

The International Scene

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The International Scene department is a forum for short substantive pieces on archival practices and issues in foreign settings. Particularly welcome are papers that illustrate archival practices or thinking that is not characteristic of the American archival scene. Articles by foreign archivists focusing on significant and innovative programs, projects, and activities in their institutions; observations of American archivists abroad; and commentaries by foreign archivists examining American archival practice and theory are of interest.

Occasionally International Scene will feature abstracts from foreign archival journals. The coeditors welcome inquiries from readers interested in preparing such abstracts.

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Archives in Emerging Nations: The Anglophone Experience

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This article outlines the archival experience in the English-speaking countries of Africa and the Caribbean. These regions were selected for detailed study as the first stage of an ongoing research project on the development of archives in the third world. The experience of non-British, European colonies has been different, at least histor-

ically speaking. The French, for instance, had a relatively efficient archival system in place somewhat earlier. Furthermore, the anglophone experience often presents a complicated picture of its own, based on cultural and political differences between individual nations and from region to region. The comparable economic predica-

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ment and political struggles of emerging nations today perhaps blur some of these differences. While future research will explore the archival experience in its full complexity, this article presents an overview of common trends and developments in anglophone countries. At appropriate points the nonanglophone experience is included to provide essential context.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the condition of official records in the British colonies was at best indifferent; more often than not, it was appalling. Despite some good intentions, the officials responsible for records administration—governors, colonial secretaries, department heads (there were no full-time professional archivists as such)—by and large failed dismally to live up to their responsibilities.

A number of factors help explain this situation. Hostile natural elements made it difficult to implement adequate storage and preservation programs. There was from time to time a degree of apathy or inertia among colonial civil servants, many of whom were posted to remote territories where they would rather not have been. Lack of constitutional continuity, resulting from the frequent transferral of territories between the colonial powers, caused the dispersion or loss of records. Finally, the growing complexity of colonial government operations created a boom in the quantity of records generated, confusing civil servants sometimes to the point of desperation. In one extreme case a governor was known to have routinely pitched great quantities of records into the ocean.¹

By the early 1900s it became apparent that such a state of affairs, if permitted to

go on indefinitely, would have devastating consequences for both administrative efficiency and the historic record. Those responsible for and interested in archives began to take action. Some civil servants in British territories asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies to intervene. As a result, colonial records became an item on the agenda of the Royal Commission on Public Records. In a report published in 1914, the commission addressed the question of colonial records but offered only general suggestions.² The commission's investigators expressed guarded optimism, noting that there was a widespread feeling among civil servants that inadequate funding rather than negligence or climate had been the prime culprit and that no major or long-term changes would occur without more money. Neither local officials nor colonial office bureaucrats and politicians, however, were prepared to make the necessary financial commitment.

The situation was alleviated somewhat by moral support from the scholarly community, historians in particular. Historians from metropolitan countries such as Britain and the United States had often been frustrated in their attempt to locate archival material essential to their work on colonial topics. On-site research trips revealed that records were too fragile to be used, not readily accessible, or had simply disappeared. In order to ensure the survival of important resources, historians undertook their own campaign.

Initially this involved publicizing the problem in the journal literature.³ Efforts were soon made, however, to seek more tangible support from foundations, univer-

¹This incident took place in Barbados in the nineteenth century, as reported by Richard Pares, "Public Records in British West India Islands," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 7 (February 1930): 149–57.

²*Second Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records Appointed to Inquire Into and Report on the State of the Public Records and Local Records of a Public Nature of England and Wales* (London: H.M.S.O., 1914), vol. 2, pts. 1, 2 (Appendixes).

³One of the earliest commentaries was by Charles H. Hull, professor at Cornell University, whose "Note on West India Records" was reprinted in the *Second Report of the Royal Commission*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 116B. For a more recent example, still from the colonial period, see Freda Wolfson, "Historical Records on the Gold Coast," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 24 (November 1951): 182–86.

sities, and research institutes. An early, successful example was a grant from the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the 1920s financing the survey and publication of a guide to West Indian archives.⁴ Since funding at that level was not common, historians who wished to help often resorted to volunteering their services. One interesting case involved Agnes Butterfield, a constitutional historian, who offered in the early 1930s to describe and arrange the records of the Supreme Court, Chancery, and Vice-Admiralty Courts of Jamaica. Butterfield's published report is punctuated by impatient asides—for instance, about how it took her and her “garden boy” six weeks of “the hottest, dirtiest, and most evil-smelling” work just to clear a space in the records room.⁵

Though such attentiveness on the part of historians was commendable, a firm archival commitment from local government was required before real progress could occur. A desire for change was certainly in evidence; by the 1930s, in fact, government circulars reflected quite sophisticated thinking about the need for appraisal strategies for current records as well as preservation programs for those of enduring value.⁶ Governments continued to be unwilling to provide money or trained personnel, however, so autonomous archival programs were ruled out. As an alternative,

government administrators considered offers from librarians in the well-established local library systems to help care for official records of obvious historical importance.⁷ The rationale was that since records were a part of the cultural heritage, and the library's mandate was specifically to preserve that heritage, the library was an appropriate repository for them. Of course, this strategy could only accommodate a small percentage of the records that needed to be saved, and it did not take into account either the inexperience of librarians in dealing with nonbook materials or the appraisal and records management issues which, by that time, were beginning to assume massive proportions. Records control through libraries could not provide a long-term solution, nor was it intended to do so. Rather, it represented a workable stopgap to ensure minimal control until those who manipulated the purse strings recognized the need for a comprehensive and autonomous records system.

This recognition did not take place until well into the 1940s and 1950s when nationalist sentiment, fueled by the desire for self-sufficiency and self-identity, began to undermine the colonial system. Populaces faced approaching statehood from two perspectives—a commitment to transform the society as rapidly as possible so that the new nation would become a viable addition

⁴Herbert C. Bell, David W. Parker, et al., *Guide to British West Indian Archive Materials, in London and in the Islands, for the History of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926).

⁵Agnes Butterfield, “Notes on the Records of the Supreme Court, the Chancery, and the Vice-Admiralty Courts of Jamaica,” *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research* 16 (November 1938): 88–99.

⁶Circular dispatches dated 9 March 1914, 2 January 1929, and 16 October 1936 went out from the prime minister's office to the colonies and protectorates, and were acted on by local authorities notably in Mauritius and Ceylon. The circulars are reproduced and discussed in “Documents of Historical Value to ECARBICA Archivists,” *ECARBICA Journal* 9 (October 1983): 78–83.

⁷This was the case in Jamaica, for instance, when in 1940 government records were passed to the custody of the Institute of Jamaica, a major library and research center for West Indian studies; see Clinton V. Black, “Jenkinson and Jamaica,” in Albert E. J. Hollaender, ed., *Essays in Memory of Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (Chichester, Sussex: Moore and Tillyer, 1962), 160; and Hilary Jenkinson, *A Report on the Archives of Jamaica* (Kingston: Government Printer, 1957), 1. Another example was in Southern Rhodesia, where the librarian of Bulawayo Public Library offered his assistance in 1923; see V. W. Hiller, *Central African Archives in Retrospect and Prospect* (Salisbury: Central African Archives, 1947), 7. In the late 1940s the archives of Sudan were transferred to the University College of Khartoum; see E. A. Daw El Beit, “The Development of Sudan's Central Records Office,” *ECARBICA Journal* 1 (September 1973): 91.

to the modern world, and a desire to explore precolonial roots, to forget the immediate past and look further backward in time for a sense of ancient, basic origins.⁸ At times there was a tension between these two perspectives. But one thing they had in common was the centrality of records as a means of implementing practical goals while exploring and defining a range of human and cultural experiences.

As new states emerged, so too did new, vibrant archival programs. The political climate was ripe for creating a broad public awareness of the value of records. Some leaders perceived records as a key to preserving and in some cases recreating a cultural identity, and to developing mechanisms to facilitate social, political, and economic progress. Léopold Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, formerly a French colony, later summarized in a public forum what many people were feeling at the time:

...aside from the fact that Africa is an old continent, where numerous recent discoveries attest to a human presence stretching back to antiquity, aside from the fact that the first form of writing was invented there and that the colonizers, such as those who spread the religions of the Book, left many writings there which have become—among other things—our historical sources, the fact that we are also new countries, countries that have

recently taken their place as full partners in the modern world, imposes upon us the obligation to maintain well-ordered and efficient archives.

Attention to organization and method has long taught me that beyond the contribution they make to the cultural heritage of the country, properly established archives, arranged systematically and used to advantage, are a precious instrument for administration in general and for the administration of development in particular.⁹

A new generation of indigenous archivists and historians—Kenneth Dike of Nigeria, Jeremias Akita of Ghana, Clinton Black of Jamaica, among others—pioneered efforts to assist in the process. They succeeded the Butterfields and other earlier foreign historians and civil servants who lacked sound archival rationale, means, and commitment. In certain instances there was an interim period when the governments of newly independent nations, at a loss for how to proceed over the short term, hired foreign specialists, or “visiting archivists,” to put systems in place.¹⁰ This was the case in Kenya and Tanganyika, which with financial support from Unesco acquired the services of British archivists temporarily released from their home institutions. Such arrangements generally lasted two or three years while local or indigenous

⁸These complementary sentiments were a major preoccupation particularly of writers in the popular press in the period leading up to independence. See, for example, relevant issues of the Ghana *Daily Graphic*: “Okro Adjei Traces Ghana from Self-Government to Date,” 5 February 1949; Moses Danquah, “Our National Museum: It Keeps Us in Touch with Our Own Past” and “Our National Museum: It Will Help to Shape Our Own Destiny,” 27 and 28 February 1956. Danquah and others were fascinated by the dual responsibility of “governance” and “culture.” See also Ali A. Mazrui, *Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1972); and M. Manyeli, “The Role of Archives in a Developing Country,” *ECARBICA Journal* 6 (October 1983): 63–67.

⁹Léopold Sedar Senghor, “International Archival Development Fund, International Council on Archives: Preface,” quoted in “Report on Archives in St. Lucia: With Recommendations for Their Control and Preservation Submitted By the St. Lucia Archaeological and Historical Society in its Capacity as Preserver of Records,” rev. ed. (St. Lucia, 1977), full text of unpublished manuscript found in National Archives Library, Washington, D.C.

¹⁰Derek Charman and Michael Cook, “The Archive Services of East Africa,” *Archives* 8 (October 1967): 70–80.

personnel were being prepared to assume permanent responsibility. Subsequent staff-development projects were funded periodically by the British Overseas Development Administration and the British Council.

The new group of indigenous archivist-historians had two major types of sources on which to draw. One comprised the records and records system of the colonial power, the other reflected precolonial heritages and involved traditions that were oral, artifactual, and pictorial.

With few exceptions, the usefulness of the first source in tackling immediate socioeconomic problems, and in planning long-term national development and international relations, was well recognized. Colonial records also became an important resource in writing national history.

The second source had more tentative beginnings. Under colonialism, with its denial of the importance of documenting the lives of indigenous peoples, these traditions had not been recognized as having anything approaching the importance of written records. But by the 1950s, oral tradition had become more respected and was collected by mainstream historians and anthropologists such as Jan Vansina, who did field work in Rwanda-Burundi.¹¹ Still, archivists in the new nations were slow to become involved with oral documentation, both because they were already overwhelmed by written records and because they were undecided about the actual extent of their mandate as preservers of the cul-

tural heritage. Since the 1960s, however, there has been some integration of recording of oral history into archival programs. Archivists at the Tanzanian and Zimbabwean national archives have succeeded in attracting Ford Foundation funding to record and translate interviews. More recently, African oral historians have been employed by archival institutions to document tribal history and migration. Generally, though, oral history programs are not a part of permanent archival budgets in developing nations. For the most part, these programs remain the domain of historians and other scholars interested in specialist or alternate forms of documentation.¹²

Colonial and precolonial sources helped capture people's imagination and gave archivists and archival programs a valid *raison d'être*. But archival development did not progress uniformly. While programs did indeed get underway in earnest in the first years following independence, they were unable to maintain the same momentum for long. The 1970s and early 1980s, in particular, were lean years. A worldwide recession, caused in part by oil shortages and high interest rates, combined with internal strife to create in many countries a climate of uncertainty and stringency. Archival programs came to be viewed by some as luxuries that nations could do without, or sustain on a minimal level. Few people were prepared to argue for retention or expansion of programs that did not produce immediate practical benefits. Urgent needs,

¹¹See Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), and "Recording the Oral History of the Bakuba. Part I. Methods," *Journal of African History* 2 (1960): 43-51.

¹²Oral history programs and methodologies relevant to developing countries are outlined, for instance, in G. N. Usoigwe, "Recording the Oral History of Africa: Reflections from Field Experiences in Bunyoro," *African Studies Review* 16 (September 1973): 183-201; Angeline S. Kamba, "Oral History Programmes," *Report of the Director of National Archives [of Zimbabwe] for the Year 1983* (Harare, 1983), 7-9; William W. Moss and Peter C. Mazikana, *Archives, Oral History and Oral Tradition: A RAMP Study* (Paris: Unesco, 1986); Olive Lewin, "The Jamaican Memory Bank: A Crusade for Traditional Knowledge" (Unpublished paper presented at a Social History Workshop, 8-9 November 1985); Laura Tanna, "Oral Heritage Preservation in Developing Countries: Focus Jamaica," Twentieth Annual Meeting, African Studies Association, Madison, Wis., 30 October -2 November 1986; and M. Oumar Kane, "Archives et traditions orales," *Archivum*, special vol. 1 (1976), Proceedings of the General Conference on the Planning of Archival Development in the Third World, Dakar, 28-31 January 1975.

such as food, housing, education, employment, and health care, had to be met first. Since available resources were inadequate to fulfill even these basic commitments, "luxury" programs such as archives were in danger of being underfunded or abandoned.

Many archivists, undaunted by these obstacles, have undertaken vigorous campaigns to inform the public of their existence, and the value of their work and programs. They intend to show their fellow citizens that an effective archives system is a vital component of any community—even, perhaps especially, one suffering under weighty economic and political burdens. This effort has been waged in an open and aggressive way in order to maximize visibility and sharpen the archivists' public profile. The campaign has focused on the role of archives in education and administration, two issues which have relevance for the new pragmatism required of countries struggling to survive in the modern world.

In most of these countries, education remains a priority in the expectation that a growing number of professionals will help solve national problems. Thus, governments tend to focus on establishing a system of general public education and sound preprofessional primary and secondary schooling. Archivists have consciously participated in this process by developing outreach programs—"to bring archives to

the people," in the words of one African archivist.¹³ They have given addresses on historical and archival topics at public gatherings of fraternal and social service organizations, put together special documentary exhibitions, prepared series of radio and other broadcasts to explain the role of archives, given interviews on prime-time television, published articles in the daily newspapers, spoken to school children and arranged for them to visit the archives, and assisted in developing school curricula. Archivists have stepped up efforts to reach their traditional scholarly audiences as well, encouraging university faculty groups and students to use primary sources.¹⁴

Archivists' rapport with the public at large, in fact, appears to be closer in developing countries than in many countries in Europe and North America. There is relatively more media attention and more exposure through the educational system. Whether this means that the average Zimbabwean understands the nature and function of archives better than, say, the average American is a difficult question to answer, but an interesting one nevertheless. It does seem apparent that archivists in developing countries, partly out of instincts of professional self-preservation, have assumed a more active and visible public role in their society than have many of their metropolitan counterparts.

This public role is nowhere more evident

¹³T. M. Lekaukau, "Budgeting and Financial Planning in a National Archives with Particular Reference to ECARBICA Region," *ECARBICA Journal* 6 (October 1983): 13; see also Ali Mazrui, "Archives and the Common Man," *ECARBICA Journal* 5 (1982): 4.

¹⁴Some archival outreach programs are described in British Records Association, *Five Years' Work in Librarianship* (Letchworth, Eng.: Garden City Press, 1958), esp. chap. 27, "Archives, 1948–1955," in which, for example, is described a traveling exhibit of historical records in Ghana. See also Clinton Black, *Our Archives: Six Broadcast Talks by the Government Archivist* (Kingston: Government Printer, 1962), a transcript of a series of addresses given on national radio. For publicity in the daily newspaper, see "Regulate Preservation of Records, Carib Archivists Urged," *Nassau Guardian*, 27 October 1979; "Les archives sont un instrument fondamental de culture," *L'Essor: La Voix du Peuple* (Mali), 23 November 1971; and "Conditions at National Archives Deployed," *People's Daily Graphic* (Ghana), 24 June 1985. The Archives of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas has published several brochures on subjects ranging from constitutional development to the pineapple industry (letter to authors from D. Gail Saunders, Director of Archives, Bahamas, 27 November 1985). For efforts to acquaint secondary school students and the rural population with archival programs in Zambia, see M. L. Mwewa, "National Archives of Zambia and the General Public," *ECARBICA Journal* 2 (December 1974): 6. Michael Cook, University Archivist, University of Liverpool, recalls being interviewed about archival issues on prime-time television in Kenya (letter to authors from Cook, 26 May 1987).

than in the archivists' argument that their mandate covers not only general cultural-educational matters but also a specific practical commitment to help the nation's administrative machinery run smoothly and to utilize archives in promoting economic development. Again, the argument was advanced during times of economic and political crisis in the 1970s when archival programs were threatened as a result of budget cutting in the civil service. Archivists stressed their role as managers of records. With support from professional associations such as the International Council on Archives (ICA) and from intergovernmental organizations such as Unesco and the Organization of American States (OAS), arrangements were made for consultants to conduct on-site evaluations.¹⁵ These consultants recommended, among other things, establishment of firm guidelines for records management in order to subject inactive records to a planned, continuing review and ensure their disposal, thereby releasing prime government-owned and leased office space and reducing the amount of expensive

equipment needed to store records. It was a compelling argument that suggested to practically oriented political leaders the need for expanding rather than cutting back archival programs.

This positive, in some cases highly favorable, atmosphere gave archivists the opportunity to participate in the legislative process by framing national archives bills for discussion and possible implementation. Such a process usually takes several years, and many countries have yet to give their archivists a clear mandate. In a very few cases legislation has been passed, and archival staffs and budgets have been increased to accommodate the new concept of the archival program and its eminently cost-effective goals. But the process itself often has been as important as the result, providing a chance for archivists to further acquaint legislators, civil servants, and the public at large with the potential significance of the role of archives in society.¹⁶

Archivists have taken their practical role one step further. By identifying and providing background data and information to

¹⁵Among the numerous published reports resulting from archival missions sponsored by Unesco are Jacques d'Orléans, *Côte d'Ivoire: réorganisation et développement des archives* (Paris, 1972); Michael Roper, *Republic of Malawi: Development of the National Archives* (Paris, 1979); Alfred W. Mabbs, *Ethiopia: The National Archives* (Paris, 1982); and Evert Van Laar, *The Status of Archives and Records Management Systems and Services in African Member States* (Paris, [1985]). An unpublished report out of the Office of the Prime Minister of Jamaica, "Jamaica Archives: Review of Organization, Systems and Procedures," October 1980, refers to the recommendations made in 1979 by an OAS consultant, Tom Wadlow, for establishing modern records management practices on a governmentwide basis. The archives of the ICA in Paris contain ample documentation, both published and unpublished, of various efforts undertaken by that organization to assist in archival development. The authors are grateful to Charles Kecskeméti, ICA General Secretary, for granting them access to this material in September 1986.

¹⁶Archival legislation has a long, though not always successful, history in many colonies, including an Archives Building Act (1744) and a Records Law (1879) in Jamaica, neither of which was fully implemented. More recent legislative efforts are documented in "The Archives Act [of Jamaica], 1982," No. 20-1982; "The Public Archives Bill," *Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates*, 8 November 1955, p. 234, and "The National Archives Act," chap. 268, *Laws of Zambia* (1969). In 1985 Angeline S. Kamba, Director of the National Archives of Zimbabwe, was working in cooperation with the solicitor general on new legislation focusing on the issue of records management (interview with Kamba, Austin, Texas, October 1985). At the time, Nigeria was also in the process of passing legislation to address records management needs (interview in Austin, Texas, October 1985, with Akintunde Akinfemiwa, Assistant Director, Culture and Archives, Nigeria). A useful overview and summary is E. E. Burke, "Some Archival Legislation of the British Commonwealth," *American Archivist* 22 (July 1959): 275-96. See also Robert-Henri Bautier, "Principles of Legislation and Regulation," in Yves Pérotin, ed., *A Manual of Tropical Archivology* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1966): 33-58; the special archival legislation issues of *Archivum*, especially vols. 20 (Africa-Asia), 21 (America-Oceania), and 28 (Legislation since 1970); and Eric Ketelaar, *Archival and Records Management Legislation and Regulations: A RAMP Study with Guidelines* (Paris: Unesco, 1985).

government agencies, they have had an increasing impact on national economic planning and development. Feasibility studies, geological surveys, recommendations, and plans prepared by the former colonial powers have proven essential for newly recruited specialists to learn from earlier attempts and past failures. For example, accelerated dam construction in Madagascar was made possible because old departmental records had been retained and retrieved by archives staff. On the other hand, loss of records relating to highway building in Ghana cost an estimated one-half million dollars because work done before the loss had to be duplicated. Similarly, survey maps and title deeds in the custody of archivists have been useful in promoting agricultural development and land reform in the immediate postindependence period. Such materials, for example, were used to help Kenyans acquire large farms owned by non-Kenyans and to facilitate decolonization. Many older records have been exhibited as tourist attractions, especially in regions such as the Caribbean which rely heavily on tourism for foreign exchange revenue.¹⁷

These successes have been tempered by an awareness that expansion of the role of archives cannot take place overnight and must be supported by adjustments or sometimes overhauls of internal organization and activity. The most pressing internal problem is how to staff repositories with appropriate personnel. In the absence of local

training facilities in the colonies, the early pioneers in the profession were trained overseas, mainly in European institutions—University College, London and the British Public Record Office; École des Chartes and the Archives Nationales de France, Paris; and the Archivschule, Marburg and the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz. This was unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, the growing economic crisis of the early 1970s made governments unwilling to continue funding activities and programs that depleted scarce foreign exchange reserves. Second, the curricula in European training programs had limited relevance to local situations. Too much emphasis in the core requirements was placed on paleography, heraldry, and sigillography—subjects which may have been critical in an environment with strong medieval traditions, but which were clearly of little application in the modern colonial and postcolonial situation.¹⁸

With a commitment of technical assistance from the ICA and other organizations such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Unesco, emphasis shifted in the 1970s from foreign-oriented training to a pooling of available resources in the regions and the creation of local regional training facilities. African centers were established at the University of Dakar in 1971 (for French-speaking countries) and at the University of Ghana, Legon in 1975 (for English-speaking countries).¹⁹ Both programs were offered in connection with

¹⁷Wilfred I. Smith, "Archives in Developing Countries: A Contribution to National Development," *American Archivist* 35 (April 1972): 158; M. Musembi, "The Utilization of Archives in Development Planning," *ECAR-BICA Journal* 4 (June 1979): 2; letter to authors from D. Gail Saunders, 27 November 1985.

¹⁸Interview in Kingston, Jamaica, October 1985, with Clinton V. Black, Government Archivist, Jamaica Archives; letter to authors from J. M. Akita, Acting Head, Department of Library and Archival Studies, University of Ghana, 3 April 1986.

¹⁹Morris Rieger, "Archives in Developing Countries: The Regional Training Center Movement," *American Archivist* 35 (April 1972): 163–71; Michael Cook, "Professional Training: International Perspectives," *Archivaria*, no. 7 (Winter 1978): 28–40; Amadou Bousso, "University of Dakar School for Librarians, Archivists and Documentalists," *UNESCO Bulletin for Libraries* 27 (1973): 72–77, 107; *Centre régional de formation d'archivistes, Dakar: résultats et recommandations du projet* (Paris: Unesco, 1976); J. M. Akita, "Training and Status of the West African Archivist" (Unpublished paper presented at Second General Conference, WARBICA, Jos, Nigeria, November 1983).

existing schools of library science. This regional emphasis stemmed from an ICA policy, first articulated in the 1960s, to develop close-knit regional professional branches—CARBICA (Caribbean), ECARBICA (East and Central Africa), WARBICA (West Africa), among others—in the interest of better communication and more unified development for countries with similar traditions and problems.²⁰

More recently, developing nations have departed from the regional to a national training concept. This is partly attributable to the fact that Unesco/UNDP ended support in the late 1970s and early 1980s.²¹ The subsequent change to local control and sponsorship by the government of the host country, and the difficulty of attracting contributions from other countries in the region, meant that programs often came to be run for strictly local needs. In a larger context, the change may be accounted for by the transition from pan-Africanism to nationalism and by increasing political insularism elsewhere. But many archivists recognize that the current emphasis could encourage parochialism to the exclusion of participation and development on an international scale. They feel a major goal of the training programs should be to maintain

local standards on a level high enough to warrant international recognition. One of the ways they think this can be done is through staff exchanges with other countries in the region and with metropolitan institutions having well-developed archival programs.²²

Archival training is presently offered by the local university, in the few cases where programs have been developed and managed to survive, or through in-house training at the national archives. Universities generally offer two programs: a one-year graduate level course and a shorter certificate course. The syllabus of the advanced professional course typically covers records management, administrative history, archives administration (including conservation and reprography), and information sciences; the short-term course focuses on training technical staff in document repair or the scheduling tasks in records management. The in-house programs offer specialized training to staff who are often hired, without any previous archival experience, directly out of college or high school. Recently some European-based programs, for instance the program at the University College, London, have been revamped to include the particular concerns and needs of

²⁰An outline of the history of the regional branches is contained in Alfred Wagner, "The ICA: Catalyst of International Archival Cooperation and Promotion," *Archivaria*, no. 8 (Summer 1979): 115–26. The ICA archives document the development of regional branches through several series of correspondence, annual reports, and transcripts of seminars and conferences. The relationship between ICA and the branches is explored in a draft working paper by Charles Kecskeméti, "Relations Between I.C.A. and the Regional Branches," CE/77/9 ADD1, with responses from CARBICA, "Measures for Improving the Relations Between ICA and the Branches," CE/77/9 ADD2; James Moore [ECARBICA], "Comments of the Secretary-General on the Draft Working Paper for the Consideration of the Ad-Hoc Group Commissioned to Study the Relationship Between ICA and the Regional Branches," CE/77/9 ADD3; and SARBICA, "Draft Working Paper on Relations Between ICA and the Regional Branches," CE/77/9 ADD4.

²¹Bunmi Alegbeleye, "The Training of Archivists in West Africa: History and Trends," *American Archivist* 46 (Summer 1983): 319–20; Unesco, Executive Board Minutes, 113/EX/3, "Regional Training Centre for Archivists (Africa)," October 1979, Unesco Archives, Paris; "Outline of the Ghana Situation Submitted by Mr. J. M. Akita. . ." (Unpublished paper presented at Seminar on Cultural Documentation, Banjul, Gambia, June 1983); Steve S. Mwiyeriwa, "The Future of Archival Training in the ECARBICA Region," Zomba, 1984, ICA Archives. For recent efforts to establish national programs in Morocco and Tanzania, see Leyla Berrada and Marie-Edith Brejon de Lavergnée, "The School for Information Sciences at Rabat," *CAD Bulletin*, no. 17 (July 1986): 5–6; and Kjell-Olav Masdalen, "Archival Cooperation Tanzania-Norway," *ibid.*, 6–8.

²²Kamba and Saunders interviews in Austin, Texas, October 1985. See also S. O. Sowoolu, "Berlin Seminar on Strategies for Archival Development in the Third World," *International Journal of Archives* 1 (1980): 71–74.

archivists in developing countries. In 1984 Loughborough University of Technology in Loughborough, England, created a twelve-month M.A. course in archives and records management, primarily for students from such countries, with training in management principles, computer-produced finding aids, and conservation problems. But, again, for financial reasons it is not certain whether many countries will be able to take advantage of these programs.²³

It is not just the training itself but also the recruitment of suitable candidates for training that poses a difficult problem. As archivists are seldom given the equivalent recognition, salary, or status of other professionals in government service, there is little incentive for highly qualified individuals to enter the field. When they do enter, they rarely remain for long, and often use archival posts as stepping stones to better-paying positions in the government service. Even more commonly, archivists leave to enter private industry or other nongovernmental sectors of the economy where salary and status are more appealing. The result is high staff turnover.²⁴ Women have been able to take advantage of the lack of desirability of the archives profession and assume top administrative positions that ordinarily would have been closed to them. Among the directors of national archives

representing developing nations at the 1985 ICA Round Table meeting in Austin, Texas, almost one-half were women.²⁵

Another obstacle faced by archivists is the continuing damage caused in tropical countries by dampness, dust, heat, and insects. The training offered by foreign institutions in the past has not prepared archival staff to address this critical issue. Conservation problems either have not been treated at all or have been considered in the context of temperate climates; in fact, some archivists have applied techniques learned abroad and found that the difference in climatic conditions produced something other than the intended effect. Some techniques—for example, microfilming and lamination—are of course applicable and have resulted in saving much material that otherwise would have been lost. Difficulties arise, however, in obtaining supplies and relying on foreign technology. Even if elaborate humidity and temperature controls, air conditioning, fire protection, and preservation and reprographic services are initially affordable, long-term dependence on these systems can prove prohibitive because the local infrastructure often is unable to provide necessary maintenance, repairs, and parts. Research on preservation and attempts to seek unique, indigenous solutions also have been limited

²³Interview with Black, Kingston, Jamaica, 1985; letter to authors from Akita, 3 April 1986; M. H. Nassor to Charles Kecskeméti, 4 December 1976, ICA Archives. The status of training activities and initiatives in the regions is documented in several Unesco publications, e.g., Michael Cook, *Guidelines for Curriculum Development in Records Management and the Administration of Modern Archives: A RAMP Study* (Paris, 1982); *Caribbean Region: Training in Archives and Records Management* (Paris, 1983); *The Education and Training of Archivists: Status Report of Archival Training Programmes and Assessment of Manpower Needs* (Paris, 1979). For background and developments relating to European-based programs, see Edwin Welch, "Archival Education," *Archivaria*, no. 4 (Summer 1977): 49–59; Loughborough University of Technology, *Postgraduate Courses and Research 1984/85* (August 1983), esp. p. 79; and University College, London, School of Library, Archive and Information Studies, *MA in Overseas Studies*, pamphlet, January 1986.

²⁴Interview with Black; interview with J. M. Akita, Accra, Ghana, June 1984. See also Jacques d'Orléans, *The Status of Archivists in Relation to Other Information Professionals in the Public Service in Africa: A RAMP Study* (Paris: Unesco, 1985); and R. J. Kukubo, "The Future of the Archives Profession in East and Central Africa Reassessed," *ECARBICA Journal* 3 (April 1977): 30–42.

²⁵Interviews in Austin, Texas, October 1985, with Saunders; the late Helen Rowe, formerly Archivist, Bermuda; Edwina Peters, Government Archivist, Trinidad and Tobago; E. Christine Matthews, Chief Archivist, Barbados; T. M. Lekaukau, Director, Botswana National Archives; and Kamba. Also, letters to authors from Saunders (27 November 1985), Rowe (27 December 1985), Peters (1 April 1986), Matthews (27 December 1985), and Lekaukau (4 February 1986).

because of lack of funding and expertise. A notable exception is Zimbabwe, which sends staff to the National Archives of India to study preservation techniques of special relevance in tropical environments. Botswana, lacking resources to do the same, sends trainees to Zimbabwe to glean what was learned in India.²⁶

Perhaps the most persistent problem facing archivists in emerging nations is the need to regain records originating in the former colonies and removed at various times to other countries. Some of these "migrated archives" were routinely taken away by colonial administrators during the performance of their duties; others were transferred for security purposes by the European metropolitan powers just before independence. Most migrated records are presently held by European national archives, though some may be found in private European and American manuscript collections.²⁷

Since independence, the issue of retrieving migrated archives has frequently been raised, but generally remains unresolved.

The cost of hiring staff to survey collections abroad and of obtaining copies in microfilmed form is by and large prohibitive. Only occasionally have surveys and copying been possible, as in 1966 when the National Archives of Ghana undertook the microfilming of materials on Ghana available in European archives. One Unesco specialist has suggested that, as a kind of moral obligation, colonial powers donate to their former colonies selected microfilm material.²⁸ Yet some metropolitan countries, far from displaying such generosity, exercise policies that hinder not only repatriation of records but also access to them, even for consultation. One archivist referred to the whole issue as "an extremely delicate" problem which has not lent itself readily to bilateral agreements but for which a solution is imperative. Alternative avenues such as multinational intervention groups and assistance by international organizations are being explored.²⁹

One of the more positive developments is archivists' growing motivation to share information with librarians and documen-

²⁶Interviews in Austin, Texas, October 1985, with Kamba, Lekaukau, and S. I. Mongella, Director, National Archives, Tanzania. An important comprehensive manual, prepared by the scientific office of the National Archives of India under contract with Unesco and ICA, is Yash Pal Kathpalia, *Conservation and Restoration of Archive Materials* (Paris: Unesco, 1973). The ICA archives contain ample documentation of concern over conservation and architectural issues in developing countries: Morris Rieger to Charles Kecskeméti, 6 September 1978; ICA and International Archival Development Fund, Contract between International Council on Archives and the Kenya National Archives, "Regional Training Seminar on Reprography and Restoration," n.d.; M. D. Kagombe to Charles Kecskeméti, 17 August 1976; and Steve S. Mwiyeriwa, "Workshops in Reprography and Restoration," 11 January 1978.

²⁷Notes on migrations of historical manuscripts and archival records from Africa and the West Indies can be found in most issues of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*. For example, an official file of Jamaican papers concerning the case of two suspected leaders of a projected slave revolt, 1824, were offered for sale by Parke-Bernet of New York in 1969; see the *Bulletin* 43 (May 1970): 123. Among the colonial records in the Public Record Office, United Kingdom, are fifty volumes of original documents from Ceylon dated 1800 to 1805 (letter to authors from Michael Roper, Deputy Keeper of Records, Public Record Office, 5 November 1987). See also R. B. Pugh, *The Records of the Colonial and Dominions Offices*, Public Offices Handbooks No. 3 (1964), 52.

²⁸For a general discussion of these issues, see Charles Kecskeméti, *Archival Claims: Preliminary Study on the Principles and Criteria To Be Applied in Negotiations* (Paris: Unesco, 1977); Charles Kecskeméti and Evert Van Laar, *Model Bilateral and Multilateral Agreements and Conventions Concerning the Transfer of Archives* (Paris: Unesco, 1981); and Charles Kecskeméti, "Contested Records: The Legal Status of National Archives," *The Courier* [Unesco], February 1985, 9. See also M. M. Musembi, "Retrieval of Migrated Archives: The Kenyan Experience," *Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference and Seminar of the East and Central African Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives, Harare, 13-18 September 1982* (Harare, 1983), 8-15.

²⁹Morris Rieger to Charles Kecskeméti, 17 July 1978, in reference to "Evaluation of ICA Fund Application CAD/78/10 from the Sudan (Microfilming of Records Relating to the Sudan at the Public Record Office, London)," ICA archives; Anne Thurston to Charles Kecskeméti, 2 June 1986, in reference to "Commonwealth

tation specialists. Currently, archivists in many countries are joining working groups and formulating plans for cooperative information systems on the national level. These efforts stem from Unesco planning in the early 1970s to create an international information network. Some of the better known programs include World Science Information System (UNISIST), developed in 1971 for scientific and technological publications, and National Information System (NATIS), established in 1974 with the objective of planning national infrastructures for documentation centers, libraries, and archives. These efforts have received widespread endorsement, if for no other reason than that sharing makes practical sense in countries with limited, sometimes dwindling resources. NATIS was subsequently dropped by Unesco before it was ever implemented on the scale originally envisaged. The principles, however, remain appealing and are perceived by many political leaders and information specialists in emerging nations as the means of developing in the future a sound policy eventually resulting in an effective, comprehensive system of information management. The difference is that NATIS is now thought of less as a means of integration than of coordination.³⁰

The future of archival programs in emerging nations depends on a number of factors, including economic trends on both the global and national scales, changes in political structure or philosophy, and not least of all the level of involvement of archivists as a professional group in society. While the first two are difficult to predict and are in a large sense uncontrollable, the last reflects a stability that provides the basis for considerable optimism. In the face of frequent adversity, the archival profession continues to consolidate itself as an integral component of newly established nations struggling to come to grips with their own cultural identities and simultaneously to mold niches for themselves in the modern world. The very severity of the problems—at times internally generated, at times externally imposed—in fact appears to instill in archival practitioners a kind of resilience, a toughness of attitude, an enthusiasm, and a commitment that suggest a positive outcome for the profession and its goals. Though archivists' success in tackling the challenges may vary, the effort alone represents both a measure of professional self-justification and a potentially vital contribution to national growth and integrity.

Archives Committee on Copying Projects," ICA archives. An International Conference on Microfilming Programs for Developing Countries was held at Trier, F.D.R., 13–15 March 1987. A special plenary session of the Tenth International Congress on Archives, "International Joint Ventures for Exchange of Archival Materials through Reprography," is documented in *Archivum* 32 (1986): 251–317.

³⁰For overviews of the NATIS concept, see "Intergovernmental Conference on the Planning of National Documentation, Library and Archives Infrastructures, Paris, 23–27 September 1974," *UNESCO Bulletin* 29 (January–February 1975): 2–15; and Michael E. Carroll, "NATIS, an International Information System: Impossible Dream or Attainable Reality?" *American Archivist* 39 (July 1976): 337–41. References to the concept and efforts to implement some of its principles may be traced through publications in several regions; e.g., Roderick S. Mabomba, "The Role of Archives in National Information Transfer," *ECARBICA Journal* 4 (June 1979): 21–28; National Council on Libraries, Archives and Documentation Services, *Plan for a National Documentation, Information and Library System for Jamaica* (Kingston: NACOLADS, 1978); and E. W. Muya, "General Information Programme: Some of its Implications in Kenya," *ECARBICA Journal* 6 (October 1983): 17–26. Also, interview with Frank B. Evans, Washington, D.C., September 1986; and letter to authors from Edwina Peters, Government Archivist, National Archives, Trinidad and Tobago, 1 April 1986.