

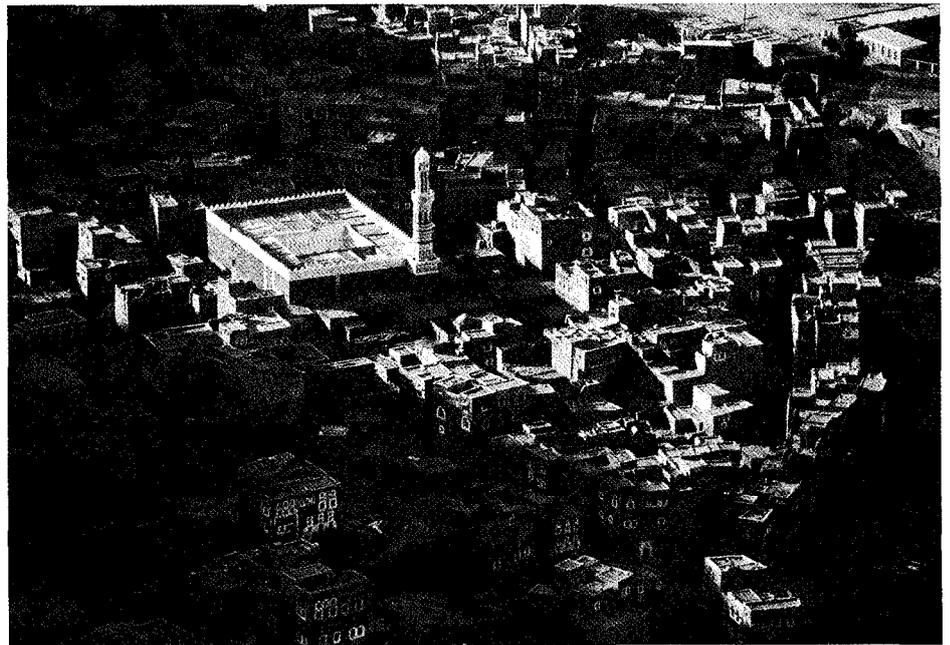
Michael Welbank

Introduction

One of the most intractable conservation problems of today is the conservation of cohesive high-quality urban areas, or indeed whole cities. This is particularly so in the Middle East and the Muslim world. There is no shortage of debate and earnest words about what should be conserved, the cultural significance of these elements of world heritage, the physical works that should be undertaken to conserve them, and the pressing need for action. But the gap between words and action is alarming, and the gap appears to be growing. After perusing many papers and documents on this subject, it is all too easy to feel encouraged by the strength of interest and by the clarity of ideals and principles. But this feeling quickly turns to depression when the towns, cities and urban quarters discussed are actually visited and examined. So great is the discrepancy between the ideal and the actual that some scrutiny or review of current conservation approaches to the problem of urban areas seems to be urgently required.

Conservation is not like politics. Politics is the art of the possible, and most political systems do not adhere rigidly to any one fixed set of values. As society changes, so the political systems change to embrace more completely the values of the societies they serve. Time is not a limiting factor in this interplay. The interplay is continuous and unending, with an unceasing effort to find a system to express the values of each generation. Although political systems may well be informed by basic principles, in operation they are essentially pragmatic in seeking out solutions acceptable to nations and societies.

Can the conservation problems of urban areas be approached in this manner? If we are content to press and to go on arguing for the most perfect and idealised conservation principles until they are finally acceptable for action, the objects of conservation may well have seriously deteriorated and even disappeared altogether. The problem today, then, is to find a way to formulate conservation policies and



Sana'a, Yemen Arab Republic.

Photo: C. Little/Aga Khan Awards.

approaches that can be accepted and acted on immediately. Judging by results so far around the world, such policies do not abound in any great number.

What distinguishes the conservation of urban areas from the conservation of monuments or other artifacts is that the former are inhabited and used by people and the latter are not. "Conservation" is an overworked word that means all things to all people. At one end of the scale, the term "conservation" is used to describe the work of chemists and physicists who have detailed technical knowledge of the material of artifacts and are concerned with maintaining their long-term existence. "Conservation" is also used to describe the work of those hardy teams out in the field — architects, archaeologists and scientists — who attempt to stem the ravages of time and weather on monuments and buildings. And, lastly, "conservation" describes the work of those concerned with maintaining the fabric of a city in its original form and it

encompasses all the skills mentioned above.

With urban planners, cultural planners, urban managers, and administrators also on the scene, the tasks of conservation become diffuse and complex. Problems stem from the fact that the physical fabric of a city, town or urban quarter is a place where people are living, working and going about their everyday business. It is a scene with people, and this factor gives rise to a number of essential points about the conservation of urban quarters:

- They cannot be viewed as physical objects alone.
- They cannot be handed over to be conserved without the willingness and wish of the society in the area.
- They are given a great deal of their character by the very fact that they are peopled.
- The intermixture of activity and setting is integral to their character.
- Because they are peopled, they cannot be

expected to remain in a static condition.

In this type of situation, conservation cannot stand back from society and its development. Conservationists must face the problems of making conservation acceptable and possible to the society within and to the nation as a whole. Without this sort of realism, can conservationists expect to make progress in the field of city or urban quarter conservation?

Urban Area Conservation Problems

Because the conservation of urban quarters presents a number of unique problems, technical conservation approaches are not likely to succeed on their own.

The question has to be viewed in the context of the cultural, economic and political values of the society in which it is located. It is possible to set down some aspects of this context for consideration and discussion:

1) *Lack of Awareness.* There is often little awareness by the people who live in such urban quarters of the regard with which the fabric is held by others.

For the inhabitants, it is a place to live and work in and not to be conserved or venerated. They may even positively dislike it because it is old and perhaps lacks modern facilities, and they may look with envy and hope at more modern constructions nearby. It is a common occurrence that such parts of towns were built by homogenous groups bound together by common interests and values — whether these be religious, connected with work or trade, standards of living, wealth, community or kinship, or cultural. It is often the case that the original group that created the quarter and lived in it and cared for it no longer exists, and the area has become inhabited by a group with very different standards and values.

Often there is little regard for the area by the later group of occupants. It is just an urban location providing places for living and working at a price they can afford, but

they have no special attachment to the area and would leave if they could. Often they are trapped by circumstances. While they may derive some sense of pride from a vague recognition that the quarter represents some continuity with the past traditions of their society and is a part of their history, this feeling usually is not strong enough to prevent people from leaving if they can.

2) *Lack of Focus or Status.* There is usually neither focus nor status for conservation in the orthodox arrangements of local government. Conservation, above all, requires a strong, clear locus to provide an adequate base from which to coordinate the multifarious activities related to it. This is important enough with monuments or simple individual structures, but with populated zones it becomes imperative. The locus must be integral with the authorities responsible for all the other functions for the community and also directly related to the local political power base. Conservation cannot stand apart and control the whole area. Too often that has been tried, and it has failed. The requirements of conservation must be accepted without question by the community.

3) *Alien and Elite Sources.* The banner of conservation is usually raised by those who do not live in the country at all. Conservation concepts are therefore often external to the area, and are often brought to it by national and international cultural do-gooders.

By and large, in Europe and America conservation is now an accepted part of national life. There will always be endless arguments about the total resources devoted to the cause, about the way such resources should be deployed, about the appropriateness of this or that conservation technique, and about conservation issues generally; but there is no danger of the conservation movement losing support or disappearing. In fact, many would argue that the conservation movement is so strong in these continents as to make change and redevelopment complex, expensive, and sometimes even impossi-

ble. It is not easy for those from this conservation arena to enter into a locale where conservation is new and unknown. Such moves are often resented by local people as attempts to impose foreign and alien concepts — offshoots of neo-colonialism. Even within any particular country, the conservation movement starts among an educated elite, often academics, who have little affinity with those living in the urban quarters in question.

4) *Lack of Funds.* At a national level, few underdeveloped countries can afford any allocation of national funds to conservation. Conservation is not among the top priorities of countries that are struggling to feed, educate, provide health care and create jobs for their population. Rightly, these are national priorities, and it is hard for conservation to make its voice heard in those countries which in fact contain many of the greatest elements of the world's heritage and have the most limited resources with which to shoulder that burden.

There is no easy and obvious route open to bring conservation concepts to underdeveloped countries to the level where they will have popular support. Conservation in this situation often appears to be a rarefied nonsense produced by an educated elite with foreigners aiding and abetting this conspiracy.

Two examples from this region of the world, Cairo and Sana'a, illustrate the nature of particular problems associated with urban conservation. Both of these are included in the lists of the World Heritage Convention.

The fabric of the old city of Cairo has suffered immense deterioration in this century, and the pace of deterioration is accelerating. The old city itself covers an area some 1 km × 4 km, has a population of about 320,000 people, and contains some 450 monuments and buildings registered by the Antiquities Organisation. Formal measures for the protection and conservation of this heritage have been in existence since the last years of the nineteenth century. Today such formal

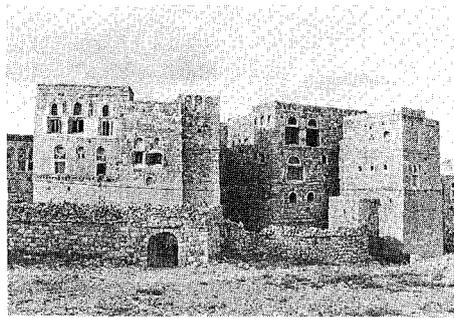
measures still exist, and there are regulations that allow for the detailed architectural control of all new structures in the old city in order to ensure that such buildings are in harmony with the existing fabric. Thus there is no lack of conservation measures and, further, no lack of interest in the city by groups dedicated to conservation. But it is just not happening.

The UNESCO report of 1980 on the "Conservation of the City of Old Cairo" recognised the imbalance between the scale of the problem and the available resources, such as money, technical staff, and authority. It therefore proposed an approach based on concentration of effort in six priority areas; if conserved, these areas would provide a permanent presentation of the character of the old city and would ensure the conservation of a wide range of key buildings. Some thirty major national monuments were excluded from the priority list on the basis that there was support for them in any event and such support would continue. In this way it was hoped that the problem would be reduced to realistic and manageable proportions, could be funded, and would not interfere, by nature of its relatively small scale, with the normal development process that was undoubtedly going to continue in the city, despite available regulating powers.

It must be reported that as yet little progress can be perceived, even along this path, and the reasons appear to be the following:

- The concept of priority areas has been a difficult one for the Antiquities Organisation to accept, as they have a formal duty for the conservation of all monuments.
- No co-ordination of action between those charged with the duty of conservation and the normal local authority has been achieved.
- There is inadequate funding available.
- There is a scarcity of technical and professional resources.

Thus the process of deterioration continues. Conservation in the old city of Cairo has not managed to come to terms with development, and development in the form of social support, funds, political will,



Abandoned houses at Kawkaban, Yemen Arab Republic.

Photo: C. Little/Aga Khan Awards.

and authority is winning. The measures proposed in the UNESCO report, which were formally endorsed by the government, may not have been perfect but were intended to reduce the problem to a manageable size and to provide a means whereby conservation interest and development interest could meet and jointly act as partners. Alas, they have remained apart.

Sana'a is not only on the lists of the World Heritage Convention but is also the subject of a UNESCO international campaign. Through these means it is hoped that the city will obtain adequate support, financial and otherwise, in tackling its conservation problems. Compared to old Cairo, Sana'a has come to the problems of conservation much latter, but there are considerable similarities. The nature of the problem at Sana'a has two main components, namely, the overall planning of the city and the conservation of the fabric of the old city.

The urban growth of Sana'a since the early 1970s has been a remarkable phenomenon. For a time it appeared that the explosion of urban growth outside the old walls would lead to a new greater Sana'a in which the old town could have become the focus for such a concentration of central area activities that the pressures for wholesale redevelopment of the old city would grow and become irresistible. It now seems, however, that the overall strategic plan

adopted for Sana'a has averted this danger, although its adoption was accompanied by considerable problems and difficulties. The main central core of the city is displaced to one side of the old city, giving it adequate free space in which to enlarge and grow and relating to the new and future residential areas in a way that places the old city off centre. The old city thus has the chance to remain an integral part of the new greater Sana'a, close to the centre of activity but not subject to externally created development pressures. This is a very considerable achievement, and the position should be closely monitored on a regular basis to ensure that the situation is not eroded over the years.

The second aspect is the future of the urban fabric within the walls. What are the options? At one end of the scale, the whole of the old city could be taken over for static conservation as a major external museum piece. The population could either be moved out or retained, with the fabric kept exactly as it is and all repairs, maintenance, and changes determined by the conservationists — a totally unrealistic proposition. At the other end of the scale, the future of the old city could be left to the normal process of change and development in accordance with the demands and requirements of the community within the city and the public authorities acting on their behalf. This policy is realistic in the sense that it could be acted upon easily enough, but the result would be gradual disappearance of the old city. In part, this process can be observed already and, once started, it proceeds at a fairly rapid rate.

The appropriate solution is to find a middle course where the interests of conservation and development can be combined, but this implies a "give and take" policy. There will need to be restrictions on development, while at the same time conservation must not hinder the provision of services and facilities to the population. It is essential to ensure that the city remains peopled, and to do so the expectations of the inhabitants regarding services, convenience and comfort must to a large measure be met. If not, the city will

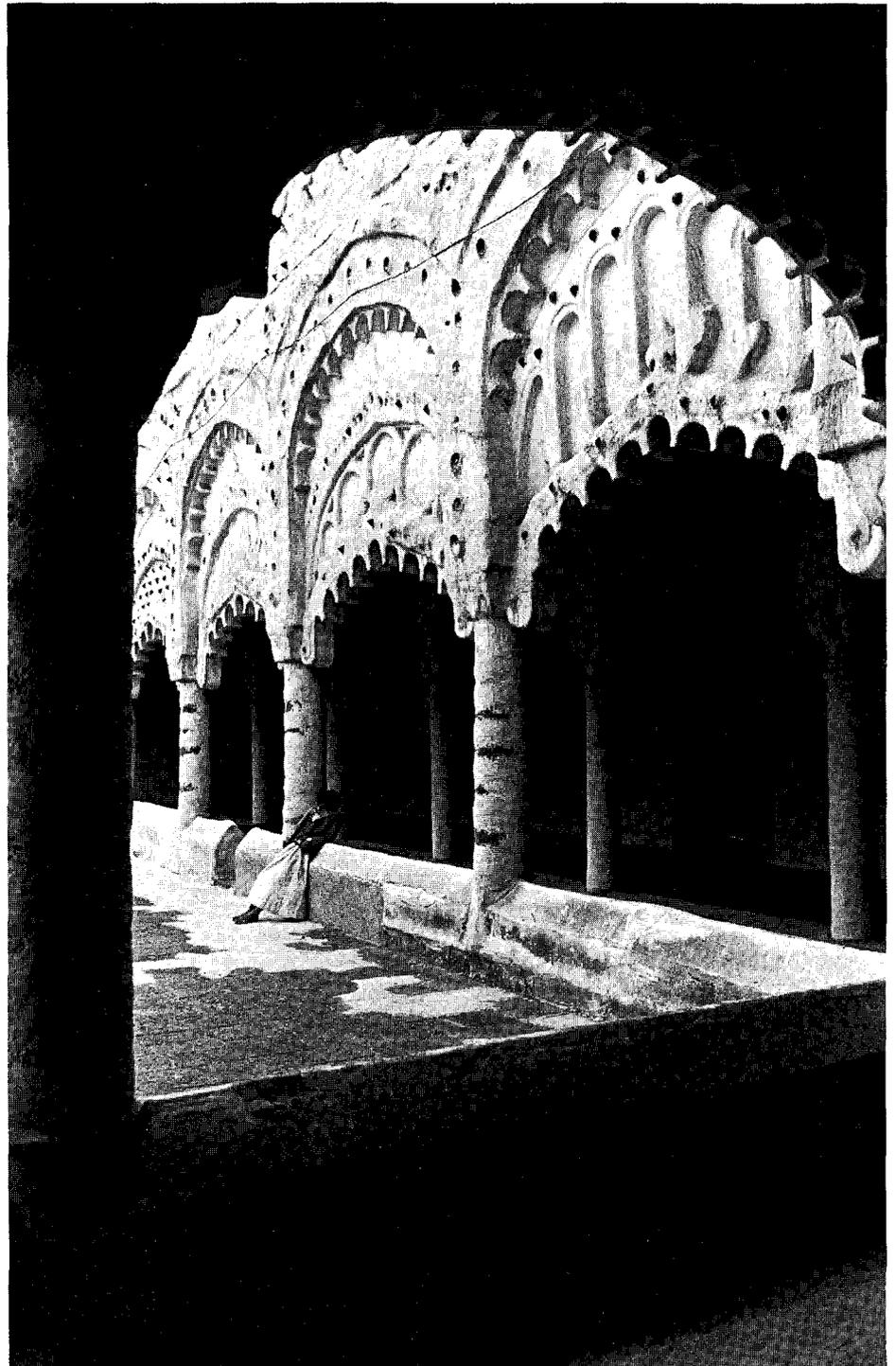
become depopulated, or, rather, it will become populated by a new wave of immigrants who have little attachment to the city or to its traditions

It would seem, then, that the main task is to get social and political support for a detailed plan for the old city that encompasses conservation concepts and reasonable development. Again conservation and development must come to terms if there is to be any success in urban area conservation. But conservation and development tend to be rather unequal partners in any joint operations. Conservation and development relate to different sectors of national governments, different decision-makers and authorities, different groups in societies, and different beneficiaries.

The pressure for the economic, physical, and social development of communities throughout the world today is an irresistible force — and nowhere more so than in the Third World. The thrust and power of this movement springs from reaction to poverty, disease, undernourishment, injustice, domination, and underprivilege. This movement's power is great; it has high motivation; it has political force; it has received worldwide backing and funds from international agencies. It can be a disruptive and disturbing force, despite its positive aspects, and some of the most disruptive and disturbing manifestations of current development activity can be observed in the towns and cities of the developing countries. It is here that the conflicts between ruthless insensitive change and conservation are most acute. Conservation, in conflict with the forces of development, has more often than not succumbed.

Development Versus Conservation

Development and conservation appear to be pursuing quite separate paths in the Third World. In contrast to development interests, conservation has not established as powerful a set of institutions, any significant power base, or any real political



Rawdah Mosque, Yemen Arab Republic.

Photo: C. Little/Aga Khan Awards.



Amran, Yemen Arab Republic. A thin, protective layer of cement plaster has been applied to the parapets and roof terraces of some buildings.

Photo: C. Little/Aga Khan Awards.

power or track record of achievement. Many will say that conservation has no need of, nor is it appropriate for it to acquire, the paraphernalia of authority. There are other paths open, such as:

- the impact of cultural development and education in an underdeveloped country leading to changed attitudes to conservation by a wide spectrum of society;
- the leadership and elitist pressure executed by an educated minority to undertake conservation, which will in time have general effect;
- the efforts of the world community to conserve the world's cultural heritage, which will prevail in the end with success.

The first of the above paths is undoubtedly the strongest and most enduring. However, the problem in so many conservation cases is so pressing and immediate that the time-lag for the concept of conservation to be lodged into the national consciousness is unacceptably long; by the time such consciousness is awakened, the reasons for

it may well have disappeared from the face of the earth. The other paths are probably only precursors for the first path and on their own are unlikely to have a major impact. Of course there are success stories, but these are usually only successful skirmishes in an ultimate defeat.

At a national level, few underdeveloped countries can afford any allocation of national funds to conservation. Conservation is not among the top priorities of countries that are struggling to feed, educate, provide health care, and create jobs for their people. Rightly, these are the national priorities, and it is hard for conservation to make its voice heard, for example, in any country that is a member of the International Development Association (IDA). The IDA is an affiliate of the World Bank for low-income countries, and provides loans for development projects in these countries at highly preferential rates compared to the normal terms of World Bank loans. Among the thirty-six low-

income countries having an average per capita GNP of approximately 250 U.S. dollars per annum are Ethiopia, Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia. These are the poorest countries of the world, and yet great monuments of the world's cultural heritage are located in some of these countries. Among the middle income countries having up to a per capita GNP figure of 600 U.S. dollars per annum are Yemen, Ghana and Egypt. As compared to these figures, the developed industrial countries of Europe and America have an average per capita GNP of approximately 10,000 U.S. dollars per annum.

Even in developed countries there is disagreement about the extent of resources to be allocated for conservation. It is thus hardly surprising that countries with average per capita GNPs of under one-tenth that of the industrial nations should find conservation a difficult thing to grapple with and find it difficult to allocate their scarce resources to such programmes. They must first struggle with their basic developmental problems. No matter how much the world exhorts these countries to conserve elements of their cultural heritage, it will not happen unless the world provides the means — in either technical or financial terms.

The basic problems of these countries are easily forgotten by those who sit in the lush hotels of the capitals. Reminders of the scale of the gap between the industrialised "north" and the underdeveloped "south" are continually necessary. To take the examples of the Yemen Arab Republic and two of its neighbours and to compare their condition with that of Europe and the United States is instructive and salutary. The "Development Indicators" table graphically illustrates the gap.

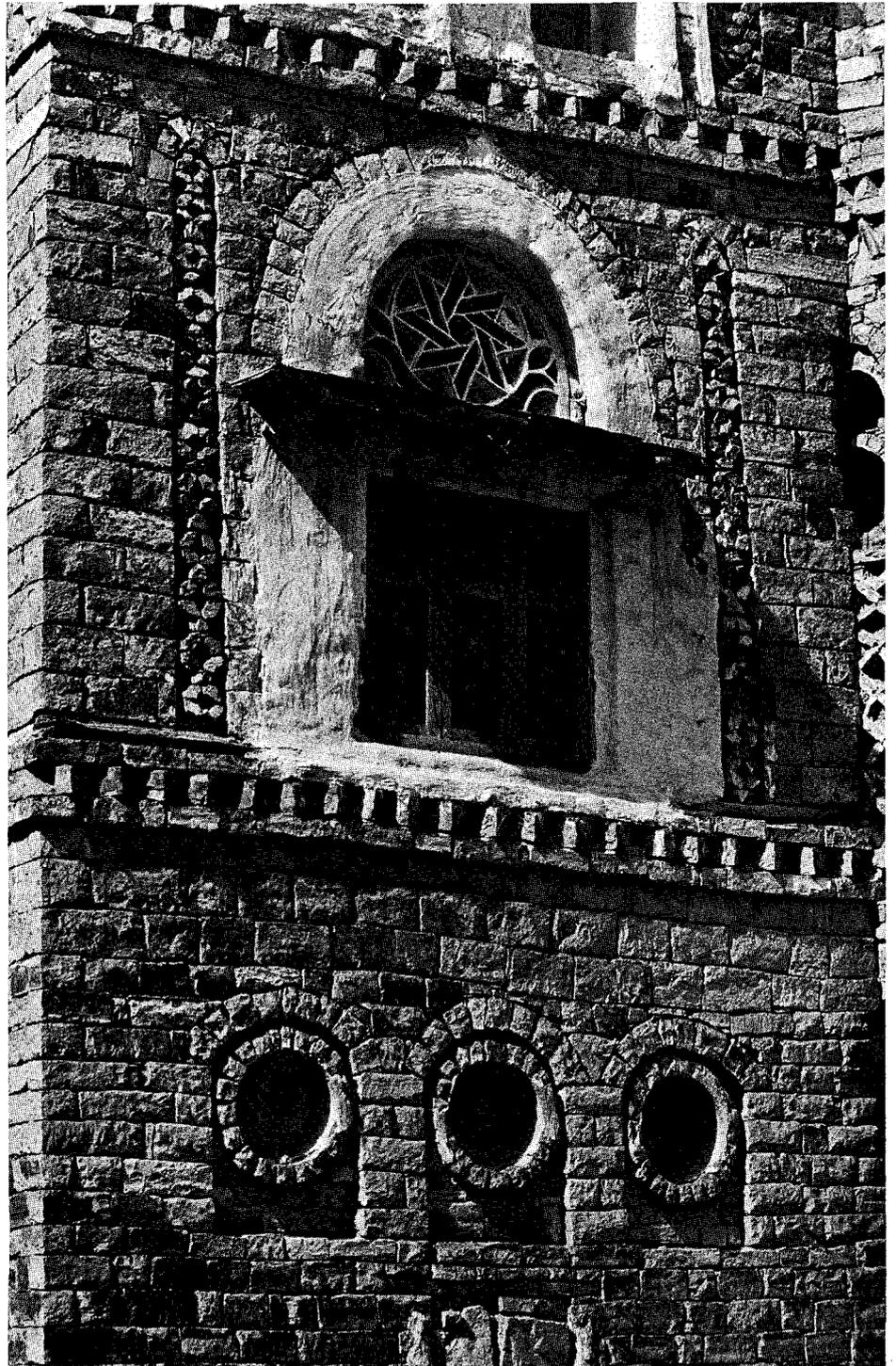
It appears that a fairly high level of economic development has to be achieved before other non-economic objectives, such as conservation, can be fully embraced. The parallel can be drawn to population growth. The reduction of population growth rates is one of the key

problems in achieving effective long-term beneficial development. For many underdeveloped countries, every advance seems to be negated by growth in population numbers.

One general response to this problem had been to institute family planning programmes, but, after decades of failure in making any impact on population growth, it has come to be accepted that successful family planning programmes follow successful economic development and can never precede it. In Europe family sizes started a dramatic plunge in the nineteenth century, decades ahead of the widespread availability of acceptable birth control measures. The correlation of economic progress with a decline in family size is irrefutable. It is economic well-being, physical health, and security that allow families the confidence to rely on fewer children for future survival. So the path of "development", while uneven and difficult to follow, does allow societies to reach a plateau with horizons other than survival.

This is intended to be not a counsel of despair but an analysis of reality. Stress conservation movements will not exist in underdeveloped countries unless they can be demonstrated to have an economic benefit, such as through the creation or maintenance of a tourist attraction. The latter, in turn, produces a separate set of problems. Furthermore, the international institutions most concerned with worldwide conservation, such as UNESCO, the World Heritage Convention and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), provide exhortation, guidance and stimulation but do not enter the field of action.

By comparison, the international institutions for development are legion, and they have funds — not enough perhaps, but funds nevertheless. These institutions — the World Bank, the International Development Associations, Africa Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, Saudi Fund, and Kuwait Fund, to name only a few — all have one purpose in common: the deployment of funds for



Wall detail of a house in Thula. The round windows are sheathed with alabaster.

Photo: C. Little/Aga Khan Awards.

investment in development. Some may argue that they represent the machinations of the industrialized nations to weigh down the Third World with debts, particularly during the current world-wide economic recession. But despite the current difficulties, international investment in the Third World continues and there are pressures to increase it. The limits have not been reached.

This is the view of A. W. Clausen, president of the World Bank, expressed as recently as February 1983 in his lecture "Third World Debt and Global Recovery". Clausen stated that there were a number of reasons to have confidence that the Third World debt problems were by no means insoluble and that investment should not be diminished because of the current world economic situation. He stressed three points:

"First, the expansion of international lending is normal, healthy and most necessary. . . The historical experience of international investment, its expansion as part of the global economic dynamism of the last two decades, and its concentration among the middle-income countries all confirm that expanding capital flows are a normal and essential aspect of global economic vitality.

"My second point is that the success of the developing countries, especially the middle-income countries, in coping with the stresses of the 1970s is strong evidence that their present payment problems are liquidity, not solvency problems.

"Liquidity refers to the capacity to meet obligations in the short term. If the price of a staple export falls, or the price of a major import rises, a country may have trouble meeting its obligation on time. The country can, in due course, expand other exports or cut back on imports, but such adjustment takes time. Liquidity problems can arise even for countries with no underlying solvency problems.

"Solvency refers to the capacity to carry a certain level of debt over the long term. A country's ability to pay back debts depends on growth in its national income and long-

run ability to export, so a growing economy can safely carry a growing debt.

"A third reason for thinking that Third World debt problems are manageable is the strength of the present international financial system.

"The special risks of sovereign lending are that it is not covered by bankruptcy laws, and that creditors cannot repossess the assets of a sovereign nation. On the other hand, nations cannot disappear, as companies can, by legal fiat. Nations continue to exist, and they need credit to finance trade and buffer current-account fluctuations as long as they are part of the global economy. Thus, although many countries are now unable to make payments on time, *not one* has repudiated its debt."

It is of great interest that the president of the World Bank believes that continuing investment in the Third World for its development is a proper course of action for the world and will probably release more funds into the Third World than any amount of gifts, grants and technical assistance.

If this is the way that the development movement of the world has progressed, why should it not also be the way for conservation to progress in the Third World? The orthodox answer is that conservation is not directly an economic generator, that conservation does not produce revenue with which to repay the debt, and that conservation does not deliver assistance to the poor in facing their predicament of coping with the problems of life on a day-to-day basis.

This may be true, but it would appear to neglect a number of important factors:

- 1) The assessment of development entirely in economic terms is wrong: values other than those that can be expressed in quantitative economic terms are as worthy as any other.
- 2) National or cultural pride is a force that can provide motivation in societies — a motivation which, while it may not directly lead the general population to appreciate the heritage of the artifacts of their culture,

nonetheless provides them with a sense of contentment and satisfaction from belonging to a society in which these exist and are respected.

3) Development is an ongoing process, and it would be a strange society that did not aspire to a future situation in which it would be able to conserve its heritage, even though immediate pressures may make this impossible. The problem can therefore be recognised and accepted as a short-to-medium term problem and not a long-term one. Help is required in the short term.

Then why is it that investment cannot be found for this purpose? If the conservation movement could manage to find a funding source, then it would really have established a power base for the future.

It is significant to note that in the industrialised nations with established and long-accepted conservation movements investment funds for conservation come primarily from the public purse one way or another. And yet these same nations talk of the necessity of conservation to countries with impoverished exchequers and with major problems in providing their people with the basic necessities of life. No longer are exhortation and advice enough. The developed world, if it believes in conservation, must share some of its investment funds for conservation with the world in the same way as there is a commitment to devote a given percentage of its GNP to the international agencies for development. There is no fundamental reason why this cannot be done, given the will.

Conservation Investment and Implementation

What may be needed is an "International Bank for Conservation," operating in a similar manner to the World Bank. Above all, if it were created, there would be need for an equivalent of the IDA — an "International Conservation Association" — to deliver loans on preferential terms to underdeveloped countries. Would it work?

World Development Indicators

Country	GNP per capita (U.S. Dollars)	GNP growth over previous decade (percent)	Adult Literacy (percent)	Life expectancy at birth	Urban population as % of total population	Population per doctor	Calorie supply per capita (percent)	Percent of population with access to safe water	Primary school enrolments as % of age group
Sudan	410	-0.2	20	46	25	8,780	96	46	51
Yemen Arab Republic	430	+4.5	21	42	10	11,670	82	4	34
Egypt	580	+3.4	44	57	45	1,050	118	66	75
United Kingdom	7,920	+2.2	99	73	91	750	133	100	105
France	11,730	+4.0	99	74	78	610	136	100	112
United States	11,360	+2.3	99	74	77	580	133	100	98

Source: I.B.R.D., World Development Report 1982, Washington, D.C.

How could it possibly work? The answers are of course not known. If it had any support, the concept would need to be studied further and worked out. Sources of support would need to be found and eventually launched and operated. It could fail at any of these stages, but it would then be for genuine practical difficulties rather than generalised negative arguments.

The World Bank (formally named the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) was established following World War II as one of the Bretton Woods group of international financial institutions. Its membership and its members are both contributors of its capital and borrowers. Finance is obtained by mandatory contributions from the member countries, from voluntary contributions by member countries, and from loans raised in the open market. Interest on all these sources of funds is paid as is normal in the banking system.

It is guaranteed internationally, but its solvency basically depends on the prudence of its lendings — like many banks, these have been on the whole “conservative” — and on the stability of the international banking system as a whole.

The costs of the World Bank of obtaining its funds average at the moment approxi-

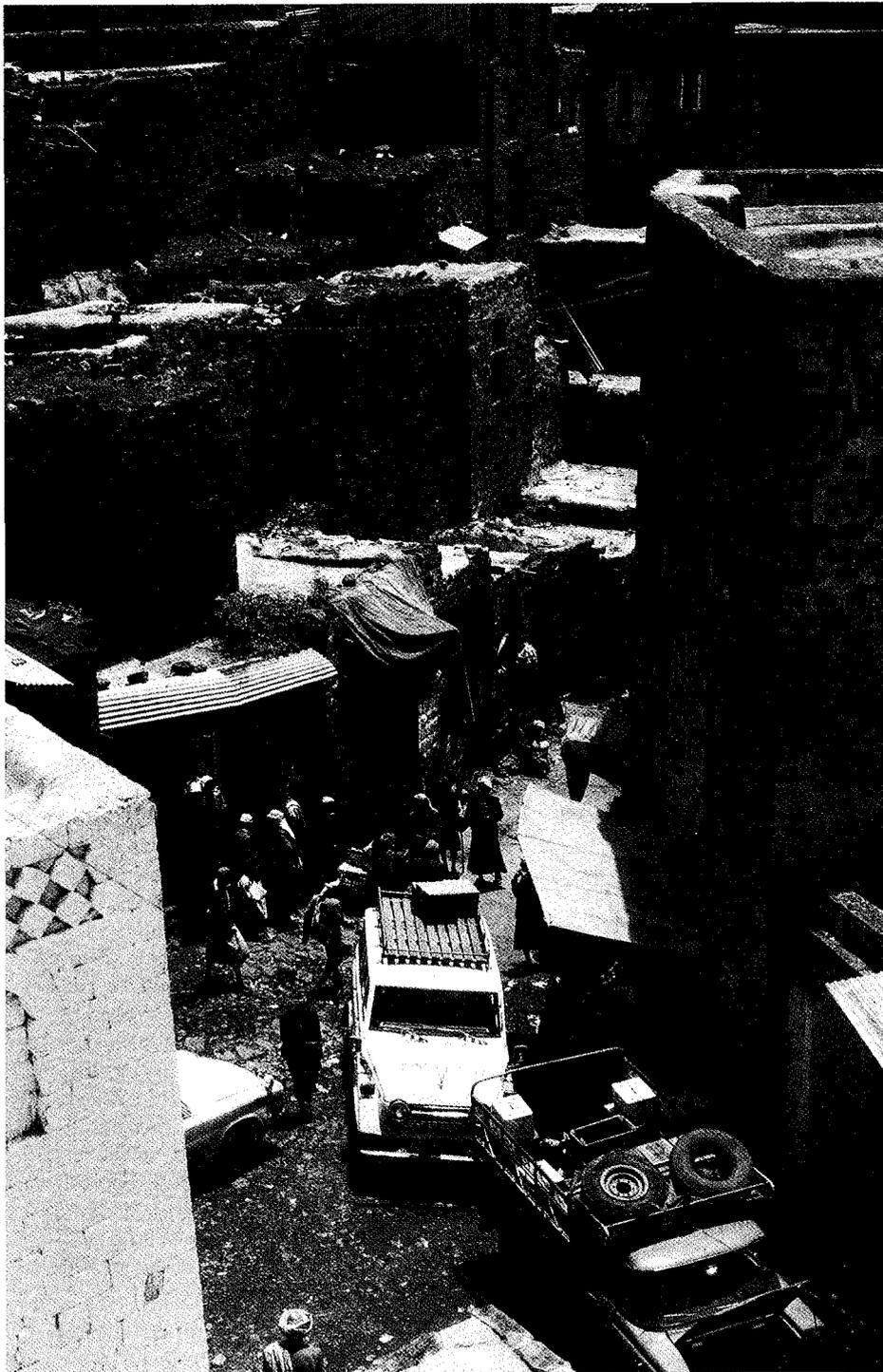
mately 10.5 percent, varying from contributions of member countries at about 4.5 percent to short-term commercial borrowing at 16 percent. Loans from the World Bank are made on projects within fields specifically set down in its charter: those that have productive purposes and those that stimulate economic growth. The loans are for twenty years with five years of grace before commencement of repayment, and the average interest charge on these at the moment is about 12.5 percent.

For the poorer countries of the world — those with a per capita GNP of under 500 U.S. dollars per annum — membership in the International Development Association is available. Funds for the IDA are provided by further specific grants of funds by member countries of the World Bank. Credits from the IDA are for fifty years with ten years of grace before repayment commences. There is no interest charge, but they carry a small service charge that, in effect, results in long-term loans at interest rates of about one percent.

Why should conservation not have the same benefit of financial institutions established by charter and guaranteed by its founding members? It is a strange paradox that there is plenty of money in the world market looking for projects for investment. As long as good guarantees are forthcoming, then the flow of funds seems

assured. The stability and the worth of the guarantee of the institutions, linked to the guarantees of the sovereign states who are the final borrowers, is of course what makes it possible. The president of the World Bank maintains that prudent sovereign lending is still a valid course today, even at the current levels of the external debts of many countries. Such institutions would have to proceed slowly from modest beginnings in the same way as the World Bank did from 1954 onwards. As a start, it might be possible to ask the 120 members of the World Bank to agree to finance an operation to the level of 0.5 percent of their Bank subscription capital. This would give an initial base of something in the vicinity of 150 million U.S. dollars. If commercial borrowing could be obtained on top of this initial capital at a proper ratio, then there could be a real basis for establishing such an institution and for operating it. There will be many who will say that this is quite a ridiculous level of activity related to the needs. It is, but it could be the start of a long-term programme of continuing and growing investment in conservation.

When funds are supplied, then there is quite a different ethos between investments and gifts. The supply of investment differs from the supply of technical advice and general encouragement.



Investment involves a sense of responsibility created on both sides and the realisation that however soft it may appear to be, the loan has to be repaid. The banker has a responsibility to ensure that the investment is sound and within the parameters set by the Bank charter, that there is a capability to repay and, if at all possible, that repayments may be secured on a "cost recovery" basis linked to each project. The government has to be clear that it really wants to obtain funds for the purpose, that it has clear policies and programme for the use of such funds, and that it is ready to pledge itself to repay. By this means a "dialogue" is established. The World Bank puts the greatest emphasis on the creation of "dialogue". It is a delicate and potentially controversial field. Any bank as the lender has a duty to ensure that the use of loans is sound in all ways. It does not have to lend to a borrower who does not accept the loan conditions. However, when the borrower is a country, these loan conditions sometimes may appear to be an attempt to interfere in the affairs of a sovereign state. The World Bank will always refute this, and it is open both to the bank and to the borrower not to proceed if either side does not accept the loan conditions. This process produces a dynamic tension and a vigour not apparent with gifts or grants.

A contrast can be made with the nearest parallel, the international campaigns of UNESCO. Within the limitation of action and of the resources of UNESCO, it is difficult to see any other format that they might have taken. Their initiative and efforts over the years has been exemplary. But no one, least of all the UNESCO officials involved, would claim that they have had a dramatic impact commensurate with the administrative effort and the funds received (apart from the Nubia campaign, a unique and amazing achievement that seemed to spoil the market for the subsequent 28 campaigns). Responses are sporadic and various, according to general knowledge or notoriety of the subject rather than need. Fifteen years after the start of the International Campaign for Moenjodaro and seven years

The suq, Sana'a. Can "conservation" and "development" exist as partners?

Photo: S. Özkan.

after the launching of its international appeal, a total of 2.5 million U.S. dollars has been raised from both overseas governmental and private sources as against a total 5 million U.S. dollars from within Pakistan and as against a total figure needed of 17 million U.S. dollars.

Conclusion

The main thrust of this paper is that the conservation movement in the world should come to terms with reality much more than it does at present and that its advances in the Third World, where much of the world's cultural heritage lies, have been lamentably slow. Indeed, so slow as to be alarming in the face of the remorseless pressures of deterioration, decay and destruction that are exerted on so many of the elements comprising this heritage.

In the Third World, development will understandably be the national priority, and the development process is backed up by a wide range of international institutions, many of which are the source of funds. Conservation at this point appears to be the poor relation. Despite the importance of appropriate conservation, both for particular nations and also for the world in general, conservation lacks authority and resources in the clash of "development" versus "conservation".

There is a need to examine rigorously how conservation of the world's cultural heritage can obtain the backing of funds appropriate to the scale of the problem. The models created by the "development" movement in the world are the obvious ones to examine to see if they can be reproduced in a way to benefit conservation. It is proposed to attempt to form an International Bank for Conservation with procedures based on the World Bank, together with an International Conservation Association, as a means for Third World countries to obtain loans on preferential terms for conservation projects. There is a considerable body of technical knowledge involved with conservation,

and for technical services, such institutions could engage the services of The International Centre for The Study of the Preservation and The Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCRUM) and other international technical bodies. For the moment, further debate and discussion on this and other ideas are required in order to design a practical means of dramatically augmenting the funds for conservation on a world-wide basis.

Even with the availability of funds, there will still be problems. One key problem on which much more study and work is needed relates to the conservation of populated urban areas, where the interests of conservation are so often in conflict. The balance created, both interests having funds or sharing the same objectives would be of great benefit. But even then there will still be a need for a system of implementation that integrates the programmes of action emanating from these two movements. To allow such integration to be effected, there will need to be clearer and accepted guidelines devised from both the enunciation of basic principles and also from the experience of applying the principles of how to direct and manage in urban areas to allow the standards of living of the population to improve and yet be handled in a way compatible with conservation.

It has proved to date an intractable problem; and if only "conservation" could appear as an equal partner with "development", then progress might well be faster and more direct. To be an equal partner needs the strength that having funds can bring. It is hoped that advances can be made as quickly as possible in this sphere for the lasting benefit of the world's cultural heritage.