

INFORMATION

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S O C I A L
C H A N G E

In This Issue

The news that doesn't make the news: sources for alternative
current affairs reporting
Chris Atton

The Struggle For Information in South Africa
Christopher Merrett

A Star That Never Sets: the Early Years of
the Morning Star Co-operative
Mary Rosser

Pittsburg Students Protest Censorship
Selva Nebbia

Festival of Rights
Paul Donovan

Some Recent Alternative Publications

A Riot to Read

Information for Social Change
14 Hugh Miller Place EDINBURGH Scotland EH3 5JG

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Napier University
Edinburgh

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LINK

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The editing and production of *Information and Social Change* will change each issue: this issue has been edited and produced by John Pateman.

The cover and the inside front and back pages were designed by Fernando Pacheco Bellas, incorporating "Tree of Knowledge" by Mr. Fish. The cartoons are by Mr. Fish.

We welcome contributions in our field. Whilst encouraging rigorous debate, the journal exists primarily for workers and practitioners, and so simple and clear english is preferable. Articles, should, where possible, be between 500 and 2500 words. This is to ensure a wide coverage of topics in each issue. We also welcome reviews, letters and news items.

We intend to publish twice a year. Individual subscription for a year is £5.00. Institutional rate is £15.00. Free to exchanging journals. Enquire for overseas rates.

Advertising rates - full page: £40; 1/2 page: £20; 1/4 page: £10; 1/8 page: £5.

Please make cheques payable to "Information for Social Change".

Editorial

Since Information for Social Change (ISC) was launched at the LINK conference in December 1994 it has attracted a great deal of interest from those who share our views around the world. In addition to an impressive list of individual and corporate subscribers we have received favourable reviews by the following journals and organisations : Booksellers for Social Responsibility ; Librarians at Liberty ("highly recommended") ; MSRRT Newsletter ; the Library Association Record ; the Assistant Librarian ; CRISES Alternative Press ; Youth Library Group Newsletter ; Focus.

Sanford Berman and James P. Danky have requested permission to reprint Shiraz Durrani's article on "The mirage of democracy in Kenya" in their next anthology of Alternative Library Literature. We have also received requests for more information from countries as far apart as Papua New Guinea and Egypt. ISC 1, as our first issue, allowed us to lay out our stall on all the issues we think are important to library and information workers. From now on we will be taking a more targeted approach by concentrating on a particular theme for each issue. Please send us your ideas for themes for future issues. ISC 2 looks at censorship and freedom of information which are both sides of the same coin. The keynote article is by Chris Atton on "The news that doesn't make the news : sources for alternative current affairs reporting". Chris mentions the Morning Star as a source of alternative information and there is a brief history of the People's Press Printing Society, publishers of the Morning Star, by Mary Rosser: "A Star that never sets."

In his latest letter from South Africa Christopher Merrett considers "The struggle for information in South Africa". From the USA there is "Pittsburgh students protest censorship" by Selva Nebbia. There is a review of the recent "Festival of Rights" by Paul Donovan as well as a round up of some recent alternative publications and book reviews ("A Riot to Read").

Censorship and freedom of information are perennial topics in the fields of library and information science, but the level of critical debate within the LIS profession is pitiful. In 1991 Russell Bowden, the LA Deputy Chief Executive made the following impressive statement

"To oppose censorship and fight to protect the rights of access to information in the international context of librarianship is for the profession to make a contribution to the movement of information across national borders. In doing this it contributes towards better informed peoples and societies and as a consequence makes a contribution, however small it might seem to be, to greater understanding between peoples and nations and therefore to world peace." (LAR 12.91)

Yet when Russell retired in 1994 after being number two at the LA since 1976 he had to admit that :

"One area where I think I have failed was in pressing the LA to establish a body comparable to the American Library Association's Office for Intellectual Freedom. I believe that library and information work is a true profession and therefore, like the medical and legal professions, it has clear social responsibilities - as Unesco says, to assist the rights of access of every

individual to the information which they seek. George Cunningham, former LA Chief Executive, took us into the Freedom of Information Campaign and now a standing committee of Council has agreed to look at this area. I think we should have looked at it much earlier " (LAR 4.94).

You can say that again Russell ! And what was the result of all this sudden interest in Freedom of Information ? A two page LA Guideline on Freedom of Information (first produced in 1984 and updated in 1990) and an equally thin discussion paper by Ray Templeton (January 1994). Not good enough I hear you say. What about the Criminal Justice Bill ? ISC sent out a press release to over 50 media sources outlining the censorship implications of the CJB but the LA has chosen to remain silent (now an admission of guilt ?) despite the fact that Section 82 might be used against journalists, researchers, publishers, distributors and libraries who are deemed to be in possession of materials that may assist "terrorists".

The LA has also been quiet about the down side of the Internet. ISC agrees that the Internet has the potential to transform our working lives and open up all sorts of possibilities for communication and information. But who will control it - and who will profit ? The Internet is already being dominated by mostly affluent, white, middle class men. There is no quality control of the information being disseminated by the net which includes racist and pornographic material. The issue here is not what should or should not be on the net, but how can an innocent surfer determine what is truth and what is lies when they are confronted with some information which seems to argue that the Holocaust never happened ?

We live in a secret society and all kinds of ploys are used to keep it that way. Just £43,182 was spent publicising the code of practice on access to government information for example whereas £5.7 million was spent on publicising the Poll Tax. Elsewhere the information is available - at a price. The National Rivers Authority charge £100 for a single A3 photocopy and £50 for an A4 copy. The Public Health Laboratory Service charges between £2,000 and £3,000 to identify local authorities who have reported salmonella food poisoning. And the Health and Safety Executive charges £45 an hour for answering questions about the safety of the THORP nuclear processing plant. Organisations like the Campaign for Freedom of Information highlight these abuses but the LA should also be campaigning on this issue.

When the Australian Office of Film and Literature Classification banned the importation of a UK published book it was a Melbourne bookseller, rather than the LA, who launched a legal challenge. "E for Ecstasy" is one of 125 publications refused classification by the censor in one year alone. The Chief Censor, John Dickie (no laughing, please) was quoted as saying that the books were deemed "capable of causing apprehension in the community". There is no way of appealing against this book banning. When "E for Ecstasy" was published in the UK in 1993 all 10,000 copies were sold within a year. The title was carried by both Waterstones and Dillons, but was withdrawn from the shelves of the Books Etc. chain on the instructions of the company's managing director.

At a more local level the LA has a role to play in supporting library and information workers who stand up for freedom of information. A letter appeared in the Daily Telegraph on 17.4.95 deploring the display of photographs, captions and leaflets attacking the Government in Watford Central Library. The correspondent also criticised remarks by the librarian that

people of the opposite view were entitled to submit their own display, although there were some parties and points of view whose material would not be accepted.

This is the kind of debate that ISC was set up to facilitate. But we are not just a talking shop, we also demand and take action. Chris Atton has held a number of seminars called "Beyond the mainstream" which examine alternative sources for stock selection. Contact Chris at the editorial address if you want him to speak in your area. And, talking of action, please send us news and views about these issues in your vicinity. I particularly liked this advert which appeared in the Morning Star :

British Library Disputes Committee
Victimised bricklayers, sacked by Irvine & Whitlock
McAlpine's British Library site, Midland Road, Kings Cross, London NW1

ISC hopes that British library staff joined their victimised comrades on this picket line. After all who was it who said "Workers of the World Unite - you have nothing to lose but your chains" ? Answers on a postcard please, and all other contributions (including camera ready copy for adverts), to the editorial collective address by December 1st 1995.

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The news that doesn't make the news: sources for alternative current affairs reporting

Chris Atton

The distorting influence of all mass media has been demonstrated for many years in the work of such as Noam Chomsky, John Pilger and the Glasgow University Media Group. Their books have been published by such as Routledge, Verso and Pluto, yet their ideas hardly have the currency that one would expect of work rigorously sustained for so many years. *The Guardian* is the only newspaper to cover the work of The Glasgow University Media Group on anything like a regular basis (here regular means once a year at best). Pilger has an occasional column in *New Statesman and Society* plus the very occasional feature in *The Guardian*. Chomsky is the author of dozens of books, some published by mainstream publishers, many by the alternatives. But the bulk of his articles appear in the alternative press. The amount of time given on television to dissident and critical views of the media on radio is negligible; on television it is virtually non-existent. The screening of Peter Wintonick and Mark Achbar's film and *Manufacturing consent: Noam Chomsky and the media* on Channel 4 in 1993 was unique, even by that channels standards of critical reporting. Such a narrowing of perspective has grave implications for our education and for democracy, and consequently for the information that is made available in our libraries.

A number of magazines and journals are dedicated to the task of analysing and

decoding the messages of the mass media. All present their ideas in a readable, accessible style, often humorously, nevertheless maintaining a critical rigour (a combination that is common in alternative literature).

Media criticism

Extra! (published bimonthly by Fairness in Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) casts its net wide to include electronic as well as paper media. It has provided rigorous and valuable insights - unavailable elsewhere - of the reporting of Desert Storm and has devoted many of its pages to environmental reporting. In its own words: "FAIR focuses public awareness on the narrow corporate ownership of the press, the media's allegiance to official agendas and their insensitivity to women, labor, minorities and other public interest constituencies". *Propaganda Review* is more concerned with the use of language, phrasing and structure to exclude significant sections of the population, to limit the bounds of debate and to prevent discussion of anything but the most familiar topics. It examines the hidden agendas that politicians and journalists reveal through their use of what, in *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, Alfred and Elizabeth Lee called 'the seven propaganda devices', commonly used by professional propagandists to persuade their audience that they have a monopoly on the truth. An excellent digest of the devices, using George Bush's State of the Union address

of 1991, is to be found in Jeanine Olson's article "The Seven Propaganda Devices" in *Propaganda Review* (1).

Every year Project Censored produce a compilation of the 'top twenty five' stories that its researchers feel have been played down or ignored by the mainstream media.

Censored!: the news that didn't make the news ... and why has covered 'the real news' in Somalia, Haiti and Cuba, as well as looking at items closer to home such as drugs, the poor and minority rights.

Adbusters Quarterly is a glossy magazine that specialises in designing and publishing parodies of current major advertising campaigns. It is especially well-known for its versions of Calvin Klein's 'Obsession' and Absolut Vodka, at the same time as it reports on the encroachment of advertising into such areas as public education (Burger King Academies and other schools funded by corporations such as Whittle Communications and McDonald's). This subversion of advertising has led to the portmanteau term 'subvertising' to describe advertisements altered or redesigned to make a social or political point, usually highlighting the activities of the business or product being advertised. Although there are no such single-issue journals in the UK (due largely to economies of scale), media control is still discussed, but as part of a wider concern for current affairs. There are, however, a small number of pamphlets and books that combine the critical rigour of Chomsky and Herman with the exuberance and audacity of *Adbusters Quarterly*. *Test card F: television, mythinformation and social control* and *TV Times: a seven day guide to killing your TV* are two of the best examples, their anonymous authors employing collage, cut-up text and commentary to produce brief works that have an immediacy and a power rarely found even in more sustained works.

All such interventions, subvertising, radical commentaries on the media, and the

potential of the alternative media themselves to create unmediated news and information services are examined briefly yet authoritatively by Mark Dery in *Culture jamming: hacking, slashing and sniping in the empire of signs*.

Alternative current affairs reporting

Free from the restrictions of reporting required by the British 'lobby' system and the institution of 'D' notices, untrammelled by the nexus of concentrated ownership and commercial control, the reporters and writers of the alternative press can afford to research stories that do have as their primary aim the sale of newspapers and that do not have to fit in with a key advertiser's motives. They do not even have to lead to front page news, and they can be commented upon to a depth that most of the mass media would find unacceptable. In countries that have become, in recent decades, as Edward Herman has it, 'notable for increased secrecy, the curtailment of access to information, covert operations, deception, and manipulation of the press' (2) it is fitting that the substantial investigative work exposing these tendencies should come from the very alternative media that is so many times marginalised, ignored and ridiculed by the mainstream.

Newspapers

There is currently no such thing as an alternative daily newspaper in either the UK or the US. Michael Albert of *Z Magazine* has recommended the launching of a national alternative weekly newspaper for the US which would integrate the existing expertise and resources of many already involved in the production of their own (less frequent) newspapers and magazines. This has caused concern in some quarters, since it is felt it would diminish the diversity and pluralism that is at the heart of alternative publishing.

This diversity remains, however, and there are many alternative newspapers (of varying frequency) to be found. The most prominent of these are published by political parties and groups, usually espousing some variant of Marxism-Leninism or Trotskyism. In these you may still find headlines such as 'Lenin's materialism and empirio-criticism today - see centre pages' (from a recent copy of *The Newslite*, the daily newspaper of the Workers Revolutionary Party). All such publications are of limited use to provide alternative perspectives or news unheard elsewhere, since their doctrinaire approach is more interested in recycling mainstream news, ascribing each strike or workers' action to the power of their cause or ideology. Such papers survive only due to funding from the relevant parties. (The occasional critical journal *Trotwatch* and its even more occasional pamphlets provide an entertaining and investigative commentary on these parties and their publications. The one exception is *The Morning Star*, which does contain analysis and reporting that is more than mere dogma. Indeed, it is the only daily newspaper in the UK that consistently reports on Northern Ireland and Cuba from 'the other side', providing much information and commentary that would otherwise be lost.

There are a number of newspapers that cover issues from anarchist and libertarian perspectives and which provide information on issues that are either ignored or marginalised by the mass media. The long standing fortnightly *Freedom* provides the most regular summary of national and international anarchist news. *Counter Information* is a four page quarterly, gathering news from all over the world about people's struggles, exploring the similarities in local situations in places as apparently disparate as Edinburgh and Calcutta. Its abiding interests lie in documenting the struggle against racism

and fascism and the establishment of community solidarity groups throughout the world, but emphatically on a local level, involving direct participation. *Contraflow* is the British arm of the European Counter Network and looks mostly at Britain (its calendar of events and actions exclusively so). A useful networking tool, listing many names and addresses as well as acting as a barometer of the current concerns of anarchist groups. Both *Counter Information* and *Contraflow* are distributed free of charge.

Current affairs magazines and other commentaries

Whilst magazines such as *Dissent* and *The Progressive* provide regular comment and analysis their approach is more in line with that of the mainstream political journals, not in their content and viewpoints, but in their intellectual weight. Their widespread distribution throughout the US and their appearance on newsstands and in bookshops gives them a profile not available to most alternatives. On the other hand, the fortnightly *In These Times* and the monthly *Z Magazine*, key alternative current affairs journals in the US, provide in depth articles on topics that are consistently played down or ignored by the mass media. Their frequency and constancy (both rare in alternative publishing) enables them to provide current and thoroughgoing critical analysis and comment on current world events in which the US has a major part, both domestic and international. In Canada *This Magazine* examines political and cultural issues in a popular style, yet many of its feature articles and ideas go well beyond the internal politics of that country. It is especially strong on censorship issues, sexual politics and education. The *Open Magazine Pamphlet Series* comprises talks and reports about aspects of US domestic and foreign policy. These have included Joel Beinin on the Gulf War, Helen

Caldicott on environmental imperatives and Rosalyn Baxandall on abortion. Together they form a unique commentary on contemporary issues that have a value well beyond the US.

In its first issue *CovertAction Quarterly* described itself as 'a permanent weapon in the fight against the CIA, the FBI, military intelligence, and all the other instruments of US imperialist oppression throughout the world' and was the major US journal for the examination of the activities of the intelligence and security agencies. Former CIA employee John Stockwell has said that it provides 'more information about the complete scope of the national security complex, its myths, rationales, secret wars, media manipulations, and abuses, than anything else in print.' (3) It has now widened its brief significantly, including much more 'overground' political analysis and reporting on those 'other instruments' such as the World Bank, GATT and the IMF, in particular their role in destabilising the economies of the developing countries.

It has also reported extensively on non-US topics such as Russia's avowed "democratic reforms" and the continuing human rights abuses in Northern Ireland and South Africa and their connections to right-wing funding agencies. *Unclassified* contains critical surveys of the US intelligence scene from former agents and other employees. The latest projects of the World Bank are assessed in *Bankcheck Quarterly*, which also notes the increasing campaigns and protests against activities in the countries of the South and digests international news reporting on the Bank, the IMF and the G7.

In the UK, apart from the newsstand regulars *New Statesman and Society* and *Red Pepper*, there are fewer, less frequent titles, but they do exist. *Here and Now* performs a similar service to *Z Magazine*, from an avowedly anti-authoritarian stance.

Its coverage is remarkable - in a single issue it might examine state policing and the privatisation of public space, the activities of the security services and the future of the work. Its books reviews are occasions for polemics and apologies, never mere textual analysis. It blends a rigorous, academic style with plain speaking - many commentators rate it as unique, the only source for consistently acerbic and informed commentaries on present-day statism. *Casablanca* is the product (we understand) of a number of anonymous, disaffected moonlighting journalists from the liberal left of the British media. If *Casablanca* has an identifiable theme it is the role of politics in culture and about liberating that culture through critical and creative writing and by discussing it on its own terms. *Open Eye* is the UK equivalent to *CovertAction Quarterly*, although it also takes a critical look at the British media as well as examining the activities of the security services. It covers a vast range of topics: free trade, environmental activism, reports from the South by indigenous commentators (a rarity in mainstream media), microwave weapons and other allegations of state terrorism. Despite its irregular appearance it remains the prime source of alternative investigative journalism and research in the UK.

Statewatch is the successor to *State Research*, once the only alternative journal investigating the activities of the British state. *Statewatch* ('monitoring the state and civil liberties in the UK and Europe') provides a news digest and current awareness service taken from newspapers, national and european governmental documents and the alternative press. Each issue features 'new materials', listing books, pamphlets and journal articles on each topic covered (these include Northern Ireland, immigration, prisons, racism and fascism, security and intelligence). It has also published *Statewatching the new*

Europe: a handbook on the European state and makes available back issues of *State Research*.

Parapolitics has been defined by Peter Dale Scott, one of the foremost researchers in this field, as "a system or practice of politics in which accountability is consciously diminished." But parapolitics, he avers, is but one occurrence of what he calls "deep politics", meaning "all those political practices, deliberate or not, which are usually repressed rather than acknowledged." (4) We should note how this differs from the accepted meaning of conspiracy theory, where all such activity is considered both covert *and* deliberate. Peter Dale Scott's definition of deep politics allows for the irrational and unquantifiable. This has two effects: whilst it undoubtedly complicates any research project, it does at least encourage a rigorous, critical approach to that research, since it warns the researcher against looking for deliberateness in every action of every governmental agency.

Lobster is a splendid example of a parapolitical journal. Or rather, *Lobster* are a splendid example, since following an editorial split there are now two journals of that name. The net result of the split is twice as much research into a field that is mostly ignored by the mainstream press. Both are worth investigating for their research on MI5, MI6 and other covert state activities, research that is largely unavailable elsewhere.

While Steve Dorril's *Lobster* concentrates on the activities of the British and US security services, Robin Ramsay's *Lobster* casts its net wider to encompass histories of fascism, the JFK assassination, the

Lockerbie bombing and the military's medical experiments on service personnel. What both *Lobsters* excel at are finding the links between apparently unrelated events, or finding the significance of an event that many commentators would consider trivial.

The majority of this research does not take place in an academic setting; it is undertaken by amateurs, yet its nature is far from amateurish. Its research practices borrow much from the best of academic research: their articles always well-referenced, the researchers ensure that the thesis they are developing is documented at every stage (nowhere is the art of the footnote better practised or more finely wrought than in the pages of *Lobster*). This has a value for the librarians as well as the researcher, beyond the obvious "academic respectability" that tends to accrue to such practices, since it means that the research itself can function as a partial bibliography to its field of enquiry.

A fuller version of this article will appear as a chapter in Chris Atton's book Alternative Literature: a Practical Guide for Librarians, to be published by Gower in January 1996.

[References and addresses of resources mentioned in the text follow overleaf]

References

1. Jeanine Olson, "The Seven Propaganda Devices", *Propaganda Review*, (10), 1993, pp. 18-21,57-60. The seven propaganda devices were first identified in Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee, *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939. Reprinted: International Society for General Semantics, 1979).
2. Edward Herman, *Beyond Hypocrisy: decoding the news in an age of propaganda*, Boston, Massachusetts: South End, 1992, p.16.
3. Quoted in *Open Eye* (1), 1991, p.52.
4. All quotes are from a review of his *Deep Politics and the Death of J.F.K.* by William Clark, *Here and Now* (15), p. 28.

Alternative resources mentioned in the text

Periodicals

- Adbusters Quarterly*, The Media Foundation, 1243 West 7th. Avenue, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6H 1B7
- Bankcheck Quarterly*, International Rivers Network, 1847 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, California, 94703 USA
- Casablanca*, 31 Clerkenwell Close, London, England EC1R OAT
- Contraflow*, 56a Infoshop, 56 Crampton Street, London, England SE17
- Counter Information*, c/o Transmission, 28 King Street, Glasgow, Scotland G1 5QP
- CovertAction Quarterly*, 1500 Mass. Avenue #732., Washington, D.C. 20005, USA
- Dissent*, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA
- Extra!*, FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), 130 W. 25th. Street, New York, NY 10001, USA
- Freedom*, Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, England E1 7QX
- Here and Now*, c/o Transmission, 28 King Street, Glasgow, Scotland G1 5QP
- Lobster*, Robin Ramsay, 214 Westbourne Avenue, Hull, England HU5 3JB and Steve Dorril, 135 School Street, Netherthong, Holmfirth, England HD7 2YB
- The Morning Star*, 1-3 Ardleigh road, London, England N1 4HS
- The Newslines*, BCM Box 747, London, England WC1 N3XX
- Open Magazine Pamphlet Series*, PO Box 2726, Westfield, New Jersey 07091, USA
- The Progressive*, 409 East Main Street, Madison, WI 53703, USA
- Propaganda Review*, c/o Media Alliance, Builidng D, Fort Mason Center, San Francisco, CA 94123, USA
- Statewatch*, PO Box 1516, London, England N16 0EW
- This Magazine*, 16 Skey Lane, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6J 3S4
- Trotwatch*, c/o Box NDF, 72 Radford Road, Hyson Green, Nottingham, England Ng7 5FT
- Unclassified*, Verne Lyon, 921 Pleasant Street, Des Moines, IA 50309, USA
- Z Magazine*, 116 St. Botolph Street, Boston, MA 02115, USA

Books and pamphlets

Censored!: the news that didn't make the news ... and why (New York, New York: Four Walls and Eight Windows)

Dery, Mark. *Culture jamming: hacking, slashing and sniping in the empire of signs*, Westfield, New Jersey: Open Magazine Pamphlet Series, 1993.

Statewatching the new Europe: a handbook on the European state, London: Statewatch, 1993.

Test card F: television, mythinformation and social control, Edinburgh: AK, 1994.

TV Times: a seven day guide to killing your TV, Oxford: OxFIN, [no date].

Publishers

AK Press and Distribution, 22 Luton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland EH8 9PE and PO Box 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682, USA

Common Courage, PO Box 702, Monroe, ME 04951, USA

FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), 130 W. 25th. Street, New York, NY 10001, USA

OxFIN, 21 Cave Street, Oxford, England OX4

South End Press, 116 Saint Botolph Street, Boston MA 02115, USA

The Struggle For Information in South Africa

Christopher Merrett

Late one evening in 1992, a young ANC activist called S'kumbuzo Mbatha Ngwenya was gunned down outside a restaurant in central Pietermaritzburg. For his entire adult life he had been persecuted by the police and Inkatha through detention and vigilante violence and his death came as no great surprise. There was a court case which ended unsatisfactorily although evidence was led that an Inkatha killer had been supplied with the murder weapon by a local security policeman.

The truth behind this case, and scores of others, was supposed to be revealed by the Truth Commission. But, to the disgust of South Africa's human rights activists, historians and democrats, the possibility of full-scale revelations seems as far away as ever. The Nationalists and Inkatha, partners with the ANC in the Government of National Unity, are doing their best to make sure the process is obstructed. Inkatha's recent and brief walk out from Parliament had as much to do with fear of the Truth Commission as the demand for greater regional autonomy for KwaZulu-Natal. Similar fears afflict the National Party and there is reason to believe that the ANC is none too keen to see some aspects of its murky, Stalinist past revealed in the light of day.

In the 1980s South Africa as a nation reached a point of incipient implosion. The state declared war on the majority of the population by adoption of a policy of lawlessness in which the security

police, military intelligence and vigilante allies of the government were given free rein to pursue real and imagined foes. But there is every likelihood that when the Truth Commission gets underway it will be held in secret and the public will be given only brief details about crimes for which indemnity is granted. This will simply reinforce a long standing tradition of covering up South Africa's past.

There are a number of reasons why this is a matter of grave concern, in particular to library and information workers. Firstly, no society can be considered whole and healthy unless it has a clear understanding of its past, as the Germans found to their cost after the Second World War. Secondly, historical research is devalued in a situation in which public information has been deliberately obscured. Thirdly, the need for catharsis, justice and reparation is denied; and fourthly, there is a danger that the human rights abusers of the past will continue to occupy positions where they can damage people and society.

In all these factors the key issue is information. So much of what is known about the past has emerged by chance and in indirect ways. The first confirmation of the worst fears of human rights organisations came from the confessions of renegade policemen like Dirk Coetzee who, from a variety of motives (some of them honourable), explained a number of mysterious assassinations and disappearances. This was followed up by investigative reporters working largely for the now dwindling band of alternative newspapers. In recent months evidence of officially linked repression has emerged from court cases. For instance, two ministers in the KwaZulu-Natal regional government have just been named as the suppliers of arms to Inkatha death squads. The on-going trial of Eugene de Kock (who faces 120 criminal charges) is filling in details of scores of operations masterminded from the police dirty tricks unit at Vlakplaas. The Goldstone Commission into informal violence came to the conclusion that hit squads of the Third Force were no figment of the imagination, but failed to follow through individual cases.

The public right to information about the apartheid years for which so many people suffered is being denied by a democratically elected, ANC led government. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was recently quoted on the BBC World Service as saying that national reconciliation was more important than truth; and on his inauguration day Nelson Mandela was heard to utter the dangerous phrase 'forgive and forget'. One hopes that this was an unthinking slip by an old man: there can be no forgiveness if we are not allowed to know precisely what we are forgiving.

This comes on top of a long process of document shredding. The police have been responsible for the destruction of material seized over many years from anti-apartheid organisations; while since 1990 much material connected with 'national security' has been destroyed by governmental officials. When it became widely known in late 1993 that destruction was taking place, the Archives Act proved no protection and it was left to Lawyers for Human Rights to obtain an interdict to preserve the remaining documents. This incident showed that the 'state within the state' was still operating with impunity in South Africa. Romantic ideas of the 'Leipzig option' involving the seizure of police archives have long since been laid to rest.

As with so many aspects of South Africa society the transition from the old to the new has led to fewer changes than many would like to believe. The future of freedom of information in South Africa, in spite of all the public relations hype about 'transparency' and 'openness', is not promising. The government as whole has no commitment to the concept and it will be up to human rights organisations and other components of civil society to fill in what Hilda Bernstein called 'the torn and missing pages of South African history.'

A Star That Never Sets: the Early Years of the Morning Star Co-operative

Mary Rosser

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the People's Press Printing Society, the co-operative society which owns the Morning Star, previously the Daily Worker. At a packed conference in the Shoreditch Town Hall in 1945, delegates representing two million trade unionists voted unanimously that:

"This conference expresses its agreement with the reports of the editorial board and pledges full support for the plans to develop the Daily Worker as a frontline national newspaper in which the policies of the labour, trade union and democratic movement generally will be popularly expanded."

The confidence in the future, revealed in that resolution, matched the popular mood of 1945. Fascism had been defeated. A Labour victory at the polls seemed to promise a fast, bold change in society in favour of working people. The United Nations was established, as it said in its charter, to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind." The atmosphere was right for the launch of a paper, which would articulate the aspirations of the British people in the post-war period - a paper which would campaign for a change to socialism, a paper which would campaign for peace.

The publication of a new paper would, however, require the raising of new capital. This was an essential step in order to plan development on a large scale. A co-operative

society, through which the labour, trade union and co-operative organisations could invest, was considered the best option. It had the added advantage that it firmed up and formalised links with the movement. At the Daily Worker conference, there were no political parties present. A message from Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain was read. In it, he affirmed his party's support for the new venture, hoping that it would "give the political lead which will succeed in strengthening every phase of working class activity in the very critical period into which we are moving."

By January 1 1946, 10,000 members had joined the new society, the People's Press Printing Society. Membership included 186 trade union bodies, 17 co-operatives and 74 other organisations. A week later, a packed audience at the Albert Hall saw the deeds of Keable Press, publishers of the Daily Worker, handed over to the PPPS. Keable Press had published the paper on behalf of the Communist Party. An editorial board of the day included such notables as Professor Haldane, Sean O'Casey and the Dean of Canterbury.

In the midst of the heady mood of victory, there were sombre notes of warning. A leader in the Daily Worker of January 31, 1945 prophesied: "The roots of fascism are to be traced to the unbridled power wielded by the privileged few whose financial might enables them to ride roughshod over the

democratic aspirations of the people. "The fight against fascism must be continued into the peace, continued until the rule of the people becomes unassailable in all lands. And in this mighty and creative task all men and women of good will must pay their full part."

The cold war, together with an exceptionally cold winter in 1947, brought problems for the infant co-operative society. A huge capital expenditure had been undertaken to build new premises and pay for a new Goss Rotary printing press. But even as work began on newly acquired premises in Farringdon Road, it proved impossible to continue because of cold weather. The political situation was, if anything, colder than the weather. As the cold war bit, two-thirds of the newly gained circulation disappeared. Advertising revenue was slashed by over £300 per week and the Fighting Fund failed to meet its target of £3,000 per month by some £600. The Saturday eight-page edition had to be dropped and the price increased to one and a half pence.

In spite of these setbacks, the readers' support was magnificent.

On Saturday October 31, 1949, 20,000 people packed Clerkenwell Green to hear Harry Pollitt declare it "the greatest and proudest day in the paper's history." A torchlight procession carried William Rust shoulder-high to the new premises and plant in Farringdon Road. A new era had begun - despite the continuing damage inflicted by cold-war policies.

Today, more than ever, the need for our paper is clear. The media in Britain and worldwide is controlled by a small group of men, who represent transnational interests.

This is a threat to democracy. Consider the success of Silvio Berlusconi in the Italian 1994 elections. He was able to use his three TV stations and other media interests to create a party - Forza Italia - the thin air and

to catapult himself into power with other right-wing parties. In Britain, Murdoch's Sun newspaper was able to claim the credit for Tory poll victories. It must be said that most other papers also support the Tories.

Ben Bagdikian, author of *The Media Monopoly*, said of the media ownership: "Neither Caesar nor Hitler, Franklin Roosevelt nor any Pope has commanded as much power to shape the information on which so many people depend to make their decisions about, from whom to vote for to what to eat." Access to good-quality information is a prerequisite of democracy. Campaigning, informing and linking struggles is the role of the *Morning Star*. Its circulation is too low, its voice too little heard to do the job for which it was created to its full potential.

In 1946, Daily Worker editor William Rust wrote "It would be a sorry mistake to write the Tories off. This cunning, canting crowd are biding their time. They will strike when they see a chance to turn back the clock." His prediction was correct, but equally correct was the vision that the role of an independent, mass-circulation paper could give the crucial lead to change all that.

The 50th anniversary year is an opportunity to raise our sights, to put our paper in the forefront of the battle to defeat the Tories and elect a Labour government committed to a shift of wealth and power in favour of working people.

Pittsburg Students Protest Censorship

Selva Nebbia

PITTSBURGH - Four hundred students "Hey, hey, ho, ho, censorship has got to go" at an outside rally at the Carnegie Mellon university (CMU) campus here on November 9, 1994. The action was called to protest a recent administration decision to ban students from gaining access to certain Internet news groups that contain materials school officials deem pornographic. CMU officials maintain that their decision was necessary to comply with a Pennsylvania law dealing with obscenity. "Our official policy is to obey the law," said Bill Arms, vice president for Computing Services. "There are bboards out there that are used to display sexually explicit material."

"We are not here merely because we are angry, but also because we are grieving over the death of academic freedom at CMU," Mike Godwin told the crowd. A lawyer for the Electronics Frontier Foundation, Godwin said his organisation "stands for the proposition that freedom of speech must be protected, not only in the traditional media of speech, print, and broadcasting, but also in the vital new medium of computer communications."

Donna Riley, a graduate student, told those present, "We can't deny that some of the material I've encountered on these boards reflects and perpetuates violence against women. But censorship of information is not the answer. In fact, CMU is doing its women a great disservice. We've seen this stuff before. It permeates our culture. But the

Internet is one of the few places where we can fight back on a more even footing, using the most powerful tools we have - our imaginations, our wits, and our keyboards."

"We need the space and autonomy to fight in our own ways and our own ground the attitudes that hurt us," she added. "CMU women don't need the protection of condescending administrators, lawyers, and statesmen in this matter. The works and images on the bboards CMU censored are only one of many conduits for sexism in our culture." Riley concluded. "We will never expand women's opportunities if we censor the material of this debate before we have begun."

A letter on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) addressed to CMU president Robert Mehrabian explains that the "University's plan is inconsistent with the principles of academic freedom and free speech ... and is based on serious misreading of relevant laws." Comparing the Internet to campus libraries, which are exempt from the state's obscenity laws, the ACLU letter notes, "A library free from government control is an essential component of a vibrant university."

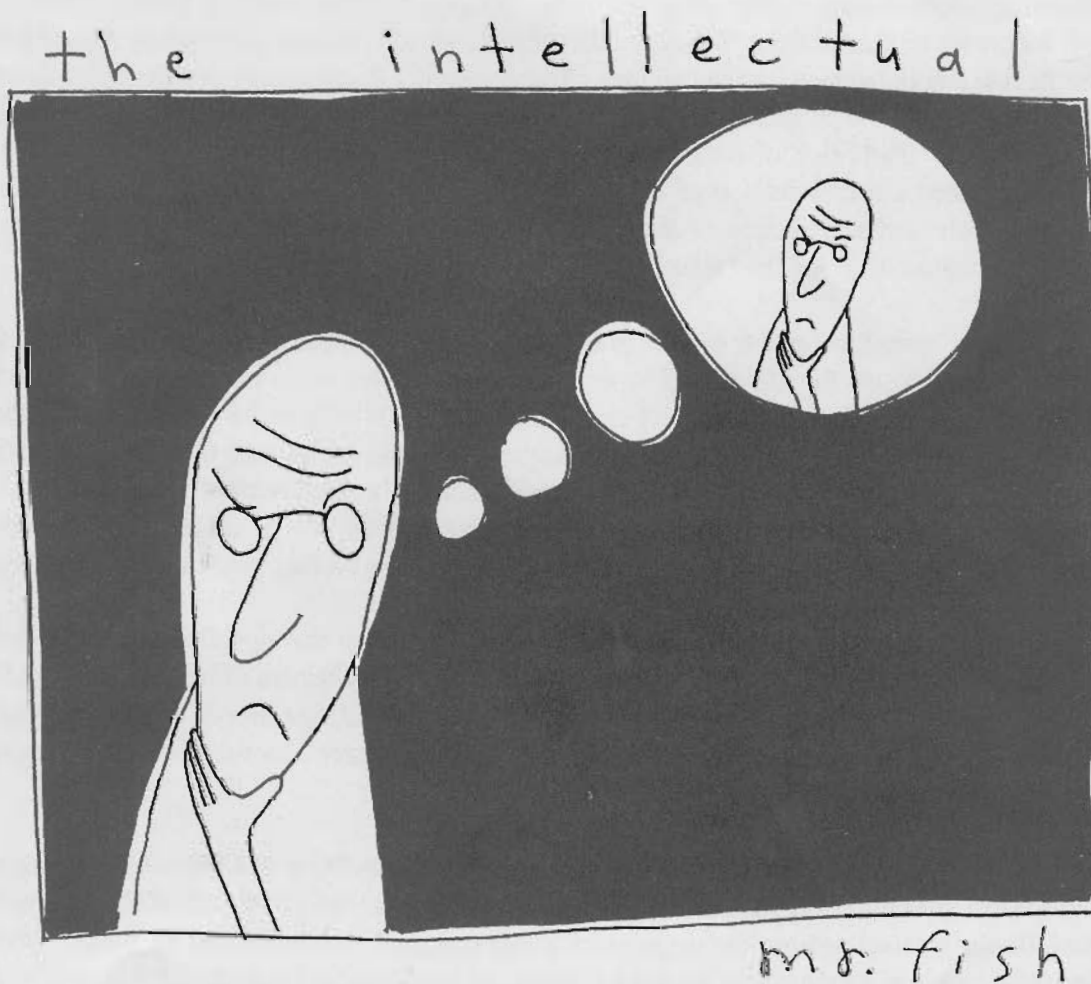
An editorial titled "Censorship violates academic freedom" appeared in the November 7 edition of the student newspaper, The Titan. It stated that the ban "sets a dangerous precedent for the rest of the University" and that this decision, if universally applied, could mean "English

classes would not study books which contained explicit sexual material, such as *The Handmaid's Tale*, by Margaret Atwood; the Psychology department would have to remove Sigmund Freud's works from its curriculum; and the Women's Center would no longer be open to all students because it has books and videos containing explicit sex."

The editorial concluded, "The University's censorship is wrong and should not be tolerated. Every group and every person on this campus who believes in the principles of academic freedom should speak out against the University. Those who don't may regret it later when the University decides that something they are doing or saying is obscene."

Two days after the student protest, the CMU Faculty Senate passed a resolution condemning the administration's decision to ban access to the boards. Shortly after students began protesting, the administration backed down from its ban on written information and limited it to graphics, promising to set up a committee of students, staff, and faculty to review the policy.

Students are waiting to see how this committee will be set up and what conclusions it arrives at. Riley said, "I think that students are not going to let this issue die."



Festival of Rights

Paul Donovan

Liberty's Festival of Rights stretched over three days and covered a plethora of human rights issues, ranging from Northern Ireland and the Criminal Justice Act to conditionality of international aid and democracy. The speakers included Noam Chomsky, Kader Asmal, a minister in the South African government. Pierre Sane, the secretary general of Amnesty International. Paddy Ashdown, Helena Kennedy and Tony Benn among others. The attendance at the three situated around Westminster Central Hall was impressive, with the largest crowd - of 2,000 - gathering to hear Noam Chomsky's speech on Friday night.

The Chomsky presentation provided the backdrop to the rest of the conference. There was a dissection of US foreign policy across the globe, drawing on examples from Brazil, Colombia, Haiti and Indonesia to illustrate the "benevolence" of a US policy that has consistently resulted in riches for the few and the misery for the majority. The domestic US equivalent of this approach is seen in the present "tough love" policies. As Chomsky succinctly put it, love for the rich and tough for everyone else. The result of the pursuit of these type of polarising policies during the 1980s and 1990s has been a total rejection of the system by many Americans. The craving for sects and a massive unchannelled rejection of the system were elements of the analysis which signposted a dangerous future of which the Oklahoma bombing may be but a first indication.

Answering a question on the former presidential candidate Ross Perot, Chomsky said that the present conditions in the US would be conducive to a charismatic Hitler-type figure coming to power. Alternatively, the rejection of the present system is held to be so widespread that there would be support for an organisation which started to redress the balance of power. In response to Liberty's question of foreign aid being made conditional on a good human rights record, Chomsky pointed to the irrelevance of the question, given that half of all US aid is presently devoted to supporting the repressive Colombian government - one of the world's worst human rights violators.

Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown spoke for half an hour and signalled the clear intent of the Liberal Democrats to move onto the fertile ground occupied by human rights activists - traditionally the constituency of the Labour Party. While Ashdown had fine words on bills or rights and freedoms, when questioned on the role of the market in this brave new world of citizens as opposed to subjects, a certain haze seemed to gather around the vision.

The one commitment made at the conference by the Labour Party concerned the inclusion of the European Convention on Human Rights into domestic law. In his speech, Labour frontbencher Paul Boateng railed against the vagaries of a judiciary and bar dominated by public schools and Oxbridge, while in a moment of seeming amnesia, he appeared to forget the background of his own

dear party leader. However, Boateng was clearly well briefed. He remembered the all-important Labour Party qualification for any future policy commitment - that there will not be a penny more made available.

A series of sessions on Northern Ireland ran throughout one day of the conference, with speakers from England and Northern Ireland giving valuable insights into what appears to be a stagnant peace process. A morning session, chaired by journalist Jon Snow, had to be split in two due to the unwillingness of Ulster Unionist David Trimble and Democratic Unionist Party representative Ian Paisley jnr to sit on the same platform as Tom Hartley of Sinn Fein - clearly 10 months has done little to change some unionist attitudes. By way of contrast, William Smith of the Progressive Unionist Party fully participated in all of the sessions and gave important insights into the attitudes of the working-class areas of the community.

Conor Foley of Liberty gave a most informative talk. He drew attention to the increasing use of surveillance cameras in Britain, the transfer of legislation from Northern Ireland and the danger posed to civil liberties by the introduction of ID cards. There are now 150,000 surveillance cameras operational in the UK with the number set to rise to 287,000 by the year 2000. However, though people presently feel safe about cameras, there is little evidence to suggest that they have any effect in reducing crime. Foley pointed to the main beneficiaries of surveillance, the private security firms, who are making money out of others' insecurity. An ID card with a micro chip carrying 3,000 words about each individual could become a sinister means of control. Foley estimated that, technologically, England was five years away from the same levels of surveillance as now exist in Northern Ireland.

The growth of the national security state - mentioned by Chomsky - fostered by a media of hype up public menaces, like drugs and crime, leading on to a Northern Ireland-style state in the future provided a chilling scenario. The need to bind together for enshrined human rights and safeguards could not have been more clearly illustrated. The growing awareness of a need to fight for rights and the politicisation process that seems to be happening across the country was evident at this conference. At a workshop on the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, the organisers clearly expected a room full of solicitors but got politically aware protesters who have been putting the Criminal Justice Act to test across the country. They had also tried out whether individuals could be prosecuted under the new aggravated trespass law, providing useful insights for legal practitioners and protesters alike.

Amid the growth of Fortress Europe, the contributions of Kadar Asmal, a South African government minister, were like a breath of fresh air. To hear about a country dismantling the machinery of the national security state - instead of building it up - and creating a comprehensive Bill of Rights was a cause for much hope. A Bill of Rights built on the submissions of 45,000 South African citizens was an example of genuine participative democracy in action. Mr. Asmal also told of how the next South African parliament would be made up of more than one-third women. Former Labour Cabinet member Tony Benn joined Kader Asmal in reminding all present that rights were always won as the result of struggle. The South Africans had struggled long and hard to reach their Bill of Rights. Mr. Asmal ended by congratulating Liberty on beginning "a debate that will enable the British people to find themselves as the South Africans have done over the last three years."

Some Recent Alternative Publications

A journalist on a prominent evening newspaper recently admitted to *Information for Social Change* that the budget for investigative journalism and research had been cut so severely that he was now relying on NGOs, pressure groups and alternative publications to supply him with the bulk of his stories. Further proof indeed of the value of alternative and independent sources of information. Yet out of the dozens of stories researched by such sources not even a handful will appear in his paper's columns. For the full story, we still the alternative sources.

The appearance of the third issue of *Open Eye* has been delayed for over a year due both to financial problems and their workload. Sustaining the level of investigative work that *Open Eye* does would be a burden even for a full-time staff; *Open Eye's* reporters are unpaid, part-time and working emphatically without the system. Issue three is filled with some excellent features. The crippling of Earth First! supporter Judi Bari in a car bomb attack is well documented here. Ward Churchill adduces powerful evidence of US government clandestine operations behind this and the accompanying black propaganda directed towards the radical environmental group. Noam Chomsky, Tim Lang and Vandana Shiva severally examine aspects of 'the free trade myth' and the continuing repression of the South by the economic policies and business practices of the North. A substantial review section and an 'alternative press update' provide essential guides for librarians wishing to explore these and related issues.

Open Eye's masthead slogan is 'Challenging media censorship', an issue examined in detail in a new book by *Information for Social Change's* South African correspondent. Christopher Merrett's *A culture of censorship: secrecy and intellectual repression in South Africa* is the historical and theoretical analysis of this important topic, from its roots in the 1950s through to the State of Emergency in the late 1980s. Merrett goes further, asking some tough questions about how this legacy of repression is set to influence the 'new' South Africa.

The long-running journal *The Ethical Consumer* is noted for its scrupulously researched analyses of products and companies from the perspective of environmental damage, human rights, trading with repressive regimes and irresponsible marketing. Its parent body, the Ethical Consumer Research Association is now making all its research available on-line as *Corporate Responsibility On-Line*. Most reference and business libraries that rely on the likes of Dun and Bradstreet and *Kompass* will find the information here a healthy counterpoint to the purely financial and 'neutral' information typically in the public domain. If the customer really is the most important part of commerce and industry, as they keep telling us, then every library service has a duty to make information about corporate responsibility as easily available as the standard company directories.

Legal ethics in their widest sense are the remit of *The Law*, a radical legal newspaper produced for lawyers, campaigners and anyone with an interest in the law. Anyone

expecting pages of legalese will be disappointed: articles are in refreshingly plain English and cover issues not of arcane legal matters but of real human concern. The first issue features writing on the Criminal Justice Act, the McLibel case, the arms trade and prison reform.

Comics are one publication rarely stocked by libraries as a matter of course, despite their reinvention in recent years as a literary form to rival the novel. However overstated that case may be, there are plenty of titles that are unjustifiably ignored. One such is *Activists!*, sponsored by the US Fellowship of Reconciliation. It contains four stories, one telling the history of the invasion and eventual redemocratisation of Czechoslovakia as if it had occurred in the US ('What if...?'). Another deals with being gay at school ('Reflections of a rock lobster'). The remaining two tell of the black struggles for freedom ('Firebrand!' and 'Survivin'-nda-hood'). Social issues told in impressively direct and attractive ways for teenagers, in a style unknown in Britain. Tragically the Fellowship of Reconciliation are planning to 'recycle' all copies of the comic (for 'recycle' read 'shred') following complaints from their staff and members that the stories aren't 'uplifting' or 'positive' enough. A misprint that caused the colouring of the pages of *Firebrand!* to appear darker than intended has been construed as 'racist'. The content of that same story, concerning the Moton High School strike of the 1950s, where black schoolchildren campaigned for non-segregated schools has been declared 'too dated' and 'not relevant'. So much for reconciliation.

Comics may be thought of as belonging to that disparate, yet extensive, collection of small circulation publications known as zines. One of the most tireless advocates of zines is librarian Chris Dodge. His recent article in *Wilson Library Bulletin*, 'Pushing the boundaries: zines and libraries'

is an impassioned plea for their recognition. It's also a neat introduction to some of the most exciting zines around. And while you're there, you might want to check out his newly revised *A zine-ography*, a bibliography of articles and monographs on zines.

We fully expect Dodge's article to appear in the next biennial anthology of *Alternative library literature*, edited by Sanford Berman and James Danky and due for release in 1996. For now we must make do with the 1992-1993 volume, almost four hundred pages of enthused polemic, careful research, practical notes and reading lists on social responsibility topics in libraries: multiculturalism, sex, the environment, censorship, women, advocacy... oh, it goes on. Required reading.

Another librarian out to promote alternative literature and its creators is Simon Ford, a curator at the National Art Library at the V&A. His annotated bibliography of Situationist literature from 1972 to 1992 (that is, the two decades following the dissolution of the Situationist International) is far more than a list of publications. It might be considered the first reference work on this infuriatingly obscurantist yet hugely influential group of artists, polemicists and revolutionary theorists.

Further Information

Open Eye is £1.50 an issue from BCM Open Eye, London WC1N 3XX.

Christopher Merrett's *A culture of censorship: secrecy and intellectual repression in South Africa* is published simultaneously by David Philip, Cape Town and University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg (both South Africa, of course) and Mercer University Press, Macon, Georgia (United States). To our knowledge it hasn't been taken up by a British publisher yet.

The Ethical Consumer is published six times a year and costs £2.75 an issue. A full subscription to *Corporate Responsibility On-Line* will cost you £280 a year, with a budget service for raw data print-outs of £10 to £30 for each company. Contact: Ethical Consumer Research Association, 16 Nicholas Street, Manchester M1 4EJ (Tel: 0161-237 1630; email: ethicon@mcr1.poptel.org.uk)

Twenty thousand copies of *The Law* are distributed free in London. Those of us fortunate enough to live somewhere decent have to pay £4.00 for four issues from PO Box 3878, London SW2 5BX (Tel: 0171-501 9220).

At the time of writing the status of *Activists!* is unclear. Try writing to Jo Becker, Executive Director, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, USA. Ask her what's going on.

Chris Dodge's article 'Pushing the boundaries: zines and libraries' is in *Wilson Library Bulletin*, May 1995, 26-30. A *zine-ography* is available direct from him at 4645 Columbus Avenue, Minneapolis, MN 55407, USA (email: cdodge@hennepin.lib.mn.us). Chris Dodge is also co-editor with Jan DeSirey of the *Minnesota Social Responsibilities*

Round Table (MSRRT) Newsletter which has to contain the best reviews and news sections of alternative literature aimed at librarians, anywhere. It's that good. Available from the same address (enquire for overseas prices). *Alternative library literature: 1992-1993* is published by McFarland and distributed in the UK by Shelwing.

Simon Ford's *The realization and suppression of the Situationist International: an annotated bibliography: 1972-1992* is published and distributed by AK Press, 22 Luton Place, Edinburgh EH8 9PE (0131-667 1507) at a mere £7.95 for 175 pages. Now that's value-for-money academic publishing.

A riot to read

Dodge, Chris & DeSirey, Jan: Everything you always wanted to know about Sandy Berman but were afraid to ask, McFarland & Company, 1995, 0786400811

For nearly four decades Sandy Berman has been the embodiment of the activist librarian, championing the causes of intellectual and personal freedom. Here many of his friends and associates reflect on what Sandy has meant to them and the profession

Durrani, Shiraz : Independence in Kenya and the lost opportunity to build a people oriented library service, 1994

A stimulating article about the library scene in Kenya which looks at the political situation, ideological struggle, the information scene, and what happened around Independence and after. A copy is available from the ISC editorial address.

Fiction, Facts and the Fatwa: 2,000 days of censorship, Article 19, 1994, ISBN 1870798325

A chronology of events surrounding the publication of *The Satanic Verses* and the fatwa which still threatens the lives of Salman Rushdie and those associated with his novel.

Horn, Zoia: Zoia ! - memoirs of Zoia Horn, battler for the people's right to know, McFarland & Company, 1995, ISBN 0786400714

The American Library Association refused publicly to support Zoia Horn's stand against the government's attempts to intimidate and silence Vietnam War protesters. This story is an inspiration to those who believe that librarians can make a difference by ensuring the public's right to know.

Karolides, Nicholas , Burrell, Lee & Kean, John: Censored books : critical viewpoints, Scarecrow Press, 1993, ISBN 0810826674

Aimed primarily at librarians, teachers and parents this is a timely publication which serves to remind us of the many insidious ways through which censorship operates and ultimately stifles creativity.

Merrett, Christopher: The Emergency of the state : a source guide to South African political issues, 1985 -1991, University of Natal Library, 1993, ISBN 086980717X

This lists key government regulations relating to the state of emergency in chronological order. It then provides lists of relevant periodicals and books with subject and author indexes. There is also an outline directory of organisations and a chronology of recent events.

Mzalendo Mwakenya, UKenya, Special Issue, May 1, 1994

This special edition of Mwakenya's publication was circulated in Kenya to mark May Day. Please contact UKenya (United Movement for Democracy in Kenya) at PO Box 2908, London, N17 6YY if you want a copy (also available in Kiswahili) or copies of Mwakenya's other publications.

Simpson, Alan: Beyond the famished road - new policies for common security, Mushroom Bookshop, 1995, ISBN 0907123279

This pamphlet sets out a number of radically different ideas about Britain's international defence and security policies for the years ahead. He advocates the establishment of new international initiatives focused on young people and the environment, investing in the infrastructures of survival.

Woolfrey, Lynn & Omar, Latifa: An investigation of public libraries in the Greater Cape Town area, LIWO, 1993, ISBN 0620182032

As part of the "Open Libraries Campaign" this pamphlet exposes the lack of library facilities for the black population. In white areas the ratio of libraries to population is 1:11,981 ; in black areas the ratio is 1:45,510.

Vita Books

P.O.Box 2908 London N17 6YY

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1995/96 Publications

MAINA WA KINYATTI *A Season of
Blood; Prison Poems*

ISBN 1 869886 07 0

July 1995 160pp pb £6.50

MAINA WA KINYATTI *Kenya : A Prison
Notebook*

ISBN 1 869886 08 9

November, 1995

MAINA WA KINYATTI *Mother Kenya;
Letters From Prison, 1982-88*

ISBN 1 869886 09 7

January, 1996

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