964, a second organisation, the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), was founded as an international expert association for historic monuments. ICOMOS was supposed to constitute, in the words of its first President Piero Gazzola, "the court of highest appeal in the area of the restoration of monuments, and of the conservation of ancient historical centres, for the landscape and in general of places of artistic and historical importance".[400] ICCROM was supposed to act as the executive power of the heritage regime, by providing technical expertise and by carrying out conservation projects.

Restoration and conservation, the members of ICOMOS insisted, was a responsibility that belonged in the hands of "qualified architects"[401] only. ICOMOS and ICCROM were therefore to serve as guardians with an obligation to "prevent

399 Jukka Jokilehto and ICCROM, *ICCROM and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage: A History of the Organization's First 50 Years, 1959–2009* (Rome: ICCROM, 2011), 3–10.

400 Quoted in Michael Petzet, *International Principles of Preservation*, Monuments and Sites 20 (Berlin: Bäßler, 2010), 11.

401 Final recommendations of the Congrès international des architectes et techniciens des monuments historiques, Paris, May 6–11, 1957, quoted in Jokilehto and ICCROM, *ICCROM*, 10.

badly trained conservators from undertaking restoration of important works of art."[402] Upon the creation of ICOMOS, these ambitions were formulated in more detail in the *Venice Charter*, an international code of conduct for restoration. The *Venice Charter*, according to Piero Gazzola, presented "an obligation which no one will be able to ignore, the spirit of which all experts will have to keep, if they don't want to be considered cultural outlaws."[403]

In a parallel process to the creation of these binding standards for conservation through established experts in conservation science, the idea of creating a "red cross" for the conservation of monuments worldwide became more important in the cultural heritage division and among member states of UNESCO.[404] Building on existing global legal instruments, such as the 1954 *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, several agreements were drafted in the following years, all written with the intention to pave the way for a worldwide standard of protection, and the commitment to conservation of built cultural heritage, binding for all member states of UNESCO.

The idea of natural conservation was part of an emerging, multifaceted environmentalist discourse that was, at the time of UNESCO's founding, prominent but still in its early conceptual state. The belief that science could mend the ailments of civilisation, a concept central to environmentalism, however, reverberated strongly in the ideological debates during the founding phase of UNESCO.[405] As a part of the science mandate, ecological endeavours and natural conservation were derived as activities for UNESCO. UNESCO's first DG Julian Huxley represented a vision of "man's destiny as the new director of evolution on earth",[406] an evolutionary humanism as a new science-based value system that would "supply the world with a course correction consistent with the enhanced place of science as the source of explanation in modern life."[407] This position was controversial, because of its decidedly anti-religious approach, but these technocratic and internationalist visions had many like-minded actors

402 Jokilehto and ICCROM, 12.

403 Petzet, *International Principles of Preservation*, 11.

404 Titchen, "On the Construction", 59.

405 Singh, *UNESCO*, 5–8; Wöbse, "Globales Gemeingut", 139–40.

406 R.S. Deese, "The New Ecology of Power: Julian and Aldous Huxley in the Cold War Era", in *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, ed. J.R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 281. Deese suggests that Huxley's idea of humans as Zoo-Directors of the world might be related to his former position as the director of the London Zoo, ibid. 283.

407 Paul T. Phillips, *Contesting the Moral High Ground: Popular Moralists in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013), 157.

within the sphere of international organisations.[408] Julian Huxley's polarising positions, ranging from eugenics to delusional geo-engineering proposals, helped to publicise and mobilise the environmental discourse.[409] This scientific environmentalism, arguing for separation of humans and nature, to protect the latter from the former, was boosted through the authority and networking agency of UNESCO, particularly through the foundation of the IUCN in 1949. IUCN was supposed to connect existing government bodies rather than conduct research itself, and it was charged with providing and communicating existing knowledge and the rapidly growing body of environmental research and data alike.[410]

Despite the all-encompassing, universal claims, the environmental question during the 1960s and 1970s was divided along two different lines: that of protecting habitats on the one hand and that of conserving and efficiently using natural resources on the other hand. The idea of protection had a narrower focus on the aesthetic value of nature and therefore argued to protect nature from human influence. The idea of conservation was orientated around the scientific and empirical value of nature as an economical resource, and therefore aimed to integrate the protection of humans from natural risks with the use of natural resources for economic development. During these years, through the work of different departments, UNESCO became somewhat of a linchpin in redefining the rather narrowly-focused, strict goal of protecting isolated species of flora and fauna, towards the conceptually more open and universally applicable concept of the conservation of nature, without neglecting the aesthetic aspect.[411] Not only was the concept of conservation more open to development and change, rather than the attempt to protect a status quo, it also permitted the inclusion of the use of natural resources, which had been a major contradiction in the concept of protection to national state economic interests.[412]

---

408 Ibid., 158; Rehling, "Kosmopolitische Geschichtsschreibung", 380 – 83.

409 Kai Hünemörder, "Environmental Crisis and Soft Politics: Détente and the Global Environment, 1968 – 1975", in *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, ed. J.R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 257 – 60.

410 Martin W. Holdgate and IUCN, *The Green Web: A Union for World Conservation* (Cambridge; London: IUCN, 1999), 66 – 67.

411 Simone Schleper, "Life on Earth: Controversies on the Science and Politics of Global Nature Conservation, 1960 – 1980" (Maastricht, Maastricht University, 2017), 3 – 37; Wöbse, "Globales Gemeingut", 140 – 42.

412 In particular, the notion of sustainability and biodiversity made environmentalism of interest to donors, as it presented the availability and conservation of natural resources as a basic condition for economic development and growth. UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Programme aimed to serve as mediator between natural diversity and the economic interest of the local population, and integrated these fields in one programme, and suggested Biosphere Reserves as a

It is from this understanding that the concept of national parks serving as sites of a natural universal heritage emerged. In Julian Huxley's view, it was the emphasis on protection over other aspects of the environmental discourse that made it possible to integrate IUCN into the existing concept of UNESCO:

> Delegates asked me what seemed to me silly questions: why should UNESCO try to protect rhinoceros or rare flowers? Was not the safeguarding of grand unspoilt scenery outside its purview? However, with the aid of a few nature lovers I persuaded the Conference that the enjoyment of nature was part of the culture and that the preservation of rare and interesting plants was a scientific duty.[413]

In particular, there was discussion of the role of national parks as providing much needed cultural and aesthetic education for the general public.[414] The legal and conceptual framework of national parks, which dated back to the beginning of the twentieth century, presented the key conceptual link for the combination of natural and cultural universal heritage. In their final recommendations, the first international conference on national parks in 1961 connected their activities to UNESCO's recommendation to safeguard the beauty and character of landscapes and sites, submitted at the General Conference in 1962.[415]

The nature-related activities of international organisations experienced a considerable boost from the 1960s onward, when environmentalism expanded as a global discourse. Seminal works like Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* , warning of the loss of biodiversity, or the Club of Rome's *The Limits to Growth*, which alerted about the global impact of population pressure, had a broad public reception and rendered environmental protection as well as environmental crisis popular and effective buzzwords among policymakers.[416] In addition to these

---

new category of protected zones. In September 1968, the first Biosphere Conference took place, and was the first international conference concerned with the relationship between environmental and development problems. Schleper, "Life on Earth", 42.

413 Julian Huxley quoted in: Holdgate and IUCN, *The Green Web*, 22.

414 Holdgate and IUCN, 41–42; Bernhard Gissibl, Sabine Höhler, and Patrick Kupper, "Introduction: Towards a Global History of National Parks", in *Civilizing Nature: National Parks in Global Historical Perspective*, ed. Bernhard Gissibl, Sabine Höhler, and Patrick Kupper (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 10–11.

415 Recommendation No. 4 in: *International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources et al., First World Conference on National Parks: Proceedings of a Conference Organized by The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. Seattle, Washington, June 30–July 7, 1962*, ed. Alexander B. Adams (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1962), 377.

416 Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring & Other Writings on the Environment*, ed. Sandra Steingraber (New York: Library of America, 2018); Donella H. Meadows and Club of Rome, eds., *The Limits*

more theoretical and ideological positions, the Hawaiian Mauna Lao observatory's monitoring of a global rise of atmospheric CO2, which had started in 1958, brought the concept of climate change to the debate and delivered an empirical underpinning for these concerns.[417] During the global cold war, environmental concern arose as the first field of action for political international cooperation between many countries on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain. Since they seemed capable of overcoming divisions through common concern for the greater good of the whole world, consequently, the universal dimension transformed the environmental question into a subject of diplomacy in the early 1970s.[418] This "quasi-religious and ethical basis of cold war environmentalism",[419] characterised by pacifism, eclectic mysticism and an integrated vision of life on earth, is an important conceptual foundation for the World Heritage Convention and the operational guidelines based on it. At that time, independent from the cultural heritage expert community, and embedded within the diversified and globalised environmentalist discourse, the idea of keeping a small, select set of sites as "protected heritage", shielded as much as possible from human intervention and exempted from available resources for good, was evolving to include cultural heritage sites as well, eventually resulting in the World Heritage Convention.[420] Hand in hand with the 1972 World Heritage Convention, it was decided to provide assistance to the Convention's state parties to develop the necessary administrative prerequisites, which constituted a crucial element of heritage-making.

The universalist prerogative had been firmly embedded in the evolution of the academic disciplines of archaeology and art history, demonstrated by the aim to classify and categorise, to take stock of an imagined complete inventory of natural resources and cultural remains. Conservators, art-historians, archaeologists and architect-restorers saw themselves elevated to international heritage-experts and viewed UNESCO as the final destination for conservation in the Western tradition, since it ennobled scientific conservation as the provider of

---

to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind (New York: Universe Books, 1972).

417 Daniel C. Harris, "Charles David Keeling and the Story of Atmospheric CO2 Measurements", *Analytical Chemistry* 82, no. 19 (October 1, 2010): 7865–70, https://doi.org/10.1021/ac1001492.

418 Hünemörder, "Environmental Crisis", 274; Schleper, "Life on Earth", 48–49.

419 Deese, "The New Ecology of Power", 281.

420 Wöbse, "Globales Gemeingut", 152; Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, "Voices of the Pioneers: UNESCO's World Heritage Convention 1972-2000", *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 1, no. 1 (2011): 18–19, https://doi.org/10.1108/20441261111129924.

a "universal world knowledge".[421] Through UNESCO, conservators naturalised this scientific practice of applying their expertise to non-Western regions. Like in Ethiopia, foreign experts named, classified and analysed heritage sites and monuments in African and Asian countries, undertook standardising efforts, drafted policies and legal recommendations, and developed management and master plans – in short, their influence in defining national heritage of the new nation-states was immense, especially on the institutional and administrative level.

During the 1960s, UNESCO manifested the scope of its internationalist conceptual underpinnings through operational projects in the developing world. The development paradigm, which was quickly gaining in relevance in the post-war and post-colonial world, caused a shift in UNESCO's role from an intellectual to an operational one, as it put the necessary funds into UNESCO's hands.

UNESCO provided not only the institutional framework to scale the discourse of a selection of sites of universal heritage to a global dimension, but more importantly, it practically provided territory to apply the programmes and ideas, through the programme of technical assistance and later the UNDP. The conceptual parallels of heritage-making and development included continuity, in many aspects, with colonialist efforts, that was characterised by a territorialising dimension. UNESCO's cultural and natural heritage activities have much in common with imperial mapping practices as defined by Matthew Edney: "Imperial mapping is that of territories and polities by peoples and interests removed – emotionally, morally, and spatially – from the territories and peoples mapped, who have relatively little say in how and why they are mapped."[422] The selection criteria and the technological aspects of heritage conservation included a variety of mapping practices, such as zoning and documentation, and supported the construction of an ownership-like affiliation of the international community, or UNESCO respectively, over the site in question. Rendering Ethiopian historical remains into the legal category of antiquities also established them as sites of national interest or, in the case of national parks, even national property. To understand the politicisation of Ethiopian heritage in the context of World Heritage, this aspect is essential. In Ethiopia, like in many other developing countries at the time, the conservation of natural and cultural heritage was installed as a state domain and utilised to pursue government interests.

421 Petzet, *International Principles of Preservation*, 11.

422 Matthew H. Edney, "The Irony of Imperial Mapping", in *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), 11–46, 45.

Land use conflicts arising from claims to heritage

Responding to the first call for nominations for the World Heritage site, Ethiopia submitted a selection that represented the dominating historical narrative of the "Great Tradition" of the Ethiopian empire. The submission is exemplary for the political role of heritage-making in Ethiopia in the years leading up to 1978. The ancient monumental sites—Aksum, Gondar and Lalibela—were major sites affiliated with the narrative of the ancient and medieval Ethiopian empire as well as with the Christian tradition. The high number of nominated sites are proof of a particularly vivid and pro-active engagement with heritage-making in Ethiopia during the 1970s. In a combined effort, the Ethiopian government agencies for cultural heritage and wildlife conservation had assembled a selection of sites that illustrates how the conservation efforts were targeted at sites that would integrate well with the overall goal of delivering a spatial and visual representation of Ethiopian national identity. When looking at all eleven of Ethiopia's submissions in 1978, and not only at the seven nominations that were successful in achieving World Heritage status, three of them were national parks. It is these parks in particular that reflect the strategic use of heritage-making and the dominance of the "Greater Ethiopia" image. The international acknowledgement acquired by achieving World Heritage status was supposed to sanction the establishment of large territories of government property in the name of natural conservation.[423]

The national parks, and in particular the Simien Park, due to its World Heritage status, demonstrate how heritage-making and the international claim on the land added pressure to the conflicts. International conservation experts deemed national parks to be the most appropriate instrument of wildlife conservation in Africa, as the concept was strictly top-down and necessitated complete government ownership of the protected territory in question. Rooted in a colonial and racialised understanding of African wildlife conservation, the protection of nature was underpinned by a racial distinction of "white" concern and "black" threat, or eco-racism.[424] The establishment of national parks in African states continued in many cases the colonial practice of materialising governance over vast and undeveloped territories through conservation, a controlling mechanism that appealed to the political elites of the independent nations.[425] The ex-

423 Blanc, *Histoire environnementale*, 81–83.

424 Ibid., 220; Jane Carruthers, "Africa: Histories, Ecologies and Societies", *Environment and History* 10, no. 4 (2004): 392–93, https://doi.org/10.3197/0967340042772649.

425 Blanc, *Histoire environnementale*, 35; "Akama, Africa's Tourism Industry", 143–44.

perts of IUCN, FAO and UNESCO, in accordance with international resolutions, insisted on the legal gazetting of the park as government property, and refused support or responsibility for territories not under appropriate control.[426] This argumentation probably seemed favourable to the Ethiopian government, as it justified the demand to establish National Parks as national property, with direct government control. The location of other planned parks and protected zones, as shown on the maps in the 1973 guidebook "Safari Ethiopia", that was published by EWCO, demonstrate that installing national parks was also attempted in other politically relevant regions, in particular the South-Western border to Sudan.[427]

The history of territorial conflicts is highly relevant for the impact of heritage and the meaning of World Heritage for Ethiopia in the 1960s and '70s, as land use and ownership were such crucial and sensitive issues. The territorial claim to a "Greater Ethiopia" linked heritage-making with the internal political and military battles of the north-south conflict, and with reference to the official historical narrative, heritage turned into an instrument of land control in the hands of the government. Control over land held a critical relevance that fuelled the dynamics of heritage-making and its instrumentalisation.

The growing pressure on land use, arising from population growth and environmental crisis, presented key demands on the internal political and social conflicts. One attempt to defuse this explosive potential was the series of forced resettlement programmes initiated by the government. Under Haile Selassie I, resettlement occurred mainly as a punctual displacement of pastoral communities, because of large government-induced or approved infrastructure or agricultural developments. Yet already from 1966 onwards, large-scale resettlement schemes formed part of the development planning in Ethiopia. Introduced as a panacea for all development ailments, in a strategic colonisation effort, over ten thousand households had been resettled by the time of the revolution.[428]

Following the failed attempts to mitigate the severe drought and environmental crisis, resettlement was further instrumentalised and sanctioned on a national level as well as by the international community in the context of famine relief efforts. Between 1974–1986 over half a million people were moved, including a restructuring of existing social patterns and the dispersion of existing com-

426 Walter J. Lusigi and J.W. Thorsell, *Action Strategy for Protected Areas in the Afrotropical Realm* (Gland: IUCN, 1987), 34, https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/5886.

427 Map: Ethiopia's conservation and controlled hunting areas, in: Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation, *Safari Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: EWCO, 1973).

428 Alula Pankhurst and François Piguet, *Moving People in Ethiopia: Development, Displacement & the State* (Oxford: James Currey, 2009), 7.

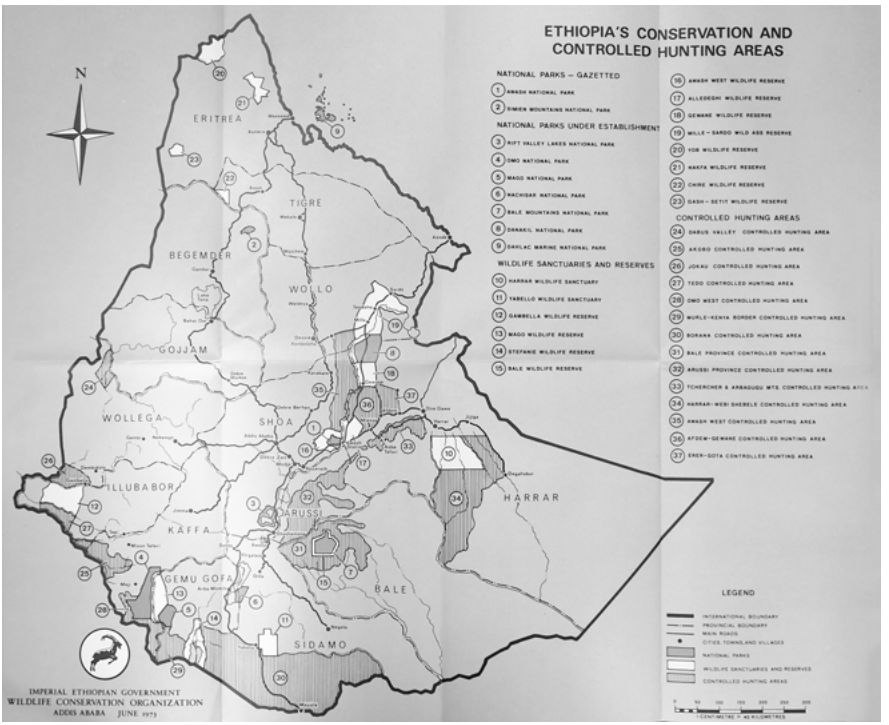


Figure 7: Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation. 1973. *Safari Ethiopia.* Addis Ababa: EWCO, Map 1.

munities, termed "villagisation". Beyond the proclaimed improvement of livelihood for Ethiopians affected by the drought, villagisation was an act that tried to create a consolidated path to stronger governance and state authority in all regions and areas of administration, as well as demonstrating independence and ability to both the nation and the international donors. The impact of villagisation was drastic for most affected and turned the existing problematic condition of land distribution, land use and livelihood, regional development and regional affiliation into an acute crisis where the geopolitical dimension of the crisis became more serious and sensitive than ever. Most communities and individuals suffered, especially socially and culturally, as a result of being broken up and isolated.[429]

429 Pankhurst and Piguet, 9–13.

Before the 1974 revolution, systems of land rights and land tenure had varied widely throughout Ethiopia, and the manifold nature of strong regional traditions and systems presented one of the biggest obstacles to forging centralised government control and a cohesive development politics in order to improve the livelihood of the weaker regions. After the revolution, all rural land was nationalised, and all traditional tenures abolished and replaced by a collective, government-controlled ownership structure with management of the land by peasant associations. While in the south of Ethiopia, the tenant farmers and landless peasants benefitted largely from this, at least in the first instance, the peasants and landowners of the north on the other hand largely opposed the loss of land-access and usage privileges. For them, this reform not only limited the control they had formerly held over their land, but more importantly also threatened the status and political power commonly linked to land ownership in the tenure-system of northern Ethiopia.[430]

The "territorialised identity"[431] of the highland communities in Ethiopia, and their system of land tenure that relied more on a concept of relationship and hierarchy than legally fixed property rights, made the installation of a national park as government property especially difficult in the highlands. At the same time, in the light of centralisation efforts, installing government-controlled protected zones or even the legal ability to seize the property of the park in favour of the state presented a highly interesting tool of governance and imperial expansion for Haile Selassie I. This also explains Haile Selassie I's openness towards a certain colonial-minded approach to natural conservation as championed by the former British-Kenyan game-warden John Blower and the UNESCO mission of Julian Huxley of 1963. Their recommendations supported an institutionalisation of natural and wildlife conservation as well as the selection of regions for conservation that were most likely to represent the symbolic power of the state over the various categories of natural realms.[432]

When in 1969 the Simien National Park was officially installed as one of the first Ethiopian national parks, more than half a million people inhabiting the area were rendered a human interference threatening the existence of the park, as by definition, no human settlement was allowed in national parks.[433] The WWF park wardens, IUCN and UNESCO experts, in particular a team of

430 Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity*, 46–48, 161–62.

431 Kjetil Tronvoll, *War & the Politics of Identity in Ethiopia: Making Enemies & Allies in the Horn of Africa* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: James Currey, 2009), 32.

432 Huxley et al., "The Conservation of Nature", 29; Blower, "Wildlife Conservation", 17–19.

433 Blower, "Wildlife Conservation", 10–11.

Swiss geographers and zoologists who served in all three of these functions (sometimes in parallel), undertook several attempts to balance out conservation requirements with a fair resettlement politics. Based on their scientific research, they analysed not only the environmental degradation, but also the living conditions and agricultural practices of the inhabitants of the Simien mountains. They emphasised the need for an approach that would integrate conservation and development planning.[434] In the World Heritage nomination dossier for the Simien National Park, which was drafted by Hans Hurni, then WWF Park Warden and advisor to EWCO, this situation was elaborated in unusual length and detail (when compared with other proposals of the 1978 submission round). In the section describing the history of the park, the following paragraph was added:

> The park was "planted" over existing human rights, the intention being to eliminate these rights at a later date. This was never accomplished; in fact the opposite has resulted in that over the past six years the influx of humans and their livestock has continued to the present. [The Swiss team] have supplied at their cost a succession of Swiss Co-Wardens and scientists over the past eight years and produced a detailed contoured map of 1:25.000 of the area. From this practical help, [they] hope to implement a project which, through practical demonstration of improved methods of agriculture, the people will be attracted out of the Park where their existence is extremely marginal, to a better mode of life in new outside areas.

In the section for the state of conservation, the final paragraph reads: "Work still required: of utmost importance is the fair and adequate resettlement of human inhabitants in areas outside the Park, then enforcing the law for the complete protection of the area."[435] Their proposals, however, remained fruitless. Instead, the inhabitants were met with hostility and aggression, going as far as the Ethiopian military destroying several villages and forcefully expelling over 1,200 people from the park.[436]

Under the Derg government, the territory of the Simien National Park, situated at the northern edge of central Tigray, was a battleground in the fight between the Ethiopian army and the forces of the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPFL). The TPLF managed to hold control over the territory of the park

434 Bruno Messerli and Klaus Aerni, eds., *Cartography and Its Application for Geographical and Ecological Problems*., vol. 1, 2 vols, Geographica Bernensia, G 8 (Bern: Geographisches Institut der Universität Bern, 1978).

435 Simien National Park, Ethiopia, Nomination Form, date received 24.4.78, in UNESCO CLT/WHC/NOM 11.

436 Blanc, *Histoire environnementale*, 69.

in the process of the ongoing civil war. However, they were not oblivious to the international interest in the park. In 1984, the TPLF Information Office in London sent an unsolicited letter to the Horn of Africa and Aden Council and to IUCN "to alleviate the worry of the [IUCN]" and stated:

> The TPLF, as you know, is fighting for the right of self-determination for the peoples of Tigray, who, together with other peoples of Ethiopia have been denied basic human rights. The TPLF's policy with regards to conservation is simple, clear and unequivocal and states that the people have the responsibility to look after their natural resources, both plants and animals, land and water. As a result, no trees are felled or animals hunted without explicit permission from the people's own local administration. It is perhaps useful for the Union to be aware that local administration is in the hands of popularly elected councils in Tigray unlike the case with the Military dictatorship in the so-called socialist Ethiopia.[437]

Establishing the Simien Mountains as a national heritage site presented a threat to the larger part of the local population. All official actors involved, in particular the international experts, unanimously deemed it necessary to remove, if necessary by force, the people living within the confines of the park. Despite the demand for development schemes for the local peasants, in the correspondence between the international experts, the EWCO, UNESCO and IUCN, the park's human population was referred to as a "problem", endangering the integrity of the national park.[438] International experts contributed with their work to the politicisation of heritage sites. Simien was already, in the early evaluations of international experts, considered one of the most endangered conservation areas because of poaching and the "encroaching cultivation" of the local population.[439]

For the several thousand inhabitants in the area, conservation activities resulted in forced resettlement. In addition, the restrictive ban on hunting, pasturage and agriculture in the park in effect withdrew the main means of livelihood from the region. From the first moment of international involvement, when the IUCN/FAO special project first identified the Simien Mountains as a potential national park, these restrictions were part and parcel of the concept for the park.[440]

Despite these demands expressed in reports and similar evaluation documents, and their far-reaching and sometimes violent repercussions, the experts involved in monitoring the park on the ground were concerned about the social

437 Letter from Girmay Asfaw to Louis Fitzgibbon, 23.5.1984 in UNESCO 502.7 A 101 WHC (63), pt. ii.

438 See the draft reports of Charles Rosetti and Ermias Bekele and the handwritten comments attached to them in UNESCO CLT/WHC/NOM 11.

439 Grimwood, "Conservation of Natural Resources", 6.

440 Blanc, *Histoire environnementale*, 164.

impact of the restrictions resulting from the establishment of the national park. Proposals for resettlement schemes that would include education opportunities, or proposals for a change of the delineation of the park boundaries to exclude a maximum number of inhabitants, were among those suggested by several experts.[441] The Swiss experts involved in the conservation of the park and the World Heritage Nomination process during the 1970s, geographer Hans Hurni and biologist Bernhard Nievergelt, initiated a Swiss-based, private "Pro-Simien Foundation" in order to install a boarding house in Debark, the major town of the Simien region, to enable the children of the local park wardens to visit the school in Debark.[442]

The relevance of World Heritage status for national heritage sites in Ethiopia shows that, from the beginning, the impact of World Heritage appeared to have manifold effects and ostensibly extended beyond conservation. National heritage, as part of the question of national identity, became more ideologically charged in a climate of fierce civil war and internal struggles. In the contested Ethiopian setting, the social implications of the question of national heritage and identity gave particular relevance to the role of establishing official national heritage. The involvement of an international organisation, UNESCO, inevitably tied international conservation efforts to national conflicts and necessitated a positioning of the international experts and policy implementation, voluntarily and involuntarily. Foreign experts contributed to the politicisation of heritage, since to deal with heritage the acquisition of a permit was mandatory. Any attempt of researchers or foreign journalists to remain neutral or unpolitical as regards heritage would not have been possible – neither in the imperial nor in the socialist periods of Ethiopian history.

441 Report Rosetti, Report Bekele in UNESCO WHC/NOM/11. Hans Hurni explained this to me in more detail during the interview I held with him on May 12, 2015 and how it resulted in the most recent re-drawing of boundaries for the park.

442 Messerli and Aerni, *Cartography and Its Application for Geographical and Ecological Problems*, 1: 7. See also the correspondence regarding the state of conservation and the Pro Simien Foundation in: UNESCO 502.7 A 101 WHC (63), pt. ii.

"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".[443] 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".[444]

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 "A 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'interésser l'Ethiopie et de la faire adhérer a 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.

 https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110681017-008

of the founding members in 1946.[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.[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.[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.[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.[449] Haile Selassie I's preexisting 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

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.

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.

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).

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

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.[450]

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.[451] 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.[452] 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.[453] 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

450 N.N., "Economic Commission for Africa", *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): 317; Balaṭa Balāčaw Yehun, *Black Ethiopia: A Glimpse into African Diplomacy, 1956 – 1991*, first edition (Los Angeles, CA: Tsehai Publishers & Distributors, 2014), 102 – 3.

451 Theodor C. P. Lilliefelt, "United Nation's Technical Assistance", *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): 290 – 93.

452 Maurel, *Histoire de l'UNESCO*, 179 – 80.

453 Letter from Dr. Naidu, 20.5.53, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63), pt i.

the possibility of receiving assistance with them.[454] 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.[455]

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.[456] 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.[457]

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 longstanding 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",[458] reflecting the view of the

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.[459] 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.[460]

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.[461] 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 larger-scale development projects.[462] 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.[463] 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.[464] 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.[465]

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

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-

466 There are several items of correspondence and internal notes regarding the subject matter in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63), pt. ii; the justifications for not employing Ethiopian nationals in the UNESCO secretariat appear vague and worthy of further investigation from today's viewpoint.
467 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.

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

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.[470] 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.[471]

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.[472] 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.[473] 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.[474] 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

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.[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 Commission for UNESCO. The Ethiopian government regularly submitted requests to the Participation Programme to enable the government agencies to better collaborate with UNESCO and other international organisations. Among the aid requests was an international study grant for the Secretary General of the Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO "to study the experiences in the different Sectors and Divisions of UNESCO on project preparation, monitoring and evaluation"[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 National Commission for UNESCO.[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 possibilities of interest to a national delegation, propose a request and offer support for submission. UNESCO divisions then offered help to review the submitted requests 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.[478] This was deemed necessary not only to maintain the correct bureaucratic procedure but also to ensure the use of funds provided within the allocated time.

---

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.

476 Letter from Abdulmenan Ahmed to J. Kabore, 9.1.1984, in: UNESCO BRX AFR 4.

477 Participation Programme request from December 29, 1983, to be considered in 1984, in: UNESCO BRX AFR 4.

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 politics 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.[482] 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.[483]

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.[484] 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.[485] 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.[486] 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.[487]

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.[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.[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."[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.[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.[492]

14662040600624536; Puddu, Luca, und Emmanuele Fantini, "Ethiopia and International Aid: Development between High Modernism and Exceptional Measures", in *Aid and Authoritarianism in Africa: Development without Democracy*, herausgegeben von Tobias Hagmann und Filip Reyntjens, 91–118 (London; Uppsala: Zed Books; Nordiska Afrikainstutet, 2016).

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

489 Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, 1.

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.

491 Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity*, 220–21.

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-

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.[497] 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"[498] 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.[499] 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

497 Hadwen and Kaufmann, *United Nations Decision Making*, 9, 64.
498 O'Leary, "The Bureaucratic Politics Paradox", 1.
499 Memo from Alan Elliott to Director BMS, 11.4.1968, UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. iv; Briefing for the Director-General, no date, in: UNESCO X 07.21 (63) pt. iv.

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.[505] 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.[506] 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.[507]

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.[508] 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.[509]

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

506 UNDP Country Programme for Ethiopia 1978, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. viii; Plenderleith 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" [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 four staff. Particular attention was given the [sic] preparation of reporting systems, and the classification and filing of the project correspondence.[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".[512]

510 Letter from P. Stulz to B. Bernander, 28.3.1978, in 069:72 (63) UNDP, pt. vi.
511 UNDP/ETH/74/014, Terminal Report, 4.
512 Ibid., 2, 3.

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.[513]

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.[514] 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.[515]

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

513 Letter from Makaminan Makagiansar to H.E. Lt. Col. Goshu Wolde, 15.9.1981, in: UNESCO 069:72 (63) A 136.

514 Letter from John C. Philips to Miss Mc Kitterick, 27.6.1975, in UNESCO X 07.21 (63), pt. viii.

515 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",[516] 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.[517]

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.[518] 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.[519]

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.[520] 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. ixb.

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

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.

Conclusion

What role did Ethiopia have in the World Heritage Programme? This was the starting point I took with my research project, a few years ago, after I had discovered the curiously high number of Ethiopian nominations offered in response to the first call for nominations to the World Heritage List in 1978. As the previous chapters have shown, the in-depth investigation of the first Ethiopian World Heritage sites brings us a good bit further in understanding more generally the relationship between developing countries and the World Heritage Programme.

Developing heritage, as became very clear, was part of developing countries in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet, rather than balancing out technocratic planning exercises with cultural and social aspects, heritage-making added increased political weight to development politics, reproducing exclusive means of representation and determining an image production that was supposed to ensure developing countries would not lose their face on the international stage.

The book begins in the 1960s and follows the emergence of agendas in the arena of international heritage, that stretched from UNESCO's headquarters in Paris to nationalised heritage sites like the Ethiopian ones. In showing the driving forces behind projects and cooperation, the administrative aspect of institutionalised heritage-making, the role of different political and expert actors, and looking at heritage-making as both a discourse and practice, the analysis connected existing historiographies of the UN system, of World Heritage and African heritage, and of modern Ethiopia.

The development decade, the 1960s, shaped the concept of World Heritage. The technocratic, expert-led internationalism of the 1950s paved the way for heritage-making as a development activity in UNESCO's programme and it was through the development impetus that heritage ultimately turned from a discourse into a widespread international practice of heritage-making. Between its foundation in the 1940s and the commencement of the World Heritage Programme in the 1970s, UNESCO evolved from a more intellectual orientation into an organisation that expanded its actions into an operational dimension. The two decades between 1960 and 1980 marked the peak of UNESCO's operational action, meaning that assistance could be given to developing countries in the area of heritage-making, and this provided the international heritage and conservation discourse with an opportunity to develop a heritage practice. In this regard, World Heritage, despite its strong idealistic underpinning, was conceptualised as an active, making process and not just a passive, declaring one. Hand in hand with the different conceptual strands interwoven in the World Heritage Convention, the idea was conceived of providing assistance to certain state

parties to develop the necessary administrative prerequisites, a fact which constitutes a crucial element of heritage-making. The World Heritage List marked a culmination point of conservation activities in developing countries, and existing attempts to understand the historic genesis of World Heritage do not account enough for the institutional transformation of UNESCO in the context of decolonisation and the first UN development decade.

My work presents a critical position in the existing research on the World Heritage Programme, challenging previous works that focus on the intellectual background of the concept or the impact of World Heritage on the ground alone. It is essential to understand that heritage, in the historic genesis of the World Heritage Programme, was approached from a development angle, giving it a technocratic, resource-generating, problem-solving quality, and this focus lent heritage the function of constructing national identity in an international context. Hence, my research shows, through the Ethiopian example, that the actual heritage-making process took place largely in international and national bureaucratic spheres, and demonstrates how the role of developing countries, and the development paradigm, has to date been underestimated in the historic genesis of the World Heritage Programme.

UNESCO's heritage-making helped to materialise the global dimension of "the International" in the developing world. UNESCO's conservation activities demonstrate how much the organisation's internationalist discourse was rooted in the Western historiographic discourse. In Ethiopia and other countries, international heritage experts identified and cared for the national heritage and helped establish it on an international level. The systematising effort of defining World Heritage operationalised the universalist claim of UNESCO and was an hegemonial act of inclusion, and it follows that World Heritage is also the story of existing territories being overwritten with a unifying internationalist version of world history. By defining natural and cultural heritage sites, like in Ethiopia, in terms of familiarity and difference, heritage sites in developing countries were integrated in this world history, aestheticised and disconnected from their locally embedded context.

Long before the World Heritage Convention in 1972 and the World Heritage List in 1978 took shape, many future World Heritage sites in the developing world had surfaced as part of UNESCO's conservation activities. The cooperation between the Ethiopian government and UNESCO, in matters of heritage-making, began more than fifteen years before the World Heritage nominations were submitted and was based on research connections extending back more than a century. During the 1960s and 1970s, Ethiopian heritage served as an essential testing ground for international conservation experts for broadening the application of a specific Western concept of conservation that eventually became the global

standard through the World Heritage convention. An understanding of the historic genesis of the World Heritage Programme has to include the actual sites where UNESCO was involved in conservation projects prior to 1972.

As a matter of fact, both the internationalist project and the newly emerging nation states of the post-colonial, developing world were in acute need of historical narratives that could strengthen and fully form their respective young identities. UNESCO's role as global heritage-making authority developed further in the 1960s because it promoted the identity discourses that underwrote the construction of national narratives, a major political currency for many states in the emerging new world order. Defining the world spatially, through parcels of national heritage, was crucial for both national as well as the international authorities. In Ethiopia, heritage-making provided an opportunity to write the national project as a part of the international project and to connect it to wider frameworks, in particular to programmes where, in terms of representation, it would not specifically be singled out as a developing country, but could shine as a sovereign nation.

Constructing the image of "Greater Ethiopia" was a common interest of the Ethiopian government and international heritage experts. Ethiopian World Heritage Sites expressed a version of the international order in which the developing countries that adapted best into the Western categories for superiority were resituated as powerful, legitimate state actors. The selected Ethiopian sites for the Historic Route and the World Heritage nominations underwrote existing national and international narratives of Ethiopian supremacy over other African countries. Only through this understanding of the Ethiopian exceptionalism and supremacy was it possible in contemporary Western historical thinking to locate culture and history in Ethiopia, a necessity for UNESCO's and ICOMOS authentication of Ethiopian heritage as World Heritage. Two key narratives of the Western world could be localised in Ethiopia: the narrative of human evolution, the very source of the imagined community of humankind, localised in the Lower Valley of the Omo, and the narrative of Christianity and empire, both as gatekeepers of civilisation and localised in the other monumental Ethiopian heritage sites. The exception of natural heritage in the Simien National Park was in turn described in a language that implied a European resemblance in its geographical features, and argued for it being similar to Alpine nature and therefore readable as having outstanding value.

These two key narratives of Ethiopia were precisely what made heritage-making of interest to the Ethiopian government, which had long fostered expressions of a continuity of advanced civilisation and empire, as well as Ethiopia's unique status in Africa. In both the Ethiopian imperial state and during the subsequent military government under the socialist Derg, the use of selected historic

sites served to create an image of a country that had a right to its claims of power and relevance in the international order. This "front-end" representation of Ethiopian national identity was complemented and utilised by people working on the "back-end" of the bureaucracy, to establish material sites of heritage. UNESCO's engagement in heritage-making in Ethiopia linked to and legitimised the dominant "Greater Ethiopia" discourse from an outside perspective. The Ethiopian sites, while providing the classic markers of Western authenticity, at the same time could be affiliated with the developing world and Africa, representing UNESCO's global reach.

In this, my work contributes to the existing literatures on UNESCO, illustrating the requirement to further investigate UNESCO as a knowledge producing authority. Conservation and heritage-making efforts of UNESCO, despite their "enlightened", idealistic mission, continued to produce knowledge about Africa, and about African history and heritage, in a Western framework. The role of UNESCO and the connections between UNESCO's African decade under Director General Amadou M'Bow and the African and Ethiopian historiographical debate, and the re-writing of African and Ethiopian history during the 1960s and 1970s, should be studied more closely, along the lines of intellectual as well as organisational history. This period of historiographic effort during the 1960s and the networks and places relevant for producing new histories of Africa have become the subject of critical analysis by historians from Africa and elsewhere. Key arguments in the debate are that the new narratives were still essentially orientated along Western historiography and that these narratives, in many African states, supported nation-building in favour of the political elites and to the detriment of already marginalised groups. This book demonstrates that it is well worth to study very closely the careers of intellectuals and experts, to gain a deeper understanding of the production of history and heritage in postcolonial Africa.

The early establishment of heritage-making as a development activity is the reason for the politicised character of World Heritage. The paternalistic development-aid-for-nation-building approach of the 1960s produced many of the problems related to World Heritage that subsequently emerged in the following decades. Perhaps the most problematic consequence of this approach is that it put heritage-making as a government tool at the hands of states in the process of nation-building. In order to connect individual countries to universal heritage, the UNESCO secretariat was in favour of institutionalising heritage-making. These new institutions replaced in many cases other existing social institutions such as oral traditions or religious practices—a fact that was overwhelmingly in the interest of weak national governments in need of promoting a centralised national identity. Since heritage-related knowledge not only consisted of one-dimensional data such as statistical results or economic models, but also of histor-

ical narratives, images and maps, it carried a highly emotional value, and additionally promised a potential increase in governance through territorial control. As demonstrated in the case of Ethiopia, these aspects contributed to the uptake of conservation principles and furnished them with a politicised dimension. Through recourse to the allegedly superior Western practice of heritage-making, a build-up of bureaucratic institutions and processes could be promoted in a way that would ensure continued control and the maintenance of power. The connection between UNESCO's early activities in conservation in developing countries and the Western tradition of conservation that formed the ideological and conceptual backbone of the World Heritage Convention are, I argue, a key moment for understanding the politicised character of the World Heritage Programme. However, beyond this, my research points out that more general attention should be given to the role of developing countries when we study the implementation and impact of global policies. Contrary to the development discourse, the different institutional and personal actor perspectives in the history presented here argue against approaching the global West-development nexus only as a hierarchical structure. My research findings allow for a diversified understanding of the development and heritage discourse alike and, perhaps most importantly, elucidate the strategic perspective of so-called developing countries regarding development and international organisations.

Western experts named, classified and analysed the heritage sites and monuments in question, undertook standardising efforts, drafted policies and legal recommendations, and developed management and master plans – in short their influence was immense, especially on the institutional and administrative levels. The western hegemony, in Ethiopia, through the new state institutions for heritage, translated in turn into a national hegemony towards regional political forces and ethnic groups. Because heritage was introduced as a political and economic resource and a superimposed cultural practice, it often had a detrimental or marginalising effect on local culture. Further research might be conducted on UNESCO's development activities in the cultural sphere, either as a country-specific case study or a comparative study. Also, the role of foreign experts and advisors in the bureaucratisation and evolution of the institutional landscape in developing countries deserves a deeper investigation, as does the role of tourism and heritage as part of sectoral development planning, with the political implications of this role demanding closer examination.

The connection of heritage-making to the larger cash flows of development investment through tourism provided the deciding momentum for actualising World Heritage sites. Through the connection to tourism development, World Heritage was attached to substantial cash flows of UN development aid programmes and this transformed heritage into an economic resource for develop-

ing countries. Conservation of natural and cultural heritage, according to the international conventions created from the 1950s onwards under UNESCO's roof, was an extensive enterprise, technically as well as financially. The community of international heritage-experts was very aware of that fact, and conceived early on of the idea to generate necessary revenue through the monuments.

In Ethiopia, due to the specific decision processes already in place for international funding and assistance for tourism-linked conservation projects, by the time the World Heritage list took more concrete shape the exercise of selecting a representative ensemble of sites was a very practised one. Fundamentally, it can be seen that the dependence of international heritage-making efforts on tourism meant that the idea of World Heritage was shaped by tourist-thinking and imaginaries to a considerable extent. My work also contributes to the field of heritage studies and supports the view that heritage today can serve as an analytical frame in understanding socio-political realities and relations, in particular regarding the discursive quality of heritage linked to the question of power-relationships and representation. This same emphasis makes my work a contribution to the field of tourism studies, suggesting that questions of cultural representation and the detrimental effects of heritage sites as tourism destinations are not merely economic ones, but also highly political in nature, as they concern the production of images and controlled modes of representation.

The story of how the Ethiopian World Heritage sites were developed as an international effort shows that it is absolutely necessary to critically question conservation and safeguarding activities for cultural and natural heritage, as they continue to be connected to a hierarchy of knowledge production in a development context. The processes of heritage-making, like all knowledge production that is monopolised as a state domain, should be questioned in regards to context, motives, actors and goals. In light of the unceasing relevance of ethnic identities, political representation and land-use in contemporary Ethiopia, more detailed research regarding the geopolitics of Ethiopian heritage-making should be pursued.

My work adds to existing literatures on the development discourse, highlighting the fact that aspects of heritage, culture and identity were also influenced and transformed by development thinking, and additionally by suggesting that an examination of the academic and cultural background of international experts is crucial to the better understanding of their practical work and decision-making. The belief that proper development should extend to all areas of government duties and beyond was widespread among both politicians and experts alike during the 1960s. Development was routinely practised with attached chauvinism, driven by tenets that the population in developing countries required education in all matters of successful living. Any effort to write a history

of development needs to pay more attention to the aspects beyond economics, politics and humanitarian aid. The fact that development activities during the first UN Development Decade encompassed heritage-making demonstrates how the discourse and practice of developmental aid unfolded a pervasive potential, impacting social and political spheres for decades. In tying together different stories, like those told here of the Ethiopian World Heritage sites, historiographies revealing the deeper layers of global processes emerge at, perhaps, unexpected places.

Sources

Archival Sources

UNESCO Archives

008 (63) MP 03
7 UWAS (63)
BRX AFR 4
069:72:376
069:72:380.8 A 193
069:72 (591) AMS
069:72 (100) A 218
069:72 A 01 ICOMOS G
069:72 A 01 ICOMOS 06
069:72 A 14
069:72 (63) AMS
069: 72 (63) A 136
069:72 (63) UNDP pt. i
069:72 (63) UNDP pt. iv
069:72 (63) UNDP pt. vi
069:72 (63) UNDP pt. vii
069:72 (63) UNDP pt. viii
069:72 (63) UNDP pt. ix
069:72 (63) UNDP pt. ixb
X 07.21 (63) pt. i
X 07.21 (63) pt. ii
X 07.21 (63) pt. iii
X 07.21 (63) pt. iv
X 07.21 (63) pt. v
X 07.21 (63) pt. vi
X 07.21 (63) pt. vii
X 07.21 (63) pt. viii
X 07.21 (63) NC
X 07.21 (63) AMS, pt. ii
CLT/WHC/NOM 10
CLT/WHC/NOM 11
502.7 A 101 WHC (63), pt. ii

World Heritage Centre online – WHC

CC.77/CONF.001/09
CC.78/CONF.009/03
CC.78/CONF.010/07

Unesdoc

Rivière, Georges Henri. “Meeting of Experts on Sites and Monuments of Art and History; Paris; 1949”. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001482/148225eb.pdf.

UNESCO General Conference. “Records of the General Conference, Fourteenth Session, Paris 1966, Resolutions”. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114048e.pdf.

UNESCO General Conference. “Records of the General Conference, Fifteenth Session, Paris 1968, Resolutions”. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114047E.pdf.

UNESCO Executive Board, Seventy Second Session. “72/EX/Decisions: Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the Executive Board at its Seventy-Second Session, Paris and Budapest, 2 – 31 May 1966”. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001132/113211E.pdf.

Preliminary Study on the advisability of international measures for the institution of a special tourist tax, submitted to Executive Board, Paris, 12.1.1951. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001623/162327eb.pdf.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, “Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Final Report” (Addis Ababa, May 15, 1961), v, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000077416.locale=en.

Reports

Angelini, Sandro. “Ethiopia – The Historic Route, A work-plan for the development of the sites and monuments”. Paris: UNESCO, 08.1971.

Angelini, Sandro, and Louis Mougin. “Ethiopia – Proposals for the Development of Sites and Monuments in Ethiopia as a Contribution to the growth of Tourism”. Paris: UNESCO, 11.1968.

Blower, John. “Ethiopia – Wildlife Conservation and National Parks”. Paris: UNESCO, 03.1971.

Brown, L.H. “Ethiopia – conservation of nature and natural resources”. Paris: UNESCO, 08.1965.

Connally, E.A. “Nepal”. UNESCO, 1968.

Gaidoni, B.G. “Ethiopia – Cultural Tourism: Prospects for its Development”. Paris: UNESCO, 08.1970.

Gasiorowski, Eugeniusz. “Legislation for the safeguarding of the cultural heritage of Ethiopia”. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

Grimwood, I.R. “Ethiopia – conservation of natural resources”. Paris: UNESCO, 08.1965.

Howland, R.H. “Ethiopia – recommendations for the organization of the Ethiopian antiquities administration”. Paris: UNESCO, 06.1967.

Huxley, Julian. “The conservation of wild life and natural habitats in Central and East Africa, Report on a mission accomplished for Unesco, July-September 1960”. UNESCO, 1961.

Huxley, Julian, A. Gille, and Th. u. a. Monod. “The Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Ethiopia”. Paris: UNESCO, 27.12.1963.

Lal, B.B. “Restoration of works of art at the Ethiopian National Museum”. Paris: UNESCO, 1977.

Mougin, J. “Malta – conservation of sites and monuments in the development of tourism”. UNESCO, 1967.

UNDP/ETH/74/014/Terminal report: Preservation and presentation of selected sites and monuments: Ethiopia – (mission). Project findings and recommendations. Paris: UNESCO, 1982.
Plenderleith, H.J., and L.J Rollet-Andriane. "East Africa – Regional Centre for Conservation of Cultural Property, November 1974". Paris: UNESCO, 06.1975.
Pollacco, J.C. "Nepal – Development of cultural tourism". Paris: UNESCO, September 1968.

School of Oriental and Asian Studies Library and Archives – SOAS

Kirwan Papers, Box 4, file 3–70
Blatch Papers, file 15

National Archives of Ethiopia – NALE

1.2.26.5, Lalibela Committee
1.2.12.01, Ethiopian Airlines

Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage, Addis Ababa – ARCCH

14–1 UNESCO, Folder 1
14–1 UNESCO, Folder 5

Unpublished Sources

Chojnacki, Stanislaw. "The Preservation of Ethiopia's Cultural Heritage" (Lecture delivered at the meeting of the Society of Friends). Addis Ababa, 18.12.1969.. IES Library, AAU.
Hillman, Jesse. *Ethiopia: Compendium of Wildlife Conservation Information*, Vol. 2. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation, 1993 [EWCO Library, Addis Ababa].
Lamprey, Hugh F. The distribution of protected areas in relation to the needs of biotic community conservation in eastern Africa: a paper presented at the Regional Meeting on Co-ordinated System of National Parks and Reserves in Eastern Africa, Serengeti National Park, Tanzania, October 14–19, 1974, 1975 [IUCN library].
Mitchell, Frank. "The Value of Tourism in East Africa". University College, Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, Social Science Division n.d. [IES Library, AAU].
Riney, T., and P. Hill. "FAO/IUCN African Special Project – Interim Report on Ethiopia". Rome: FAO, 1963 [IUCN library].
Tewa, T. S. "The Value of the Tourist Industry in the Conservation of Natural Resources in Tanganyika". In Gerald G. Watterson (Hg.), Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in modern African States – Report of a Symposium organized by CCTA and IUCN and

held under the auspices of FAO and UNESCO at Arusha, Tanganyika, September 1961, Morges 1963, S. 336 – 339 [IUCN library].
UNDP. "Report on Development Assistance to Ethiopia in 1973". Addis Ababa: Office of the Regional Representative of UNDP, 25.04.1974 [IES Library, AAU].
UNDP. "Report on Development Assistance to Ethiopia in 1972 – Prepared by the Resident Representative of the UNDP in Ethiopia". 1972 [IES Library, AAU].
Watterson, Gerald G. (Hg.). *Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in modern African States – Report of a Symposium organized by CCTA and IUCN and held under the auspices of FAO and UNESCO at Arusha, Tanganyika, September 1961.* Morges, 1963 [IUCN library].

Published Sources

Ethiopian Government Publications

Tourist news/ nouvelles touristiques, published by the Ethiopian Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Tourism, monthly, recorded are the numbers from 6/1972 – 11/1974 [Kennedy Library, AAU].
N.N. Une Mission scientifique etudie les Eglises-Rocs du Tigre. In *ethiopie nouvelles touristiques* 2, no. 7 (Juillet 1973), S. 1.
N.N. Un imagier de l'Ethiopie: le Dr. Georg Gerster. In *ethiopie nouvelles touristiques* 1, no. 10 (1972), S. 3.
Ethiopian Forestry Review, published by the Ethiopian Forestry Association, quarterly, 1961 – 1962.
Ethiopia, ed. *Economic Progress of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa, 1955.
Ethiopia, ed. *Ethiopia: A Cradle of History*. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information, Dept. of Press, 1989.
Ethiopia, ed. *Five Year Development Plan, 1957 – 1961*. Addis Ababa, 1959.
Ethiopia, ed. *Year Book*. Addis Ababa, 1950.
Ethiopian National Commission for UNESCO. *UNESCO in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press, n. d.
Ethiopian Tourism & Hotel Commission, ed. *Ma-hdara turizem =: Tourism review*. Addis Ababa: Tourism Promotion Dept. of the Ethiopian Tourism & Hotel Commission, 1979.
Ethiopian Tourist Organisation. *13 Monate Sonnenschein in Äthiopien*. 1971.
Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and Francis Anfray, eds. *Ancient Sites of Northern Ethiopia*. 1967.
Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and Jill Last. *Endemic Mammals of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1982.
Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and PPR International. *Ethiopia – Opportunity for Investment in a New Chain of Tourist Hotels*. London, n.d.
Forestry and Wildlife Conservation Development Authority. *Wildlife Conservation in Socialist Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Forestry and Wildlife Conservation Development Authority, 1978.
Imperial Ethiopian Government. *Second Five Year Development Plan, 1963 – 1976*. Addis Ababa: Berhanenna Selam Printing Press, 1962.

Ministry of Information, ed. *Ethiopia, Past and Present*. Patterns of Progress, book 8. Addis Ababa: Publications & Foreign Languages Press Dept., Ministry of Information, 1967.
Ministry of Information, ed. *Image of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Artistic Press, 1962.
Urban, Emil K. *Shell Guide to Ethiopian Birds*. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Tourist Organization, 1980.

Newspapers and Periodicals

The Ethiopian Herald, daily, 1943–present
27.12.1978, 16.01.1979, 20.12.1978, 4.8.1979, 5.2.1980, 25.12.1982
Ethiopia Observer, monthly, 1956 – 1974
Angus, N.C. "The Imperial Ethiopian Institute of Public Administration". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): S. 312 – 315.
Greenfield, R.D. "Ethiopian Itineraries – Some Routes in Northern Ethiopia". *Ethiopia Observer* 4, no. 4 (1963): S. 313 – 334.
Lilliefelt, Theodor C.P. "United Nation's Technical Assistance". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): S. 290 – 293.
N.N. "Economic Commission for Africa". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): S. 317.
N.N. "Ethiopian overseas study". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 6 (1958): S. 222.
N.N. "The University College of Addis Ababa (Editorial)". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 6 (1958): S. 195 – 213.
Pankhurst, Richard. "Ethiopia and the African Personality". *Ethiopia Observer* 3, no. 3 (1959): S. 70 – 73.
Pankhurst, Sylvia. "Mrs. Bidder on the trail". *Ethiopia Observer* 4, no. 7 (06.1960): S. 229 – 234.
Pankhurst, Sylvia. "Education in Ethiopia: Secondary Education". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 5 (1958): S. 162 – 164.
Pearce, Ivy. "An Andrews adventure and Pearce's pilgrimage to the cave and rock churches of Lasta". *Ethiopia Observer* 13, no. 1 (1969): S. 142 – 163.
R.K.P.P. "The Economic Commission for Africa". *Ethiopia Observer* VII, no. 2 (1963): S. 99 – 103.
Sellassie I, Haile. "Address to the Ethiopian Parliament, November 2nd, 1958". *Ethiopia Observer* 3, no. 3 (1959): S. 66 – 69.
Wagaw, Teshome G. "Access to Haile Selassie I University". *Ethiopia Observer* 19, no. 1 (1971): S. 31 – 46.
UNESCO Courier, monthly, 1948–present
Curry, Noreen. "Africa's Wildlife in Peril – Letters to the Editor". *UNESCO Courier* 14, no. 12 (1961): S. 33.
Doresse, Jean. "The Greatness of Ethiopia". *UNESCO Courier* 12, no. 10 (10.1959): S. 30 – 33.
Howland, Richard H. "Journey to Ethiopia's past". *UNESCO Courier* 20, no. 11 (1967): S. 39 – 42.
Jaeger, Otto. "Art of Ethiopia". *UNESCO Courier* 17, no. 10 (10.1964): S. 18 – 24.
Leroy, Jules. "The art of Ethiopia's painter-scribes". *UNESCO Courier* 14, no. 12 (12.1961): S. 28 – 30.
N.N. "1967 – International Tourist Year". *UNESCO Courier* 19, no. 12 (1966): S. 5 – 10.

N.N. “Cultural Tourism – The unexploited treasure of economic development”. *UNESCO Courier* 19, no. 12 (1966): S. 11–13.
N.N. “Giant Obelisk of Ancient Ethiopia”. *UNESCO Courier* 12, no. 10 (10.1959): S. 2.
“Africa’s Lost Past – The startling rediscovery of a continent”. *UNESCO Courier* 12, no. 10 (1959).

Other

Bidder, Irmgard. *Lalibela.* Köln: Dumont, 1959.
Brown, L.H. *Conservation for Survival – Ethiopia’s Choice.* Addis Ababa, 1973.
Eshete, Aleme. *The cultural situation in socialist Ethiopia.* Paris, 1982 (Studies and documents on cultural policies).
Geiger, Theodore. *The Case Study of TWA’s Service to Ethiopia.* Bd. 8, 1959 (United States Business Performance Abroad).
Gerster, Georg. “Searching Out Medieval Churches in Ethiopia’s Wilds”. *National Geographic* (12.1970): S. 856–884.
Gerster, Georg. *Churches in rock: early Christian art in Ethiopia.* London 1970.
Gerster, Georg. “Saving the Ancient Temples at Abu Simbel”. *National Geographic* (05.1966): S. 694–742.
Hancock, Graham. *The sign and the seal.* London, 2001.
Hancock, Graham, Richard Pankhurst, and Duncan Willetts. *Under Ethiopian Skies.* London, 1983.
Ianus, Organizzazione per gli studi e le richerche die economia applicata – S. p. A. Milan: Ethiopian Tourist Development Plan, 1969.
International Fund for Monuments. *Lalibela-phase I adventure in restoration.* New York, 1967.
Jaeger, Otto, and Ivy Pearce. *Antiquities of North Ethiopia: a guide.* Stuttgart, 1974.
Leclant, Jean. “Decouverte de l’Ethiopie chrétienne”. *Le dossiers de l’archaeologie* 8, no. 2 (1975).
Office of the Resident Representative of the UNDP (Hg.). *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, 1966.
Ouma, Joseph P. *Evolution of tourism in East Africa: 1990–2000.* Nairobi, 1970.
Pearce, Ivy. *An Ethiopian harvest: a coll. of experiences garnered.* Worthing, 1988.
Popovic, Vojislav. *Tourism in eastern Africa.* München, 1972.
World Conference on National Parks, Alexander B. Adams, and United States u. a. First world conference on national parks: Seattle, Washington, June 30–July 7, 1962, Washington, D.C. 1962.
Wright, Stephen G., Otto Jaeger, and Jules Leroy. *Ethiopia: Illuminated manuscripts.* Paris, 1961.
United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism. *Recommendations on International Travel and Tourism.* Geneva: United Nations, 1964.
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. *Elements of Tourism Policy in Developing Countries – Report by the Secreteriat of UNCTAD.* New York: United Nations, 1973.

List of Interview Partners

Hans Hurni. Interview 12.5.2015, in Berne, Switzerland.
Jean-Renaud Boisserie. Interview 16.5.2016, in Addis Ababa.
Yonas Beyene. Interview 24.5.2016, in Addis Ababa.
Arefaynie Fantahun. Meeting 20.6.2016, in Addis Ababa and subsequent email exchange.

Websites and UN-documents accessed online:

United Nations World Tourism Organization. "Acapulco Document." August 1982. http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/unwtodeclarations.1982.8.4.1. http://cfee.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article20&lang=fr.
"Charter of the United Nations." August 10, 2015. http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/.
"Manila Declaration on World Tourism." *UNWTO Declarations* 6, no. 4 (October 30, 1980): 1–4. https://doi.org/10.18111/unwtodeclarations.1980.6.4.1.
"UNESCO Constitution." Accessed October 26, 2017. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
"UNESCO Legal Instruments, Culture." Accessed October 26, 2017. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13649&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=-471.html.

Bibliography

Aalund, Flemming. "Preserving Ethiopia's Cultural Heritage." *ICOMOS Information* 2 (1986): 3–13.

Abotomey, D.P. "Creation of a Cultural Heritage Inventory System". Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

Akama, John Sorana. "Neocolonialism, Dependency and External Control of Africa's Tourism Industry: A Case-Study of Wildlife Safari Tourism in Kenya". In *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities, and Representations*, edited by C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, 140–52. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2004.

Akyeampong, Emmanuel, Robert H. Bates, Nathan Nunn, and James A. Robinson, eds. *Africa's Development in Historical Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Alacevich, Michele. *The Political Economy of the World Bank: The Early Years*. Stanford, CA; Washington, D.C.: Stanford Economics and Finance; World Bank, 2009.

Aleme Eshete. *The Cultural Situation in Socialist Ethiopia*. Paris: UNESCO, 1982.

Ancel, Stéphane, and Éloi Ficquet. "The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC) and the Challenge of Modernity". In *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, edited by Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet, 63–92. London: Hurst, 2015.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London; New York: Verso, 2006.

Angelini, Sandro. "The Historic Route: A Work-Plan for the Development of the Sites and Monuments: Ethiopia – (Mission) June 1971 [2468/RMO.RD/CLT]". Paris: UNESCO, 1971.

Angelini, Sandro, and Louis Mougin. "Proposals for the Development of Sites and Monuments in Ethiopia as a Contribution to the Growth of Cultural Tourism: Ethiopia – (Mission) May–June 1968 [Serial No. 893/BMS.RD/CLT]". Paris: UNESCO, 1968.

Angus, N.C. "The Imperial Ethiopian Institute of Public Administration". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): 312–15.

Asserate, Asfa-Wossen. "Äthiopien vor 100 Jahren". In *Im Kaiserlichen Auftrag: Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, edited by Steffen Wenig, 2: Altertumskundliche Untersuchungen der DAE in Tigray/Äthiopien: 29–34. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2011.

Asserate, Asfa-Wossen. *Der letzte Kaiser von Afrika: Triumph und Tragödie des Haile Selassie*. Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 2014.

Assmann, Aleida. *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. 3rd ed. München: C.H. Beck, 2006.

Assmann, Aleida, and Sebastian Conrad. "Introduction". In *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, 1–16. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Ayalew, Sisay. *Historical Development of Travel and Tourism in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: the author, 2009.

Balsvik, Randi Rønning. *Haile Selassie's Students: The Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1952–1977*. Addis Ababa; East Lansing, MI: Addis Ababa University Press; African Studies Center, Michigan State University, in cooperation with the Norwegian Council of Science and the Humanities, 2005.

Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Baye, Temesgen Gebeyehu. "Muslims in Ethiopia: History and Identity". *African Studies* 77, no. 3 (July 3, 2018): 412–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2018.1475634.

Beek, Walter van, and Annette Schmidt. "African Dynamics of Cultural Tourism". In *African Hosts & Their Guests: Cultural Dynamics of Tourism*, edited by Walter van Beek and Annette Schmidt, 1–33. Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: James Currey, 2012.

Belcher, Wendy Laura. "From Sheba They Come: Medieval Ethiopian Myth, US Newspapers, and a Modern American Narrative". *Callaloo* 33, no. 1 (2010): 239–57.

Beyene, Solomon Gebreyes. *A History of Cultural Heritage Management in Ethiopia (1944–1974): Aspects of Cultural Heritage Management in Ethiopia*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2010.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture: With a New Preface by the Author*. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.

Biasio, Elisabeth. *Prunk und Pracht am Hofe Menileks: Alfred Ilgs Äthiopien um 1900 / Majesty and Magnificence at the Court of Menilek*. Zürich: Verlag NZZ, 2004.

Bidder, Irmgard. *Lalibela*. Köln: DuMont, 1959.

Blanc, Guillaume. *Une histoire environnementale de la nation: regards croisés sur les parcs nationaux du Canada, d'Éthiopie et de France*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015.

Blanc, Guillaume. "Violence et incohérence en milieu naturel: une histoire du parc éthiopien du Semēn". *Études rurales* 197, no. 1 (2016): 147–70. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10691.

Blanc, Guillaume, and Grégory Quenet. "Les études éthiopiennes et l'environnement". *Études rurales* 197, no. 1 (2016): 9–24. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10638.

Blower, John. *Big Game in Ethiopia: Hunting and Photographic Safaris in Africa's Newest Game Country*. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Tourist Organization, 1984.

Blower, John H. "Wildlife Conservation and National Parks: Ethiopia – (Mission) September 1965–September 1969 [Serial No. 2351/RMS.RS/SCE]". Paris: UNESCO, 1971.

Bolton, Melvin. *Ethiopian Wildlands*. London: Collins and Harvill, 1976.

Bonacci, Giulia. "From Pan-Africanism to Rastafari: African American and Caribbean "Returns" to Ethiopia". In *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, edited by Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet, 147–58. London: Hurst, 2015.

Breglia, Lisa. *Monumental Ambivalence: The Politics of Heritage*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006.

Brown, Leslie H. *Conservation for Survival – Ethiopia's Choice*. Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University, 1973.

Brown, Leslie H. "Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources: Ethiopia – (Mission) 30 December 1964 to 1 April 1965; Report [Serial No. WS/0865.192/AVS]". Paris: UNESCO, 1965.

Brumann, Christoph, and Lynn Meskell. "UNESCO and New World Orders". In *Global Heritage: A Reader*, edited by Lynn Meskell, 22–42. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

Bruno, Elisabetta. "I restauri di Sandro Angelini in Etiopia". Università Ca'Foscari Venezia, 2017.

Büschel, Hubertus, and Daniel Speich. "Konjunkturen, Probleme und Perspektiven der Globalgeschichte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit". In *Entwicklungswelten:*

Globalgeschichte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, 7–32. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2009.

Buxton, David Richard. "Ethiopian Medieval Architecture: The Present State of Studies". *Journal of Semitic Studies* IX (1964): 239–44.

Byrne, Jeffrey James. *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Cameron, Christina, and Mechtild Rössler. "Voices of the Pioneers: UNESCO's World Heritage Convention 1972-2000". *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 1, no. 1 (2011): 42–54. https://doi.org/10.1108/20441261111129924.

Carruthers, Jane. "Africa: Histories, Ecologies and Societies". *Environment and History* 10, no. 4 (2004): 379–406. https://doi.org/10.3197/0967340042772649.

Carson, Rachel. *Silent Spring & Other Writings on the Environment*, edited by Sandra Steingraber. New York: Library of America, 2018.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Challis, Debbie. *The Archaeology of Race: The Eugenic Ideas of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Chekroun, Amélie. "Un Archéologue Capucin En Éthiopie (1922–1936): François Bernardin Azaïs". *Afriques*. January 27, 2011. http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/785.

Chojnacki, Stanislaw. "The Preservation of Ethiopia's Cultural Heritage (Lecture Delivered at the Meeting of the Society of Friends)". Addis Ababa. December 18, 1969.

Clapham, Christopher S. "Controlling Space in Ethiopia". In *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, edited by Wendy James, Donald L. Donham, Elsei Kurimoto, and Alessandro Triulzi, 9–32. Oxford: James Currey, 2002.

Clapham, Christopher S. *Haile-Selassie's Government*. New York: Praeger, 1969.

Clapham, Christopher S. "Rewriting Ethiopian History". *Annales d'Éthiopie* 18, no. 1 (2002): 37–54. https://doi.org/10.3406/ethio.2002.1013.

Clapham, Christopher S. "The Era of Haile Selassie". In *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, edited by Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet, 183–208. London: Hurst, 2015.

Clapham, Christopher S. *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Clapham, Christopher S., Siegfried Pausewang, and Paulos Milkias. "Government". In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 2: 863–69. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001.

Conil-Lacoste, Michel. *The Story of a Grand Design: UNESCO 1946–1993, People, Events, and Achievements*. Paris: UNESCO, 1994.

Connally, E.A. "Nepal". UNESCO, 1968.

Cooper, Brenda, and Robert Morrell. "The Possibility of Africa-Centred Knowledges". In *Africa-Centred Knowledges: Crossing Fields and Worlds*, edited by Brenda Cooper and Robert Morell, 1–22. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2014.

Cooper, Frederick. "Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans, and the Development Concept". In *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard, 64–92. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997.

Cooper, Frederick. "Writing the History of Development". *Journal of Modern European History* 8, no. 1 (2010): 5–23.

Craib, Raymond B. "Cartography and Decolonization". In *Decolonizing the Map: Cartography from Colony to Nation*, edited by James R. Akerman, 11–71. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

Crummey, Donald. "Banditry and Resistance: Noble and Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Ethiopia". In *Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa*, edited by Donald Crummey, 133–50. London; Portsmouth, NH: James Currey; Heinemann, 1986.

Deese, R. S. "The New Ecology of Power: Julian and Aldous Huxley in the Cold War Era". In *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, edited by J. R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger, 279–300. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Dereje Feyissa, and Markus Virgil Hoehne. "One State Borders and Borderlands as Resources: An Analytical Framework". In *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa*, edited by Dereje Feyissa and Markus Virgil Hoehne, 1–25. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010.

Derricourt, Robin M. *Inventing Africa: History, Archeology and Ideas*. London; New York: Pluto Press, 2011.

Dessalegn Rahmato. *Famine and Survival Strategies: A Case Study from Northeast Ethiopia*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1991.

Donham, Donald L. "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History". In *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, edited by Wendy James and Donald L. Donham, 2nd ed., 3–50. Oxford; Athens, OH; Addis Ababa: James Currey; Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press, 2002.

Donham, Donald L., and Wendy James, eds. *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*. 2nd ed. Oxford; Athens, OH; Addis Ababa: James Currey; Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press, 1986.

Doresse, Jean. "The Greatness of Ethiopia". *UNESCO Courier* 12, no. 10 (October 1959): 30–33.

Dym, Jordana. "Democratizing the Map: The Geo-Body and National Cartography in Guatemala, 1821–2010". In *Decolonizing the Map: Cartography from Colony to Nation*, edited by James R. Akerman, 160–204. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017.

Eckert, Andreas. "Afrikanische Intellektuelle und Aktivisten in Europa und die Dekolonisation Afrikas". *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 37, no. 2 (2011): 244–74.

Eckert, Andreas. "Bringing the "Black Atlantic" into Global History: The Project of Pan-Africanism". In *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s–1930*, edited by Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier, 237–57. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Eckert, Andreas. "Ethnizität und Nation in der Geschichtsschreibung zu Afrika seit 1960". *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 11, no. 4 (2001): 17–30.

Eckert, Andreas. '"We Are All Planners Now." Planung und Dekolonisation in Afrika'. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 34, no. 3 (2008): 375–97.

Edney, Matthew H. "The Irony of Imperial Mapping". In *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, edited by James R. Akerman, 11–46. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009.

Eriksen, Anne. *From Antiquities to Heritage: Transformations of Cultural Memory*. New York: Berghahn, 2014.

Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Esedebe, Peter O. *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776–1963*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982.

Ethiopia, ed. *Economic Progress of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa, 1955.

Ethiopia, Ministry of Education, ed. *Year Book*. Addis Ababa, 1950.

Ethiopian Airlines. *Bringing Africa Together*. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Airlines, 1989.

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.

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

Ethiopian Tourism & Hotel Commission, ed. *Ma-hdara turizem / Tourism review*. Addis Ababa: Tourism Promotion Department of the Ethiopian Tourism & Hotel Commission, 1979.

Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and Francis Anfray, eds. *Ancient Sites of Northern Ethiopia*, 1967.

Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and Jill Last. *Endemic Mammals of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1982.

Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and PPR International. *Ethiopia – Opportunity for Investment in a New Chain of Tourist Hotels*. London, no date.

Ethiopian Tourist Organisation and Ted Shatto. *Omo Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press, n.d.

Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation. *Safari Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: EWCO, 1973.

Falser, Michael. "Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: Methodological Considerations", in Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: From Decay to Recovery, ed. Michael Falser (Cham: Springer, 2015). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-13638-7_1

Ficquet, Éloi, and Dereje Feyissa. "Ethiopians in the Twenty-First Century: The Structure and the Transformation of the Population". In *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, edited by Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet, 15–62. London: Hurst, 2015.

Finneran, Niall. "Lucy to Lalibela: Heritage and Identity in Ethiopia in the Twenty-First Century". *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 1 (2013): 41–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2011.633540.

Forestry and Wildlife Conservation Development Authority. *Wildlife Conservation in Socialist Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Forestry and Wildlife Conservation Development Authority, 1978.

Frey, Marc, and Sönke Kunkel. "Writing the History of Development: A Review of the Recent Literature". *Contemporary European History* 20, no. 2 (2011): 215–32. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777311000075.

Frost, Frederick A., and Tekle Shanka. "Perception of Ethiopia as a Tourist Destination". *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, 348–61. 1997.

Gaidoni, B.G. "Cultural Tourism; Prospects for Its Development: Ethiopia – (Mission) September–October 1969 [Serial No. 2031/BMS.RD/CLT]". Paris: UNESCO, 1970.

Gartley, John. "Control of Media and Concept of Image by Haile Selassie I". In *Études éthiopiennes: Actes de la Xe conférence internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris, 24–28 août 1988*, edited by Claude Lepage, 649–54. Paris: Société française pour les études éthiopiennes, 1994.

Gascon, Alain, and Roland Pourtier. *La Grande Éthiopie, une utopie africaine. Éthiopie ou Oromie, l'intégration des Hautes Terres du Sud*. Paris: CNRS, 1995.

Gasiorowski, Eugeniusz. "Legislation for the Safeguarding of the Cultural Heritage of Ethiopia – (Mission) [Serial No. FMR/CC/CH/81/119]". Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

Geiger, Theodore. *TWA's Service to Ethiopia*. Washington, DC: National Planning Association, 1959.

Gerster, Georg. *Churches in Rock: Early Christian Art in Ethiopia*. London: Phaidon, 1970.

Gerster, Georg. "Saving the Ancient Temples at Abu Simbel". *National Geographic* 129, no. 5 (May 1966): 694–742.

Gerster, Georg. "Searching out Medieval Churches in Ethiopia's Wilds". *National Geographic* 138, no. 6 (December 1970): 856–84.

Ghimire, Krishna B., ed. *The Native Tourist: Mass Tourism within Developing Countries*. London; New York: Earthscan, 2001.

Giorgis, Elizabeth Wolde. "Charting out Ethiopian Modernity and Modernism". *Callaloo* 33, no. 1 (2010): 82–99.

Gissibl, Bernhard, Sabine Höhler, and Patrick Kupper. "Introduction: Towards a Global History of National Parks". In *Civilizing Nature: National Parks in Global Historical Perspective*, edited by Bernhard Gissibl, Sabine Höhler, and Patrick Kupper, 1–30. New York: Berghahn, 2012.

Gnamo, Abbas H. *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire: 1880–1974 ; the Case of the Arsi Oromo / by Abbas H. Gnamo*. African Social Studies Series BV013510202 32. Leiden [u. a.], 2014.

Green, Herbold Reginald. "Towards Planning Tourism in African Countries". In *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*, edited by Emanuel de Kadt, World Bank, and UNESCO, 79–100. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Greenfield, R.D. "Ethiopian Itineraries: Some Routes in Northern Ethiopia". *Ethiopia Observer* 6, no. 4 (1963): 313–34.

Grimwood, Ian R. "Conservation of Natural Resources: Ethiopia – (Mission) November 1964–February 1965 [Serial No. WS/0865.66 REV.AVS]". Paris: UNESCO, 1965.

Guindeuil, Thomas. "Nature, culture, même combat? Sciences et conservation sur le campus d'Addis-Abeba (1950–1974)". *Études rurales* 197, no. 1 (2016): 125–146. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10679.

Haas, Peter M. "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination". *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 1–35. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300001442.

Hadwen, John G., and Johan Kaufmann. *United Nations Decision Making*. 3rd ed. Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff & Noordhoff, 1980.

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.

Hajnal, Peter I. *Guide to UNESCO*. London: Oceana, 1983.

Hall, C. Michael, and Hazel Tucker. "Introduction". In *Tourism and Postcolonialism*, edited by C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, 1–24. London: Routledge, 2014.

Hall, Stuart. "The Work of Representation". In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, 13–63. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi: SAGE, 1997.

Halldin Norberg, Viveca. *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924–1952: A Study in Early Development Co-Operation*. Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1977.

Hancock, Graham. *The Sign and the Seal: The Quest for the Lost Ark of the Covenant*. London: Arrow, 2001.

Hancock, Graham, Richard Pankhurst, and Duncan Willetts. *Under Ethiopian Skies*. London; Nairobi: Editions HL, 1983.

Harris, Daniel C. "Charles David Keeling and the Story of Atmospheric CO2 Measurements". *Analytical Chemistry* 82, no. 19 (October 1, 2010): 7865–70. https://doi.org/10.1021/ac1001492.

Held, David. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Hibou, Béatrice. *The Bureaucratization of the World in the Neoliberal Era: An International and Comparative Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Hillman, Jesse. "Ethiopia: Compendium of Wildlife Conservation Information, Vol. 2". EWCO library, 1993.

Hirsch, Bertrand. "Une histoire de la violence". *Études rurales* 197, no. 1 (2016): 171–74. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10705.

Hirsch, Bertrand, and François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar. "Aksum après Aksum. Royauté, archéologie et herméneutique chrétienne de Ménélik II (r. 1865–1913) à Zär'a Yaʿqob (r. 1434–1468)". *Annales d'Éthiopie* 17, no. 1 (2001): 59–109. https://doi.org/10.3406/ethio.2001.991.

Hobsbawm, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions". In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Holdgate, Martin W., and IUCN. *The Green Web: A Union for World Conservation*. Cambridge; London: IUCN, 1999.

Hollinshead, Keith. "Tourism and New Sense: Worldmaking and the Enunciative Value of Tourism". In *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities, and Representations*, edited by C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, 25–42. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2004.

Hountondji, Paulin J. "Knowledge of Africa, Knowledge by Africans: Two Perspectives on African Studies". *RCCS Annual Review* 1 (2009): 121–31. https://doi.org/10.4000/rccsar.174.

Howland, Richard H. "Journey to Ethiopia's Past". *UNESCO Courier* 20, no. 11 (1967): 39–42.

Hünemörder, Kai. "Environmental Crisis and Soft Politics: Détente and the Global Environment, 1968–1975". In *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, edited by J. R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger, 257–76. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Hussein, Jeylan. "Taking Narratives on Identity-Based Conflicts in the Horn of Africa Seriously: The Case of Intergroup Conflicts at Pastoral Frontiers in Ethiopia". *International Journal of Peace Studies* 21, no. 1 (2016): 1.

Hussein, Jeylan Wolyie. "The Subtle Connection between the Greater Ethiopia Image, the Ideology of Blaming and Silencing, and the Cult of Emperor Haile Selassie". *The Australasian Review of African Studies* 27, no. 1 (2005): 49–80.

Huxley, Julian. "The Conservation of Wild Life and Natural Habitats in Central and East Africa: Report on a Mission Accomplished for UNESCO, July–September 1960 [Serial No. NS.61/D.31/A]". Paris: UNESCO, 1961.

Huxley, Julian, Alain Gille, Théodore Monod, Lloyd Swift, and E. Barton Worthington. "The Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Ethiopia [Serial No. NS/NR/47]". Paris: UNESCO, 1963.

Ianus. Organizzazione per gli studi e le ricerche di economia applicata S. p. A. *Ethiopian Tourist Development Plan*. Milan: Franco Angeli, 1969.

Imperial Ethiopian Government. *Second Five Year Development Plan, 1963–1976*. Addis Ababa: Berhanenna Selam Printing Press, 1962.

International Fund for Monuments. *Lalibela-Phase I: Adventure in Restoration*. New York: International Fund for Monuments, 1967.

International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, United States, National Park Service, and International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. *First World Conference on National Parks: Proceedings of a Conference Organized by The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. Seattle, Washington, June 30–July 7, 1962*, edited by Alexander B. Adams. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1962.

Jacomy-Millette, Anne-Marie. "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): 1017–45.

Jäger, Otto A. "Art of Ethiopia". *UNESCO Courier* 17, no. 10 (October 1964): 18–24.

Jäger, Otto A., and Ivy Pearce. *Antiquities of North Ethiopia: A Guide*. Stuttgart; London: Brockhaus; Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1974.

James, Wendy, Donald L. Donham, Eisei Kurimoto, and Alessandro Triulzi, eds. *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*. Oxford: James Currey, 2002.

Jewsiewicki, Bogumil, and V.Y Mudimbe. "Africans' Memories and Contemporary History of Africa". *History and Theory* 32, no. 4 (1993): 1–11. https://doi.org/10.2307/2505629.

Johanson, Donald, and Maitland A. Edey. *Lucy: The Beginnings of Humankind*. London: Granada, 1982.

Jokilehto, Jukka, and ICCROM. *ICCROM and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage: A History of the Organization's First 50 Years, 1959–2009*. Rome: ICCROM, 2011.

Kadt, Emanuel de. "Arts, Crafts, and Cultural Manifestations". In *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*, edited by Emanuel de Kadt, World Bank, and UNESCO, 68–76. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Kadt, Emanuel de. "Introduction". In *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*, edited by Emanuel de Kadt, World Bank, and UNESCO, 3–17. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Kadt, Emanuel de, World Bank, and UNESCO, eds. *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Kaiser, Wolfram. *Writing the Rules for Europe: Experts, Cartels, and International Organizations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Kalter, Christoph. *The Discovery of the Third World: Decolonization and the Rise of the New Left in France, c. 1950–1976*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Kebede, Messay. *Ideology and Elite Conflicts: Autopsy of the Ethiopian Revolution*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2011.

Kebede, Messay. "Eurocentrism and Ethiopian Historiography: Deconstructing Semitization". *Intejethistud International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 1–19.

Kebede Mikael, and Jean Leclant. "La section d'archéologie (1952–1955)". *Annales d'Éthiopie* 1 (1955): 1–10.

Kott, Sandrine. "International Organizations: A Field of Research for a Global History". *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 8 (2011): 446–50. https://doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok-1641.

Krill, Hans Heinz. "Die Gründung der UNESCO". *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 16, no. 3 (1968): 247–79.

Lal, B.B. "Restoration of Works of Art in the Ethiopian National Museum – (Mission) 25 September–25 November 1976 [Serial No. FMR/CC/CH/77/140]". Paris: UNESCO, 1977.

Lanfant, Marie-Françoise. "Tourism in the Process of Internationalization". *International Social Science Journal* 32, no. 1 (1980): 14–43.

Larsen, Jonas, and John Urry. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: SAGE, 2011. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446251904.

Leclant, Jean. *Découverte de l'Éthiopie chrétienne*. Paris: Archeologia, 1975.

Lecoutre, Delphine. "L'Éthiopie et l'Afrique". In *L'Éthiopie contemporaine*, edited by Gérard Prunier, 153–84. Paris: Karthala, 2007.

Lepenies, Philipp H. "Lernen vom Besserwisser: Wissenstransfer in der "Entwicklungshilfe" aus historischer Perspektive". In *Entwicklungswelten: Globalgeschichte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*, edited by Hubertus Büschel and Daniel Speich, 33–59. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2009.

Leroy, Jules. "The Art of Ethiopia's Painter-Scribes". *UNESCO Courier* 14, no. 12 (December 1961): 28–30.

Leroy, Jules, Otto A. Jäger, and Stephen G. Wright. *Ethiopia: Illuminated Manuscripts*. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1961.

Levine, Donald Nathan. *Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*. 2nd ed. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Lewin, Roger. "Ethiopia Halts Prehistory Research". *Horn of Africa* 5, no. 4 (1982): 51–55.

Lilliefelt, Theodor C.P. "United Nation's Technical Assistance". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): 290–93.

Logan, William, Michele Langfield, and Máiréad Nic Craith. "Intersecting Concepts and Practices". In *Cultural Diversity, Heritage and Human Rights: Intersections in Theory and Practice*, 3–20. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2010.

Lorenzi, James de. *Guardians of the Tradition: Historians and Historical Writing in Ethiopia and Eritrea*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015.

Loukeris, Kostas. "Church and Attempted Modernization in Ethiopia". In *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Kyoto, 12–17 December 1997*, edited by Katsuyoshi Fukui, Eisei Kurimoto, and Masayoshi Shigeta, 2: 206–18. Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, 1997.

Lowenthal, David. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Lusigi, Walter J., and J.W. Thorsell. *Action Strategy for Protected Areas in the Afrotropical Realm*. Gland: IUCN, 1987. https://portals.iucn.org/library/node/5886.

"Manila Declaration on World Tourism". *UNWTO Declarations* 6, no. 4 (October 30, 1980): 1–4. https://doi.org/10.18111/unwtodeclarations.1980.6.4.1.

Marcus, Harold G. "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*, edited by Claude Lepage, 1: 641–48. Paris: Publications de la Société Française pour les Études Éthiopiennes, 1994.

Markakis, John. *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Markakis, John. *Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. London: SAGE, 1998.

Markakis, John, and Nega Ayele. *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*. Nottingham: Spokesman, 1978.

Mármol, Camila del, Marc Morell, and Jasper Chalcraft. "Of Seduction and Disenchantment: An Approach to the Heritage Process". In *The Making of Heritage: Seduction and Disenchantment*, edited by Camila del Mármol, Marc Morell, and Jasper Chalcraft, 1–22. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Marzagora, Sara. "History in Twentieth-Century Ethiopia: The "Great Tradition" and the Counter-Histories of National Failure". *The Journal of African History* 58, no. 3 (November 2017): 425–44.

Maurel, Chloé. *Histoire de l'UNESCO: Les trente premières années. 1945–1974*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010.

Mazower, Mark. *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

McCann, James C. *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa, 1800–1990*. Portsmouth, NH; Oxford: Heinemann; James Currey, 1999.

McCann, James C. *People of the Plow: An Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800–1990*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.

McGovern, Mike. *Unmasking the State: Making Guinea Modern*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Meadows, Donella H., and Club of Rome, eds. *The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*. New York: Universe Books, 1972.

Mekete Belachew, Mekete. "Modern Cartography". In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 1: 692. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.

Meskell, Lynn. "Cosmopolitan Heritage Ethics". In *Cosmopolitan Archaeologies*, edited by Lynn Meskell, 1–27. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.

Messerli, Bruno, and Klaus Aerni, eds. *Cartography and Its Application for Geographical and Ecological Problems*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Geographica Bernensia, G 8. Bern: Geographisches Institut der Universität Bern, 1978.

Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

Milkias, Paulos. *Haile Selassie, Western Education, and Political Revolution in Ethiopia*. Youngstown, NY: Cambria, 2006.

Ministry of Agriculture Planning Committee. *Third Five-Year Development Plan*. Addis Ababa, 1967.

Ministry of Information, ed. *Ethiopia, Past and Present*. Patterns of Progress 8. Addis Ababa: Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department; Ministry of Information, 1967.

Ministry of Information, ed. *Image of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Artistic Press, 1962.

Mitchell, Frank. "The Value of Tourism in East Africa". University College, Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, Social Science Division, n.d.

Morgan, Nigel, and Annette Pritchard. *Tourism Promotion and Power: Creating Images, Creating Identities*. Chichester, NY: Wiley, 1998.

Mougin, J. "Malta – Conservation of Sites and Monuments in the Development of Tourism". UNESCO, 1967.

Murphy, Craig N. *The United Nations Development Programme: A Better Way?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511618000.

N.N. "Giant Obelisk of Ancient Ethiopia". *UNESCO Courier* 12, no. 10 (October 1959): 2.

N.N. "1967 – International Tourist Year". *UNESCO Courier* 19, no. 12 (1966): 5–10.

N.N. "Changing Relationships in International Co-Operation: An Interview with Aklilu Habte". *Prospects* 5, no. 1 (March 1975): 12–18. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02220203.

N.N. "Cultural Tourism: The Unexploited Treasure of Economic Development". *UNESCO Courier* 19, no. 12 (1966): 11–13.

N.N. "Economic Commission for Africa". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 9 (1958): 317.

N.N. "Ethiopian Overseas Study". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 6 (1958): 222.

N.N. *The Participation Programme of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Why, What, How*. Paris: UNESCO, 1978.

N.N. "The University College of Addis Ababa (Editorial)". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 6 (1958): 195–213.

N.N. "Un imagier de l'Ethiopie: le Dr. Georg Gerster". *Ethiopie nouvelles touristiques* 1, no. 10 (1972): 3.

N.N. "Une mission scientifique étudie les Eglises-Rocs du Tigre". *Ethiopie nouvelles touristiques* 2, no. 7 (1973): 1.

Nash, Dennison. "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism". In *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, edited by Valene L. Smith, 2nd ed., 33–52. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812208016.37.

Oddy, Andrew. "Harold Plenderleith and The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art". *Intervención (México DF)* 2, no. 4 (December 2011): 56–62.

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.

O'Leary, Rosemary. "The Bureaucratic Politics Paradox: The Case of Wetlands Legislation in Nevada". *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 4, no. 4 (1994): 443–67.

Orlowska, Izabela. "Forging a Nation: The Ethiopian Millennium Celebration and the Multiethnic State". *Nations and Nationalism* 19, no. 2 (2013): 296–316. https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12021.

Orlowska, Izabela, and Peter Klepeis. "Ethiopian Church Forests: A Socio-Religious Conservation Model under Change". *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 12, no. 4 (2018): 674–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2018.1519659.

Ouma, Joseph P.B.M. *Evolution of Tourism in East Africa (1900–2000)*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1970.

Painter, Nell Irvin. *The History of White People*. New York: Norton, 2011.

Pankhurst, Alula, and François Piguet. *Moving People in Ethiopia: Development, Displacement & the State*. Oxford: James Currey, 2009.

Pankhurst, Richard. "Ethiopia and the African Personality". *Ethiopia Observer* 3, no. 3 (1959): 70–73.

Pankhurst, Richard. "Ethiopia, the Aksum Obelisk, and the Return of Africa's Cultural Heritage". *African Affairs* 98, no. 391 (1999): 229–39.

Pankhurst, Richard. *The Ethiopians*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.

Pankhurst, Sylvia. "Education in Ethiopia: Secondary Education". *Ethiopia Observer* 2, no. 5 (1958): 162–64.

Pankhurst, Sylvia. "Mrs. Bidder on the Trail". *Ethiopia Observer* 4, no. 7 (June 1960): 229–34.

Park, Albert Sanghoon. "Does the Development Discourse Learn from History?" *World Development* 96 (2017): 52–64.

Pearce, Ivy. "An Andrews Adventure and Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Cave and Rock Churches of Lasta". *Ethiopia Observer* 12, no. 3 (1969): 142–63.

Pearce, Ivy. *An Ethiopian Harvest: A Collection of Experiences Garnered*. Worthing: Churchman, 1988.

Perham, Margery. *The Government of Ethiopia*. 2nd ed. London: Faber & Faber, 1969.

Peterson, Derek, Kodzo Gavua, and Ciraj Rassool, eds. *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Petzet, Michael. *International Principles of Preservation*. Monuments and Sites 20. Berlin: Bäßler, 2010.

Phillips, Kendall R., and G. Mitchell Reyes, eds. *Global Memoryscapes: Contesting Remembrance in a Transnational Age*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011.

Phillips, Paul T. *Contesting the Moral High Ground: Popular Moralists in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013.

Plenderleith, Harold J., and Louis Jacques Rollet-Andriane. "Regional Centre for Conservation of Cultural Property: East Africa – (Mission) November 1974 [Serial No. 3190/RMO.RD/CLP]". Paris: UNESCO, 1975.

Pollacco, J.C. "Nepal – Development of Cultural Tourism". Paris, September, 1968: UNESCO, n.d.

Popovic, Vojislav. *Tourism in Eastern Africa*. München: Weltforum, 1972.

Pour une histoire environnementale de l'Éthiopie. Études rurales, 197/1. Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2016. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesrurales.10619.

Propaganda and Culture Committee of the Founding Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia & 10th Anniversary of the Revolution, ed. *Ethiopia: A Decade of Revolutionary Transformation, 1974–1984*. Addis Ababa: the committee, 1984.

Prunier, Gérard. "The Ethiopian Revolution and the Derg Regime". In *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*, edited by Gérard Prunier and Éloi Ficquet, 209–32. London: Hurst, 2015.

Prunier, Gérard, and Éloi Ficquet, eds. *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*. London: Hurst, 2015.

Radcliffe, Sarah A. "National Maps, Digitalisation and Neoliberal Cartographies: Transforming Nation-State Practices and Symbols in Postcolonial Ecuador". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 34, no. 4 (2009): 426–44.

Rait, Maria, and Vladimir Vigand. "Genesis of the Ethiopian Studies and Its Future Trends". In *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Kyoto, 12–17 December 1997*, edited by Katsuyoshi Fukui, Eisei Kurimoto, and Masayoshi Shigeta, 1: 242–46. Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers, 2008.

Ratti, Manish. *History and Geography of Tourism*. New Delhi: Rajat Publications, 2007.

"Recommendations for the Organization of the Ethiopian Antiquities Administration: Ethiopia – (Mission) February–March 1967 [Serial No. 89/BMS.RD/SHC]". Paris: UNESCO, 1967.

Rehling, Andrea. "Kosmopolitische Geschichtsschreibung und die Kosmopolitik des UNESCO Weltkultur- und Naturerbes". In *Bessere Welten: Kosmopolitismus in den Geschichtswissenschaften*, edited by Isabella Löhr and Bernhard Gißibl, 373–401. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2017.

Rehling, Andrea. ""Kulturen unter Artenschutz"? Vom Schutz der Kulturschätze als Gemeinsames Erbe der Menschheit zur Erhaltung kultureller Vielfalt". In *Global Commons im 20. Jahrhundert: Entwürfe für eine globale Welt*, edited by Isabella Löhr and Andrea Rehling, 159–95. München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014.

Rehling, Andrea. "Universalismen und Partikularismen im Widerstreit: Zur Genese des UNESCO-Welterbes". *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 8 (2011): 414–36. https://doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok-1644.

Rempe, Martin. *Entwicklung im Konflikt: die EWG und der Senegal, 1957–1975*. Wien; Köln; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012.

Riney, T., and P. Hill. "FAO/IUCN African Special Project: Interim Report on Ethiopia". Rome: FAO, 1963.

Rist, Gilbert. *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. Translated by Patrick Camiller. 3rd ed. London; New York: Zed Books, 2008.

R.K.P.P. "The Economic Commission for Africa". *Ethiopia Observer* VII, no. 2 (1963): 99–103.

Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London; New York: Verso, 2018.

Rodogno, Davide, Bernhard Struck, and Jakob Vogel. *Shaping the Transnational Sphere: Experts, Networks, and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Salazar, N.B. "A Troubled Past, a Challenging Present, and a Promising Future: Tanzania's Tourism Development in Perspective". *Tourism Review International* 12, no. 3/4 (2008): 259–74.

Salvadore, Matteo. ""Knowledge Is an Immovable Eternal Law Which Rules the World": Gäbre-Heywät Baykädan's Blueprint for Ethiopia's Sovereign Modernity". In *Proceedings*

of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, edited by Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra, and Shiferaw Bekele, 1: 127–36. Trondheim: Department of Social Anthropology, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2009.

Sarr, Felwine, and Bénédicte Savoy. *Restituer le patrimoine africain*. Paris: Philippe Rey, 2018.

Schleper, Simone. "Life on Earth: Controversies on the Science and Politics of Global Nature Conservation, 1960–1980". Maastricht University, 2017.

Schmitt, Thomas M. *Cultural Governance: zur Kulturgeographie des UNESCO-Welterberegimes*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2011.

Schulze, Frederik. "ANT und Globalgeschichte: Ein erster Eindruck". In *Techniken der Globalisierung: Globalgeschichte meets Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie*, edited by Debora Gerstenberger and Joël Glasman, 281–90. Bielefeld: transcript, 2016. https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839430217-013.

Schuppert, Gunnar Folke. *Wege in die moderne Welt: Globalisierung von Staatlichkeit als Kommunikationsgeschichte*. Frankfurt; New York: Campus, 2015.

Selassie I, Haile. "Address to the Ethiopian Parliament, November 2nd, 1958". *Ethiopia Observer* 3, no. 3 (1959): 66–69.

Seleshi Sisaye. "Swedish Aid to Ethiopia, 1954–1967". *Journal of African Studies* 8, no. 1 (1981): 85–90.

Singh, J.P. *UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization): Creating Norms for a Complex World*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2011.

Sluga, Glenda, and Patricia Clavin. "Rethinking the History of Internationalism". In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 3–14. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Smidt, Wolbert. "Cartography from the 18th Century Onward". In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 1: 688–91. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.

Smidt, Wolbert. "The Tigrinnya-Speakers across the Borders". In *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa*, edited by Dereje Feyissa and Markus Virgil Höhne, 61–84. Woodbridge: James Currey, 2010.

Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006.

Speich Chassé, Daniel. "Technical Internationalism and Economic Development at the Founding Moment of the UN System". In *International Organizations and Development, 1945–1990*, edited by Marc Frey, Sönke Kunkel, and Corinna R. Unger, 23–45. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Speitkamp, Winfried. ""Authentizität" und Nation: Kollektivsymbolik und Geschichtspolitik in postkolonialen afrikanischen Staaten". In *Nationale Mythen – Kollektive Symbole: Funktionen, Konstruktionen und Medien der Erinnerung*, edited by Klaudia Knabel, Dietmar Rieger, and Stephanie Wodianka, 225–43. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. ""Can the Subaltern Speak?": Revised Edition, from the "History" Chapter of Critique of Postcolonial Reason". In *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, edited by Rosalind C. Morris, 21–78. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Staples, Amy L.S. *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Health Organization Have Changed the World, 1945–1965*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006.

Stokke, Olav. *The UN and Development: From Aid to Cooperation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Stott, Peter, and Flora van Regteren Altena. "Report of a Mission to Ethiopia to Conduct a Workshop on Management Plans for World Heritage Sites and to Examine the Current Status of World Heritage Sites in Ethiopia, 17 – 25 September 2004". UNESCO, October 22, 2004. CLT/WHC/NOM 10.

Swenson, Astrid. ""Heritage", "Patrimoine" und "Kulturerbe": Eine vergleichende historische Semantik". In *Prädikat 'Heritage': Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, edited by Dorothee Hemme, 53 – 74. Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2007.

Tafesse Habte Selassie. "Tourism". In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 4: 973 – 74. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.

Tauschek, Markus. *Kulturerbe: eine Einführung*. Berlin: Reimer, 2013.

Terefe, Kebede Geleta. "The Evolution of Archaeological Research and Research Monitoring Institute in Ethiopia: The Case of the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCH)". Addis Ababa University, 2008. Library of ARCCH.

Teshale Tibebu. *The Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896 – 1974*. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1995.

Teshome G. Wagaw. "Access to Haile Selassie I University". *Ethiopia Observer* 19, no. 1 (1971): 31 – 46.

Tewa, T.S. "The Value of the Tourist Industry in the Conservation of Natural Resources in Tanganyika". In *Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Modern African States – Report of a Symposium Organized by CCTA and IUCN and Held under the Auspices of FAO and UNESCO at Arusha, Tanganyika, September 1961*, edited by Gerald G. Watterson, 336 – 39. Morges: IUCN, 1963. https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/NS-001.pdf.

Titchen, Sarah M. "On the Construction of Outstanding Universal Value: UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the Identification and Assessment of Cultural Places for Inclusion in the World Heritage List". Australian National University, 2006.

Todorova, Marija N. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Toggia, Pietro. "History Writing as a State Ideological Project in Ethiopia". *African Identities* 6, no. 4 (2008): 319 – 43. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725840802417869.

Triulzi, Alessandro. "Battling with the Past: New Frameworks for Ethiopian Historiography". In *Remapping Ethiopia: Communism and After*, edited by Wendy James, Donald L. Donham, and Elsei Kurimoto, 280 – 85. Oxford; Rochester, NY: James Currey, 2002.

Triulzi, Alessandro. "Nekemte and Addis Ababa: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule". In *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, edited by Donald L. Donham and Wendy James, 2nd ed., 51 – 68. Oxford; Athens, OH; Addis Ababa: James Currey; Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press, 2002.

Trondal, Jarle, Martin Marcussen, Torbjorn Larsson, and Frode Veggeland. *Unpacking International Organisations: The Dynamics of Compound Bureaucracies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.

Tronvoll, Kjetil. *War & the Politics of Identity in Ethiopia: Making Enemies & Allies in the Horn of Africa*. Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: James Currey, 2009.

Trümpler, Charlotte, ed. *Das große Spiel: Archäologie und Politik zur Zeit des Kolonialismus, 1860 – 1940*. Köln: DuMont, 2008.

Ullendorff, Edward. *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960.
UNESCO. Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1972.
UNESCO General Conference. "Resolutions of the Fourteenth Session, 1966". 1966.
Unesco International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa. *General History of Africa*. Vol. 1–8. Paris; Berkeley; Oxford: Heinemann; UNESCO; University of California Press, 1993.
United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism. *Recommendations on International Travel and Tourism*. Geneva: United Nations, 1964.
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. *Elements of Tourism Policy in Developing Countries – Report by the Secreteriat of UNCTAD*. United Nations Publication, E.73. II. D.3TD/B/C.3/89/Rev.1. New York: United Nations, 1973.
United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. "Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Final Report". Addis Ababa, May 15, 1961. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000077416.locale=en.
United Nations World Tourism Organization. "Acapulco Document". August 1982. http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/unwtodeclarations.1982.8.4.1.
Urban, Emil K. *Shell Guide to Ethiopian Birds*. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Tourist Organization, 1980.
Urry, John. *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London: Sage, 1990.
Valderrama Martínez, Fernando. *A History of UNESCO*. Paris: UNESCO, 1995.
Visscher, Charles de. "Conférence internationale des fouilles (le Caire, 9–15 Mars 1937) et d'Oeuvre de l'office international des musées". *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée* 18, no. 4 (1937): 700–732.
Voigt, Rainer, ed. *Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert: Akten der internationalen äthiopischen Tagung Berlin 22. bis 24. Juli 2000 / Ethiopian Studies in the 20th century*. Aachen: Shaker, 2003.
Vrdoljak, Ana Filipa. *International Law, Museums and the Return of Cultural Objects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
Watterson, Gerald G., ed. *Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in Modern African States: Report of a Symposium Organized by CCTA and IUCN and Held under the Auspices of FAO and UNESCO at Arusha, Tanganyika, September 1961*. Morges: IUCN, 1963. https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/NS-001.pdf.
Wiebel, Jacob. ""Let the Red Terror Intensify": Political Violence, Governance and Society in Urban Ethiopia, 1976–78". *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 48, no. 1 (2015): 13–29.
Wolde-Mariam, Mesfin. "The Imperial Ethiopian Mapping and Geographical Institute". *Professional Geographer* 8, no. 2 (1956): 6–7. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0033-0124.1956.082_6.x.
Woldeyohannes, Hiluf Berhe. "Aksoum (Ethiopia): An Inquiry into the State of Documentation and Preservation of the Archaeological and Heritage Sites and Monuments". Université Toulouse le Mirail – Toulouse II, 2015. https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01341824.
Wöbse, Anna-Katharina. "Framing the Heritage of Mankind: National Parks on the International Agenda". In *Civilizing Nature: National Parks in Global Historical*

Perspective, edited by Bernhard Gissibl, Sabine Höhler, and Patrick Kupper, 140–56. New York: Berghahn, 2012.

Wöbse, Anna-Katharina. "Globales Gemeingut und das Naturerbe der Menschheit im Völkerbund und den Vereinten Nationen". In *Global Commons im 20. Jahrhundert: Entwürfe für eine globale Welt*, edited by Isabella Löhr and Andrea Rehling, 124–58. München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014.

World Tourism Organisation. "Creation of the Inter-Governmental World Tourism Organization". *ATR Annals of Tourism Research* 2, no. 5 (1975): 237–45.

Yehun, Balaṭa Balāčaw. *Black Ethiopia: A Glimpse into African Diplomacy, 1956–1991*. First edition. Los Angeles, CA: Tsehai Publishers & Distributors, 2014.

Young, Patrick. "A Place Like Any Other?: Publicity, Hotels and the Search for a French Path to Tourism". In *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History*, edited by Eric G.E. Zuelow, 127–50. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011.

Zewde, Bahru. "A Century of Ethiopian Historiography". *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 33, no. 2 (2000): 1–26.

Zewde, Bahru. *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1991*. Oxford; Athens, OH; Addis Ababa: James Curry; Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press, 2001.

Zewde, Bahru. *The Quest for Socialist Utopia: The Ethiopian Student Movement, c. 1960–1974*. Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: James Curry, 2014.

Zewde, Bahru, and Congrès international des historiens africains, eds. *Society, State, and Identity in African History*. Addis Ababa; Bamako: Forum for Social Studies, 2008.

Appendix: ETO Publications

Title	Year	Format	Publisher	Place of Publication	Author	Language
13 Monate Sonnenschein in Äthiopien	1971	Booklet	ETO	Frankfrut/ Main	Winter, B.	Ger
Big Game in Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Blower, John	Eng
Ethiopia's Hidden Route	1984	Magazine	ETO	Addis Ababa	Last, Jill	Eng
Ethiopian Pottery	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Cassiers, Anne	Eng
Lalibela	1967	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Endemic Mammals of Ethiopia	1982	Brochure	Ethiopian Tourism Commission	Addis Ababa	Last, Jill	Eng
Gondar, Ethiopia	N.Y.	Pamphlet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Makelle, Ethiopia – Gateway to Rockhewn Churches of Tigrai	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Ethiopia: One to Two Days from Addis Ababa	1980	Brochure	ETO	Addis Ababa	Last, Jill	Eng
Omo Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	unknown	Shatto, Ted	Eng
Hotels	N.Y.	Brochure	ETO	unknown	N.A.	Eng
Ethiopia's Rift Valley Lakes	1974	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Maness, Hilda	Eng
Tour of Northern Ethiopia	1967	Brochure	ETO	Addis Ababa	Uhlenbroek, Carol	Eng
High Semyen, Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	unknown	unknown	Crook, John	Eng
Key to Tourism in Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Lalibela, Ethiopia	N.Y.	Magazine	ETO	Addis Ababa	Hecht, E.D.	Eng
Ethiopia: Matara, Senafe	N.Y.	Pamphlet	unknown	unknown	N.A.	Eng
Simyen: the Roof of Africa	1977	Magazine	ETO	Addis Ababa	Drake, Ellis	Eng
The Caves of Sof Omar	1968	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Clapham, C.S., Robson, Eric	Eng
Welcome to Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Rasmussen, Joel	Eng

Continued

Title	Year	Format	Publisher	Place of Publication	Author	Language
Shell Guide: Addis Ababa / Moyale	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Shatto, Ted	Eng
Ethiopia – Jewellery	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Moore, Eine	Eng
Ethiopia – Arba Minch	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Ethiopia – Dahlak Islands	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Ethiopie – 13 mois de soleil	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Fr
Ethiopia – Lake Tana	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Ethiopia – Omo	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Ancient Sites of Northern Ethiopia	1967	Booklet	unknown	unknown	Anfray, Francis	Eng
Bird's Eye View of Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	Associated Enterprises Ltd.	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Axum	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Kotler, Neil	Eng
The High Semyen: Roof of Africa	1967	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Crook, John	Eng
Gondar	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Doresse, Jean	Fr
Axum Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Kotler, Neil	Eng
Ethiopian Pottery	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Cassiers, Anne	Eng
Hunting in Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	Wildlife Conservation Organization	Addis Ababa	Wildlife Conservation Organization	Eng
Ethiopie – Lalibela	1976	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Fr
Massawa – Ethiopia, the Hidden Empire	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Eng
Omo Ethiopia	N.Y.	Booklet	ETO	Addis Ababa	Shatto, Ted	Eng
The Walia Ibex	N.Y.	Pamphlet	ETO	Addis Ababa	N.A.	Amh, Eng

Index