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APPENDIX A: MATERIALS ON THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PUBLISHERS' EFFORTS TO RE-ENTER THE APARTHEID ECONOMY

1. Press release announcing AAP trip to South Africa. May 1989.
2. Letter from library activist EJ. Josey encouraging pursuit of the AAP report and stories planted in the press in support of it.
3. N I Limes story in support of the AAP report.
4. Damaging article by AAP agent Robert Wedgeworth in the influential Chronicle of Higher Education, obviously revamped in light of Cde Mandela's release.
5. Editorial printed by the NYTimes, again giving the attempts to break the boycott wide exposure.
6. Position paper of the Progressive Librarians Guild on the AAP affair. PLG has been leading the fight against the AAP and its agents, and has consistently consulted the ANC office in New York for advice.

Columbia University in the City of New York I New York. N.Y. 10027

SCHOOL OF LIBRARY SERVICE 51b Built! Library

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Availability of Educational Material: in South Africa

Robert Hedgeworth, Dean, School of Library Service, Columbia University and Lisa Drew, Vice-President and Senior Editor, William Morrow & Company, Inc. will conduct a survey of the availability of educational materials to support research and study in South Africa from May 18 - May 28, 1989.

Sponsored by the Association of American Publishers the visit to South Africa will include visits to schools, universities and public libraries as well as interviews with educators, politicians, publishers, librarians and others. The cities to be visited are Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town.

Although educational materials have been exempted from the current economic boycott legislation in the U.S. Congress, most American publishers have stopped sending them to South Africa. It is not clear what opinions South Africans hold on the question or what alternative sources for these materials, if any, are being used.

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A suggestion has been made and supported by U.S. publishers that profits from sales to South Africa might be placed in a trust fund to support scholarships or other aid to black South Africans.

For further information contact R. Wedgeworth, 212-850-2292

Univetsity of Pittsburgh
SCHOOL OF LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SCIENCE
December 4, 1989
ML-Joseph D. Reilly
10 Harvey Road
Windsor, CT 06095

Dear Joe:

Enclosed you will find a xerox copy of a news article from the New York Times which was obviously generated by Bob Wedgeworth and the William Morrow Publishing Company regarding the trip to South Africa. Would you kindly look into this fiasco and false report.

Unfortunately I will not be able to attend the meeting in New York on Saturday, December 9th, because I am speaking at the University of Richmond on the evening of the 8th and my flight will not get me back to Pittsburgh in time.

I do plan to join you and your colleagues another time to forge a positive social responsibility unit for the Northeast that is long overdue. Give my best regards to my colleagues at the meeting.

With all best wishes.

Very truly yours,

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enclosure

PS. I think the New York Times article was published in preparation for the IFLA Exec Board Meeting. .71. 445' 4 Wt. 71,. L; Q. (L; N? peibefK

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I cum Arum university students. faculty members. and librarians have been systematically deprived of access to vital sources of information. laws. internal security laws. and the current State of Emergency empower the government to prohibit the possession of certain kinds of publications. ban the publications of organizations such as the African National Congress. and even ban interviews or other contacts with individual authors whose writings are considered inimical to the security of the state. Despite exemptions negotiated by university librarians in the past that have allowed libraries to acquire banned publications and make them available to qualified users under special conditions. books. journals. and other materials dealing with the history of South Africa. especially from the perspective of the white and black population—simply are unavailable to university students and faculty members. Indeed. it is not unknown for postgraduate students and faculty advisers to be given permission to use banned material for a thesis. only to have the thesis writer banned from publication for quoting from such material. Unfortunately. the United States in recent years has exacerbated this isolation of South African faculty members and students from the flow of scholarship and intellectual life. The economic sanctions imposed on South Africa by the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 have prompted a cultural boycott that has led American publishers and booksellers to refuse to sell or ship books and other educational materials to customers in South Africa. Even with the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and other recent steps of liberalization by the South African government. the United States and its citizens must continue to press South Africa toward the development of a society in which all citizens are allowed to achieve their potential. But at the same time. we should reaffirm unequivocally that Americans recognize the value of access to information and ideas regardless of their origin. as a fundamental human right. American academics should work for immediate passage of amendments proposed by Rep. Ronald V. Dellums. Denver. to the Anti-Apartheid Act that would lift economic sanctions. Academics should urge supporters of the act to support a boycott of South African goods. including pamphlets and leaflets. that were banned over the past several decades. because they have disappeared from the market. For all but the largest South African publishers. the penalties for violating the censorship laws have had a chilling effect on the selection of works to be published. For example. a specific issue of a journal normally sold on newsstands can be banned after it is published. with the publisher required to retrieve all unsold copies at its own expense. . . . These and related limitations on research and study at South African universities were brought to my attention quite dramatically last year during an intensive 10-day trip to Cape Town. Pretoria. and Johannesburg. The purpose of my visit. together with Lisa Drew. vice-president of William Morrow and Company. was to investigate the effects of the refusal by many U.S. publishers to ship books there. The mission was sponsored jointly by the Association of American Publishers and the Fund for Free Expression. an international human-rights organization. The refusal to ship books began following passage of the Anti-Apartheid Act. when several libraries. school districts. and academic organizations expressed a belief that further action was needed to isolate South

Africa-promoted a cultural boycott of the country. U.S. publishers and booksellers were threatened with the loss of substantial domestic accounts if they continued to sell books and other educational materials to customers in South Africa. Some were asked to sign pledges agreeing not to do business there. The immediate result was that those publishers and booksellers with business operations in South Africa sold them to local buyers at barter prices, while others withdrew there.

Such restrictions on the free exchange and dissemination of information and ideas are contrary to the basic policies and traditions of U.S. publishers, educational institutions, and cultural institutions. To appreciate this, one need only consider what the reaction in the United States would have been if the government of South Africa had instigated a ban on publications from the United States. Cooper and Dellums' economic boycott should exclude books, educational materials, and medical supplies, but many supporters of the boycott remain ambivalent, perhaps fearing that any amendment could tend to weaken the overall boycott strategy.

In 1989, the United States' unwittingly supporting apartheid by reinforcing the South African government's policy of isolation of the population from the outside world in its information has not been noted. In a 1989 policy statement, the African National Congress noted that the apartheid government's "imposition of the weapon of the media of the oppressor on the people"; then the statement supported the boycott of the apartheid government's products. The African Studies Association in the United States have proposed focusing the book boycott on organizations and institutions that support, or do not oppose, apartheid. But defining an organization that supports apartheid is problematical. Simply because an organization or institution receives money from the South African government does not necessarily mean that it is obligated to support the government's policies. For example, several universities whose students have actively protested against government policies have convinced the Supreme Court of South Africa that they have the right to be free from direct interference by the government. Admittedly, sanctions have been an important strategy for a number of countries in their concerted efforts to persuade South Africa to abandon its apartheid laws. Yet not one of the more than 75 faculty members, students, human rights activists, authors, publishers, and librarians we met in South Africa last year agreed that the book boycott should be included in that strategy.

HIS ATTITUDE is not difficult to understand. By shipping in quantity, publishers had made U.S. books competitive with other important books in South Africa.

More recently, U.S. texts on management or science were sold in South Africa. It is their way to South Africa it all. Students can obtain them only by sharing the cost through selling photocopies of all or part of the works. During our visit, South African university librarians noted that University Microfilms Inc. - virtually the only source for films and dissemination of U.S. universities - refused to honor orders from South Africa, thus creating a special hardship for postgraduate students.

In 1989, nearly 300,000 students were enrolled in South African universities. Of the total, more than 143,000 were black South African. Although a few of the country's universities remain almost totally white

due to a combination of their location and restrictive admissions policies. moot formerly all-white universities have steadily increased their black enrollments in recent years. Beyond changing the composition of their student bodies. Several of the universities have been quite vocal in their attempts to represent a progressive element in South African society. .

The release of Nelson Mandela and other recent event: in South Africa suggest that university students-black and white-will be called upon to help :hnp eatotallynewsocietantheelosingdaysol'lm.

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Robert Wedgewm l t 1: dean of the School of Library Service at Columbia University.

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PROGRESSIVE LIBRARIANS GUILD

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APRIL 1990 STATEMENT OF THE PROGRESSIVE LIBRARIANS GUILD ON THE
MATTER OF rm: ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PUBLISHERS (AA?) AND
INTERACTIONS VITII APAEI'HEID SOUTH AFRICA

We are writing to ask that the Fund for Free Expression reconsider its support of the Association of American Publisher's drive to resume business in South Africa. He also urge the Fund not to promote the findings of the Drew/Wedgeworth report. These requests are being made for the following reasons.

The "book boycott" is one of many sanctions designed expressly to put maximum pressure on the apartheid system of South Africa and that segment of the society that benefits by it. Highly industrialized societies such as South Africa depend on books, journals, newspapers, databases and other forms of information to maintain themselves. Pressures brought by the "book boycott" have been effective in "starving" apartheid supporters of the information they need to function within their racist society. Who can bemoan the lack of current medical journals in South African medical libraries, for example, when under apartheid state-of-the-art medical care and education are available only to the white minority? Who can worry knowing that South African engineers don't have access to the Electric Power Database when lost black South Africans live without electricity? who weeps because the South African censorship apparatus no longer gets to pick and choose what books it will allow to trickle down to the literate populace?

Following the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela the anti-apartheid movement reiterated its request that international supporters continue to bring intensified pressure to bear on racist South Africa. Librarians, writers, and publishers who advocate an end to apartheid can assist the Mass Democratic Hovement by withholding their services and products from the white rulers until the pillars of apartheid fall.

The African National Congress does 22E support the resumption of business relations with apartheid institutions as stated in Recommendation #2 of the Dreleedgeworth report. The paragraph quoted in that report from the ANC's May 1989 statement on the cultural and academic boycott must be read within the context of the entire document which earlier states:

The cultural and academic boycott of apartheid South Africa (that is, those bodies, institutions, cultural workers and their product that promote, defend and give aid and comfort to the system of White minority domination) must consistently and continuously be strengthened as part of our overall strategy for the isolation of the apartheid regime.

c/o SCHOOL OF LABOR Srumss LIBRARY. 330 West 42m: Smear, Fouam FLOOh. New YORK. NY 10036
212 279-7380 ext. 20

Several of the institutions visited by Drew and Hedgeworth, especially the universities and national libraries, are part-and-parcel of the apartheid system (even if a few individuals within the - are opponents of apartheid). Indeed, bibliographies compiled, published, and distributed by the State Library in Pretoria dutifully note which titles are 'Not permitted in South Africa'. Most librarians obediently enforce then dictates. Most libraries school: teach censorship. And, while the recent loosening of restrictions on anti-apartheid individuals and organisations has placed we previously henned material on library and bookshop shelves, censorship in South Africa is not yet a thing of the past. Christopher Hertetz, librarian at the University of Natal, writes in his library's February 1990 newsletter that 'statutory censorship is still in force, while powers under the Internal Security Act will continue to encourage self-censorship of various types.' The New York Times in a 3/13/90 article on the anniversary of the fact that Eugene Terre'Blanche in Pretoria can still decide if it is fit for their fellow citizens to read he - been a censor; reality: that any of the Minister's restrictive powers over freedom of information remain in place.

It is not librarians in the 1990s who uphold the anti-apartheid movement who are insensitive to the plight of oppressed South Africans. The Drew and Hedgeworth report, however, in failing to highlight the 'attribution of young black artists' squarely on the apartheid system as a whole, it: educates and it: censorship laws, would have one believe that it is supporters of sanctions and boycott, who deprive South African children of a decent education. Those of no one the continuance of the 'book boycott' are not the censor, who are interfering with the 'free flow of information'. Our right to disseminate international librarianship too - it: relationship with institutions of the north and to realign with democratic institutions of the South Africa people does - not involve censorship in any way we do not imply compliance with censorship and refusing to cooperate with individuals and institutions which in fact end benefit the - the law, of apartheid and are really responsible for the 'starvation of young black artists.'

'The Societal Responsibility Fund' (am) of the Mexican Library Association (AM) has drawn up a set of guidelines (see attached) which allow U.S. librarians to provide information materials and services to the South African people through the aid of the Honorary Donations Committee. . . . organisations within the movement are encouraged to getting books, etc. to all the people of South Africa, while state libraries and universities can only claim to have played their role, in the censorship and to act quietly and effectively.

The MP and Drew and Hedgeworth report it prophetic in other respects as well. In calling for - charitable gesture: (ie. trust funds, book donation, and contribution) too - U.S. publishers to provide groups within South Africa, they imply that such a future will balance out any -ain over the elements will elude at the result of -ed - with 0.5. while the database companies and libraries, charity, however, will never bring economic or political power to the oppressed and dilettantes at South Africa, but unfettered - with 0.3. in total broken - contribute, to the white power structure's continued domination of all social institutions. Parthenon, the report is based on extremely questionable methodology and is very impressionistic. Just who, for instance, did Drew and Hedgeworth interview? None of the specifically named institutions visited by the team are part of the movement; no official movement representatives were identified or have been interviewed; and the MP has clearly stated that it did not support the mission (see attached memo to the ALA). Interviews with individual individuals in liberal institutions, does not constitute official mission with the HM, too. the report given the erroneous impression that within academic and library institutions there has been widespread support of the anti-apartheid movement. That is very in not true.

These (laws are so serious as to put into question the objectivity, sincerity, and competency of the authors.

For all, these reasons, the non-native Librarians Guild reminds that the Fund for free expression withdraw its support of the MP and Drew and Hedgeworth recommendation that 11.5. while the librarian, as the 'book boycott'. He also invite you to join with the movement, the Association of Colleagues and Librarians, the ALA: Council (AM), the International Relations Committee (AU), and the International Information Market (AB) in endorsing the so-called Guideline for Librarians Interact with the South Africa. Finally, we urge the movement for 'Free Study' to meet is 307510- of these guidelines: by the Association of Merit Men.

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APPENDIX B: MATERIALS CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LIBRARY ASSOCIATIONS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SCIENCE (SAILIS)

1. Letter from IFLA Secretary General Paul Nauta refusing to exlude SAILIS libraries from membership. on the grounds that IFLA is "not a political organization".
2. Bulletin in Library Journal (the premier library publication in the US.) announcing IFLA's decision regarding SAILIS. Note that Robert Wedge-worth, who has headed the AAP efforts to get the publishing industry to re-enter the apartheid economy. was elected as Vice President of IFLA's Executive Board at the same meeting.
3. Letter from SAILIS President 55. Wallis describing library services in South Africa. Note all of page 2 for an idea of how hard-line SAILIS is.
4. Letter from SOMAFCO librarian Mariana Lahti detailing plans for attendance at IFLA's August conference in Stockholm.

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House blocks

Senate effort on

Helms amendment

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By preventing the introduction of a motion that supported the measure, the House rejected the Senate appropriations bill amendment proposed by Senator Jesse Helms (Fl-N. C.) to restrict federal grants for art deemed "obscene or indecent" (News, this' Issue. p. 15). A Senate and House conference committee is to meet to resolve differences on the bill, and Helms's supporters hope it will survive in the bill's final form. Fiep. Sidney Ft. Yates (D-Ill.) led the tight against the Helms amendment, describing it as "an incredible hodgepodge of administrative barriers that would cripple not just the NEA but many agencies." Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.) led house supporters of the Helms amendment, and vowed to take the debate to "the hinterlands of America." Rohrabacher has also threatened to characterize any representative's vote against the Helms amendment as one in favor of obscenity and pornography.

South Africa,

Cuba, and IFLA

The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) met recently in Paris. A resolution denying membership to South Africa from the Standing Committee was reviewed by the IFLA Executive Board. which ruled that it did not present enough evidence to warrant withholding membership from South African institutions. A working group will be appointed to look into the matter further and report at the 1990 Stockholm conference. IFLA accepted an invitation to hold the 1994 conference in Havana: but US. citizens are prohibited from spending money for travel to Cuba. Officers and committee chairs would be permitted to attend under present guidelines, but US. delegates will work to get government clearance for other professionals who wish to attend.

Wedgeworth elected.

to IFLA Council '

Dean of the Columbia School of Library Service Robert Wedgeworth was reelected to a two-year term on the IFLA Council, and as first vice president or' the Executive Board. Wedgeworth is the only US. representative on the international council, and only one LLFA committee is chaired by an American (Nancy John, University of Illinois-Chicaco chair. Section on Cataloging). Wedgeworth urges American librarians to start thinking about who might represent us internationas.; a sthe next opportunity tor nominating people for membership on IFLA committees will occur in 1991.

Udmark resigns

as ALA CFO

After three and a half years. Susan Odmark, chief financial officer of the American Library Association, has tendered her resignation effective Sestember 30. In a memo to ALA staff, depahing Executive Director Tom Galvin noted that Odmark leaves ALA In the best tinancial position it has ever achieved.

Castagna scholarship

is announced by

SLIS Berkeley

Edwin and Rachel Dent Castagna were both members of the then School of tbrarianship' 5 class of 1936 at the University of Berkeley. When they (5: ed in 1983 they left their estate to the Enoch Pratt Free Library In Ea timore where Edwin was director. and to Berkeley's School of L: :rary and Information Studies. SLIS Berkeley has named a doctoral .s. e owship in their memory. Applicants for doctoral fellowships V! l automatically be considered for the Castagna fellowship; the dea- 'e: ;-, 9 - academic year 1990/91 is January 5, 1990.

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The Natal Society

NA TAL SOCIETY LIBRARY. CHURCHILL SQUARE. PO. BOX 415. PIETERMARITZWEG. 3200. TELEPHONE (033!) 52383

FAX (033!) 940095

2nd May 1989

Mr J.D. Reilly

10 Harvey Road

WINDSOR. CT 06095

U S A

Dear Mr Reilly

I am sorry I have not made your deadline for May but have sent you the information you require in the hopes that it will still be of some help to you.

Online databases are certainly in use by most of the major libraries in South Africa, for example two of which I can think of immediately are Anglo American Library which can access DIALOG and the Institute of Medical Literature which can access through DIALOG, BIOSIS, EMBASE, PSYCINFO, INSPEC, ERIC, SCISEARCH, IPA. CAB, INFORMATION SCIENCE ABSTRACTS, DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS ONLINE, LISA, etc. etc. There are many others. I have enclosed further information re data bases in South Africa for your perusal.

As for your other questions, I will answer them in order of your queries:

- 1) There are online databases (see enclosures);
- 2) They are at research facilities and universities;
- 3) The public do have access to them via the above;
- 4) Databases - see attached - international and national;
- 5) There is complete cooperation with all neighbouring states;
- 6) The only network between libraries at present is SABINET (see enclosure).
- 7) Automated circulation systems are used by all universities and many, although not all, public libraries;
- 8) It is becoming commonplace today;
- 9) Cataloguing is done through SABINET (see enclosure);
- 10) National and International inter-library-loan systems exist in all libraries.

Mr J.D. Reilly : 12.5.1989

Inter-library-loans are made by all libraries throughout South Africa as well as to neighbouring states such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, and of course Lesotho and the national states within the country. These loans are transacted either through the State Library in Pretoria which is one of the two National Libraries in South Africa, or alternatively each library makes its own loans (which is sometimes quicker, or through SABINET). Apartheid does not enter the librar world whatsoever, all information is ?reer availaBIe to anyone who requires it. The only 'apartheid' I know of is practised by American and European libraries who refuse to supply South Africa with information.

Most libraries throughout the country are available for use by all people, especially those in the larger cities and towns; unfortunately there are still pockets of small public libraries governed by local authorities of small country areas which supply library services to all races but in separate areas.

The South African Institute of Librarianship and Information Science of which I am currently President, is aware of these libraries and is making a concerted effort to change their policies.

I do hope that what I have written is of some interest to you. It would seem that very few countries are aware of the total multiracialism of our country, particularly amongst librarians, probably because of biased and sensational press reporting.

Best wishes for your research.

Yours sincerely

mm

5.5. Wallis (Mrs)

DIRECTOR

Encls:

SSW/hm

Marjatta Lahti
Joseph 13. Reilly
10 Harvey Road Box 680
Windsor, CT 06095 Morogoro
Tanzania

9 February 1990

Dear Joseph,

Thank you very much for your letter of 19 January 1990. You seem to be really busy and
All our staff members read your letter,
working hard. on the SA issue in that end.

couraged by the support. They
and are very much impressed by your efforts and en
. are sending you their best wishes.

.. Nonkululeko's address in UK is as follows:

: (, Nonkululeko Woke

- s - -, h. , '...'-...N..a..

'34 cirzon St.

Loughborough

Leicestershire, LE 11 3 30,

She is studying Archives Management at

Loughborough University of Technology

Loughborough LE11 3TH

Tel. 0509 263171, Telex 34319

K h K ; . _ . . . ; - , . . r - 7.

. Nonkululeko will stay in Eshglard up to the end of the year to finalize her studies.

She will, however, attend the IFLA meeting in Stockholm, and it would be fine,

if you could be in contact With her to formulate strategies. An ANC comrade,

yeve Bodibe, presently studying Library Science in Finland, is also going to attend

the meeting, as well as two Namibian comrades also studying in Finland. The Secretary

General of the Finnish Library Association, Ms. Tuula. Haavisto, is well aware of

the situation and is fully supporting it. I am trying to contact some Swedish

, . librarians through a volunteer librarian working in Tanzania, and hope to raise

Q. t the matter among progressive librarians in Sweden. Perhaps they could exercise

some pressure on the Swedish organizers of the meeting.

Nonkululeko won't be at Mazimbu before the IFLA meeting. Perhaps

As you can see,

However, if you still would like to

you would be able to meet her in London.

APPENDIX C: MATERIALS ON THE GUIDELINES UP FOR ENDORSEMENT IN THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

1. The 25 June 1989 Guidelines adopted by the ALA's Social Responsibilities Roundtable (SRRT). The amendments were the result of activist librarians' consultations with MDM and ANC personnel in the US.
2. The guidelines originally proposed by various forces in the ALA, with considerably weaker language. Note that it is this version that is now being supported by conservative forces. Compare sections 2.2, 2.3, 5.0 and especially 6.2 with the progressive movement-oriented language of the SRRT Guidelines.

GUIDELINES FOR LIBRARIANS INTERACTING WITH SOUTH AFRICA

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mmmmwmemzs. 1939. Amdmamappmruttfdstype.

In light of the continuing crisis in South Africa, numerous organizations. both within that country and worldwide. have called for a total boycott to isolate the South African regime. However, with the enormous growth of the South African democratic movement and its alternative structures, the international boycott has been modified in order to support that movement while still isolating the apartheid regime. Because librarians have a special role in providing information, guidelines are especially necessary to define our role under current circumstances. These guidelines were adopted by the Archives-Libraries Committee of the ID. S.) African Studies Association at its spring meeting at the University of Florida (Gainesville) on April 12-15, 1989. They are loosely based on the format and content of similar guidelines developed by the academic staff of the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa, in March 1988.

E! 2.5. E' .5

1.1 We support and uphold the values of a free, democratic and non-racial society and therefore totally oppose the South African system of government based upon race known as apartheid ' _

1.2 We oppose all institutions which contribute to the continuation of apartheid

1.3 We are committed to excellence in the performance of our professional responsibilities. -

1:4 We are committed to social responsibility as one of our highest priorities.

1.5 Libraries should provide and promote services that are appropriate to the needs of the communities that they serve.

1.6 Research is enriched in excellence and social value through an exchange of ideas that occurs locally and internationally. '

1.7 Meaningful research is impossible without full and uncensored access to information.

1.8 Libraries do not exist in isolation from the dominant trends and conflicts in the world arena. '

2,! Th; lac

2.1 We take serious note of the international campaign to isolate the South African Government and its apartheid structures.

Q We note that the international cultural boycott has recently been modified to exclude from the boycott people and organizations that are contributing to the struggle

to abolish apartheid such as the African National Congress of South Africa.

South African Trade unions WWW mm from.

We note that the free flow of information to and from the mass democratic and MW institutions in South Africa is of benefit to the evolution of South African democracy.

2.4 We note that the Government of South Africa does everything in its power to deny the free flow of information deemed useful to the mass democratic movement, both domestically and in the international arena.

2.5 We note that the Government of South Africa engages in a substantial and sophisticated worldwide propaganda campaign to assert its legitimacy, using every conceivable medium including the free distribution of publications.

2.6 As professionals, we must strive to balance our methods to promote the free flow of information with work activities that are morally and politically responsible.

W

3.1 Librarians should encourage discussion and debate on the South African situation.

3.2 Librarians are encouraged to express their outrage concerning the continued existence of the apartheid South African Government.

3.3 Librarians are encouraged to work within the political process to isolate the South African Government and all apartheid institutions.

3.4 Librarians are encouraged to be of service to the South African mass democratic movement in the context of their professional work.

3.5 Librarians should attempt to educate members of their institutions to be aware of the subtleties of the South African Government's propaganda campaign.

3.6 Librarians should become aware of the democratic and support organizations concerned with South Africa operating in the United States and elsewhere.

4 ' I ' I .

Queue:

4.1 We recognize the need to build balanced collections relating to South Africa.

Because the South African Government maintains a large worldwide program to distribute free pro-apartheid materials to libraries and other institutions, librarians are especially encouraged to aggressively acquire and publicize counter materials, especially those published by the mass democratic and liberation movements.

4.2 In their reference interactions and teaching responsibilities, librarians should strive to encourage library users to develop the critical skills necessary to evaluate, interpret and understand the underlying intentions of various sources of information about South Africa.

(T 4.3 Through direct contact, guides, and bibliographies, librarians should publicize and
 1' provide access to a variety of sources of information, including possibly conflicting
 '1 presentations of statistics and other facts, as well as expressions of differing point
 s of
 view, and assist in interpreting these presentations.
 4:4 Librarians should take the opportunity whenever possible to provide
 bibliographies and reading lists to support school and community activities such as
 films, programs and other public events, as well as to supplement media coverage of
 South Africa.
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 . ., . .Ma-Wksn
 seminars at, or contractual relationships with apartheid institutions should not be
 . ' . I a a o '
 6,0 Pccanlczdztion: for Action
 !
 6.1 Librarians and library associations are encouraged to promote legal and other
 humanitarian assistance to South African librarians and library workers who suffer
 . the consequences of their actions in opposing apartheid
 Librarians, library associations and library educational institutions are
 encouraged to provide all types of educational and financial assistance to black
 (African, Asian and "coloured") South African students who wish to study library and
 information science in a non-racial environment. Assistance should not be based on
 whether or not students have the possibility of working in their own country under
 current conditions. Such swdwtz show hommfmmor weak the approval. of non-
 metal. mass democratic organtzadons.
 6.3 All activities that promote South Africa as a regional center for library
 ' Q development should be opposed while apartheid continues. Examples of such acti'vities
 are: special training programs or lecture series at apartheid institutions, and
 consultation of the South African Institute for Library and Information Science in
 matters that involve other African countries (such as the revision of the Dewey
 classification schedules).

GUIDELINES FOR LIBRARIANS INTERACTING WITH
SOUTH AFRICA

In light of the continuing crisis in South Africa. numerous organizations. both within that country and worldwide, have called for a total boycott to isolate the South African regime. However. with the enormous growth of the South African democratic movement and its alternative strucwres. the international boycott has been modified in order to support that movement while Still isolating the apezi'f/ie/lf regime. Because librarians have a special role in providing information. guidelines are especiailly necessary to define our role under current circumsmnnces. These guidelines were adopted by the Archives-Libraries Committee of the IU. 5.1 African Studies Association at its spring meeting at the University of Florida iGainesvilleJ on April 12-15, 1989. They are loosely based on the format and content of similar guidelines developed by the academic staff of the University of Witwatersrand. South Africa. in March 1988.

uidin i c ' e

1.1 We support and uphold the values of a free. democratic and non-racial society and therefore totally oppose the South African system of government based upon race known as apartheid

1.2 We oppose all institutions which contribute to the continuation of apartheid

1.3 We are committed to excellence in the performance of our professional responsibilities.

1.4 We are committed to social responsibility as one of- our highest . priorities.

1.5 Libraries should provide and promote services that. are appropriate to the needs of the communities that they serve.

1.6 Research is enriched in excellence and social value through an exchange of ideas that occurs locally and internationally.

, 1. 7 Meaningful research is impossible without full and uncensored access to Q information.

1.8 Libraries do not exist in isolation from the dominant trends and conflicts in the world arena.

2. 0 722:: I544;

2.1 We take serious note of the international campaign to isolate the South African Government and its apartheid structures.

2.2 We note that the international cultural boycott has recently been modified to exclude people and organizations that are contributing to the struggle to abolish apartheid.

2.3 We note that the free flow of information to and from South Africa is of benefit to the evolution of South African democracy.

2.4 We note that the Government of South Africa does everything in its power to deny the free flow of information deemed useful to the mass democratic movement, both domestically and in the international arena.

2.5 We note that the Government of South Africa engages in a substantial and sophisticated worldwide propaganda campaign to assert its legitimacy, using every conceivable medium including the free distribution of publications.

2.6 As professionals, we must strive to balance our methods to promote the free flow of information with work activities that are morally and politically - responsible.

3. 0 General Recommendations

3.1 Librarians should encourage discussion and debate on the South African situation.

3.2 Librarians are encouraged to express their outrage concerning the continued existence of the apartheid South African Government.

3.3 Librarians are encouraged to work within the political process to isolate the South African Government and all apartheid institutions.

3.4 Librarians are encouraged to be of service to the South African mass democratic movement in the context of their professional work.

3.5 Librarians should attempt to educate members of their institutions to be aware of the subtleties of the South African Government's propaganda campaign.

3.6 Librarians should become aware of the democratic and support organizations concerned 'x-Vllh South Afrtca operating in the United States and elsewhere.

4.0 Recommendations for Collection De velogme/It. Reference Service and Outreach

4.1 We recognize the. need to build balanced collections relating to South Africa. Because the South African Government maintains a large worldwide program to distribute free pro-apc-IrI/Ie/kl materials to libraries and other institutions. librarians are especially encouraged to aggressively acquire and publicize counter materials, especially those published by the mass democratic and liberation movements.

4.2 In their reference interactions and teaching responsibilities, librarians should strive to encourage library users to dex-clop the critical skills necessary to evaluate, interpret and understand the underlying intentions of various sources of information about South Africa.

4.3 Through direct contact, guides. and bibliographies, librarians should publicize and provide access to a variety of sources of information, including possibly conflicting presentations of statistics and other facts. as well as expressions of differing points of view, and assist in interpreting these presentations.

4.4 Librarians should take the opportunity whenever possible to provide bibliographies and reading lists to support school and community activities such as films, programs and other public events, as wet! as to supplement . media coverage of South Africa.

5,0 Recommendations Regarding ProLessianal Zr: ave! to Soul!) Africa '

5.1 Before travelling to South Africa. tibrarians should ask how the trip will benefit the library and academic communities here and in South Africa. For example, can hard to get material be acquired; would valuable skills be

transferred; or would useful publicity be created. Talks and seminars at. or contractual relationships with apart/Ie/k/ institutions should be limited to exceptional circumstances.

532 Librarians should ask if the trip will in any way further the interests of aparI/ze/d For example, will contact be limited to white librarians? Will the visit be seen as support of the South African institute for Library and Information Science. an organization whose membership in the International Federation of Library Associations and Insritutions (IFLA! is currently being challenged? Or will legitimating publicity be created for apartheid inStitutions?

5.3 Librarians should also ask if the trip will contribute to democratic progress in South Africa. For example, every opportunity should be taken to discuss the positions taken by librarians on censorship. privacy of library patron records, a Dewey classification schedule that does not serve apartheid. and access to libraries, library training, and library employment not based on race.

6 0 Recommendations for Action

6.1 Librarians and library associations are encouraged to promote legal and other humanitarian assistance to South African librarians and library workers who suffer the consequences of their actions in opposing apartheid

6.2 Librarians. library associations and library educational institutions are encouraged to provide all types of educational and financial assistance to black (African, Asian and i'coloured") South African students who wish to study library and information science. in a non-racial environment.

Assistance should not be based on whether or not students have the possibility of working in their own country under current conditions.

6.3 All activities that promote South Africa as a regional center for library _ development should be opposed while aparr/Ie/dcontihues. Examples of such activities are: special training programs or lecture series at apartheid institutions, and consultation of the South African Institute for Library and Information Science in matters that involve other African countries (such as the revision of the Dewey classification schedules).

APPENDIX D: ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE ON 2
NOVEMBER 1989

F O R I M M E D I A T E R E L E A S E

3 On Thursday, 2 November 1989. Librarian Joseph D. Reilly
Z addressed the Special Political Committee of the United
Nations under the agenda item, "Policies of a artheid of
the Government of South Africa". Approximately 30 member
nations were present. Enclosed is a copy of Mr. Reilly's
address.

For further information, contact:

. - Joseph D. Reilly

10 Harvey Road

Windsor. CT 06095

(203) 688-58#5 (5pm-9pm)

1 November 1989

Your Excellency, Distinguished Members of the Special Committee, I am honored to have the occasion to address this Special Political Committee on the "Policy of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa" on behalf of progressive librarians from across the United States. Librarianship is about access and dissemination of information. And the bottom line for librarianship in apartheid South Africa is that there is a legal framework which has complete control over "the freedom to seek, receive and impart ideas and information" as described in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which we all know the apartheid regime abstained from in this very building in 1948.

Distressingly, the response of library organizations at the national and international level has been negligible. Resolutions against racism are passed and endorsed, only to be compromised by other resolutions that seemingly support free and complete access to information. But there is an unacceptable contradiction here, aptly pointed out by one of my esteemed colleagues, Zoia Horn: "Racism

1

continues to exist because it is possible to control, manipulate, distort and deny information to both the victims of racism and the racists."

It is clear then that when motions calling for boycotts against apartheid's libraries are defeated, the various bodies and committees within the library organizations such as the American Library Association and the International Federation of Library Associates do not intend to protect "the freedom to seek, receive and impart ideas and information". It is again quite from Zoia Horn: "unhlighev. hank Analor4. AaLh baqn aurvauors. unAnrtkandahlv

want no restriction on selling their products. Their motive and (is concern is with profits".

To provide a recent example of this: Robert Wedgeworth, the Dean of Columbia University's Library School (arguably the best in the world) and former president of the American Library Association, made a shameful trip to apartheid South Africa on behalf of the Association of American Publishers, under the auspices of surveying the availability of educational materials in South Africa. One need not look for hidden meaning in his intentions, because Mr. Wedgeworth's press release openly states that a proposal had "been made and supported by U.S. publishers that profits from sales to South Africa might be placed in a trust fund to support scholarships or other aid to black South Africans". In addition to the racist and (colonial mentality of providing "educational materials" to a nation whose struggling people have gone through great pains to redefine education on their own terms, what we really have here is a justification by the greedy for expansion into a market they have no right to be in.

.9

I might add that Mr. Wedgeworth sits on the board of the Wilson Library Publishing Company, one of the world's chief sources of monographic, audio-visual and electronic formats of library materials. Additionally, it has come to our attention that Mr..

McVitt

Wedgeworth also acted on behalf of the Council

. of the International Federation of Library Associates. As you know, IFLA, on whose executive board Mr. Wedgeworth sits, has been a (1. source of great consternation for progressive librarians combatting the apartheid regime. Time after time, IFLA has been asked to remove members of the pro-apartheid organization, the South African Institute of Library and Information Science (SAILIS) from its body. And repeatedly, IFLA has refused to do so. As evidence of SAILIS' racism and support of the most fundamental pro-apartheid positions, I shall now quote from a letter I received in May from Mrs. S.S. Wallis, the current President of SAILIS: "Apartheid does not enter the library world whatsoever, all information is freely available to anyone who requires it. The only "apartheid" I know of is practised by American and European libraries who refuse to supply South Africa . with information. Most libraries throughout the country are available for use by all people, especially those in the larger (cities and towns; unfortunately there are still pockets of small public libraries governed by local authorities of small country areas which supply services to all races but in separate areas...It -would seem that very few countries are aware of the total ,u multiracialism of our country, particularly among still librarians, probably because of biased and sensational press reporting."

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. I quote from length here to demonstrate just how out of touch with reality SAILIS, as an institution, is in 1989. These absurd descriptions of library service in apartheid South Africa completely contravene my research, Mokubung Nkomo's research) research conducted by the University of Witwatersrand, and most importantly the testimony of South Africans themselves. It is those libraries K associated with this racist library organization that we are " attempting to force out of IFLA. And IFLA will not budge. At their recent annual meeting in Paris, IFLA would not even take the matter up for discussion. A revealing memorandum from IFLA's Secretary

General, Paul Nauta, states that "IFLA in the first instance is a professional, and not a political organization". This is unacceptable, and we are asking the United Nations to help us persuade IFLA to remove those South African libraries who belong to SAILIS from its membership.

Finally, Your Excellency, I think it is important to note that we are not merely interested in a destructive process in our efforts to aid the liberation struggle in South Africa. What we seek is to displace apartheid institutions, isolate them completely, and in their place recognize and give total support to organizations of the people. In the field of librarianship there are, happily, other structures in direct conflict with apartheid libraries. Chief among these is the library at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, run by the African National Congress. Inside South Africa excellent progress is being made in organizing people's resource centres, such as the Workers' Library in Johannesburg. Church organizations are also involved in this process. The Ecumenical Centre's Resource Centre in Durban is a key source of information for the surrounding community. There are several others. But their existence is fragile, subject to random police raids, to sabotage and to a serious lack of the basic resources necessary to operate. Our task is to identify ourselves with these democratic bodies, give them institutional recognition and support, and do what is necessary to give them "the freedom to seek, receive and impart ideas and information". Thank you.

APPENDIX E: MATERIALS REGARDING ACT IVIT Y BY PROGRESSIVE LIBRARIANS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA

1. Advertisement in the December 1989 SAILIS Newsletter welcoming Cde Ahmed Kathmda. Study signatories for connections.
2. Letter from Christopher Merrett regarding Joyce Mabudafhasi and SAILIS. This includes attached press release to US. library press. and biographical statement on Joyce's situation
3. Article in the well-respected Library Quarterly by C. Merrett on the overall condition of professional librarianship in South Africa.

Die biblioteek van die Navorsings' - 1-
tuut vir Plankunde in Pretori '
merkwaardige dame, Mar
noem.

Mej Gunn 1S 0015 o'nklik in 1916 by
die destydse Afr lllg Plant- en Plant-
siekte-kunde ' die Unie-Landboude-
partcmeu as tikster aangestel. Die
hoof v l die Afdeling, dr LB. Pole-
na 'n

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Advertisement
van I

Evans, sien eendag hoe sy haar horlo-
sie uilmekaar haal en bcsluit om die
weetgicrigc dame aan te stel om die
biblioteek op te bou. Sy begin dus die
biblioteek in 1916 met net 'n paar
boeke oor mikologie. Mej Gunn het
niks van plankunde of die literatuur
daarvan geweet nie. Om agtergrond-
' . unis te kry, besluite sy katalogi
'ende oorsese boekhandela ..

l-laar te gestelling is onmidde ' ' ge-
stimuleer te met haar lie vir lees,
het haar kennis ' nige HbC

Sy het haar taa'o . el (ocwyding en
emoesiasme aa- epa . y het oor die
vasberaden - dvan in te melaar be-
skik te kry wat sy wil he. . eld was
ska- in daardie dae en s_v het te 'n
- 'llag vertel dat sy dikwels hoe- 'n
die hand by invloedryke mense gel-
gaan vra het om te koop wat sy wou
he. Boeke waarvoor daar nie geld was
nie, is as geskenke bekom, hoofsaaklik
deur die oorredingskrag van mej
Gunn. Seldsame boeke word nie mak-
lik bymekaar gemaak nie, maar daar-
voor het 'n versamel-laar geduld en vol-
harding nodig - "dit wen op die ou
end", he! mej Gunn gese.

Een van die kosbaarste stalle boeke
is agt volumes van Redoutie 5: Les Li-
tiacees. Hierdie stel het in 1919. Smul-
se bagasie in Suid- 1 'a aangekom
te by in 1919 a: die ondertekening
van die V . 'ag van Versailles per
boot n . c ld-Afrika teruggekeer het.

s . meer as 50 jaar van toegewyde
lens is die biblioteek van die
Navorsingsinstituut op 15 Januarie
1970 na mej Gunn vernoem. Deur
haar onvermoeide ywer beskik die bi-
blioteek tans oor een van die beste
versamelings plantkundige boeke in
die suidelike halfsfeer.

001' die jare liet mej Gunn baie
plantversamelaars goed leer ken.
Hierdie kennis. sowel as meer as sestig
jaar se noukeurige en toegewyde na-
vorsing', het neerslag gevind in die
o blikasie, Botanical exploration of
So em Africa, saam met LE. Codd
Mej n het in 1954 vir die eersu
keer afge C en finaal in 1973, maar
nog vir etlike te re vrywilliglik gewerk.

Sy is op 31 Augustus 1989 op negentig-
jarige ouderdom oorgelede. Haar nage-
dachtenis sal voortleef in 'e biblioteek
wat sy gevestig en gebou het . .

WELCOME AHMED KATHRADA

While in prison, Kathy completed his B.Eibl. degree. We, as information workers dedicated to the struggle against Apartheid, would like to pay tribute to him and welcome him to our profession. We recognise the contribution he will make to our society in the period of nation building and reconstruction that lies ahead.
A luta continua!

Philip van Zijl, Lydia Levine, Noel Stott, Mary Hames, Bill Bennett, Michelle Mathys, Johnny Jacobs, Anriette Esterhuizen, Hoekie Msimango, Chantelle Wylcy, Corda Berghammer, J enni Karlsson, Desi Liversage, Cathy Stadler, Pam Allen, Atholl Leach, Christine Stillwell, Jennifer Verbeeck, Nthokoso Made, Dudu Zulu, Christopher Merrett, Correy Nel, Jenny Bowen, Sanjaya Pillay, Lulu Makhubela, JillSpeed, Helen Lee, Ernie Lennert, Patience Maisela, Jackie Le'ach, Durban RC Forum, Noki Pakade, Desiree Lamoral, Rosemary Bell, Ghairo Daniels, Shendi Bhayo, Sbosiso Ndebele, Zwakala Kuzwayo, Zenovia Welman, Ellen Tise, Zona Koen, Caroline Grant, Maya Ranchod. .

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PO. Box 375 Pietermaritzburg 3200 South Africa
Telephone (0331) 63320 Fax (0331) 63497
Telegrams University Telex 643719

10 January 1990

Sandy Berman

Hennepin County Library

- Minnetonka, Minn., USA

Dear Sandy,

I was very pleased to receive your latest communication dated
30 December 1989 and not a little surprised to read its contents. I feel
very honoured to have been nominated for the Immroth Memorial Award and
am grateful to those who feel that my writing is worthy of this response.
I shall be interested to see what happens. Can you tell me anything about
the history of the Immroth Award?

One of your correspondents mentioned Joyce Mabudafhasi. I am enclosing
copies of a letter and a short item I faxed to L9 on 20 June 1989. There
was no response to my fax and as far as I know nothing was ever published,
although it might have escaped me. Mrs Mabudafhasi was detained again in
1989 but has since been released, although she is heavily restricted. The
infamous SAILIS has refused to say anything about her plight because she is
no longer employed as a librarian. The fact that she had to give up her work
because of attacks by vigilantes allied to the State is of course ignored
by SAILIS. If you can do anything with this information please feel free.
All the very best to you for 1990 and the coming decade.

Yours in the struggle,

Ch nsbpha

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Christopher Merrett

Deputy University Librarian .

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II is un rqlml uplmrl'mmli'i.

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, Ijbnuy
PO. Box 375 Piclcrmurilzburg 3200 South Africa
Telephone (0331) 63320 Fax (0331) 63497
Telegrams University Tclcx 643719
20 June 1989
The Editor
K, Library Journal
249 West 17th Street
New York 10011
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
'1" Colleague,

I enclose a short item which I hope you might beable to publish in
(the near future in Library Journal. It is based upon information recently supplied
1 by the Human Rights Commission in a fact paper dated 27 April 1989 on the plight-
of ex-detainees restricted under the.Emergency in South Africa. Progressive '
South African librarians are increasingly concerned about the effect of the
(_/ government's Emergency and a state of officially sanctioned lawlessness which
pertain in our country; and their effept on education, library services and librarians.
We are anxious that such cConcerns are communicated as widely as possible.
Please could you let me know as soon as possible if you intend using this piece.

Yours sincerely,
Chiisl'opha MEuElt . .
Christopher Merrett
Deputy University Librarian

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'I In- Unin-rxilyqumuI rujm'lx u/mrlhg-ial
ll ix un c'quI uppurlunium.
ujjirumlin- m'limn Uniwrxily.

- . JOYCE MABUDAFHASI

Jeyce Mabudafhasi is a librarian formerly employed at the University Library, University of the North, South Africa. She was an active. community leader and a founder member of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). As a result of her activism, in May 1986 her house was petrol bombed and she suffered serious head injuries. In order to avoid further attacks she had to go into hiding. In June 1986 a State of Emergency was declared in South lAfrica and thousands of anti-apartheid activists were detained without trial. Mrs MabudafhaSi was detained in December 1986 in Port Elizabeth where she was involved on behalf of the NECC in negotiating a return to school .by black students. Her whereabouts were not known to her family for several weeks until her detention was confirmed. She remained in prison without trial for 25 months, during which time. her father died. She was not allowed to attend the funeral. On her release on 30 January 1989 she was restricted under the Emergency regulations. Her restriction order includes confinement for large parts of the day to the house in which she was attacked and kv injured in 1986. Like many other restricted persons she is a static target for right wing wigilante groups. There has been no Istatement from the South African Institute of Library and '.Information Science (SAILIS) about the plight of its colleague.

EDITOR'S STATEMENT

Possible rumors to the contrary, The Library Quarterly is alive and well. It will continue to be published by the University of Chicago Press. but its editor will no longer be associated with the University of Chicago. I am most pleased to have been named as the new editor of LQ.

LQ has enjoyed a long and illustrious history. With its first issue, published in January 1931, it defined for itself a position as our preeminent scholarly and research journal. I intend to maintain and build upon this tradition, to continue to publish only the most rigorous and enduring library research and scholarship. At the same time, the editorial scope of LQ will be broadened to include papers reporting significant research on information science problems, regularly and often. To this end, I encourage information scientists to join librarians in thinking of LQ as a first choice of journal in which to publish their best work. I do not regard this move as a fundamental shift in policy but, rather, as a consequence of developments within the field. This is not the place for an extended philosophical discussion of the nature of information science and librarianship and the differences, similarities, and relationships between them. All the pages of this issue would be insufficient to do justice to this theme. But indisputably, the way we view ourselves as a profession and discipline, the assumptions we regard as plausible, our choices of fruitful research problems, and our methods and techniques of investigation have all undergone significant change with the growth and influence of information science. I want the pages of LQ to better reflect these changes.

As it has done for nearly sixty years, The Library Quarterly will report fundamental work of the highest quality that addresses library-related problems, from all relevant arenas of research and scholarship. I invite your contributions.

Stephen P. Hatter

School of Library and Information Science, Indiana University

THE LIBRARY QUARTERLY

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IN A STATE OF EMERGENCY: LIBRARIES AND

GOVERNMENT CONTROL IN SOUTH AFRICA

Christopher Merrett

Six levels are identified in the South African censorship system, providing the context for consideration of one of them: the State of Emergency. Four categories of censorship emerge: prior censorship and suspension of publication; restraints upon information gathering; the suppression of anti-apartheid viewpoints; and the growth of militarization. The State of Emergency is seen as a microcosm of the system as a whole, and a comparison is made with "traditional" censorship of books. Emergency censorship is considered to be a radical tactical change whose impact on library resources and research in the humanities and social sciences is evaluated. In spite of the power and pervasiveness of the censorship system, it is concluded that there is still room for challenge and that a new breed of librarian is likely to play an important role in the process.

Introduction

The South African censorship system is a massive and pervasive institution of such influence in society that it is generally considered in terms of its disaggregated parts. The danger of this approach lies in the fact that censorship as an institution is forgotten: the specific aspect under scrutiny gives a skewed perspective of the system in its entirety. Thus, to some, censorship conjures up a picture of books and periodicals under lock and key in the library; for others, the suspension or outright banishment of books is the only concern. This article examines the role of the Deputy University Librarian, University of Natal, P.O. Box 375. Pietermaritzburg. South Africa 3200.

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—; if banning of newspapers hostile to government ideology; and, to yet
, : others the detention, harassment through the legal process or assassi-
— I 2 nation Of those activists who provide oral and published accounts of the
'iu'u' aims and aspirations of anti-apartheid organizations. Many other im-
ages, equally valid, are possible, but it is vital not to lose sight of— the
— Kbro' adercanvas which provides clues to the complex issue of government
I tactics. The relative importance of censorship' 5 component parts at any
3 given time, however, indicates changing official approaches and percep-
tions.

The system as a whole may be characterized as an inverted triangle
comprising six layers, ranging from the broadest at the top to the most
specific at the bottom. A fundamental means of censorship in South
Africa is the institutionalized system of economic and social exploitation
known to the world as apartheid, or separate development. Its aim is to
perpetuate political control by that group designated "White," and in
recent years it has attempted to make allies among middle-class seg-
ments of other racially defined groups of South Africans: Indian, Col-
oured, and Black. The vast mass of the people of the country remain a
powerless and impoverished proletariat either in urban areas or, in-
creasingly, in rural slums from which labor is drawn as required II, 21.
Thus the economic structure of South Africa keeps the mass of the
people at a safe distance from the means to communicate and without
the political power to begin to change the national political economy.
The next level involves education, sometimes described as the greatest
censor (3, p. 241. State education has for decades been used for ideolog-
ical purposes by the South African government (4, p. 141 to reinforce
the privileged position of Whites and to control the social and political
potential and economic utility of the Black majority. The inferiority of
Black education is demonstrated by the relative sums spent on White
and Black children: the latest show that in 1985/86 R 2,746 was spent on
each White child. The figures for those classified as Indian and Col-
oured were R 1,386 and R 891, respectively. Black children living in
white areas had R 387 spent on them, while the figures for the bantu-
stans varied from a high of R 278 in Bophuthatswana to a low of R 184
in Lebowa I51. These figures give a quantitative indication of relative
deprivation. They have been given a graphic dimension by the Soweto
Uprising of 1976 and persistent school boycotts and stayaways ever
since. While the political economy denies access to the infrastructure of
communications, except of course that controlled by the government,
inferior education denies children the chance to develop their linguistic
skills and potential for structured thought and persuasive reasoning.
Taken together, these two means of censorship constitute an oppressive
structure which is specifically designed to deny to the mass of the people
the means and ability to communicate their frustrations, aspirations, or
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essential humanity to their fellow South Africans, a human right with-
held because it poses a threat to the continued existence of apartheid.
For individual leaders and activists who escape these circumstances,
the government has erected an impressive array of security legislation
aimed at silencing the individual right to communicate. A complex set of
statutes built around the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 was
centralized in the Internal Security Act of 1982. This legalizes a vast
array of human rights infringements: individuals may be banned from
any activity involving communication and restricted to given areas, a
form of civic death; individuals may be detained for interrogation, as
state witnesses or for preventive reasons, and in such circumstances
many thousands have been tortured mentally or physically; organiza-
tions may be banned and their assets seized; and publications such as
newspapers similarly proscribed. All of these measures imply broad
forms of censorship, and their frequent use has created a climate of fear
and uncertainty which has partially achieved the aim of which censors in
totalitarian states dream: the self-censored society.

The fact that the authorities have failed to achieve a convenient
symbiosis between the threat of repressive legislation and quiescence of
the critical is epitomized by the States of Emergency declared under the
Public Safety Act of 1953. The first was imposed on March 30, 1960, and
lasted 123 days (61. The second was declared on July 21, 1985, and
covered various parts of the country, mainly in the Transvaal and Cape
Province, until lifted on March 7, 1986 (71. The respite lasted only until
June 12, 1986, with the declaration of a national Emergency which is still

in effect at the time of writing (81 and which some observers maintain can never be lifted by the present regime. The State of Emergency has a number of purposes encapsulated in the Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) strategy: to buy the compliance of radicalized communities through material improvement; to isolate and destroy popular political organizations by detaining leaders and activists, thus raising to unacceptable levels the price of anti-apartheid involvement; and to place in officially approved political structures compliant Black politicians more amenable to a future without fundamental change. The successful prosecution of such policies requires a severe level of censorship. In order to prevent the circulation inside and outside the country of evidence of the means used by the South African government to put down the popular revolt which grew from the Vaal Uprising at Sebokeng on September 3, 1984 (91). In effect the State of Emergency is an admission of failure and weakness beneath a facade of kragdadiglm'd.2 Its censorship provisions,

2. An Afrikaans word which translates as "forcefulness." In a political context it means ironfistedness and relates to Steamroller tactics. A

and their effect on library collections and intellectual activity, form the central investigation of this article.

A fifth level of censorship is embodied in statutes which address specific segments of South Africa's economy and society and restrict the flow of information to that provided or endorsed by official spokespersons. Innovative reporters and commentators willing to risk criminal proceedings occasionally find loopholes in the legislation, but in general it is true to say that nothing may be published on the police, prisons, oil supply, uranium, nuclear energy, defense, post mortem proceedings, national supplies procurement, or national keypoints without official sanction. The Prohibition of Information and Laws on Cooperation and Development Acts of 1982 tightened the grip of the authorities upon information about government policies and activities. This body of legislation has the specific purpose of distorting the information system of the country and creating a skewed model which not only denies factual data to the population at large but also inhibits the development of ideas and paves the way for the acceptance of government propaganda and misinformation (10, pp. 21-22). The government is also withholding more information from the public: two recent examples involve detailed tourism figures and ship movements, details of which are no longer published because of economic sanctions.

Finally, two statutes, the Publications Act of 1974 and the Internal Security Act of 1982, provide for the banning of specific bodies of literature, the prescription of which has had a significant impact upon political discourse and academic activity. The details have been reported elsewhere (11, 12), but a summary completes this description of South African state censorship. The Publications Act prescribes titles, some of which are deemed "possession prohibited." The Internal Security Act bans all the work of banned and listed persons numbering 417 in August 1988 (13); works published by or disseminating the policy of illegal organizations (possession prohibited); and titles deemed to promote the aims of communism (also possession prohibited). Large libraries, including all academic libraries, hold blanket permits enabling them to lend material which does not fall into possession-prohibited categories to students and academics, provided the titles are normally held under

3. The distinction between listed and banned persons is important. Listed persons, many of whom are political exiles, generally belong to a proscribed organization like the South African Communist Party, Congress of Democrats, or Congress of South African Students. They may not be quoted, and listing may extend beyond the life of an individual. Banned persons have specific restrictions placed on them for defined periods, and banning orders expire with the death of an individual. The banned category has been largely superseded by restriction orders issued under the Emergency Act for a group of people convicted of treason.

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lock and key, a register of usage and a separate catalog are kept, consultation takes place under supervision, photocopies are not made, and only staff and postgraduates remove them from the library. In the case of the works of banned and listed persons access is denied altogether to undergraduates, and quoting is forbidden while the police have a statutory right to monitor the state of the collection. The mere possession of such banned material is not an offense, but importation, retail, circulation, display, or continued printing or publication is forbidden, restricting acquisition and usage to the large libraries. The material which falls into the three possession-prohibited categories may not be held by libraries without the specific permission of the Directorate of Publications or the Director of Security Legislation as appropriate nor may researchers consult it without similar permission.

Under the Internal Security Act the state may demand a R 40,000 bond from new newspapers which it might in future have to ban. The largest such deposit (R 30,000) was requested in December 1988 when the left-wing Afrikaans newspaper Die Vrye Weekblad applied for registration. Article 19, the recently formed international censorship watchdog organization based in London, estimates that at least ten new newspapers have been stillborn as a result of such sanctions (14, p. 431). Clearly the Internal Security Act forms part of the state security infrastructure, but so too does the Publications Act. Although it also deals with pornographic and blasphemous material, a large measure of the Publication Act's impact is felt by political publications. In the period 1981/82-1986/87 92 percent of 8,983 original submissions were made

by agents of the state such as customs and excise officers, the police. and officials of the Directorate of Publications and only 8 percent by publishers and the general public. During the periods 1980-81/1984-85 and 1986-87, 4,324 (49 percent) of 8,797 titles submitted were found to be undesirable (151. There is at present a trend to lift bans on books, mainly literary works, academic treatises on Marxism, and dated socio-political analyses of South Africa.⁴ This does nothing to disguise the fact that much South African research has been exiled; the general ability to understand South African society has been undermined, areas of South Africa are completely closed to research, and censorship and privatisation have become the refuge of South African scholars confronted by real or apparent bibliographic dead ends. In general, it is reasonable to argue that the potential contribution of academics to society as a whole has been undermined, and the social relevance of universities has been diminished (171.

4. The South African Library ' Cape Town, one of the country's live copyright libraries, has been in the forefront of the process of appealing to the Publications Appeal Board to lift restrictions on such works; see (161.

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Censorship under the Emergency

Such are the different facets of South African censorship from the general to the specific and the context within which to consider the censorship implications of the State of Emergency. This is important because the potential of some sections of the regulations has yet to be realized, and an educated forecast can be made on the bases of state tactics and strategy in other areas of the censorship system. The current national Emergency regulations were first published on June 12, 1986 (IS). Many sections, especially those relating to the media or the detention of persons, were subsequently overturned in whole or in part, by the Natal Supreme Court in particular. Most such liberal judgments were reversed by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein, a body which tends to show a preference for the state's perceived security needs at the expense of the individual and corporate civil rights of persons and groups opposing apartheid. Where the authorities have failed to win a case on appeal they have simply reworded the regulations at the point of the mandatory renewal of the Emergency at midnight on June 11 of each year (81; or brought out new sets of regulations such as the Media Emergency Regulations of August 1987 (181). The annual renewal thus represents a consolidation of proclamations under the Public Safety Act, and for the purpose of this article those gazetted on June 11, 1988, are regarded as operative.

Censorship is both implicit and explicit in the Emergency regulations.

Four aspects emerge, the most obvious being prior censorship and the suspension of publications, restraints placed upon news gathering at source, and the suppression of anti-apartheid viewpoints. The fourth aspect lies in the degree to which the Emergency epitomizes the growing militarization of South African society, a development which has implications for communication and resource building. The clauses relevant to censorship are contained in the Security and the Media Emergency regulations together with the schedule of restricted organizations.

Prior Censorship

Under the Emergency it is prohibited to publish information on security force action; restricted gatherings; certain strikes and boycotts deemed subversive; utterances of persons or officials of restricted organizations; the circumstances, treatment, and release of detainees; and advertisements published in respect of banned or restricted organizations.

5. The s' has had to become more precise about its definition of subversive material. In v'

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determination of the state in this regard is indicated by the prohibition placed upon the publication of blank spaces and deletions which reflect the effect of the regulations⁶ and on the printing in a second title of material which would have appeared in a suspended publication. Exempted from these prohibitions are officials and members of government departments (some of whom make their own use of the statements of restricted organizations),⁷ Parliament and the President's Council; most judicial proceedings except those relating to detainees; and, significantly, a bona fide library carrying out normal loan activity. The government version of the news is released by a Bureau of Information setup on September 14, 1985, initially to present abroad a more palatable version of South African reality (19, p. 621. In the opinion of some analysts the Bureau of Information is not only a manager of news but also an agent of repression because since June 12, 1986, it has been the sole source for reporting unrest. The bureau typifies the belief that the key to the struggle for South Africa is the control of information (20, p. 55; 21, p. 16; 221. Thus Louis Nel, deputy minister of Information, was able to put forward the view that South Africa does not have censorship, just a limitation on what can be reported (231. . . .

It is unlikely that a library will be prosecuted for circulating a publication containing prohibited information. There are, however, more serious implications for libraries contained in the prohibited-information clauses. The state is attempting to erase from the documented record essential facts about contemporary South African society, a matter of importance for future historians faced with gaps in published material. These are likely to affect researchers interested in security force methods, boycott campaigns,⁸ and political detainees, among more important aspects of South African sociopolitics. The mainline, commercial August 1986 the Natal Supreme Court found only one of six definitions precise enough to be valid in law. a decision which created temporary space for press freedom. During

the period September-December 1987, however. it claimed it had identified 301 press reports with subversive content II5. 1986/87, p. 411. . k

6.-In June 1986 three newspapers. Star, Sowetan, and Weekly Mail, were warned that 'blank spaces and deletions could be construed as subversion. By way of protest the editor at the Sowetan wrote in his weekly column about a potato. . _ .

7. Talking with the ANC, published in Johannesburg by the Department of Information II; 1986, quotes the South African Communist Party (SACP) nine times and the African National Congress (ANC) thirty-four times. _ _

8. In the crisis of political legitimacy and economic decline in which the South African

system finds itself. boycott is an important nonviolent means of Protest (or Ianti apartheid South Africans. Election boycotts have challenged the racist constitutional dispensation; rent and service boycotts, the financially exorbitant nature of Black local government; and consumer boycotts, While right-wing city councils and Black organizations believed to be collaborating with the system.

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cial press has been effectively muzzled by these restrictions as well as by non-Emergency security legislation and a traditional caution born of conservative management and the pressures of advertising revenue. Since the early 1980s there has developed, however, an alternative philosophy in the press which, while operating under enormous constraints, has had the courage to test and challenge these Emergency regulations to the limit. For example, the actions of the security forces may not be reported, but it has been possible to document the reactions of crowds in such a way that the informed reader understands quite clearly what has happened, for example, in a tear gas attack.⁹ The alternative press has also tested the regulations by arguing that once the police have issued a daily "unrest report," newspapers may add their own information and interpretation.¹⁰ In this way the alternative press has attempted to preserve for the historical record information about the condition of South Africa by extending the tradition of confronting gray areas of security legislation with pro-active and aggressive responses to the Emergency regulations.

Seizure

Under the State of Emergency, however, the potential for creative interpretation of the law has been severely curtailed. The authorities have general powers of entry, search, and seizure, and specific power to seize publications or recordings. Such seizures became more common in 1988. For example, on July 20, 1988, police seized 14,300 copies of the Learn and Teach booklet *The History Speech of Nelson Rolihlala Mandela at the Rivonia Trial* even though the speech is part of open court proceedings and the documented history of South Africa. Excerpts had already been printed by two newspapers and the Bureau of Information in its propaganda pamphlet *Talking with the ANC*. In the ensuing case in the Rand Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Gordon described the Emergency as a "super censor over the courts" (26). On August 5, volume 4, number 30 of the *Weekly Mail* was seized, followed by forty-eight hours of silence before the police provided an explanation. It was accused by the authorities of flouting the regulations concerning reporting of security force action and undermining conscription by covering the views of
9. A good example is contained in I241. Similarly police cars are known as "familiar yellow vehicles" and the police themselves as "people who may not be named because of the Emergency regulations."

10. This was rejected by the Rand Supreme Court in a case following seizure *Weekly Mail* in August 1988. It is not permissible to add facts or report a difference of
ever" ' see I251. t

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conscientious objectors. *Al Qulam*, an anti-apartheid Muslim monthly, last appeared in July 1988. In late August, 5,000 copies of the next edition were seized because they contained an advertisement supporting a boycott of the forthcoming municipal elections on October 26. *Al Qulam* was subjected to repeated raids and the confiscation of documents and photographs in September and October and has not been able to publish since. A fourth seizure involved *Crisis News*, a Western Province Council of Churches publication, of which 30,000 copies were impounded in August.

Censorship by seizure was not unknown in pre-Emergency South Africa, but it has become a more frequently used tactic to suppress the publication of anti-apartheid data and opinion. On September 9, 1988, the power of seizure under the Emergency was transferred from the Department of Home Affairs to that of Law and Order, in other words, to the security police. In the past such police powers (under the Internal Security Act) could be challenged in court, but under the Emergency the judiciary has no power to intervene if the police have decided that the regulations have been breached. At the time, it was felt that this might indicate government impatience with the suspension process (see below), which had caused a certain amount of embarrassment through its slow processes, inefficiency, and ensuing dissension.¹²⁷¹ With each new State of Emergency or suspension, elaborate procedures had to be re-initiated and such bureaucracy, it was suggested, did not fit the image of quick, firm, decisive action favored by the security forces.

Suspension

It subsequently emerged that increased police powers were not to supplant the warning and suspension process. Since October 1987 the Minister of Home Affairs has issued a steady stream of warnings against periodical publications and suspended five of them. Under the Emergency he has the power to prohibit the publication and production of named titles for up to three months in the case of a registered periodical and for six months when unregistered. Such a suspension is subject to two gazetted warnings, and those warned have the right to make representations to the minister. Twelve publications have received a first warning so far, as shown in table 1. Eleven of them represent anti-apartheid viewpoints, and the twelfth was a far right publication which is no longer produced. One of the ten has been silenced as its parent body, the End Conscription Campaign, was restricted in August 1988. The purpose of this punitive power was seen at the outset by those likely to be affected as the restriction of reporting on the aims and activities of extra Parliamentary organizations 1281.

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TABLE 1 .

Newswwens WARNED AN!) SUSPENDED BY THE MtNIsuk OF HOME Arums AND COMMUNICATIONS UNDER SECTION 6 or THE MEDIA EMERGENCY R.EGULATIONS

Title Warnings Outcome

New Nation October, December 1987 Suspended March 22-June 10, 1988

Work in Progress November, December 1987; January 1988

Die Stem November, December 1987 Ceased publication, December 1987

Sou'eum November 1987 . . .

South November, December 1987 Suspended May 10-June 10, 1988

Weekly Mail December 1987; April, Suspended November 1-28, May, August 1988 1988

Grassroots April 1987; January 1988 Suspended February 17-May 16, 1989 .

Parent organization restricted August 1988

Out of Step April 1987

Summlaun April 1987 . . .

New Era June 1988; January 1989 Suspended February 17-May 16, 1989

Free Azania November 1988

1 Al Qalam January 1989

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The first publication to face suspension, New Nation, whose production is underwritten by the Roman Catholic Church, evaded banning initially, on January 15, 1988, by taking the matter to court. Its case concerned the vagueness of the regulations and the fact that fifteen objections to its contents made by the minister were incomprehensible. Some of the material which he found objectionable had already appeared in the Afrikaans Press, for example. The Rand Supreme Court ruled against New Nation, arguing that the Emergency regulations were "abundantly clear" and maintaining that they had been violated in three issues of the newspaper, including one published prior to the gazetting of more stringent media regulations in August 1987 1291.11 The judge effectively advised that doubtful material should be omitted.

'Another newspaper under threat, the Weekly Mail, put its view of the government's purpose uncompromisingly when New Nation was suspended for thirteen weeks on March 22: "They banned the New Nation

11. The state seems to have a particular aversion to New Nation. In November 1988 a young man was arrested at a bus stop in Lebowa for reading a copy of New. ' ' 71. back issues 01 "Learning Nation" were confiscated from his home. and he was quTned by securf'v police at Tzaneen police station; see 1301. tv'

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and damned it to silence because it dared to reflect the violence of apartheid . . . because it gave a voice to the voteless majority . . . because it articulated the aspirations of millions of oppressed people" 1311.

Weekly Mail expressed its support by publishing on its second page a reproduction of page 3 of the New Nation which would have been published on March 24, 1988, had it not been for the suspension. For three months one particular viewpoint on South African events was thus silenced. In addition New Nation's "Learning Nation" supplement, which promotes a radical interpretation of South African history and serializes courses in bookkeeping, prose writing, algebra, and health, was suppressed. This puts forward a philosophy of education which challenges state education and is a valuable cumulating resource in the libraries of human rights and community organizations, and trade unions.

The government next suspended South, a Cape Town-based newspaper, for one month from May 10, 1988. Its editor, Rashid Seria, had pointed out the obvious intention of the authorities to aim at the more peripheral of the alternative newspapers 1321, although this action precipitated the international Save the Press Campaign. Suspended newspapers have made constructive use of their enforced idleness. for example. helping other community newspapers, launching a press agency, and producing other media 1331. After a lull of some months, during which time the government made strong verbal attacks on the alternative press,.2 it took action against the Weekly Mail, suspending it for one

month from November 1 in a move that was widely interpreted as a retreat, in the face of international pressure, from more severe action. The Weekly Mail is generally recognized as the most prominent of the alternative press, originally founded in response to the collapse of the Rand Daily Mail in 1985.¹³⁵ It presents a high standard of reporting on political, economic, and human rights issues in South Africa and an important proportion of analytical material as well as a significant arts section. It is a vital channel for informed, anti-apartheid opinion and has during its three-year history become an important academic resource. It draws upon the work of a number of organizations specializing in distinct sociopolitical fields, such as the Human Rights Commission, Lawyers for Human Rights, and the South African Council of Churches, and makes this information accessible on a weekly basis. Although the Weekly Mail is vulnerable to the standard deficiencies of newspapers as an academic source, it provides what is frequently the only material of

12. Minister of Home Affairs Stofiel Botha described the alternative press on May 18, 1988, as "media terrorism" who gave publicity to "revolutionaries"; see 1341.

13. The state president of South Africa heralded the closure as a step toward "consensual politics" 135. p. 71.

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any depth on crucial aspects of the South African condition. Since it is indexed, it is an interim resource filling the gap between the annual publication of Survey of Race Relations (361, recognized as a primary source on South African affairs. A breakdown of the material found objectionable by the minister gives an indication of the explicit threat to research endeavor contained in the paper's suspension. He was particularly concerned about its coverage of security force action, the activities and aims of banned and restricted organizations, and the views of conscientious objectors, all topics deserving comprehensive coverage in the nation's libraries and vital to a reasoned debate about the future of South Africa. A closer look at the articles found offensive further illustrates this: publication of constitutional guidelines put forward by the African National Congress accompanied by sober analysis and some hostile comment; an academic analysis by a respected political scientist at the University of the Witwatersrand on the current state of the Pan Africanist Congress; and a general article on the secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, Frank Chikune. The minister is obliged to list the items which offend but not to give reasons L937, p. 1451. Further measures gazetted against the press include the proscription of titles regarded as continuations of suspended publications and the compulsory deposit of copies of periodicals free of charge for scrutiny. These restrictions also frustrate the publication process.

Information Gathering

A particular characteristic of the State of Emergency has been its inhibiting effect on information gathering at source. This is not a new development, as restrictions on access to Black areas of South Africa have long been in force, but the Emergency regulations are specifically framed in order to prevent the gathering of certain types of information. For instance, reporters and photographers are obliged to remove themselves from the scene of security force action, and the taking of photographs is forbidden. Trained observers are frequently excluded by declaring an area, such as the scene of a strike, an "operational zone" even where there is no active unrest. In this fashion, the methods and conduct of the security forces remain unobserved by those with the skills and inclination to add such data to the documented record of contemporary South Africa.

At the time of the declaration of the fifth Emergency on June 11, 1988, the government announced its intention to register news agency businesses and those employed by them (38). The South African government has long wanted to control journalists, and a register was suggested

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by the 1982 Steyn Commission, but this has been averted by self-regulation agreements with the mainline Newspaper Press Union (NPU). In the 1980s, however, parallel to the growth of the alternative press has been the development of alternative news agencies which have gathered information and released it to the press in a way incompatible with the State of Emergency. The proposed register was aimed at such activity, but its implications were imperfectly thought out, opposition was intense, and the regulation was withdrawn on July 28, 1988. However, the threat of registration, which has hung over South African journalists for some years, remains.

Suppression of Viewpoints

At an individual level, the greatest impact of the Emergency has been felt by the detention without trial provisions. The exact number of persons detained since July 1985 is not known because of the disruption experienced by human rights organizations active in this field, the enormity of the task, and the lack of monitoring structures in small towns and rural areas. Detention was common before 1985, most notably under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts, but the numbers of persons detained annually were in the hundreds. Since mid-1985, at least 40,000 people have been detained (39). Among them have been many journalists: for example, almost the entire staff of Saamslaan, an Oudtshoorn community newspaper, have been detained at some stage. Some 500 have been in prison without trial since June 1986, and an equal number have experienced detention for over one year. The purpose of the state is quite clear: this is preventive detention designed to silence articulate leaders and organizers of anti-apartheid organizations. Their views, and their ability to disseminate them through media, are securely

locked up in prison in the same way as those of fellow activists convicted in the many political trials that have taken place in South Africa since the mid-1950s.'5

Those who have been released enter what has become known in now rather cliched terms as the larger prison of South Africa. Important

14. One of the long-serving detainees. Louis Mnguni. is a lecturer in philosophy from the University of the North at Turfloop and Northern Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front. Held since June 12, 1986. he was hospitalized twice during his detention. which ended in mid-February 1989. -

15. The latest is the Delmas Treason Trial involving a 420-day trial, twenty-two defendants. and 911 individuals and fifty organizational co-conspirators. The conviction of four of the defendants. treason charges effectively made illegal mass peaceful mobilization against apartheid.

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leaders have been restricted under the Emergency in a fashion less obvious than those banned in the pre-Emergency era under the Internal Security Act. Gone are the days when careers were callously wrecked, and all social life was denied. Nevertheless, the restrictions suffered today contain functional and geographical limitations. Although they vary from person to person, they tend to restrict ex-detainees to a given magisterial district and sometimes to evening and night-time house arrest, and frequently contain prohibitions on publishing and public speaking as well as access to institutions involved in the dissemination of information. Such restrictions are now commonplace on the release of long-term high-profile detainees.¹⁶ They may also, since September 22, 1988, simply be gazetted on anyone without being personally served. Similarly the government has acted against anti-apartheid organizations. Under pre-Emergency security legislation organizations were banned and their assets confiscated—the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), and the Christian Institute are famous examples. Under the State of Emergency such effective corporate death is not imposed, as organizations are able to exist in name, carry out administrative tasks, and meet financial obligations. Beyond this, all activity is proscribed, including publication of their, or anyone else's, data and ideas. On February 24, 1988, seventeen anti-apartheid organizations were restricted entirely, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions was prohibited from engaging in any activity outside a narrow definition of trade union work. The seventeen organizations were involved in grassroots anti-apartheid activism, education, and human rights monitoring. A few days later the Committee for the Defense of Democracy, an umbrella body formed in Cape Town to carry on some of these tasks, was itself restricted. In August 1988 the End Conscription Campaign, an organization opposed to military conscription, the occupation of Namibia, and the presence of the South African Defence Force in Black townships was restricted, and from October to December twelve more political and community organizations, including one founded in the aftermath of the February restrictions, were effectively banned. The amount of literature thus censored was enormous. Most important, the State of Emergency has cut off the flow of information and opinion concerning conscientious objection, human rights violations (detentions, political trials, assassinations, and disappearances), alternative education.

16. For example, Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of New Nation, was held for 735 days and released on December 2, 1988, when he was effectively disbarred from political or journalistic activity. His restriction order runs to three pages and shows that he was held for his work as a journalist (401). He had been detained twice before, in 1981 and 1983, and banned between 1980 and 1983.

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tion, and grassroots organization and methods of resistance in the Black townships.

The government has used relatively low key and sophisticated techniques with a primary, but not sole, aim of reinforcing censorship of anti-apartheid viewpoints and data which would cast its actions in a poor light. In the words of Desmond Tutu, archbishop of Cape Town: "The government's idea is to smash effective political opposition, no matter how peaceful and to rule with the jackboot. . . . Many people see it here as a declaration of war against peaceful and legally operating groups" (411).¹⁷ The government's strategy has not been entirely successful. Some churches have taken up part of the work of restricted organizations, and documentation tasks have been shouldered by unaffected bodies. Some restricted groups, especially in the area of human rights monitoring, have re-emerged under new names. and the Human Rights Commission was established in Johannesburg. By the end of 1988 there were signs that the disrupted documentation process was beginning to revive.

Militarization

The overall characteristic of the current State of Emergency is the extent to which it contributes to the growing militarization of South African society. Under the Emergency a limitation of liability in terms of civil and criminal proceedings covers the actions of all security force personnel as long as they act in good faith and have reason to believe that they are behaving in the interests of state security. In other words, security force power, including censorship, is virtually limitless unless mala fides can be proved in court. The State of Emergency is the legal device by which the country is increasingly administered by the National Security

Management System (NSMS). This has been developed since the late 1970s, and while details are still obscure, it is known that it shadows every level of civil administration from parliament to local government. Each basic unit, known as a Joint Management Centre (JMC) (43), has four main interests: information gathering, security, welfare, and communications. The latter function, known by the Afrikaans acronym Komkom (Kommunikasie Komitee) has relevance to the information dissemination structure of South Africa and thereby to libraries.¹ While a path of silence has been drawn across so many aspects of South African life, Komkom generates publicity for government initiatives through

17. His opinion is amplified (42).

18. It is widely believed that Item has a penchant for literary endeavor in the form of smear pamphlets.

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printed and other media forms, with the aid of local organizations which have the approval of the authorities. NSMS strategy is based on the counter-insurgency theory of Beaufre (44, pp. 48 ff.), which argues that the "total onslaught" against South Africa manifests itself in a low-intensity civil war in which words and thoughts are weapons (44, p. 411). There is increasing evidence that those involved in documenting human rights abuses are potential assassination victims.¹⁹ No aspect of social, economic, or political life is immune from militarization, and the impact upon libraries is likely to be felt in the form of growing lacunae in collections covering South African affairs.

Censorship, Information, and Libraries

In many senses the State of Emergency represents a microcosm of South African censorship. Like apartheid itself and its educational system, it is used to divide people from one another and accentuate their differences rather than their common humanity and problems. This is achieved by cutting channels of communication between different communities in such a way that ignorance is encouraged. Like non-Emergency security legislation, it contains the power to silence articulate individuals and influential organizations in a variety of ways, denying them the access to the media that is vital to discourse in such a vast country with its variegated society.²⁰ Like the legislation which controls the flow of data on specific aspects of the political economy, it hampers knowledge about state policy and methodology which would lead to a fuller understanding of the nature of South African society and therefore ideas about how it might be changed. Finally, like the statutes which control access to books and periodicals, it allows the state to ban outright, as a last resort, publications which break through the censorship net.

Notwithstanding the need to see censorship as a continuum, there is

19. Beliswa Mhlawuli of Grasmob, who appeared in the BBC documentary "Suffer the Children," lost an eye in an attack on her in Guguletu, Cape Town, in early 1988. Godfrey Dhlomo, a young Detainees Parents Support Committee worker, who appeared in a similar American documentary, was killed in February 1988 near Johannesburg. On May 1, 1989, Dr. David Webster, senior lecturer in social anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand and a well-known human rights activist, was shot dead by gunmen outside his home. He had just completed a report for the United Nations on political assassinations in South Africa.

20. One of the most disturbing aspects of the declaration of the State of Emergency on June 12, 1986, was the sense of isolation and lack of news about local and national events experienced by those closely involved. A major task of anti-apartheid groups since then has been to keep open channels of communication and to develop alternative media.

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virtue in detaching a component such as the State of Emergency and subjecting it to close scrutiny, in particular comparing it to other facets of the system. Although fewer papers are being written on the topic than ten years ago, there is quantitative and qualitative evidence (HS, 461) to show that "traditional" censorship, epitomized by the book-banning provisions of the Publications and Internal Security Acts, remains a problem for research and library collection building in South Africa. It is also, however, an obstacle which the adventurous have sometimes been able to avoid. This has been feasible because of a number of internal contradictions in the bureaucratic methods required to sustain it: the need to use librarians, who are not always cooperative, to police the system; the difficulty of tracing all the published work of banned and listed persons; and the impossibility, in a relatively open society with strong links with other countries, of controlling the world's literature. By comparison with the censorship described above as "traditional," the censorship provisions of the State of Emergency may be characterized as "radical," fully justifying the government's description of its tactics as a "total response." The Emergency censorship provisions require no surrogates, such as librarians, and are directly administered by state agents, representing a significant change in tactics. Lists of titles banned under the Publications and Internal Security Acts suggest that the main area of library stock affected is overseas theoretical material used to place local research in context. Emergency censorship, on the other hand, clearly has little effect on this type of publication. In the course of less than three years, however, it has already had a devastating effect on the collection and publication of the raw material of the sociopolitical and economic condition of South Africa, a trend which will

leave a lasting imprint on the country's libraries. The irony of this situation lies in the fact that the Emergency has, in some academic quarters, stimulated the urge to research and document, so dramatic are the events unfolding around people.

Nevertheless, intellectual activity was placed under an effective State of Emergency well before 1985, and some aspects have for years been potentially criminalized. The library stock affected has belonged almost exclusively to the arts and social sciences, although a few scientists are to be found in the ranks of the listed. The nature of the State of Emergency will accentuate this, stifling research in a wide range of fields. Most research in the humanities and social sciences requires as reference

21. For example, the famous South African botanist Eddie Roux, all of whose works at education, South African politics, and history as well as pasture science, rural economy, and plant physiology are technically still banned because Roux was a member of the South African Communist Party. He died in 1966.

point or contextual framework a background of documentation, and there are many instances in South Africa where research has been thwarted by an absence of library material. For example, South Africa has one of the world's worst records concerning capital punishment. In 1988 a campaign for its abolition was resuscitated, but attempts by researchers to locate a body of literature on the topic have led to disappointment. The State of Emergency can only exacerbate this type of situation. '

Clearly, the existing South African political economy desperately needs censorship to achieve optimum levels of conformity and intellectual repression and acceptance of official values. By censoring, it reveals itself as extremely insecure. Although the social structure and international relations of South Africa are very different from those in Eastern Europe, it is possible to apply Milan Kundera's definition of censorship: "organized forgetting" (47, p. 2351. In other words, censorship is a state-orchestrated attempt to erase from popular consciousness and the historical record areas of fact and ideas. Two prominent anti-apartheid academics have responded to this in concrete terms by arguing that "our struggle is also a struggle of memory against forgetting" Pl8, p. 41. One of those convicted in November 1988 in the Delmas Treason Trial, Patrick Lekota, national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, has written: "The apartheid regime has tried to wipe out all memory of the mass struggles of the 1950s. Leading political organizations of the time have been outlawed. Leaders and ordinary people have been jailed or forced into exile; others were killed. Some have been banned or listed, their words, their memories becoming unquotable. Books, pamphlets, posters, badges, flags were seized in numerous raids, or were censored in silence. Years of campaigning, mass struggles involving millions of people. all of these the system has tried to cast into permanent oblivion" 148, p. 1971.

In a society in which the information system is so distorted and manipulated, the position of libraries is obviously problematic. If libraries are laboratories for peaceful intellectual endeavor and creativity, then censorship is an act of violence against cerebral activity. In a country as diverse as South Africa, in which political debate reaches depths as fundamental as its geographical extent and the degree to which basic civil rights shall be offered, and to whom, libraries have immense educational potential. Not only might they act as a nexus for different strands of social and political thought from within the country but they are also major means of access to such thought from the rest of the world. Instead, they have, to a significant and alarming extent, been harnessed to the political imperatives of the state. They have been successfully cut off. for example, from all but a fraction of the aspira-

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tions and problems of the proletariat, that fragment which has been documented by academics and political activists. In this way, through no fault of their own, they are a monument to our ignorance rather than our understanding of South African society. Owing to restrictions on individuals, corporate bodies, and dissemination of official information, vast lacunae are developing in the documented record, and it is possible that these gaps will never be filled even under a more democratic dispensation. Some material is available in foreign collections specializing in southern African affairs, and there are first signs of the expatriation of South African documentation centers.²² However, even overseas collections can do nothing to counter the various ways in which the government suppresses publication.

The role of the library is being progressively circumscribed, and it is pertinent to conclude by considering what librarians might do to counter the trend. There is little evidence from the past to suggest that librarians as a professional group have done much to counter the fundamentals of traditional censorship (11). Within the last decade, however, the foundations of a new paradigm have been laid within South African librarianship. It contains a number of weaknesses but draws its undoubted strength from the desire to place librarianship within a democratic and post-apartheid context. Its adherents are to be found in all types of library, although generally not yet in positions of great influence. The most active of them work in resource centers run by groups of political, community, trade union, church, and human rights organizations (491. These are now located in the major cities of South Africa. where they collect actively the material of anti-apartheid groups and promote its use

by a wide spectrum of society, but particularly by those suffering from an inferior education or, in extremis, young people absent from school because they are on the run from the police or vigilante groups allied to the state. .

The existence of these libraries is precarious. They are often run by groups which are at risk of banning or restriction, although some church denominations are increasingly assuming a protective role. They are frgggently raided by the police who have, as has been seen, wide powers of seizure. Finally they are prime targets for the latest form of South African censorship: arson as a result of firebombing and explosions (501. Those who run libraries, resource centers, and documentation and archive collections housing antigovernment material are thus moving toward the epicenter of a civil war. It is not easy to see how such

22. In November 1987 the South African Council of Churches (SACC) exiled its Ecumenical Documentation and Information Centre for Eastern and southern Africa (EDICESA) to Harare babwe, because one of EDICESA's objectives is the documentation of the Sout . rican regional policy of destabilization.

resources can be protected when faced with the power at the disposal of the state or groups close to it. So far university libraries have been virtually immune from state action although reluctance to control universities too blatantly cannot be assumed in perpetuity: conditions in South Africa change very rapidly, and the State of Emergency has provided the backdrop for some surreal experiences.

At least two librarians have been detained since mid-1986, and others have been questioned. The case of Annica van Gylswyk, an archivist in charge of the Documentation Centre for African Studies at the University of South Africa in Pretoria, is the most famous. In her employment, and through her activities for the Black Sash in the Winterveld region, she was closely involved with the material and the personalities of the anti-apartheid movement, and much of her interrogation by Security Police focused on her travels as a collector of archival material. Her jailers put her under severe psychological pressure for some weeks, and her employers placed her on unpaid leave. Threatened with further imprisonment without trial, she elected to be deported to Sweden, land of her birth and passport. although she had lived in South Africa for thirty years and was married to a citizen (511. uHer experience provides a model for the danger perceived by the State from the documentation of the struggle" 152, p. 1291.

For the time being, it would appear that there is some space for university libraries to pursue a creative acquisitions policy and fulfill 2m - imaginative role in the documentation of current affairs. This is particularly pertinent in an era when the idea of the "people's university" is being canvassed. One interpretation centers on the extension to the oppressed of those ideals for which universities have traditionally stood - freedom of expression, thought, and information, for instance - but which have too often been the preserve of a privileged elite. Universities could contribute to the democratic process by assisting in the documentation, display, and circulation of material under threat from the state.

The censorship ramifications of the State of Emergency should act as a very clear signal to concerned South African librarians. Traditional censorship is dependent upon their cooperation - coerced or voluntary - and it is within their power to break down one part of the system while the authorities are otherwise involved in reinforcing it elsewhere. South Africa has never lacked courageous opponents of authoritarianism and racism. Some of the most admirable are today involved in the communications industry, and there are signs that such people are becoming involved in the profession of librarianship. The current strategy of the South African democratic movement is to work for 'md-based and innovative opposition to the apartheid state at a time en it k, -

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faces crucial internal contradictions and a crisis of legitimacy. There are encouraging signs that some librarians are now ready to contribute toward that process, creating a greater flow of information which will help the citizenry forge its own future.

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- "ORDER IS HEAVEN'S FIRST LAW":
ITINERANT LIBRARIANS AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC CONTROL,
1887-1915'

joanne E. Passetg

In recent years the concept of the itinerant, or journeyman. cataloger has been suggested as one solution to cataloging backlogs and shortages of professmnally . trained catalogers. The concept is not new. In the period between 1887 and 1915, when the United States was experiencing rapid library. development, hundreds of librarians traveled throughout the country organtzmgbhary col-lections. Itinerant librarians made significant professional contnbuuons-by facilitating the widespread adoption of stahdard classxfclcatlon and calalogmig schemes and training local librarians to conunue the work. pnfottunately. their very success also encouraged two negative trends'm hhrananshtp: Iow_salarles and the practice of employing untrained people In permanent capacmes.

Introduction

Between 1887 and 1915 literally hundreds of itinerant librarians traveled throughout the United States organizing school, public, alca-
demic, and special libraries. Demand for their services escalateeei dhrmg
this era because of the rapid growth of libraries, especially)pubhc. hbrztr-
ies. Thus, catalogers and classifiers traveled from Maine to Cahfornta,
from Florida to Washington, typically spending three to six months m
each location arranging a library's collections. Now, a century later,

dissatisfaction with minimal-level cataloging and a shortage of professionally trained catalogers has prompted reconsideration of the use of the itinerant, or journeyman, librarian (2, 31. -

Even in 1887 the concept of a traveling librarian was not new. As early as 1853 Charles C. Jewett observed that it would "probably be found

1. (1. p. 441. . . -

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