Archiving and Small Nations: An Ethical Issue of Two Post-Conflict Societies¹

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Archiving is key to transparency and accountability, concepts that symbolize good governance. In post-conflict societies like Sierra Leone and Liberia in West Africa, information is crucial to the reconciliation and democratisation processes. Sierra Leone and Liberia have just emerged from brutal civil wars as a result of repressive governments that have not been accountable to the people nor been transparent. The mass violation of human rights and international humanitarian law led to the establishment of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in both countries. The Sierra Leonean TRC mission was completed in 2004, while the Liberian one is still on-going. In Sierra Leone, investigations of the violations against the civilian population resulted in a report and the same is expected with the ongoing TRC work in Liberia. Ethically, given the fact that the contributions to the TRC findings are from a traumatised people, the recommendations of the TRC should be embraced in the formulation of social and economic policies that would address the articulated root causes

of the conflict. However, preliminary results suggest that obstacles to the democratization of information in African post-conflict societies are many: corruption and weak political will, widespread poverty, illiteracy, lack of information skills, information technology, and electricity and telephone connections. This is further exacerbated by a shortage of professional personnel in handling information.

Introduction

Sierra Leone and Liberia are two small West African States that have undergone decades of brutal civil wars that led to the indiscriminate amputation of limbs, abduction of women and children, recruitment of children as combatants, rape and sexual abuse of women and children, gratuitous killings, cannibalism and destruction of villages and towns leaving the populations psychologically wounded and impoverished, (Schabas, 2005:130). These crimes against humanity necessitated the set

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up of transitional justice mechanisms to help the citizens heal from the pain inflicted on them. Sierra Leone pursued a dual approach by establishing a Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCL) to try persons who bear the greatest responsibility of war crimes and crimes against humanity and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), to pursue forgiveness and reconciliation, (Sawyer et al., 2007: 36-68). In March 1999, Sierra Leone started peace negotiations that culminated in a power sharing agreement. The Lomé Peace Agreement was signed on the 7 July, 1999 between the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the government of Sierra Leone. Even though the perpetrators of atrocities were granted amnesty by the agreement, amnesty was not to apply to crimes against humanity and war crimes, (Schabas 2005:130).

The Lomé Agreement paved way for the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, (Schabas, 2005:130). The Sierra Leonean TRC was commissioned to delve into the political, social, economic and moral aspects of a nation with a view to establishing a historical record on the violation of human rights and international humanitarian law in the nation, (Witness to the Truth, 2004). In Liberia, it was also decided, that the best way forward for the country was to adopt the same mechanism of transitional justice in the absence of an effective justice system, to address the legacies of abuse, (Washington, 2007:2). Article 23 of the Liberia Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) on Ceasefire and Cessation of Hostilities between the Government of the Republic of Liberia, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia defines the mandate of the Liberia TRC, which is to provide a forum for both victims and perpetrators to share their experiences in an effort to address impunity, facilitate genuine healing and reconciliation, (Peace Agreements Digital Collection: Liberia). The Act to establish the TRC was enacted by the National Transitional Legislative Assembly on May 12, 2005 and in February 20, 2006 it was inducted by Her Excellency President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, (Washington, 2007:3). The TRC was launched in June 22, 2006 and was like in the case of the Sierra Leonean, to investigate the root causes of the crises in Liberia which led to the massive violation of human rights.

Reconciliation is about mending broken relationships and the aim of Truth Commissions is to prevent further violence and future human rights abuses, (Hayner, 2002:161, 154). TRCs also promote institutional reforms that should lead to improvements in people's lives by addressing structural inequalities and material needs. The TRC reports outline in detail specific reforms across government sectors and in public life. While TRCs engage in national reconciliation, individual reconciliation tends to be more complex, (Hayner, 2002:155). National reconciliation and democracy are closely linked and Gloppen argues that lasting reconciliation is held to be possible only within a democratic framework, (Gloppen, 2005:21). The transitional justice mechanisms that were pursued by Sierra Leone and the one that is being pursued by Liberia are restorative. Restorative justice is supposed to address the consequences of the crimes and change the victim's situation, (Gloppen, 2005:37).

Since TRC's are involved in a process of uncovering the truth, the way documentation is handled is crucial to the credibility of its work. An accurate record of the war atrocities is hoped to prevent future atrocities through the enlightenment of the citizenry and which should prevent regression to conflict, (Hayner, 2002:29). Factual findings eliminate political speculations and their exposure to the public makes it hard for the perpetrators to deny the truth. The truth is the basis of true

reconciliation. According to a report by Amnesty International, "The right to know the truth is a collective right that ensures society access to information that is essential for the workings of democratic systems, and it is also a private right for relatives of the victims, which affords a form of compensation...", (Amnesty International report, 2007:3).

However, this paper argues that if the TRC findings are to be made accessible to the citizens of Sierra Leone and Liberia, obstacles to wide dissemination have to be dealt with. In Sierra Leone the findings have not particularly reached the people who need them most, (Svärd & Sundqvist, 2007). Post-conflict reconstruction should therefore include issues of information dissemination and preservation on the reconstruction agenda and should come up with recommendations that will be useful in the planning of future TRC information infrastructure to ease the preservation and dissemination of the civil war societal memories.

This study relies on a literature review and primary data based on visits and interviews carried out in both Sierra Leone and Liberia in 2006 and 2007 through unstructured interviews with students, researchers, activists and ordinary people on the TRC process and post-conflict developments.

The analysis is based on the diffusion theory and the records continuum model. The diffusion theory focuses on whether people adopt or reject an innovation. The diffusion process is supposed to result in behavioural changes in terms of knowledge and attitudes, (Windahl et al., 2002:57). Acquisition of knowledge can only take place through exposure to the innovation and its functions, (Windahl et al., 2002:59). This theory helps us understand that knowledge about an innovation such as computers can only be generated if people are given a chance to acquire the innovation and thereby be able learn about its

functions. Castells is of the view that knowledge generation and information processing are sources of value that "depend on innovation and the capacity to diffuse innovation in networks that induce synergy by sharing this and knowledge", (Castells, information 2001:226). Castell's argument illustrates that without the innovations that will promote the diffusion of the TRC findings into the various societal groups, the reconciliation process is bound to be exclusive. The records continuum model demonstrates the importance of proper records management and democracy. Records management requires the capturing, maintenance, preservation and the re-presentation of records as evidence of business, social and cultural purposes for as long as they are of value. The theory explores the continuum of responsibilities that relate to accountable record keeping regimes, (McKemmish, 1997:2).

Disterer contends that knowledge is an economic resource and comprises of activities of knowledge generation, transfer, accumulation, adoption and diffusion. It is important that generated knowledge is shared since it increases in value through use, (Disterer, 2001:1). While information is useful and crucial in post-conflict societies especially in the rural areas, conditions and resources to enable people to convert such information into practice is a necessity. There are structural constraints however that hinder the diffusion of information and ICTs. McCormick argues that these structural constraints prevent the majority of people from fully participating in the development process of a given social system, (McCormick, 2003:141). He divides these constraints into first and second order constraints. The first order constraints "concern relatively fixed resources, such as land size, the alteration of which implies major transformational social policies affecting the status quo and the power structure because they imply redistribution of resources among social groups. Second order constraints are essentially reforms, which are intended to overcome some of the consequences of first order constraints without forcibly addressing the underlying foundation of inequitable social arrangements", (McCormick, Lack of resources such as education, computer processing skills, and Internet connectivity exemplify the second order constraints, (Mc-Cormick, 2003:141). Castells contends that "Social development today is determined by the ability to establish a synergistic interaction between technological innovation and human values, leading to a new set of organizations and institutions that create positive feedback loops between productivity, flexibility, solidarity, safety, participation and accountability, in a new model of development that could be socially and environmentally sustainable." If Sierra Leone and Liberia are to address the challenges of post-conflict reconstruction, they will need to integrate themselves into the information society which requires investments in ICTs and education. The TRC findings articulate the issues to be addressed for an inclusive development agenda and should be used as a road map to create a just society where all citizens can enjoy full citizenship.

The Globalised World and Information Management

As post-conflict countries struggle to pull themselves out of the destructive years of civil wars, they need help in building up capacity to manage information. In the globalised world, information is fundamental to development and it requires access to ICTs that will allow efficient communication nationally and internationally. Castells discusses networks that operate as interconnected nodes and that allow asymmetrical relationships. These relationships are all important for the functioning of the network. The network al-

lows the circulation of money, people, goods, images, technology and services. In order to participate in the network one has to be included, (Castells, 1999: iv). Castells posits, "it is urgently necessary to reverse the downward spiral of exclusion and to use information and communication technologies to empower humankind. The reintegration of social development and economic growth in the information age will require massive technological upgrading of countries, firms and households around the world." The vast majority of the citizens of both Sierra Leone and Liberia have been excluded from the advantages that are being reaped by some parts of the "global village" via the Internet. The dissemination of the TRC findings in Sierra Leone would have easily been carried out if people had access to computers and the Internet. Even though Sierra Leone and Liberia are not fully equipped with information management systems, they face the challenge of dealing with the digital records that are being generated. Without the proper management skills, these digital records risk being lost.

The Sierra Leonean and LiberianTRC Archives: Preservation and Dissemination

The Truth and Reconciliation Commissions have collected vast amounts of information from the public through hearings, interviews, investigations and research, which are recorded on various media. The two missions will leave behind archives with compound documents like audio files, paper records and video footage, which will need a functioning information infrastructure for their management if they are to serve the purposes for which they were created. It is argued in the Amnesty International Report "States should preserve archives and other evidence concerning gross violations of human rights and serious violations of international humanitarian

law to facilitate knowledge of such violations to investigate allegations and to provide victims with access to an effective remedy in accordance with international law", (Amnesty International Report, 2007:10). It is further argued that, "a truth commission should establish archives for the preservation of documents and evidence. An important legacy of the commission's work, such as archives should be made and remain public after the end of the commission's mandate", (Amnesty International Report, 2007:10). Documentation and preservation of records pose numerous challenges and these include lack of effective dissemination channels, physical preservation, information management skills and institutional infrastructure. Sierra Leone and Liberia are not equipped to handle the challenges that document dissemination and preservation pose.

The final report of the Sierra Leonean TRC is available on the Internet and there is a database of statements, however the latter cannot be accessed by the citizens of Sierra Leone. Different media like video footage and audio recordings of hearings are also available, but their effective use requires access to ICT. A recommendation of the commission was that a National Human Rights Commission should be established to take over the custody of the documentation, (Witness to the Truth, 2004). The Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone (HRCSL) is in operation and the archives have now been handed over to it.

The documentation and archiving of the Liberian TRC findings took place in April 2007 and is still at the preliminary stage, (Svärd, 2007:18). During a visit to Liberia in September 2007, Svärd had a meeting with the TRC commissioners, which revealed that document handling at the TRC headquarters was not integrated in the work of the TRC and that there was no archivist employed to advise, plan and take care of the documents

that were being generated. The Liberian TRC will generate compound documents that will need a proper information infrastructure that will promote the dissemination of its findings. The dissemination of the TRC findings by the media and other civil society organizations will require access to the information contained in the TRC documentation. Section 47 of the TRC mandate states, "The archives of the TRC shall remain in the public domain except those records or documents classified by the TRC as 'confidential' which shall remain classified for 20 years following the retirement of the TRC", (Section 47, TRC Mandate).

However, dissemination cannot take place in a vacuum, but will require proper planning which is supposed to be done at the commencement of the TRCs. Experience in Sierra Leone shows that the same formulations were used about the dissemination of the TRC report though when it came to the practical work, the report proved very difficult to get hold of, even among the research community. Even though a recommendation was made regarding the dissemination of the generated documentation, the fact that there was no institution responsible for its maintenance has resulted in that the documentation is inaccessible and preserved under unsatisfactory conditions.

Efforts Towards Information Technology Diffusion and Deterring Challenges

The Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation is supposed to promote good information management and enhance access to government information by the electorate. The right to information is well articulated in both international and national laws. Article 19 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and National Constitutions regulate access to information as a human right:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers".

FOI legislation has therefore been adopted in a number of African countries like Angola, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe. It is important that media has access to government information in order to play its surveillance role in national governance issues, but also if it is to be used as an agency in the dissemination of the TRC findings to the people. Even though the right to information is clearly defined in both the Sierra Leonean and Liberian Constitutions, the media still have problems in accessing government records. Since freedom of information is a tenet of democracy and a fundamental human right, a number of institutions in Liberia like The Centre for Transparency and Accountability in Liberia (CENTAL), The Centre for Media Studies and Peace Building, Liberia Democracy Watch and the National Youth Movement for Transparent Elections (NAYMOTE - PADD) have been engaged in fostering a culture in which the government of Liberia can be scrutinized. Journalists, human rights activists and lawyers have been pursuing the enactment of a Freedom of Information Act that guarantees the general public access to records and information in the custody of government institutions, (Access to Information Report, 2007:18).

Sebina argues that according to a study that was done between 2003 and 2006 in countries where the FOI has been enacted, it has been done on weak records management regimes. This has therefore continued to hinder public access to government records, (Sebina, 2007:1). Institutions like the National Archives and Libraries are not well equipped and hence the chances of helping with the dif-

fusion of information are minimal. These institutions lack the necessary equipment like proper storage facilities, ICTs, personnel and resources to play an active part in the preservation and dissemination of information.

Access to information and efficient dissemination require both institutional and physical means. The latter includes for instance the use of ICTs. The African Information Society Initiative (AISI) has since 1996 promoted ICT policy making on the continent. Despite being the least developed in ICTs, African ministers are according to Etta (2005) the first among developing regions to adopt a master plan and a declaration to integrate their countries into the information age. AISI has continued to encourage national ICT formulation, the liberalization of national telecommunications and broadcasting and the articulation of national e-government ICT policies, (Etta, 2005:10).

Even though the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) Declaration of Principles grants everybody a right to participate and enjoy the benefits of the Information Society, the obstacles of ICT diffusion are numerous. The key challenges preventing the diffusion and utilisation of ICTs in information dissemination include widespread poverty, low levels of education and under-utilisation of indigenous technologies, (Sierra Leone Vision, 2003:30). This is further exacerbated by lack of a National and Education ICT policy, gender inequality in access to education, erratic supply of electricity, high costs of telephone connection and long-distance charges, inadequate supply of skilled ICT labour, and lack of adequate government resources for education, (ICT4Africa/Country Report Sierra Leone). Developing countries like Sierra Leone and Liberia had poor communication infrastructure before the civil wars. Devices like telephones, PCs and software are rare and unevenly spread. This has for instance resulted in

Table 1: Statistics on ICT infrastructure and usage

Indicators	Sierra Leone	Liberia	Sweden
Internet per 100 users PC per 100 users	0,19	0,03	76,97 83,49
Cellular phone subscribers per 100 users	2,21	4,87	°3,49 105,92
Main telephone lines per 100 users Broadband per 100 users	0,49 0,00	0,21 0,00	59,52 25,87

Source: United Nations E-Government Survey 2008.

that the West African Region has the lowest regional e-government readiness index according to the United Nations E-Government Survey 2008.

Despite the fact that all African states now have Internet connectivity and local Internet Service Providers, most of the Internet users are concentrated in the capital cities. The rural populations of Africa are not connected due to the expensive dialup connections, (Polikanov et.al., 2003:43). Liberia has no outgoing fibre connectivity and its international connectivity is via satellite, (Best et al., 2007:36). The country lacks a national network backbone, which hampers the expansion and availability of the Internet. Internet connectivity is therefore expensive since there is no major gateway provider and individual providers have their own inter gateway facilities. It is therefore only available to a small portion of the Liberian population through Internet cafes or wireless Internet Service Providers, (Best et al., 2007:36). The number of people with Internet access is according to Best et al approximately 3,300 people. The Internet is a medium that enables the distribution of information from one to many and therefore lack of its access will hamper the dissemination of the TRC findings even to those Liberians with information and communication skills.

A developed ICT infrastructure would facilitate access, wider dissemination of records, and greater social inclusion. Digital materials can reach larger and more diverse user populations. This potential can however only be realised if the users have possibilities to search, find, interpret and understand relevant information.

The multilingual societies of Sierra Leone and Liberia will require a better planning of information dissemination that will create an all inclusive dissemination of the TRC findings.

Table 2: Demographic structure and literacy

Indicators	Sierra Leone	Liberia
Population*	5 866 000	3 750 000
Adult literacy** Gross enrolment (primary,	34,8	51,9
secondary and tertiary education)**	44,641	57,407

Sources: *World Population Prospect. The 2006 Revision, **United Nations E-Government Survey 2008.

Considering the problems of low levels of education and lack of information skills among large groups of the population, the role of intermediaries becomes very important. The need for information and the importance of libraries, archives, media and educaitonal institutions in the process of development and transition to a democratic society has been emphasised by Kargbo (2002; 2005). Lack of professional competence in handling information is a severe problem in Sierra Leone and Liberia, as well as in many other developing countries.

Discussion

If the Sierra Leonean and Liberian citizens are to access information that will enhance the healing process, enable reconciliation and enlighten them about the causes of the conflict, there has to be information systems that enhance dissemination and preservation. Proper recordkeeping systems are therefore important in enhancing accountability and transparency and thereby consolidate democratic values in these post-conflict societies. The recording and storing of information is crucial to the research process of the work of an investigative body like the TRC. In order to logically organize the generated information, records management systems have to be put in place from the beginning of the process to ensure the trustworthiness of the documentation, to ease retrieval and minimize security risks given the sensitivity of the information (UK-WELI handbook: 2000:22). According to the records continuum model "[r]ecordkeeping is the management of records from their creation during their whole existence, in order to render accessibility of meaningful records for as long as they are of value to people, organizations, and societies - whether that is for a nanosecond or millennia", (McKemmish, 2001:336). This requires a pro-active role of information professionals like archivists and records managers in the TRC missions. Recordkeeping systems involve not only physical devices and people, but also institutional frameworks for maintaining the documentation. The establishment of independent and accountable institutions for the on-going management of the TRC documentation is a necessary requirement to ease issues of accessibility.

Access to the information also requires ICTs that have the potential to distribute it from one to many and also to enhance its preservation. The Internet is an indispensable tool as far as information diffusion is concerned. Rassool posits the developing world is still grappling with the challenges of illiteracy, access to ICTs and lack of technical skills, (Rassool, 1999:130). Information and communication skills are a prerequisite in order to engage in the social, economic, cultural and political lives. To some extent ICT itself carries a potential to this improvement.

"The central role of the ICI is to facilitate access to a wide range of information and communication services that people find valuable in their daily life as citizens, producers, consumers and caregivers. They need to be able to interact meaningfully with others, obtain useful information easily without being overwhelmed and contribute creatively to the store of available information. Content and services should be affordable, reliable, usable, diverse (culturally/linguistically/politically), secure, privacy enhancing, individually filterable, and free of censorship", (Clement & Shade 2000:37).

Computer technology allows the storage, combination and presentation of various formats: text, graphics, sound recordings and moving images. Since the TRC documentation consists of compound media and formats, digital presentation is particularly suited for making the documentation accessible.

For example the so called adaptive technologies, developed to support disabled persons, could further be used to facilitate access in an environment with low education levels. OCR (optical character reading) makes the translation of text to sound possible and speech interfaces could help people with low levels of education to navigate the computer screen, (Cox et al., 2007). Applications customized for multiple local languages would make it possible to meet the needs of different ethnic and lingual groups, (e.g. Mittal et al., 2004). Post-conflict societies therefore need to embrace ICT policies that will enhances its diffusion into the society and education programs that will equip the citizens with the necessary skills to engage in the reconstruction through sustainable peace building and development of their societies.

However, information technologies alone do not translate into development. The people for example need an education that will enable them to use the information accessed via ICTs to their advantage. The implementation of ICT solutions would therefore require user skills. An all-inclusive development agenda would require both the governments of Sierra Leone and Liberia, to invest in education systems that are not gender biased. Both countries need to emphasize the role of information in understanding the causes of the conflict. This will require support to information management institutions and further training of the personnel to cope with the challenges of information management and to be able to devise other modes of dissemination of information to people in the rural areas where ICTs are still out of reach.

Concluding remarks

Access to information is important if the population is to learn about the causes of conflict. In democratic societies, Freedom of Informa-

tion is a human right and the only way to enhance public debates and mutual engagement in public affairs. The establishment of a sustainable information infrastructure at the commencement of the TRC missions is thus of paramount importance. This would promote the diffusion of the TRC findings to the people as laid down in the TRC mandates. The enhancement of better dissemination and preservation of these special archives that make up a collective memory of the war atrocities will require financial resources and the political will. Lack of functioning national information institutions, adequate personnel, information management skills, financial resources, internet diffusion and illiteracy, is likely to prevent the proper diffusion of the information that is being generated by the TRCs.

To enhance access to the TRC documentation the following measures are therefore suggested:

- The adoption of legislature that will enhance the Right to Information.
- A plan at the commencement of the TRC missions for the establishment of an information management infrastructure that will take care of issues of dissemination and preservation
- Recognition of the relation between good recordkeeping practices, access to information and societal transparency and accountability.
- Inclusion of information professionals in all phases of the TRC's work.
- The establishment of independent institutions for the dissemination and preservation of the documentation.
- Encouragement of international donors to locally invest in ICT and educational programs.
- Promotion of research and development work regarding the use of adaptive technologies in multi-lingual and low education societies.

 The establishment of a Special Fund to pursue the follow-up activities of the TRC missions.

Since the TRC documentation is based on the contributions of already traumatized people, neglect of any kind is ethically wrong and works against the efforts of reconciliation. The dissemination of the Sierra Leone TRC findings has not effectively been carried out. If Liberia is to learn a lesson from the Sierra Leonean TRC, the government and its international partners should budget for a recordkeeping component that will enhance local capacity building in document handling as well as dissemination and preservation of the TRC archives. Taking care of the documentation embarked on during the early stages of the TRC work would make the hand over of the generated documentation to an independent institution easier. Exposing the true nature of massive violations that occurred during the conflict ensures that the past is never forgotten. As Verdier contends, a people without a past are a people without a future; and that the past, once forgotten is bound to be repeated, (Verdier, 2007:7). This is why the issues concerning information dissemination and preservation are crucial to the reconciliation and democratization processes of these two countries.

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