BOOK BURNING

how SA librarians conspired 1955 -1971



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hat causes custodians of books to destroy them? How can we explain the complicity of librarians in bibliocide? From about 1955 to 1971, thousands of books and other reading material from public and commercial libraries were burned at municipal incinerators and furnaces in South Africa, without vigorous protest by librarians. Instead, the library community largely supported this holocaust of literature and expedited its destruction.

Ambiguous attitudes of librarians toward censorship are not entirely unreasonable, and the routine selection of library materials can involve the same mixed passions and moral concerns. The readiness, however, of ordinary librarians to become accomplices and active destroyers of books by fire deserves both a stronger condemnation and a fuller explanation. It is not enough to blame high-ranking librarians in provincial and municipal structures or the executive

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leadership of the South African Library Association (SALA).² The majority of rank and file librarians around the country supported these rogue elements. A conspiracy of silence suggests close cooperation by the library community with state authorities during those years.

Recorded incidents of book burnings

The first news of the destruction of books came to the South African public's attention in May 1954. Thirteen banned books taken from the Brakpan

Municipal Library shelves had ironically been saved by the police who advised that the books, dutifully handed to them, should be stored in sealed bags in the library.³ In March 1955 the **Pretoria News**, however, reported the actual destruction of books from the Durban Public Library.⁴ The Durban City librarian stated that 475 books had been burned in the previous eighteen months.⁵ Although there may have been a steady and regular consignment of books to the municipal incinerators' flames from about 1955 to

1971, newspaper reports only identify incidents in the larger cities in certain months and years. This makes it difficult to arrive at an accurate picture of the destruction and to establish the actual number of books and periodicals that were burned. In October 1955, for example, a leader in a Cape Town newspaper reported that 'a couple of hundred books' had been burned.⁶ These figures should be understood against the background of a rapid increase in the number of banned titles in the 1950s. When the National Party came to power in 1948, there were 100 books on the banned list. In 1949 there were 200, and by 1950 there were 400, rising to 800 in 1952 and to 1 400 in 1955.⁷ It is uncertain how many of these were burned in that period.

The first burnings were largely of pornographic books imported into South Africa and deemed indecent and obscene by a Board of Censors under the Customs Act of 1955. The report of a Commission of Inquiry into Undesirable Publications released in September 1957, however, not only recommended sweeping changes for censorship but led to comprehensive control of both imported and locally-produced reading material. This allowed the Nationalist government to destroy or prevent publication inside South Africa of books and pamphlets critical of its policies.⁸ The overkill of this Commission's recommendations is clear from the government's already existing arbitrary powers to suppress newspapers, books, pamphlets, magazines and other printed matter under the Riotous Assembly Act of 1930, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and the Public Safety Act of 1953.⁹

After the introduction of government legislation based on this Commission's report, and the appointment of a Publications Control Board on I November 1963, book burnings assumed a stronger political character aimed at stifling criticism.¹⁰ By July 1964, just seven months later, the Publications Control Board had already banned 504 publications. These included indecent and obscene pornographic literature, several classic works of literature as well as an increasing number of works dealing with politics and race issues.¹¹ In that same month it was reported from Cape Town City Library Services that more than 800 books had been burned. By this time the list of banned publications had swelled to a total of 12 000 titles.¹²

In June 1968, a newspaper editorial reported that 5 375 books from the shelves of the Natal Provincial Libraries had been burned. It also stated that, in the space of less than five years, the Publications Control Board had remarkably already added 11 000 titles to the list of banned publications.¹³

At the Durban City Libraries, instead of books being burned they were routinely torn up and pulped in batches. ¹⁴ By April 1971 books were still steadily being burned in Cape Town - at the rate of two per day. ¹⁵ Even though the law courts were frequently overturning the decisions of the Publications Control Board, librarians were not waiting around for a reprieve of their 'guilty' books from a fiery demise.

Significantly, some librarians in the most senior positions where book burnings had occurred either claimed that they had no alternative or happily assured news reporters of their full compliance, and sometimes of their personal involvement. In 1955, CJ Eyre, the Durban City librarian, said that he simply had to carry out the instructions of the Minister of Interior as they were laid down in the Customs Act. In the same year, RF Kennedy, the city librarian of Johannesburg exclaimed about the tracing and recovery of identified banned books that 'all copies are brought in to me and I destroy them personally'. ¹⁶ A couple of years later, the deputy city librarian of Cape Town, RB Zaaiman disclosed the fate of banned books that would be returned from branch libraries to Central Library by declaring: 'Then we will have a big bonfire and burn them.' ¹⁷

Other senior library administrators either exceeded the legal requirements, called for censorship themselves in specific instances, worried about financial losses, or practiced self censorship by anticipating which kinds of books would be banned, and refusing to buy them. In this way, for example, Cape Town City librarian, MC Vermeulen, spontaneously volunteered in 1965 not to circulate controversial books 'expressing extremist points of view in an unscholarly, violent or irresponsible way'. 18 The Cape Provincial Library Services, in the same year, required 'certain cuts' dealing with evolution in a book, Volke van Afrika, but were refused by the publishers. 19 And in 1968, an official of the Natal Provincial Library Service pronounced on behalf of his senior colleagues that 'we try not to buy books which are going to be banned'.20 More worrying though was the solid support from ordinary South African librarians for these treacherous acts.

A new spirit for the library profession

It is unclear whether librarians were intimidated into silence or whether they simply did not know how to respond. Librarians should have taken their cue from the 1954 incident when police themselves suggested storing the 'offending' books. But they did not.²¹

Switzer sums up the attitude of librarians as follows: Even when books were burned by public libraries, the profession meekly accepted the situation. This acceptance also signified support and agreement with what was happening. One reason for this unprofessional conduct should be sought in the dominant authoritarian mood and spirit in South Africa and the library community at that time.

During the 1950s and 1960s there was a growing Afrikanerisation of South African society. Some radical Afrikaner nationalists occupied key positions in government and the state bureaucracy. This followed the unification of several Afrikaner political factions in the wake of the slim and surprise Nationalist election victory in 1948. Unification efforts in the cultural arena had already commenced in 1941 when a 'Declaration on behalf of Volksorganisasies' was signed by several cultural and church bodies, and a pledge was made to the Christian National ideology. In spite of differences within Afrikanerdom, a general coordination of activities and perspectives allowed a closing of the ranks after the election victory. The National Party presented a 'granite facade to the world'.²³

A new era was also opening in the library profession as its traditional English character was gradually displaced by an Afrikaner substitute. A few Afrikaner library intellectuals actively promoted this change. In his comments on the coming of age of the SALA in 1951, for example, PC Coetzee contested the view presented in a special book to mark the occasion,²⁴ that the year 1818 when Charles Somerset opened the South African Library in Cape Town marked the starting point of South African librarianship.²⁵ Probably responding to this concern the following year, RFM Immelman as its president addressed the SALA on the evolution of library activities in South Africa. He instead fixed the commencement date of South African librarianship as 1761, when German-born Joachim von Dessin bequeathed his books to the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town for public use, to emphasise non-English origins. He was also instrumental in the SALA decision to racially segregate the library profession in 1962.²⁶ English speaking white librarians warmly complied with the increasingly authoritarian professional stance. Their attitude, like those of other white South Africans at that time, can be summed up in the statement: 'Vote Prog (United Party) and thank God for the Nats'.27 Liberal dissent, for example, within the SALA came from the Western Cape in the form of a group of enthusiastic young librarians. The Cape Library Assistants Section (CLAS) was founded at the end of October 1964 'wanting to promote librarianship in South Africa'. 28 It sought a stronger professional voice and aimed to 'exercise a greater power in the SALA' and to challenge it leadership. Its singular achievement regarding censorship was to get the SALA to adopt its

proposal that the Government Printer should print the list of banned books 'in accepted bibliographical style'.²⁹ CLAS ceased its activities in about 1967.

The general consensus among librarians was therefore that censorship was acceptable, even if this involved the burning of books. Some senior librarians went as far as to say that not enough books were banned and that the library was an important factor in controlling undesirable literature.³⁰ Although a simple comparison may not be drawn, there were some parallels with what had happened in the library

profession in Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Margaret Stieg describes pre-war German librarians as divided into two opposing camps - the Alte richtung and the Neue richtung, or the Old way and the New way. Supporters of the Old way emphasised the individual, and personal intellectual growth as the main purpose of the library in society. Adherents of the New way followed the chief Nazi librarian, Walter Hofmann, and stressed collectives such as 'the public' and



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saw the library's social purpose as developing the spirit of the people, by acquiring only 'good' books. These German librarians soon helped to fashion the German people into a volk, and consolidated their professional position in the new Reich by compiling lists of authors to be censored.³¹

In South Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, a few leading library intellectuals shared similar sympathies, and committed themselves to building the Afrikaner 'volkish' character and purpose of public libraries. Professor PC Coetzee's influential writings during the 1960s, for example, introduced the narrow notion of enculturation of racial groups to displace the traditionally broader education of the individual as the purpose of the public library.³²

This historian and librarian, Karel Schoeman, who worked at the Bloemfontein Public Library in the 1960s and 1970s describes the nature of a 'new' library spirit in practice.

Schoeman states that there was paranoia about censorship, and that it was practically a full-time task to cope with the withdrawal of banned books and the accompanying administrative tasks. Library directors acted as censors themselves when they made a 'final selection' in their offices of books that had already been selected by librarians, and were neither accountable nor reported to anyone.³³ Needles to say, this was hardly the climate in which an anti-book burning campaign was likely to be launched.

Propagating the reading of 'good' books

The 'new' library spirit was not just about burning 'bad' books. A programme to propagate the 'good' book was underway to replace the 'offending culprits'. This programme was initiated by literary figures but involved a wide cross-section of Afrikaner cultural and church organisations that included librarians and library bodies. The Afrikaans churches had already been uncomfortable for some time with the quality of Afrikaans magazines and had been calling for stronger censorship laws.

In February 1954, Die kerkbode, the journal of the

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Nederduitse Gereformeerde (N.G.) church, featured the call from the Johannesburg Action Committee for the propagation of the good Afrikaans book and magazine. In its editorial, reference was made to support from the Afrikaans Literary Association and the church's own committee for combating social evils, chaired by Reverend DFB

de Beer:³⁴ The Action Committee's call was also sent to Afrikaans teachers' bodies and other Afrikaner cultural organisations. It used militant language to convey a powerful message, opening with the claim that the 'Afrikaanse volk' together with its entire culture and literature was confronting a crisis. The volk's undivided attention should be focused on this threat to its values from the flood of pornographic literature. Immediate action was necessary and all foreign influences ought to be eliminated. It also provided a list of tips on what organisations and individuals should do. The second of these tips was that books of a certain kind of author do not belong in libraries, especially not in school

libraries.³⁵ This call continued an established South African tradition to regulate reading, which involved both the prohibition and propagation of certain reading materials. At the turn of the twentieth century and specially following the South African War (1899-1902), for example, a number of women's organisations were engaged in the promotion and guidance of reading ('aanwakkering van leeslus'), and they contributed significantly to the growth of the free public library movement in South Africa.³⁶ By the 1950s and 1960s the new challenge for these groups and for librarians, however, was to channel the love of reading in the right directions'.37 The aim at that time was especially to make or render the Afrikaans reader invulnerable ('weerbaar') to foreign influences.³⁸ These were the signs of a moral panic or 'Yellow peril'39 ('geel gevaar') among the Afrikaner elite about the potential regression of sections of Afrikaners to a poor white status, and a subsequent loss of respectability.

This Action Committee, chaired by Professor CM van der Heever of the University of the Witwatersrand, was welcomed and encouraged by librarians. 40 Varley, for example, had argued that it would help South Africans to distinguish between the true creative artist and the peddler in pornography. 41 It assumed a more aggressive character, however, as it began to spread to smaller towns around the country. 42 Its focus also gradually expanded to include books dealing with political and racial issues, especially those critical of Nationalist policies. Many of the developments regarding censorship in the 1950s and 1960s originated from this united front or its organisational members. 43

The cooperation of some librarians and library bodies with this Action Committee reveals the extent of coordination and solidarity among Afrikaner cultural organisations. Some senior librarians gave their whole-hearted support to the Committee. HM Robinson of the Transvaal Provincial Library Service, for example, assured the Committee of the fortunate position of the librarian to do constructive work.'41

EC Groenewald who was the organiser of the Transvaal Education Department's (TED) library service submitted a comprehensive and dogmatic piece on what should be done for school pupils, for young people, for aspirant teachers, and for adults and parents. The Action Committee accepted her recommendation that the Book guide (Boekgids) of the TED should be used to purchase suitable school library books and magazines for primary and high schools.⁴⁵ Groenewald was one of the librarians that defied the SALA's decision not to sit on the Commission of Inquiry into Undesirable Literature because it would signify approval of censorship in principle.46 The Book guide was, moreover, the object of much criticism for several years for its censorship, lack of balance in the choice of material, its prejudiced perspective, and its attempt to tighten control over what Transvaal children were reading.⁴⁷

As these individuals and others assumed senior and influential positions in the library profession in the 1950s and 1960s, they began to impose an ideology that allowed book burning to carry on unabated for almost two decades. This happened without significant protest from a profession traditionally entrusted with the collection and preservation of society's literary heritage. By 1971 there was still very little support for or representation of librarians in the anti-Censor Board movement and the Pasquino Society

Cape Libr., May/June 2005

that were established to fight censorship in South Africa.⁴⁸

Can book burning happen again in South Africa?

In the end, book burning was about power - the abuse of power by the agents of censorship, and the reluctance to confront power by those who aided and abetted censorship. But can this extreme practice of censorship recur? Given a similar set of circumstances, there is every reason to believe that it can. Following recent book burnings by church groups in rural Pennsylvania in the United States that included the Harry Potter books along with other 'ungodly' books, CDs and videos, there are already murmurings in some local churches. Hundreds of archival documents have, in fact, already been destroyed in the mid-1990s in the furnaces of ISCOR (Iron and Steel Corporation), in Pretoria. Factors in South Africa today that bear some resemblance with those of the 1950s and 1960s include the following:

- ☐ a moral regeneration movement that seeks coordination across all sectors of South African society;
- ☐ an anti-terrorism bill before Parliament;
- a library association without a dedicated anti-censorship forum; and
- ☐ a growing political alliance of nationalist parties.

There are, of course, also significant differences such as:

a multi-party democracy with voting rights for all South Africans;

- ☐ a progressive Constitution and a Bill of Rights;
- a strong civil society sector shaped by the anti-apartheid struggle;
- ☐ a single professional library association open to all; and
- a stronger historical awareness of the dangers of censorship.

There is, however, little room for complacency. While new forms of censorship need new ways of fighting it, there are also still curious and worrying continuities and similarities with the censorship rules of apartheid South Africa.⁵¹ We are now facing 'the next round of the struggle over censorship'.⁵² On the one hand, the threat of censorship and book burning may stimulate anti-censorship sentiment and mobilise resistance. But on the other hand, professional self-satisfaction may tolerate a steady accumulation of infringements on hard-fought freedoms that could yet see the return of book burning in South Africa, with librarians as agents and accomplices once again. We would do well to heed George Steiner's reminder as cited by Merrett, that 'Men [sic] are accomplices to that which leaves them indifferent'.⁵³

Endnotes

- ¹ Sales, D. 1981. Censorship and book selection in South Africa. M.A. University of Cape Town, Cape Town.
- ² Many SALA members in senior positions belonged to the Afrikaner Broederbond. Some librarians who were members of the Broederbond during this period included P Aucamp, ED Gerryts, HC van Rooy, and CJH Lessing - see Wilkins, I and Strydom, H 1978. The super Afrikaners. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, Appendix

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- ³ Banned books to be kept in parcel. 1954. **Cape Argus**, Wednesday 26 May, (p.3).
- ⁴ State banning of books: inquiry into losses. 1955. **Pretoria News**, Tuesday 22 March, (p.4).
- ⁵ CLR. Black berates book banning. 1955. **The Natal Mercury**, Thursday 10 November, (p.1); an amount of 445 books had been reported in another newspaper. Honderde boeke verbrand: biblioteke van verbode lektuur gereinig. 1955. **Die Burger**, Wednesday 5 October, (p.3).
- ⁶ Burning banned books: city lending libraries main sufferers. 1955. Cape Times, Thursday 6 October; (p.1). An ex-wrestler who owned a bookshop resorted simply to tearing up banned books instead. Ex-wrestler tears up banned books. Bookshop owners were also 'forced to destroy' banned books. 1955. Rand Daily Mail, Saturday 15 October; (p.9)
- ⁷ Readers' point of view: are books being burned? I 400 banned, most of them since 1948. 1955. **Rand Daily Mail**, Tuesday 18 October, (p.12); these numbers had been ascertained from scanning nearly 600 Government Gazettes since 1944 see Lewin, J 1955. Censorship is clumsy and futile. **Forum** 4(8): 21-6; see also Reeves, RA. 1955. Dangers of censorship. **Forum** 4(8): 18-23.
- ⁸ The period under study here witnessed the adoption of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People in June 1955 at Kliptown, the Evaton and Alexandra bus boycotts from 1955-1957, the 'Treason' trial from 1956-1961, the Sharpeville massacre and a state of emergency in 1960, the Rivonia 'treason' trial in 1964, banning, raids, detentions and growing unrest in South African townships.
- 9 Hepple, A. 1957. The undesirable censorship plan. Forum 6(8): 11-13.
- ¹⁰ Fairbairn, J. 1960. Government to act on Cronje report: new legislation to control 'undesirable literature'. **Forum** 8(10): 18-20. This became the Publications and Entertainments Act no. 26 of 1963. For fear of its political use see **Survey of race relations** 1963, (p.72).
- ¹¹ Several books seized during police raids were submitted to the Publications Control Board, and subsequently banned. Victims of such raids were usually fined for possession of these books.
- ¹² No one has surrendered forbidden books. 1964. **Sunday Times**, Sunday 19 July. Also in South African Institute of Race Relations (hereafter SAIRR) Papers, Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Box 50.1.
- ¹³ Bonfire of books. 1968. **Natal Mercury**, Saturday I June, (p.10). This figure may be inaccurate because the more reliable South African Institute of Race Relations reported in 1971 that the Board had banned nearly 6 000 titles since 1963 **Survey of race relations** 1971, (p.80).
- ¹⁴ City also hit by books ban. 1968. **Natal Mercury**, Friday 7 June, (p.10).
- ¹⁵ Switzer, op cit (p.441); Books go up in flames in Cape Town...1971. Cape Argus, Friday 2 April, (p.2). In March 1971, a student religious group at the University of Cape Town also publicly burned the student publication, Sax appeal Burning of Rag Mag is totalitarian symptom. 1971. Sunday Times, Sunday 21 March, (p.14). Book burning declined after 1971, with no recorded incidents.
- ¹⁶ The burning question: what happens to all those banned books? 1955. **Rand Daily Mail**, Thursday 13 October, (p.11).
- ¹⁷ New list of banned books includes Russian classics, Diana Dors. 1957. **Cape Times**, Tuesday 8 October; (p.6).
- ¹⁸ City Library policy defended. 1965. Cape Times, 5 April; also in



- SAIRR papers, file 282.
- ¹⁹ Publisher turns down library request for cuts. 1965. **Sunday Times**, no date, SAIRR Papers, File 282.
- ²⁰ City also hit by books ban, op cit.
- ²¹ The burning of books could have been prevented or considerably contained if the relevant laws had been studied closely Is possession of banned books illegal? 1964. **Cape Times**, 21 August; also in SAIRR papers, Box, 50.1.
- ²² Switzer, op cit, (p.34).
- ²³ Dunbar Moodie, T. 1975. **The rise of Afrikanerdom: power, apartheid, and the Afrikaner civil religion**. Berkeley: University of California Press, (p.218,281).
- ²⁴ South African Library Association. 1951. Handbook of librarianship in South Africa, 1951. Johannesburg: SALA.
- ²⁵ Coetzee, PC. 1951. Mondigwording van die Suid-Afrikaanse Biblioteek Vereniging. **Ons eie boek** 17(3): 6-8. The SALA was founded in 1930.
- ²⁶ Dick, AL. 2001. Science for ideology?: PC Coetzee and the professionalisation of South African librarianship. **Mousaion** 19(1): 62-92. Acting well ahead of pending legislation to introduce apartheid in professional associations, the SALA was first in South Africa to implement this, and for many years resisted efforts to scrap it.
- ²⁷The United Party was the official opposition to the National Party in this period. Switzer, op cit, (p.529).
- ²⁸ Chairman's annual report. Minutes of the Cape Library Assistants Section annual general meeting for 1964/1965. Members of CLAS included | van Schalkwyk, G Mervish and R Poller.
- ²⁹ Chairman's annual report. Minutes of the Cape Library Assistants Section annual general meeting, 26 October 1967. Another irony about CLAS is that while it pressured the SALA to discuss fully the membership of 'Non-European' colleagues, it agonised and finally settled the matter of its own exclusive racial membership at a meeting with a 'disappointing attendance'.
- ³⁰ Lunn, op cit, (p. 133).
- ³¹ Stieg, MF. 1992. **Public libraries in Nazi Germany**. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, (pp.6-8; 90-94).
- 32 Dick, op cit, (pp.80-82).
- ³³ Dick, AL. 2002. Social epistemology, information science and ideology. **Social epistemology** 16(1): 23-35.
- ³⁴ In belang van die goeie boek. 1954. **Kerkbode**, Wednesday 3 February, 73(5): 140, 155; see also Roslee, DD 1956. Toets u ontspanningsleesstof. 1956. **Kerkbode**, 2 July, 78(4): 158-9; I August 1956, 78(5): 200-1; **Om hulle ontwil: referate en besluite van die kerklike kongres van die gefedereerde NG Kerke insake maatskaplike euwels gehou te Johannesburg**, 6-8 Julie, 1949. 1949. Johannesburg: Federale Raad vir die Bestryding van Maatskaplike Euwels, (pp.53-72; 188-9). This Congress recommended, among other things, the development of teacher librarians to promote 'healthy reading'.
- ³⁵ Oproep van die Johannesburgse aksiekommitee om die goeie boek en tydskrif te propageer. 1953. **Ons kleintjie** 4(12): 16.
- ³⁶ Dick, AL. (forthcoming). Building a nation of readers?: women's organisations and the politics of reading, 1900-1914. Women in these organisations regularly called for and supported stronger censorship. There were 12 paid women readers for the Publications Control Board in 1970. One of these readers was the mother-in-law of then Minister of Defence and later South African Prime Minister; PW Botha Ds. Heyns says: I don't need the money. 1967. Sunday Times, Sunday 30 April, (p.15).
- ³⁷There appears to have been a general concern with what South

- Africans were reading at that time Rabkin, I 1954. South Africans as readers. **Forum** 3(6): 23-6; A Sampson. 1955. Reading tastes of the African. **Forum** 3(11): 53-4.
- ³⁸ Coetzee, PC. 1975. **Colendo explorare: bydraes tot die kenen werkwêreld van die biblioteekkunde**. Pretoria: State Library, 221-47.
- ³⁹ A reference to the so-called yellow press and the popular white South African idea of perils, such as the Black peril (Swart gevaar) and the Red peril (Rooi gevaar).
- ⁴⁰ Librarians had already been encouraged to propagate the good book at the SALA Conference in 1951 in an address by an Afrikaans publisher van Schaik, JJ 1952. Wat lees die Afrikaner? **South African libraries** 19(3):71-6.
- ⁴¹ South African aims to combat bad literature. 1954. **Cape Times**, 9 June, also in **Cape Argus** Censorship clippings file, number 50714, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town.
- ⁴²Wil slegte lektuur uit dorp weer. 1955. **Transvaler**, Monday 14 March, (p.9).
- 43 Reverend DFB de Beer, for example, is said to have been the leader of a church delegation that led to the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry into Undesirable Literature Switzer, op cit, (p.25).
- ⁴⁴ Roux, H. 1954. **Die bevordering van die goeie Afrikaanse boek en tydskrif.** Transvaler Boekhandel, Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, Dagbreek-Boekhandel, van Schaik, Nasionale Boekhandel, (p.8).
- ⁴⁵ Groenewald, EC. 1954, in Roux, op cit, (pp.10-14,29).
- $^{\rm 46}$ Switzer, opere citatao, (p.411). A number of other librarians assisted this Commission with its work.
- ⁴⁷ Martin, WR. 1957. Battle of the books Forum 6(8): 14-16; Cross, KE 1971. Selection not censorship. Pretoria News, Thursday 12 August.
- $^{\rm 48}$ Macnamara, M. 1971. The Pasquino society. South African libraries 38(4): 256-9.
- ⁴⁹ Cronin, B. 2003. Burned any good books lately? **Library journal** 128(3): 48; Manley, W. 2002. In defence of book burning. **American libraries** 33(3): 196; Malan JS. Towery en satanisme word so hevorder.
- ⁵⁰ Harris, V. 2000. 'They should have destroyed more': the destruction of public records by the South African state in the final years of apartheid, 1990-1994. **Transformation** 42: 29-51.
- ⁵¹ De Lange, M. 1997. **The muzzled muse: literature and censorship in South Africa**. Amsterdam: Benjamins, (pp.155-67).
- ⁵² Merret, op cit, (p.220); see also Merrett, C. 2001. The uncertainties of a victory: freedoms of expression and information in a post-apartheid South Africa. In Stillwell, C, Leach, A and Burtan, S (editors). **Knowledge, information and development: an African perspective**. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, (pp.52-66); Merrett, C. 2002. Bring on the thought police: Freedom of expression and the press in South Africa. http://www.libr.org/ISC/articles/11-South Africa.html (Accessed March 2004).
- ⁵³ Merrett, A culture of censorship, op cit, (p.220).

