

The Ford Foundation's Support for Human Rights Archives

In my presentation, I will briefly describe the Ford Foundation, talk about where human rights and archival work fit into our programs, and describe three specific programs that link archives and human rights. I will not talk much about the rationale for the preservation of the archives of human rights work, since I think that this is being addressed well by other speakers. Instead, I hope to use a discussion of these programs to stimulate further consideration of some broader issues, namely the importance of an NGO infrastructure in preserving and activating historical memories, and the difficulty of sustaining this fragile infrastructure over time.

Since the late nineteenth century, foundations have been important actors on the American scene. A foundation is an organization that is established as a nonprofit corporation or a charitable trust, with a principal purpose of making grants for scientific, educational, cultural, religious, or other charitable purposes. Although foundations are heavily regulated by the US government, they are independent organizations. Thousands of foundations have been established in the United States in the past 100 years, because of the social values of voluntarism and compassion for others, as well as because tax laws make it possible for individuals, particularly the wealthy, to set aside some of their wealth for the good of others.

The Ford Foundation was established by Edsel Ford, the son of Henry Ford I, the industrialist and inventor, in 1936, and for more than a decade worked on a small and local scale in the Detroit area, where the Ford Motor Company was based. Anticipating the increase in assets that would come with the settlement of the estates of Edsel Ford, who died in 1943, Henry Ford who died in 1947, the board of the Foundation commissioned a study by a team of consultants in 1948. Their recommendations, which were adopted by the board in 1950, outlined a broad, international scope for the programs of the Ford Foundation. In the same year, the governing board was made independent of the Ford family control, although members of the family continued to serve on the board for several decades. Rather than making grants with a local focus as it had in the past, the Foundation turned its attention to national and international issues.¹ Its operations shifted from locally focused charity to "strategic philanthropy", the deliberate use of giving to effect social change through impact on public priorities of government and other organizations at various levels. This entails "finding maximally effective means to achieve agreed-on ends [and] carefully thought-through, articulated and criticized rationales for action."²

In order to diversify its endowment, the Ford Foundation began to sell its holdings of Ford Motor Company stock in 1956, a process which took nearly 20 years. The Foundation no longer holds any stock of the company. The last member of the Ford family left the board in 1976. Thus, for nearly three decades, the Ford Foundation has been com-

¹ Sources for the history of the Ford Foundation include Dwight Macdonald, *The Ford Foundation: The Men and the Millions*, New York, 1956 reissued by Transaction Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1989 with an introduction by Francis X. Sutton; Richard Magat, *The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods and Styles*, New York, 1979, and an unpublished manuscript by William Greeleaf, *The Ford Foundation: The Formative Years*, 1958, Ford Foundation Archives Report no. 13606. For a well-informed discussion of why a comprehensive history of the Ford Foundation has never been written, see Richard Magat's article "In Search of the Ford Foundation", in *Philanthropic Foundations: New Scholarship, New Possibilities*, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, ed., Bloomington, Indiana, 1999, pp. 296-317.

² Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy*, Chicago, 1989, p. 8.

pletely independent of both the Ford family and the Ford Motor Company. It has no religious, commercial, or governmental affiliation. It is guided instead by an international board of trustees, who rely on an international staff to explore funding possibilities, evaluate grant applications and recommend grants for approval.³

American foundations are given broad latitude to engage in philanthropic activities, to make grants and run programs, within the constraints of their founding directives and the scope of the law of charitable foundations. The Ford Foundation was established with the broad directive of advancing human welfare, and we have made it our mission to make grants to strengthen democratic values; reduce poverty and injustice; promote international cooperation, and advance human achievement. Although the Ford Foundation is large by the standards of private foundations, we are small compared to donor agencies sponsored by governments and multilateral organizations.⁴ Since our financial resources are modest in comparison with societal needs, we focus on a limited number of problem areas and program strategies within the scope our mission. We have long believed that the challenges facing societies are best addressed by encouraging involvement by people living closest to the problems. For this reason, we work closely with communities around the world, and we currently maintain offices in 12 countries outside of our headquarters in New York. The grantmaking staff are given wide latitude in responding to local needs based on their knowledge of the situation on the ground, within the context of the Foundation's mission and values.

The human rights programs of the Ford Foundation have expanded greatly since the 1970s, spurred on largely by involvement with the Helsinki movement, the humanitarian crisis of Southeast Asian refugees, and the need to deal with the problem of repressive regimes in the countries in which we worked, particularly in Latin America. Since that time, the Ford Foundation has been privileged to stand with individuals and organizations that have, often at great risk to themselves, created movements to protect basic human rights and to oppose dictatorship. Human rights has become the largest field of activity of the Ford Foundation, and we are one of the largest private funders of human rights work around the world.⁵

Compared with human rights, support for archives is a much less significant component of our work. Although the Ford Foundation has provided over \$20 million for archival and historical programs in the past seven years alone, (in contrast to several hundreds of millions for human rights) support for archival work has never been a strategic focus in the way that human rights has. Rather, the Ford Foundation has provided support for archives in connection with other program interests. In the past 15 years in particular, this has led it to support several programs that use archives and historical memory as tools for advancing human rights.

The transition to democratic governance in many countries has been imperfect. Many in the human rights movement have come to understand that only by dealing with and confronting the past can societies build a democratic future. If the abuses of the past can be denied, there is a greater chance that they can be repeated. However, transitional and successor governments cannot or will not always address the abuses of the past, and state and military agencies sometimes make it difficult or impossible for individuals to obtain

³ An excellent discussion of the Ford Foundation for those not familiar with American philanthropy and foundations was posted by the Ford Foundation's Cairo office at: http://www.fordfound.org/global/office/index.cfm?office=Cairo&ff_section=features

⁴ The Ford Foundation was the largest American foundation for most of the second half of the twentieth century. As of the end of 2002, it was the third largest in terms of both asset value and annual grants, after the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Lilly Endowment. Because the endowment of the Ford Foundation is diversified and not tied to holdings in a single company or industry, it tends to fluctuate less than those of some other foundations.

⁵ William Korey, a human rights activist and author is currently working on a book on the role of the Ford Foundation in advancing human rights. His earlier work, *NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: a Curious Grapevine*, New York, 1999, includes discussion of the work of the Ford Foundation and its grantees.

documentation of periods of authoritarian rule. The responsibility to preserve memory has thus also fallen to human rights organizations. This paper examines two programs supported by the Ford Foundation, one from Russia and the other from Latin America, and then discusses an example from an "old democracy", an American NGO active in the area of US foreign policy that provides a useful model for the role of archival NGOs.

One of the most significant organizations in the Former Soviet Union for which the Ford Foundation has been privileged to provide support is Memorial.⁶ At the height of glasnost and perestroika during the late 1980s, human right activists began to band together in the former Soviet Union to request the construction of memorials to the victims of Stalin. The resulting network of memorial societies came to play a key role in de-Stalinization and in the growth of civil society. In fact, Memorial was one of the first organized social movements to arise outside of the formal control of the Communist Party. Memorial originally consisted of decentralized local branches, and in addition to their activities in organizing, providing charitable assistance to victims of repression, and monitoring current human rights abuses, the larger branches also established Research and Information Centers to assemble documentation of human rights abuses and of the dissident movement within the FSU. (If one is to create memorials to victims of the state, one must know who they are, and what happened to them!) The Ford Foundation has provided about \$8.5 million to Memorial since 1990, supporting its activism and its historical research, including an endowment grant for the construction of a new headquarters and archives. Memorial assembles documentation and oral histories from a variety of sources. Often, the motivating force behind this was the surviving victims, whose experience and memories did not coincide official accounts. While its holdings may lack a clear chain of custody when compared with government or organizational archives, they have a vital role in the documentation of the Soviet period from the point of view of those who suffered most. Memorial's research units have created a resource that serves as a corrective to official histories and collections of documents. Memorial thus provides a rare example of a human rights NGO for which historical memory, and as a consequence archives, is central to its mission.

Ford Foundation staff in Latin America in the late 1990s followed the work of Memorial with interest. The Ford Foundation had been one of the main funders of human rights organizations in the region since the 1970s.⁷ Human rights groups, many with support from the Ford Foundation, have accumulated enormous amounts of documentation in the course of their work. Their work was different from Memorial in that they were originally not at all concerned with preserving historical memory of times of abuse, but rather with changing contemporary conditions. However, after the transition to democracy, state, and especially military archives were not open to those who wanted to press claims against the state or to present their own account of the events of the recent past. Human rights organizations would sometimes be the only repositories that made such documentation available. This is similar to the work of Memorial in that in the default of accessible, open and functioning state archives, NGOs were an essential resources for documentation of past abuses.

In 1999, the Ford Foundation office in Santiago brought together human rights non-governmental organizations (HRNGOs) from the Southern Cone of Latin America to raise their consciousness about the value of their holdings, the precariousness of their situation, and steps that could be taken to preserve them and make them available. The workshop resulted in increased awareness of the value of these holdings. One participant noted: "I have worked with documents my entire life, always as an activist. But I never

⁶ On the history of Memorial, see especially Kathleen E. Smith, *Remembering Stalin's Victims: Popular Memory and the End of the USSR*, Ithaca N.Y. and London, 1996, and Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Twentieth-Century Russia*, New York and London, 2000.

⁷ For an overview of this work, see *The Ford Foundation: 40 Years in the Andean Region and Southern Cone*, Santiago, 2003, esp. pp. 35-76.

realized how *important* they were.⁸ It also got them to think about necessary steps to preserve their documentary resources, about how to collaborate with each other, and about how to make their documents available for the future. The workshop resulted in great excitement about these possibilities among HRNGOs in the region. The Ford Foundation also made a number of grants to help organizations process and preserve their holdings, and made more significant support to a few organizations. Most notable of these are the Vicariate of Solidarity of the Archbishopric of Santiago which was the leading human rights organization in Chile during the period of the dictatorship, and which since then has operated a documentation center to keep the memory of that period alive, and Memoria Abierta, the consortium of Argentine organizations about which Patricia Valdez has spoken.

There are important commonalities between the work of Memorial and that of the organizations in Latin America: all seek to reconstitute new national identities, based in respect for human rights, and on the memory of the realities of the abuses that had occurred under the old regimes. They understand that accessible documentary evidence that sustains memory is one important antidote to nostalgia for repressive regimes of the past. They realize that transitions to democracy are tenuous, and one cannot rely on the state to preserve the full and accurate memory of the past. By preserving this memory, they make it impossible to deny that atrocities occurred, and they make it somewhat less possible that they will occur in the future. I would argue that while state archives are a necessary resource for access to information in a democratic and open society, they are not a sufficient resource. The voices and memories preserved by non-state actors, such as those in the archives of HRNGOs, are essential as well.

I have talked up until now about the case of transitional societies. What about old democracies? As Ethel Kriger reminded us in her comments in response to Gabrielle Nishiguchi's presentation on the documentation of the oppression of minority communities in the National Archives of Canada earlier in this conference, established democracies are also imperfect, and may also perpetrate human rights abuses, and state archives play an important role in preserving memory of this. How are we to ensure that public records are as open and as accessible as possible? The National Security Archive (NSA) in the United States provides one possible model. It is an unusual case, in that its focus is foreign policy rather than human rights, *per se*, and in that one of its main roles is to function as an independent, non-governmental repository of government documents. It is in a sense a user of government records, rather than an archives itself.

The NSA was founded in 1985 by scholars and journalists who had obtained declassified documents under the United States Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), and who wanted to make sure that the material that they had obtained was available to others. The Ford Foundation has supported the NSA since before its inception, when it provided a small planning grant to the people who were organizing the institution. This grant was followed by much more substantial support over the years. There was considerable skepticism by many in the Foundation about the feasibility and sustainability of such a project. I am happy to say that some of the less risk averse members of our staff prevailed.⁹

⁸ For more on this workshop, see Elizabeth Quay Hutchinson "Preserving Historical Memory: Documents and Human Rights Archives in the Southern Cone: a Workshop Organized by the Andes and Southern Cone Office of the Ford Foundation, April 25-28, 1999, Santiago, Chile: a rapporteur's report," 1999, Ford Foundation Archives Report no. 015016. For background to this initiative, and an excellent discussion of archives, human rights, and historical memory, see Louis Bickford, "The Archival Imperative: Human Rights and Historical Memory in Latin America's Southern Cone" *Human Rights Quarterly* vol. 21 no.4 (1999).

⁹ Documentation of the role of the Ford Foundation in the establishment of the National Security Archives may be found in the files of two grants to the Fund for Peace: PA 0865-0112, a planning grant for the NSA, and PA 0860-0420, a general support grant for operations over a 12-year period. Both are in the Ford Foundation Archives.

The Freedom of Information Act, signed into law by President Johnson in 1967, mandates a presumption of disclosure. Government agencies are required to disclose documents upon request unless they can demonstrate why they should not under one of nine exemptions, the most important of which concern national security. In my view, legislation like the FOIA is an important building block of democracy and open government.¹⁰ As one might imagine, the realities of the implementation of the FOIA can fall short of the stated policy. Although agencies are required to respond within 20 working days, it is not unheard of for them to take years to respond to a request. In fact, there is a pending incomplete request that dates to 1987.¹¹

While the NSA is the leading submitter of requests under the Freedom of Information Act, particularly in the field of US foreign policy, it also functions as a public interest law firm to help others with FOIA requests and to defend and expand free access to information. It helps individuals negotiate the often-tortuous process for getting information under the FOIA. In his paper on the archives of security services of formerly repressive regimes, Antonio González Quintana talks about rights to access information, ranging from the most fundamental, *Habeas Data*, the right of individuals to obtain information about themselves from state files, through other rights to the right to historical research. These rights only function properly where individuals and organizations have the capacity to make such requests, and organizations like the NSA help to give other individuals and organizations this capacity. For the information released to be truly open, it must be freely available to other inquirers in the future. Thus, once documents are released under a FOIA request, NSA indexes them and makes them broadly available in a variety of media, so that once one inquirer has gotten something declassified, others do not have to go through the same process. The NSA is constantly on the front lines, challenging government agencies to make information available.

The NSA is not a human rights organization *per se*, although I think that one way in which it is a legitimate subject for discussion at this conference is that it has publicized documentation of human rights abuses condoned or supported in other countries by actions of the government of the US.¹² In addition, it is also an illustration of the role of what we might call an NGO memory infrastructure, Memorial and the organizations from Latin America, such as Memoria Abierta, illustrate the role that human rights NGOs play in societies in the midst of imperfect transitions to democracy. The NSA shows that even in open societies, with freedom of information legislation, NGOs have a vital role to play in keeping archives open and in holding governments accountable. Unless civil society has the capacity to challenge the state and hold it accountable, free access to information will remain a mere aspiration. Recent history has shown that people need strong states. However, they also need strong civil societies to make sure that the states do not become oppressive. For access to information to remain free and open, civil society must include information and history conscious NGOs, whose mission includes free access to information.

This brings me to my final point. When I entered the profession, archivists tried to educate the public about the fragility of traditional information storage media, such as paper. In recent years, archivists have had to educate the public, and especially our funders, about the fragility of electronic information storage media and about the obs-

¹⁰ I want to acknowledge here the work of the International Records Management Trust which works to encourage open archives and free access to information legislation in countries around the world in order to promote transparency and accountability.

¹¹ This was filed by Seth Rosenfeld to obtain records of FBI surveillance activities at the University of California, Berkeley. Only 20,000 of the 37,000 pages requested have been produced to date. For further information on this and other requests, see *Justice Delayed is Justice Denied: The Ten Oldest Pending FOIA Requests*, Washington, 2003, The National Security Archive.

¹² On recent example of this is NSA's electronic briefing book no. 104, which contains declassified records that document Henry Kissinger's encouragement of the "dirty war" in Argentina. Available from NSA's web site at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB104/index.htm>. This was released on December 4, 2003.

lescence of the information systems that make them usable. However, it is not only the holdings of archives that are fragile, but archives themselves as institutions. If we are dependent on an infrastructure of history-conscious NGOs, we must find mechanisms to sustain them. If part of the mission of any archives is to preserve information and records for an extended period, far longer than for the use to which they were originally intended, then we must realize that archival intuitions, and archives within larger institutions, need to be sustained in order to fulfill this mission. While state archives often have the necessary institutional stability to make information available in the long term, the state is not a sufficient source of information, particularly where the abuses of state power are concerned.

However, no matter how fragile state archives are, they are much more secure than independent archives, particularly those attached to human rights organizations. Sustaining any NGO is difficult. Sustaining an archives attached to the NGO is particularly difficult because of the long time horizons involved. Unfortunately, I cannot provide an easy answer, or any answer to this. The NGO sector receives funding from a complex variety of sources: governments, multilateral organizations, and private funders, including foundations. I hope, however, that making organizations such as CITRA and ICA aware of the need can contribute to a solution.

Alan Divack

Préservation de la mémoire des populations du Niger : sources orales et manuscrites

Dans les milieux ruraux africains où l'utilisation de l'écriture ne remonte pas bien loin dans le passé, la principale source d'information est constituée par la tradition orale. On appelle tradition orale "l'évocation du passé, transmise et rapportée oralement, qui prend naturellement corps au sein d'une culture et est façonnée par son évolution. La tradition se propage largement de bouche à oreille parmi les membres d'une même société, mais certaines personnes peuvent avoir la charge d'en assurer la conservation, la transmission, la récitation et la narration. Elle est l'expression organique de l'identité, des projets, des institutions et des coutumes de la culture qui l'a produite et de sa permanence à travers les générations"¹ En Afrique, la tradition orale est rapportée par les griots, les chefs de famille ou de clan, les maîtres-artisans, les chefs traditionnels, les chroniqueurs, les conteurs et chanteurs etc.

La plus grande richesse de l'histoire africaine réside encore dans la mémoire de ceux qui ont été chargés par chaque société de transmettre fidèlement, génération après génération, le patrimoine historique commun. La mémoire humaine étant fragile, subjective et mortelle, il convient de préserver ces documents oraux issus de la tradition, soit par la transcription, soit par l'enregistrement. Au Niger, les œuvres anciennes sont constituées des textes transcrits, des manuscrits arabes ou ajamis et d'enregistrements collectés sur le terrain. Ces enregistrements sont transcrits, soit dans les langues nationales, soit dans la langue officielle, le français.

Pendant la période coloniale, l'Institut Français d'Afrique noire (IFAN) et la Société de Radiodiffusion de la France d'Outre Mer (SORAFOM) ont mené une politique active de collecte de textes oraux. Le Niger indépendant a maintenu la tradition avec la création du Musée national en 1959, du Centre Nigérien de Recherches en Sciences Humaines (CNRS) en 1964 et du Centre Régional de Recherche et de Documentation pour la Tradition Orale (CRDTO) en 1969.

Beaucoup de travaux ont été effectués dans le cadre de la collecte des traditions orales sous l'égide du Centre Nigérien de Recherches en Sciences Humaines de Niamey. C'est ainsi que Boubou Hama, ancien président de l'Assemblée nationale du Niger, et Jean Rouch, ont rassemblé une importante documentation sur le groupe ethnique Songhaï-Zarma. Le groupe Hawsa a fait l'objet de recherches effectuées par Henri-Marc Piault, Nicole Echard, André Salifou et Djibo Hamani. Deux chercheurs américains Ann Durbar et Michel Hozowitz se sont intéressés au groupe Kanuri. Edmond de Bernus a de son côté étudié les groupes Touareg et Bella.

Dans le cadre de cette présentation, je me limiterai à la situation des sources orales et manuscrites conservées aux Archives du Niger et à l'Institut de Recherches en Sciences Humaines (IRSH) de l'Université de Niamey.

Je présenterai ensuite les activités du projet "Archives sonores et ressources documentaires de la Tradition orale en Afrique" (ARTO) du Centre d'études linguistiques et historiques par tradition orale (CELHTO) de l'Union Africaine. Il est indispensable auparavant de présenter l'organisation administrative et territoriale du Niger.

¹ Archives, histoire orale et tradition orale : une étude RAMP par William W. Moss et Peter C. Mazikana. P. 1

L'organisation administrative et territoriale du Niger

Le Niger colonial

Situé dans la zone sahélo-saharienne, à la charnière des mondes arabo-berbère et négro-africain, l'espace nigérien est un lieu de contact et de brassage des populations soudanaises et nord africaines. Les principaux groupes socio-linguistiques sont les Haoussa à l'Est et les Songhaï-Zarma à l'Ouest. S'y ajoutent les nomades Touareg au Nord, les Peuls disséminés dans tout le pays, les arabes, les Kanouri, les Gourmantché et les Toubou. Né de la colonisation française, le Niger a connu plusieurs statuts administratifs :

- Troisième territoire militaire de 1900 à 1904
- Territoire militaire du Niger de 1905 à 1920
- Territoire civil du Niger de 1920 à 1922
- Colonie du Niger de 1922 à 1946
- Territoire d'Outre-Mer de 1946 à 1958

L'Assemblée territoriale du Niger, par délibération du 18 décembre 1958, a adopté le statut d'Etat membre de la Communauté franco-africaine et proclamé la République.

Le Niger indépendant

Le Niger a accédé à la souveraineté internationale le 3 août 1960. Une nouvelle constitution a été élaborée et adoptée le 8 novembre 1960. Elle établit un régime présidentiel, marqué par la prépondérance du Président de la République. Un nouvel organe dénommé "Conseil militaire Suprême" a alors été créé. Il a exercé les pouvoirs législatif et réglementaire pendant quinze ans, du 15 avril 1974 au 23 septembre 1989. Ce régime d'exception a pris fin avec l'adoption le 24 septembre 1989 de la Constitution de la Deuxième République.

Le loi n° 91-02 du 24 avril 1991, portant révision de la Constitution a instauré au Niger le multipartisme. La démocratisation progressive envisagée par le pouvoir en place et jugée insuffisante par la société civile a débouché le 31 juillet 1991 sur la Conférence Nationale Souveraine qui dura trois mois.

La République du Niger qui, pendant des lustres, a ignoré l'Etat de droit a adopté une Constitution de type démocratique qui consacrait la séparation des pouvoirs, législatif, exécutif et judiciaire.

L'acte n° III du 9 août 1991 de la Conférence nationale a suspendu la Constitution de la Deuxième République et l'acte fondamental n° XXI a mis en place une transition politique qui a duré 17 mois. Le 26 décembre 1992, la Constitution de la Troisième République a été adoptée. Cette période s'est avérée très difficile pour un Etat sans expérience du débat politique. En dépit des mécanismes constitutionnels de résolution des crises, de graves événements se sont précipités, au point de ramener l'armée sur la scène politique nigérienne.

Le 27 janvier 1996, les Forces Armées nigériennes ont mis fin au régime de la Troisième République. Une nouvelle Constitution a été rédigée (celle de la Quatrième République) et adoptée le 12 mai 1996 par référendum. A la suite des élections des 7 et 8 juillet 1996, le Président de la République a été élu. La contestation née des élections de juillet 1996 et la persistance de la crise socio-économique ont ramené pour la troisième fois, depuis l'indépendance, l'armée nigérienne au pouvoir.

Les nouvelles autorités ont rédigé une Constitution, adoptée le 18 juillet 1999 par référendum. La Constitution de la Cinquième République était née. De nouvelles élections ont été organisées en novembre 1999. Le territoire de la République du Niger est organisé en régions. Les régions sont subdivisées en départements, les départements en arrondissements et les arrondissements en communes. Des élections locales ont été organisées en mars 2004, afin de permettre une plus large participation des citoyens, par le biais d'organes délibérants d'exécution élus au suffrage universel.

Les sources orales conservées au dépôt central des Archives à Niamey

Les fonds conservés aux Archives nationales sont constitués de l'ensemble des documents élaborés ou reçus par les institutions coloniales françaises sur le sol nigérien de 1897 à 1960, année de l'indépendance, ainsi que des documents versés par les services centraux du Gouvernement du Niger de 1960 à nos jours.

Les Archives du Niger

L'année 1907 peut être retenue comme date de départ en ce qui concerne le sort des archives coloniales en Afrique occidentale française (AOF). Ainsi "dans la séance de la Chambre des députés du 19 novembre 1907, Louis Puech, développant une interpellation sur les scandales de la Guinée française, se flattait d'avoir en sa possession les originaux d'un certain nombre de documents administratifs. En effet, disait-il, il ne semble pas qu'il y ait beaucoup d'originaux dans les dossiers des colonies. Les originaux sont pris d'une sorte de danse de Saint-Guy ; ils traversent l'océan avec une inexplicable facilité et circulent partout ailleurs que dans les endroits où l'on devrait les tenir". Dans sa réponse, le Ministre des colonies a reconnu les faits et le 21 décembre 1907, il a adressé une lettre circulaire aux Gouverneurs des colonies sur la surveillance à exercer sur les archives des différents services.

L'organisation des archives s'accélère avec l'affectation en 1912, pour la première fois, d'un spécialiste de la question, Claude Faure, ancien élève de l'Ecole des chartes de Paris. Le 1^{er} juillet 1913, les Archives de l'Afrique occidentale française ont reçu leur charte de fondation. Deux arrêtés généraux, signés le même jour par le Gouverneur général William Ponty, ont créé un dépôt d'archives au Gouvernement général à Dakar et dans chacune des colonies de l'AOF. Ces textes étaient accompagnés de deux circulaires, d'une notice sur le classement des archives et bibliothèques, et d'un cadre de classement.

L'arrêté local n° 22 du 10 février 1924, constituant les services de la colonie du Niger, a rattaché les archives à la deuxième section du Cabinet du Lieutenant-Gouverneur. La mission de les conserver a été confiée au Secrétaire général de la Colonie du Niger. En 1943, l'arrêté général n° 2781/IFAN du 3 août 1943 a rattaché es services locaux des archives et des bibliothèques aux centres locaux de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire. Au Niger l'arrêté local n° 122/APA du 21 octobre 1943 a été pris, par le Lieutenant-Gouverneur, Jean TOBY, pour rattacher au centre local IFAN les archives et les bibliothèques.

L'arrêté général du 3 août 1943 a été abrogé par celui du 9 juillet 1953, portant règlement général des archives en AOF. Il implantait un service central à Dakar et un service régional dans chaque chef-lieu de colonie. Ce texte mit également fin au rattachement des archives aux centres locaux de l'IFAN pour les colonies qui avaient des structures appropriées pour les prendre en charge.

Les Archives sont rattachées, depuis 1960, à la Présidence de la République. Le Niger indépendant n'ayant pas abrogé les textes en vigueur, à la date du 8 novembre 1960 (adoption de la Constitution), on peut considérer que le service des archives continue d'exister, bien que le décret n° 60-105/PCM du 31 mai 1960, portant organisation du Secrétariat général du Gouvernement (un des services de la Présidence), ne le mentionne nulle part. La réorganisation du Secrétariat général du Gouvernement intervenue le 17 septembre 1974 a prévu, entre autres, un service des archives chargé de conserver, de classer et de répertorier les archives du Niger, notamment, tous les textes législatifs et réglementaires et les dossiers devenus inutiles pour le fonctionnement courant de l'administration.

Ce service a été érigé en direction en 1988, sous le nom de la Direction des Archives nationales. Elle est l'organe de l'Etat compétent pour toutes les questions d'archives. Cette direction est structurée en dix divisions :

- la division scientifique des Archives ;
- la division technique des Archives ;
- la division régionale des Archives d'Agadez ;
- la division régionale des Archives de Dosso ;
- la division régionale des Archives de Diffa ;
- la division régionale des Archives de Maradi ;
- la division régionale des Archives de la Communauté urbaine de Niamey ;
- la division régionale des Archives de Tahoua ;
- la division régionale des Archives de Tillabéry ;
- la division régionale des Archives de Zinder.

Conformément au décret n° 2000-100/PRN/SGG du 7 avril 2000, la Direction des Archives nationales est chargée de :

- l'identification, la collecte, le classement et la conservation des documents de toute nature des différentes administrations de l'Etat, ainsi que ceux de tous les établissements publics de l'Etat ;
- la communication des documents conformément à la législation archivistique en vigueur ;
- la gestion d'un centre de documentation ouvert au public ;
- la gestion de la régie du dépôt légal ;
- la réception sous forme de dons ou de dépôts des archives des institutions ou personnes privées ;
- l'application des règles de gestion et de conservation des archives des services publics sur l'ensemble du territoire national.

Les Archives du Niger sont régies par la loi 97-021 du 30 juin 1997 et son décret d'application (n° 98-91/PRN/SGG du 6 avril 1998). Elles sont logées depuis octobre 1974 dans un bâtiment construit à cet effet. Il possède une capacité de stockage de 10 000 mètres linéaires d'archives. En 1995, une annexe a été construite dans le cadre du projet "laboratoire de microfilms". Ce bâtiment est destiné à abriter la Division technique des Archives nationales.

Le fonds constituant les archives sonores

La loi nigérienne 97-021 du 30 juin 1997, sur les archives stipule en son article premier : "les archives sont l'ensemble des documents, quels que soient leur date, leur forme et leur support matériel, produits ou reçus par toute personne physique ou morale, et par tout service ou organisme public ou privé, dans l'exercice de leurs activités". Cette définition permet de considérer qui sont du domaine des archives, non seulement les documents écrits – domaine traditionnel – mais aussi, les documents visuels (films), sonores (disques, bandes) etc.

Dans le cadre de ses activités, les Archives nationales ont reçu en 1977, le versement du fonds de la bibliothèque de l'Office de Radiodiffusion et Télévision du Niger (ORTN). Ces archives sonores produites par la Société de Radiodiffusion de la France d'Outre-Mer (SORAFOM) datent, pour la plupart, de la période coloniale. Elles sont constituées de 458 bandes magnétiques. Ces documents, issus de la tradition orale, traitent : de musique traditionnelle, d'histoire, de la chefferie traditionnelle, de religion, de politique, de légendes, du théâtre, de poésie etc.

Ils ont été consignés, à leur prise en charge, dans un registre spécifique où sont indiquées : la cote attribuée par les Archives, le numéro d'identification d'origine à l'ORTN, le contenu, le ou les narrateurs, les date et lieu d'enregistrement, la durée de la bande et sa vitesse. Les bandes sont conservées dans le même magasin que les autres fonds d'archives.

La Direction des Archives nationales a pris des mesures préventives pour créer un cadre favorable à leur conservation (bâtiment en béton, climatisation suffisante, filtres à air, vitres athermiques, dispositif de détection et d'extinction automatique d'incendie, traitement périodique pour combattre les termites et autres insectes nuisibles aux documents). Malgré tout, les conditions de conservation sont loin d'être bonnes. En effet, il est suggéré de conserver les bandes magnétiques et les films à une température constante (environ 18° centigrades), à une hygrométrie constante (40% environ) et à l'abri de la lumière et de la poussière. En outre, il est recommandé de recopier dès que possible et périodiquement, les enregistrements magnétiques originaux et de ne manipuler que les copies. Ces précautions sont presque impossibles à observer, faute de moyens matériels et financiers. De plus, la Direction ne dispose d'aucun appareil pour exploiter cette précieuse documentation.

Les fonds conservés à l'Institut de recherches en sciences humaines (IRSH)

Issu du centre IFAN (Institut Français d'Afrique Noire) créé en 1936 et du Centre Nigérien de Recherches en Sciences Humaines (CNRS) créé en 1964, l'Institut de Recherches en Sciences Humaines (IRSH) a été rattaché à l'Université Abdou Moumouni de Niamey par décret n° 74 108/PCMS/MEN/JS du 28 mai 1974, relatif à la création des Ecoles et Instituts de l'Université de Niamey.

L'IRSH effectue des travaux de recherches en sciences humaines et sociales, en particulier sur le Niger et l'Afrique. Il contribue notamment à la formation des chercheurs et étudiants en sciences humaines, en collaboration avec les autres institutions de l'université de Niamey et participe à l'effort national de sauvegarde et de revalorisation du patrimoine culturel nigérien. L'IRSH est composé de départements scientifiques, de services techniques et dispose d'un service administratif et financier.

Les départements scientifiques qui existent en ce moment sont :

- le département d'Art et d'Archéologie ;
- le département d'Histoire et des Traditions populaires ;
- le département des Langues Nationales et de Linguistique ;
- le département de Sociologie du Développement ;
- le département de Géographie et de l'Aménagement de l'Espace ;
- le département des Manuscrits arabes et ajamis.

Les services techniques sont au nombre de deux : le service de la documentation et le service de l'audiovisuel. L'IRSH dispose de deux bases de recherche dans les départements d'Agadez et de Maradi.

Dans le cadre de cette étude, nous nous sommes intéressés aux activités du département des manuscrits arabes et ajamis et du service de l'audiovisuel.

Le département des manuscrits arabes et ajamis

Il a pour attributions la collecte, le traitement et la conservation des manuscrits, l'établissement d'un fichier analytique bilingue (arabe-français) des manuscrits conservés dans le dépôt et l'encadrement des étudiants. Le département apporte son aide aux non arabisants dans l'exploitation des documents en arabe et la traduction des manuscrits représentatifs. Il réalise des études ponctuelles en islamologie en général et sur le Niger en particulier. Il possède un très riche fonds de manuscrits (environ 4000 à ce jour). Ces manuscrits proviennent non seulement de l'intérieur du Niger, mais aussi du sud algérien, du nord du Nigéria, du Mali et de la Mauritanie. On distingue deux types de manuscrits : ceux qui sont rédigés en arabe et ceux en ajami.

Les manuscrits arabes sont, soit des traités originaux composés par les intellectuels, soit des copies d'ouvrages destinées à l'enseignement. Certains ouvrages ont été écrits dans la langue maternelle des auteurs (Hawsa, Fulfudé, Tamacheq, etc.) La deuxième catégorie concerne les *ajamis*² qui sont le système de transcription des langues africaines par l'adoption de l'alphabet arabe. Cette catégorie de manuscrits nous informe sur la parfaite maîtrise de l'arabe par les lettrés africains.

Les documents sont enregistrés et catalogués. La notice bibliographique contient les éléments suivants : la cote, le nom de l'auteur, le titre, le domaine, la date d'édition, le nom du copiste, la date d'établissement de la copie, le nombre de volumes, la nature du support, la couleur de l'encre utilisée, la description du type de graphie (soudanais, maghrébin), le format du document (longueur et largeur), l'espace occupé par l'écriture, les commentaires en arabe, le nombre de feuillets, le nombre de lignes, les précisions sur la reliure et la couverture, la provenance du document, une note sur les cinq premières lignes (pour savoir si le document est complet ou incomplet), une note sur la fin du document, la date d'établissement de la copie, la précision du bailleur du fonds (documents souvent achetés grâce aux subventions de certaines institutions de la place), le nom du propriétaire du document, le village d'origine du propriétaire, un résumé du contenu du document et les remarques ou observations (bon état, mauvais état, document vocalisé, partiellement vocalisé etc.).

Ces manuscrits en arabe, dont les plus anciens remontent au 14^e siècle concernent les disciplines suivantes : l'histoire, la théologie musulmane, la mystique musulmane, la dissertation en jurisprudence musulmane, la littérature arabe, l'astrologie, la poésie religieuse en langues arabe et africaines, les sciences occultes, la pharmacopée, la médecine locale, la politique etc. Il existe d'autres manuscrits qui traitent de sujets très divers ce qui rend difficile leur classement thématique.

Constitué à l'origine par l'écrivain et homme politique Boubou Hama, ancien président de l'Assemblée nationale du Niger (1958-1974), ce fonds continue à s'enrichir actuellement, grâce à une politique active de collecte auprès des particuliers, menée par le directeur du département. Ces manuscrits constituent un patrimoine des plus précieux pour le Niger.

Le personnel est composé de six agents au 31 juillet 2003 : un chercheur, titulaire d'un doctorat, responsable du service, deux cadres titulaires d'une maîtrise en arabe et trois appelés du service civique national titulaires également d'une maîtrise. Ils assurent les travaux de catalogage, de traduction et d'informatisation du fonds documentaire.

Le dépôt construit par l'UNESCO comprend : une salle informatique, une salle réservée aux agents, le bureau du responsable du service et le magasin de conservation des documents. Un rayonnage en bois et 34 armoires métalliques permettent la conservation des manuscrits. La climatisation est assurée par cinq climatiseurs individuels. Le département dispose d'un micro-ordinateur, don de l'Ambassade de Libye. Il entretient des relations avec l'UNESCO, la Fondation islamique pour l'héritage et la culture islamique (basée à Londres) qui assure la publication des catalogues du fonds de l'Organisation Islamique pour l'Éducation, la Science et la Culture (ISESCO).

Les conditions de conservation de ces manuscrits sont déplorables et certains documents ont atteint un degré de dégradation avancée. Afin de sauver les originaux de la destruction, leur numérisation s'impose.

² Les manuscrits dit *ajamis* (de l'arabe *'ajami* 'étranger') sont écrits dans un système de transcription des langues africaines par l'adoption de l'alphabet arabe. Hormis quelques tentatives, c'est le système le plus usité en Afrique sud-saharienne pour transcrire les langues africaines avant l'irruption de l'alphabet latin par l'entremise du système colonial. (ndr)

Le service de l'audiovisuel

Il assure la production et la gestion des documents oraux. Ils sont relatifs à l'histoire et au mode de vie des populations du Niger et de certains pays voisins : traditions orales historiques: cérémonies d'intronisation des chefs traditionnels, chants religieux, récits et contes, films documentaires sur les fêtes traditionnelles du Niger et certaines manifestations du festival de la jeunesse, cultes de possession, musique traditionnelle, championnats de lutte traditionnelle et toute grande manifestation culturelle nationale.

Le dépôt d'une superficie de 40 m² contient actuellement près de 3000 bandes magnétiques. Une seule personne est affectée à la gestion du fonds. Le traitement des documents se limite à leur enregistrement. Le registre contient des informations sur les date et lieu d'enregistrement, l'auteur et le nombre de bandes. Sept armoires métalliques assurent la conservation du fonds.

Les conditions de conservation de ces documents sont déplorables ; le local est exigu et la climatisation défailante. Cependant, grâce au projet suisse Archives Sonores et Ressources Documentaires de la Tradition Orale (ARTO) géré par le CELHTO, les bandes sont actuellement reprises sur CD-ROM.

Le service dispose également de deux nagras pour la prise de son, d'un revox pour la lecture et le repiquage sur les CD-ROM et d'une mini-cassette pour le repiquage des bandes sur les cassettes.

Le projet Archives sonores et ressources documentaires de la tradition orale (ARTO) du CELHTO

Historique du CELHTO

La Conférence générale de l'UNESCO, réunie en sa 13^{ème} session en 1964 à Paris, a inclus, dans son programme prioritaire, le projet d'histoire générale de l'Afrique. Pour le mettre en œuvre, elle a décidé de lui consacrer, au cours de la période décennale de 1965 à 1975, toute une série d'activités dans le cadre de l'étude des cultures africaines.

Un comité interministériel d'experts s'est réuni à Abidjan du 31 août au 5 septembre 1966, pour examiner les problèmes scientifiques que pose la réalisation du projet d'histoire générale de l'Afrique. Le comité avait pour mandat de proposer les régions d'Afrique, les périodes et les thèmes sur lesquels devraient se concentrer les recherches et d'indiquer les travaux de recherche et de collecte des sources à poursuivre sur les régions ou les périodes pour lesquelles la documentation est moins abondante. Il a donné ainsi la priorité à toutes les activités concernant la collecte, la sauvegarde et la publication des sources historiques sous toutes les formes.

Conformément aux recommandations de la réunion d'Abidjan, l'UNESCO a organisé en 1967 deux réunions techniques, à Tombouctou en novembre 1967 pour les sources écrites et à Niamey en septembre 1967 pour les traditions orales. La réunion de Niamey a eu pour tâche d'examiner les questions de méthode relatives à la collecte, à la traduction, à l'analyse et à la conservation des données recueillies, ainsi qu'à la formation de spécialistes africains. Elle a, en outre, recommandé l'implantation, à Niamey, d'un centre régional de recherche et de documentation pour la tradition orale et l'organisation d'un stage de formation de techniciens africains dans le domaine de la tradition orale.

Sous l'impulsion du président Boubou Hama, le Centre de recherche et de documentation pour la tradition orale (CRDTO) de Niamey a été créé. Il a pour fonction de promouvoir la collecte, la conservation et la publication des traditions orales africaines dans le cadre des programmes régionaux établis en accord avec les États participants et approuvés par l'UNESCO. Du 29 juillet au 2 août 1968, s'est tenue à Ouagadougou, la réunion des experts sur la coordination et la planification de la collecte de la tradition orale. En décembre 1971, le centre de Niamey a été associé à la préparation de la réunion de Dar es Salaam (Tanzanie) au cours de laquelle a été formulé le plan décennal pour l'étude systématique de la tradition orale et des langues africaines

comme véhicules de culture. C'est durant cette réunion qu'a été soulignée l'urgence d'établir un centre régional de tradition orale pour chaque grande région en Afrique (Afrique occidentale, Afrique centrale, Afrique orientale, Afrique australe).

Le CRDTO a été intégré à l'organigramme de l'OUA en 1974 sous le nom de Centre d'Etudes linguistiques et historiques par tradition orale (CELHTO). Le centre est chargé d'affirmer l'identité africaine par des recherches linguistiques et historiques, de promouvoir l'utilisation des langues africaines dans les systèmes éducatifs et la communication socioprofessionnelle, de contribuer à la diffusion des sciences et techniques en langues africaines et de répertoire, classifier et analyser les grands textes oraux africains.

Le projet ARTO

Après les différents programmes de collecte et d'analyse des traditions orales et le plan décennal pour l'étude systématique de la tradition orale et des langues africaines, le CELHTO a mis en chantier un nouveau projet dénommé ARTO (Archives sonores et ressources documentaires de la tradition orale). Ce projet est chargé de la collecte, de l'archivage et de la diffusion des archives sonores. Il effectue également, l'enregistrement numérique sur CD-ROM des bandes magnétiques.

Les procédures sont les suivantes : les radios rurales enregistrent la tradition vivante et remplissent les bordereaux de collecte et d'archivage. Les coordonnateurs nationaux, en collaboration avec les membres locaux du réseau international des langues africaines et créoles (RILAC)³ écoutent les documents avant de les graver sur CD-ROM. Ils extraient un court échantillon sonore, complètent les bordereaux et envoient le disque et l'extrait sonore au centre sous-régional. Il existe deux centres sous-régionaux :

- Le centre régional de recherche et de documentation sur les traditions orales et pour le développement des langues africaines (CERDOTOLA)⁴ au Cameroun. Il conserve les CD-ROM du Cameroun, de la République centrafricaine et du Burundi.
- Le centre d'investigation et de documentation sur l'oralité de l'université de l'Océan indien (CIDLO)⁵ à Madagascar. Il conserve les CD-ROM des Comores, de Maurice et de Djibouti. Les centres sous-régionaux archivent les CD-ROM et envoient les bordereaux au CELHTO.

Le CELHTO introduit les bordereaux dans le catalogue des Archives sonores de la tradition orale. Il y a lieu de préciser que le CELHTO conserve les CD-ROM du Niger, du Sénégal, de la Guinée, du Mali, du Burkina Faso et du Bénin. Le projet est actuellement hébergé sur le site web du CELHTO. Une base de données a été constituée et mise à la disposition des chercheurs. Il faut préciser qu'en raison des droits liés à la propriété intellectuelle, seuls les courts morceaux, de chaque thème, sont accessibles sur le site. L'intégralité de l'information numérisée est gravée sur CD-ROM et conservée dans l'audiothèque du CELHTO.

Ce projet original a été conçu par des chercheurs et techniciens africains et européens. La mise en œuvre a été effectuée, grâce au soutien matériel de la Coopération suisse au développement à travers son mandataire, inter-média consultants S.A. (Berne). Le modèle expert ayant été mis au point, il reste à renforcer ce qui existe et à l'étendre à d'autres pays africains.

Un autre projet a vu le jour. Il s'agit du projet Numérisation de l'Oralité Enregistrée en Afrique (NOREA). Il concerne toute les données sonores, écritures ou en images, conservées dans les centres de recherche et les stations de radiodiffusion. Ces projets permettent de mieux préserver la mémoire des sociétés traditionnelles africaines.

³ Situé à la Direction des langues et de l'écrit à l'AIF, Paris, France.

⁴ Le siège se trouve à Yaoundé au Cameroun.

⁵ Le siège se trouve à Tananarive à Madagascar.

Conclusion

La connaissance du passé du peuple et de son pays est essentielle. On y parvient par l'étude de la tradition orale, les documents écrits anciens, mais aussi par l'archéologie. Science auxiliaire de l'histoire, l'archéologie permet de décrire le mode de vie, l'habitat, les outils, l'économie, l'art, parfois la religion ou le système politique des sociétés traditionnelles d'un pays. A ce titre, le département d'art et d'archéologie de l'IRSH en collaboration avec le Musée national participent à la préservation de la mémoire des sociétés traditionnelles nigériennes.

Si la conservation du patrimoine écrit et archéologique pose beaucoup moins de problèmes, ce n'est pas le cas des archives sonores qui sont périssables. Actuellement, il nous est impossible de connaître avec certitude la durée de vie de ces documents. Cependant, avec le nouveau projet NOREA initié par le CELHTO, des perspectives heureuses se profilent désormais à l'horizon pour la sauvegarde des archives sonores conservées dans les services d'archives et les instituts de recherches d'Afrique.

Idrissa Yansambou

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Human Rights, Oral History and Indigenous Peoples' Memory: The South African National Oral History Project and a Griqua People's Story

The oral word is a powerful political tool, hence oral literature has been increasingly used and manipulated as part of political rhetoric. ...orality permeates our daily lives.¹

The topic of this paper was prompted by an oral history initiative of the National Archives of South Africa that began about three years ago. This initiative of preserving twentieth century memories related to human rights issues is of concern, however, to not only a nation-building vision for contemporary South Africa but, in respect of the experience of the past by some communities, also linked to deliberations of the United Nations Working Group of Indigenous Populations (WGIP)² and in other forums about the right of humans to dignity.

Background to the NOHP

The origins of the Department of Arts and Culture sponsored National Oral History Project go back to the close of the twentieth century when the South African Cabinet mandated the Ministry with a specific task. It had to facilitate a process that would conceptualise and spearhead a national oral history programme, linked to the dissemination and management of historical information and knowledge critical to the restoration and sustenance of human dignity ravaged by colonialism and apartheid. A panel of experts was subsequently appointed to advise the Minister and his National Archives of South Africa (NASA) on the drafting of a comprehensive plan for what became known as the South African National Oral History Programme (NOHP) of which a traditional people's memory of the Beeswater relocation of the Western Cape Griqua under apartheid became an exciting project.

The rationale for the establishment and development of the NOHP were stated as follows:

- In South Africa, as a result of colonialism and apartheid there are gaps in the public knowledge, which are caused by deliberate omission of African knowledge, stories and philosophies from the mainstream of South Africa's body of knowledge;
- Such omission concerned various aspects of African and other disadvantaged experiences in politics, society, culture, gender issues, religion and the economy... inadequately represented;
- The retrieval and dissemination of oral history and oral tradition are vital to fill the gaps in the education system; and
- ... oral history will provide alternative narratives, fresh information and new insights into the study of history.³

Against the backdrop of the above rationale the Panel of Experts of the envisaged programme deliberated at length about a definition that could be applied to the notion of preserving in any of the country's national archive depots the memory of South African

¹ Russel H Kaschula (ed.), *African Oral Literature functions in contemporary contexts* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 2001), pp. xiii, xvi.

² A subsidiary of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, established in 1982, which in turn reports to the Commission on Human Rights, under the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

³ See National Oral History Programme final draft document, p.1

society in terms of oral tradition and history. Ultimately, there was consensus that for the purpose of the programme oral history was defined as the recording of oral memories by various means, including both oral traditions (history handed down from generation to generation) and oral testimonies (history which occurred during the informant's lifetime). In the conceptualization of this working definition due attention was initially not however given to the use of song and poetry by Africans as powerful tools of oral tradition and history as it manifests itself in the oral poets or imbongi. Traditionally, the latter act as special functionaries "die tot taak hebben die geschiedenis zorgvuldig in hun hoofd op te bergen en bij bepaalde gelegenheden te reciteren"⁴ who are duty bound to store conscientiously the history in their heads and to recite it at specific occasions.⁵

Regarding the NOHP process of prioritisation, target groups identified in this initiative were particularly those regarded as previously disadvantaged in terms of the new South African government's legislative terminology, which would include African traditional communities. One such a community almost forgotten in South Africa, but which has gained relative prominence in United Nations sponsored forums since the mid-nineties, is the Griqua People of the Le Fleur chieftainship.

Griqua traditional African identity in Indigenous World discourse

Interest in preserving Griqua memory as part of an African or Khoisan society gained prominence after 1994 as a result of former President Mandela's interest in their plight and their claim to represent the first indigenous people of the country. This interest of the nation's new political principals in the Griqua People after the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) had run its full course with the exclusion of the Griqua people also coincided with their sudden presence at and participation in debates of sessions at the United Nations WGIP in Geneva from 1996 onwards. There, they came to the realization that the Indigenous People's issue of Griqua identity in post-apartheid South Africa should rather be addressed within the context of the human rights issue in post-colonial Africa. Given the concept of indigenous peoples as developed over the past two decades through international discourse in politics, law and anthropology they, like the San of the Kalahari and the Nama of particularly the Richtersveld, learned to define themselves as an indigenous people in terms of the criteria of:

- first come: a people who are the descendants of those inhabiting an area at the time of the arrival of other groups;
- non-dominance: a people placed under a state structure with social and cultural characteristics alien to theirs, do not control the national government, and constitute a numerical minority;
- cultural difference: a people that has or have had, a traditional adaptation using resources and territories in
- ways that differ from the social and economic adaptation of the present majority; and
- self-ascription: a people who perceive themselves as different from the majority, and define themselves as indigenous.⁶

The extent to which the Griqua People and other Khoisan groups in southern Africa truly meet these criteria has indeed become a discourse of discontent and perhaps even more prevalent in South Africa with the passing of legislation pertaining to the promotion of traditional leadership and the establishment of a Commission for the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. Within the

⁴ whose role is to carefully store that past in their head and to recite at special functions
⁵ A. Trouwborst, 'Opgaan met orale tradities in Afrika' in *Afrika een sprekend verleden* (Utrecht University, Stadium Generale reeks 9407, no date), pp. 10-11
⁶ Sidsel Saugstad, *The Inconvenient Indigenous: Remote Area Development in Botswana, Donor Assistance, and the First People of the Kalihari* (Tromsø: The Nordic Africa Institute, 2001), p. 43

context of the above scenario and the central theme of this International Conference meeting here in Africa, a question relevant to this meeting and its parent body would be: What is CITRA's position on this contested concept within the modern nation-states conceptual framework of the UN?

Preserving the memory of an indigenous world in human rights context

Since the early 1980s the UN WGIP, consisting of five experts and hundreds of indigenous representatives with observer status though without formal consultative status, meets every July in Geneva to exchange information and ideas about developments pertaining to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms of traditional societies/indigenous peoples throughout the world. These deliberations, highlighting as they do human rights infringements of the dignity of indigenous populations/traditional societies, contributed in no small way to the UN General Assembly declaring December 1994 to December 2004 to be the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples. Up to now the main achievement of the Decade was the establishment in 2002 of a Permanent Forum on indigenous questions. Apart from the detailed record in the memory bank holdings of the UN Commission on Human Rights' in Geneva on indigenous peoples' issues (which include people's narration of human rights infringements⁷) much information on related issues in Africa and elsewhere can also be accessed through sources of the Copenhagen-based International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs.⁸

A related network system that has catered for a much broader audience over the past 20 years, is the Swiss-based Human Rights Information and Documentation Systems International (HURIDOCs), which represents a global network of organizations concerned with more effective ways of using information for the cause of human rights.⁹ HURIDOCs itself is neither, however, a documentation centre nor an archive and does therefore not collect information; rather it functions as a decentralized network through which organizations can handle and exchange information to their own requirements. It facilitates human rights documentation work by:

- developing tools and techniques for human rights monitoring and information handling (such as formats for the recording and exchange of information on documents and on human rights violations);
- organising training courses and workshops on human rights information handling in co-operation with organisations involved in the network; and
- providing advice and support on the establishment and maintenance of documentation centres and information systems.¹⁰

Since the majority of delegates here represent heritage institutions of member states of the UN, it might be telling to get an informed opinion on the scope of archival holdings of governmental sources in Africa itself and elsewhere on the UN WGIP memory since 1982 on human rights infringements.

⁷ See website <http://www.unhcr.ch/indigenous>
 Compare their Yearbooks that appear regularly, under the title, e.g. *The Indigenous World 2001/2002* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, date).
⁸ See website <http://www.huridocs.org/network>
⁹ There is an article on archives on their website, at <http://www.huridocs.org/memoryen.htm> and with regard to South Africa a paper of 1997, 'The use of Evsys for preparing a human rights database for presentation to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa' at <http://www.huridocs.org/mexicoen.htm>.

Preserving memory and the oral history discourse

Should an Archive have any oral history collections in whatever medium, they would essentially contain recordings of the spoken word and stories of others; the end-product of a dialogue in a field situation in which the narrator had the information the interviewer lacked.¹¹ They represent sources of a different kind from those with which the traditional archivist and western-trained scholar of history are familiar. The personal desires, needs, wants and emotions of both interviewers and interviewees, expressed in a dialogue, resonate through audible voices.

Apart from the above-mentioned imbongi, any society always has what the social anthropologist Trouwborst, who also worked in Jan Vansina's research area of Central Africa, calls 'de echte vertellers die meer en beter verhalen kunnen vertellen dan andere mensen.' (the true storytellers who can tell a story better than others).¹² From his research experience in Burundi, the concept of imigani (stories) is all encompassing notion that makes no distinction between the idea of history as past event and a true eventful story. Stories of past events particularly that involve royalty are uncritically accepted as truth. The concept of imigani contains a mixture of mythical elements with real historical elements and suggests a tendency in African thought that, according to Trouwborst:

... er in Afrika een sterke neiging bestond om aan historische gebeurtenisse geen uniek, eenmalig karakter toe te kennen. Men had een cyclische tijdsopvatting, dat ... bepaalde gebeurtenissen steeds weer volgens een cyclus, dus een vaste volgorde terugkeerden.¹³

Like with all other representations of tradition and history, the end product of the oral history dialogue is at most 'fragments of the past that happened; fragments of a past that possibly happened; and fragments of a past desired.'¹⁴ How sensitively, patiently and shrewdly the interviewer attended effectively to this truth-seeking dilemma is a challenge for the researcher in the archives to assess.

This third session of the Round Table is however a dialogue about finding ways of preserving a more Africanised account of traditional societies, and for encoding the African historical experience, internal to black experience, in narrative form; though doing this against a backdrop of resistance from, and scepticism of, Western traditional historians. For the post-structuralist David Coplan this echoes a perception of "a mistaken opposition of oral and written modes of representation and a "notion that Africans "think" differently from Europeans."¹⁵ He views it as the outcome of a confusion about styles of history with thought about history; and argues in favour of a re-interpretation of the differences between Western narrative history and the oral forms and manners in which Africans represent history, instead of trying to erase discursively an African historical construction of social memory.

A Griqua People's Story and the NOHP

The rest of this paper is devoted to a non-governmental perspective on the progress of the Beeswater Griqua relocation oral history project. It is a project about the displacement of a Griqua community near Namaqualand under the apartheid system of the mid-1960s and early 1980s. In real life they are the people about whom the sophisticated storyteller

¹¹ Sean Field, 'Oral histories: the art of the possible' in Kuschula, *African Oral Literature*, p. 249

¹² Trouwborst, 'Orale traditions', p. 11. (there seems to be in Africa a strong tendency not to attribute to historical events any singularly unique characteristics. There exists a cyclical notion of time, that ... certain events will occur again in accordance with a fixed cycle).

¹³ *ibid*

¹⁴ Compare Field, 'Oral histories', p. 253; Sarah Nuttal and Carli Coetzee (ed.), *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa* (Oxford University Press, no date)

¹⁵ David B Coplan, 'Orature, popular history and cultural memory in SeSotho' in Kuschula, *African Oral Literature*, p.268; see also Trouwborst, 'Orale traditions', p. 13

of the New York Times Book Review fame, Zoë Wicomb (whose parents lived at Beeswater), writes in her novel *David's Story* fictitiously about a landscape scene of 1922:

On the crest of the hill, the new Griqua trekkers saw before them the promised land of Beeswater rolling down from low hills in the west, hemmed in by the Soutrivier in the east, and in the distant south the gleam of Varsivier's white rocks. ... Here ... they descended into the plain where the Griquias of old once roamed¹⁶

The Beeswater Griqua Displacement or Relocation Oral History Project is fundamentally a community project with none of the participants, except for the facilitator/project leader HC Jatti Bredekamp, having had any formal training in history as discipline. Both, potential interviewers and their informants were directly affected in one way or another by the relocation of their families from Beeswater to The Craggs in the Tsitsikamma or the Griekwa Kamp in Vredendal near Namaqualand from the 1960s to the early eighties. A complicating sensitive factor the facilitator had to reckon with constantly was the legacy of deep divisions between the Kranshoek-Plettenberg Bay based AAS Le Fleur clan and Knysna-The Craggs based EMS Le Fleur clan of the Griquias.¹⁷

Conceptualising the Project

Most of the time devoted to a series of workshops, facilitated by the project leader himself, from August 2002 (when still at the University of the Western Cape) was used to conceptualise and plan implementation of the Beeswater Griekwa Hervestigings Mondelinge Geskiedenisprojek [Beeswater Griqua Relocation Oral History Project]. The first Workshop for the EMS Le Fleur faction of the Griquias was held in the Kranshoek Griqua National Conference Community Hall on the weekend of 31 August 2002 after extensive consultation with the Chief, Volks President Anthony Le Fleur of Knysna. Fifty-three Griquias attended this workshop, conducted in Afrikaans. Essentially, the methodology followed was in accord with that which I applied to the Roeland Street Prison Oral History Project workshops with NASA staff in Cape Town. Ironically, initially the less sophisticated Griqua participants in the workshops acquainted them somewhat easier than the civil service-minded Archives participants with an 'oral history' paradigm shift, which the two separate projects necessitated. For both interested groups the paradigm shift was explained at elementary level within the context of the guidelines of the Project as formulated in the Memorandum of Agreement with the Department of Arts and Culture. Considerable time was set aside to discuss the concept Beeswater Griqua community, which led to the following definition:

Those groups of people who had to trek in 1964 and the early 1970s away from the Beeswater conditions resulting from an oppressive settlement policy and were due to specific circumstances in accordance with the great plan of God relocated under command of their leader in the Knysna district to grow there into a better social position than that which they had left behind.

The first Workshop for the AAS Le Fleur faction of the Griquias was held in the Vredendal GNC Church and Community Hall on the weekend of 6 September 2002. As in the case of The Craggs Griquias, this could only happen after extensive consultation with Paramount Chief AAS Le Fleur II's Hoofman Cecil Le Fleur, Chairman of the Hoofmans Raad who is, unlike his Paramount Chief, based at Vredendal near the West Coast with the Project's target community. The seat of their Paramount is in Kranshoek near Plettenberg Bay.

¹⁶ Zoë Wicomb, *David's Story* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2000), p.91

¹⁷ See Henry Bredekamp, 'The dead bones of Adam Kok' in *Group Family Portraits South Africa*, edited by Annari van der Merwe and Paul Faber with Foreword by Nelson Mandela (Cape Town: Kwela Books-KIT Publishers, 2003), pp. 132-55

Thirty-eight Griquas, aligned to Paramount Chief AAS Le Fleur II, attended this workshop, conducted also in Afrikaans. Essentially, the methodology followed was in accord with that applied to the other Project workshops. For the AAS Le Fleur II Griquas the Beeswater Griekwa hervestigings-gemeenskap constituted:

Die Griekwawolk wat teen hul sin in die jaar 1981 as gevolg van die ontbreking van basiese geriewe na Vredendal-Noord moes verhuis om hervestig te word, onbewus dat die omstandighede sou verander.¹⁸

In accordance with this definition, the workshop groups discussed in similar fashion the methodological issues and practices addressed in the other oral history projects facilitated by Project Leader Bredekamp. After a follow-up workshop they were by the end of the first quarter more familiar with a workable structure for an oral history questionnaire and with ways and means of conducting interviews.

Implementation of the Project

In two subsequent workshops at The Craggs for the seven-member project team of that community in the first half of 2003, the focus was on progress and problems encountered in the implementation of the project. By July 2003 consensus was reached with the team about a revised time schedule and a date for the conclusion of the project. In early October the facilitator received from Chief AC Le Fleur a package containing:

- a historical paper, prepared by Edna de Waal, on the Beeswater Hervestigings Gemeenskap, entitled "So het onse loop uit Beeswater gelyk";
- five audio tape cassettes containing 20 interviews;
- twenty transcriptions of all the interviews on 65 single-spaced typed pages;
- a set of photos of all 20 interviewees
- a schedule of all adults and children, dead or alive, who were relocated; and
- a copy of the Treklid.

A video on the Project is being edited for the end of November 2003.

The Project Team aligned to the clan of Paramount Chief AAS Le Fleur II only started to gain momentum after a follow-up visit by me as project leader in early August 2003. Nonetheless, scores of potential informants still living in Vredendal had by then already been identified and with the assistance of Hoofman Le Fleur the implementation process was fast-tracked and should be concluded by end of November 2003.

Conclusion

A word of thanks to especially Ms Mandy Gilder of NASA for the opportunity granted to facilitate this Project. The firm leadership and assistance of Anthony C le Fleur is also highly appreciated and, equally, the goodwill and willingness of Cecil A Le Fleur in respect of his clan's cooperation in this unique oral history project. I remain confidently convinced that despite the setbacks of the past and present this project will come to full fruition before the end of this calendar year [2003].

Henry C Jatti Bredekamp

¹⁸ The Griqua nation who was moved to Vredendal North in 1981 against their wishes and unsuspecting that conditions [in the country] would change.

Archives and the African Renaissance: Recovering the Right to Human Dignity: The South Africa – Mali Project for Preserving the Medieval Manuscripts in Timbuktu

The respected British historian, Sir Hugh Trevor-Roper, wrote in the 1960s, when Africa was emerging from its colonial shackles,

"Perhaps, in the future there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none, or very little: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa."

Trevor-Roper claimed that history was "essentially a form of movement and purposive movement too". Working from this premise he elaborated his, quintessentially racist, argument that to ignore movement would be to "amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe..."

This is perhaps an extreme quotation, but it illustrates my thesis that colonialism sought specifically to devalue, to denigrate and to deny African culture, African history and African indigenous knowledge.

Closer to home in mid-20th Century southern Africa, the white government of the then Rhodesia (the Republic of Zimbabwe since 1980) went to elaborate efforts to fabricate a mythological explanation involving Indians, Arabs, King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, for the ruined city of Great Zimbabwe, rather than accept the plain truth that it was the product of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. In South Africa, from the 1940s to the 1990s, the apartheid government, and one of its leading universities, suppressed all efforts to research and publicise the truth about the ruined civilisation of Mapungubwe in what is now Limpopo Province.

The converse is true: Africans have recorded their thoughts and emotions in verse, rock art and writing for many centuries, long before the impact of colonialism. Colonists were often frightened and awed by the rich cultures that confronted them and this led to the denial or denigration of indigenous learning and self-expression during the colonial era.

Thus the ancient city of Timbuktu in Mali became a place of myth – defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as "a very remote place". Yet Timbuktu was the centre of an ancient culture, of great architecture and a flourishing school of religion, scholarship, trade and learning. Situated on the northern bank of the Niger River, Timbuktu was a great centre of the Trans-Saharan trade with camel caravans bringing salt from the north taking gold from the south.

The famous medieval writer Leo Africanus wrote in the 1500s:

"In Timbuktu there are numerous judges, scholars and priests, all well paid by the king. Many manuscript books coming from Barbary are sold. Such sales are more profitable than any other goods".

The famous Timbuktu mosques are now World Heritage sites. The Sankore Mosque was once home to a university as old and distinguished as Oxford and in this environment flourished generations of great scholars: theologians, jurists, teachers, scientific observers and historians.

Perhaps the greatest of them all was Ahmed Baba. He had a famous library in Timbuktu and when he was captured by a Moroccan army in 1593, his library was taken

to Morocco with him. Ahmed Baba longed for his home and penned this exquisite poetic verse:

O traveller to Gao, turn off to my city,
Murmur my name there and greet all my dear ones,
With scented salams from an exile who longs
For his homeland and neighbours, companions, and friends

The Ahmed Baba Research Institute in Timbuktu (known variously by the acronyms of CEDRAB or IHERI-AB) now collects and preserves the precious manuscripts kept for generations in mosques, places of learning and family homes. The medieval Arabic manuscripts in Timbuktu are, without any doubt, among the most important cultural treasures in Africa. They form part of a rich and diverse cultural heritage that includes the historic mosques and architecture and cultural traditions of the city. As it contains several World Heritage sites, Timbuktu is recognised as a city of global cultural significance.

Background to the project

In November 2001 South African President Thabo Mbeki, visited Timbuktu and paused at the Ahmed Baba Centre. He marvelled at the treasure trove of manuscripts and drew inspiration from the scholarship and the dedication of the workers at the centre. Realising the profound importance of this centre for the concept of the African Renaissance, President Mbeki pledged the support of South Africa for the struggle to conserve the manuscripts and to rebuild and extend the library.

The centre's collection is a record of lively and extensive literary activity. It is real evidence of African scholarship, of Africans reading and writing, and at extremely high levels of sophistication as well, and centuries before colonialism. The contents of the manuscripts range from handwritten copies of the Koran, to religious commentaries, family genealogies and histories, commercial records, geographical, climatic, mathematical, scientific and even astronomic information. Given the shortage of paper in Timbuktu, the core contents of a manuscript may be verses from the Koran, but the marginal notes may contain the information of cultural, scientific and cultural value.

The purpose of this paper is to describe an African archival and manuscript project that gives the lie to the mythologies of colonialism and apartheid. Africa has a history, a proud and a learned history and it is a privilege to be working on a joint project between South Africa and Mali to preserve and celebrate that history.

The institutions in South Africa that are working together on the project are the National Archives of South Africa (and its parent ministry, the Department of Arts and Culture); the National Library of South Africa; the Library of Parliament; the Development Bank of South Africa and the Presidency itself.

In August 2002, the Minister in the South African Presidency, Minister Essop Pahad, and the Malian Minister of Foreign Affairs, signed an agreement expressing the two countries' commitment to undertake a government-to-government project aimed at conserving the manuscripts at the Ahmed Baba Institute and at rebuilding the library and archival infrastructure of the Institute.

Also, during 2002 preparatory work for the establishment of a Trust Fund was undertaken and a detailed plan of operation was prepared.

Financial support is now being sought for the implementation of this plan.

Mission

- To collaborate with the Government of Mali and with other stakeholders and role-players in preserving, cataloguing and appropriately and securely housing the documentary heritage at the Ahmed Baba Institute (IHERI-AB) in Timbuktu.

Objectives

- To assist with the conservation of the historic manuscripts of Timbuktu through the provision of training, technical support and the mutual development of conservation facilities.
- To provide training opportunities for Malian conservators and heritage professionals at appropriate South African institutions and facilities.
- To upgrade and develop the infrastructure at IHERI-AB so that the manuscripts can be preserved in secure and environmentally sound conditions.
- To assist with the identification, collection and cataloguing of the manuscripts at IHERI-AB.
- To promote knowledge of the Malian heritage in general, and the Timbuktu manuscripts in particular, in South Africa and internationally.
- To involve civil society (especially those elements with business interests in Mali and West Africa) in the project.

Outputs

- Output 1:* Provision of technical training in South Africa for Malian conservators.
Output 2: Cataloguing and other fieldwork and implementation of training in Mali.
Output 3: Design and construction of new building for the Institute.
Output 4: Promotion of public understanding of the Heritage of the manuscripts in South Africa, across Africa and globally.

Activities

Output 1 : Provision of technical training (6 – 8 weeks)

1. Arrange travel, accommodation and logistics
2. Orientation and English - familiarisation course
3. Training programme National Archives
4. Tour of other institutions
5. Return to Mali

Course repeated twice (2 groups : 2 at a time)

Output 2 : Cataloguing and other fieldwork and implementation of training in Mali

1. Arrange travel, accommodation and logistics.
2. Undertake preliminary planning in Bamako
3. Fieldwork and practical application of training at Ahmed Baba Institute
4. Development of cataloguing system in consultation with Malian and international experts

Output 3 : Design and construction of new building

1. Preliminary investigations and needs analysis
2. Concept designs and costing

3. Approval by stakeholders and governments
4. Fund raising
5. Follow procurement and tender processes
6. Select architect and technical teams
7. Construct building

Output 4 : Promotion of public understanding

1. Public launch of project: Africa Day 2003; South Africa
2. Awareness and fund raising campaigns – on-going 2003
3. International conference – Cape Town 2004
4. Publication of catalogues and scholarly texts 2004/2005
5. Production of film and TV documentaries 2004/2005
6. Youth exchange programme 2005/2006

Institutional arrangements

The South African side of the project is directed by an Interministerial Committee supported by a technical implementation team and a project manager. The lead department is the Department of Arts and Culture.

The funding for activities in Mali, e.g. design and construction, infrastructure, fieldwork, provision of equipment and materials, is derived from a Trust Fund which is administered by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA). The DBSA is a regional development finance institution and is legally established in terms of the DBSA Act (Act No. 13 of 1997) and its sole shareholder is the Government of South Africa through the South African National Treasury. While maintaining its own financial sustainability through prudent banking practices, its financial and technical involvement in infrastructure programmes and projects cements the sustainable application of resources to foster development impact and improve the lives of people.

The Ahmed Baba Institute is a part of the Malian Ministry of Education. Mali is represented on the technical team by an official from its Embassy in Pretoria, and by representatives of the Ministry of Education in Bamako.

Resource mobilisation strategy

The project is designed to achieve its objectives transparently, timeously and cost-effectively. To this end sponsorship and support via the Trust Fund is being sought from South African civil society and the business community as well as from foreign donors contacted on the initiative of the Presidency. The Presidency is also using its influence to mobilise support from multi-lateral organisations within Africa and internationally.

Given the increasing involvement of South African businesses and mining enterprises in Mali, they are being particularly targeted as potential supporters of the project. The Muslim community in South Africa, through its community organisations and media, has expressed great interest in the project and provided both material and moral support.

The Department of Arts and Culture is responsible for costs of training in South Africa and for the administrative costs of the South African technical teams.

Budget

The budget, expressed in South African Rands is enclosed as Annex A (Note seven South African Rands are the equivalent of approximately one US Dollar). The estimated total budget, expressed in US dollars is approximately \$5 232 143.00

Current developments

The National Archives of South Africa and its partners provided first phase training in basic conservation techniques in South Africa for four conservators from IHERI-AB during 2003. Two field trips have been made to Timbuktu and materials for conservation have been supplied to the centre. Further training and field trips are planned for 2004.

The fund raising committee of the Trust Fund is engaged with fund raising activities in South Africa to enable the reconstruction of the library to go ahead. Presently, a concept plan has been drawn by a South African architect who visited Timbuktu during one of the field trips, but progress in this regard is dependent on the raising of sufficient funds.

However, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), the main development agency of the African Union has adopted this project as its first NEPAD cultural project. NEPAD leverages international donor funding and is therefore well placed to obtain the level of funding needed to successfully complete the project.

There has also been considerable international involvement with IHERI-AB and presently a UNESCO-funded conservation project is being project-managed by the University of Bergen in Norway. One of the plans is that NEPAD will arrange a conference so that better co-ordination can be achieved between the various projects.

Conclusion

Why are we as South Africans drawn to this place? There is really something almost mystical about Timbuktu and there is something awe-inspiring about the manuscripts. All Africans must work together to share and guard our precious cultural heritage. This is the beginning of the African Century and let us all take hands to declare to the world our pride in our culture, our learning and our heritage.

Graham Dominy

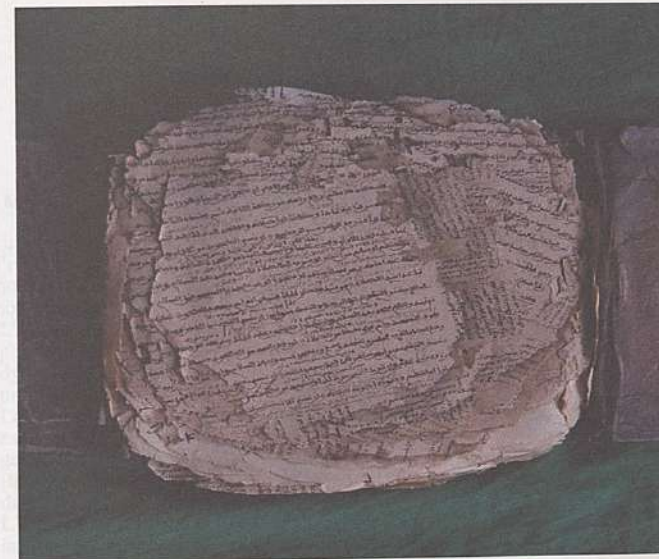
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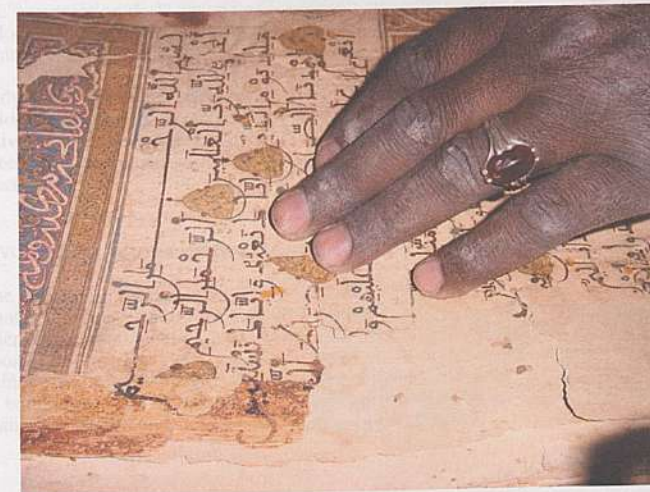
Annex A

South Africa – Mali Joint Project: Timbuktu Manuscripts: Overall Budget 2002 – 2006

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	TOTAL
Output 1 Technical Training – Conservation and Digitisation	525 000	600 000	700 000	900 000	900 000	3 625 000
Output 2 Cataloguing and Con- servation Field Work	350 000	1 000 000	1 000 000	800 000	700 000	3 850 000
Output 3 Design and Construc- tion of Ahmed Baba Institute	5 000 000	5 000 000	5 000 000	5 000 000	5 000 000	25 000 000
Output 4 Promotion of Public Awareness – Education and Research	650 000	750 000	850 000	900 000	1 000 000	4 150 000
TOTAL	6 525 000	7 350 000	7 550 000	7 600 000	7 600 000	36 625 000



Example of deteriorated manuscript



Example of illuminated manuscript

Illustrations are courtesy of Alexio Motsi, National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria