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Mana, Manna, Manner: Power & the Practice of Librarianship
Information Media in the Age of Neoliberalism

Searching for the "Enemy": Alternative Resources on U.S. Foreign Policy

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PLG Statement of Purpose
When asked some time ago to talk about library advocacy, I realized that I am most interested in what lies behind the obvious, and when you think about it, power and power relationships have a critical role in advocacy.

No human being is self-sufficient. Each of us needs things that others have to offer, and has things that other people need. All our dealings with other people are based on these needs.

There are only three basic ways in which we deal with other people.

You can take what you need by force, threats, intimidation, or by outsmarting them. Although criminals naturally fall in this category, many respectable people employ these methods too, sometimes not as subtly as they might.

You can become a human relations beggar, and beg other people to give you the things you want. This submissive type of personality makes a deal with other people: “I won’t assert myself in any way or cause you any trouble, and in return you be nice to me.” This is all too common in our profession.

Or you can operate on a basis of fair exchange, which means that libraries and librarians will get what they need as well as, rather than instead of, satisfying the needs of others.

During the Second World War, Laurens van der Post encountered indigenous people who lived in a dripping jungle world where mak-
ing fire by friction in the open air was impossible. They had accordingly developed a unique method of making fire using a longish square block of wood divided into two sections. It had a solid hardwood lid out of which protruded a long, tapering wooden rod with a deep niche carved into its end. The rod fitted tightly into a narrow tapering cylinder bored into the main block of wood. To make a fire required only that the rod be extracted from its cylinder, some very fine dry moss inserted into the niche at the bottom of the rod, and the rod fitted into the opening of the cylinder and slammed hard and fast, as deep as it could go into the cylinder, and immediately pulled out again, and the moss would be on fire. For centuries these people had been applying the principle of ignition on which the Diesel engine is based (Van der Post).

This story holds two messages for me — we often don't recognize and use the power sources we have to the full, and there is no one source of power, use of power, and way of dealing with power that is right for everyone.

Power is about relationships – your relationship with yourself (self-esteem or lack of it) and your relationships with others (status). Control theory teaches that any relationship is really two relationships. My relationship with you is a picture in my head, and your relationship with me is a picture in your head. Your view of the relationship will usually be one-sided, and what you think the relationship is will almost invariably differ in some way from the actuality of the relationship. This will naturally affect your perception of your capacity to advocate, the effectiveness of your advocacy, and indeed, whether you think there is any point in advocating at all. Your perception of your power as an individual, or of the power of the profession, is critical. So in a way, everything I have to say today is encapsulated in the title of my paper “Mana, Manna, Manner: Power and the Practice of Librarianship.”

The subject of power is interesting, because it is often perceived that the profession has problems with power. Whether or not you can address a problem, depends on your perception of its size. Big problems produce feelings of powerlessness. Recasting larger problems into smaller, less overwhelming problems, enables people to identify a series of controllable opportunities of modest size which produce visible results and can be gathered into synoptic solutions (Wieck, 40).

Fully understanding the paralyzing effect of huge problems, William Ruckelshaus laid aside his mandate to clean up all aspects of the environment when he became the first administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. He went instead for a small win, taking advantage of some obscure 80-year-old legislation, which enabled him to take action on water pollution. He effectively narrowed his practical agenda for the first year or two to “getting started on water pollution.” On day one of the agency’s formal existence, Ruckelshaus announced five major lawsuits against large American cities. The impact was electrifying. Noticeable progress was made, quickly forming the beachhead for a long series of successes (Peters).

Ruckelshaus did not tackle everything nor did he even tackle the most visible type of pollution, which is air pollution. He identified quick, opportunistic, tangible first steps only modestly related to a final outcome and his first steps were driven less by logical decision trees or grand strategy than by action that could be built upon, action that signaled intent as well as competence (Wieck, 42).

The accepted approach to improving a service is like an engineering project (as a planned, logical sequence of steps with a designated budget and time frame, and quantifiable outcomes), but following Ruckelshaus’ lead makes a lot of sense, particularly in situations where the capacity to obtain needed resources has been critically affected by perceptions of powerlessness and by powerless behavior. Perceptions of powerlessness and powerless behavior usually result from fear.

When I took up the position of Brisbane City Librarian in January 1987, I already knew that eradicating fear was to be my primary task. Prior experience of local government had taught me that I could not count on needed funding materializing quickly, so I was clear that my focus could not be what to do tomorrow, but had to be what to do today in contemplation of tomorrow.

In researching the position, I had identified a well-entrenched cycle of mistrust in and of the Library Service and could therefore conclude that
fear was likely to be endemic in the Library Service and that the cycle of mistrust was going to be the major barrier to development of the Library Service.

My overt task at Brisbane City Council was to develop the Brisbane City Council Library Service into a modern library service appropriate for the needs of the people of Brisbane. Achievement of such an aim is very much dependent on funding. The actual task was to facilitate organizational change, manage conflict and empower staff and users, to turn an environment of mistrust and fear into one of enthusiasm, creativity and commitment — none of which is dependent on resources, but without which all the resources in the world cannot guarantee a quality service.

Deming admonishes managers to “drive out fear” in order to achieve high levels of quality, but there is no accepted approach to eradicating fear. While open communication and respect is touched on to a greater or lesser degree in a variety of management texts, there is very little in the literature about fear and the workplace dynamics that surround it. But I knew that life is not possible without a heart that knows no fear. As Africans teach their children, with a heart of fear a man cannot protect either his cattle or his women and children and the life of the tribe, or that of the nation. He will not know how to speak the truth; how to protect the weak; how to overcome beasts of prey and men with evil in their hearts.

To empower the library staff in order to enable them to fully contribute to the creation and delivery of a quality library service responsive to the needs of its users, I had to change how the people within the library worked with senior management by changing how they worked with each other. Many people working in the library service had no contact with anyone else. There were no meetings, no measures to reduce geographical isolation. Management was by memo and visits to the libraries. The staff was so disempowered that they were not even allowed to call either the police or the fire brigade without specific permission from a senior administrative officer. Yet these very people were the ones who, for the patron, were the Library Service, were the Council — the boundary spanners, the people who were responsible for creating and maintaining a productive relationship between the organization and the outside world.

I have gone into such detail in order to emphasize the effect on the clients of the organization of inappropriate use of power by senior personnel in service organizations.

Both clients and subordinates are highly dependent on managers, and both are vulnerable to inappropriate intervention by them. Clients may be better able to mitigate their dependency by the potential sanctions they have, but they are still, like subordinates, dependent upon the integrity of the managers in the organizations with whom they deal (Toffler, 1991).

Library users are particularly dependent on the degree to which the staff feels empowered for the quality of the service they receive. Cambon, governor general of Algeria during the 19th century, learned too late a lesson about a government that tries to rule by force: “We did not realize that in suppressing the forces of resistance...we were also suppressing our means of action.”

Organizations can be simultaneously attracted and repelled by the idea of empowerment. Empowering workers without actually giving them power seems to be what is desired. The ideal employees, it would seem, would be energetic, dedicated workers who always seize the initiative (but only when appropriate), who enjoy taking risks (but never risky ones), who volunteer their ideas (but only brilliant ones), who solve problems on their own (but make no mistakes), who aren’t afraid to speak their minds (but never ruffle any feathers), who always give their very best to the organization (but ask no unpleasant questions about what the organization is giving back to them).

Empowerment involves shifting decision-making from a smaller number of middle or top managers to a much larger number of lower-level staff and requires that larger number of staff to have the same information that their managers have, as well as an equally comprehensive vision of the organization’s direction, goals, and objectives (Kantor).

We talk endlessly about the power of a shared vision, failing to understand that the power lies not in the vision but in the sharing. A vision, which is not built up from the common threads of the individual visions of all concerned, a vision which is handed down from on high, com-
mands, at best, only compliance.

The esteem in which we are held, individually or as a profession, our level of self-esteem, the resources we command, and the image we project by the way we behave are inextricably linked with the power we command and the way we use, misuse, or fail to use that power.

Humans are the only creatures able to change their fate by making decisions based on their view of the future and their review of the past. Our libraries are the collected wisdom and foolishness of humanity, and every aspect of human behavior. The most powerful use of a library for any individual is continuous, life-long browsing, building up a background knowledge of the way humanity behaves. This knowledge contributes to personal wisdom.

Two ideas permeate the environment in which we operate – the idea of Reason and the idea of Objectivity. We have been taught, because of the faith in objective evidence, to see things backward. Yet it is only by an act of imagination, before reality provides evidence, that realities begin to happen. What we imagine becomes true because we act as if it is, creating a reality by our very assumption.

The material notion of objectivity, the idea of tradition-independent truths has been replaced by the formal notion of objectivity, in which the idea of tradition-independent ways of finding truths and being rational now means using a variety of methods and accepting their results (Feyerabend).

Like the notion of objectivity, the idea of reason or rationality has a material and a formal variant. To be rational in the material sense means to avoid certain views and to accept others. To be rational in the formal sense again means to follow a certain procedure, and increasingly it now means to take our cues not from independent reflection but from experts.

But you can’t always go by expert opinion. An expert is largely someone who has set himself up as an expert by claiming expertise. You have to temper expert opinion with common sense, a euphemism for wide experience and wisdom in human interactions.

You also have to temper your acceptance of “the facts” with questioning about how the data were collected, and what the facts really mean.

The 1904 Commission of Inquiry into the Care and Control of the Feebleminded attempted to identify the numbers of feebleminded people in England and Wales. They divided up the country and appointed commissioners. The results were surprising. Four times as many feebleminded people lived in the Stoke-on-Trent area than in the rest of the country combined. It seemed the commissioner was a very enthusiastic person. He even advertised in the papers asking for people to write in and nominate feebleminded people, which they did, in droves, naming their neighbors, their relatives and so on.

Is it not possible, asked Kierkegaard that my activity as an objective observer of nature will weaken my strength as a human being? (Kierkegaard)

It is personal purpose that puts the passion into the professional environment. Quite ordinary individuals with a commitment to a moral purpose can generate enormous power. Personal purpose is not as private as it sounds. In moral occupations such as librarianship, the more one takes the risk to express personal purpose, the more kindred spirits one will find. Personal purpose is not just self-centered, it has social dimensions as well, such as working effectively with others and providing the means for empowerment of others.

Personal purpose in librarianship should be pushed until it makes a connection to social betterment in society. This is what it is at the one-to-one librarian-user interaction level. It has greater scope and meaning, and calls for wider action if we realize that societal improvement is really what libraries are about.

If librarians have a problem with power, the problem is not that they do not have power, but that they do not fully use the power they do have, and they do not really believe they deserve to have it, anyway.

To quote Marianne Broadbent, writing about special librarians:
Those who survive tough times in organizations are those who have power, and are perceived by decision-makers to be indispensable. Traditionally librarians have not sought power, nor have been accorded it.... Since power in organizations is vested in those who develop strategy and plan for the future and who decide where the money is to be spent, it is important that special librarians report to a manager who has such power. (Broadbent)

While the organizational reality is that we all report to someone, we also need to believe that we can and should develop strategy, and plan for the future, rather than just comply with the plans of others, and that we can participate in the organizational decision-making processes, including those concerning budgetary allocations, as well as having autonomy to decide where the library money is spent.

We may well believe that we deserve to be treated well, but we don’t do much to ensure that happens, rather we behave as if we want someone else to do the tough stuff for us. We look for Prince Charming to come riding in on his white horse and ensure that we will live happily ever after. I can assure you, that if he does come riding in at all, he will stay briefly and leave swiftly, and you will be left to clean up after the horse.

Abraham Lincoln frequently told a story designed to encourage people to innovate and to take action on their own initiative, without waiting for orders:

A colonel proposed to his men that he should do all the swearing for the regiment. They assented; and for months no instance was known of violation of the promise. The colonel had a teamster named John Todd, who, as roads were not always the best, had some difficulty in commanding his temper and tongue. John happened to be driving a mule team through a series of mud holes a little worse than usual, when he burst forth into a volley of profanity. The colonel took notice of the offence and brought John to account. “John,” said he, “didn’t you promise to let me do all the swearing for the regiment?” “Yes, I did, Colonel,” he replied, “but the fact was the swearing had to be done then or not at all, and you weren’t there to do it.” (Hertz, 531-2)

While others can be a powerful support you are the critical advocate for yourself and for your library. This is a responsibility that cannot be delegated because delegating it will cut you out of the essential triangle.

When we consider power in relation to advocacy, both in the sense of our capacity to advocate successfully and whether we believe that we have both the permission and the skills to do so, we have to consider it as part of an eternal triangle made up of power, politics and competition.

Power is simply the capacity to accomplish things through others. Politics are the techniques used to gain power. Competition is what happens when many people want the same few resources. Power determines who gets or distributes resources, and politics influences who has the power. (Leatz, 52)

One of the difficulties of libraries is that they are both part of larger organizations whose primary purpose is not library provision, and part of a number of networks of libraries. In the organizational environment competition sometimes comes from directions you would least expect. Secretaries, staff members, or colleagues may want to see a boss or best friend succeed, either because they like that person or because they believe their stature will be raised by association. This kind of competition can be extremely frustrating because it usually doesn’t look like direct competition. You may not be able, at first glance, to determine what the person gains by competing with you (51).

Such competition also exists within the matrix of library networks, and is more damaging and disempowering than anything that happens within the parent organizations precisely because the profession and practice of librarianship is, in many respects, judged in our society the same way women are – the negative exemplar is judged the norm, the positive exemplar an eccentric exception. To be a thinking and sensitive librarian is to notice the frequency with, and degree to which, much that is supposedly positive acceptance is in fact, aversive librarianism.
Aversive librarianism is a concept I have adapted from aversive racism, a subtle form of bias characteristic of many who possess strong egalitarian values and believe that they are not prejudiced (Dovidio). But many also possess negative racial feelings and beliefs that they don’t recognize, or try to dissociate from their image of themselves as non-prejudiced people.

The difficulty is that these negative feelings and beliefs are rooted in three types of normal, often adaptive, psychological processes.

The first is the cognitive process of social categorization. We all categorize others into groups, typically in terms that delineate our group from others, which automatically initiates bias.

The second is the motivational process of satisfying basic needs for power and control for ourselves and our group. In a world of limited resources, one way to maintain control or power is to keep competing groups down.

The third relates to socio-cultural influences. For example, many of the values of contemporary society still reflect racist and sexist traditions and subtle messages about power persist. That white men still have most of the political, economic and social power sends a strong message to people of all races and both sexes about what is valued, a message equally strong both within and outside our pink-collar profession.

Most people have convictions of fairness, justice, and racial equality, along with almost unavoidable biases, so the ambivalence involving the positive and negative feelings that aversive racism experience creates psychological tension that leads to behavioral instability. Thus aversive racists sometimes discriminate (manifesting their negative feelings) and sometimes do not (reflecting their positive feelings).

When interracial interaction is unavoidable, aversive racists experience anxiety and discomfort, rather than hostility or hatred. Negative feelings are expressed in subtle ways that can be rationalized but which ultimately create a disadvantage for minorities and an advantage for the majority.

In the United States one response to racism was a phenomenon called “passing.” People of color who looked white moved into white society, denied their Negro heritage and took on white culture in every aspect of their lives. I believe that the move on the part of librarians to drop any reference to libraries or librarianship in their titles, is equivalent to passing, and signals a massive inferiority, which does nothing for our ability as a profession to advocate both for ourselves and for our libraries.

Not all -isms are negative. The Macquarie Dictionary defines feminism as “the advocacy of equal rights and opportunities for women, especially in the extension of their activities in social and political life.” Anne Summers says she would translate it into an even simpler statement: “Feminism is our response to the barriers or other obstacles that stand in the way of our ambitions and our desires.” (Buttrose) Feminists do not suggest that women will improve their status by calling themselves population managers.

The time has come for the profession to develop a positive librarianism.
However sophisticated we may believe we have become, our view of power does not appear to have changed since it was laid down in the cinemas of our childhood. It was at the movies that we learned that power springs from the barrel of a six-shooter. Every Saturday afternoon a lone cowboy rode into town, dispatched the villain, and rode off into the sunset, much like a modern-day consultant.

Power, we learned as children, came from violence (Toffler 1990). Violence is the least versatile power. You can point a gun at someone and say, “Do this” and he probably will, but it’s different when you try saying, “Be this.” In particular things like “Be public-spirited” or “Be efficient” (Dickenson).

If the cowboy hero represented the power of violence, the financier who bankrolled the railway or the land-grabbing cattlemen symbolized a much more flexible tool of power, one which can be used to reward or punish, and can be converted to many other resources.

In many westerns there was also a third important character: a crusading newspaper editor, a teacher, or an educated woman from the “East” who represented not merely moral Good in combat with Evil, but also the power of culture and sophisticated knowledge about the outside world. While this person often won a victory in the end it was usually because of an alliance with the gun-toting hero or because of a sudden lucky strike.

We frequently fall into the trap of equating success with luck rather than with skill. By definition luck is the absence of assignable cause. A belief in luck is deeply ingrained in our concept of how events are shaped. Yet it is both a naive view of the way things work and a convenient crutch for our disappointments. There are accidents in life, but it’s simplistic to believe that chance occurrences account for wholly unanticipated wins. More often a lucky break is really an accident an individual has converted to his purpose. “Chance,” Louis Pasteur once remarked, “favors the prepared mind.” “The opportunity that God sends does not wake up him who is asleep,” says the Senegalese proverb.

Knowledge is the most versatile and basic tool of power. It can help one avert challenges that might otherwise require the use of violence or wealth, and it can often be used to persuade others to perform in desired ways out of perceived self-interest. Knowledge yields the highest-quality power. The cinematic lesson of our childhood, however, was that for knowledge to win it usually had to ally itself with force or money.

As you are no doubt aware, in Australia, as in New Zealand, there is a running debate about user fees in public libraries. ALIA [Australian Library & Information Association] has a statement of principle which is clear on the matter. Certain elements are trying hard to get us to discard it in favor of a statement of practice, to include the notion of core and value-added services. The pressure from that minority is enormous, but it is the terms in which it is couched that I find most revealing. Within the struggles around our professional identity, if the strongest single pattern is acceding to our perceptions of what individual politicians require, rather than demonstrating the benefit to those politicians of what our library users require, we will be no better as people than if the strongest pattern were the technicality of everything. We must deal with all issues in an integrated fashion, as whole human beings.

Librarians persist in behaving as if only in alliance with money or violence is our knowledge of any use. When we perceive we have a problem, if we believe it can be solved we believe it can be solved by the rules we learned in the movies. We look for a leader to rescue us instead of behaving like adults and getting on with it.

Our traditional view of leaders – as special people who set the direction, make the key decisions, and energize the troops – are deeply rooted in an individualistic and non-systemic worldview.

I find this curious, because if systems theory has total applicability anywhere, it is in libraries. Everything is connected to libraries, and everything is relevant. Librarians must adopt a new way of thinking about libraries. Systems theory is a broad view, which far transcends technological problems. It is not a theory in the usual scientific sense of a discrete system of assumptions, constructs, and functional relationships, which explains and predicts the behavior of some particular phenomena. Systems theory is a set of principles, an orientation in thinking, a general
body of knowledge applicable in a wide variety of circumstances. It applies in circumstances where “wholeness” is important, and this is usually the case when dealing with the problems of libraries.

Our prevailing leadership myths are still captured by the image of the captain of the cavalry leading the charge to rescue the settlers from the attacking Indians. This mythic view of leaders as heroes who appear in times of crisis, reinforces a focus on short-term events and charismatic heroes rather than on systemic forces and collective learning. It is based on assumptions of people’s powerlessness, their lack of personal vision and inability to master the forces of change (Senge).

I have discussed elsewhere my concerns about our profession’s tendency towards appeasement (Cram). It does not work, indeed, not only does it signal powerlessness, it has enormous potential to result in disaster.

Early in his first term, Abraham Lincoln was constantly pressured by key advisers to capitulate to the South’s demands. On one occasion, he was advised by a Virginian to surrender all forts and property in the Southern states. Lincoln responded by quoting Aesop:

A lion was very much in love with a woodsman’s daughter. The fair maid referred him to her father and the lion applied for the girl. The father replied: “Your teeth are too long.” So the lion went to a dentist and had them extracted. Returning, he asked for his bride. “No,” said the woodsman, “your claws are too long.” Going back to the dentist he had them drawn. Then he returned to claim his bride, and the woodsman, seeing that he was unarmed, beat out his brains.

“May it not be so with me,” Lincoln concluded, “if I give up all that is asked?” (Hertz, 262)

General Custer was the epitome of the leader who places his own self-interest above that of his troops or his organization. Custer aspired to the Presidency, and saw the Indian campaign of 1876 as an opportunity to boost his chances of being nominated.

Sitting-Bull had a more selfless purpose in using both personal and moral power – the very survival of his people. For many generations, the Sioux had lived on the plains in close harmony with nature, following the buffalo, which provided them with food and clothing. But by the mid 1870s, gold prospectors and settlers were taking their land almost at will, and buffalo hunters were indulging in profligate slaughter of the huge herds on which the Sioux were so dependent. Their way of life was rapidly disappearing.

Sitting-Bull deliberately took time to build trust and commitment among the Sioux tribes. There was no jockeying, no self-serving criticism to the enemy of one tribe by another, no appeasement. Because he had realized that the Sioux would lose if they fought as individual tribes, as they had in the past, he worked to bring the northern Sioux tribes and their allies, the Cheyenne, together, so they would be a highly concentrated force when Custer arrived.

Custer, on the other hand, divided his force into smaller units on the assumption that the Little Bighorn, like the battles before it, could be won by a surprise attack.

I don’t suppose I have to tell you who won, and I don’t believe I need to draw in the fine detail of the applicability of this lesson to contemporary librarians. If we don’t stop giving up the high moral ground and the rich treasure of our sphere of influence and operation, if we don’t stop disempowering each other by our personal self-seeking, and particularly if we don’t find the commitment to strengthen and use our alliances within the profession, others will assume they can plunder our resources, divide our strength and attack at will.

It may be a bit much to ask that professional library associations build coalitions with other groups, when we can’t seem to build coalitions between various professional associations representing sectional interests, but I believe it is critical for school and public librarians to build coalitions with teachers’ associations, for public librarians to build coalitions with education interests and with gray power organizations, for academic librarians to build coalitions with associations representing academics, and so on. We must use our social intelligence wisely.
The English psychologist Nicholas Keynes Humphrey emphasizes that social intelligence is all-important to survival of a species. An up-and-coming chimp, for example, is always trying to predict what a dominant animal will do in response to an initiative, is often recruiting help by building coalitions, and otherwise solving social problems (which influence access to mates) rather than environmental ones (which affect personal survival). So, in terms of evolution, social foresight bootstraps cleverness. We librarians tend to focus on environmental problems, such as the budget, and to support others’ priorities, and then we hope that that support will be appreciated enough that somehow we will benefit. As my son would say, “dream on.” We have to negotiate social position, coalitions, and support as our first priority.

There seems to be an entrenched belief that negotiation is difficult, that you have to do courses to understand the rules, that you have to negotiate from a recognized position of power and that, therefore, librarians have very limited capacity to negotiate for anything important. Nonsense.

If you want a good course in negotiation start watching children. They are superb negotiators even though adults logically have power over and control everything they need and want and children ostensibly have nothing that we want or need. Yet try to get a child to eat dinner, or clean his teeth, or go to bed, and you will find yourself negotiating. Who wins? The child, because he instinctively knows there are no rules in negotiations, only options.

When you state your ultimatum, he knows that he has something of value you want. If you demand that he eat his vegetables, he knows that this is something you want that only he can give you. You will find yourself trading off pudding, which is what he wanted in the first place; the vegetables were only a side issue.

Terry Lambrose recounts an excellent example of negotiating among a group of boys playing cricket on a vacant lot (Lambrose). First, they negotiated the “rules” – over the fence was a six, etc. Then they started to play. One of the boys, David, was older and much taller than the others, but was bowled out first ball.

He refused to leave the crease and stood holding the bat. “You have to get me out three times before I’m out because I have brain damage,” he said. After some discussion among themselves, the other boys agreed to his demands. They were the many and he was the few. What had caused them to change the rules? He believed his case was special and therefore exempt from the rules. He waited until he was in control of the bat before he made his demands. In negotiation, timing is everything. He made his initial demands high. There is a saying in negotiation that, “If you are not prepared to ask for more, then you must be prepared to settle for less.” The settlement will always be something less than your original demand. He justified his demand and used an emotional appeal (brain damage) at the same time. The rationale strengthens, protects and justifies the demand. He remained at the crease with the bat in hand while they debated the issue among themselves. The tactic of forbearance paid off. He held the bat at the crease, so from the other players’ perspective he controlled half of the resources. In negotiation, power is a matter of perception.

These principles apply equally to negotiating with those we perceive to be more powerful than we are. The thing to remember about power is: If I have power and you don’t think that I have, then you will act as if my power doesn’t exist. If, on the other hand, I don’t have any real power but you think I do, then you will act as if I do. In negotiations we almost always attribute more power to the other party and discount our own power.

You cannot imagine a wider discrepancy in actual power than that between the Western Australian State Government and the three children who found the giant fossilized egg of the Elephant Bird. Yet, when the Government told the children that they were not allowed to accept the $150,000 they had been offered by a private collector, that they had illegally mined the egg, and that it was the property of the Government, the children negotiated the full $150,000 by one of them simply reburying the egg and telling the Government to go and find it. They also made liberal use of the emotional power of the “I’m only a little kid” tactic, and built effective coalitions with the media.

Human desires are woven into our basic natures. No matter who we are dealing with, what the power-base might be, and whatever our own
perceived position in the hierarchy might be, we are always dealing with individuals. Bill Bernbach put it this way:

...you are not appealing to society. You are appealing to individuals, each with his own ego, each with the dignity of his own being, each like no one else in the world, each a separate miracle. The societal appeals are merely fashionable, current cultural appeals which make nice garments for the real motivations that stem from the unchanging instincts, and emotions of people — from nature's indomitable programming in their genes. It is unchanging man that is the proper study of the communicator (Martin).

The early Greeks had a magnificent philosophy, which is embodied in three sequentially arranged words: ethos, pathos, and logos, which contain the essence of making effective representations.

*Ethos* is your personal credibility. *Pathos* is the empathic side — it's the feeling. It means that you are in alignment with the emotional thrust of another person's communication. *Logos* is the logic of your argument.

Notice the sequence: *ethos, pathos, logos* — your character, and your relationships, and then the logic. If you cut straight to the *logos*, the left-brain logic, of your ideas and try to convince other people of the validity of that logic without first taking *ethos and pathos* into consideration, your representation will lack power.

Councils, governing committees or other groups who control or influence the level of resourcing for libraries should be approached like any other target group. The first step is to analyze them, both as a group and as individuals. Newspapers can provide current information about the politicians and their concerns and campaign literature can reveal what promises they may have made. If they were elected on a platform of cutting government services, this will greatly affect how they treat the library and what approach the librarian should take with them.

Minutes of past meetings can provide insights into how incumbent officials have treated the library in the past and can provide clues to existing alliances among the members.

One should also gather personal information about these people. In voluntary committees or local government the occupational background of members may affect their method of governing. If being on the council or committee is their only managerial position, their reaction to situations may be different to that of those with more managerial experience. Educational level can also affect how they perceive the library and its role, as will whether decision makers or their families are library users (Griffith).

Power is not just a matter of how much but of how good. Quality of power may be as important as its quantity. Your own power must be related to your own goals, and your library's power must be related to your library's goals, not merely to the power of others. What might be adequate for one purpose, reflecting one set of values, may be inadequate for another.

A Maori carver and art historian remarked, less than a decade ago: “Our Maori artistic heritage will remain meaningless in this country as long as the barrier of racism remains. People will not see beauty in what they despise or devalue.” (Spoonley)

What is particularly sad, and particularly disempowering is when the people who devalue or despise something are the very people for whom it has most significance. Our inner sense of ourselves is crucially important. We all have a complex, subtle, feeling sense of what we are like inside. This is hard to put into words, yet it dramatically affects how we project our image to other people.

New Zealand has an advantage in the concept of *mana*, in the recognition that spiritual power, authority, prestige and status is not necessarily positional nor is it constant in all spheres of the complicated lives we live. *Mana*, as I understand it, is something, which you earn by service to others, not something you can demand, nor indeed, deliberately set out to acquire, and it is inextricably linked with self-esteem in a way the Western concept of power is not. The concept of *mana* is a healthier view of power than the one on which the profession is currently operating.
Everybody has had the experience of walking into a room feeling great. When you smile, people respond. When you look or act gloomy or have a chip on your shoulder the chances are that your feelings will convey a negative message. Negative messages are usually misunderstood. People generally interpret negative feelings as being directed toward them, and may perceive you as angry, sullen, arrogant, snobbish, cold or sad. People will walk through the door of your expectations if these are real enough to you. Positive powerful behavior is a manifestation of purpose, self-esteem, and presentation. Katherine Hepburn described her arrival in Hollywood: “I was bringing myself as though I were a basket of flowers.”

Julian Jaynes suggests that early man had no consciousness but rather a bicameral mind, “an executive part called a god, and a follower part called man.” Early man functioned, survived, purely through listening to the god-voice within. This voice gave him advice, criticized and sometimes mocked him. Jaynes suggests that, because of their authority and control, it was virtually impossible to disobey these gods. (Jaynes)

The residual of the omnipotent god-voice authority functions in all of us still – our internal censors, that little voice that tells us that we should, ought, can’t, aren’t in control, aren’t good enough, don’t have enough brains, talents, money, and never will have, in short, that we are not good enough to do whatever it is that we really want to do/accomplish. He is even there when we tell ourselves that the reason we don’t do/accomplish is because it’s not really our fault.

You can’t be the star in your own life while you allow this omnipotent god-voice to be the director and manager. He will look for evidence to support your poor opinion of yourself, and then he will harp on it. He will ignore the positive steps you have taken and the small triumphs you have had, or worse, will tell you that they’re not achievements, not important, that instant success is the only thing that counts. He expects you to be perfect.

If you wait until you feel you can be perfect, you will do nothing. Those wonderful hand-knitted Aran sweaters that come from Ireland all have a deliberate mistake in them. The knitters say that, “only God is perfect.”

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Human culture is both the reflection of and an extension of our minds. The various professions, for instance, put special boundaries around the realms of experience or expertise they treat and thus treat the “same” “problems” differently as well as focus on or take in different problems to begin with. The boundaries between professions are the differences between the categories they use to structure the problems they treat. The medical profession’s diagnosis of the drug problem is very different from the legal profession’s. One wants to treat drug abuse as an illness, the other as a crime, the difficulty is that drug abuse is both and much more besides. (Mitroff & Bennis, 68) We librarians persist in using our jargon and our boundaries as if they are uncontestable.

When dealing with others we should take cognizance of three particular features of the human mind:

We are extremely sensitive to recent information. An air crash, for example, forces attention on aircraft for a while, all sorts of reforms are initiated and then the spotlight goes away.

We are interested only in “the news.” Unexpected or extraordinary events have fast access to consciousness, while an unchanging background noise, or a chronic problem soon gets shunted into the background. It is easy to raise money for emergencies, like the few victims of a well-publicized disaster; it’s much more difficult to raise money for the many victims of continuous malnutrition. We respond quickly to scarcity and danger. Gradual changes in the world go unnoticed while sharp changes are immediately seized on by the mind.

The mental system determines the meaning of any event, its relevance to the person. In the process, it throws out almost all the information that reaches us. A siren is frightening because it means that the police want you to stop. (126)

Our minds are set up to simplify, to bring order to a world that often is as chaotic as it appears. To do this we not only throw out a great deal of information that is presented to us but we lock in, long after they lose their usefulness or validity, older patterns and pieces of information. (127)
For librarians to acquire power involves, in essence, beating the system. To beat any system involves overcoming self-imposed constraints. Trying to beat a system requires exercise of all the mental functions: thinking, sensing, feeling, and intuition. It contrasts with passive acceptance of what is. It occupies our mind with what might be, imagining a future that would be better than the present. (128)

Significant personal and cultural development is not possible without beating systems. In some cases, systems are beaten, even destroyed, by use of force. However, it is much better to beat them by the use of ideas. Force is directed at getting rid of what we don’t want; ideas are directed at getting what we do want. They are not equivalent: getting rid of what we don’t want does not assure us of getting what we want.

Beating a system not only removes constraints imposed on us by the system, but also removes constraints imposed on the system by itself. This extends its range of choices and enables it to develop. (Ackoff)

On the wall of my office I keep a poster of Ganesha, the Hindu elephant-headed god who is both patron god of literature and the remover of obstacles. When I sense an imperceptible raising of eyebrows of first time visitors, I comment “What better library god could one have.” However, I confess an uneasiness that as a profession we seem to be neither defending nor supporting literature, preferring to concentrate on the more commodified information, and we do not join forces to strive to remove obstacles, but rather we concentrate on accommodating them.

User fees are one way we are bending over backwards to accommodate the obstacle of economic restraints. I was very excited when I read these words written by Donna Awatere:

In the Paakeha world, information is like gold. When you go to a doctor, he is the one who has the information and you’ve got to pay for it. If you go to a lawyer, he has the information and again you’ve got to pay for it. The Maori way is that if people have got the information then you will just be given it. (Awatere)

I would be using this for all I was worth. In this new world of ours, people, particularly those in political positions, cannot afford to be seen to be unjust, and particularly cannot be seen to be racist. Remember, there are no rules in negotiation, only options, and old-fashioned notions of what is fair game do not come into it. I would be suggesting that imposing any charges in public or academic libraries would be tantamount to information apartheid.

When you behave like a victim, when you appease those you assume to be all-powerful, you sacrifice not only professional principles, but something of your own spirit. You demean your personal purpose and devalue yourself in the only eyes that matter, your own. And it is never an even trade. The things you sacrifice will pull you down like ravenous ghosts.

The most important power is the power to decide what is important.

In the novel, The Power of One, Peekay, first as a child and then as a teenager, expresses what we all require:

He had given me the power of one, one idea, one heart, one mind, one plan, one determination. Hoppie had sensed my need to grow, my need to be assured that the world around me had not been specially arranged to bring about my undoing. He gave me a defense system and with it he gave me hope. (Courtney, 124) ...The power of one is above all things the power to believe in yourself, often well beyond any latent ability you may have previously demonstrated.... Hoppie’s dictum to me: “First with the head and then with the heart” was more than simply mixing brains with guts. It meant thinking well beyond the powers of normal concentration and then daring your courage to follow your thoughts. (520)

The recognition and use of our power is essential to the future of libraries and librarians, but we must link that power with intelligence, passion, and a genuine empathy for others, if it is to be of any use to us, to our profession and to our libraries.
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We live in an era of unprecedented prosperity—and staggering poverty and inequality. The combined wealth of the world’s 225 richest people is now over $1 trillion, which is equivalent to the yearly income of the poorest 2.5 billion people (United Nations). Here in the United States, the wealthiest country in the world and indeed in all of history, the richest 1 percent of households own about 40 percent of the total wealth, the next 19 percent of households own another 45 percent, while the bottom 80 percent of households have only about 15 percent (Wolff). Entry-level wage rates for high school graduates in the U.S. fell by 25.4 percent between 1973 and 1991, while those of college graduates dropped 9.8 percent. The real wages of U.S. workers at almost all levels of experience and education declined between 1973 and 1991 (Yates 25-26). The top 20 percent of income earners in the U.S. received 48.2 percent of aggregate income in 1993, while the lowest 20 percent of earners received only 3.6 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census). Chronic unemployment continues to plague the U.S. economy—it has been estimated that the true unemployment rate in the U.S. is about 3 percentage points higher than the official rate (Yates 60-64)—as well as the economies of industrial Europe, Asia and Latin America. Nevertheless, governments throughout the industrialized world are curtailing or even (in the case of the U.S.) eliminating the social welfare programs created earlier in the century to reduce the social costs of unemployment.

The ideology that has emerged at the end of the twentieth century to justify this unhappy state of affairs is neoliberalism. Neoliberalism can be defined as the belief that the unregulated free market is the essential precondition for the fair distribution of wealth and for political democracy. Thus, neoliberals oppose just about any policy or activity that might interfere with the untrammeled operation of market forces, whether it be higher taxes on the wealthy and corporations, better social welfare programs, stronger environmental regulations, or laws that make it easier for workers to organize and join labor unions. When confronted with the adverse consequences of their market-friendly policies, they usually respond by calling for patience, to give the policies more time to work their wealth-creating magic so that the benefits can “trickle down” to the rest of the population. Then, when the promised good life fails to materialize, they fall back on their ultimate defense and claim that, imperfect as the status quo may be, there is, unfortunately, no viable alternative. They point to the failed “socialist” societies of the twentieth century and warn ominously that, no matter how bad things get, any attempt to remedy the situation by forthrightly interfering with the market and the prerogatives of multinational corporations can only lead to state-bureaucratic authoritarianism.¹

Neoliberal ideas are as old as capitalism itself, but in recent decades they have seen a tremendous resurgence and have displaced the state-interventionist economic theories of the interwar and post-World War II periods to become the reigning ideology of our time. Neoliberalism emerged full force in the 1980s with the right-wing Reagan and Thatcher regimes, but its influence has since spread across the political spectrum to encompass not only centrist political parties but even much of the traditional social-democratic left. In the 1990s, neoliberal hegemony over our politics and culture has become so overwhelming that it is becoming difficult to even rationally discuss what neoliberalism is; indeed, as Robert McChesney notes, the term “neoliberalism” is hardly known to the U.S. public outside of academia and the business community (McChesney).

The corporate stranglehold on our information and communications media gives neoliberal ideologues a virtually unchallenged platform from which to blast their pro-market messages into every corner of our common culture. At the same time, neoliberalism provides the ideological cover for deregulatory legislation (most recently the 1996 Telecommunications Act) that enables corporations to extend their monopoly over

these media even more. For the past three decades, one of the fiercest and most coherent critics of corporate control over the information/communications sphere has been the social scientist Herbert Schiller. Although Schiller began his career before neoliberalism’s ascendance, and he does not even today use the term in his writings, his work provides essential insights into the roots of neoliberal/corporate hegemony over our information media and the adverse consequences of that hegemony for our politics, economy and culture.

Born in 1919 in New York City, Schiller is now Professor Emeritus of Communication at the University of California at San Diego. After receiving his master’s degree in 1941 from Columbia University and serving in the U.S. Army in Europe during World War II, he spent 1946-48 in Germany as a civilian member of the U.S. military occupation government, an experience he recalled in a 1986 interview as his “real social science education.” In Germany, Schiller came to view the occupation not as an effort to reconstruct the political economy of Germany in a genuinely democratic way — as most of his generational cohort did — but as a conscious, deliberate effort to ensure that Germany would have the same kind of monopolistic market society that it had before the war, except without the political extremes of the fascist period. The problem with this for Schiller was that in his mind, it was the institutional structures of this type of society that had produced fascism in the first place. He came to the conclusion that there was nothing natural or inevitable about these structures, and that the “socioeconomic political vacuum” that existed in Germany after the war and the defeat of fascism was being refilled with “preferred kinds of institutional arrangements that would lead to certain types of outcomes — outcomes in terms of economic activity, in terms of political structure, in terms of social consciousness” (Lent 136-137).

After leaving Germany, Schiller returned to graduate school at New York University and spent the next twelve years working on a Ph.D. while teaching economics at City College of New York and the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. He recalls his graduate school training as “poorly structured” and his completion of the Ph.D. as “almost inadvertent.” This kind of graduate education, Schiller suggests, allowed him to avoid the “academic processing” that in his view plays a crucial role in shaping the way most academic scholars view the social order. Shortly after completing the Ph.D. in 1960, he took a job as a teacher and researcher in economics at the University of Illinois (137-139).

At Illinois Schiller began to formulate the thinking that would result in the publication of his first book, Mass Communications and American Empire, in 1969. Around 1966-67 he began teaching a course in the College of Journalism in the “Political Economy of Communications.” He recalls that he had always considered himself to be a “political economist,” i.e. as someone who studies “the juncture where politics and economics come together,” and around this same time he presented his first paper in the communications field, on the topic of the radio spectrum considered as a natural resource. He also recalls not being given “any serious attention by the established people” in the communications field during this time, which he suggests gave him the space he needed to develop his ideas. Some of the individual chapters of Mass Communications and American Empire were first published in nonacademic journals such as The Nation, The Progressive, and The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (139-143).

The theme of Mass Communications and American Empire was the crucial role of modern communications media in mobilizing international support for U.S. global domination and the transnational corporate order after World War II. Schiller listed several related historical factors that contributed to the expansion of U.S. power in the postwar world: the weakening of Europe, growing U.S. industrial strength, the declining influence of the postcapitalist world due to disagreements over development policy, and the transition of most of the developing world from a condition of formal political subordination (colonialism) to one of political independence combined with economic dependence (postcolonialism) (Schiller 1992, 48).

The transition from a colonialist to a postcolonialist order in particular necessitated a more sophisticated approach to empire-building; unlike earlier empires founded on “blood and iron,” the U.S. empire is based partly on “a marriage of economics and electronics,” although Schiller noted a precedent for this kind of informal control in the nineteenth-century British practice of “free trade imperialism.” Of course, the U.S.
system of informal domination is backed up by an extremely formidable military power; U.S. bases encircle the globe, ready and willing to use force when more sophisticated methods of persuasion fail. But Schiller suggested that the U.S. communications network was for the most part remarkably successful after World War II in securing, not merely grudging submission, but enthusiastic allegiance, both domestically and abroad. It did this, he argued, by identifying the U.S. presence with “freedom” — of speech, of trade and of enterprise — and offering a vision of the good life patterned on the U.S. model of individualistic consumer affluence (47-54).

Mass Communications and American Empire concluded with a call for “a democratic reconstruction of mass communications.” Schiller correctly forecast that government-financed public broadcasting would not produce “the scope of change, either in outlook or allegiance, that the current social situation demands.” Instead, he saw the best possibility for significant change in disaffected social groups of the time, such as black power militants, student activists, university faculty and public sector employees, who he hoped would claim access to mass communications technology and put it to useful social purposes. This, he acknowledged, would require concerted political action to achieve (198-206). Thirty years later, we are no closer to achieving it with respect to television and radio, although the Internet now provides a means for oppositional groups to create grassroots information networks that circumvent these corporate-controlled media.

In 1970, Schiller moved to the University of California at San Diego. In his second book, The Mind Managers, published in 1973, he turned his attention to the specific methods of mind manipulation used by the managers of U.S. communications media in the service of corporate interests. He identified five basic myths that structure the content of corporate-controlled information media. The “myth of individualism and personal choice” defines freedom in purely individualistic terms and insists that individual liberty and well-being cannot be achieved without the existence of private property in the means of production. (As we have seen, neoliberal ideology takes this a step further, with its insistence that any interference with market forces and corporate prerogatives is a threat to freedom.) The “myth of neutrality” fosters the belief that key social institutions such as government, the education system and the scientific establishment (and of course the information media themselves) are neutral and above conflicting social interests. The “myth of unchanging human nature” keeps expectations low by emphasizing the aggressive and depraved sides of human behavior and rationalizing these as inherent and inevitable aspects of the human condition. The “myth of the absence of social conflict” presents conflict almost invariably as an individual matter, and denies its origins in the social order. The “myth of media pluralism” perpetuates the illusion of choice and diversity in information sources, when in fact there is little variety of opinion due to the common material and ideological interests of media owners (Schiller 1973).

Schiller also described two techniques used by media managers to shape consciousness. The first of these, fragmentation, is the dominant format for the communication of news information in the U.S.: newspapers and magazines intentionally break up articles so that readers are forced to turn past advertisements to continue reading, while television and radio news programs are characterized by “the machine-gun-like recitation of numerous unrelated items,” with frequent commercial interruptions. Advertising, Schiller argued, “disrupts concentration and renders trivial the information it interrupts,” although he also thought that news information would be presented just as incoherently if advertising were eliminated or reduced; in his view advertising, “in seeking benefits for its sponsors, is serendipitous to the system in that its utilization heightens fragmentation.” The second technique, immediacy, further undermines the public’s understanding of news events; the competitive pressure to provide instantaneous information, Schiller argued, generates a “false sense of urgency,” with the result that “the ability to discriminate between different degrees of significance is impaired” (24-29).

Like Schiller’s first book, The Mind Managers concluded with a call for radical change. He denounced as “cruel and deceitful” the notion that the solutions to poverty, political apathy and other social problems would come from technology itself: “It is cruel to suggest that ghetto children confronting computer consoles will magically overcome generations of deprivation.” But he also found “countervailing movements stirring.” He noted the growing sector of educated “knowledge workers,” already somewhat critical of the status quo, with the income, leisure and expertise to allow the further development of a critical consciousness. He found
reasons for hope that “the industrial working class, young and old, may be compelled for its own protection to abandon its present support for the system and to adopt a vigorously critical stance.” He also noted the appearance of community-based “information collectives” in various U.S. urban areas, and suggested that the increasing affordability and availability of communications technology would help to “demystify the media for a significant number of people” and eventually “provide the basis for a new corps of trained individuals, capable of handling some of the now-ignored informational needs of the nation’s communities” (174, 186-188). Again, one thinks of the Internet and its alternate grassroots networks, although these online “collectives” are not based in communities bound by geography.

In 1976, Schiller returned to the theme of Mass Communications and American Empire with the publication of Communications and Cultural Domination. This book included an analysis of the media system in Chile under the Allende Popular Unity government overthrown in September 1973 by a military coup, which, it might be noted, was motivated rather explicitly by neoliberal theories of free-market competition as formulated by economists trained at the University of Chicago. In this analysis Schiller noted that, while freedom of information effectively disappeared in Chile after the coup, under the socialist Allende government there was a remarkably free flow of information representing all points on the political spectrum. The largest number of television viewers continued to watch a commercial station that carried programs produced in the U.S. Most radio stations remained in the hands of conservative, antigovernment elements, and the number of conservative newspapers actually increased. Of course, socialist ideas were also disseminated more widely than before, and in Schiller’s view this explained the hostility of the anti-Allende elements toward the free information flow that prevailed in 1971-73. The Chilean experience, he argued, showed that genuine pluralism becomes intolerable to property-owning classes when it leads to widespread critical thinking and social action, and he drew the conclusion that the Popular Unity government’s strong adherence to the doctrine of the free flow of information was in fact a mistake. He argued that the flow of information between countries “follows the international division of labor, which itself is determined by the structure and practices of the strongest capitalist states,” especially the U.S. Hence, the free-flow doctrine simply “legitimizes and reinforces the capability of a few dominant economies to impose their cultural definitions and perspectives on the rest of the world” (Schiller 1976, 98-103).

Invoking the principle of national sovereignty, Schiller argued that future efforts at social transformation would have to recognize the necessity of defending cultural integrity against the “external, dominating network of media information” while avoiding xenophobia and working to develop “alternate media structures and products in ways that promote widespread popular participation.” It should be emphasized that in no way was Schiller calling for censorship or the closing of domestic media institutions; he merely insisted on the legitimate right of nation-states to resist the importation of “messages of domination” in media produced by multinational corporations (107-108). I am not entirely convinced by this argument, and I suspect that in practice this kind of cultural protectionism would not produce the desired result, even if it managed to avoid xenophobia. At the same time, I think Schiller’s emphasis on efforts to develop popular participatory media structures is absolutely correct, and I would suggest that it might be better to focus on the teaching of media literacy as part of these efforts, so that members of oppressed groups could learn to recognize and resist “messages of domination” themselves.

As we have seen, Schiller has always emphasized the need for oppositional movements to claim access to mass communications technology and use it for their own purposes, while vehemently rejecting the notion that technology created for purposes of domination and control will in and of itself provide solutions to social problems. In the 1980s, as computerization of the economy and communications accelerated, Schiller advocated a “go-slow” computerization policy. In Who Knows: Information in the Age of the Fortune 500 (1981), he called for “a maximum effort directed at slowing down, and postponing wherever possible, the rush to computerization,” in order to allow “time to think through the enormous complexities that surround advanced communication and other technologies at this stage of unequal global power and influence” (Schiller 1981). In Information and the Crisis Economy (1984), he described the “deepening overall social crisis” brought about by “economic, political, and military policies designed to maintain imperial power,” and warned that “Technological solutions devoid of social

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accountability will be terribly costly to millions of human beings” (Schiller 1984).

Schiller’s most recent books are concerned with the increasing commodification of information and corporatization of culture in the U.S. In Culture, Inc.: The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression (1989), Schiller lamented that “Transforming information into a salable good, available only to those with the ability to pay for it, changes the goal of information access from an egalitarian to a privileged condition,” with the result that “the essential underpinning of a democratic order is seriously, if not fatally, damaged.” He described the absorption of the creative process and cultural production by profit-driven cultural industries that “serve as the sites for the creation, packaging, transmission, and placement of cultural messages — corporate ones especially.” In these industries Schiller included the information industry — database and software producers and other sellers of packaged information — as well as publishing, film, television, radio, recording, photography, sports and advertising. He also included such providers of “symbolic goods and services” as museums, galleries, shopping malls, amusement parks and corporate “public spaces.” Schiller argued that, “The last fifty years have seen an acceleration in the decline of nonmarket-controlled creative work and symbolic output.” The “pervasive ideological character” of the cultural industries, he contended, means that “the heavy public consumption of cultural products and services and the contexts in which most of them are provided represent a daily, if not hourly, diet of systemic values.” Only the very wealthiest can afford to own information and cultural media; hence, Schiller argued, these media transmit “the thinking and the perspectives of the dominant, though tiniest, stratum of the propertied class, not only in news but also in entertainment and general cultural product” (Schiller 1989).

In Information Inequality: The Deepening Social Crisis in America (1996), Schiller again decries the corporate enclosure of information and cultural expression, arguing that the denial of access to information and the debasement of cultural messages is deepening the already intense social crisis brought about by corporate policies. Again rejecting technological solutions to social problems, he harshly criticizes the Clinton Administration’s “vision of, and reliance on, high-tech communications as the ultimate answer to whatever is ailing the country.” He dissects the 1993 “Agenda for Action” report issued by the task force on the National Information Infrastructure (NII), calling its promised solutions to the nation’s education problems a “technological subterfuge” and suggesting that the electronic information highway’s ability to carry cultural product into the nation’s living rooms and facilitate “active home shopping” is the plan’s primary motivation. Describing the policy of the Clinton-Gore leadership and their bipartisan supporters in Congress as “all power to the corporate communication sector,” Schiller argues that private ownership and market competition are “Washington’s basic prescriptions for the infrastructure that promises to carry, for business and home use, all the image and message and data flow that the country produces” (Schiller 1996).

I think one of Schiller’s most important contributions to our understanding of information media is his insistence that ownership matters — that the corporate owners of mass communications media do actually use it (both consciously and unconsciously) for their own purposes, which are domination and control. Conversely, one of the great triumphs of neoliberal ideology has been to convince so many of us that it does not matter, that the media are ideologically neutral and above social conflict, and that the concentration of media ownership in a few private hands is natural, inevitable and perhaps even beneficial. Anyone who has any doubts about this matter should read Schiller’s books.

Another very important contribution has been Schiller’s continuing emphasis on popular agency. Although he often paints a very bleak picture, he has always stressed that significant change is possible if those of us excluded by the corporate media monopoly can find ways to create alternate media structures that resist domination and promote humane values of equality, solidarity and justice. Although Schiller is certainly right about the corporate communication sector’s plans to completely commercialize the Internet, this is not inevitable if we act now. As many campus, labor and community activists have already discovered, the Internet can be a very effective organizing tool if used intelligently. Of course, we cannot afford to ignore other media; we must continue to demand access to cable television and radio frequencies, while finding ways to use print technologies more effectively as well. The work of
Herbert Schiller provides a reliable guide to the obstacles we face, but it is also a goad to action.

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Searching for the "Enemy": Alternative Resources on U.S. Foreign Policy
by Charles D’Adamo

In reviewing alternative sources of information on U.S. foreign policy, I plan to do two things – first, summarize some of the ideas of writers in the 1960s who analyzed, from critical points-of-view, the economic and political-administrative institutions underlying U.S. foreign policy which, they argued, was imperialist, not democratic; and second, to indicate how the Alternative Press Index is a useful resource for critical research on the institutions and practices of U.S. foreign policy.

In the 1960s, New Left “revisionist historians” criticized the mainstream celebration of American liberal democracy and its role in the world. Historians William Appleman Williams and Gabriel Kolko, policy analyst Richard Barnet, and economist Harry Magdoff, wrote books which challenged academia and provided the New Left and anti-Vietnam War movement with interpretations contrasting American ideals of democracy and self-determination with the contradictory and harsh realities of U.S. foreign policy.

Williams, in The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, developed an economic interpretation arguing that the U.S. had an "Open Door Policy" which was instigated by the U.S. corporate elite with the guiding purpose of economic expansion (Williams). Efforts by other nations to constrain this goal were perceived by the policy establishment as a threat to the American system as a whole. The “tragedy” was that while espousing principles of “self-determination,” the U.S. acted to create an international political economy in its own image, undermining many country’s national self-determination in the process.

1Of course, the fact that many of neoliberalism’s opponents even today continue to use the word “socialism” in connection with these societies makes it considerably easier for neoliberals to make their case in this way.
Kolko, in *The Roots of American Foreign Policy*, emphasized the continuity and rationality of the policy of economic imperialism developed and implemented by establishment liberals (Kolko). Here he examined many details of this policy, such as the use of foreign aid and loans as means to open markets for U.S. corporations. Kolko also argued that the Vietnam War was not an “accident” of policy but the logical result of an expansionism which seeks raw materials, trade, and investments as well as of an agenda in opposition to the alternatives offered by nationalist revolutions.

Magdoff, in *The Age of Imperialism: the Economics of U.S. Foreign Policy*, documented in great detail the manifestations of economic imperialism (Magdoff). What was most important to the U.S. business class was “…that the option of foreign investment (and foreign trade) should remain available” (p. 20). And he demonstrated the close interpenetration of political, economic, and military interests. Yet, he cautioned that economic motives, while a useful hypothesis, cannot be assumed operative in all cases of political and military policy. Magdoff also noted the increasing problem of Third World external public debt, which had quadrupled between 1956 and 1967 expanding to $41.5 billion (p. 150). Today it is over $1.3 trillion, even after the Third World has repaid close to $1 trillion in principle in addition to $771 billion in interest (Campaign Against Neoliberalism in South Africa).

Barnet, in *Intervention and Revolution: America’s Confrontation with Insurgent Movements around the World*, examined in detail cases of U.S. military interventions showing a consistent pattern of attempts to suppress national revolutionary movements (Barnet). He studied the interventions in Greece, Lebanon, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam while touching on the cases in British Guiana, Congo, Guatemala, Indonesia, and Iran. However, Barnet’s approach emphasized what might be described as “bureaucratic imperialism” rather than “economic imperialism” as the catalyst for American expansionism. In particular, Barnet pointed to the independent role of the National Security bureaucracy in U.S. foreign policy decisions (p.17-19).

Williams and Kolko went on to write major historical works, often on U.S. foreign policy and its consequences – witness Williams’ *The Cons-

tours of American History* which was recently added to the Modern Library classics list (much to Arthur Schlesinger’s dismay), and Kolko’s *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States and the Modern Historical Experience*. Barnet and Magdoff have continued to write on U.S. foreign policy, multinational corporations, and economic imperialism, but have also worked to build alternative institutions such as the Institute for Policy Studies and Monthly Review Press, respectively.

Now I want to shift gears and discuss the *Alternative Press Index* as an alternative resource for research on U.S. foreign policy. *API* can assist researchers in pursuing the kinds of issues and approaches examined above, while extracting some references of particular value in understanding recent international events.

In 1969, the Radical Research Center was founded to provide access to the “independent, critical press” largely through the publication of the *Alternative Press Index*. In 1969, the *API* indexed 72 periodicals; today that number is 280. Many of the periodicals indexed report on and analyze the activity of the U.S. foreign policy apparatus. Our subject category development includes headings designed specifically for easy searches, headings such as “U.S. Foreign Policy” and “Imperialism [U.S.]” which, you may be surprised to discover, do not appear with such specificity in other indexes. For example, in the *PAIS International* database “United States Imperialism” appears in a subject keyword search 35 times, in a descriptor keyword search 13 times, and not once in a descriptor exact phrase search. In the API, “Imperialism [U.S.]” appears 180 times in a key term search.

The *alternative press index* provides access to movements, news, policy, and theory. To illustrate the scope of API coverage, we have done a simple search on our CD-ROM, published with NISC (National Information Services Corporation), on “U.S. Foreign Policy” in the period from 1991 through June 1998. The search found over 1,000 articles. We then created a database of these 1,063 articles from which we have compiled information on who is writing where on what aspects of U.S. foreign policy. Given more time, we could have created a more comprehensive U.S. foreign policy database linking other key terms indexing various foreign policy institutions (see Table IV). Yet, we have generated four .
tables and a bibliography, which can serve as guides for:

1. references on who the U.S. believes "The Enemy," or enemies, to be in the post-1989 period;
2. references on what institutions may be the enemies of democracy, human welfare, and national sovereignty in the post-1989 period;
3. a list of periodicals useful for librarians in collection development when seeking alternatives to mainstream materials on democracy, human welfare, national sovereignty, and U.S. foreign policy;
4. a list of useful articles for librarians developing bibliographies on democracy, human welfare, national sovereignty, and U.S. foreign policy.

While we have generated a statistically significant sample of citations, the database and bibliography have the following limitations:

1. the API's subject category development is regularly revised and updated by staff in relation to political and theoretical developments and changing usage in social movements, and therefore, there is not always category continuity over time;
2. we have considerable continuity of periodical coverage, but not in all cases such that a very useful title for information on U.S. foreign policy like Le Monde Diplomatique, not added until 1998, has limited coverage in the database, even though many informative articles on U.S. foreign policy have appeared in its pages;
3. there are instances in which the indexing principle of "specificity" may have separated out useful articles on U.S. foreign policy, such as when the category "U.S. Central Intelligence Agency" was used in indexing without the additional use of the related category "U.S. Foreign Policy" (this practice is important for print indexes).


Table II summarizes which alternative periodicals are publishing on U.S. foreign policy. Most of these titles are still publishing and 90% are highly recommended for collection development librarians interested in democracy, human welfare, national sovereignty, and the international institutions which constrain and undermine the achievement of these goals. The more scholarly titles include Arena Journal/Magazine, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, Dissent, Journal of Palestine Studies, Latin American Perspectives, Middle East Report, Monthly Review, NACLA, New Left Review, Radical History Review, Review of African Political Economy, Third World Quarterly, and World Policy Journal. It is also important to note that the French monthly Le Monde Diplomatique is now available in English through the Manchester Guardian Weekly.

Table III lists the most frequently used subjects in the U.S. foreign policy database. This can be used as a guide to information on who the U.S. foreign policy establishment and the military-industrial complex are seeking to target as "The Enemy." One thing we might ask is, why does small Caribbean nations such as Cuba, with 47 citations, and Haiti, with 53, appear so frequently. One way the story may be told is that, small as they are, Cuba under Castro and Haiti under Aristide represented potential economic and political alternatives to unregulated capitalism and liberal oligarchy, which could serve as models for other Latin American nations, thus making them "enemies" of the U.S. foreign policy establishment. True, Cuba remains under siege and Haiti did not get a chance. But a reading of these articles may reveal aspects of this story. James Petras and Morris Morley writing in Third World Quarterly (Petras and Morley) on the historical context of recent U.S. policy toward Cuba and Noam Chomsky writing in Z Magazine (Chomsky) on the context of the response of U.S. policy toward the democratic election of Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti are two places to begin.
Examination of the 88 citations on Iraq and the 74 on the Persian Gulf War will likely reveal a different story since it is difficult to imagine how the regime of Saddam Hussein represents a desirable alternative to unregulated capitalism and liberal oligarchy. Here we may find a story about geopolitical expansion and economic resource control in the Middle East. Writers such as Noam Chomsky and Joel Stork may help us understand why Iraq is an "Enemy," and why economic sanctions, which has resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of children, and periodic aerial bombings are the preferred policy response of the US Foreign Policy establishment in this region. James O’Connor, in *Capitalism Nature Socialism* (O’Connor), analyzes the political economy of the Persian Gulf War while James Toth, in *Critical Sociology* (Toth), employs world-system analysis to examine how the Gulf War relates to issues of hegemony in the Middle East.

Where else might we find the U.S. enemy in the post-1989 period? Well, we have 83 citations on the Middle East, 71 on the United Nations, 46 on Latin America, and 39 on Russia and the former Soviet Union. But what may be most revealing are the 65 citations relating to the former Yugoslavia. Here we may find a story which covers the former Yugoslavia as an alternative to unregulated capitalism and liberal oligarchy, another target to be undermined, whatever the cost, and as an occasion for geopolitical expansion and potential long-term economic resource control.

Yugoslavia, as Michael Barrett Brown has pointed out in *New Political Economy*, combined both market and planning institutions and for 30 years had economic growth at 5 per cent per capita. Yet, Yugoslavia, like many countries, fell into foreign debt as a result of the IMF's attempt to save the international monetary system in the 1970s through extensive lending of recycled petro-dollars. IMF debt repayment requirements created pressure on the poor regions of the country where unemployment reached 25 to 30 per cent (Brown). The story here may be that this severe economic insecurity was a fundamental cause of the rise of nationalist attitudes, which were manipulated by aggressive political leaders. Politically, as Germany encouraged Slovenia and Croatia to secede and the U.S. encouraged Bosnia to secede, the complicated Yugoslav constitution which guaranteed minority group rights was undermined and disintegra-

tion of the republic underway (Gowan).

But what about geopolitical factors? Here, Peter Gowan, in a recent *New Left Review* (Gowan), outlines in detail the actions of the U.S. in relation to those of European nations, particularly France and Germany, during the Balkans crisis. The story here may be that the actions of the U.S. foreign policy establishment have been calculated to prevent the development of an independent European military security system which would have the potential to be norm-based rather than power-based, a system which could have been based in the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). This may be the story which explains the NATO war against Yugoslavia, not a story about humanitarian intervention.

But then why are we having this panel on alternative resources on U.S. foreign policy? Two words: "media bias," words which occurred 34 times in the U.S. Foreign Policy database. How did the U.S. legitimate the March 24 bombing? As humanitarian intervention against the "ethnic cleansing" of Albanian ethnics in Kosovo by Serbian agents of the Yugoslav government. This was reported as fact by the U.S. mainstream media. Yet, European and Canadian newspapers report that a German court and CSCE monitors have challenged this. While there was Yugoslav counterinsurgency activity against the KLA, not exactly a democratic organization, and those harboring them, there may have been no "ethnic cleansing" until the bombing created a massive refugee crisis and an opportunity for nasty elements of Serbian paramilitary forces to do violence against ethnic Albanians. Other authors who may help us understand the Balkans situation include Michel Chossudovsky and Diana Johnstone writing in *Capital & Class* and *CovertAction Quarterly*, respectively. Chossudovsky concentrates on the role of the IMF in the bankrupting of the Yugoslavian economy; Johnstone places the Balkans tragedy in context of twentieth-century European history while also criticizing the role of the media and liberal NGOs in distorting what was happening and, in the process, helping to demonize the Serbs (Chossudovsky).

Table IV gives an idea of what a more comprehensive U.S. Foreign Policy database generated from the API would cover. The citation numbers are those from the Alternative Press Index CD-ROM. One brief
comparison exemplifies the extent of potential coverage. Table IV lists 486 citations under “U.S. Central Intelligence Agency” compared with only 30 in Table III, those which actually appeared in the U.S. Foreign Policy database. Table IV also neatly captures those institutions of the U.S. foreign policy apparatus that constrain the achievement of the goals of democracy, freedom of press, human rights, and internationalism. At least, this may be the conclusion drawn from readers of the independent, critical press who are searching for “The Enemy.” Such readers may also be in a position to examine how well the analyses of Barnet, Kolko, Magdoff, and Williams have held up during the past 30 years.

Use of the Alternative Press Index provides access to the writings of independent journalists and critical scholars committed to democracy (small “d”), freedom of press, human rights, and internationalism. Along with periodicals such as Arena, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, In These Times, Latin American Perspectives, Middle East Report, Le Monde Diplomatique, Monthly Review, NACLA, The Nation, The New Left Review, The Progressive, and Review of African Political Economy, we have been publishing for quite some time. We need to be used and read more often in more public and private places.

WORKS CITED


TABLE I: Who is Writing on U.S. Foreign Policy and Where

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Periodical</th>
<th># Citations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noam Chomsky</td>
<td>Covert Action Quarterly</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guardian (NY)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journal of Urban Culture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lies of Our Times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Z magazine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Alterman</td>
<td>Mother Jones</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>World Policy Journal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Hitchens</td>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Left Review</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Herman</td>
<td>Extra</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In These Times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radical History Rev</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Z Magazine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Judis</td>
<td>American Prospect</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In These Times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Chace</td>
<td>World Policy Journal</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Cockburn</td>
<td>Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peace &amp; Democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peace Review</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Z Magazine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Shalom</td>
<td>Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Page 45
TABLE II: Which Periodicals Are Publishing on U.S. Foreign Policy

Note: Of the periodicals that follow some are no longer published: Africa News, Guardian, Lies of Our Times, Peace & Democracy, Surviving Together, UnClassified. The following periodicals are recent additions to the Alternative Press Index: Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Claridad, Le Monde Diplomatique. A minimum of five citations from the U.S. Foreign Policy database was used for selection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periodical</th>
<th># Citations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Policy Journal</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In These Times</td>
<td>biweekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z Magazine</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covert Action Quarterly</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian (NY)</td>
<td>defunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal of Palestine Studies</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against the Current</td>
<td>bimonthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East Reports</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulletin of Atomic Scientists</td>
<td>bimonthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Viewpoint [Greece]</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly Review</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine-Israel Journal [Israel]</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACLA</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba Update</td>
<td>bimonthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toward Freedom</td>
<td>bimonthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa News</td>
<td>defunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulletin in Defense of Marxism</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissent</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical History Review</td>
<td>triannually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of African Political Economy [UK]</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace &amp; Democracy</td>
<td>defunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Affairs</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sojourners</td>
<td>bimonthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lies of Our Times</td>
<td>defunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arena Magazine [Australia]</td>
<td>bimonthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Monde Diplomatique</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternatives [Canada]</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars</td>
<td>quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multinational Monitor</td>
<td>monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace Magazine [Canada]</td>
<td>bimonthly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These periodicals no longer publish: Guardian, Journal of Urban Culture, Lies of Our Times, Nuclear Times, On Guard, Peace & Democracy. A minimum of five citations from the U.S. Foreign Policy database was used for selection.
TABLE III: U.S. Foreign Policy and Subjects of Interest

Note: The numbers in parentheses below indicate the number of citations key terms such as "U.S-[Country] Relations" appeared in the API CD-ROM as a whole. A minimum of ten citations from the US Foreign Policy database was used for selection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Issue</th>
<th># Citations in U.S. Foreign Policy Database</th>
<th>(# Citations in API CD-ROM)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>(92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>(284)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian Gulf War</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Intervention</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Policy &amp; Expenditures</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>(113)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>(194)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>(313)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperialism [US]</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign Intervention</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>(209)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russia &amp; Former Soviet Union</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Bias</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>33</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE IV: U.S. Foreign Policy Institutions and Related Key Terms

Citations in the API Database 1991-1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Policy Institutions &amp; Related Subjects</th>
<th># Citations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>552</td>
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<tr>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>502</td>
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<td>CCentral Intelligence Agenc</td>
<td>486</td>
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<tr>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Policy</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programs</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperialism [US]</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: It would be possible for the APC to link all the U.S. foreign policy related subjects in a larger database. However, since we planned to create a bibliography, we controlled for length by limited the database to those citations included under "U.S. Foreign Policy."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Policy Institutions &amp; Related Subjects</th>
<th># Citations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Defense</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency for International Development</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of State</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Security Agency</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury Dept.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Editors' note: The bibliographies that follow were prepared for a program sponsored by the International Responsibilities Task Force of the Social Responsibilities Round Table of the American Library Association. The program was organized by Al Kagan, Africana Studies Librarian at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, and was held at the annual ALA convention on June 26, 1999, in New Orleans. The program speakers were Charles D'Adamo (whose presentation appears in this issue of Progressive Librarian), Thomas P. Fenton, director of WorldViews, and Erik Leaver of the Institute for Policy Studies.

Selected Bibliography of Alternative Books on U.S. Foreign Policy

Alterman, Eric


Barnet, Richard


Chance, James

*Endless War: How We Got Involved in Central America and What*
America Invulnerable: Quest for Absolute Security from 1812 to Star Wars, New York: 1988 (with Caleb Carr)

Chomsky, Noam
The Culture of Terrorism, Boston: 1988.

Falk, Richard

Gowan, Peter

Hadar, Leon

Hartung, William

Herman, Edward

Judis, John

Klare, Michael
Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws: America's Search for a New Foreign Policy, New York: 1995.

Kolko, Gabriel
Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States and the Modern
**Historical Experience, New York: 1985.**


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**Magdoff, Harry**


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**Mead, Walter**


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**Petras, James**


**Class, State and Power in the Third World – With Case Studies on Class Conflict in Latin America,** Montclair: 1981, (with other authors).

**Latin America: Bankers, Generals and the Struggle for Social Justice,** Ottawa: 1986, (with other authors).


**Empire or Republic?: American Global Power and Domestic Decay,** New York: 1995.


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**Shalom, Stephen**


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**Williams, William Appleman**


**From Colony to Empire: Essays in the History of American Foreign Relations,** New York: 1972.


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Compiled by Charles D'Adamo
Selected Bibliography of Alternative Sources for Latin America

The United States' arch-enemy in Latin America is, of course, Cuba. As a result of a 40-year long embargo, a propaganda campaign, and U.S. restrictions on travel, it is difficult to find information that deviates from the U.S. view of things.

Books:


For a selection of many other relevant book titles, request a catalog from Ocean Press, e-mail: ocean_press@msn.com.

Periodicals:

*Cuba Update*
http://www.cubaupdate.org/cuba.htm
Published quarterly by the Center for Cuban Studies, 124 W. 23rd Street, New York NY 10011; $45 institutional subscription. The Center, a membership organization, also has its own library and art space.

Web Sites:

Center for Cuban Studies
http://www.cubaupdate.org/cuba.htm
Major source of information about Cuba in the U.S. Sponsors legal travel to Cuba, publishes information, sells Cuban art and literature. This site has a great set of links to virtually all other Cuba-related sites.

Cuban Government
http://www2.cuba.cu
Most of the site is in Spanish, but some documents and Cuban government positions on world affairs are translated. Other interesting links as well.

Other Key Sources on Latin America & Foreign Affairs

This is but a small selection. An extensive listing on non-mainstream publications can be found at the website of *Alternative Press Index*, http://www.altpress.org. Double-check prices directly with the publishers.

*Covert Action Quarterly*
http://www.caq.com
Extensive and truly “behind the scenes” coverage of U.S. international activities. Costs $47.00 for an institutional sub, some articles available online and back issues can be ordered.

*Extra: the Magazine of FAIR*
http://www.fair.org
Examinations and critiques of domestic and foreign policy issues as presented in the *New York Times* and other mainstream media. $19.00 institutional subscription.

*Haiti Info: News Direct from the People and Organizations of Haiti's Grassroots Democratic Movement*
Published by the Haitian Information Bureau at hib@igc.apc.org.
**Enemies**: An Annotated Bibliography for a Middle School Social Studies Curriculum

What is an enemy? Who is an enemy? Why is it that people who appear to be enemies sometimes turn out not to be? Who decides who is an enemy and who is not? What happens when a friend or family member becomes an enemy? Are enemies in wars the same as enemies in school?

These are some of the questions young people ask within the context of their daily lives and entry into society. Such questions also arise during discussions in the classroom on topics as diverse as foreign wars and peer mediation, historic events and today's school violence, international affairs and self-discovery.

The following books are recommended for use within any unit of study where the concept of "enemy" plays a major role. The annotations and sequence suggest a line of inquiry for students and teachers.

**Enemies in Literature**

These novels each portray the various enemies encountered in life – enemies created by the political contingencies of war, enemies created by the continued acceptance of racism within society, and enemies created within and supported by the family. Beginning this unit of study with literary works will help students identify with the characters who struggle with enemies, and will also initiate reflections on the role literature plays in creating or dismantling the stereotypes that inform personal and public opinion.

*Dangerous Skies* by Suzanne Fisher Staples. New York: Harper Trophy, 1996; 0-06-440683-0; $4.95. The candid story of two children whose lifelong friendship is destroyed by racism. The narrator, a white thirteen-year-old boy, becomes conscious of the horrors of the racism with which his friend, a black girl, silently lives. An important focus for student exploration is the question asked continually by the narrator: why do adults refuse to see the evil character of one "pillar of society" that is so starkly and clearly evident to the children? Why don't they know this
man is an enemy?

Tangerine by Edward Bloor. New York: Scholastic, 1997; 0-590-43277-X; $4.99. The narrator of Tangerine asks the same question, but within the context of an upper middle-class, white family living in a new subdivision build on ground once occupied by tangerine groves. In this story the enemy is the narrator’s older brother, a cruel and duplicitous high school football star whose true nature is ignored by the parents. This is an excellent story to facilitate discussions of hostility, rivalry and cliques at school – something very much on people’s minds after the killings in Littleton, Colorado. Also, the developing friendships between the narrator and a Mexican-American farming family provide opportunities to discuss ethnicity, prejudice and community.

Chain of Fire by Beverly Naidoo. New York: HarperTrophy, 1989; 0-06-440468-4; $4.95. An apartheid-era story about a young girl, her family, friends and community as they resist relocation to a “homeland.” The courage of school children to speak out is met with brutal police repression and betrayal, but strength only grows from pain and crisis.

One More River by Lynne Red Banks. New York: Avon Books, 1973; 0-380-72755-2; $4.50. Here is a story of a young Israeli girl and her “friendship” with an Arab boy. This book should be used to discuss stereotype in literature and how it conveys, shapes and often distorts reality. In this case the girl’s character is fully developed and good, while the boy’s is one-dimensional and primitive, becoming human only through a brief encounter with the girl.

Enemies of Children

These non-fiction books contain the writings and artwork by children caught in the violence of war, hatred and intolerance. Here in their own words are the stories of children driven from their homes by soldiers, police, poverty, and greed. These materials will ground the student’s knowledge of “enemies” within relatively contemporary realities.

Two Dogs of Freedom: Black Children of South Africa Speak Out, from the Open School. New York: Rosset & Company, 1987; 0-8050-0637-0; $4.95. This book reproduces the writings and drawings by black children at the Open School in Johannesberg, South Africa. All focus on police repression during the period of apartheid and arise from the personal experience of the children. The book ends with expressions of hope for a new South Africa. This work on non-fiction should be used to add depth to student inquiry into the evils of racism, to begin exploring the history and evolution of “enemies” within society, and to question the political functions of real and manufactured enemies.

Caught in the Crossfire: Growing Up in a War Zone, by Maria Ousseimi, New York: Walker and Company, 1995; 0-8027-8363-5; $19.95. Jerusalem Mosaic: Young Voices from the Holy City, by I. E. Mozeson and Lois Stavsky, New York: Four Winds Press, 1994; 0-02-767651-X; $15.95. These three books further develop the theme of children caught in the vortex of war and violence. Altogether they present 42 stories and students might select one story as a focus for research projects that would engage students in exploring the history, culture, geography, current events, etc.

Enemies: Made in America

The first two books below provide information, context, and perspective through presentations of two incidents in which political expediency turned ordinary Americans into enemies allowing students the opportunity to grapple with the complexities of the making and unmaking of enemies. The third book is designed to assist young people and the adults who work with them in thinking through psychological conditioning – a key element in the process that defines “the enemy.” The last book can be used to initiate student research projects on the topic of enemy making.

The Journey: Japanese Americans, Racism and Renewal, by Sheila Hamanaka, New York: Orchard Books, 1995; 0-531-07060-3; $8.95; The Great Red Scare, by R. Conrad Stein, Parsippany NJ: New Discovery Books, 1998; 0-382-39615-4; $7.95. These two books offer an introduction to two incidents in U.S. history when people were falsely accused of
being enemies of the state. The will allow students to explore the heart of
the complex political role played by “the enemy.” Students could search
for similar incidents in history or in the contemporary world.

_Fighting the Invisible Enemy: Understanding the Effects of Conditioning
on Young People_, by Terrence Webster-Doyle. Middlebury VT: Atrium
Society Publications, 1990; 0-942941-18-7; $12.95. This is a workbook
designed to assist students in learning about psychological conditioning.

_Dear Oklahoma City, Get Well Soon: America’s Children Reach Out to
the People of Oklahoma_, edited by Jim Ross and Paul Myers. New York:
Walker and Company, 1996; 0-8027-8436-4; $16.95. This book will
provide students an opportunity to use what they have learned from this
unit of study, and to exercise their critical faculties. The book is a good
example of the political innocence or naivete of U.S. children. Questions
to ask about it might be: Who did the perpetrator of this horrid act think
was his enemy? Why did he think that way? Do any of the writers in
_Dear Oklahoma City_ say anything about the person who did the bom­
bing? Why or why not? What might a child from South Africa or the
West Bank write about a similar incident? What does this bombing say
about our country?

Compiled by Elaine Harger

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**BOOK REVIEWS**

_Class Warfare in the Information Age_, by Michael Perelman. New York:

Reviewed by Steve LaBash

In _Class Warfare in the Information Age_, economist Michael Perelman
takes issue with those who would suggest that the “new” age of informa­
tion, particularly the use of computers, electronic databases, and instanta­
neous communication, will necessarily lead to a “liberated” society.
Rather, he suggests, we need to look at the issues of control and
distribution of these elements of the “information age,” particularly the
struggle over corporate control of information resources and services.
Perelman flatly states that the current “information age” will reinforce
existing class structures rather than lead to a utopia of widespread
information and direct democracy unless there is a popular movement to
ensure such democratic tendencies (p. 4).

Why is this true? For Perelman, it is because the issue is less that of
technology and its potential than the way information is used in a
capitalist society. In a capitalist society information is geared to provid­
ing owners and management with mechanisms for control over produc­
tion and financial processes. These processes are designed to be outside
the control of society as a whole, and more particularly, outside the
control of those workers that develop and manipulate these processes.

In the past, information was often held by the worker through learning
and experience. Further, such information was often the property of a
particular worker, one that was experienced in a particular task or
process. This information was not readily transferable to management.
For example, skilled workers in a steel mill, through years of experience
and tutoring by older workers, were able to recognize by sight when an
ingot had reached the appropriate temperature for processing by examin­
ing its color. Now, however, through the monitoring of temperature and
chemical composition by electronic sensors, a relatively unskilled worker can identify when the ingot has reached its optimum condition. Through such technological monitoring the knowledge is easily transferred to management.

The use of information technology also allows owners and managers to rapidly manipulate economic resources in a manner that jeopardizes the ability of working and middle-class people to influence their destiny. Financial markets show this most clearly. The ability of financial institutions and corporations to manipulate flows of capital to firms, sectors, and nations on an almost instantaneous basis creates massive obstacles to democratic controls of economic policies. The ability of these institutions to create crises, as has happened in Indonesia, Brazil, and other countries, provides formidable roadblocks to setting economic policy.

In the domestic economy, the dominance of these financial institutions and their use of information technology, has profound effects. For example, the lowest volume day on the New York Stock Exchange in 1987 had greater volume than any month in 1960. In fact, during the stock market crisis of October 19 and 20, 1987, more shares were traded in the first 15 minutes than during any week in 1960! (p. 15) This ability to control financial resources has enabled the international financial community to undermine firms and economies in a matter of hours.

This new information process has also broken down information in a way as to restructure the work process itself. By allowing access to information by employees only in discrete and particular "bundles" that are directly applicable to their job, workers have lost the ability to conceptualize the whole process of production. Also, an ideology of complexity is promoted throughout the organization. The worker is told that she is incapable of seeing the "big picture," which can only be comprehended by managers privy to the necessary information.

In discussing how economists have traditionally applied economic analysis to the role of information, Perelman points out that the economics of information was not considered important as long as it was so closely held by workers. Once management had the means of storing and manipulating this information, however, it moved into the realm of "efficiency" calculations and then became "important."

The information revolution has also allowed for a tremendous intensification of labor. The employee can now be reached in a distant hotel, on a plane, or in her car. The introduction of cell phones, laptop computers, and other technologies require the worker to be "productive" at home and while traveling. The workplace is everywhere and anytime, and the willingness to work in such an all-encompassing environment has now become a requirement for advancement.

Perelman’s economic analysis of information is especially enlightening. In a capitalist economy, he points out, most commodities are "rivalrous." That is, if I use it there is less for others. For example, when I use a gallon of gasoline, there is less for others to use. This is not the case for information. No matter how much I use the total amount available to others is the same. To "correct" this economic problem, the information producer and user extends to information scarcity through the use of trade secrets or value-added arguments. Thus, the database producer claims that his manipulation of the data enhances it to such a degree that he should be able to limit access to it. In addition, public domain information, such as that produced by the federal government, must be privatized to eliminate "unfair" competition with such producers.

While past economic theorists argued that free and open access to information was a necessary requirement of a successful competitive economy, especially for consumers, today's information economists argue the opposite. The control of information is necessary for successful competition between firms.

Perelman raises numerous other issues about the current economic and class elements of the information age, but in the end it reduces itself to a simple fact, that capital always seeks to control new technologies and processes for its own benefit. Where the information utopians err is in thinking that information technologies and processes can escape this process. The only real hope is that the information user and consumer will become conscious of this reality and consciously struggle against it. Listservs and e-mail are not substitutes for a conscious struggle against...
the ruling class, whether in a Honduran sweatshop or on the internet. Class consciousness, the awareness of in whose interest information should be developed, is the only defense. The information age has not reached beyond the class struggle, rather it has created new arenas for it.


Reviewed by Rory Litwin

Freedom Press, the anarchist publishing house founded in 1886, has published a book on the issues of the information society from a radical democratic perspective. “Information is power” and “power corrupts” are two apothegms that deserve the intelligent coupling that Brian Martin, the Australian writer active in the environmental and radical science movements, has given them in Information Liberation. As Martin shows, the corruption of power is not merely a potential danger but a fact of life in the areas of mass media, intellectual property, surveillance, bureaucratic organizations, libel law, and the world of academic research. These are frequent topics of discussion on the left, but not often leading to the radical conclusions that Martin refreshingly draws, opening up new spaces for left-of-center thinking. The book is for a popular audience, and suitable for public as well as academic libraries.

Chapter 1, “Power tends to corrupt,” expresses this basic premise, illustrating it with historical and psychological insights. Chapter 2, “Beyond mass media,” discusses modern mass media, which Martin finds undemocratic by nature, because of its control by a group of people that is small in comparison with its audience. He cites numerous publications that expose media bias and advocate grass-roots action to create fairness and accuracy, but perceptively notes that these publications rarely find the root of this media bias in the basic structures of mass media control or advocate replacing these structures. Alternative mass media, though the imbalance of power between its audience and producers is moderated by its smaller scale, falls into this assessment of corruption by power, with powerful publications such as Mother Jones and The Progressive serving as examples of the impossibility of democratically run mass media. The idea of participatory media, with David Andrews’ concept of “information routing groups” given as an example, is offered as a replacement for mass media. The chapter also includes an outline of several strategies for achieving this replacement. Martin’s radical position makes possible avenues of perception that are perhaps not open to reform-minded media critics, and asks questions seldom heard on the left that are critical of reformist and government-reliant strategies. Cynical readers like myself will begin to find that a leap of faith is required in order to follow Martin all the way to his conclusions, but this leap appears to have the character of a necessary courage against the backdrop of the status quo. A shift of mind is precisely what is required by any radical solution.

Chapter 3, “Against intellectual property,” is concerned with the concept of intellectual property and argues for the alternative, “that intellectual products not be owned, as in the case of everyday language.” Strategies for challenging intellectual property are outlined, including “civil disobedience, promotion of non-owned information, and fostering of a more cooperative society.” The arguments against intellectual property in this chapter center on the corrupting influence of the ownership of ideas and the harm it can do to democratic relationships. Edwin C. Hettinger’s responses to the standard justifications of intellectual property are summarized. The alternative to intellectual property (non-ownership of ideas) is discussed with reference to the perceived needs for it: protection against plagiarism, protection of royalties, and stimulation of creativity. Each of these is shown to be either answerable in other ways or not actually protected by intellectual property laws. Ironically, a copyright on this book is held by Brian Martin and Freedom Press. This is discussed at the end of the chapter, with permission given to copy the work for non-exploitative uses. It is plain that Freedom Press copyrights their publications out of a need to compromise with a world that has not moved “beyond intellectual property.”

Chapter 4, “Anti-surveillance,” examines the issue of the growing use of various surveillance technologies, including types of data collection not thought of as “spying,” as an issue of power imbalance. Martin claims that the regulation of surveillance by professional ethics and by govern-
ment only create an illusion of protection. Grass-roots activist alternatives to reformist solutions are outlined, including various forms of surveillance disruption and a larger program of replacing the social institutions that have a need for surveillance stemming from their mode of organization. The suggested methods for surveillance disruption are particularly timely and exciting.

Chapter 5, “Free speech and bureaucracy,” is concerned with the bureaucratic control of information flow in organizations and with workers’ rights of free and open communication. Martin takes the position that the bureaucratic mode of organization is prone to corruption by systems of power due to its hierarchical nature, and is interested in alternatives to it. His particular concern about bureaucratic systems is the way that they tend to lead to secrecy and restrictions against free speech (as we are aware of in the recent events at the Hennepin County library and perhaps in our own lives) and create an environment that leaves the lone whistleblower isolated and disempowered. Martin finds it difficult to challenge a bureaucracy effectively, the only solution being collective action towards a clear alternative and a long-term vision. The role of information exchange in challenging bureaucracy is given special attention. Martin also invites action research into ways of challenging bureaucracy and alternative ways of organizing work.

Chapter 6, “Defamation law and free speech,” is concerned with the way defamation law, or slander and libel law, are used oppressively, and how to challenge its oppressive uses. Martin takes the position that defamation law is not used primarily to protect people from unfair attack but to hinder free speech and protect the powerful from scrutiny. Attention is paid to the practical issues of defending against a lawsuit under defamation law.

Chapter 7, “The politics of research,” is about the economics and organizational structures that support professional researchers, and determine what knowledge is created and how it will be used. Strategies for challenging existing patterns are given, including critical teaching and research and community participation in research for practical ends. Some of the potential problems here go unexamined, such as how to fund, disseminate, and lend legitimacy to community-generated and directed knowledge, and how the corrupting influence of power would be avoided if these practical goals were attained. These problems are of the type faced at any point along the front lines of radical democratic work, and could be addressed specifically by less general, more action-oriented works. The implicit answer to this type of question seems to be that by replacing the structures that lead to power imbalances new conditions would apply.

Chapters 8 and 9, “On the value of simple ideas” and “Celebrity intellectuals,” are concerned with the practical question of how people think, and offer potentially helpful insights. Martin finds it important to begin with simple ideas that can be directly applied to empower people where they are, and to build a social theory only secondarily, if at all, on the basis of the simpler, functional ideas. The phrase “ivory tower” is not used, but the image is clear. Complex ideas are inaccessible and not as readily applicable as simple ideas. The implications of this chapter are not as clear as the implications of the rest of the book, as the point is somewhat abstract. I find myself wishing Martin had taken greater care here to discourage anti-intellectualism and the irrationality that can accompany it. Related to his point in Chapter 8 is the idea in Chapter 9 that people must think for themselves and in relation to their own needs rather than following the orthodoxy of celebrity intellectuals.

Chapter 10, “Toward information liberation,” is the concluding chapter, and treats general issues such as how to move towards an alternative to oppressive modes of information creation and use, working both inside and outside the system, and working with others. The spirit of this chapter is encouraging and practical. It is worth noting that in this work of radical democracy, with its cautions against the pitfalls of reformist thinking, the idea of revolution doesn’t arise, the idea of gradually “living the alternative” thoroughly in its place.

Martin’s radical democratic position, like any political position, leads to its share of difficulties and contradictions (such as how exactly a free people can be restrained from exploiting one another). Martin deals with these to the limited extent that it is appropriate in a book written for a popular audience, going far enough to sketch the outlines of a radical alternative but not far enough to fill in the details or answer potential
critics with the depth that one would find in a more narrowly focused or scholarly book. The annotated references to other works are plentiful and helpful in this light.

*Information Liberation* is an excellent example of a book that libraries should own, but probably will not. By taking an admittedly extreme position relating to the information society, the book functions as a tent post, without which a library will be less capacious of mind and less able to fulfill its purpose. Aside from that, Martin might be right, and we would be selling ourselves short to pursue a society where information is any less free than he envisions.

*Information Liberation* by John Buschman does an excellent job of putting into an historical context the role of the library in working with the poor and more importantly the changing political and social climate that has made that much more difficult to accomplish. Buschman chronicles the early commitment of public libraries in the area of literacy, uplift and working with immigrant groups. He quite rightly also includes a review of the revisionist library literature that puts the traditional views of library service in a broader social context. He concludes, however, that no matter how much the library at the turn of the century might have considered itself a venue for the poor and downtrodden the shifting towards an era where economics are the new polity there is a new public policy that has radically changed how libraries view themselves and their patrons. The need for revenue generation and the vision of library as an economic entity have lead to a new reality of more fee based service, increased fines and other ways to make the library pay for itself. This has consequently lead to an even great disparity in access to and use of library services between the affluent and the poor. Buschman’s challenge to have the library serve all is a fitting opening to the rest of the book which documents various library services which meet that challenge.

The first article provides the context for the book and it does that admirably. The article is “History and Theory of Information Poverty” by John Buschman. Buschman does an excellent job of putting into an historical context the role of the library in working with the poor and more importantly the changing political and social climate that has made that much more difficult to accomplish. Buschman chronicles the early commitment of public libraries in the area of literacy, uplift and working with immigrant groups. He quite rightly also includes a review of the revisionist library literature that puts the traditional views of library service in a broader social context. He concludes, however, that no matter how much the library at the turn of the century might have considered itself a venue for the poor and downtrodden the shifting towards an era where economics are the new polity there is a new public policy that has radically changed how libraries view themselves and their patrons. The need for revenue generation and the vision of library as an economic entity have lead to a new reality of more fee based service, increased fines and other ways to make the library pay for itself. This has consequently lead to an even great disparity in access to and use of library services between the affluent and the poor. Buschman’s challenge to have the library serve all is a fitting opening to the rest of the book which documents various library services which meet that challenge. All of the library programs described in the book provide good information about the impetus, development, funding, relevance, and in many cases results of innovative programming to serve economically disadvantaged areas and for the most part groups that were not already library users. These programs all acknowledge the problems that exist in beginning service to a new area and groups of users, they also focus on problems specific to introducing library services to individuals and groups who may not have used libraries in the past or in some cases had negative experiences with libraries or other governmental agencies.

The article by Denis Creighton and Carl Egner “Libraries in the Streets” was particular interesting in that the program described was not originated in a library or by librarians. The Street Library program was started by a group called the Fourth World Movement. Volunteers from this group take books and reading to children where they live and begin to develop reading skills and a love of books. The leaders also discovered...
real barriers to these children to use library services; these barriers included fines, other fees and a distinct unease in the library setting. After recognizing these barriers the Street Library volunteers began working with the local public library to find ways to bring these children into the traditional library setting and worked to overcome the children's concerns. This was a wonderful story of a library working with an outside agency to benefit the children in a severely economically disadvantaged section of New York City.

The chapter by Kathleen de la Pena McCook and Kate Lippincott, "Library Services to Farm Workers in Central Florida" presented another type of project. This project came into being because of the commitment of the Director and faculty of the South Florida School of Library and Information Science. They perceived the need for increased library service to the migrant worker population in Central Florida and worked to analyze that populations needs and then engage library consortia, and other groups including the Florida Library Association in a plan to begin to meet those needs. This project was an amazing illustration of what exciting work librarians engaged in library education are capable of generating.

Other articles deal with the establishment of library centers in large public housing developments, technology in libraries that serve the poor and services to children. I found the book interesting and full of timely suggestions for working with the poor. Unfortunately all the projects reported on were aimed at public libraries and the work they were doing. This underscores the need for academic and special libraries to see what role they may be able to play in the provision of library service to the poor. I would recommend the book to all public libraries to inspire and challenge them to see how their institution measures up in service to this often under-served and silent part of their community.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Jennifer Cram is widely published and a frequent speaker at national and international conferences on topics which include the image of librarians and libraries, performance measurement and library service delivery and management, including the application of indigenous management and communication principles to mainstream library management. She was National President of the Australian Library and Information Association in 1993, was awarded a Minister for Education Leadership Award, and the Queensland Special Librarian of the Year Award in 1996, and is currently Manager, Library Services for Education Queensland.

Charles D'Adamo is an indexer for the Alternative Press Index at the Alternative Press Center in Baltimore, Maryland.

Elaine Harger is librarian at the W. Haywood Burns School, PS/IS 176 in New York City, and the managing editor of Progressive Librarian.

Mark Hudson is a library school student at the University of Pittsburgh.

Steve Labash is the Head of Reference at the University of Baltimore’s Langsdale Library and has been a member of PLG since its inception.

Rory Litwin is a reference librarian in the Santa Clara County Library in California. He is editor and publisher of Library Juice, webmaster for PLG and book review editor for Progressive Librarian.

Linda Pierce is a Reference Services Librarian at Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington. She has been active in the American Library Association and Social Responsibilities Round Table for many years. Linda is the co-author of the book Information Ethics for Librarians published by McFarland.

Ann Sparanese is Head of Adult & Young Adult Services at the Englewood Public Library, where she has worked for the past 10 years. She has been involved with Cuba solidarity work for more than 25 years. Currently, she is chair of the John Sessions Memorial Committee of ALA, member of the Social Responsibilities Round Table-ALA Action Council, and of the AFL-CIO/ALA Joint Committee on Library Service to Labor Groups.
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The Progressive Librarians Guild was established in 1990 to:

- Provide a forum for an open exchange of radical views on library issues.
- Conduct campaigns to support progressive and democratic library activities locally, nationally and internationally.
- Defend activist librarians as they work to effect change in their own libraries and communities.
- Bridge artificial and destructive gaps within our profession between school, public, academic and special libraries.
- Encourage debate about prevailing management strategies adopted directly from the business world, and propose democratic forms of library administration.
- Consider the impact of technological change in the library workplace and on the provision of library service.
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