

PATRIMONIO INDUSTRIALE 08

RIVISTA AIPAI

anno V - OTTOBRE 2011

SAGGI

L'intervento dello Stato unitario nell'economia italiana

Industrialismo e protezionismo
nel pensiero e nell'azione di Alessandro Rossi

Ferrovie e patrimonio industriale

Porto Marghera tra pubblico e privato

L'impresa pubblica in Italia

L'Archivio Storico dell'IRI

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alla cinematografia industriale

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su quarant'anni di intervento speciale

Stato e fabbriche. Architettura e urbanistica per le aree
di sviluppo industriale nel secondo Novecento meridionale

L'Acquedotto delle Puglie: un patrimonio industriale da valorizzare

Marion Steiner

Industrial Heritage in Germany

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Torino. Le Officine Grandi Riparazioni

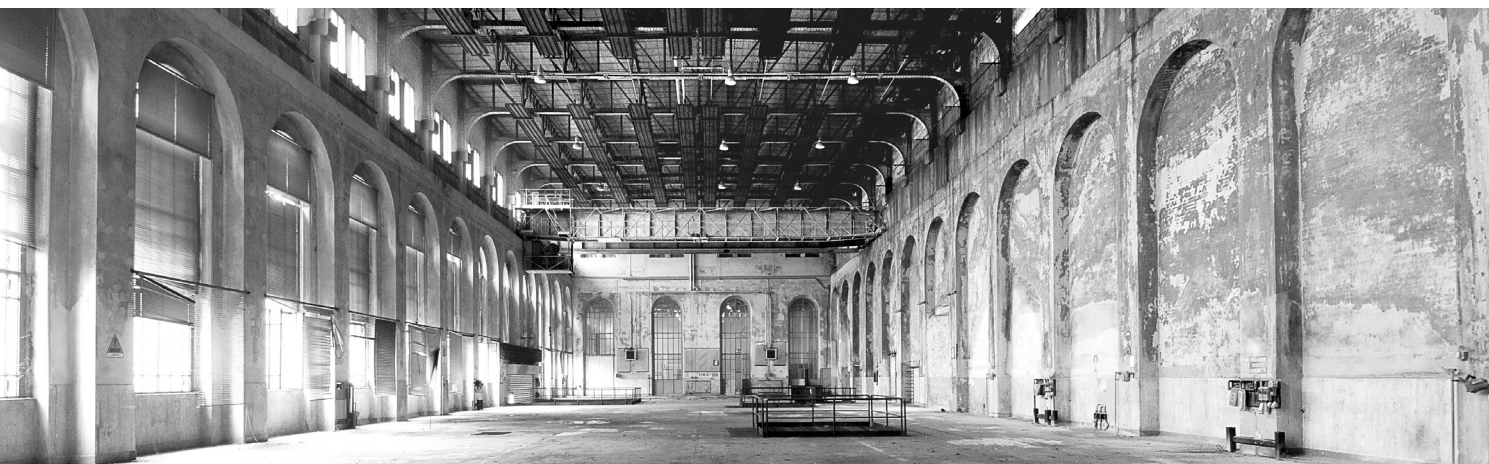
HERITAGE FORUM

Industrial Heritage in Germany

L'intervento dello Stato unitario nell'economia italiana

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Castellanza (Varese). Centrale idroelettrica: interno. Sezione dell'edificio destinata alla manutenzione (foto Maurizio Nimis 2011, particolare)

L'intervento dello Stato unitario nell'economia italiana

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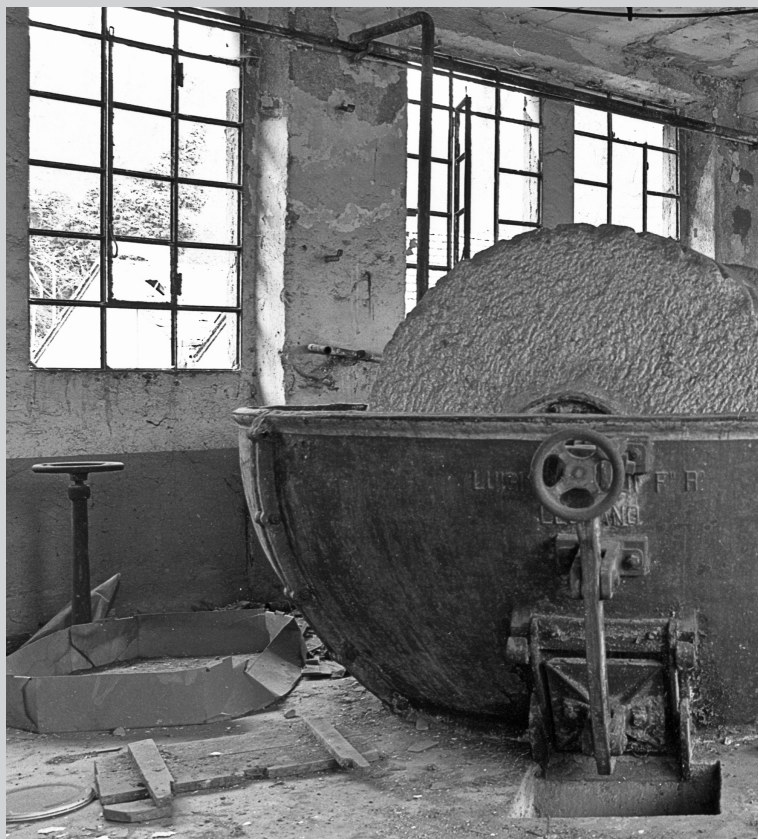
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Fagnano Olona (Varese). Cartiera Aquila: interno (foto Maurizio Nimis 2011, particolare).

In questo numero di "Patrimonio Industriale" si presenta un percorso per immagini del fotografo Maurizio Nimis dedicato alle testimonianze della cartiera Vita Mayer di Cairate e ad altri impianti storici sorti lungo il fiume Olona e la parallela ferrovia Valmorea.

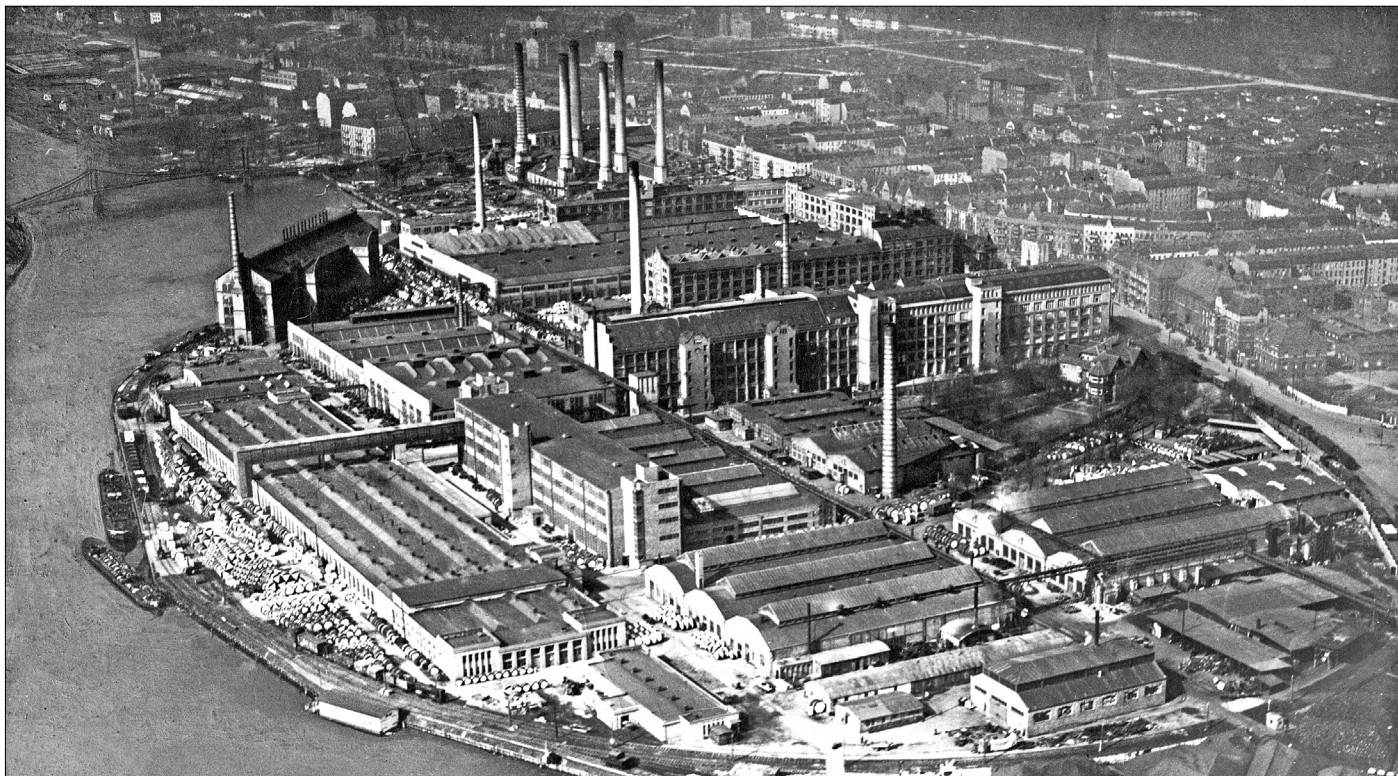
Maurizio Nimis è nato a Bergamo nel 1967. Dopo aver portato a termine studi di indirizzo chimico biologico, ha cominciato a esercitare la professione di consulente aziendale per sistemi di gestione per la qualità, ambiente e sicurezza.

Dal fascino delle fabbriche dismesse, fotografate al loro interno durante manifestazioni artistiche e durante reportage pubblicati nel web, approda alla fotografia dei luoghi in abbandono. Per diversi anni intraprende quindi una serie di viaggi sempre più frequenti, prima in Italia, e poi in parte d'Europa, dedicandosi interamente a questo specifico soggetto.

Costruisce un proprio progetto web (www.derelicta.net) nel quale alcune delle immagini di questi luoghi sono pubblicate. Tratta inoltre tematiche dell'abbandono nelle varie forme in cui si presenta ai nostri occhi e nella società. In un blog personale racconta di questi viaggi condotti con lo scopo di indagare i luoghi lasciati al loro destino.

La passione per la fotografia, e la preferenza per i soggetti industriali, lo stimola a riprenderne spazi e forme, con un approccio a volte estetico, altre puramente documentativo, sia con tecnica digitale sia con pellicola in bianco e nero.

Alla fissità del soggetto ripreso, l'abbandono, si contrappone un approccio fotografico espressivo variabile, dipendente dalla natura della campagna fotografica e dalle motivazioni all'origine del viaggio. Vi sono quindi ragioni documentali, quando alla fotografia di edifici, impianti e paesaggio si associano informazioni storiche, tecniche. È presente la natura del reportage, quando l'immagine è di supporto alla narrazione. Vi è un approccio estetico, quando l'immagine deve avere una capacità di penetrazione nell'osservatore che, stimolato nel proprio immaginario, osservi i luoghi in abbandono nella loro espressione più suggestiva. È questo un elemento che dovrebbe permettere un avvicinamento e un diverso sguardo del pubblico a luoghi che sono per il senso comune indice di degrado, e attraverso una visione più positiva attribuire loro un valore di testimonianza storica e culturale.



Berlin's long forgotten past as an industrial metropolis is what the current World Heritage initiative wants to bring back to people's minds. This aerial view from 1928 shows the AEG cable works in Schöneeweide (photo SDTB, AEG archives).

L'abbinamento fra il tema centrale di questo numero di «Patrimonio Industriale» e il tema particolare di questa edizione di Heritage Forum non è frutto di alcuna premeditazione. Ciò nonostante, dal loro fortuito accostamento emerge un'innequivocabile e profonda analogia.

Nella rivista la ricorrenza del 150° anniversario dell'unificazione nazionale, a cui è dedicata la sezione monografica, è occasione per un'articolata riflessione sulle vicende del patrimonio industriale italiano. Heritage Forum tratta, parallelamente, un altro caso di unificazione, quello più recente delle due Germanie, e così facendo getta luce su come questa unione abbia ricomposto entro una comune cornice interpretativa due storie di valorizzazione patrimoniale che per buona parte della seconda metà del Novecento hanno proceduto separatamente. Il contributo di Marion Steiner, geografa e ricercatrice di grande esperienza nel settore dell'archeologia industriale, rappresenta probabilmente uno dei primi tentativi per rileggere il cammino insolito di due pratiche di conservazione patrimoniale che nascono da un comune passato industriale, si disgiungono nel momento in cui la Germania è stata divisa per poi ricongiungersi con la riunificazione tedesca. Percorso insolito, come abbiamo detto, che trae origine da una base patrimoniale che si è disintegrata con la catastrofe della grande Germania nel 1945 e che, a voler essere precisi, due storie ne-

The parallelism between the main topic of this issue of «Industrial Patrimony» and the particular topic of this edition of Heritage Forum is fruit of a certain premeditation. However, from their fortuitous combination an undeniable and deep analogy emerges.

In the magazine the celebration of the 150° anniversary of national unification, to which the monographic section is dedicated, is an occasion for an articulated reflection upon the vicissitudes of Italian industrial patrimony. At the same time, Heritage Forum, deals with another case of unification, the most recent one of the two Germanies, throwing light upon how this union recomposed two stories of patrimonial development within a common interpretative framework that for most of the second half of the 20th century proceeded separately. Marion Steiner's contribution, an expert geographer and researcher of industrial archaeology, probably represents one of the first attempts at reinterpreting the unusual path of two patrimonial conservation practices that were born from a common industrial past, distinguishing themselves in the moment in which Germany was divided to then be reunited once again under the German reunification. As afore-mentioned, an unusual path, that takes its origin from a patrimonial basis that disintegrated with the catastrophe of the great Germany in 1945 and, to be precise, not even two stories are enough to represent it. In fact, in the reshaping of the Federal

anche bastano a rappresentare. Infatti nel ridisegno dei confini nazionali della Repubblica Federale da un lato (che si aggiudica la Sahr e la Ruhr) e della Repubblica Democratica dall'altro (che incamera la Sassonia e la Turingia) qualcosa è rimasto fuori. La Slesia, ad esempio, è stata incorporata dalla Polonia e la storia del suo patrimonio industriale ha seguito una traiettoria ancora diversa che sarebbe stato dispersivo indagare.

Opportunamente, Marion Steiner circoscrive la sua ricostruzione alle sole vicende tedesche e, limitandosi ad esse, riesce con più efficacia a far emergere sia gli elementi distintivi di queste due culture del patrimonio industriale, sia i progetti di memoria che queste culture hanno ispirato. Alla Germania dell'Est spetta il merito di aver sviluppato con netto anticipo un forte riconoscimento del valore monumentale del patrimonio tecnico: la categoria di "monumento tecnico" entra a far parte fin dal 1952 del "codice per la conservazione dei monumenti culturali". Poco tempo dopo, negli anni '60, ha inizio un sistematico lavoro di catalogazione che prosegue negli anni successivi e trova approdo in ben quattro riedizioni del Technische Denkmale der DDR di cui l'ultima pubblicata nel fatale 1989, che segna l'epilogo della Repubblica Democratica.

Un bilancio retrospettivo dell'attività svolta fa emergere un certo impiego strumentale della cultura del patrimonio industriale ai fini di un "uso pubblico della storia" che quel patrimonio è capace di evocare: l'industrializzazione, intesa come processo fondativo di un sistema di rapporti di produzione non più antagonistico, agisce come collante ideologico della nuova società socialista. La fabbrica, le macchine e i luoghi dell'industria sono il terreno su cui si svolge il confronto decisivo fra il vecchio mondo, quello del capitalismo al tramonto, e quello nuovo che prelude a un sistema senza più sfruttamento. La cosa singolare, e per certi aspetti paradossale, è data dal fatto che la scarsa modernizzazione degli impianti nella Germania Democratica li ha sottratti in certa misura all'avvicendamento tecnologico e ne ha perpetuato il funzionamento fino ad anni recentissimi; ciò spiega come la Sassonia sia oggi una delle regioni più ricche di monumenti industriali (oltre 8.000) rappresentativi della tecnologia del XIX secolo.

Diverso il discorso per la Germania ovest. L'attenzione verso il patrimonio industriale si è sviluppata in ritardo rispetto alla Germania dell'Est. Il patrimonio industriale della Ruhr ha seriamente rischiato l'annientamento in assenza di una percezione sufficientemente diffusa del suo valore. I primi segnali di una nuova sensibilità si sono manifestati nel North Rhine Westfalia con il salvataggio di Zollern 2/4 (minacciato di demolizione) e con l'emanazione del NRW Program del 1975 che ha messo per la prima volta in agenda la conservazione dei monumenti industriali. In questi anni, nota la Steiner, è possibile

Republic's national borders on one side (that included Sahr and Ruhr) and the Democratic Republic on the other (including Saxony and Turingia) some areas were left outside. Slesia, for example, was incorporated into Poland and the history of its industrial patrimony followed an even more diverse path that would have been dispersive to investigate.

Opportunely Marion Steiner limits her reconstruction only to the German vicissitudes and in this way more effectively manages to make the distinctive events of these two cultures of industrial patrimony emerge, as well as the memory projects that these cultures have inspired. To East Germany goes the merit of having developed, well in advance, a prompt recognition of the monumental value of technical patrimony: since 1952, the category of "technical monument" became part of the "code for the conservation of cultural monuments". A short while after, in the 60s, a systematic work of classification commenced that continued throughout the following years culminating in as many as four re-editions of Technische Denkmale der DDR, of which the last was published in 1989, a fatal year that marked the end of the Democratic Republic.

A retrospective stock of activities shows a certain instrumental use of industrial patrimony culture with the aim of a "public use of history" that this patrimony is able to conjure up: industrialization, meant as a foundation process of a relational production system which is no longer antagonistic and acts as a strong ideological bond of the new socialist society. The factory, machinery and industrial sites are the ground upon which decisive comparisons can be made between the old world, that of the declining capitalism, and the new one that announces a system which is no longer exploited. The strange thing, and for certain aspects paradox, is the fact that poor modernization of plants in Democratic Germany to a certain extent excluded them from technological change and immortalized their functioning right up until recent times; this explains why nowadays Saxony is one of the regions which has the most industrial monuments (over 8,000) representing XIXth century technology.

West Germany is a different story. Attention towards industrial patrimony developed later in respect to East Germany. Ruhr's industrial patrimony seriously risked being wiped out in the absence of a sufficiently widespread perception of its value. The first signs of a new awareness were manifested in North Rhine Westfalia with the rescue of Zollern 2/4 (threatened by demolition) and with the issuing of the NRW Program of 1975, that gave propriety to the conservation of industrial monuments for the first time. In this period, Steiner comments, it is possible to grasp an important moment of change, the formulation of a new discipline, i.e. Industriekultur, that emancipates the notion of "monument" from its tra-

cogliere un importante punto di svolta, la formulazione di una nuova disciplina, quella dell'Industriekultur, che emancipa la nozione di "monumento" dal suo tradizionale ambito di studio (la storia dell'arte), lo ridefinisce in termini di "documento culturale" e fa convergere su di esso una molteplicità di apporti provenienti dalle svariate discipline che si occupano della società industriale.

Quello di Industriekultur si rivela essere un concetto fertilissimo dal punto di vista teorico-conoscitivo; al tempo stesso da esso si sono sprigionate le migliori valenze operative che sono alla base delle straordinarie iniziative di recupero del patrimonio industriale varate a ridosso della riunificazione tedesca del 1989. Esattamente nello stesso anno prende avvio l'esperienza dell'Iba Emscher Park che nell'arco di un decennio mette in moto più di 100 progetti che operano la profonda riconversione di un vasto territorio dismesso qual è quello della Ruhr, riscattandone in positivo l'immagine squalificata associata agli effetti devastanti della deindustrializzazione. Come è noto, questo miracolo si è compiuto senza rinunciare alle testimonianze del passato industriale. Al contrario, il riscatto è stato ottenuto attraverso la valorizzazione degli antichi luoghi di produzione (siti minerari, acciaierie, gasometri, ecc.). Ripeto, si tratta di un'esperienza largamente nota e altamente apprezzata da quanti di noi, in Italia, si occupano di patrimonio industriale. Nonostante ciò, devo confessare che ancora stento a capire come essa abbia potuto funzionare, e come una struttura come l'Iba, priva di risorse proprie, quindi senza alcuna capacità di finanziamento, non abilitata a progettare, ma competente solo a coordinare e valutare progetti altrui, sia riuscita a condurre in porto un programma di tale ampiezza in un arco temporale tutto sommato contenuto.

Gli insegnamenti che è possibile ricavare da questa esperienza straordinaria sono tanti. Mi limito a segnalarne due. Prima considerazione: il patrimonio industriale ha contato moltissimo, gli interventi di recupero degli impianti produttivi dismessi sono stati eccellenti, tuttavia la conservazione del patrimonio industriale non ha rappresentato l'obiettivo prioritario del programma e, paradossalmente per noi che, avendolo a cuore, lo metteremmo al primo posto, ciò non ha rappresentato necessariamente un male. Al contrario il perseguimento di un sistema di obiettivi plurimo (sviluppo economico sostenibile, riqualificazione ambientale, promozione di nuove attività culturali) ha sicuramente consentito di conservare e valorizzare una quantità di siti dismessi di gran lunga superiore a quella che avrebbe potuto essere salvata nell'ambito di un intervento settorialmente limitato alla sola protezione del patrimonio industriale. Vogliamo dire che le risorse liberate da un progetto di riconversione e rilancio industriale e sociale ad ampio raggio sono state incomparabilmente maggiori

ditional study environment (art history), redefining it in terms of "cultural document" and investing it with a multitude of contributions stemming from various disciplines dealing with the industrial society.

Industriekultur revealed itself to be an exceptionally fertile concept from a theoretical-cognitive point of view; at the same time issuing forth the best operative merits which are at the basis of the noteworthy initiative of industrial patrimony recovery at the time of the German unification in 1989. Exactly in that year, the Iba Emscher Park experience started-up that launched more than 100 projects over the next ten years exercising the profound reconversion of a vast disused territory such as Ruhr, positively redeeming its disqualified image associated with the devastating effects of deindustrialization. As known, this miracle was carried out without renouncing the testimony of its industrial past. On the contrary, it was brought back to splendour through the exploitation of the age-old production sites (mines, steelworks, gasholders, etc.). I repeat, it is a well-known experience highly appreciated by those dealing with industrial patrimony in Italy. However I must confess that I still cannot understand how it could have worked, and how a structure such as Iba, lacking its own resources, therefore without any kind of financing, not qualified to plan, only competent in coordinating and assessing other projects, managed to carry out such a vast programme in such a fairly short time.

The teachings that can be gained from this extraordinary experience are many. I will just mention two. First consideration: industrial patrimony played an important role, recovery interventions of disused productive plants were excellent, however the conservation of industrial patrimony was not the primary objective of the programme and, paradoxically for us as it is so dear to our heart, we would placed it at the top of the list, is not necessarily a bad thing. On the contrary, to follow a system of multiple objectives (sustainable economical development, environmental redevelopment and promotion of new cultural activities) most surely granted the possibility of conserving and exploiting a much larger number of disused sites compared to those which could have been salvaged by an intervention simply orientated towards safeguarding industrial patrimony. What we want to say is that the resources triggered from a wide-scale project of reconversion and industrial and social revitalization were incomparably much higher to those that could have come from a project only concerned with the conservation of industrial heritage. The second consideration concerns the territorial scale invested by the programme. More often than not the history of industrial patrimony concerns the conservation and exploitation of single assets, or at the most of complexes that, even though part of an ensemble

di quelle che avrebbero potuto essere mobilitate su un progetto circoscritto soltanto alla conservazione delle memorie industriali. Il secondo riguarda la scala territoriale investita dal programma. Il più delle volte la storia del patrimonio industriale riguarda la conservazione e la valorizzazione di beni singoli, o al più di complessi che, pur costituiti da un insieme multiplo di stabilimenti e altre strutture ausiliarie, hanno comunque un carattere di singolarità. Iba Emscher Park è il primo esempio di riqualificazione di un intero paesaggio in cui trasformazione e conservazione si coniugano nel comune proposito di riaffermare l'identità senza cristallizzarla in un'icona sterile. L'identità è più un traguardo orientato al futuro che non un sedimento della storia: la categoria di "paesaggio culturale evolutivo" cui rimandano Iba Emscher Park e altri ambiziosi progetti in corso di valorizzazione patrimoniale a grande scala (quali Iba Fürst Pückler Land e Berlin Electropolis) è quella che meglio esemplifica il campo di applicazione di politiche patrimoniali non più riconducibili a obiettivi strettamente conservativi: è escluso che certi paesaggi dell'industria del XX secolo, come quelli minerari della Lusazia, o quelli dell'industria elettrica della grande Berlino, possano restare integri; la sfida è quella di pilotarne la transizione verso un altro paesaggio che senza rinunciare ad alcuni valori irrinunciabili dell'epoca industriale, li sappia comporre con un i valori di una qualità inedita, frutto della nostra capacità di immaginare nuovi paesaggi (così come prima di noi hanno fatto coloro che hanno immaginato i paesaggi che oggi apprezziamo).

of factories and other auxiliary structures, still have an individual character. Iba Emscher Park is the first example of redevelopment of an entire landscape whose transformation and conservation join forces with the common aim of reaffirming identity without being crystallized in a sterile picture. Identity is more of an arrival point orientated towards the future and not merely a historical site: the category of the "evolution of cultural landscape" that Iba Emscher Park and other ongoing ambitious wide-scale projects of patrimonial exploitation come under (such as Iba Fürst Pückler Land and Berlin Electropolis) is the best example of political patrimony application that is no longer strictly of a preservative nature. It is excluded that certain XX century industrial landscapes, such as the Lusazia mines or the energy industry of great Berlin, can remain integral; the challenge is that of piloting transition towards another landscape which, without renouncing values of undeniable industrial worth, succeeds in creating new landscapes with uncommon values, fruit of our imagination (just like those before us created the landscapes we appreciate today).

Industrial Heritage in Germany

Marion Steiner

Marion Steiner, geografa e membro del TICCIH, si è dottorata presso la Bauhaus University di Weimar con la tesi *The electrified city: the intangible heritage of public electricity supply and Berlin's urban landscape - a critical interpretation*

Heritage Conservation, as an institutionalized, state-organized activity in Germany, only emerged during the last two thirds of the 19th century. Over a long period of time, it exclusively focused on churches, castles and palaces, classifying them according to art styles and periods.

Around 1900, German engineers aimed at «connecting to the general cultural understanding of the bourgeois-aristocratic society of the Empire»¹. Their emancipation movement strove for social recognition of technology as a “cultural achievement” and for their recognition as equals in academic. By 1900, the Association of German Engineers (VDI) was able to enforce that technical universities would be allowed to grant doctoral titles to engineers (Dr. Ing.). In 1906 the German Museum of Science and Technology in Munich was founded. The real beginning of technical heritage preservation in Germany emerged in the 1920s. In 1926-27, a first nationwide survey on technical monuments was initiated, focusing on Saxony, Silesia, the Rhineland and Westphalia. As a result, in 1932, Conrad Mantschoß, engineer and the director of VDI, and Werner Lindner, architect and director of Deutscher Heimatschutzbund, published the book *Technische Kulturdenkmale*. These early inventories documented an early industrial world that, at the dawn of modern industrialization, now disappeared behind the horizon.

Yet the breakthrough to a modern industrial heritage conservation, which also included the high industrial era with its specific buildings and facilities such as mines, iron works, train stations, or textile factories, only came about around 1970.

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE IN THE TWO GERMANIES

After the lost war and the division of Germany, the traditional German industrial regions belonged to different territories. Silesia became a part of Poland. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) possessed two major industrial centers with the Saar and the Ruhr; the latter became the cradle of the West German economic miracle in the 1950s – despite repair payments to the allies and first coal and steel crisis. The German Democratic Republic

(GDR) possessed important industrial sites in Saxony, Thuringia, among other regions. However, on its own turf it only had scarce access to primary raw materials for energy production. As part of the new geopolitical situation, energy independence from the West became a national priority of GDR policies. Its economic and industrial development focused primarily on a merge with the Eastern Bloc, especially the Soviet Union. Lusatia with its huge lignite deposits was transformed into the No. 1 energy source of the GDR; Saxony came to be one of the most important centers of uranium mining in the Eastern Bloc.

In the GDR, the way of understanding the historical development and significance of the industrialized society changed earlier than in the FRG. From the viewpoint of a (presumed) victory of socialism, the GDR's new political and social self-positioning allowed (and required) a reinterpretation of history which facilitated a sharp analysis of the social transition from feudalism to the industrialized society, as well as of the capitalist features of the early industrialized society and major associated social injustices². This new historization highlighted the social importance of the labor movement, influenced the critical spheres of western society, and maintains currency today. In the political context of building a new socialist society in the young workers' and peasants' state, conservation of technical monuments represented a way to create new identity and culture. Attributed with state-prescribed cultural and political functions, GDR industrial heritage conservation took lead over the FRG, albeit temporarily.

As early as in 1951, the Dresden state curator and architect Hans Nadler started to systematically record and document technical monuments in Saxony. Only a year later, the category “technical monument” was included in the GDR's Regulation for the preservation and conservation of cultural monuments. Since the mid-1960s, monuments, sites and objects throughout the GDR, related to a history of technical, industrial and agricultural production and transport, were systematically recorded. The GDR law on the preservation of monuments dating from 1975 classified these monuments according to their importance at county, district and state level. Within the GDR's Society for preservation founded in 1977, a Central Committee for technical monuments emerged. In 1979, the GDR published a Central List of monuments counting about 400 nationally and internationally important objects, among which figured 37 industrial monuments and sites. Edited by Eberhard Wächtler and Otfried Wagenbreth, the first edition of the famous documentation *Technische Denkmale der DDR* was published in 1973. Organized by districts, it listed 63 individual technical monuments and



sites. The fourth edition from 1989 covered a few hundred monuments and sites, arranged in 15 categories. These represented virtually the entire spectrum of technical and industrial monuments from both pre-industrial and industrial era in the territory of the GDR³.

In West Germany, the traditional “bourgeois” conception of heritage conservation was only to be cast aside around 1970, in the light of the global liberation movements. The theoretical debates in the FRG, initiated by the leftist intellectual scene and inspired by ideas from the GDR, profoundly changed the way of looking at social processes. Aiming at a comprehensive understanding of history, popular culture and the social struggles of the working class were then, for the first time, seriously taken into account in the West.

Forerunner of industrial heritage preservation in the FRG became the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). As a response to the continuing coal and steel crisis, demolition in the Ruhr had reached a scale of *tabula rasa*. Public resistance grew. The struggle for preservation reached a culmination point in 1968, when the machine hall at coal mine Zollern 2/4 in Dortmund was threatened by demolition. This hall had been erected in 1902 as a significant steel and glass construction and decorated in 1904 in ways unusual in industrial buildings. Perhaps even more effective, because

connected to even more publicity, was the fight against the large-scale demolition of the miner’s housing estates in the Ruhr. Dozens of so-called “workers’ initiatives” arose and were advised by critical intellectuals in the matters of dealing with the press, politicians, and legal issues. One of the pioneers of industrial heritage preservation in West Germany was Roland Günter, an art and cultural historian who had been recording industrial monuments in the Ruhr since the late 1960s. In 1974, he, together with his wife Marianne, co-founder of Oral History in Germany, moved into the miner’s settlement Eisenheim, the oldest worker’s housing estate in the Ruhr, in order to continue the fight for preservation on location.

A broad public desire rose to protect unique sites of the industrial era as historical monuments. Inspired by the pulse of the time, the proactive state government (SPD/FDP) adopted the NRW Program 1975 as early as in 1970, explicitly stating the intention to preserve industrial monuments⁴. Additional funds were attributed to conservation in order to seriously record the legacies of the industrial age. For the first time, the two technical departments for conservation in NRW contracted special curators for industrial monuments, Helmut Bönninghausen in 1973 and Axel Föhl in 1974. From the early 1970s, numerous publications emerged⁵. Another success of the NRW Program

1. A new seascape is being created in Lusatia by flooding the closed-down open cast lignite mines of the former German Democratic Republic. Flooding will still be going on for years even if IBA “see” finished in 2010 after ten years (photo Peter Radke, LMBV).

was the preservation of industrial monuments by transforming them into industrial museums. In the late 1970s, this didactic approach was new for Germany. Inspired by English concepts, the idea was to present and interpret the life and work of all social strata of industrialized society authentically and comprehensibly in their original environments, through original objects, additional presentations, and praxis-oriented demonstrations. In NRW today there are fourteen such industrial museum sites⁶.

INDUSTRIEKULTUR: TURNING POINT 1968

Not precisely for the glory of institutional conservation in the FRG must be noted that it was particularly critical outsiders from art, science, and journalism who stood up against demolition in the Ruhr and became politically active. For instance, Hilla and Bernd Becher, a couple of photographers who later got internationally famous for their black-and-white photos of industrial monuments worldwide, became involved early on. Well-known social scientists⁷ also engaged intensively with the intangible and material heritage of the industrial age and its influence on the (post-)industrial society. As a result, art history lost its monopoly position as the “mother science” of conservation in Germany and the “monument” became understood as a historical document of social processes. With the German term *Industriekultur* a new concept emerged, facilitating a global perspective on the phenomena of the industrial age. Until today, the term stands for a comprehensive study of the diverse impacts industrialization has had on human culture, also including a critical interpretation of present-day processes. The term *Industriearchäologie* could not prevail in German, partially due to a language problem⁸. Facilitating a much broader understanding of the industrialized society, the concept of *Industriekultur* proved to be more useful in the German context.

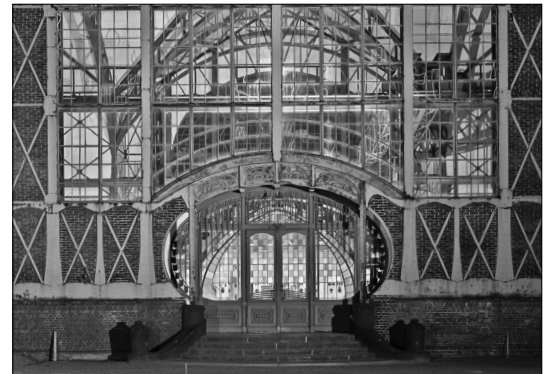
Critical voices in the GDR were, in contrast to those in the FRG, structurally weak and limited by the democratic deficit of state socialism. The official state line had to be followed strictly – especially abroad. The two most important representatives of industrial heritage conservation in the GDR were Eberhard Wächtler from Bergakademie Freiberg and Otfried Wagenbreth from Bauhaus-University Weimar⁹. Wächtler had good contacts with the GDR political leadership and was allowed to travel abroad. Yet, despite his good contacts, he was still likely to have been surveilled by the Stasi (GDR Secret Service) when he participated in the first TICCIIH congresses in Ironbridge in 1973 and in Bochum in 1975. Helmuth Albrecht, chair of industrial heritage in Freiberg since 1997¹⁰, sug-

gests that by not including critical examination of contemporary social reality, official industrial heritage conservation in the GDR «ultimately stuck to highlighting the role of techniques and personalities until 1990»¹¹. While there is certainly truth to his point, we should not only examine the declared official programmatic content to get a picture of industrial heritage debates in the GDR but also consider the institutional mediations between science, policy, and professional practice. After all, the GDR also had its 1968 movement; and the growing gap between state-declared reality and individual perception significantly contributed to the subsequent fall of the system. The search for critical voices inside the East German professional debate on industrial heritage preservation, not covered yet, could be started at the universities who have been working on the subject. The university in Weimar, incidentally, was known for critical approaches already in GDR times. Interestingly, their Institute for European urban studies currently works on reconstructing GDR discourses on urban development policies. Cross-cutting links with the neighboring discipline Heritage Conservation might be found here.

CURRENT REGULATIONS AND CRITERIA

In the Federal Republic of Germany conservation falls within the jurisdiction of the federal states. Each state has its own conservation law; the ministerial assignment varies and may change from one election period to another. In eastern Germany after 1990, the FRG system took over completely and six new states were created. To this day, the State Ministries serve as Upper Conservation Authorities. Exceptions are North Rhine-Westphalia where its two provinces, Rhineland and Westphalia, each maintain Departments for Monuments and Schleswig-Holstein where apart from the State Ministry the Hanseatic city of Lübeck maintains its own upper conservation authority.

All current German conservation laws use specific terms to define monuments that allow for inclusion of technical objects and industrial buildings. In eight states, half of all German federal states, the fact is explicitly mentioned (Brandenburg, Bremen, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia). Currently, some states are preparing amendments of their laws. The liberal-conservative government of Schleswig-Holstein for example, believing in better opportunities for economic development, aims at further strengthening the legal priority already given to new constructions in the face of existing buildings. For industrial heritage conservation, in particular, this is bad news.



Given the federal structure of the FRG, the German conservation authorities, in contrast to other European countries, usually cannot rely on a pan-national institution. Established in 1983 by the National Association of Conservators (VdL), the Working Group on Industrial Heritage serves as a platform for nationwide information exchange on industrial monuments¹². This national network of experts is also helpful in that no one working in any conservation department can overlook the full range of technical developments of the past 250 years. The German National Committee of TICCIH whose official organ is the magazine «Industrie-kultur»¹³, published four times a year, also works on an informal basis. Since 2010, however, a greater collaboration developed with the association Georg-Agricola Society for the promotion of History of science and Technology¹⁴ who started including *Industriekultur* in their agenda. Criteria for the cultural significance of industrial buildings are different from “conventional”, i.e. art-historically-determined assessments because the design of the building is often closely related with its technical purposes. As early as 1976, Axel Föhl suggested qualifiers for industrial monuments that remain, by and large, without opposition to this day¹⁵. According to these qualifiers, technical and industrial buildings and equipment have to firstly belong to the spheres of “production”, “traffic” or “supply” to qualify as “industrial monuments”.

The term “industrial monument” already gives a reasonable definition of time (the last nearly 250 years of the industrial age) to distinguish this group from the group of “technical monuments” which include all time periods. Secondly, industrial monuments have a differentiated historical value if:

- they are historically typical. Unlike art monuments, the historical significance of industrial monuments lies not in its artistic uniqueness but in their seriality. Despite standardization, their architectural appearance (shape and material) can vary greatly;
- they are historically unique. Typical of the 19th and 20th century was the race-like competition for the tallest or largest building or the one with the boldest design. Superlatives in dimensioning, design and technical solutions have a special historical value;
- they are the start or end members of a series of technical development in the headlong rush of technical solutions of the industrial age;
- they make understand the profound social changes associated with the accelerating development of technology which impinged on the daily lives of millions of people;
- their design represents artistic styles or makes use of mental or cultural-historical facts.

2. Dortmund. The Machine Hall of coal mine Zollern 2/4 was erected in 1902 and decorated in 1904 by Bruno Möhring with Art Nouveau elements. In 1968, it was one major setting of the West German anti-demolition movement (photo Norbert Tempel).
3. Dortmund. The Machine Hall of coal mine Zollern (photo Holtappels/Hudemann, LWL-Industriemuseum).
4. The Bauhaus-style industrial complex of Zollverein coal mine and coking plant, instead of being transformed into a waste dump by the city of Essen in the 1980s, was officially recognized as a World Heritage site in 2001 (photo Christoph Oboth).

IBA IN THE RUHR: REGENERATION THROUGH HERITAGE

In the 1990s, industrial heritage in Germany experienced a quantum leap with the International building exhibition IBA Emscher Park. NRW had a leading role again. The state put on an extensive program, financed from special funds, whose purpose it was to drive change in the most heavily industrialized part of the Ruhr and enhance regional development. From 1989 to 1999, more than 100 projects have been realized in 19 cities and towns in an area of more than 70 km from east to west and 15 km from north to south. The cost amounted to around 2.3 billion EUR. Karl Ganzer, a geographer from southern Germany, served as the director. With his view from outside the region, he realized at once the tremendous potential for future development inherent to the industrial ruins of the Ruhr. With visionary foresight and always referring to the new concept *Industriekultur*, he succeeded in stopping demolition and starting a public reflection process on the Ruhr, understanding it as an industrial cultural landscape. In the second half of IBA, some major flagship projects have been realized all over the region. The ministerial assignment of conservation to urban development policy, established in NRW in 1980, proved to be very fortunate. Thus, IBA could take industrial heritage conservation "piggyback" into previously unaccustomed magnitudes of conservation planning.

After IBA Emscher Park, the permanent preservation and management of large sites is perhaps the greatest challenge. Due to profitability pressures, private investors are hard to find. In 2008, the institutional responsibility for the six most important projects developed by IBA (Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord, Gasometer Oberhausen, Zeche Zollverein in Essen, Nordstern Park in Gelsenkirchen, Centennial Hall Bochum, Hansa coking plant in Dortmund) were handed over to the regional level. The federation of municipalities in the Ruhr, Regionalverband Ruhr (RVR), laid on a Master Plan regulating not only the preservation of sites but also their touristic development. The state NRW still participates financially¹⁶. Luckily, industrial heritage is regarded as "trendy" today; this makes it much easier to create partnerships with the private sector. Not infrequently though, conservation is forced to unpleasant compromises. In many cases, new uses are the only way to ensure the survival of a building but often they demand force-cutting structural changes.

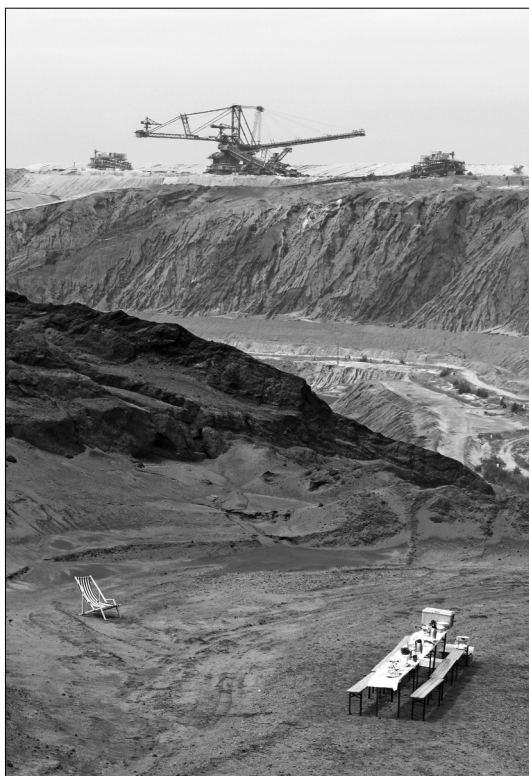
All in all, IBA Emscher Park managed to traverse a very long way in a short time. In a few years only and both inside the region and in the rest of the world, the picture of a derelict region without future has been transformed into that of a fascinat-

ing industrial cultural landscape. IBA also established culture as a tool of regional development. While according to plans of the city of Essen, the Zollverein industrial complex was to be transformed into a waste dump by 1983, it became a World Heritage site in 2001. A few years later the Ruhr region won the title European Capital of Culture 2010. Another big success of IBA has been the sustainable impact of the methods it initiated: participative planning processes and a democratization of conservation work – opening up to the greater public – became major trends for subsequent projects in and outside Germany.

LANDSCAPE WITH A MESSAGE: QUALIFIED TOURISM

The new approach of IBA Emscher Park to understand an entire region as a thematic unity also caused a transition in the minds of preservationists who now moved on from single objects to landscapes. Somehow initiated by Ganzer, fruitful interactions developed with geographers who see landscape interpretation as their genuine task and integrate industrial regions in a natural way. The new concept of "cultural landscapes" made it possible, too, to develop qualified tourism as a tool both to promote regional economy and – by selling appropriate messages – to strengthen public understanding of heritage values. The classic example for qualified industrial heritage tourism is Route der Industriekultur which opened in 1999 in the Ruhr and is now imitated nationwide. It also served as a model for the European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH)¹⁷.

In addition to such "institutional" forms, small private companies developed that operate regionally with a social commitment, creating new jobs and promoting the local economy. One example is the agency Zollverein Touristik (www.zollverein-touristik.de, German only), domiciled on the Zollverein coking plant since 2004. Back in 1998, current director Anne Brosk started with a small tourist association in Essen-Katernberg relying on miner's widows who felt isolated after their husbands' deaths living alone in apartments that had become too big for them. The idea to rent private rooms to tourists looking for accommodation proved to be very successful. A little later, the agency extended their offer to touristic tours by foot, bicycle and bus. In 2006, they also took over the management of the agency Zeitsprung which had emerged from the IBA managing body, offering study tours and events for international professionals throughout the Ruhr region in several languages (www.zeitsprung-agentur.de). The Capital of Culture year 2010 has had a sustainable impact on both agencies' business.



5. The social life of the working class became a new focus of Industrial Heritage in West Germany with the 1968 protests against the large-scale demolition of worker's housing estates in the Ruhr, as illustrates this publication's front cover. (photo Landeskonservator Rheinland, Arbeitersiedlungen 1, Bonn 1971).

6. How perception constructs landscape: Arriving at this lunch table by surprise is one of the very highlights for visitors taking a guided 'perception walk' through Lusatia's moonscape with the local tourist association (photo Doede Sijtsma).

Another example can be found in Lusatia in eastern Germany, some 150 km south of Berlin. Striving for energy independence, the GDR extracted lignite from this region in extensive open cast mining over 40 years, and Lusatia turned into a moonscape. Today, only five of the former 20 open cast lignite mines of the GDR are still operating. Aiming at reconstructing the destructed landscape of Lusatia, local actors initiated IBA Fürst Pückler Land (www.iba-see2010.de) which took place from 2000 to 2010, directly following the IBA in the Ruhr. The closed-down mines are being flooded in different stages until 2018, creating a new landscape dominated by lakes. In addition to these activities, thirty creative projects aim at stimulating a new perception of Lusatia, strengthening the regional identity and improving the region's image. The logo "see" which emerged during the work process linguistically expresses this idea (German "See" = "lake" in English). IBA's concern also was to accompany the social and cultural change after the breakdown of the GDR, to catch fears and give hope for the future. All projects have been developed based on local initiatives, some of them together with former workers.

Early on, IBA integrated qualified tourism in its program. In 2007, the head of the IBA Tourism Department, Karsten Feucht, left with the idea to make this project last in time. With the City Council

and the Swedish company Vattenfall he had found two committed partners in Welzow, a small city of 4.000 residents right on the edge of one of the region's last active mines that could still consume some more settlements in the coming years. The alliance of the tourism association Bergbautourismus-Verein Stadt Welzow e.V. (www.bergbautourismus.de) and the operator of the mine represents an innovative and successful financing model. Both share the goal of local development, and even though the company, of course, covers its need for legitimacy in the region by participating in the project, the association maintains complete free hand – not the least because their work has proven very successful. Their range of touristic products includes tours into the active open cast mine and perception walks through the moonscapes. In October 2010 the association moved into the old station of Welzow which has been transformed into a Centre for tourism and culture. A year later the project received the national award Place of Ideas. Lacking knowledge of foreign languages is the main challenge. Professional training for tour managers and guides are part of the concept. When IBA ended, the association took over the coordination of the regional network ENERGIE-Route der Lausitzer Industriekultur (www.energie-route-lausitz.de). This route connects ten locations and is one of 15 regional routes in the European network ERIH.

AFTER GERMAN REUNIFICATION... IN SAXONY

Compared to the West, the GDR barely modernized the technical facilities of its industry. Many plants from the 19th century remained almost in their original condition and were operating until the large-scale closure of East German enterprises following the political turn in 1989. Many of the buildings are now protected monuments. With estimated 8.000 the Free State of Saxony counts the nation's largest number of industrial monuments. But, as in all German states, it is a huge problem to find sustainable funding for their preservation. In times of scarce public budgets, the attempt to preserve everything seems hopeless. Priorities have to be defined. For Saxony, Helmuth Albrecht suggests a complete and thorough collection and reassessment of the entire portfolio and its division into three categories: A) to be preserved by all means, even without a foreseeable reuse; B) worth saving, reuse seems foreseeable or possible; C) possibility to remove the protection and to permit demolition¹⁸. The establishment of a foundation like the Industrial Monuments Foundation in NRW could be a way to preserve outstanding monuments for a transitional period, prevent further deterioration and gain time to develop alternative funding models and new low-budget preservation concepts¹⁹. In any case, there is an urgent need for political action – while public interest is at its lowest due to growing existential fears in times of crisis.

The political debate in Saxony is largely influenced by the World Heritage project Ore Mountains Mining Region. More than 800 years of mining tradition, from silver-mining in the Middle Ages to large-scale uranium mining in the 20th century, gave rise to a unique industrial landscape which cared little for the constantly changing national frontiers in this region. Transnational right from the start, the project is registered on the German and Czech Tentative Lists. Founded in 2003, the supporting association (www.montanregion-erzgebirge.de) has spread the message to the general public. Pressure on Saxon politicians also increased with the international TICCIH conference taking place within the very heart of the World Heritage project in 2009. The current coalition agreement of the liberal-conservative government (2009-2014) explicitly includes preservation and development of industrial heritage in Saxony. In 2009, the Saxon Ministry of Science and Arts founded a special Advisory Board which currently develops a global concept for Saxony's industrial heritage. Nonetheless, bringing together the various sectors and levels of politics, with their different perspectives and interests, represents a huge challenge. Additionally, when Dresden lost its World Heritage status in 2009, due to the con-

struction of a new bridge across the river Elbe, doubts rose as to whether conservation and development could at all be successfully combined. In mid-2011, the Saxon government suddenly announced that it would prefer to submit its application to UNESCO without its Czech partner²⁰. It revised its position, however, after the 31 municipalities and two counties overseeing the project voiced their support for a joint implementation with the Czech Republic alongside representatives of all parliamentary parties.

INDUSTRIEKULTUR AND HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPES

Next to Saxony, Lusatia, the Ruhr and the Saar, Berlin is currently becoming a new regional focus for industrial heritage in Germany. In 2008, the Berlin Modernism Housing Estates have been recognized as a World Heritage. The justification basically referred to their outstanding architectural value (Bruno Taut, Walter Gropius and others) but the settlements also illustrate important facets of everyday life in the industrial metropolis of the 1920s. Additionally, international experts attest World Heritage potential to Berlin as Electropolis. Its public electricity supply and electrical industry turned the city temporarily into a leader on the European continent and played a key role for technical developments worldwide. Due to the special political situation of the divided city, which prevented a fundamental modernization during the Cold War, an extraordinarily large number of the 120-year-old buildings are still there today. The fact that many kept their original use and remain in operation promises particular authenticity and integrity. One of the regional highlights of Electropolis Berlin is the district Schöneeweide with the former AEG Cable Works Oberspree²¹.

The Berlin development, particularly the World Heritage initiative, represents a new way of looking at industrial heritage in Germany. This is the first time that an urban, metropolitan landscape, not an industrial agglomeration, is put at the center of attention²². The question of how technical infrastructure (in this case, public electricity supply) influences urban life has also been little addressed so far. A particular challenge in Berlin is to re-visualize its industrial history, which has supposedly disappeared behind the latest pictures of the emerging global city and from which lessons can be learned that are useful for our times. Furthermore, the desolate financial situation of the public sector and the extreme downsizing of state agencies in recent years (especially in conservation) demand complex collaborations between a multitude of actors with very different interests. To understand

conservation as a development strategy that combines the cultural, social and economic needs of a region will be a very helpful approach here that potentially enriches the theoretical debate on the new HUL Recommendation²³ and on how it can be adapted to industrial heritage cases.

A GLOBAL OUTLOOK

A part from the challenges already mentioned, what are the global questions industrial heritage conservation in Germany should address in the future? I only want to mention three. Firstly: with several generations of immigrants, many of whom came to work in Germany's industrial sectors, identity and identification processes work differently in our present-day heterogeneous society. Yet the idea of a homogeneous nation-state still determines many facets of German policies where self-recognition as an intercultural society is not, yet, achieved. Secondly: over 250 years, knowledge has been boxed into specialized scientific domains to make industrial production work most efficiently. The complex process of merging all the findings from different disciplines into new, creative and usable contexts has only started.

Thirdly: after unification in 1871, Germany rapidly advanced to one of the most important industrial powers of the world-economy. Technological and economic progress was accompanied by great struggles for social justice. Thus, the worker's unions contributed essentially to creating the German welfare state. This legacy counts without doubt among Germany's most important universal intangible industrial heritage. When solidarity is only applied to one's own national territory, however, the resulting international division of labor is fundamentally unfair. I believe that German industrial heritage preservation has a moral duty to treat this schizophrenia much more in the future – supporting the young generation's current fight worldwide for a more comprehensive and inclusive Global Society²⁴.

NOTE

1. Helmuth Albrecht, *Zum Verhältnis von Industriearchäologie, Industriekultur und Industriedenkmalpflege in Deutschland*, in «Schriftenreihe der Georg-Agricola-Gesellschaft», n. 34, 2011, p. 16, original quotation in German.
2. Very enlightening is Eberhard Wächtler, *Soziale Revolution und Industriearchäologie*, lecture at the TICCIIH Conference 1975 in Bochum, in «Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift», 18. Jg., n. 3, 1977, pp. 399-417.
3. For the entire paragraph and the German terms see Albrecht, *Zum Verhältnis von Industriearchäologie*, cit., pp. 19-20.
4. Ministerpräsident des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, *Nordrhein-Westfalen Programm 1975*, Düsseldorf 1970, p. 118. For details see also Axel Föhl, *Bauten der Industrie und Technik*, in «Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz», n. 47, 1996, p. 35.
5. Landeskonservator Rheinland, *Technische Kulturdenkmäler. Arbeitersiedlungen 1*, Bonn 1971 (the second edition's front cover from 1975 shows the Eisenheim settlement in Oberhausen, see photo No. 1); Günther Borchers, *Arbeitshefte*, first half of the 1970s (thanks to affordable prices, these "Workbooks" were very useful for popularization); Roland Günter, *Oberhausen. Die Denkmäler des Rheinlandes Bd. 22*, Schwann, Düsseldorf 1975; Rainer Slotta, *Technische Denkmäler in der BRD*, 5 volumes, Deutsches Bergbau Museum, Bochum 1975-1988; Axel Föhl, *Technische Denkmale im Rheinland*, Rheinland-Verlag, Köln 1976.
6. The Westphalian Industrial Museum includes eight sites (www.lwl.org/LWL/Kultur/wim), the Rhenish Industrial Museum six (www.industriemuseum.lvr.de, German only).
7. Such as Hermann Glaser, *Maschinenwelt und Alltagsleben. Industriekultur in Deutschland vom Biedermeier bis zur Weimarer Republik*, Krüger, Frankfurt am Main 1981. An expanded second edition was published in 1994 with the title *Industriekultur und Alltagsleben. Vom Biedermeier zur Postmoderne*.
8. The meaning of *Industriearchäologie* in German is much more restrictive than Industrial Archaeology in English. In addition, when the English concept of Industrial Archaeology started arriving on the European continent, the German concept of *Industriekultur* had already emerged and both concepts competed with each other. See also Albrecht, *Zum Verhältnis von Industriearchäologie*, cit., pp. 22-23.
9. In GDR times, Wächtler taught at the Mining University Bergakademie Freiberg (from 1968 to 1990); Wagenbreth taught at Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar (since 1996: Bauhaus-Universität Weimar) and the Technical University Dresden. After the political purge of ex GDR-Universities, Wagenbreth took over Wächtler's chair for Industrial Archaeology in Freiberg in 1992.
10. The Institute for Industrial Archaeology, History of Science and Technology (IWTG) at the Technical University Bergakademie Freiberg is the only chair for Industrial Heritage in Germany today. IWTG offers a Bachelor and Master program for Industrial Archaeology and a Master for *Industriekultur* since 2004.
11. Albrecht, *Zum Verhältnis von Industriearchäologie*, cit., p. 21, original quotation in German.
12. The original German names are: Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger, VdL, www.denkmalpflege-forum.de (German only), and Arbeitsgruppe Industriedenkmalpflege, AG 5.
13. The full title is: Magazine for Conservation, Landscape, social, environmental and technological History. Homepage: www.industrie-kultur.de (German only).
14. Homepage: www.georg-agricola-gesellschaft.de (German only).
15. See Axel Föhl, *Technische Denkmale im Rheinland*, cit., and Axel Föhl, *Bauten der Industrie und Technik*, cit., pp. 26-28. The latter, edited by the VdL Working Group on Industrial Heritage and published in 1994 and 1996 in more than 50.000 copies, provided a lot of information, especially at the local level.
16. In the next ten years from 2008 onward, the RVR will provide a total of 25 million EUR for the structural safety of the sites. Additional state funds amount to 36 million EUR (source: online archive www.industrie-kultur.de).
17. Route der Industriekultur in the Ruhr: www.route-industriekultur.de; in the Frankfurt RhineMain region: www.krfm.de/c/rdik/ (German only); European Route of Industrial Heritage: www.erih.net.
18. See Helmuth Albrecht, *Verlorene Fäden? - Zur Situation der Industriedenkmalpflege in Sachsen am Beispiel der historischen Spinnmühlen in den Tälern von Flöha und Zschopau*, in Stefan Brüggerhoff, Michael Farrenkopf and Wilhelm Gerlings, *Montan - und Industriegeschichte. Dokumentation und Forschung, Industriearchäologie und Museum. Festschrift für Rainer Slotta zum 60. Geburtstag*, Schöningh, Paderborn 2006, pp. 391-414.
19. For Stiftung Industriedenkmalpflege und Geschichtskultur in NRW see www.industriedenkmal-stiftung.de. For Saxony see Helmuth Albrecht, *Projektskizze für eine Industriedenkmalstiftung in Sachsen*, in Hans-Rudolf Meier, *Denkmale in der Stadt - Die Stadt als Denkmal. Probleme und Chancen für den Stadtbau*, TUD Press, Dresden 2006, pp. 165-170.
20. See Eva-Maria Simon, *Wir sind das Erzgebirge!*, in «Die Zeit» (ZeitOnline), n. 34, 2011.
21. For more information on the Electropolis World Heritage initiative see Jörg Haspel, Hubert Staroste, *Elektropolis Berlin - Erbe von Weltrang*, in «Industrie-kultur», n. 3, 2011, pp. 28-30.
22. Current industrial World Heritage sites in Germany are: the Rammelsberg ore mines with the Old Town of Goslar (1992), the iron works Völklingen (1994), the coal mine and coking plant Zollverein in Essen (2001) and the shoe factory Fagus Works built by Gropius in Alfeld an der Leine (2011).
23. The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL)* is a new, joint initiative between ICOMOS and UNESCO. For more information and the current draft see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/638>.
24. What Immanuel Wallerstein says about the Modern World-System and the emerging Global Society is the most brilliant and helpful analysis of present day processes I know up to date: www.iwallerstein.com. Heritage Work should really start working with these ideas for they enable us to develop messages that give orientation and hope for the future.

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