

# ARCHIVAL LANDSCAPE: ARCHIVES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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**H**uman rights and archives have a perpetual relationship, striding in front and behind one another throughout history.<sup>1</sup> To state that human rights is indebted to archives, or vice versa, would oversimplify what has been a hard-fought evolution for both principled notions. These seminal foundations of society, both ethically and institutionally, can be seen as part and parcel of how we interpret our world. Both draw upon a documentary tradition, which carries into the future legacies of the past. In addition to this Westernized essential of documentation, human rights and archives have also experienced such intangibles as oral traditions, associated with indigenous cultures,<sup>2</sup> and empathetic emotions embedded in human relationships.<sup>3</sup> Though human rights and archives have made great strides in paving the way for democracy, challenges inevitably arise as history unfolds – often at the expense of memory and equality. From the Chinese occupation of Tibet to the fire-bombing of the Bosnian National Library, from oil pollution on indigenous lands in Ecuador to the torture of prisoners at Abu-Ghraib, challenges such as these force archives to reconceptualize their role as activists for the protection of human rights.

This essay will begin by discussing the contextual developments in history that have preceded the current academia on human rights and archives. By presenting a short history of human rights in the West followed by a brief history of progressive thinkers in the archival world, I can properly approach current gains that have been made. Following this narrative I will present the current discourse being developed around notions of human rights, activism and justice in the realm of archives. This essay will seek to portray a contextualized overview of human rights and archives. If portrayed correctly, a broad landscape, which bears the imprints of history, philosophy and politics, will open to the theoretical ground that archivists must walk. Ultimately, geographies of struggle, empathy and democracy will inform the agenda for human rights and archives.

Throughout history, humans have debated notions of rights. From ancient texts like the Bible, Quran and Hammurabi's Code, notions of rights arose as privileges belonging to those of the human species, and thus the birth of universalism. However, the details of what these rights entailed became the task of religious, philosophic and political thinkers from one generation to the next. Human rights historian Micheline Ishay summarizes

this progression of the notions of rights, “History preserves the human rights record as each generation builds on the hopes and achievements of its predecessors while struggling to free itself from authoritarianism and improve its social conditions.”<sup>4</sup> Overwhelming, contemporary notions of human rights are founded in Eurocentric traditions. Due to the spread of mercantile capitalism from Europe,<sup>5</sup> the secularization of religion with the Protestant Reformation<sup>6</sup> and democratic revolutions of the 1700s,<sup>7</sup> a European notion of human rights dominated and persisted up to the present day, regardless of their empowerment or disenfranchisement.<sup>8</sup>

From an archival perspective, it is important to recognize the centrality of the record in the history of human rights. Three important documents of human rights have had the greatest impact on our present conception. Each of these documents retain their own contextual history, however two of them have a particularly similar circumstance: The United States Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789). The rights established by the Declaration of Independence provided for the articulation of rights to life, to liberty, to property, to manhood suffrage and the rights to rebel and create republican institutions.<sup>9</sup> Though these rights were exclusively reserved for white landowning men, they nevertheless prompted international admiration for the colonial resistance to monarchs. Inspired in part by the U.S. movement, France underwent its own revolution thirteen years later and established a greatly expanded declaration of rights. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen guaranteed the principles of the revolutionary state: universal law, equal individual citizenship, and collective sovereignty of the people – bolstered in the slogan “*Liberté, Egalité, and Fraternité*.”<sup>10</sup> Cultural historian Lynn Hunt emphasizes the revolutionary nature of this “peoples” document: “References to ‘men,’ ‘man,’ ‘everyman,’ ‘all men,’ ‘all citizens,’ ‘each citizen,’ ‘society,’ and ‘every society’ dwarfed the single reference to the French people.”<sup>11</sup>

Overwhelmingly, liberal notions of universal rights were born out of revolutionary upheaval. However, the social and economic realities of these revolutionary ideas created horrific consequences as the industrial revolution made wage slaves of the peasantry and indentured servants of the colonized peoples. Opponents of capitalism in the 1800s argued for the rights of the working classes, woman suffrage and freedom from bondage for the slave. Karl Marx became recognized as the most noteworthy opponent of the realities born out of these revolutionary documents and bourgeois capital accumulation:

The right of property only guaranteed the right to pursue one’s own self-interest with no regard for others. The rights of man guaranteed religious freedom when what men needed was freedom from religion; they confirmed the right to own property when what was needed was freedom from property; they included the right to engage in business when what was needed was liberation from business.<sup>12</sup>

The struggle for rights of the lower classes and the disenfranchised, articulated through socialism, contributed greatly to the opposition of liberal notions of individual self-fulfillment. The most noteworthy socialist battle for human rights in the 1800s occurred at the Paris Commune where like-minded thinkers demanded rights for the working classes, the development of workers cooperatives, reduction of working hours, free public education for all children, professional education for young workers, housing rights, women's rights to equal pay for equal work and nurseries for single mothers.<sup>13</sup> Though the Paris Commune of 1871 ended in the death of 15,000 protestors by the National Guard, these notions of human rights have also contributed greatly to this ever-evolving discourse.<sup>14</sup>

The third document of significance, and most contemporary, in the evolution of human rights was born out of the ashes of World War II. The United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) was ethically grounded in the abhorrence to inhumane atrocities committed during the international conflict.<sup>15</sup> This declaration, owing its clauses on human rights to the efforts of human rights non-governmental organizations (HRNGOs),<sup>16</sup> furthered the liberal notion of universal rights with its first article stating: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."<sup>17</sup> However, with the great-powers embarking on a cold war between capitalism and communism, human rights were promoted as by-products of these respective economic systems by those who espoused them. A third way between these two systems originated in anti-colonial struggles in the third world out of opposition to colonial domination, capitalist exploitation and Stalinist oppression. Prominent figures like Frantz Fanon, Ho Chi Minh, Jawaharlal Nehru and Ernesto "Ché" Guevara espoused the importance of cultural rights as a mainstay to defending against neo-colonial oppression.<sup>18</sup> These struggles gave way to particularistic doctrines that observed rights to self-determination and the respect of indigenous cultures like the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1986).<sup>19</sup>

With the victory of neo-liberalism over Soviet communism, and capitalism's assault on the environment, labor and immigration as well as western culture's global penetration, human rights, as an issue, are as prescient today as they ever were.<sup>20</sup> As a memory institution, society depends upon archives to contextualize past, present and future histories, especially of those where rights have been denied, as well as those where rights have been respected and honored. With these historically grounded notions of human rights acting as the weathervane for the archival perspective, a discussion can begin of the progressive shift in archives.

Like human rights, archival thinking has also experienced its own history and evolution. As archival studies educator Professor Terry Cook states, "All acts of societal remembering, in short, are culturally bound and have momentous implications."<sup>21</sup> Also like human rights, archival thinking does not occur in a bubble; context shapes the changing notions and dominant

voices in the discourse. Beginning in the 1920's Sir Hilary Jenkinson, the English founder of modern archival practice, depicted the archivist as an impartial defender of the record against time and interpretation.<sup>22</sup> Jenkinson's thinking promoted the notion that history is to be written by the victors, allowing records creators to appraise their own collections for "safe keeping." Being highly steeped in what Cook calls "empirical positivism" of the late Victorian era, Jenkinson represented the elite, and as such exclusively maintained their records.<sup>23</sup>

Jenkinsonian archival ideas remained the norm until U.S. archivist T.R. Schellenberg promoted the use-value of the record in the appraisal process. U.S. welfare-state policies during the 1930s, led by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal," formed the context of Schellenberg's statist ideals. Use-value became the primary importance in bringing records into the archives. These use-values, of both a primary and secondary nature, were dictated by the archivist in the vein of technocracy and efficiency.<sup>24</sup> The incorporation of the archives with state mandates furthered a preservation of the hegemonic narrative by providing a state-sanctioned account of content-based history. As the welfare-state and Keynesian economics attempted to regulate society, archives continued to reinforce the status-quo up until the 1970s.

German archivist Hans Booms became one of the first to speak out against the inability of a statist archives to preserve a history that represented all sectors of society. Coming from (but rejecting) the German context of a highly authoritarian archival tradition beginning in the 1870s and proceeding on into the Cold War, Booms' "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources" spoke of the need for society and its collective values to define archival value rather than the state.<sup>25</sup> Booms' argument against the Marxist-Leninist archival approach is rooted in the ability of the individual to depend on both social institutions like the state as well as independence:

That the human being is bound to social structures is becoming obvious to us; but, at the same time, this means for us 'neither absolute social determinism' nor 'absolute independence.' We recognize that there exists a 'peculiar relationship' between the social conditioning of a human being and the possibilities arising out of his or her inner freedom; between an individual's dependency on the powers of society and the dependency of society on the will and capacity of the individual. Only by recognizing this possibility for individual action is it worthwhile – given our basic view of the relationship between the individual and the whole – to investigate the role of the archivist in the formation of a documentary heritage as we have intended.<sup>26</sup>

This approach, admittedly unable (nor attempting) to provide a purely capitalist-inspired alternative to that of the scientific Marxist approach, opened the way for a shift towards provenance and away from an appraisal

process based on the rigid state-based study of society or shifting trends in elite historiography.<sup>27</sup>

Canadian archival thinker Hugh Taylor played an integral part in depicting the role of the archivist as one that has deep relations with social issues. Taylor, an advocate of total archives and provenance, believed in the role of the archives as a cultural memory institution that stood as a critical foundation in society.<sup>28</sup> The origins of the archivist as activist arguably can be located within Taylor's publications. Such works as "Recycling the Past: The Archivist in the Age of Ecology,"<sup>29</sup> "Transformation in the Archives: Technological Adjustment or Paradigm Shift?,"<sup>30</sup> and "The Archivist, the Letter and the Spirit"<sup>31</sup> attest to a re-conceptualizing of the role the archivist plays, not just in maintaining archives but in how they use their power to benefit the community. Taylor's progressive understanding of the archives helped impact a new generation of archivists. Critical thinkers like Cook, Tom Nesmith and Helen Samuels incorporated Taylor's thinking into their emphasis on postmodern archives of the 1980s, promoting a "vision of archives, one sanctioned in and reflective of society at large rather than one shaped primarily by powerful interest groups of either users or creators, or the state."<sup>32</sup>

Cook argues that archives of the current period have reached a breaking point with archives of old whereby they "are now of the people, for the people, even by the people."<sup>33</sup> Cook's most prominent contribution to archives, the creation of macroappraisal, provides credence to the all-inclusive archives. In short, "the central theoretical tenet of macroappraisal is that the most sensitive part of... [citizen-state relationships], if appropriately researched and understood by archivists, will yield the clearest evidence of citizens, social dynamics, and public issues, and thus of 'society.'"<sup>34</sup> Nesmith's contribution to the rediscovery of provenance and then into the articulation of the postmodern archives can be seen in many of his works on the mediating power of the archivist.<sup>35</sup> The archivist becomes just as much a creator of the record as the initial inscriber based on the processes that archivists use in institutionalizing memory. This notion is also part of Samuels' Orwellian perspective of "who controls the past, controls the future," whereby a power is being exercised within the archives. The question remains of how to wield that power in an equitable way, primarily in documentation strategies and the retention of records.<sup>36</sup> With postmodernism in archives, a notion that Cook defends as "[seeking] to emphasize the diversity of human experience by recovering marginalized voices in the face of such hegemony,"<sup>37</sup> the historical notions of human rights become an integral context for addressing the archive of the "other."

It must be recognized that the majority of archivists mentioned above are activists in their own right. Perhaps none explicitly discussed why the archivist belonged with those who stood with the U.S. founding fathers in 1775 or in France in 1789 or even at the Paris Commune in 1871. However, paving the way for those who have come after, so that ideas of human rights

and archives can be discussed openly today, deserves recognition unto itself. With context being the archival mode of the day, the forebears of access to information and democratically driven representation in archives have shaped the current activist discourse.

One of the leading activists arguing for a re-conceptualizing of archives today is Verne Harris. Harris, being steeped in Derridean thought, states that archives open out of the future.<sup>38</sup> In other words, the very notion of the archive is always becoming, like democracy, changing with new contexts, remembering and forgetting, and interacting with power and powerlessness.<sup>39</sup> Harris's personal struggle for human rights began at the National Archives of South Africa in which he states, "Under apartheid, the terrain of social memory, as with all social space, was a site of struggle."<sup>40</sup> An adequate summation of the apartheid state archives can be seen in the book review by Nesmith of Harris's *Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa*:

White South African archival practice has been strongly influenced by the Europeans archival tradition, exemplified by the Dutch manual of 1898. This tradition maintains that the record is adequately managed when an archives keeps it inviolate, particularly by preserving a narrow range of its administrative history and diplomatic information (or 'recordness') intact, which then guarantees the record is reliable and authentic. Given the Orwellian world of apartheid South Africa, however, that information can hardly be taken at face value...The abuses of archives by the apartheid state also include the suppression, confiscation, destruction, and physical fragmentation of the archives of those who resisted it.<sup>41</sup>

Working within this contextual framework, Harris acted as a whistleblower to the destruction of records depicting abuses by the state in the closing days of the apartheid regime. Between 1996 and 1998, he represented the National Archives in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission investigation into the destruction of those records.<sup>42</sup> From that pivotal event in his archival career, Harris has continued to build on the role the archivist plays as activist as well as his personal role in building links in the archive of justice throughout South Africa, including the South African History Archive and the Nelson Mandela Center of Memory and Commemoration Project.

Of particular importance in arguing for the incorporation of human rights organizations into the archival discourse is Bruce Montgomery. His approach to records as both tools for change and evidence of the struggle for human rights provides a beneficial insight into how the archives address these sites of knowledge. Montgomery, head archivist at the University of Colorado at Boulder Human Rights Initiative (HRI), oversaw the temporary retention of the Iraqi secret police files after the Gulf War invasion in 1991. These archives provided evidence of President

Saddam Hussein's massacre of Kurdish people in Northern Iraq.<sup>43</sup> These records represented both the memory of human rights violations as well as documentation that was later used to indict Hussein for his crimes against humanity. Montgomery states,

The human rights archival record is important for historical accountability. Because of the past inability or unwillingness to bring perpetrators to justice, the historical verdict has often served as the only tribunal for human rights perpetrators. Even with the recent institution of the new International Criminal Court, the historical verdict will continue to play a pivotal role in preserving a record that has amply demonstrated the international community's past reluctance in bringing many of this century's most notorious dictators to justice.<sup>44</sup>

In 2007, these records were returned to the Kurdish people on behalf of the HRI and the U.S. government.<sup>45</sup> Montgomery's insights into human rights records convey that use-value is a primary motive for HRNGOs. Thus as an archivist, access to these records remains the primary objective. By incorporating these sites of memory into the archives, justice and accountability become part and parcel of the duties as an archivist.

The seminal human rights documents outlined above began as doctrines that spoke for people, often to their detriment. In articulating rights for people, and yet withholding their true intent until after these notions were disseminated, an authoritarian narrative emerges from the benevolent climbs in the social hierarchy. Lisa Klopfer, archivist at Eastern Michigan University, explains that with the normative approach to oral histories and the collection of them, archivists have continued to speak for people rather than speak with them.<sup>46</sup> This notion in its own right provides for a reexamination of how archivists seek to restore the proper voice of the disenfranchised.

A quintessential task for the activist archivist is providing access points for society into the archives. By conveying the importance of archives to the general public, memory can be recognized as the cornerstone of society, which archivists profess it to be. Archival educators Richard Cox and David Wallace's compilation, *Archives and the Public Good*, was formed as an advocacy piece "to communicate and promote to a wider audience the significance of the roles records play in constituting society."<sup>47</sup> This important collaboration includes works by activist archivists discussed here, as well as others whose interaction with ideas of accountability, secrecy, memory and trust provide examples of the commonality between archives and social activism. Cox and Wallace attempt to go beyond the average story of how records are the by-product of accountability issues,

When teased out, the recordkeeping dimensions – such as control and access, preservation, destruction, authenticity, and accuracy – demonstrate time and again that records are not mute observers

and recordings of activity. Rather, they often actively constitute an activity in themselves and are frequently struggled over as objects of memory formation.

The record is in fact central to notions of accountability. The power embedded within the record as well as in the archivist promotes a need for democratic thinking around access, appraisal and public programming. By using this power in a way that acknowledges historical and cultural notions of human rights, archivists can move beyond the utilitarian notion of archivists as “hewers of wood and drawers of water,”<sup>48</sup> and become the progressive “builders of public memory,” bringing new ideas from other disciplines and advocating themselves as social interpreters.<sup>49</sup>

Globalization has ushered in a prevalence of information through the vast network of electronic communication. For this reason human rights information is now more accessible than ever. However, as electronic information becomes an increasing challenge to archives, it also begs questions of the human rights movement. Ishay pushes both the activist archivist and the human rights activist to address the less noticeable problems with electronic communication:

Despite the impact of globalization on human rights struggles, the popular voice seems less audible. Now digitized, this voice may be more easily subjugated to corporate interests and manipulations. New consumer needs are generated by the Gateses and Murdochs of a New World, in which control and dissemination of relevant information may be falling into the hands of the few.<sup>50</sup>

If archives are to continue to document and protect the rights of citizens, an initiative must be developed to adequately collect electronic records that fall under the radar of the corporate interests which dominate technological mediums.<sup>51</sup> David Bearman, currently leading the archival world in electronic record issues, sees a solution in creating abstract rules that are reviewed by outside authorities and implemented into a system that disallows room for human judgment, therefore using the technology and social consensus in appraising electronic records.<sup>52</sup>

As archivists we must continue to be builders of the memory infrastructure, not in the liberal sense of progress which has been the great façade of the 20th century (often dictated through authoritarianism and exploitation), but through horizontal collaborative initiatives which perpetuate the growth of all things.<sup>53</sup> Head Archivist of Canada Ian Wilson states, “archivists cannot simply be spectators.”<sup>54</sup> In its simplicity, Wilson’s statement means a whole host of challenges to the traditional role of archivist, which has been undergoing a continual evolution over the course of history, as demonstrated. Yet as the profession steps to-and-fro in its ideas and practices, our history and archival memory will always remain as long as we maintain accountable records. The struggle for human rights will continue whether we address it or not. However, if archivists stand to

have a greater role in promoting democracy and preserving records that fly in the face of the hegemonic narrative, it is our job to elaborate on how records can buttress the seminal human rights documents of old. I for one will not only be at the next Paris Commune, I will provide the very records upon which it will be founded.

#### Footnotes

1. Arguably “progress” has been made, as will be shown, at stages in history when epochal change has occurred. The point of agitation for this author is the need to continually move forward, not waiting for epochal change but working towards it. Complacency via unchallenged thinking inevitably tramples on human rights. By addressing the historical progress made in human rights and archives, one hopes to prevent from “steps taken forwards but sleepwalking back again.” – David Gilmour, “High Hopes,” *The Division Bell*. See Toni Samek, *Librarianship and Human Rights: A Twenty-First Century Guide*. (Oxford: Chandos Publishing, 2007).
2. Lisa Klopfer, “Oral History and Archives in the New South Africa: Methodological Issues,” *Archivaria* 52, (Fall 2001).
3. Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007) p. 29. Hunt argues that the great documents of human rights play a supportive role in defining what human rights means to the individual. Taking from Benedict Anderson’s “Imagined Communities,” Hunt theorizes an “Imagined Empathy,” springing from the idea that “human rights are not just a doctrine formulated in documents; they rest on a disposition toward other people, a set of convictions about what people are like and how they know right and wrong in the secular world.” p.26.
4. Micheline R. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era* (Los Angeles; University of California Press, 2008) p. 4.
5. Capitalism (1600s) provided the right to own property, from feudal capitalism to mercantilism to free markets based on the rights of the individual.
6. The birth of secular universalism developed out of the assault on Roman Catholicism by the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation (1517), which opened the way for humanist thought.
7. International trade during the 17th and 18th century created a bourgeois class that was restricted to national markets by the monarchy and noble classes. Due to the restrictions imposed, by those who controlled the government, public administration, the church and most other social institutions including the archive, bourgeois revolutions erupted in England (1642), America (1775) and France (1789), which provoked democratic traditions.
8. Ibid. p.61.
9. Ibid. p.73.
10. Ibid. p. 74. “Liberty, Equality, and Brotherhood.”
11. Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, p.16.
12. Karl Marx in Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, p.119.
13. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights*, p.125.
14. Ibid.
15. These atrocities include Japan’s rape of Nanking, the allied bombing of Dresden, and the Nazi-led Holocaust, to name a few. See Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century* (New York; Vintage Books, 2000) & Jacques R. Pauwels, *The Myth of the Good War: America in the Second World War* (Toronto; James Lorimer & Company Ltd. Publishers, 2002). For a current insight into the field and the 60th Anniversary of the Declaration see Katherine J. Phenix, “Dignity and Justice for All of Us: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948-2008.” *Progressive Librarian*, no. 30 (Winter 2007/2008).
16. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights*, p.224. see William Korey, NGO’s and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “A Curious Grapevine” (Hampshire, UK; Palgrave Macmillan, 2001)

17. Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, p.17.
18. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights*, p.196.
19. Ibid. p.181.
20. Ibid. p.257.
21. Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift," *Archivaria* 43 (Spring 1997) p.18.
22. Ibid. p.23. Both Jenkinson and Schellenberg owe their debt to the Dutch trio: Samuel Muller, Johan Feith, and Robert Fruin for their *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives* (1889). In fact, all Western archivists to this day owe their understanding of archives to this manual as well. As archives allow, having the ability to reflect on the past allows for change in the present.
23. Ibid. p.24
24. Ibid. p. 27.
25. Hans Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources," Hermina Joldersma and Richard Klumpenhouwer, editors and translators, *Archivaria* 24 (Summer 1987).
26. Ibid. p. 75.
27. Cook, "What is Past is Prologue," p.30.
28. Terry Cook, "Obituary: Hugh A. Taylor, 1920-2005," *Archivaria* 60 (Fall 2005) p.277. Total archives, as enacted at Library and Archives Canada, blend both private and official records within the archives. Thus working towards creating a "total" contextual archive.
29. Hugh A. Taylor, "Recycling the Past: The Archivist in the Age of Ecology," *Archivaria* 35 (Spring 1993).
30. Hugh A. Taylor, "Transformation in the Archives: Technological Adjustment or Paradigm Shift?," *Archivaria* 25 (Winter 1987-1988).
31. Hugh A. Taylor, "The Archivist, the Letter and the Spirit," *Archivaria* 43 (Spring 1997).
32. Cook, "What is Past is Prologue," p.34.
33. Ibid. p.44.
34. Terry Cook, "Macroappraisal in Theory and Practice: Origins, Characteristics, and Implementation in Canada, 1950-2000," *Archival Science* (2005) 5, p.126-127.
35. Tom Nesmith, "Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives," *The American Archivist* Vol. 65 (Spring/Summer 2002) p.38.
36. Helen Willa Samuels, "Who Controls the Past," *The American Archivist* Vol. 49 issue 2 (Spring 1986) p.120. See also W. F. Birdsall, "A Progressive Librarianship for the Twenty-First Century," *Progressive Librarian*, no. 28 (Winter 2006/2007).
37. Terry Cook, "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives," *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001) p.17.
38. Verne Harris, "A Shaft of Darkness: Derrida in the Archive," *Refiguring the Archive*, eds. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh, (Boston; Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002) p.61. For deeper insights to the use of Jacques Derrida in the archive, see Verne Harris' *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective* (Chicago; Society of American Archivists, 2007)
39. Verne Harris, "The Archival Sliver: A Perspective on the Construction of Social Memory in Archives and the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy," *Refiguring the Archive*, eds. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh, (Boston; Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002) p.135.
40. Verne Harris, "They Should Have Destroyed More: The Destruction of Public Records by the South African State in the Final Years of Apartheid, 1990-1994," in Richard Cox and David Wallace, eds., *Archives and the Public Good: Accountability and Records in Modern Society* (Westport, CT; Quorum Books, 2002) p.177.
41. Tom Nesmith, "Book Review," of Verne Harris' *Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa*, Pretoria; National Archives of South Africa, 2nd ed., 2000), *Archival Science* 1:2001, p.228.
42. Ibid.
43. Bruce Montgomery, "Iraqi Secret Police Files: A Documentary Record of the Anfal Genocide," *Archivaria* 52 (Fall 2001).

44. Bruce Montgomery, "Fact-Finding by Human Rights Non-governmental Organizations: Challenges, Strategies, and the Shaping of Archival Evidence," *Archivaria* 58 (Fall 2004) p.23.
45. University of Colorado at Boulder Archives, "International Projects: Iraqi Secret Police Files Seized by the Kurds during the 1991 Gulf War," 2008, <http://ucblibraries.colorado.edu/archives/collections/international.htm>.
46. Lisa Klopfer, "Oral History and Archives in the New South Africa: Methodological Issues," *Archivaria* 52 (Fall 2001) p.108.
47. Cox and Wallace, "Introduction," *Archives and the Public Good*, p.1.
48. This notion was coined by Jenkinson in reference to the neutral archivist simply bringing in records and showing them to researchers. Without acknowledging the bias and power behind every process of archiving, memory remains the byproduct of the historian.
49. Timothy L. Ericson, "Building Our Own 'Iron Curtain': The Emergence of Secrecy in American Government," 68th Presidential Address, Society of American Archivists, Boston, August 5th 2004, <http://www.archivists.org/governance/presidential/ericson.asp>. Derived from Richard Cox's statement that: "Archivists need to realize that appraisal is part of a larger process of building public memory and a process of connecting to other societal events related to the past," in Richard J. Cox, *No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal* (Lanham, Maryland, 2004).
50. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights*, p.316.
51. Randall L. Jimerson, "Embracing the Power of Archives," 69th Presidential Address of the Society of American Archivists, New Orleans, August 18, 2005, <http://www.archivists.org/governance/presidential/jimerson.asp>.
52. David Bearman, "Electronic Record-Keeping, Social Memory and Democracy," *Refiguring the Archive*, eds. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh, (Boston; Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002) p.329.
53. Ian Wilson, "Forward," *Comma* (2004.2) p.5.
54. Ibid.