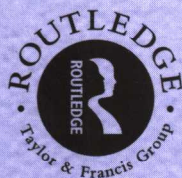


# **International Human Rights, Decolonisation and Globalisation**

## **Becoming Human**

Shelley Wright

Routledge Studies in International Law



# **International Human Rights, Decolonisation and Globalisation**

Becoming human

**Shelley Wright**



London and New York

First published 2001  
by Routledge  
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group*

© 2001 Shelley Wright

Typeset in Baskerville by Taylor and Francis Books Ltd  
Printed and bound in Great Britain by St Edmundsbury Press, Bury St  
Edmunds, Suffolk

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted  
or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic,  
mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter  
invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any  
information storage or retrieval system, without permission in  
writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*  
Wright, Shelley  
International human rights, decolonisation and globalisation: becoming  
human  
p. cm. Includes bibliographical data, references and index  
1. Human rights. 2. Human rights – case studies. 3. Decolonisation – case  
studies. 4. Postcolonisation – case studies. 5. Globalisation. I. Title

JC571 .W954 2001  
323 dc21

ISBN 0-415-25951-7

# International Human Rights, Decolonisation and Globalisation

The analysis of human rights to date has lacked a truly deep and complex awareness of the historical context in which they developed. Examining the 'humanness' of rights, this book redresses the balance by demonstrating how the characterisation of this humanity from a Euro-American perspective shapes the content and implementation of international human rights law.

Covering a diverse range of topics, case studies and theories, the author undertakes a critique of the principal assumptions on which the existing international human rights regime has been constructed. She argues that the decolonisation of human rights, and the creation of a global community that is conducive to the well-being of all humans, will require a radical restructuring of our ways of thinking, researching and writing. In contributing to this restructuring she brings together feminist and indigenous approaches, as well as postmodern and post-colonial scholarship, engaging directly with some of the prevailing orthodoxies, such as 'universality', 'the individual', 'self-determination', 'cultural relativism', 'globalisation' and 'civil society'.

The book will be essential reading for professionals, policy makers and academics involved in the study and implementation of human rights within international law.

**Shelley Wright** is Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Law, University of Sydney, Australia. She was also the Ariel E. Sallows Professor of Human Rights at the College of Law, University of Saskatchewan, for two years from 1995 to 1996. She has taught at the National University of Singapore, Canterbury University in Christchurch, New Zealand, and has been a Visiting Professor at the University of Victoria, BC, as well as a visitor and guest lecturer at the University of New South Wales, Hong Kong University, UCLA, Columbia University and Oxford University. She is the co-author, with Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin, of 'Feminist Approaches to International Law' in the *American Journal of International Law* (1991) and has published widely on women's rights, indigenous peoples' intellectual property and cultural rights, feminist theory and international human rights.

## **Routledge Studies in International Law**

### **1 International Law in the Post-Cold War World**

Essays in memory of Li Haopei

*Edited by Sienho Yee and Wang Tieya*

### **2 The Break-Up of Yugoslavia and International Law**

*Peter Radan*

### **3 International Human Rights, Decolonisation and Globalisation**

Becoming human

*Shelley Wright*

# Acknowledgements

I have many people to thank. First of all to the College of Law, University of Saskatchewan, where I was the Ariel E. Sallows Professor of Human Rights from January 1995 to December 1996. I would like particularly to thank my colleagues and friends there including Professor Peter MacKinnon, who was then the Dean of the College and with whom I had several spirited discussions on Quebec sovereignty. Also to the members of the ABC Club including guest member Professor Sid Harries. I would also like to thank Professor Don Fleming of the Faculty of Law, University of New Brunswick, for inviting me to give the Inaugural Lodhi Lecture on Human Rights at the Atlantic Human Rights Centre, St Thomas University. The commentaries by Professor Andrea Bear-Nicholas, Professor Patricia Hughes, Ms Susan Li, Professor Melanie Wiber and Professor Thom Workman were invaluable first commentaries on what became the beginnings of this book. I would also like to thank the Native Law Centre, University of Saskatchewan and Professor Len Findlay of the Humanities Research Unit, University of Saskatchewan, the Faculty of Law and the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney. Also the Faculty of Law and the Center for Asia-Pacific Initiatives at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, for inviting me to come and spend a sabbatical leave in 1999 (and many lunches over several Christmases), and to participate in the Intellectual Property Summer Program. I would especially like to thank Professor Stuart Rees, Ms Lynda-Ann Blanchard, Professor Jeremy Webber, Professor David Cohen, Dr Helen Lansdowne and Professor Robert Howell.

There are also many friends and colleagues to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude. This includes in particular Professor Hilary Charlesworth and Professor Christine Chinkin with whom I began this journey many years ago and without whom it would never have happened. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr Sa'ke'j Henderson, Research Director of the Native Law Center, and Professor Marie Battiste of the Faculty of Education, University of Saskatchewan. Their warm welcome, wise advice and kind spirit inform much of my rethinking of indigenous rights. In addition I would like to thank Hilary Astor, Don Bain, Russel Barsh, Dianne Beer, Cathy Bell, Belinda Bennett, Marj Benson, Andrejs and Lorraine Berzins, Dianne Biin, Graeme Coss, James Crawford, Karen Engle, Elizabeth Evatt, Louise Forsyth, Judith Gardam, Rod Germaine, Janice Gray, Makere Harawira, Terri Janke, Karen



Knop, Hester Lessard, Eilis Magner, Pene Mathew, John McLaren, Lou-Ann Neel, Anne Orford, Dianne Otto, Heather Raven, Don Rothwell, Shirley Scott, Barbara Stark, Julie Stubbs, Tang Lay Lee, Teo Soh Lung, Caitlin Trethewy and Stanley and Teng Yeo. Thanks also to Edwina Kobus, Bridget Nguyen-Nyoc and Miki Itakura for valued administrative assistance and to Annabel Watson and Simon Bailey for editing the final manuscript. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Robert Licuria and Tharini Mudaliar who undertook to read, correct, find references and give valuable advice on finishing the manuscript.

I owe a great debt to my students in the several places I have taught, including Singapore, New Zealand, Sydney, Saskatoon and Victoria, BC, for their insights, lively discussion and (sometimes) disagreements. Some of their contributions are particularly referred to in the Bibliography.

Thank you to my family, including Shannon, Gibby, Pat, Caity, John, Marlise, Aidan, Liam and Giovanna. Thanks especially to Rob Wright who read the whole thing through and to my mother Betty with love for the room, board, computer, car, cash and much else.

Parts of this book have appeared previously in the following publications. These have been substantially revised. I have made every effort to track down and obtain copyright approval for reproducing this material. My thanks to the following:

- Professor Len Findlay and Purich Publishing for ‘Speaking Truth to Power: Freedom of Expression, Intellectual Property and the Technologies of Communication’, in Findlay, L. (ed.) (2001) *Academic Freedom: The History and Future of a Defining Idea*, Saskatoon: Purich Publishing.
- Federation Press for ‘Intellectual Property and the “Imaginary Aboriginal”’, in Bird, G., Martin, G. and Neilsen, J. (eds) (1996) *Majah: Indigenous Peoples and the Law*, Sydney: Federation Press, 129.
- Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies for ‘Some International Factors Contributing to Violence Against Women’, in Lambourne, W. (ed.) (1996) *Speaking Out Against Violence: National and International Perspectives on Violence against Women*, Sydney, CPACS Occasional Paper No. 95/2.
- Canadian Council on International Law for ‘Redefining International Legal Norms for the 21st Century: The Incorporation of Different Voices’, in (1996) *Globalism and Regionalism: Options for the 21st Century*, Ottawa, CCIL Annual Conference Proceedings, 202.
- University of Saskatchewan Law Review for ‘The Individual in International Human Rights: Quebec, Canada and the Nation-State’ (1995) *University of Saskatchewan Law Review* 59/2: 437.
- University of British Columbia Law Review for ‘Aboriginal Cultural Heritage in Australia’ (1995) *University of British Columbia Law Review*, Special Issue: 45.
- Canadian Journal of Women and the Law for ‘A Feminist Exploration of the Legal Protection of Art’ (1994) *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 7: 59.

- Professor Christine Chinkin and the Michigan Journal of International Law for 'The Hunger Trap: Women, Food and Self-Determination' (1993) *Michigan Journal of International Law* 14: 262.
- Center for Asia-Pacific Initiatives for 'The Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities in Indonesia: East Timor and West Papua in Transition', in Duncan, D. and Lindsey, T. (eds)(1999) *Indonesia After Soeharto: Reformasi and Reaction – International Colloquium Proceedings, 19 March 1999*, Victoria, BC, CAPI, 68.

Unfortunately, I read Hugh Brody's *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers and the Shaping of the World* (Brody 2000) too late to acknowledge his insights in the body of my own text. But I highly recommend it as a perceptive and beautifully written narrative on the themes of Indigenusness, colonialism, gender and the process of becoming human that underlies much of what I have tried to do here.

The information in this book has been updated to 22 June 2001.



## Sources for epigraphs

- 1 A civil religion: Remark attributed to John Humphrey
- 2 White man's rights: Roosevelt, F. D. Statement to Congress, January 1941, quoted in Burns, J. M. (1970) *Roosevelt 1940-1945: The Soldier of Freedom*, San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 34.
- 3 Witches, slaves and savages: As quoted in Barstow, A. L. (1995) *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts*, London: Pandora, 162.
- 4 Subjects, soldiers and citizens: From *Gladiator*, produced by Paramount Pictures and Dreamworks, directed by Ridley Scott.
- 5 Peoples of the book: Austen, J. (1818) *Persuasion*, reprinted 1986, London: Collins, 364.
- 6 Speaking truth to power: From *Bambi*, produced by Walt Disney Inc., as quoted in Coombe, R. (1991) 'Objects of Property and Subjects of Politics: Intellectual Property Laws and Democratic Dialogue', *Texas Law Review* 69: 1854.
- 7 Emerging images: 'My country/Is not a country/It is winter' by Gilles Vigneault (1972) '*Mon Pays*', recorded on *Les Chansonniers du Québec*, produced by Radio-Canada International, arr. by G. Rochon, trans. by S. Wright.
- 8 The death of the hero: Durakovic, F. (1998) 'A War Letter (about the letter from before the war)', in Agosin, M. (ed.) (1999) *A Map of Hope: Women's Writings on Human Rights*, London: Penguin, 27.
- 9 Ghosts in the machine: Oodgeroo of the Tribe Noonuccal, 'Municipal Gum', from *My People*, 1990, as quoted in Rees, S. and Wright, S. (eds) (2000) *Human Rights, Corporate Responsibility: A Dialogue Sydney*: Pluto Press, 66.
- 10 Becoming Human: Akello, G. (1992) 'Encounter', from Busby, M. *Daughters of Africa*, quoted in Agosin, M. (ed.) (1999) *A Map of Hope: Women's Writings on Human Rights*, London: Penguin, 315.

When I set out on this journey/I thought it would never end  
When I started down that road/I could not see the end  
And when I took that first step/I fell in so deep, so deep  
And all the things that were so hard won/You know I thought I would  
always keep  
Now, what do you think I see?/Standing like a wall in front of me  
Defeat, not victory  
Defeat, not victory  
So, what are you going to do? Die? No!  
You going to lay down and die!  
No!  
I will not admit defeat  
I will not admit defeat  
I will see  
Victory  
Pride and deceit have choked my life like weeds  
And I lost sight of what I really had/What I really need  
And all the things I should have valued/I gave away for a prayer and a  
song  
Now when I reach out for them  
They are gone  
Now do you know what I see?/Standing in front of me  
Like a headstone/A fucking monument to human misery  
Defeat, not victory  
Defeat, not victory  
So, what are you going to do? Die? No!  
You going to lay down and die?  
No!  
I will not admit defeat  
I will not admit defeat  
I will see  
Victory

*(Nomeansno, 'Victory' (lyrics by Rob Wright) from Small Parts Isolated and Destroyed  
(Alternative Tentacles Records, 1990))*

# Contents

	<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
1	A civil religion	1
2	White man's rights	13
	<i>The Universal Declaration of Human Rights</i>	13
	<i>The Holocaust</i>	17
	<i>Decolonisation and human rights treaties</i>	20
	<i>The Bretton Woods system and human rights</i>	22
	<i>The development of international law</i>	25
	<i>Property and the public/private dichotomy in human rights</i>	27
	<i>The European Enlightenment</i>	28
	<i>Immanuel Kant</i>	30
	<i>Jeffersonian contradictions</i>	33
3	Witches, slaves and savages	36
	<i>Memory and history</i>	36
	<i>The Iroquois and the US Constitution</i>	38
	<i>The indigenous law of respect and democracy</i>	42
	<i>The debate over the nature of civil society in Europe</i>	45
	<i>Witchcraft and holy war</i>	50
	<i>The processes of colonisation</i>	52
	<i>The creation of boundaries</i>	55
	<i>Decolonisation</i>	58
4	Subjects, soldiers and citizens	62
	<i>The 'individual'</i>	62
	<i>The social contract</i>	63
	<i>Sovereign subjects</i>	68
	<i>Feminism and the social welfare state</i>	72

<i>Women and socio-economic rights</i>	74
<i>Militarism, gender and the citizen/soldier</i>	76
<i>'Hidden in plain view'</i>	83

## 5 Peoples of the book 87

<i>Cultural diversity</i>	87
<i>'Her own imaginary domain'</i>	88
<i>The secret life of fairy tales</i>	93
<i>The spoken word and the printed text</i>	97
<i>The development of the literate subject</i>	99
<i>The nature of the literate subject</i>	104
<i>Literacy, language and human rights</i>	109

## 6 Speaking truth to power 112

<i>A history of printing and copyright</i>	112
<i>Freedom of expression and copyright</i>	115
<i>Copyright and the growth of Western liberalism</i>	117
<i>Protecting the culture and knowledge of indigenous peoples: Australia</i>	119
<i>The oral and the visual</i>	123
<i>The primacy of the visual and individualism</i>	127
<i>Printing and universality</i>	129
<i>'They who resist'</i>	132

## 7 Emerging images 134

<i>Self-determination of indigenous peoples</i>	134
<i>East Timor</i>	138
<i>Canada and Quebec</i>	141
<i>Language and indigenous rights in Canada</i>	144
<i>Indigenous peoples in Asia</i>	148
<i>The search for national identity, self-determination and development in Asia</i>	153
<i>The paradox of culture and human rights</i>	157

## 8 The death of the hero 160

<i>War, peace and human rights</i>	160
<i>What is war?</i>	165
<i>War and international diplomacy</i>	168
<i>Torture</i>	172
<i>Contradictions within the law against torture</i>	174
<i>The gender of torture</i>	177
<i>The colour of torture</i>	179
<i>Violence and human rights</i>	183

9 Ghosts in the machine	187
<i>The enforcement of rights</i>	187
<i>International responsibility for economic well-being</i>	189
<i>The feminisation of poverty in Asia</i>	192
<i>The sex trade: Nepal and India</i>	195
<i>The right to live</i>	197
<i>The right to live and self-determination: Somalia</i>	199
<i>Food and freedom</i>	202
<i>'Shame has fallen on the earth'</i>	206
10 Becoming human	212
<i>Bibliography</i>	227
<i>Index</i>	259

# 1 A civil religion

There will be peace on earth when everyone's human rights are respected.

(John Humphrey)

As the new century begins international human rights have become a central focus of international relations, law and politics. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 declares that 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' and that we should all 'act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood'. But what do these words mean? Who are human rights for? What standards whether individual or collective can be accepted as universally applicable to everyone? What does a 'spirit of brotherhood' imply? In other words, what constitutes the 'humanness' of human rights?

[W]e have come to understand that what we took to be humanly inclusive problematics, concepts, theories, objective methodologies, and transcendental truths are in fact far less than that. Instead, these products of thought bear the mark of their collective and individual creators, and the creators in turn have been distinctively marked as to gender, class, race, and culture. ...Western culture's favored beliefs mirror in sometimes clear and sometimes distorting ways, not the world as it is or as we might want it to be, but the social projects of their historically identifiable creators.

(Harding 1986: 15)

One of Western culture's most favoured beliefs is in the existence of inherent and universal human rights. Yet, after more than fifty years of effort by the United Nations and other bodies the world is still far from the full adoption and implementation of universally recognised human rights for all. The Universal Declaration was meant to be a lasting statement of basic human rights. Nevertheless, when it came to implementing these standards into a binding convention two main covenants had to be drafted (the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) or 'ICCPR' and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) or 'ICESCR'). Many subsequent treaties on human rights indicate that turning universally acceptable standards into enforceable norms is very difficult.

This fragmentation and contention over what human rights might mean is particularly curious with regards to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women 1979. Women constitute more than 50 per cent of the world's population. If the Universal Declaration, covenants and other conventions are inadequate in dealing with women's rights then whose *human* rights are they? As Hilary Charlesworth has noted, there has been a rather embarrassed silence within the halls of international diplomacy and law-making concerning women's rights (Charlesworth 1998). The fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration by the United Nations General Assembly occurred on 10 December 1998. Leading up to the anniversary there was considerable discussion about altering this most basic document better to represent differing cultural perspectives on human rights. Asian countries were particularly insistent while most so-called 'Western' nations responded with horror. But regional documents on human rights indicate the existence of significant differences over what human rights are and what they might mean.

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights contains civil and political rights similar to those in the European Convention on Human Rights (1950) and the ICCPR. It also contains economic, social and cultural rights as in the European Social Charter, the ICESCR and other conventions. In addition, however, Articles 19 to 24 contain a list of peoples' rights. These include the right to self-determination, the right to dispose freely of a peoples' wealth and natural resources, the right to development, the right to peace and the right to a satisfactory environment. This is the only major human rights treaty that explicitly recognises peoples' rights (other than Common Article 1 of the ICCPR and the ICESCR recognising the right of self-determination), but the reiteration of the other rights is similar to most other regional and global conventions. Although political and civil rights are generally treated separately from economic, social and cultural rights, as in the two main covenants, the African Charter is not alone in grouping them together. But because of the emphasis on group rights peculiar to this Convention the individual human rights that are enumerated cannot in fact be seen in the same light as in, for example, the ICCPR or the European Convention. Individuality, so central to human rights in Western Europe and North America, has a much less central role in the rights of Africans – or at least as they are expressed in the African Charter. In addition this convention sets out a list of duties in Chapter II for each individual covered by the Charter. These include duties towards 'the family and society, the State and other legally recognised communities, and the international community'. The rights and freedoms contained in the African Charter must be exercised 'with due regard to the rights of others, collective security, morality and common interest' (Art. 27). This hybrid formulation illustrates how difficult it is to identify human rights as universally binding in the light of culturally specific or regional needs, whether as an inheritance of a colonial past, or as part of the desire to create a post-colonial present and future.

A major gap in many analyses of human rights is the lack of any deep or complex awareness of the historical context in which they developed. International human rights are intimately connected to a range of issues. The expansion of



Europe, including the economic, political, scientific and technological values that have accompanied it, is a crucial factor, although perhaps in ways less obvious than is usually accepted within international human rights discourse. Religious and ethnic struggles are an important issue. Less generally recognised, however, are the changing nature of the patriarchal family in Europe and elsewhere, the development of printing, the chronology of empire through mainstream history, the connection between citizenship and militarism, and the establishment of human rights within Euro-American literate cultures. Where histories of these structures have been referred to they tend to be dominated by one history – the rise of Europe – whose dominance is taken as axiomatic (Landes 1999).

In one sense a focus on the history of European institutions and traditions is an accurate portrayal of the development of such supposedly 'Western' traditions as international law and international human rights. But the dominance of the West is not a matter of economic, technological, scientific, political or legal superiority. The 'lever of riches' (Mokyr 1990) in the West was the colonial conquest of most of the rest of the world. Despite considerable academic debate over the relative costs and benefits of colonisation and imperialism in Europe it is no coincidence that 'the rise of Europe' accompanied its expansion outside the boundaries of western Eurasia (Blaut 1993: 186–206). This expansion involved the dispossession and appropriation of most of the rest of the world. Whatever the particular expenses and burdens this may have imposed on specific European states the overall impact for colonial Europe was access to and acquisition of the world's resources. This resulted in the transformation of European states into centres of world capital, political development and control over legal discourse, including discourses of international law and human rights. This monopoly on the language of power was extended to European colonial settlements established by the English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Russians, Dutch, Danish, Belgians, Italians, Germans and the United States. Even today only Japan really qualifies as an exception to this centralisation of power. Its economic pre-eminence is both dependent on the European models it adopted with enthusiasm from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, and inherently fragile because of this dependence. International law and human rights are closely connected to this wider colonial history. Part of this connection is reflected in the disturbing lack within human rights discourse of the histories of those people who have been silenced within and because of the Western 'meta-narrative', i.e. women, children, the poor, the colonised, the indigenous, the 'disappeared'. These are the 'people without history' in Eric Wolf's evocative phrase (Wolf 1982). These are the people who, when they are brought within the reach of Western rationalist narratives, are treated as objects, static, unchanging, their 'development' dependent on biology or nature or tradition and, above all, the guiding hand of white European man.

Although I believe it is necessary to place human rights within the very complex context of European colonial history it is not my intention to demean or destroy the deeply transformative effect human rights or a belief in their efficacy can have. Shirley Scott has posited that international law can be seen as ideology (Scott

1994). Human Rights may also be seen as an aspect of the ideology of international law – as ideas that have power and can enable action. But these ideas are also subject to processes of reexamination and reimagination. They are not immutable. The following chapters are meant as an exploration, a kind of archaeological dig through the past and present of human rights within international law. In particular I would like to examine the ‘humanness’ of rights and how the characterisation of this humanity from a Euro-American perspective affects who gets to be fully human and who doesn’t quite make it. My intention is to take a critical perspective. As Charlesworth has said on another occasion:

While there have been lively debates about the relationship between the generations of rights and the best methods of implementing human rights law, there has been a general reluctance to question the basis or value of the international human rights system itself. Analyses of the foundations and scope of international human rights law frequently lapse into heroic or mystical language; it is almost as if this branch of international law were both too valuable and too fragile to sustain critique.

(Charlesworth 1994: 59)

This book is an attempt at bringing together different perspectives and different voices in order to see how they can contribute to a critical analysis of international human rights. I draw freely on feminist and indigenous approaches as well as some postmodern and post-colonial scholarship. I have made no attempt to survey the literature from any of these sources. A direct engagement with some of the prevailing orthodoxies of human rights such as ‘universality’, ‘the individual’, ‘self-determination’, ‘cultural relativism’ and ‘civil society’ is explored. Decolonising human rights, and creating a global community that is conducive to the well-being of all humans and the earth that we share, requires a radical restructuring of our ways of thinking, researching and writing. Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes these processes as ‘indigenizing’ research (Smith 1999: 146–147), or they might be described as ‘feminising’ traditional discourses. The point is not to replace one perspective with another but to decentre our focus of attention in the hope that human rights can be expanded and strengthened. It is an uncomfortable but necessary project (see Anaya 1996; Anghie 1999; Barsh 1994; Battiste and Henderson 2000; Cass 1996; Charlesworth and Chinkin 2000; Knop 1993; Orford 1997; Otto 1996a, 1999; Spivak 1995; Stark 2000).

A critical evaluation of the history of international human rights can be very difficult to sustain. A visit to the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, provides a vivid example. The depiction of loss represented within the Museum is sometimes overwhelming in its intensity – the names of European villages emptied of their Jewish populations engraved on the glass walls of the walkways from one exhibit to the next; the tower of photographs from the *stelt* in Lithuania out of which no survivors came; Eisenhower’s determination to visit the camps so that he could be a witness ensuring that no one could deny this, no one could forget; the Temple of Memory on the ground floor with its candles, the flame of