Sustainability and resilience: the protection of cultural heritage in time of crisis

Sustentabilidade e resiliência: a proteção do patrimônio cultural em tempos de crise

DOI: 10.20396/rhac.v3i1.16102

YACY-ARA FRONER
Professor at School of Fine Arts, Fine Arts Department, Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG)
0000-0002-5675-6945

PEDRO PAULO FUNARI
Professor at Institute of Philosophy and the Humanities, History Department, State University of Campinas (UNICAMP)
0000-0003-0183-7622

Abstract

The paper discusses the challenges of protecting cultural heritage in time of crisis. It starts by exploring historical and philosophical issues, relating to monument and cultural heritage, then The Hague Convention – 1954; 1999. It concludes by proposing that Heritage in those challenging times and circumstances is key to questioning uncritical stances and standpoints. Heritage may serve to live together and accept other ways of thinking and behaving.

Keywords: Cultural heritage. Monument. Sustainability.

Resumo

O artigo discute os desafios da proteção do patrimônio cultura, em tempo de crise. Começa por explorar questões históricas e filosóficas em relação a monumentos e patrimônio cultural, em seguida a Convenção de Haia – 1954; 1999. Conclui-se por propor que o patrimônio é essencial, nestes tempos e circunstâncias de crise, para criticar atitudes e abordagens sem crítica. O patrimônio pode servir para a convivência e para a aceitação de outras maneiras de pensar e se comportar.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 21st century, we are witnesses of several armed conflicts around the world generating immense human displacement and destruction of cultural heritage. In these countries, the erasing of memories will produce loss of identities and ways of life – as in the case of current conflicts between Brazilian indigenous peoples and the government— as well as the mass abandonment of territories, mainly in South America, Africa, and the Middle East. Many of these people will never return to their original region, and those who return to their land may find erasure of their memory from the destruction of their culture through the action of political persecution, ethnic and religious prejudice. This situation is currently aggravated by the Coronavirus pandemic (Covid-19) (2019-2021), whose local impacts cannot yet be measured.

A recent report from the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC) classifies the impact of COVID-19 on migrant populations...Clinical impacts include lack of access to healthcare services and fear of deportation among undocumented migrants, mental health issues, uncertainties around inclusion in vaccination programs, and rising vaccine hesitancy in the population.

How do the international instruments created from the experience of the two great wars (World War I-1914-1918; World War II-1939-1945) gather the demands of today? How the international community structured by UNESCO and UN can prevent and control actions, like the antiquities loot generated from the Iraq’s occupation; the destruction of Palmyra by the Islamic State in Syria, or the destruction of several natural environment in countries on the African continent produced by wars or, in the case of Brazil, by an arbitrary political context? Are these tools prepared to answer issues regarding internal conflicts with native people?

Sustainability is a concept that involves broader relationships than those focused only on climate change and must embrace questions such as social justice, equality of opportunities, and capability to

overcome crises. During and after a crisis, resilience is the ability of a person or community to reshape their way of life and create economic and politically sustainable ways of living in society. The identity performed by the culture and the tradition has a powerful role in this perspective. Social resilience is the ability to deal with a crisis or adversity based on previously learned cognitive, cultural, and/or emotional processes. Resilience exists when, based on previous experiences, the people use mental processes, behaviors, and knowledge to promote the reconstruction and protect themselves from the negative effects of stressors - such as climate change and cultural erasure policies - in search of a potential return to normality. Even if the previous context is never recovered, memory markers, such as traditions, domestic agriculture, and ways of doing things, allow for the adaptation, remodeling, and generation of a qualitative environment that impacts the collective structure and the individual process of adjustment to new realities.

From monument to cultural heritage: historical and philosophical issues

Etymology may serve to deal with the hidden meanings in such terms as monument, patrimony, and heritage. This philological approach, as proposed among others by philosopher Giorgio Agamben among others, may serve as a useful heuristic tool. We may also relate this to the study of the amphibology of different terms, like those mentioned, the range of meanings. Monument is the most used by ordinary people, in several modern languages, except for German, as the word is known but sidelined by Germanic terms such as Denkmal (“occasion to think”) or Zeugnis (“testimony”). Monument comes from the Latin moneo (men-, to think, mind), referring to a memorial, something to remind and warn. This strong and pervasive link between mind and body is at the root of its popularity widespread use. There is thus no surprise that it is the earliest to be used in official documents, for the term was already commonly used.

The other two terms are more abstract and of specialized use. Patrimony is rather foreign and scholarly in English, but it is overwhelming in the Romance languages. In those, it refers first to inherited property or assets, being first and foremost a law term in general use. So much so that patrimonial law is a most relevant topic in law schools from Portugal to Romania, from Argentina to Mexico, Mozambique to South Korea, grounded on Roman and Napoleon roots. Patrimony as a cultural concept was spearheaded by the French and reached a wide following, even if concurred by such concepts as Beni

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Culturali, in Italy (beni, good things). Morrisset shows how patrimony and heritage share some features, but are indeed different, as patrimony stresses how the past is always reactivated in the present for an action to change future features, while heritage highlights conservation, not change.

Let us then turn to heritage, a term common in the English-speaking world, in all official international documents, and the most difficult to grasp for non-native English speakers. Heritage comes from heres, in Latin, heir, an inheritance, and so not so different from patrimony, but there are a couple of aspects to be considered: in heritage there is no explicit reference to the father (patrimony, the remembrance of the father) and the concept of inheritor does not imply any future transmission, implicit in patrimony. In any case, amphibology may help us here. All those terms may be used to think anew about our relationship to the past and the future. First and foremost, we live in the present, but we must think and act for a future. Then, as we study in this paper, the past may the present for a variety of futures prospects: it may be apocalyptic, end of the road; it may be prone to further destruction, as many anticipate; or it may offer opportunities for cooperation and commonalities, as we stand for in this paper.

The passage of the concept of 'Monument' designed in the 19th century to the concept of 'Cultural Heritage' structured in the 20th century can be seen from the introduction of legal issues related to the repatriation of works of art, archaeological goods, and historical artifacts, as well as from the establishment of the rights of states concerning the historical and architectural sites within their territories. The etymological source of the word ‘Monument’ can be associated with the philosophical current of idealism. The thinking of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) influenced modern philosophy with the thesis that a unique and universally identifiable property determines its absolute value rather than relative value, thereby introducing the idea of intrinsic value. In opposition to the transcendental idealism of Kant, the absolute idealism of Hegel (1770-1831) discusses how existence is comprehensible as an all-inclusive whole, and how the phenomenological constitution of self-determination brings relative values. The classical writing of Alois Riegl (1858-1905), The modern cult of monuments (1903), tried to combine both lines and maintain the intellectual and symbolical value associated with the European value of monument. 8

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the social contract of the modern states determined the legal institutions as instances to operate the rights of properties. The word ‘Heritage’ in determining the right

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to ownership appeared after World War I (1914-1918), such as tools to promote international law that guaranteed the right of states to their cultural properties, besides instructing a debate regarding repatriation and cultural institution protection. It was the first time that Cultural Heritage was seen as national property, belonging to a particular community, and inherited of its history; later the idea of a collective value was defined. The contrast between the intrinsic value of ‘monument’ and the legal value of ‘heritage’ reflects the passage of a philosophical meaning of value, supported by European Modern Philosophy, to a social operator sustained by International Law. The term ‘heritage’ must be branded by the enlargement of its meaning, as well as its semantic alteration, which results from a transfer in the use of this word. It became stronger and more frequently used after 1930 to replace the word ‘monument’. A final draft Principles for Capacity Building through Education and Training in Safeguarding and Integrated Conservation of the Cultural Heritage designed by the ICOMOS-CIF, on 3 June 2013, declared:

Cultural heritage is an ensemble of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge, and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time. A heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations.  

The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907 were the first multilateral treaties that addressed the conduct of warfare, following a series of conflicts in Europe. The 4th Hague Convention, regarding the Laws and Customs of War on Land, introduced the debate on cultural property protection:

Art. 47. Pillage is formally forbidden. […]
Art. 56. The property of municipalities, that of institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts, and sciences, even when State property, shall be treated as private property. All seizure or destruction or wilful damage done to institutions of this character, historic monuments, works of art, and science, is forbidden and should be made the subject of legal proceedings.  

The right of State property was born with public museums, archives, and libraries, as well as with the modern concept of nation, which includes its territory and resources. According to Mariana Vecco:

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It was during the second period, 1930–1945, in the context of international institutions, that the concept of Patrimoine became a complete part of the cultural dimension. The expression of artistic heritage, used for the first time by Euripide Foundoukidis at the Athens Conference (1931), was then commonly used in the documents of international organizations."

André Desvallées described five periods regarding the use of the term ‘heritage’: 1790-91; 1930-45; 1954-159; 1968-69 and 1978-80, at the end of which a new semantic meaning was fixed. Ana Filipa Vrdoljak also observes in *International Law, Museums, and the Return of Cultural Objects* that the restitution of cultural objects, following World War I, was designed by the Peace Treaty (1919). The restitution provision contained in the document set a precedent for the return of cultural objects as a remedy for the deliberate cultural loss inflicted during the war. She asserts that the delegates at the Paris Peace Conference (1919) were motivated by an aspiration to secure peace and stability by restoring communities, territories, and cultural objects and archives. The efforts made by the Netherlands Society of Archaeology (Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond-KNOB), from 1919 to 1937, to discuss international regulations. In 1937, several articles focused on this theme were published at "Mouseion".

The KNOB Office sent a survey and an explanatory memorandum prepared by the Commission to the Associations of Artistic Foreign States asking them to forward any observations that they could suggest. They observed that The Hague Treaty (1907) contained a serious shortcoming that must be addressed: it is limited to a few general rules for the protection observed in wartime. But it abstains from guidelines regarding the preparation in peacetime of legal tools of protection, and this gap is harmful to heritage when we consider modern warfare. Several discussions were held under the auspices of the International Museum Office, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, and the League of Nations. The Resolution concerning the Protection of Historical Monuments and Works of Art approved by the Sixth Committee of the League of Nations Assembly of 1932 articulated several fundamental concerns and principles covering the protection of cultural heritage. The overarching philosophy of the resolution introduced the issue that works of art and archaeological objects were the ‘heritage of mankind, and their preservation was the responsibility of the community of States. The early use of the world ‘Patrimoine’, in the context of the International Museum Office, was contained in the report from the executive meeting of the International Museums Office, held on May 29, in Paris and on May 30, in Mons (Belgium).

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The Executive took cognizance of the proposals made by M. Attilio Rossi in the name of the Italian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation concerning the international suppression of crimes against the artistic patrimony of the nation and the listing of the foreign works of art existing in each country. It would welcome a report from the Italian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation on each of these questions.

In 1930, Jules Destrée (1863-1936), general secretary of the International Museums Office, appealed to Professor Charles de Visscher (1884-1973) to prepare a preliminary report regarding this theme and coordinate an expert Committee, composed by Albert Geouffre de Lapradell (1871-1955), Nikolaos Politis (1872-1942), Commander Moineville (Ministère de l’Air, Paris) (?-?), and Gijsbertus Jacobus Sas (1892-1948), met in Paris in 1933 and drew up a draft of an international convention for the La protection Internationale des objets d’art et des monuments historiques, which was extremely useful for preparing the draft of the Convention. It was published in the Revue de droit international et de législation comparée, in 1935.

Le projet fut fondé sur plusieurs principes fondamentaux : l’organisation de la défense et sa préparation dès le temps de paix ; l'éducation des troupes ; l'engagement d’introduire dans les règlements et instructions des recommandations pour assurer le respect ; l'engagement de prendre des dispositions pour réprimer les actes de pillage et de déprédation. En ce qui concerne les biens meubles, le projet introduit l'idée de la constitution des refuges.

This primary writing includes the use of the word ‘heritage’ and ‘cultural property’ throughout the document. Charles de Visscher, a Belgian professor, and expert in international law, as well as a judge on the Permanent Court of International Justice and International Court of Justice, slowly disclosed the use of these terms regarding the legal tools. Later, in the 2nd Session of the Meeting of Athena (1931) entitled Administration et Legislation des Monuments Historiques⁴⁶, Paul Verdier (1882-1966), Inspecteur Général des Monuments Historiques in France, related the Rapport de la Chambre de Députés sur le projet de loi, devenu la loi du 31 décembre 1918, sur les Monuments Historiques, wrote by the Théodore Reinach (1860-1928), a French archaeologist, lawyer, and politician, in his communication referring to the common legal use of the term.

Paul Verdier presented the text La guerre et l’après-guerre (1914-1934) in 1936 to the French Society of Archeology at the XCVII Archaeological Congress of France. He stated that the purpose of the

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destruction of the French monuments in the war was to destroy the identity, the memories and to shake the morale of the French troops. It was in the 7th Session of the Athena’s Conference, The Conservation of Monuments, and International Collaboration, when the word ‘heritage’ was employed regarding an international value for the first time. Jean Capart (1847-1925), with the communication International Collaboration in the Conservation of Monuments: the example of Philae, discussed international collaboration in matters of documentation, and the role of national departments in the preservation of monuments to organize and disclose this information. He asserts the value of National Heritage and the Collective Property of Nations; he also argued the need for international action for the protection of monuments:

L’humanité tout entière, s’est habituée ou s’habituerà à considérer de telles ouvres, comme appartenant au patrimoine collectif des nations civilisées.

Jean Capart had previously used the concept of ‘heritage’ in Le Rôle Social des Musées, published in “Mouseion” in 1930 (v.12, p. 219-238). Jean Lameere (1901-1964) employed the word in the same publication in the article La conception et l’organisation modernes des Musées d’Art et d’Histoire. After this period, the word ‘patrimoine’ became more and more widely employed, while demand for understanding of an international meaning of common cultural heritage also gained support. The last publication before World War II regarding the theme of an international regulation concerning the protection of cultural heritage in times of war was organized by Foundoukidis (1894-1968) in the V.47-48 of “Mouseion” entitled La protection de Monuments et Ouvres d’Art en Temps de Guerre. The search for an international regulation was born simultaneously with the consolidation of the term ‘Cultural Heritage’. Indeed, it is problematic to map the origin of its use, but it is possible to see how the semantic meaning acquired an instrumental sense along with a legal notion of belonging in the second half of the 20th century. It was an arduous task for the League of Nations to promote an international document regarding cultural heritage protection that would be recognized by its States Parties. Similarly, the UN had difficulties promoting the first document apropos this theme.


The first reference to the preparation of an International Convention for Heritage Protection appeared in 1949, in the debates of the UNESCO General Conference, when the delegation from the Netherlands presented a draft resolution concerning the defence of cultural property in cases of armed conflict. They mentioned that the Netherlands had this set up between the two world wars and emphasized how important it would be for UNESCO to take up this project. This initiative entrusting UNESCO with regulating human relations by law was supplemented by a specific field of cooperation between countries as a practical example of this regulation. In 1950, Italy presented a Convention text aiming to ‘conserve historic monuments and movable and immovable cultural property in cases of armed conflict’. At the time, the project was supported by a mixed group of countries at a Meeting of experts on Sites and Monuments of Art and History, comprising Ecuador, Uruguay, France, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Austria, which produced the Report on the International Protection of Cultural Property, by Penal Measures, in the event of Armed Conflict. The text requested that there be a technical definition of the object to be protected, which would be determined as exactly as possible. The definition of cultural property and what property should be under international legal protection were the fundamental issues discussed at this meeting. This report asserts that neither doctrine nor the wording of agreements has so far produced a very precise or completely agreed-upon terminology, as several documents refer to ‘work of art’, ‘historical monuments’, ‘artistic patrimony’, etc.

It is desirable that, as far as possible, a legal definition of cultural property or cultural value should be worked out, first to be employed in the work of the International Law Commission, and gradually to be accepted as a permanent concept.20

According to the International Legal Rules of Cultural Heritage Protection, the word ‘Property’ means to solve the legal issues regarding the right of belonging. In these documents, which was later used for the Hague Protocol, 1954, the followed definition was proposed:

Cultural property includes, in particular, movable or immovable property, whether public or private, constituting monuments of art or history, or being works of art, historical documents, or specimens from collections. Building principally designed and currently employed to house such works, documents, or specimens, are also to be regarded as cultural property.21

21 Ibidem.
In the 1950s, several jurists involved with the process of building an International Rule for Cultural Heritage protection observed that the major problem of the protection of cultural properties would be related to understanding its meaning and legal tools, including penalties, regarding the borderline between State autonomy and International Law. Destruction, damage, and removal of artifacts from their original places were the most harmful aspects concerning cultural properties in places where conflicts took place. These losses represented additional victimization of the community that suffers from wars. The advancement of diplomatic efforts, the role of the UN, and the legal tools aimed at upholding, and the legal tools to control this process. *The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, signed at The Hague, Netherlands, on 14 May 1954, promoted an international debate that generated the first Protocol. To be effective, as was observed in the document, this protection must be organized in times of peace through national and international agreements. The adoption of the Convention in 1954 was an important international procedure, representing an advancement that had been desired since the Convention in 1907. This document defined the concept of cultural property based on the previous debate.\(^\text{22}\)

It is possible to ascertain that ‘the cultural heritage’ in general is conceived of as a broader, all-encompassing term of which the cultural property is a subsection, and which it is more extensive than merely movable items that may be subject to protection, trade, or trafficking, including archaeological, historical, and natural places, immovable properties, intangible heritage, etc. For legal regulation of protection, ‘cultural heritage’ would appear to be an extremely wide-ranging definition. The discussions of ‘cultural property’ as a legal category in the 1950s searched to offer a legal concept to International Law. However, the idea of an inheritance has gathered further meaning over the years, with the embracing of the concept of sustainable development. The debate regarding the use of the expressions ‘cultural heritage’ and ‘cultural property’ is not clear until now, and the operational use of these terms has fed the current debate. Manlio Frigo, asserts in *Cultural property v. cultural heritage: a “battle of concepts” in international law?*:

> Although the opening sentence appears clear and correct, doubt may arise as to the meaning of some concepts expressed and hence the scope of the protection granted by the relevant international law rules. The scope of international legal protection cannot be determined without defining the scope of application of those rules. In legal doctrine, the difficulty of providing a sole and universally accepted definition of the interests and values protected has been encountered by many authors, who have

emphasized the difference between the concept of “cultural property” and the broader concept of “cultural heritage”.23

In 1956, UNESCO approved the institutional name of ICCROM. The use of the expression ‘Cultural Property’ instead of ‘Monument’ seems to be associated with the debate on the legal concept of the term promoted in the 1950s. According to the “Records of the General Conference - Resolutions of the Ninth Session New Delhi 1956”, on the matters concerning the program and budget for the “Cultural Activities. In addition, the “Statutes” approved in the same Assembly, the ‘International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, hereinafter would be called ‘the Centre’. Its name shows a semantic move significant of the new geopolitical and legal context, and the use of the word ‘cultural property’ instead of ‘monument’ or ‘cultural heritage’ marks the sociological debate on material culture and the international tools of the juridical protection.

The Centre was founded after The Hague Convention and concerning its intergovernmental identity and political role; it should reinforce the discussion on the cultural property protection together with its States and promote the Convention accession. The adoption of the Convention was significant to the international community because of the concentration of all provisions concerning the protection of cultural property in a single instrument, whereas in the past these provisions were dispersed in several legal instruments. In addition, the legal instrument was extended to all UN countries, unlike the American or European drafts that were designed specifically for these regions. The Hague Protocol from 1954 with 21 articles was also based on the balance of commitments, which were distributed amongst all parties involved in the conflict and promoted a consensus view. Furthermore, it was not only confined to wartime but also called upon all Contracting Parties to act in times of peace in the spirit of international cooperation.

Nine years after World War II the UN needed to promote necessary support for this international instruction. The interest in a protection rule beyond the borders of a single State became a matter of international concern in the 20th-century. To be operational, the protection guidelines should be organized through national and international legal and technical measures. 133 States Parties area signatories of the 1954 Protocol until 2021 - in addition to Israel and the United States, those who

withdrew from Unesco in 2018 claiming that the organization had an anti-Israel bias. The followed States Parties did not accede to this protocol, hitherto, performing 32% of total:

- 22 countries in Africa: Algeria; Burundi; Cabo Verde; Central African Republic; Comoros; Democratic Republic of the Congo; Eswatini; Gambia; Guinea-Bissau; Kenya; Lesotho; Liberia; Malawi; Mauritania; Mozambique; Namibia; São Tomé and Príncipe; Sierra Leone; Somalia; South Sudan; Uganda; and Zambia.
- 13 in the Americas: Antigua and Barbuda; Bahamas; Belize; Dominica; Grenada; Guyana; Haiti; Jamaica; Saint Kitts and Nevis; Saint Lucia; Saint Vincent and the Grenadines; Suriname; and Trinidad and Tobago.
- 12 in Asia: Bhutan; Brunei Darussalam; Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Lao People's Democratic Republic; Maldives; Nepal; Philippines; Republic of Korea; Singapore; Timor-Leste; United Arab Emirates, and Vietnam.
- 3 in Europe: Andorra; Iceland; and Malta.
- 12 in Oceania: Cook Islands; Fiji; Kiribati; Marshall Islands; Federated States of Micronesia; Niue; Palau; Papua New Guinea; Samoa; Solomon Islands; Tonga; and Vanuatu.

After the first protocol, the international law concerning the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict increased the debate and resources related to the international system. There were several articles and meetings aimed at reviewing The Hague Convention of 1954, and in March 1999,

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the Secretariat of UNESCO and several interested States promoted *The Hague Diplomatic Conference*, which was designed to discuss the 2nd Protocol of *The Hague Convention*. This protocol entered into force on 9 March 2004, with the agreement of 55 States. The idea of this second document was to offer the international community an additional instrument to reinforce the administrative, legal, and technical features regarding the protection of cultural property.

Jirí Toman (1938-2020) produced two historical publications, supported by UNESCO, related to *The Hague Convention*. The first one was published in 1994, with the title *La protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé - Commentaire de la Convention et du Protocole de La Haye du 14 mai 1954 pour la protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé ainsi que d’autres instruments de droit international relatifs à cette protection*. The author situated the event and the document, which was structured based on the previous discussions, early to the protocol. The book also traced the historical development of international law concerning the protection of cultural property, including an analysis of the 1863 *Lieber Code*, the 1899 and 1907 *Hague Convention*, the 1935 *Washington Pact*, and the document published by the International Museum Office in 1939, the provisions of Additional Protocols in 1977, and of the Convention on Conventional Weapons, in 1980, placing *The Hague Convention* in a historical international movement in the way of international law, and international relations regulated by agreements among nations. The second volume published in 2009, *Cultural Property in War: Improvement in Protection – Commentary on the 1999 Second Protocol to *The Hague Convention* of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, discusses the general provisions regarding the protection, enhanced protection, criminal responsibility and jurisdiction, institutional issues, dissemination of information, and execution of the protocol regarding the international organizations. He described the preparatory work related to the internal war in the Balkans:

A fundamentally new approach was undertaken at the beginning of the 1990s. It was influenced by new ethnic conflicts that destroyed cultural property, particularly in the former Yugoslavia, and, as a consequence, by the willingness of the international community to address this issue by contemplating new amendments or even modifications to 1954 *The Hague Convention*. This new approach required additional consultative work and a series of expert meetings and preparatory conferences. The result of the long preparatory work was the adoption of the 1999 Second Protocol.26

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Several conflicts meant that the 20th century was classified as the “Age of Extremes” by historian Eric Hobsbawm:

We take it for granted that modern warfare involves all citizens and mobilizes most of them; that it is waged with armaments which require a diversion of the entire economy to produce them, and which are used in unimaginable quantities; that it produces untold destruction and utterly dominates and transforms the life of the countries involved in it […] Nevertheless, before the twentieth century, wars embracing all society were exceptional. 27

The major impact that World War II had on human beings was to expose the degradation of the concentration camps promoted by racial prejudice. After this event, there was a natural rethinking of the position of a system of civilization based on the conviction that ethnic or cultural differences justified oppression: a culture founded on the depreciation of others has contributed to several conflicts. In 2015, hundreds of archaeological artifacts in Spanish custody, smuggled from Colombia by drug cartels during their internal civil conflict (FARC conflict), were returned to the country. André Leroi-Gourhan (1911-1986) was an archaeologist who influenced prehistoric lithic studies in Latin America and discussed the vulnerability of this zone regarding illicit traffic because of its internal war. Because of his experience, he contributed to the Recommendation for the Protection of Movable Cultural Property, adopted by UNESCO in 1978.

At the 26th Session in 1991 of the UNESCO General Conference, the institution directed the States Parties to concentrate their efforts on supporting and implementing the instruments necessary for the preservation of the world’s cultural and natural heritage. The Executive Board, during its 139th Session in May 1992, endorsed the draft resolution proposed by Italy, which suggested a review of The Hague Convention concerning the activity of the World Heritage Centre. The debate from the 1990s regarding the need to revise The Hague Protocol of 1954 also increased with the dissemination of the concept of “Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties”. The WHL provided the International Law with a list of cultural properties that could be applied to the legal instrument.

In 2006, Jokilehto published, along with contributions from Christina Cameron, Michel Parent, and Michael Petzet, a study requested by ICOMOS entitled What is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties. The initial answer to the question of the title was:

In article 1 the World Heritage Convention not only defines cultural heritage as monuments, groups of buildings (ensembles), and sites but also sets the requirement of outstanding universal value “from the point of view of history, art or science” when dealing with monuments or groups of buildings and “from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view” in connection with sites, while according to article 2 of the Convention natural heritage should meet the requirement of outstanding universal value “from the aesthetic or scientific point of view”. Thus, article 1 answers the question about cultural values of monuments and sites that should be protected: Firstly, there is the value “from the point of view of history” (= historical value, “old age value”, commemorative value); secondly, there is the value “from the point of view of art” (= artistic value, aesthetic value); thirdly, one finds the value “from the point of view of science” (= scientific value), and finally there are also values “from the ethnological and anthropological point of view” (which can also be understood as scientific values).28

The UNESCO Expert Meeting (1976), the report produced by Michel Parent (1916-2019), in 1979, and the Global Strategy Meeting held in Amsterdam, in 1998, were appointed by the author as important for the long-term debate over time to fasten the concept in the international community. Furthermore, for the effective implementation of the work of the World Heritage Centre regarding the World Heritage Convention, it was important to understand the principles of “outstanding” and “universal” values that guide the inscription in the World Heritage List (WHL). The debate on the criteria for inclusion on the WHL also promoted a review of The Hague Convention, forty-five years after its publication. Despite the enlarged concept proposed by the World Heritage Convention, the definition of cultural property, as provided for in Article 1 of The Hague Convention, was considered acceptable and sufficiently broad for the legal finalities of the instrument. Considering the earlier reports, the UNESCO Secretariat prepared a draft to guide the session held in Paris in November-December 1994. This document recommended the creation of an advisory committee composed of ICOM, ICOMOS, and ICCROM representatives to give the necessary support to the discussion. Several meetings occurred before the Diplomatic Conference on the 2nd Protocol to The Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict held in The Hague, from 15 to 26 March 1999. This last conference adopted the 2nd Protocol to The Hague Convention of 1954 without a vote, together with the final resolution. It was opened for signature on 17 May 1999 within the centennial celebration of the First International Peace Conference, in 1909, and signed by 27 States.

Only an 82 States Parties have acceded to the 2\textsuperscript{nd} protocol: 14 countries in Africa; 18 in the Americas; 15 countries in Asia; 34 in Europe, and 1 in Oceania. If we draw a map showing the accession of States to protocols, we can see a huge setback in the accession process of countries in this regulatory instrument: 32\% of countries had not acceded to the 1954 Protocol, and in 1999 this figure jumps to 58\%.

What does it mean? Will the expansion of the devices cause a decrease in the accession to the 1999 Protocol? Or perhaps did the world overall scenario effectively become more belligerent at the end of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century? If we compare Chart 1 with Chart 2, we can see that the regions that have a major number from the List of World Heritage in Danger (WHD): 13 countries in Africa – Central African Republic [1], Côte d’Ivoire [1], Democratic Republic of the Congo [5], Egypt [1], Guinea [1], Kenya [1], Libya [5], Madagascar [3], Mali [3], Niger [1] Senegal [1], Uganda [1], and Tanzania [1] – with 25 properties in danger; 7 countries in America – Bolivia [1], Chile [1], Honduras [1], Panama [1], Peru [1], United States of America [1], and

How can UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and ICOM contribute further to the debate on the accession of The Hague protocols along with their national delegates? How do these institutions design their meetings, training programs and missions focused on those regions that most need support, regarding either external or internal conflicts?

*First Aid to Cultural Heritage in Times of Crisis* (FAC) was a program launched in 2010, held by the partnership between ICCROM, the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO, and Smithsonian Institution, with the goal to training people for crises. In 2010, 2011, and 2012 the four-week courses occurred in Rome; in 2015 the course occurred in Amsterdam, in cooperation with Reinwardt Academy, Amsterdam School of the Arts, the Centre for Global Heritage and Development (Leiden University, Delft University of Technology, Erasmus University Rotterdam), and the Prince Claus Fund, Cultural Emergency Response Programme. The International Training Course (ITC) on *Disaster Risk Management of Cultural Heritage* have been promoted by ICCROM from 2001 to now:

- Risk Preparedness Workshop 2001, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
- Risk Preparedness Training Course 2003, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
- Risk Preparedness for Cultural Heritage Course 2004, New Delhi, India
Regional Workshop: Vulnerability Assessment of Disasters and Climate Change in World Heritage Properties 2009, Beijing, China
- Reducing Risks to Cultural Heritage 2011 (Distance learning course)
- Managing World Heritage Sites: Integrating Disaster Risk Reduction Strategies 2011, Mexico
- International Training Course on Disaster Risk Management on Cultural Heritage 2012-2021, Japan

Despite international efforts, the world map of the war has become increasingly complex, aggravated at this time by the Covid-19 pandemic and by the global threats projected by climate change. It covers the traditional war regarding frontiers and territories, the civil wars and disturbances, the insurgencies, the persistent State Failure, the ethnical war, and the ideological war, including political and religious positions that operated outside of a specific State, such as terrorism and persecution of native peoples, such has been occurred in Brazil in indigenous land. Today there are several countries in conflict, and hundreds of regions are under pressure from militias. According to the program “Organized Violence in the World 2015: an assessment by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP)”:

There are important regional variations. The Middle East is currently the most violent region, with developments in Syria and Iraq mainly responsible for driving up the death toll. But over the last quarter-century, i.e., 1989-2014, Africa has been the most violent region by far. Despite alarming levels of violence now in some areas, e.g., Northern Nigeria, Africa in recent years is less violent than it was in the 1990s. Indeed, most parts of the world have seen reductions in the amount of organized violence over time. Also, in the Americas and East Asia, the trends are unambiguously in the direction of fewer deaths in organized violence. For Europe and Central and South Asia, the picture is mixed with progress in some parts and setbacks in others.29

According to Pettersson and Öberg30, the number of fatalities in organized violence decreased for the fifth consecutive year in 2019, once the conflict in Syria and Iraq has pushed the number to its lowest level since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war in 2011. However, the number of active state-based conflicts remained on a historically high level. Currently, we cannot assess the situation in Afghanistan after the US intervention in the country ends. Since 2013, the country has witnessed a sharp increase in fatalities, which in 2019 made up 40% of all deaths.

The UCDP’s Report defined three categories of organized violence: state-based conflict, the conflict between non-state actors, and one-sided killings of civilians. Violent conflict within multi-ethnic

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and multi-religious backgrounds closely indicates political disputes by territories or power. In addition to the direct grievances and cumulative fatalities, the conflict with or without frontiers is also a major cause of poverty, often leading to economic recession, with a much higher incidence of such conflicts found in areas with Low and Middle Developing Index according to the last UNDP Report in 2020. According to Cohen:

Men may and do certainly joke about or ridicule the strange customs of men from ethnic groups because these customs are different from their own. But they do not fight over such differences alone. When men do, on the other hand, fight across ethnic lines it is nearly always the case that they fight over some fundamental issues concerning the distribution and exercise of power, whether economic, political or both, within the social system in which they take part.31

The incidence of violent conflict among poor countries is high, 51% of countries involved in ongoing war is classified as being at LHD (Low Human Development) and 15% at MHD (Middle Human Development) level. 30% of countries are represented by HHD (High Human Development) and 4% at VHHD (Very High Human Development) level.

According to the Trade and Development Report, 2020 - From global pandemic to prosperity for all: avoiding another lost decade32 published by the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), extreme poverty, violence, and lack of access to education or health system are conjoined realities. Overlapping areas are revealed when the sites in the List of World Heritage in Danger are compared to areas where violence and inequality are prevalent. The WHC shows a map of the WHD online, but neither the UN,

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UNESCO nor UNDP provide any map regarding the ongoing armed conflicts. Currently, the UN offers a map of peacekeeping operations led by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The UNDP uses the “Feeling Safe” factor as a perception of individual well-being, and “Trust in national government”, “Action to preserve the environment”, and “Confidence in the judicial system” as indicators of perceptions of government.

In 2015, Marie Louise Stig Sorensen and Dacia Viejo-Rose published War and Cultural Heritage. The book reported several studies on European countries after the Second World War and the late conflicts of the 20th century, as in Bosnia and Ireland. Despite the importance of this publication, we need to create reflection mechanisms focused on vulnerable countries on the continents of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East more than ever. The data collected regarding ongoing armed conflicts that are taking place around the world involves 45 countries: 15 of these countries have 29 cultural properties registered on the List of World Heritage in Danger, and they represent 60% of the WHD; 7 countries in conflict do not have any property registered in the WHL. The map of ongoing conflict shows 22 countries in Africa (49%), 19 in Asia (42%), 2 in Europe (5%), 1 in America (2%), and 1 in Oceania (2%), concerning the UCPD 2015 Report related to the period 2014-2015. 29 cultural properties in danger are situated in these conflict areas, and they respond by 60% of the World Heritage List in Danger. Regarding the total of the 48 cultural properties registered in danger in 2015: 40% are placed in Asia (19 cultural properties); 31% in Africa (15 cultural properties); 13% in America and 13% in Europe, both with 6 cultural properties each one, and 3% in Oceania (2 properties). Targeted actions are needed for balancing care and paid work, making work sustainable, addressing youth unemployment, encouraging creative and voluntary work, and providing work in conflict and post-conflict situations (UNDP Report, 2015). However, it is not possible to design resilience and plan sustainable actions without evaluating the ongoing conflict contexts and finding measures to minimize their impacts. Certainly, the cultural approach will not solve political conflicts. Nonetheless, how can it contribute when the conflict ends?

Conclusion

Today, the destruction of memory is just another consequence of the political, social and economic imbalance. Theodore W. Adorno e Max Horkheimer (1985) asserted that contemporary society increasingly denies individuals the conditions needed for their training, while industrially produced

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culture eliminates notions of individuality, difference, and identity. Mbembe discusses the necropower from a Foucauldian perspective:

One can summarize in the above terms what Michel Foucault meant by biopower: that domain of life over which power has taken control. But under what practical conditions is the right to kill, to let live, or to expose the dead exercised? Who is the subject of this right? What does the implementation of this right tell us about the person who is thus sentenced to death and about the relationship of enmity that pits him against his murderer? Is the notion of biopower sufficient to account for the contemporary ways in which the politician, under the pretext of war, resistance, or the fight against terror, makes the enemy’s assassination his main and absolute objective? After all, war is both a means of conquering sovereignty and a way of exercising the right to kill. Imagining politics as a form of war, we must ask: what place is given to life, death, and the human body (in particular the wounded or dead body)? How are they inscribed in the order of power?

How does heritage conservation affect the construction of individual and collective consciousness? How is it able to modify local realities through the deployment of sustainable programs? How can we use the new technologies of information and communication (NICs) to foster conservation, culture, and citizenship? How can paradigms be proposed in the face of abysmal regional differences? How can we share platforms and generate synergy in actions involving financial, technological, and intellectual resources? Significant questions without easy answers.

Those communities that were directly impacted by the conflicts and colonial exploitation deserve special attention. An international supporting must be given to those communities and nations so that they can rebuild after economic and humanitarian crises. The nonexistence or deficiency of government agencies responsible for cultural and natural heritage protection harms sustainable development, it compounds the conditions for instability what can sometimes be a fragile peace. The loss or fear to lose one’s own cultural identity, traditions, and places of memory are also added to the negative score of poverty and inequity.

The instantaneous human costs regarding deaths, injuries, and refugees are more visible and well known; however, the future costs of cultural losses generated by the conflicts are hard to evaluate. People see themselves in many ways, and their identities are constructed from traditions, places of memory, and cultural pride. The meaning that people attribute to diverse aspects of their identity also fluctuates according to context over time. How many songs, stories, rites, vernacular building, artistic and cultural expressions are lost in refugee camps and conflicts zones?

According to the annual *Global Trends Report: World at War-2020* of the United Nations Refugee Agency[^1], the worldwide displacement had the highest level ever recorded. It asserts that the number of people forcibly displaced at the end of 2019 had risen to a staggering 59.5 million compared to 51.2 million a year earlier and 37.5 million a decade ago. In 2019, 110 camps of refugees in 24 countries had housed more the 3.0 million people. Most of these places exist a long time, such as the Palestinian refugee camps that exist since 1948, the Sahrawi refugee camps in Algeria, which exist since 1975, and Dadaab and Kakuma in Kenya since 1991 and 1992, respectively. Is it possible to promote cultural identity in those deprived places?

“People have a right to be proud of where they are” declared Sandi Hilal, the director of UNRWA - United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East -, in an interview with Reuters, on May 9, 2012. Furthermore, 33 countries in the world do not have any property registered. They represent 17% of regions without a representative in the WHL. Related to 16 Non-Self-Governing Territories, only two places have registered cultural properties:

- Historic Town of St George and Related Fortifications, Bermuda (UK possession)
- Lagoons of New Caledonia: Reef Diversity and Associated Ecosystems (France possession)

What does this mean? Do these places not have any cultural or natural resources, or do they not have a voice?

The present compromises the future in poverty and violent spaces. Ethnic and cultural distinctions motivate some conflicts and consequently promote the erase and destruction of the identity. However, group identities can potentially be used to provide the basis for promoting the rebuilding. Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania are the greatest vulnerable regions that have been concentrated in the international debate regarding “sustainability” and “resilience”. Most of them carry out the colonial past, and it is inhering prejudice and deprivation. Economically and politically stable countries are not immune to the crises of their neighbours. In a globalized world, every action (or lack of action) impacts the entire system. There is an account related to economic inequality, wars, and humanitarian crises that sooner or later may be paid by everybody.

Currently, the humanitarian crisis in contexts of war is intensified by the Covid-19 pandemic. The current health crisis was a sample of the behavior of countries in the face of global crises: developing countries were relegated by pharmaceutical companies, to the benefit of rich countries that quickly

signed their contracts. The report *A Dose of Reality*\(^{37}\) shows that of the 1.8 billion COVID vaccine donations pledged by rich countries, only 261 million doses - 14% - have been delivered so far, while Western pharmaceutical companies have delivered only 12% of the doses they allocated to COVAX, the initiative designed to help low and middle-income countries gain fair access to COVID vaccines. In this context, only one organization with global weight can coordinate actions on an equal basis: the World Health Organization.

How can the international community act in this decade to minimize the post-pandemic economic, political, and social effects? How can cultural and natural heritage, sustainable tourism, and diverse local ways of life generate resilience and alternatives? These are questions that do not have a single, unilateral answer, nor can they be mirrored in the Western and Eurocentric civilizing context. We need, more than ever, to strengthen the role of the United Nations and all its related organizations. Only a global effort can prepare people for climate emergencies and their humanitarian consequences. *Leave no one behind* (LNOB) is the central, transformative promise of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its Sustainable Development Goals. The short-sighted and endogenous vision of nations needs to evolve towards a global consciousness. Borders did not prevent the variants of COVID-19 from affecting societies with greater purchasing power. This situation is equivalent in relation to climate change or economic, political, and social crises. On the other side of the forced immigrations of refugees around the world, there is a debt of slavery and colonialism. Without political stability, cultural identity and broad social justice, no country is safe in its glass case. The strengthening of international cooperation organizations, structured since the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) century, is the only possible answer for confronting the 21\(^{st}\) century. In conclusion, we aim at fostering critical thinking and action, paraphrasing Socrates, as reported by Plato (Plato's Apology, 38a5–6): ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτός ἀνθρώπω (the unexamined life is not worth living by human).\(^{38}\)

Heritage in those challenging times and circumstances is key to questioning uncritical stances and standpoints. Heritage may serve to live together and accept other ways of thinking and behaving. We will be happy if this paper may bring people together, for a more inclusive future, so that there are no left-behinds, but an all-inclusive future.


\(^{38}\) Authors' translation.