In its seventieth year, the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) took a radical decision to establish the Committee on Free Access to Information and Freedom of Expression (FAIFE). That 1997 vote by the IFLA Council not only acknowledged the centrality of intellectual freedom to the library and information profession but also committed the Federation to play a role in promoting and defending human rights in relation to information access. The simultaneous establishment of the Committee on Copyright and Other Legal Matters (CLM) confirmed that the members wanted the Federation to adopt a broader conception of professionalism than it had in the past. They wanted IFLA to become more concerned with wider ethical dimensions and to engage to a greater extent with the societal context in which librarianship is practiced.

The decision marked a new departure for IFLA. Although human rights had been raised at various times previously, there had been neither concerted recognition of their relevance to the Federation’s programs nor any attempt to address systematically the implications they might hold for library and information practice. It was an initiative of similar consequence to the British Medical Association’s momentous decision to oppose the promotion of tobacco (Duncan 1986) in that it challenged the previously accepted boundaries of the profession. An essentially technical conception of professionalism was extended to an understanding based on broader principles, raising difficult political questions in the process.
To the time of that decision, IFLA’s agenda had been oriented to an accepted understanding of professional practice and to the related technical issues. Its various programs had focussed on the promotion and improvement of professional methods in order to advance the position of libraries and to extend their services to the peoples of the world. Even the adoption of statements of principle had not extended the Federation’s agenda beyond this tight, professionally defined sphere. The *IFLA/Unesco Public Library Manifesto* (IFLA and UNESCO 1994 [1949]), for example, which was first promulgated in 1949, had acknowledged that all peoples have a fundamental right of access to information but the *Guidelines* (IFLA Section of Public Libraries and Gill 2001) had promoted an instrumental approach to fulfilling the *Manifesto’s* aims. Pursuing that pragmatic approach, the *Manifesto* has had and continues to have considerable influence on the establishment and improvement of public library services across the world. IFLA’s core programs, especially Universal Availability of Publications (UAP) and Advancement of Librarianship Program (ALP), sought to promote the development of effective public libraries, among other aims.

The Federation’s agenda was still essentially technical and focused internally on the profession, rather than socially aware, ethically motivated and externally focused. In particular, IFLA had no program which sought to address the many political and ideological obstacles to achieving the ideals expressed in its manifestos and in human rights declarations.

Before the mid-nineties, expressions of concern about human rights were raised mostly in response to specific events and then only by a few members. Despite urging from elements within the Federation, especially the French library associations, there was no widespread perception that IFLA could have an active role to play in regard to human rights. In that respect it behaved similarly to other international professional associations. It focussed on those issues which would advance the profession’s status, improve standards of practice and promote international cooperation – essentially the goals held since its establishment.
Although many of its programs were certainly intended to advance the cause of human equality, particularly in access to information, the means envisaged for achieving the goals were technical, based around improvements in method. At a number of times of international confrontation and conflict the then IFLA President noted both the vital importance of human rights and the commitment of the Federation’s members to their advancement. However there was no sign of any action which might have confirmed a resolve to counter repression or uphold human rights as might have been expected of a more socially aware organisation.

The new phase for IFLA commenced in 1995. Sparked by a resolution at its biennial Council meeting in Istanbul in that year, IFLA began to explore the ways through which it might further freedom of access to information and freedom of expression in regard to libraries and librarians. The work of the initial ad hoc committee led to the establishment of the Committee on Freedom of Access to Information and Freedom of Expression by resolution of the Council meeting in Copenhagen in 1997. The endorsement for the initiative and the growing enthusiasm for its subsequent development clearly indicate that views within IFLA in the mid 1990s were different to those of earlier times.

Thus the decision to commence the IFLA/FAIFE project began a most significant new phase for the Federation. Although the initial investigation which led to the project’s establishment set the scene, it seems remarkable that a critical mass of Council votes was available to support the project since there had been consultation but not widespread discussion before the proposal was put to the Council. The passage of the resolution demonstrated that enough members felt that issues identified by the ad hoc committee were sufficiently important for the Federation to make intellectual freedom a core focus.

The decision was taken during a period in which IFLA was strengthening its position as a peak international professional body. On 1 January 1999, it had 1,654 members drawn from 153 nations and membership had grown by 18% over
the previous four years (IFLA 1999a). This growth has continued since, possibly encouraged by the newfound resolve to address human rights and other major issues of principle. Its members are drawn from all types of library and information organisations and areas of library and information practice (IFLA 2001a). The three categories of membership are for associations, institutions and personal associates. The association members, and particularly those recognised as national association members, are the most influential but the numerous institution members and, especially, their nominated representatives do much of the work of IFLA through individual membership of the standing committees of sections and sponsorship of projects. The relatively few personal associates contribute their expertise but do not have voting rights and consequently have little influence as a group although some are individually influential because of their past roles in IFLA. IFLA, then, is essentially a federation of national and specialised associations of libraries and librarians joined with major libraries and related institutions.

As a federation of professional associations, organisations offering professional services and, to a lesser extent, professional practitioners within the field of librarianship, the key issue for IFLA since its establishment has been professionalism. In common with other fields of professional practice, one of the most important motivations for the establishment of professional library associations, starting with the Library Association of the United Kingdom and the American Library Association, was to advance the profession. The subsequent moves to start an international body, which ultimately became IFLA, had a similar motive coupled with a desire to promote international cooperation.

As a federation, IFLA and similar organisations must also ensure that they maintain cohesion. Divisiveness which might cause schism or secession must be

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1 By April 2001, it had 1748 members (Shimmon 2001) from 154 nations (Moore, K 2001).

2 Now the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (CILIP) which it created by joining with ASLIB.
avoided to preserve the strength of numbers and the breadth of international membership. In consequence, they tend to avoid promoting specific agendas of single nations or groups of nations which might be divisive while simultaneously trying not to be held back by those who are unable or unwilling to develop at the generally desired pace. Some matters can become contentious because of the diversity of the membership which reflects differing cultures, political systems and information infrastructures. The experience of IFLA during the Cold War illustrates a period in which many topics were ‘off limits’. The more recent contretemps in regard to the 2000 Conference held in Jerusalem risked cleavage when representatives from Arab and Islamic nations and those sympathetic to them or to the issues of Palestinian dispossession might have left IFLA. The Federation must operate within these juridictional boundaries.

When considered as international organisations, IFLA and cognate federations can be compared with the plethora of other international organisations which extend from peak bodies for associations of people with shared interests (eg World Chess Federation) to advocacy groups (eg Amnesty International), certifying bodies (eg National Association of Underwater Instructors), international agencies (eg Food and Agriculture Organisation) and treaty based intergovernmental organisations (eg International Court of Justice).

Such organisations have proliferated since the mid-nineteenth century and, especially, during the twentieth century. Their multiplicity and growth has paralleled the growth in internationalism and, to a degree, contributed to it (Chatfield 1997). In particular, the enormous expansion in the number of international treaties, agreements and other legal instruments has stimulated the establishment of many intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) and non governmental organisations (NGOs) but has conversely been stimulated by the
activities of the growing number of international bodies.\textsuperscript{3} This has legitimated international action by non governmental organisations and increased recognition that they have a role to play in international deliberations. It has enabled them to have considerable international and local influence but, at the same time, demanded that they build and maintain their credibility and their focus.

Thus, the key aspects of IFLA when seen as an organisation are that it is \textit{professionally oriented, international}, and a \textit{federation}. This is in keeping with its history and aspirations. From its outset, IFLA has worked to establish librarianship as an internationally recognised profession, seeking to enhance its status throughout the world and especially in the eyes of governments and relevant international organisations such as UNESCO. The constraints imposed by professionalism, internationalism and a federated nature are integral to its operations.

\textbf{Research aims and significance of study}

In this context, the boldness of the IFLA/FAIFE initiative poses a series of interesting questions. What had changed that enabled the members of an international professional association to determine that it had become important to engage with human rights issues? Did they understand that their decision would have far reaching implications for the nature of the Federation, that it was moving towards becoming an activist non-governmental organisation? Would its development expose tensions between the Federation’s continuing role as a traditional professional body and its newly adopted role as an activist non-governmental organisation? Could an international professional association - with

\textsuperscript{3} For example, the establishment of Amnesty International, while sparked by personal outrage, responded to the opportunities to address human rights offered by such international instruments as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; in turn, the work of Amnesty has focused greater attention on human rights, leading both to more pressure on nations to accede to the international instruments and also to the enactment of further instruments.
a valued history of relations with national professional bodies, governments and international governmental organisations – pursue contentious matters effectively without damaging its standing and relationships?

The crux of the research question hinges on the adoption of a concern with human rights and its insertion into the programs of an international professional association. This starkly juxtaposes the long considered issues of professional practice and status with the broader challenges of focussing those professional interests on the achievement of human dignity and justice. Analysis of these matters demands a consideration of contextual issues including the role and significance of libraries, the history and operation of IFLA, and the significance of intellectual freedom (and especially, of course, the right of access to information). Since human rights are of global concern and the scope of IFLA is likewise global, these broad questions need to be considered in a global environment.

The study has three aims. They encompass the particularities of IFLA’s experience and broader issues relating to professionalism and international organisations.

The first aim is to conduct an empirical and analytical examination of a major and unprecedented policy initiative in a significant and long established international professional organisation, the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions. In doing this it is necessary to describe in some depth the origin and early development of the IFLA/FAIFE project and to examine the extent to which the initiative was successful over the first five years and some of the implications of the experience for the project itself and for IFLA more generally.

Secondly, the exploration of IFLA’s experience with the IFLA/FAIFE project exposes some of the constraints and challenges for an international association. The study places that experience within the context of a variety of international
organisations and considers how the Federation’s nature is changing by reason of the project’s progress.

Thirdly, the study examines scope of the limits of professionalism, especially in regard to librarianship. It considers the growth of the professions and the ways in which they define themselves. Bounds are imposed through those defining characteristics, bounds which create spaces in which professionals can operate with considerable autonomy but which also mark zones into which professionals may not venture. Consideration of the IFLA/FAIFE project illuminates some of the barriers and dilemmas faced by professionals in extending their professional boundaries and the implications for the profession.

The societal catalysts for the interactions studied are twofold: the growing concern to incorporate ethical perspectives and responsibilities in professional practice and widespread demands across most societies and communities to protect human rights in general. Both the interrelationship of these two elements and their adoption or rejection help to define the bounds explored in the study, those for IFLA, for professionalism and for international associations. Increasing global recognition of human rights over the last half century has created a context in which concerns for those rights play a significant role in international relations and consequently they pose important questions for international organisations. Most, if not all, professional associations have simultaneously demonstrated an increasing emphasis on ethics, sometimes in response to community pressure, which has challenged the members’ understandings of professionalism with major implications for professional associations. Both considerations are reflected in the commencement, development and consequences of the IFLA/FAIFE project.

Professional bodies have a responsibility to advance the status, reputation and modes of the professions with which they are concerned. In doing so they define their field in a specific way which identifies that which is acceptable and that which is unacceptable. This may lead the organisations and their members to
privilege aspects of practice. A significantly changed professional orientation, such as that resulting from the adoption of a concern with human rights issues, may lead to challenges to methods, criticism of members and possibly bring the profession into disrepute. There may be a contradiction between the understanding of ‘good practice’ and the expectations engendered by statements of human rights. The shared values of the members of the profession may conflict with human rights values.

In an international context, these considerations are compounded by the diversity of languages, cultures, legal and administrative traditions and national interests. Tensions may exist between representatives from states with different histories and traditions. Their views may be conditioned by their characteristics as, for example, developed or developing, rich or poor, democratic or authoritarian, secular or religious, populous or small. Some may consider that certain professional practices and standards reflect the exercise of cultural hegemony by the more dominant nations. When human rights issues are introduced, albeit drawn from international instruments, they may be seen to be used to reinforce that hegemony.

In part, this study examines whether the IFLA/FAIFE project has developed and operated in a hegemonic mode, as an instrument for the global adoption of Anglo-American and Northern European views of the effect of human rights considerations on librarianship. More broadly, it considers whether the project, in its development and early phases, has proved effective and seeks to indicate future directions for IFLA to take and thereby to assist in furthering the work of the Committee in addressing issues of intellectual freedom of relevance to libraries. The broad objective of the study is to examine through the IFLA experience the question of whether an international professional body can be active and encourage members of its profession to be active in regard to human rights without abandoning its role as a professional body.
The particular role and standing of libraries in society adds to the significance of this work because of their importance to culture, education and development. However, the study’s significance extends beyond the immediate context of librarianship and the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions. To reiterate the essential elements of the study: it examines the experience of a long established international professional association which decided in the mid 1990s to establish a core activity focussed on promoting a first generation human right, the right to information. All the elements of that last sentence are significant.

The right to information, expressed through Article 19 or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948), had been recognised for several decades as a central value for the discipline of librarianship but no special programs or activities had been introduced to promote it (although, of course, most of the activities did advance it in a practical sense through seeking to improve library practice, the availability of publications, etc). It is necessary to ask why this concern was identified and the subsequent initiative taken some seventy years after the establishment of IFLA and nearly fifty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration.

Since its inception, IFLA’s programs have centred around issues of practice, technical questions, standards and cooperation to achieve improvements together or in common. Although political questions and issues of broader principle have emerged at various times, the shared understanding of professionalism has been located in that sense of method and means. Again, one might ask why the understanding of professionalism broadened at this time. Not only did the understanding extend but the IFLA Council established a new core activity by creating a high level committee outside the usual structures of standing committees and coordination boards, signalling the importance it gave to this new area of emphasis.
However, it is not only a question of timing. That aspect may be determined by seeking to understand what had changed that enabled the members of IFLA to decide that it had become important to engage with human rights issues. Returning to the other questions posed above is also important. It examines the continuing relevance of the accepted characteristics of IFLA as an organisation that it is professionally oriented, international, and a federation. The development of the initiative might have uncovered a contradiction between the continuation of that role as a professional body and the Federation’s newly adopted role as a putative transnational social movement organisation. The changed emphasis and its implications for IFLA’s members presents a study of a changing professional habitus and tests whether the desirable characteristics of a bureaucratic habitus can be preserved through such a change. The sober, measured demeanour of an international professional association which has long valued its status and its relationships with other professional bodies, governments and international governmental organisations has reflected that bureaucratic habitus. The more demonstrative and, at least superficially, less rigorous cast of social movement organisations, especially those of an activist nature, would not seem to sit well with that orientation. In consequence, the tensions arising from the changing emphasis might be expected to test the stability of the organisation and hence its resolve to continue to preserve the new emphasis. This may be illustrative of similar imperatives for change, engendering similar tensions, in other international or professional organisations (perhaps including those moving in the reverse direction, from activist to more authoritative in style).

In addition, aspects of the growing influence in international relations of non governmental organisations (NGOs) can be explored through IFLA’s decision to engage more strongly and visibly with the human rights which are relevant to its field. Although IFLA has long had consultative status with UNESCO (United Nations 1991), active intervention in summits and negotiations has been a recent priority, which has been given greater emphasis since the establishment of FAIFE. The increasing demands by NGOs to be able to influence the outcomes of
international summits and negotiations are challenging the previously dominant actors, the governments and intergovernmental organisations (Smith et al. 1997). The evident reluctance of the former players to cede power is being exposed. NGOs, individually or in coalition, seek to participate in and influence summits and negotiations but this is resisted by many representatives of governments and international intergovernmental organisations (IGOs). The IFLA/FAIFE experience therefore is one strand of a much larger pattern in international relations.

In summary, the study is significant firstly in that it investigates the novel decision by the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions to actively promote and defend the right to information. This is inherently interesting for those interested in the development of libraries and information services, the profession of librarianship and its associations. However, it has broader significance in the understandings it can offer of the politics of professionalism and professional associations and of international non-governmental organisations. In addition, the research contributes to some dimensions of the literature on the emerging politics of human rights in international relations.

**Research design and methodological issues**

My role in IFLA provided a unique opportunity to study the topic. I had been a member of the preparatory investigation which led to the adoption of the initiative and had then been invited to drive its establishment as the inaugural chair of the Committee on Freedom of Access to Information and Freedom of Expression. This central role provided an opportunity to study the project from within as both actor and researcher, with all the methodological challenges that would entail.

To a considerable extent, the research could be considered as to constitute a mechanism offering feedback which could inform future phases of the project. It
has enabled me as researcher to adopt a form of reflective practice in my intertwined roles as professional librarian, IFLA officer, intellectual freedom activist and researcher.

As a professional librarian responsible for a university library, I seek to follow the professional literature which is relevant to my practice and engage with the professional problems of the day. In recent years, they have included issues which have a bearing on the IFLA/FAIFE project including many questions relating to intellectual property, the consequences of commodification of scholarly information, and the application of Internet censorship legislation. The simultaneous challenges of practice informed this research. Conversely, the study encouraged reflection in my role as practitioner because the insights gained through the research informed my practice. It challenged me to consider library policies in terms of both the research questions and also the issues with which IFLA/FAIFE was dealing. My geographic location and my understanding of the context and issues of my country have led to the inclusion in this work of many examples drawn from Australia together with examples taken from other states which have arisen during the course of the research.

As Chair of the FAIFE Committee since the beginning of the project, I interact with the members of the Committee, staff in the FAIFE Office in Copenhagen, IFLA headquarters staff in The Hague, and those concerned with relevant issues throughout the world. My role has included leadership in the development and application of policy and procedures, articulation of and advocacy for the relevant principles, and actions in response to incidents. This has given me full access to both documents and individuals related to the project which was supplemented by

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4 Responsible for a university library in Australia initially at the Northern Territory University in Darwin and subsequently, from March 2000, at the University of Technology, Sydney.
6 As IFLA/FAIFE Chair, member of Amnesty International, and writer on related issues.
extensive research through the records of the Federation including, in particular, the Council and conference records\(^7\). It has enabled the study of records of membership, Conference and Council participants and the topics which have featured in Conference programs. Together, these data indicate the changing composition, organisation and concerns of the Federation.

Adopting the role of participant observer, I have monitored and recorded my activities as participant and those of other participants in addition to my observations as researcher. The action research methodology permits this dual role to be maintained in a rigorous and objective fashion. That methodology, although omitted from many standard works on research methodology (Kumar 1996), has a long history of application in the social sciences (Reason 1988; Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991) and, particularly, in education (McTaggart 1991; Kemmis and McTaggart 1988). The four defining characteristics of action research are that it is involved with practical issues, aims at contributing to changing matters in the course of the research, encourages the participation of those affected by the research as collaborators in the research, and embodies a cycle of research, application and evaluation (Denscombe 1998, pp. 57-67). Presenting obvious challenges to objectivity, the action research approach has nonetheless become well established as a method for social inquiry.

One of the main traditions in action research stemmed from the observations of Sol Tax and the Chicago Group of Anthropologists of “the probability that the value systems of two peoples in contact are very different” (Tax 1975). It is therefore sensitive to difference and offers an approach which can encompass the diversity inherent in the broad canvas which must be covered when considering a topic with a global remit and global implications. In the case of this research, the action research approach facilitates considerations of the implications of inserting

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\(^7\) I sought and received support for the work from those occupying the positions of Secretary-General (Mr Leo Voogt and Mr Ross Shimmon) and President (Mme Christine Deschamps) during the period of the research.

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a new moral purpose into a professional body which displays high levels of rationality.

Rigour in method and honest appraisal are essential because the very nature of the approach denies repeatability. The defining characteristics offer a touchstone because of their emphases on practicality, ongoing change, participation and continuous improvement. Use of published records together with personal communications and research observations grounds the research, ensuring that the analysis is well founded.

**Structure of the thesis**

Situating the research contextually offers a landscape of reference points from which the coherence and plausibility of the findings can be established. Library history, for example, demonstrates the emergence of successive library paradigms – the IFLA/FAIFE project appropriately extends some aspects of that progression. IFLA’s development indicates the strength of the ideals of many of the actors over the decades, ideals which were voiced, particularly at difficult times. Those ideals flowered with the promulgation of the *Public Library Manifesto* and succeeding statements and eventually in the strong endorsement of the IFLA/FAIFE project by the IFLA Council and membership. Until the moment of that endorsement, however, a narrower understanding of professionalism had characterised IFLA’s activities and priorities. Initiation of the IFLA/FAIFE project indicated a significant change in emphasis. Because of the nature of IFLA as an international professional association, the topography against which the development, implementation and consequences of the project must be considered includes the changing face of professionalism and professional associations and the evolution of internationalism and international organisations. Growing global acceptance of human rights and, specifically, the right to information underpins the project’s formation and development.
Because the issues are central to the work of IFLA/FAIFE, it is necessary to consider the impediments to advancing the right to information, their sources and the ways in which they might be addressed. This demands a review of the reasons for the imposition of censorship or other controls, moral regulation and intellectual repression. Their practical effects on libraries and their services have been shown through the issues which have arisen during the early years of the IFLA/FAIFE project and in the responses to them.

The development of libraries is explored briefly in Chapter 2 because their particular agency contributes to the import of the IFLA/FAIFE project and hence the significance of this study. Their role in identity formation and the transmission of culture establishes libraries as major societal institutions. Popularly regarded as important expressions of civil society which support education and culture, libraries are generally considered to be safe and reliable if unadventurous. Their staff members, including the professional librarians, are viewed as competent but not exciting: compared to their fellow information professionals in the mass media, they are considered to be more trustworthy but less likely to face danger in pursuing their professional goals and therefore less heroic. The nature and importance of libraries extends well beyond such popular stereotypes. Libraries help build social capital which has been recognised to be crucial to the effective operation of democracy (Putnam 2000; Putnam et al. 1993). Their roles have diversified and metamorphosed over the centuries through various models from the treasure house of books and archives to the interconnected high technology libraries and information services of today. The exploration highlights the development of the major paradigms for library and information service. While they oversimplify many of the complexities of library history, the paradigms trace the evolving political economy of libraries and information services and their dialectic with the societies in which they operate. For an institutionally based profession, the discussion of the paradigms also explicates the successive models of professional practice in librarianship. This
exposes the changing nature of the profession and highlights the continuities in librarians’ strongly internalised commitments to preservation of the record, service to clients and disinterest. These have conditioned the development of IFLA and set the scene for the IFLA/FAIFE project.

IFLA’s history is summarised in Chapter 3 with particular reference to issues related to intellectual freedom since its establishment in 1927. For the library and information service sector, IFLA provides an international forum in which expertise can be shared, standards developed and relationships nurtured. In common with other international associations, it seeks to identify and pursue agendas which will advance the standards of practice, the standing of the profession and the interests of clients. As the peak international professional body for libraries, librarians and their associations, IFLA has long enjoyed consultative status with UNESCO. It has traditionally sought to collaborate with cognate organisations such as the International Federation for Documentation (FID)\(^8\) and the International Council on Archives (ICA)\(^9\). It is therefore an international professional association and a significant international non governmental organisation with the opportunity to access international forums such as the summits organised by United Nations agencies.

Chapter 4 identifies early references to human rights. Declarations of their importance, especially during times of international tension, indicate the idealistic nature of the leadership of IFLA and, presumably, the members they were addressing. However, despite formal requests, no action was taken to establish a means of addressing human rights issues was taken until 1995. In that year, the

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\(^8\) FID was established in 1895 with the creation of the Institut International de Bibliographie through the initiative of Henri La Fontaine and Paul Otlet (Rayward 1975). Its programs were devoted to improvement in the methods of describing and locating knowledge (Arntz 1974). FID ceased operation in 2001 because of financial incapacity and dwindling membership (International Federation for Information and Documentation 2002).

\(^9\) ICA was created at a 1948 meeting of archives experts. Its program focuses on international cooperation in archives practice and the promotion of the preservation of archival heritage (Kecskemeti 1974).
adoption of intellectual freedom as a cause began with the establishment of the initial ad hoc committee which was established to explore the ways through which IFLA might further freedom of access to information and freedom of expression in regard to libraries and librarians. Its report recommended the creation of a permanent committee.

The establishment of that body, the Committee on Free Access to Information and Freedom of Expression (FAIFE), the opening of the FAIFE Office in Copenhagen and the subsequent development of the program are discussed in Chapter 5. It describes the development of the program which included responding to incidents and publication of the first *IFLA/FAIFE World Report: libraries and intellectual freedom* (Byrne *et al.* 2001). Of crucial importance was the promulgation of landmark statements relating to libraries and intellectual freedom, culminating in the *Glasgow Declaration* (IFLA 2002b) and *IFLA Internet Manifesto* (IFLA 2002d), proclamation of which ended the first five year phase.

In Chapter 6, specific experiences during the first phase are examined. The handling of “incidents” was identified by the ad hoc committee as an important area for action. Consequently, an examination of the project’s experience in identifying and addressing incidents over the first half decade tests an important aspect of its capacity to respond to the initial expectations. The incidents include the case of the independent libraries in Cuba which became a long running issue because of the persistent pressure from an activist, Robert Kent of “The Friends of Cuban Libraries” and the partisan sensitivity of some United States librarians to the Cuban questions. The tension between libertarian and authoritarian attitudes to freedom of access to information was demonstrated through another continuing issue: the desirability of censoring the Internet, especially in relation to pornography. An incident in South Africa highlighted the changing relationship

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10 As is explained in Chapter 6, the term ‘incident’ has been adopted in this study because it was used in the CAIFE report and in early formulations of the IFLA/FAIFE project and because it is relatively neutral.
between IFLA and its national association members. Other incidents demonstrated the seriousness of the enterprise IFLA had commenced with the establishment of FAIFE and its ill-preparedness to undertake the enterprise. Nevertheless, some promising indications of success emerged from the achievements of the first phase.

The experience of that phase also exposed some challenges for the project which emerge from the agency exercised by libraries in regard to civil society. This agency promotes a role in supporting intellectual freedom, a role for libraries which has only been recognised recently by most librarians, let alone the wider communities in which they operate. Recognition of the right to free expression for all, including those who may be vehemently opposed to free expression, presents libraries and information services with dilemmas, some of which are explored in Chapter 7. They include the potential contradiction between a commitment to open access to information, and hence freedom of expression, and respect for the limits imposed by censorship regulations or determinations. For librarians, there can also be a conflict between the precepts of intellectual freedom and their professional disposition to satisfy clients and possibly also their own moral values. Censorship may make them uncomfortable but they are unlikely to oppose its application publicly unless strongly supported.

An international federation of professional associations and organisations, such as IFLA, is simultaneously both freed from some constraints through taking an international perspective and hampered by the need to work through its constituent bodies. It shares these aspects with other international organisations such as the International Publishers’ Association, International Federation of Journalists and the World Council of Churches. As discussed in Chapter 8, such organisations can offer the practitioners involved in their deliberations and activities some distance from day to day concerns. This distance can allow a more radical or progressive thrust, encouraging the member organisations to address issues of more abstract principle than the current concerns of professional
practice, as has been attempted through the IFLA/FAIFE project. International
organisations can provide leadership in the adoption of standards of professional
practice, including ethical standards. Global membership demands an
international focus which fosters internationalism, an orientation towards dialogue
with those from other countries despite linguistic, political or other differences
and a concern to address the interests of the needy. In these ways, international
organisations can be a source of change in professional practice and professional
concerns.

The truly international association, such as IFLA, is a particular type of
organisation which faces specific constraints. Its capacity to foster international
dialogue and the development of its field is based on a shared sense of purpose
which demands a degree of consensus and can be threatened by disharmony. The
need for harmony and unity of purpose can prevent such bodies from taking
effective action on matters which lie outside areas of consensus. The
IFLA/FAIFE project took IFLA outside its previous areas of professional concern
and thus threatened its cohesion.

Professional associations exhibit a similar tension between their responsibilities to
safeguard the nature of the particular profession and their aspirations to respond to
changing environments and to extend the profession into new fields. They
function as instruments for the reproduction, in Bourdieu’s sense of the term
(Harker et al. 1990), of the professions with which they are concerned in a context
of contested and competitive jurisdiction (Abbott 1988). Chapter 9 explores the
nature of professionalism and its relevance to libraries and librarians and to this
particular study. In advancing codes of ethics and statements of principle,
professional associations place high expectations on both practitioners and the
institutions in which they work. If those statements and codes are to be integrated
into practice, then the professional bodies need to be able to demonstrate how they
can actually be applied. They need to show leadership and to support their
members in applying the principles. In a continuing process, an emerging

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professional habitus is both conditioned by and conditions change in the professional association.

Consideration of the IFLA/FAIFE project illuminates the potential contradictions for international professional associations between their responsibility to address immediate professional concerns and any desire to advance principles such as those embodied in human rights instruments. This question and the other research questions are discussed in the final chapter, Chapter 10. It returns to the aims of the study. It summarises the key findings of the empirical and analytical examination of the IFLA/FAIFE project and considers the extent to which the initiative was successful over the first five years in its own terms and as an exercise in organisational change. It discusses some of the implications of the experience with the project for the project itself and for IFLA as an organisation. This highlights some issues of organisational and professional politics including the question of professional boundaries and the ways in which they have been tested by the project. It also exposes some of the constraints and challenges, including political issues, for IFLA as an international professional association and draws some parallels with other international organisations. Moving beyond the evaluation of the project itself found in the preceding chapters, this chapter presents some of the broader conclusions which may be drawn from the investigation of the IFLA/FAIFE project.
Libraries constitute enduring institutions of civil society. The global network of libraries and information services provides the means to access the richness of human experience and imagination. It offers a vital means of exercising the right to know and contributes to the creation and effective operation of civil society. Without such an information infrastructure, the much heralded and discussed post-industrial ‘information society’ could not develop and operate (Bell 1973; Machlup 1980; Masuda 1981; (Lancaster 1984). IFLA is the peak body for those services, the people who work in them and their associations. The history of IFLA has been conditioned by evolving and contested understandings of the nature and role of the services and changes in the environment in which they operate. A grasp of the development of libraries and information services is therefore important to understanding the place taken by IFLA and the significance and effects of the FAIFE initiative. This chapter explores that progressive development with a particular emphasis on the changing paradigms of library and information service and their implications. It also identifies some of the ways in which libraries may be inhibited from providing unrestricted access to information. The frequency and ubiquity of such restrictions provided the primary instigation for the establishment IFLA/FAIFE initiative.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw momentous changes in libraries reflecting the rapid growth in scientific and technological knowledge and the consequent societal change in Europe and North America (Fleck 1958). Industrialisation had required the growing concentration of workers in towns and
cities. Gas lighting, followed by arc lighting and then electric lighting had made it possible for conurbations to operate through the night. Not only could people walk the streets, go to work, visit music halls but they could also read in comfort at home or in subscription libraries, the libraries established by religious or charitable bodies or Mechanics Institutes. The bright carbide light had replaced Thoreau’s candle. Advances in printing technology realised the promise of Gutenberg’s innovation which had “released people from the domination of the immediate and the local”. (Mumford 1963 [1934], p. 136). That technology had redefined learning as book learning with its attendant standardisation and implication that existence must be confirmed through recording in print.

In Australia, the need for mass education began to be realised from the 1870s with the pioneering Education Acts, which identified education as social good, but few schools established adequate libraries until nearly a century later in the 1960s (Browne 1963). The ancient universities were joined by the provincial universities of Britain and their counterparts in other nations. The new model was explored in Newman’s influential addresses on The idea of a university (Newman 1947 [1873]) with its emphasis on liberal education nourished by wide reading. Following the earlier example of Göttingen, the university library was transformed from a “treasure-house to the intellectual heart of the university” (Lerner 1999, p. 125).

Extending beyond the universities and schools, a thirst for education was evident. An emphasis on reading for self-improvement was demonstrated through heavy

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11 Mechanics’ Institutes, also known as Schools of Arts, were established to improve the education of working men and instruct them in their trades. The first was organised in London by George Birbeck in 1824. In Australia, as in other British colonies, the first were established in the 1820s and 1830s. Besides lectures, they provided libraries which provided public library services in suburban and rural locations until the Library Acts of 1939-1951 (Biskup and Goodman 1995 [1994]; Australian Encyclopaedia 1963b; Australian Encyclopaedia 1963a).

12 Redbrick universities, land grant universities, colonial universities in Australasia and elsewhere (Australian Encyclopaedia 1963c). The process continued through the twentieth century as universities were created in former colonies and in response to the ever increasing demand for a professional class of technologists, administrators and other specialists.
use of the subscription based circulating libraries. The library became an instrument to provide access to the knowledge required by its clients and in ways appropriate to them, beginning to shift the emphasis from repository to gateway to knowledge. In a process of democratisation, the library was expected to enable “a poor student to have the same means of indulging his learned curiosity, of following his rational pursuits, of consulting the same authorities, of fathoming the most intricate inquiry as the richest man in the kingdom, as far as books go” (Panizzi 1836).

The creation of the modern library

Thus, starting in Britain, libraries for the first time became recognised as necessary to the progress of society. National libraries began to play a more active part in the scientific and cultural life of their countries while continuing their primary purpose of creating collections of the nation’s recorded heritage. But this was not sufficient; the existing learned libraries could not satisfy the ever-growing need for knowledge and information. A new type of library came into being, the public library (IFLA 1963, pp. 1-2). Among early examples was the Boston Public Library, the first large free municipal library in the United States, founded in 1848 (Boston Public Library 1998). The UK Public Libraries Act of 1850 outlined the expectations for this new type of library which were put into place by the pioneering Manchester Public Library established in 1852 (Munford 1976, p. 11). They were to promote education, provide suitable recreational opportunities and foster moral improvement (Murison 1988). These aims extended their roles well beyond the basic access to collections offered by the libraries which had previously been open to the public, such as Denmark’s Suhm Library which was opened to the citizens of Copenhagen in 1775 (Thorhauge 2002, p. 4). Manchester’s lead was followed elsewhere although the widespread development of public libraries in most countries occurred predominantly in the
twentieth century (IFLA 1963, pp. 1-2). When it did eventuate, it was heavily influenced by the seminal Anglo-American models.

In Australia, for example, a widespread system of municipal public libraries was only slowly established even though the NSW Municipalities Act of 1867 provided for government grants of up to £200. Until the Munn-Pitt report (Munn and Pitt 1935), the public library system consisted essentially of central city libraries augmented by the deteriorating mechanics’ institutes and subscription libraries (Ellis 2001). As in other countries, the Carnegie Corporation was notably influential: it supported the Munn-Pitt investigation of library provision in Australia, provided grants to build library buildings - known as ‘Carnegie libraries’ - and assisted the creation of their initial collections (Anderson 1970). The new, rates supported, public libraries gradually replaced the subscription libraries to which men, and sometimes women, of comfortable means had belonged. Availability to all, irrespective of financial capacity, became a key goal of public library services.

The library as agency

The support for libraries reflected the value placed on their agency in society. Evolving conception of that agency can be expressed in terms of a number of paradigms as will be discussed below. However, there are a number of aspects to that agency which are manifested symbolically in addition to their instrumentality. Through their aegis over content, presentation and access, libraries exhibit symbolic power, the power “to constitute the given by stating it” (Bourdieu 1977, p. 117). This power is exercised in various ways, including especially their roles in identity formation and in contributing to a reflexive view of community.

Especially in universities, libraries have played an important part in the construction of institutional identity. Their buildings are generally centrally
located on university campuses and often striking in design. Images of the buildings are frequently used to symbolise the institution. Libraries in schools, research institutions, legal offices and other organisations can be used similarly but usually in more muted fashion. However, it is national libraries which most strikingly demonstrate the importance of the institution to identity formation. From contributing to revolutionary struggle to creating great collections of national heritage housed in symbolic buildings, such as the new Bibliothèque Nationale at site François Mitterrand in Paris (Blasselle 2001), national libraries are considered to both strengthen and represent the nation. Generally established by the state, national libraries are one of the major institutions, along with parliaments, courts and museums, which collectively signal the substance of a nation-state.

Because of their responsibility for the preservation of cultural and documentary heritage, and the concomitant consecration of that heritage through recording and communicating it, national libraries have a particularly important part to play in the construction of national and state identity. They transmit the narratives of identity which play such an important role in establishing the “storied site” of the state and offering metanarratives for popular culture as well as political and policy processes (Schram and Neisser 1997). This role has agency to provide documentary testimony to the history and legitimacy of the nation-state but it also has very important symbolic value as a visible representation of legitimacy. The latter aspect was celebrated in the appointment of Guillaume Budé as Master of the Royal Library by François I of France in 1519 in recognition of his argument that “a prince’s glory depends on his patronage of letters” (Hobson 1970, p. 126).

Despite their establishment and support by the state, national libraries tend rather to identify and be identified with the nation and its historical and linguistic traditions. Thus the national identity expressed through a national library may be

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13 Precursor to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The agency of libraries

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synonymous with the identity accepted and celebrated by the state. Or it might represent only one national identity in a plural state, generally the dominant or aspirational identity. Other national identities in a plural state may seek their expression through other libraries which better represent their traditions such the library in the region in which that nation may be dominant. In some countries, notably Canada/Canada and Aoteoroa/New Zealand, special efforts have been made by national libraries to express competing national identities. In this they form an element in the continuing process of identity formation in which identity is constructed and contingent, contested and polymorphic (Lapid and Kratochwil 1996, p. 8).

Within an explicitly ideological context, the Lenin Library\footnote{Now the Russian State Library, it was founded in 1862 as Moscow’s first free public library, the Rumiantsev Library, and became the Lenin Library after the October Revolution.} was charged “to promote Soviet society’s economic, socio-political and spiritual progress; to educate the working people in the spirit of the norms and principles of socialism; to promote the mutual enrichment of national cultures of the peoples of the USSR; to promote cultural relations with foreign countries through the organization of the public use of the books and other materials constituting its stock” (State Lenin Library of the USSR 1987). This is a markedly instrumental role, combining educative and cultural priorities, but also embodies a nation-building responsibility. The Library was expected to promote “socio-political and spiritual progress” not only by access to its resources but by its very existence.

While the creation of libraries of stature certainly has practical benefits in the support that they offer to education, research, government and community interests, its powerful symbolic value is perhaps more important. The foundation of national institutions like libraries and universities is integral to projects to assemble a nation out of exile as it has been for Jews and Palestinians in the twentieth century (Said 1984, p. 169). Together with such projects as constructing a national history or reviving an ancient language, the institutions offer a concrete
realisation of national identity. Offering a graphic illustration, a banner over the entrance to the national museum of Afghanistan proclaimed within days of the expulsion of the Taliban regime from Kabul: “A nation stays alive when its culture stays alive” (Steen 2001).

It is an all too common challenge faced by nations and states to re-establish culture, language and history after war, domination and destruction. The destruction of libraries in Laos, Cambodia (Sturges and Rosenberg 1999) and Kosovo (Frederiksen and Bakken 2000) symbolically destroyed national cultures. In Kosovo, it started with the harassment of library staff. In Cambodia, it was an element of ‘Year Zero’ marking the beginning of the age of creation of a new social order through the total transformation of society (Glover 2001, pp. 303-305). The reconstruction of libraries in those states conversely represents both a return to order and also the construction of a new state based on a conception of national identity. That conception will be designed to support the new regime’s aims and may draw selectively on the national heritage.

Subsumed in these formulations about the roles of libraries in the expression of national identity, is a tendency to accept without question nation-states and their boundaries and the bonds which unify them (Canovan 1996, pp. 16-26). Libraries, and especially national libraries and similar institutions, can give tangible expression to ‘constitutional patriotism’ (Canovan 2000). At the centenary of Australia’s federation, this agency was demonstrated by the Treasures from the World’s Great Libraries exhibition prepared by the National Library of Australia (National Library of Australia 2001; Dent 2002) and the Archives’ counterpart, Belonging - A Century Celebrated (National Archives of Australia et al. 2001). The agency feeds into projects to invent nations in a conceptual sense (Nairn 1981). Part of that invention might include a degree of referred cultural legitimacy which is acquired along with valuable cultural resources, as in the 25,000 clay tablets from Assyria collected by the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.
Conversely, the agency of libraries and information services can extend beyond issues of identity formation to challenge notions of isolationism. The ubiquity of the Internet means that despotic governments now find it very difficult to keep out unwelcome or seditious ideas and opinions (Kalathil and Boas 2003). It is just as hard to prevent access to independent information on such issues as health and economic performance. The Chinese government initially tried to suppress accurate statistics on the real rates of HIV infection but unofficial circulation led to the release of more reliable data (UNAIDS 2000). The impotence of contemporary authoritarian governments stands in contrast to the earlier capacity of Mao and Stalin to limit or distort news of the horrifying famines inflicted on their peoples (Becker 1998; Gregorovich 1974). If they could overcome the formidable obstacles to the provision of Internet access, libraries in even the poorest countries could enable their users to penetrate such authoritarian walls.

The view beyond the borders has always characterised libraries which must necessarily import publications and other resources. Over the last quarter century this global orientation has become more pervasive through the everyday use of international electronic information sources and the global consolidation of media and publishing interests (Castells 1996). Libraries and their clients depend on access to information products which are simultaneously global in scope and narrowed in provision. They form a telesphere: “… artificial spaces created by streams of data, audio and video … innumerable new regions action, developing their own agendas, interests and values beyond, behind and beneath the nation state” (Baudrillard 1983, p. 93). These spaces, freed from the constraints of time and distance, redefine territoriality (Virilio 2000).

However, free access to information which governments would restrict and its counterpart freedom of expression are more popularly associated with the mass media than with libraries. Indeed, journalists and their colleagues are more visible and more likely to suffer personally in pursuing their professional responsibilities
than librarians. They are often working in the frontline of conflict and disaster and are personally identifiable and thus able to be targeted for retribution. The dangers they face and the consequences have been amply documented through the work of Index on Censorship, Article 19, IFEX and many more specifically focussed media rights organisations. Journalists take justifiable pride in their powerful professional mythology of investigating matters of public moment without fear or favour. But the results of their work would be ephemeral if it was not for the archived records maintained in libraries. Libraries enable the public, and journalists themselves, to refer back to controversies, check facts, compare reports. Without librarians ‘keeping the record’, it would be impossible to retrieve histories, statistics and other information as well as ideas and opinions which may be unacceptable at particular times. Without libraries to provide access, it would be impossible to locate and apply that information.

The agency of libraries is evident in both of these modes. It is an agent for the construction of national identity through the identification, preservation and celebration of national documentary heritage. By providing access to information, libraries contribute to both the self-image of a community or society and its modes of operation. For instance, a community which conceptualises itself as open cannot tolerate restrictions on access to information, unless of course it is practising a form of ‘méconnaissance’, a misrecognition and reconstrual of social and cultural practices (Mahar et al. 1990, pp. 19-20).

Libraries, and public libraries in particular, support literacy and thus enable those who use them to maintain and extend their skills in reading and accessing information. Through presenting a range of information resources, libraries enable those who are interested to access differing perspectives on social, political and economic issues and to research the background to matters of interest. Libraries can contribute to a group habitus. Similarly to the use of newspapers 15,

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15 See, for example, (Hage 2002) on identity formation and maintenance among Arab migrants to Australia.
they contribute to “a person’s own knowledge and understandings of the world, which makes a separate contribution to the reality of that world” (Bourdieu 1986 [1979], p. 467). The dispositions which they support guide and limit the person’s choices. Thus, the agency of libraries extends to facilitating the social trajectories of individuals and communities through access to information and its role as an institution for education.

There is also considerable evidence that libraries may be considered as instruments for the reproduction of social class and the maintenance of the dominance of the literate and educated. Through privileging certain cultural capital, libraries reject other capital. The necessary procedure of selecting that which is to be collected and made available by a library is a way of distinguishing cultural capital. This is a demonstration of symbolic violence, “the power to impose … instruments of knowledge and expression of social reality ” (Bourdieu 1977, p. 115). By privileging the cultural capital favoured by the dominant class, as codified stereotypically in such guides as The western canon (Bloom 1994), libraries may thereby be an element in the sustaining of that class. Further, while operating as the ‘poor man’s university’ to facilitate trajectories to social benefit, the agency of libraries can form a social mechanism which, through an emphasis on canonical literatures, can constrain those outside the dominant class to mimic dominant modes of thought and behaviour. At an extreme, the sense of not belonging created in those who do not feel ownership of those literatures may inhibit them from using libraries at all - as it has for many Australian Aboriginal people among others (Byrne et al. 1994) - and thus using them to gain social benefit. From this perspective, even in a democratic context, libraries may be identified as instruments for the reproduction of social class and maintaining the dominance of the educated and powerful (Schiller 1996).
Library paradigms in succession

Continuities in library history from the earliest models of antiquity to the latest technologically advanced information services are evident and have been emphasised in many works. Gates’ *Introduction to Librarianship*, for example, asserted that the basic functions of the library have remained the same throughout history (Gates 1968, p. 94). However, the successive emphases in librarianship on accumulating information resources, organising and providing access to information resources, providing access to information, offering assistance and information literacy can be seen as a progression of Kuhnian paradigm shifts (Kuhn 1970). Despite Kuhn’s caution about applying his insights to other fields, the library models demonstrate the characteristics of a paradigm in the sense of an evolving disciplinary matrix of symbolic generalisations consisting of shared models, shared values and exemplars (*Ibid*, pp. 181-187). New models have been proposed, debated and traced through their adoption in the extensive professional literature of librarianship. Papers documenting experiences at individual libraries have provided exemplars which Kuhn describes as “problem-solutions used in learning about the discipline”. In the context of this study, it is especially the adoption of shared values, and their operation as determinants of group behaviour, generally first in American libraries and later elsewhere, which marks the successive emphases as paradigms.

Librarianship is an institutionally based profession which, in its modern forms, originated from the late nineteenth century proliferation of libraries in the United States. The history of the profession is intertwined with the development of libraries and technologies which have found applications in library and information service (Abbott 1988, p. 217-224). Hence the paradigms of library service reflect changes in the profession, its priorities and its image.

The shift from the book paradigm to the “new digital paradigm” (Berring 1993) can be identified as the latest in a succession of shifts through six dominant
paradigms: treasury, education, revolutionary, democracy, access and connected. Although these six, of course, oversimplify the complexities of library history, other possible models of library practice fail Kuhn’s test of symbolic generalisation because of their limited adoption and peripheral relevance to the broad pattern of library development. The paradigms developed in succession, the more recent to a degree supplanting the previous but all continuing to resonate in the operation of libraries, the practice of librarians and the expectations of the community. Their progression exposes the evolving political economy of libraries and information services and their relationship with the communities they serve. In both exploring and expressing the paradigms, the services have differentiated themselves more distinctly into the various types recognised in professional discourse. They include documentation centres as well as national, academic and research, school, public and special libraries. Some of the paradigms more precisely suit some types such as the national libraries’ expectation of national comprehensiveness which continues the emphasis on acquisition and accumulation of documentary heritage. However, the operations of most libraries, if not all, have been modified by their successive adoption.

The treasury

Historically, libraries have been regarded primarily as storehouses of knowledge. They served the utilitarian purpose of keeping records, knowledge, works of imagination to enable the work of state and religion and for the scholar (Johnson, ED and Harris 1976). Many works were preserved even when considered unacceptable by church, state or library authorities. Sometimes, as at the monastery of Bobbio during the Dark Ages, the fight against heresy demanded the collection of Aryan manuscripts in order to ‘know the enemy’ (Lerner 1999, p. 41). Ironically, even the libraries of oppressors have preserved works which they would suppress. For example, the KGB kept most of the manuscripts they found of those they destroyed, thereby creating an archive of unacceptable literary works.
which was preserved for the time of glasnost when the doors of their literary vaults opened (Shentalinsky 1997).

Many have preserved knowledge which would be valued later. The libraries of the Islamic world reflected that “culture of literature” (Touati 2003). They preserved and transferred classical knowledge, collecting manuscripts both for their intrinsic value as items of beauty and as carriers of useful knowledge. Many of the ideas which had been preserved were taken up by the European scholars of the twelfth century and form the foundations of Western culture (Gates 1968, p. 26).

Great libraries grew from archives of records and collections of literature (Casson 2001). Like museums, they offer a means of intercourse with other times and other cultures which may be detached from everyday life (Mumford 1940, p.446). They are envisaged to be significant civic monuments which testify to the greatness of the communities or individuals that created them as well as the cultures they transmit.

The great libraries tried to encompass all fields of knowledge and to support scholarship. The Museion in ancient Alexandria established a tradition of library based research and introduced the scholar librarian. The complementary Serapeum supported teaching. So were created the models which were later emulated by the great monastic libraries and subsequently the great university libraries. Both sustained their parent institutions. Following in the Alexandrian tradition, the great Vatican Library, created by Pope Nicholas V in the late fifteenth century, collected aggressively with an emphasis on humanistic works including classical authors, Greek manuscripts, medicine and science. Other collectors have been more single minded as was Henry Spencer Ashbee in his project to become the leading collector and bibliographer of erotic books in nineteenth century Britain (Gibson 2001).
Their growth was driven by acquisitiveness. Some, including the immense clay tablet collections at Nineveh and Hattushash and the Museion of Alexandria, aimed at comprehensiveness, at least within their cultural context (Macleod 2000). Their administrators attempted to collect without limit, infamously building the Museion by using force to obtain all manuscripts carried by seafarers as well as carrying off riches from tributary states (Kesting 1985). Less hostile methods included soliciting copies from other libraries, borrowing manuscripts to copy in scriptoria or visiting other libraries to make copies, traditions which were continued by monastic libraries until printing made them redundant.

Collecting has also shown a darker side through the removal of library treasures in time of war. The Bibliothèque Nationale, for example, gained significantly from the zeal of Napoleon’s commissioners who had been designated to remove cultural trophies from the conquered territories. Such collection building methods were criticised by Panizzi. He “derided the Russians for building their library at St Petersburg from the Polish libraries they had carried off, and the French for with-holding still books taken from Italy and elsewhere by the armies of Napoleon. Better far to be without a national library, than to increase it by such means” (Select Committee on the British Museum 1836). Books were similarly collected from conquered territories during the Nazi occupation of Europe (Petropoulos 2000). The motivation for the acquisitiveness of conquerors has been a combination of a desire to hold the best and richest for its intrinsic value together with a wish to enhance the conqueror’s glory (and to diminish the conquered) through capturing the riches and through presenting them via singular libraries, palaces and museums.

Panizzi, who revolutionised the Library of the British Museum as its Keeper of Printed Books from 1837 to 1856, was particularly sensitive to such matters since he had come to England as a political refugee from Italy in the 1820s (Miller 1988). His criticism of the retention of spoils of war conveys the view that national heritage properly belongs to and should be located in the nation from
which it originated. This is a very different proposition from the glorification of
the conquering nation through the capture and removal of treasures from the
conquered. Concern to ensure the preservation of national heritage in its home
location has driven initiatives to prevent destruction and looting (Hague
Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict
(United Nations 1954)) and to repatriate “spoils of war”. Initiatives have
extended, in the case of cultural property plundered from individuals, to attempts
to identify the original owners or their heirs so that restitution may be made.
Museums have led such initiatives but libraries are beginning to engage with the
issues. The work of Russian and German national libraries has been especially
notable and has, to a degree, been conducted under the auspices of IFLA
(Lehmann 1996). Less dramatic, but none the less inimical to the preservation of
national heritage is theft and illegal trade in antiquities and cultural property
which continues despite the Convention on the means of prohibiting and
preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property
(UNESCO 1970; Meyer 1974).

Dubious methods of acquisition aside, the development of great collections
continues to be most important for national libraries and other concerned with
heritage collections. Builders and curators of those collections ensure that the
recorded heritage of human thoughts, inventions and aspirations will be preserved
and available across boundaries and through time.

The focus on accumulation may be called the treasury paradigm. It emphasises
the resources collected by the library. Where the goal was to gather the totality of
human knowledge, books and manuscripts were acquired by any means for their
intrinsic value as objects as well as their informational value. Libraries were
concerned with acquisition, maintenance, inventory and preservation. Larger
libraries aimed for comprehensiveness in covering the universe of knowledge.
The librarian was considered to be the ‘keeper’ of the collections (and sometimes
so titled). Professional practice emphasised knowledge of literature, and skills in
acquisition and retention. From early beginnings in the ancient libraries, techniques in description and organisation were determined and elaborated (Casson 2001).

**From people’s university to information literacy: the education paradigm**

While many of the earliest libraries, such as those of the Uighurs (Kahya 2002), served principally to transmit disquisitions on religious subjects, some became centres for scholarship. In those libraries, scholars studied, mining the available resources for gems of knowledge. From the work of transcribing, editing and criticising in the Alexandrian libraries, libraries began to have a scholarly role. But only a few could enjoy and exploit reading and libraries before the printing and Protestant revolutions. Those revolutions were interrelated since Gutenberg’s innovation facilitated the adoption of Luther’s revolutionary ideas. The proliferation of publishing and spread of literacy which followed dramatically changed both Europe and the countries to which the new tracts, technologies and skills were taken (Barzun 2000, p. 4). It became possible for readers to contemplate the clash of ideas portrayed in Swift’s *The battle of the books*, and thus to value libraries for their heterogeneity (Ormsby 2001) and for ideas to be carried across borders and cultures. For such readers the library was, and continues to be, “full of marvels” (Tuchman 1983) offering its readers a powerful amenity for reading and thinking (Kazin 1978, pp. 4-8) at “the open table of ideas to which each is invited, at which each will find the food he seeks” (Herzen 1954 [1836])\(^\text{16}\).

Libraries of scientific treatises established by individuals and societies contributed significantly to the Industrial Revolution (Musson and Robinson 1969). Democratisation of the sharing of knowledge was effected through the

\(^{16}\) Quoted in Raymond 1979, p. 19.
establishment of circulating libraries, including those operated by mechanics’ institutes, which responded to the needs of both individuals and industry for technical and broader education. With the mid nineteenth century invention of the modern public library, the education paradigm proposed that society would benefit from the provision of assistance to individuals to better themselves. The Carnegie Corporation’s library initiative, which was motivated by Andrew Carnegie’s personal experience of rising from poverty to great wealth through self education (Anderson 1970; Belfour 1970), assisted the repositioning of the public library as the ‘people’s university’. That new civic institution supported both formal and self education through access to the world of knowledge, building on the growing taste for reading in industrialised states such as Britain (Rose 2001) and extending to colonies such as India (Ranganathan 1963 [1946], pp. 1-4). It was free of charges and open to all as stated at the entrance to the great New York Public Library: “On the diffusion of education among the people rest the preservation and perpetuation of our free institutions” (Kazin 1978, p. 5). The Public Library Manifesto hails it as “the local gateway to knowledge, [which] provides a basic condition for lifelong learning, independent decision-making and cultural development of the individual and social groups” (IFLA and UNESCO 1994 [1949]).

To their previous roles, librarians added that of guide, assisting students to navigate to the information resources required and to develop the skills to be self sufficient in navigating. In the wake of the information and communications technology (ICT) revolution, which has given rise to the connected paradigm discussed below, the education paradigm is currently developing an emphasis on information literacy. This concept includes the skills in locating, analysing and using information but also understanding its social, cultural and technical constraints. The librarian is expected to become teacher as well as guide. The paradigm continues in the identification of public libraries as a site for lifelong learning (IFLA Section of Public Libraries 2000). It is exemplified in such projects as the Biblored Capital Network of Public Libraries in Bogotá, Colombia,
which its founder proposed “to promote a different vision, a different lifestyle in Bogotá … measuring citizens’ success through … the development of their potential by providing them opportunities to improve the quality of their lives …” (Caballero 2003, p.1). He described the libraries as “urban temples” which would “symbolize the importance that the city wanted to placed on education and intellectual development, which also allow citizens to appreciate life more” (Ibid, p. 3). Thus, that nineteenth century invention, the public library has come to be seen as a key educational and cultural institution that supports individual and societal autonomy. It is Johnson’s “people’s university” and more (Johnson, A 1938).

**Changing the world: the revolutionary paradigm**

This agency to benefit society by providing opportunities for individuals became an explicit tool in the hands of revolutionaries who recognised the role of libraries as political instruments for reproduction. Libraries had been considered to hold a place in revolutionary struggle in Russia from the time of the Decembrists in the 1820s (Raymond 1979, p. 24). Illegal workers’ libraries were organised during the 1870’s – the Northern Union of Workers regarded its library as its most valuable asset (Ibid, p. 30). A library of Marxist and illegal literature existed from 1894 to 1895 in association with the St Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class, which was founded by Lenin. Later, Lenin and the Bolsheviks created party libraries, of which the most famous was the Geneva library of the RSDLP (1904-06) and the library of GA Kuklin (after 1907).

Lenin “regarded libraries as social institutions, and even before the Revolution he put forth the demand that they be made accessible to the masses” (Kanevskii

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17 Biblored was awarded the 2002 Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation Access to Learning Award of US $ 1 million for its “accomplishments in making information technology accessible without charge to the public, particularly underserved communities” (Ibid, Preface).
The purpose of libraries under the Soviet system was to “facilitate the mobilization of the working masses … [and] actively guide reading for communist education and the raising of the cultural level of the masses. … that facilitates the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory …” (Ibid, pp. 707-708). Such measures were operationalised through Krupskaia’s influence on the development of librarianship in Russia (Raymond 1979) to create instruments of the revolution which must be used to further the revolution (Serov 1973).

In this revolutionary paradigm, no purpose can be envisaged for societal institutions, including libraries, which does not serve the revolution. The constraints must be strictly observed: it is essential to control both authorised information channels and also the free distribution of unsanctioned information through such means as samizdat (Mandel 1989). The brutal history of repression of writers in the USSR has been verified through documentation in the KGB’s own archives since the collapse of the Soviet Communist government in 1989. Some 1500 writers perished, many were tortured, most died in isolation in the Gulag. The nature, and even the dates, of their deaths were suppressed. But their manuscripts were often preserved. Buried deep inside the Lubyanka were the creations of such great figures as Isaak Babel, Boris Pilnyak, Pavel Florensky and Osip Mandelstam (Shentalinsky 1997). In common with many other major libraries in the former Soviet Union and Eastern block, Moscow’s Lenin Library (now the Russian State Library) has a closed store in which such suppressed and confiscated literature has been kept (Genieva 1999) as did the State Library for Foreign Literature (Skorodenko 1997, p.10).

Ultimately, the narrow and instrumental view devalued publicly available information for those living in the USSR and other Communist nations since it could not be trusted to be truthful and reliable (Gifford 1993), leading eventually to perestroika. Much softened in China as well, under its economic reorientation to the market, the paradigm nevertheless continues in Cuba.
Cornerstones of liberty: the democracy paradigm

In contrast, United States Supreme Court decisions characterise public libraries as “open forums that cannot restrict access, that play a key role in the free exchange of ideas … and that must not become engaged in viewpoint discrimination …” (Latham 2001). This places libraries in the libertarian tradition in which it is held that truth will surface where there is free access to thought and information (Milton 1644). Knowledge is expected to lead to truth and optimum outcomes for society and the individual. In such a free society, citizens “are deemed competent to decide rightly” (Polanyi 1962 [1958], p. 223, author’s emphasis) and governments bow to that freely obtained moral consensus. Competence to decide implies informed consent, reinforcing the centrality of the right to information and the need for impartial sources of information in Habermas’ ‘public sphere’ (Williamson 2000). But this understanding of the public library’s purpose goes further than the passive provision of access by extending into the promotion of access and the protection of the rights of users to receive ideas. It is “civic librarianship” (McCabe 2001) in action. The claims have often been expressed in declamatory terms employing such phrases as “cornerstones of liberty” (Kranich 2001) and “the armoury of knowledge” (Touati 2003). As a concept, this role of libraries has been formally recognised in American librarianship for some sixty years, since the Library Bill of Rights (American Library Association 1939), and subsequently elsewhere.

In this democracy paradigm the library is explicitly located as an institution to educate for democratic living. It adds concerns with freedom of information and acting as an agency for change to the previously recognised educational, cultural and social dimensions (IFLA Section of Public Libraries and Gill 2001). The library is considered to exemplify democratic values in being ‘open to all’ and designed to accommodate a plurality of ideas and views – an aim to achieve
universality in clientele and opinion. As an exemplar of democratic values in its construction and operation it could be a vehicle for their reproduction throughout the community. That role was celebrated in the 1994 revision of the UNESCO Public Library Manifesto (IFLA/Unesco 1994) and incorporated into the IFLA/UNESCO School Library Manifesto (IFLA Section for School Libraries and Resource Centres and UNESCO 2000). Its inclusion was one of the significant changes in the 1994 version of the Public Library Manifesto when compared to the 1972 revision and the 1949 original (Niegaard 1994). In seeking to apply the ambitions of the Manifesto, the IFLA/Unesco Guidelines define the public library as an organisation established, supported and funded by the community which provides access to knowledge, information and works of the imagination to all members of the community (IFLA Section of Public Libraries and Gill 2001, p. 1). Its purposes include education, information, assisting personal development, services to children and young people, providing a focus for cultural development, and offering a public meeting place. The Guidelines note that public libraries play “an important role in the development and maintenance of a democratic society by giving the individual access to a wide and varied range or knowledge, ideas and opinions” (Ibid: 2). This is more utilitarian than the lyricism of the 1973 IFLA Standards for public libraries which posits:

*A democratic institution for education, culture and information*

The Public Library is a practical demonstration of democracy’s faith in universal education as a continuing and lifelong process, in the appreciation of the achievement of humanity in knowledge and culture.

The Public Library is the principal means whereby the record of man’s thoughts and ideas and the expression of his creative imagination are made freely available to all (IFLA Section of Public Libraries 1973, pp. 13-14).
This promotion of effective public libraries echoed the expectations for education expressed by Dewey and his followers (Dewey 1966). It is a means for constructing the social capital which has been recognised to be crucial to the effective operation of democracy (Putnam 2000; Putnam et al. 1993), the maintenance of viable communities, and the promotion of quality of life (Cox 1995; Winter 2000; Onyx and Leonard 2000). In its commitment to plurality it contrasts with the agency of libraries in support of revolution. In the latter mode, the library is considered a disciplined tool to advance the political aims of the revolutionary party (Morawski 1973, p. 35). Constructing a project which was vehemently criticised by Herzen (Berlin 1979, pp. 82-101), the revolutionary library eschews both its own freedom of action and client liberty in pursuit of instrumental goals.

The civilising influence of libraries is based on intellectual freedom thereby embodying democratic ideals. Despite the warning that librarians have tended to overrate the importance of libraries to democracy because of their strongly felt commitment to the mission of achieving “self-realization of the broad masses of the people” (Ditzion 1979 [1947]), the experience of Eastern Europe demonstrates the value of reliable and independent sources of untainted information. The importance of that civilising role was emphasised by Hisham Kassem, publisher of the Cairo Times, when he commented about unemployed young men from southern Egypt during a BBC radio discussion after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks:

… when these boys began to feel a sense of injustice there were no public libraries for them to read Voltaire or … Hassein or … or whoever. There was just a sheikh in the mosque talking about injustice. They joined the first voice of dissent they heard (Kassem 2001).
The access paradigm: just in case to just in time

Although there were earlier arrangements of collections and inventories dating back to the ancient libraries (Casson 2001), the technique-driven access paradigm began with the nineteenth century developments of cataloguing rules at the British Museum and at the Smithsonian Institution’s Library followed by Cutter’s “Rules for a Dictionary Catalog” and the Dewey Decimal Classification system (Lerner 1999, pp. 192-193). The development of systematic catalogue cards and methods for exchanging standardised bibliographic data revolutionised the practice of librarianship. In almost all libraries, collections began to be organised primarily by the subject matter of the individual books and within schemas of the universe of knowledge such as the Dewey Decimal and Library of Congress systems. Replacing the universalism of the library in the treasury paradigm, the access paradigm located the particular within a conception of the universal.

It is an approach which has been labelled access to information just in time to meet the client’s needs rather than acquisition just in case a client might need the resource (Nichols and Smith 2001).

The reorientation to access started at the British Museum when Panizzi was challenged at the 1847 Royal Commission by Carlyle who had been unable to find the collections of French Revolutionary tracts in the catalogue. Panizzi, somewhat grudgingly, acknowledged Carlyle’s suggestion that there should be members of the staff specially detailed to whom readers might go for information and assistance, a reform that had to wait for nearly a century before it was fully implemented (Miller 1988, p. 179).

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18 “‘For all practical purposes,’ he complained, ‘this collection of ours might as well have been locked up in water-tight chests and sunk on the Dogger Bank as put in the British Museum.’” …” (Miller 1988, pp. 178-179).

The agency of libraries
Through the technical innovations, it became possible to identify potentially relevant titles from catalogues and other secondary sources. The emphasis was on organising and providing access to information resources. The collections of individual libraries were rendered more accessible but, more significantly, catalogues became, in effect, charts aiding navigation to recorded knowledge in libraries. Libraries were concerned with owning or controlling resources, sharing (by interlibrary loan), description, cataloguing and classifying to assist access and to locate items. Assistance to locate useful items began to be offered and has since been elaborated (Cullen 2001). The professional practice of librarians focused on technical expertise and the development and elaboration of methods. Librarians became more sharply differentiated and identified in such roles as the reference librarian, cataloguer, subject bibliographer. Libraries diversified to respond to the needs of specific clients including: those in particular industries, professions and occupations; the young and the elderly; the blind and otherwise impaired; and those with specific language or educational needs. This paradigm reached it apogee in the United States from the 1960s (Mathews 1978) and influenced library development globally. It provided a powerful image of a “new urban constellation” which could provide the scope of large scale organisation by system based exploitation of the resources of smaller units (Mumford 1961, p. 565-566).

**The connected paradigm**

In contrast to the idealistic democracy paradigm is a technologically facilitated development which has emerged from the documentalist or ‘information science’ tradition which developed largely in Northern Europe. It has been responsible for many technical innovations, especially in regard to information retrieval. It has focussed on the informational content rather than the information object and has been extremely influential in modern libraries, especially since the development of computerised information retrieval. An emphasis on information became a
strategy for locating libraries and librarians in the burgeoning scientific culture (Day, RE 2001).

This developed further through the creation of bibliographic, factual and fulltext databases, the application of powerful inquiry technologies, and their linkage through complex communications networks. A new model emerged, which might be called the connected paradigm. The libraries and information services have come to be considered as nodes in a network designed to provide immediate access to information. In terms of content, delivery of abstracted information is emphasised - with little of no interest in the physical format in which it might be conveyed. It is a library model adapted for a world in which "we're all connected" (Ginsburg 1993). In contrast to the access paradigm, the focus has shifted from the library as gateway, to the links to other components of the network (Gapen 1993).

This model is more frequently referred to as the ‘digital library’, ‘virtual library’ or even ‘cybrary’19. In its narrowest sense the digital or virtual library can be considered to be merely an “online repository of electronic texts” (A dictionary of the Internet 2001) or “electronic stock of information which can be accessed via databases” (Dictionary of library and information management 1997). Both of these definitions focus on storage and access to content but miss the other dimensions of a library. “A system providing the services of a library in digital form” (The dictionary of human geography 2000) offers an alternative definition which better describes a library operating electronically. The connected paradigm embraces the notion of transition as an aspect of connectedness. It acknowledges both the long-established relationships of cooperation, collaboration and dependence between libraries and with other suppliers, and also the digitally networked capabilities of the virtual library. The paradigm is characterised by a concern to promptly meet all the information needs of library and information

19 “The University of Queensland Library uses the term Cybrary to describe its integration of cyberspace and physical space.” (University of Queensland Library 2002)
service clients through universal access and delivery of the required information. The physical location of the library has become much less important as a growing array of services is provided digitally via ICTs. In this new, digitally mediated model, professional skills have extended to encompass the management of licensed access to remotely located resources and of the technological infrastructure required to connect clients to those resources so that they might use them. The librarian becomes facilitator, navigator and mentor (Cullen 2001). Due to the complexity of resources and their interfaces, extension of clients’ information literacy has become a crucial concern (Prinsen 2001; Clyde 2002).

In contrast to the earlier paradigms, and even the access paradigm with which it shares many characteristics, the connected paradigm has been freed from territorial constraints and is no longer facility or collection centred. In this guise, libraries have ceased to be monuments, “heaps of stone, which either curb and confine the work of the living, like the New York Public Library, or are completely irrelevant to our beliefs and demands” (Mumford 1940, p. 438). Although some have expressed disquiet at the changes (Carlson 2001), others have gleefully explored multiple models of new library services (Bruijnzeels and van Tiggelen 2001).

According to a Danish study for the European Commission, this “updated public library” is a key player in the local implementation of the Information Society (Thorhauge 2002, pp. 108-114). It has key roles in safeguarding democracy, supporting education, providing local access to new technologies and promoting cultural identity. This “updated”, or connected, library thus incorporates the earlier paradigms, enabling idealistic aspirations through mastery of technology. Comprehensiveness has re-emerged since the interconnection of information resources via the Internet has restored the promise of making all of human knowledge available, of achieving the “extravagant happiness” at which Borges rejoiced (Borges 1964).
Libraries in transformation

The public has gradually recognised the evolving role of libraries. The Britannica’s *Micropaedia* (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1998b) offers a definition which focuses on a “collection of books used for reading or study … libraries frequently contain periodicals, microfilms, tapes, videos, compact disks, online services, and other materials, as well as books”. But the same edition’s *Macropaedia* (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1998a) expresses the contemporary nature, role and aspirations of libraries:

Libraries, once known primarily as storehouses for books and periodicals, have changed dramatically since the middle of the 20th century. From their historical beginnings as places to keep the business, legal, historical, and religious records of a civilization, libraries have emerged as a far-reaching body of information resources and services that do not require a building.

Librarians have continued to engage with this transformative project for several decades. Speculating on the library in the twenty-first century, Molholt (1993, p.27) noted that “We need to plan for a change in emphasis from being the keepers of the book to being guides through the universe of knowledge”.

Emerging again from the Anglo-American tradition in library and information service, this sea change has been demonstrated through the innovations introduced over the last century. They have included open physical access to collections20, systematised cataloguing and classification of all holdings using internationally recognised and interchangeable data, online access to catalogues, distributed

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20 A striking example of the change and innovation at a very basic level of professional practice since the late nineteenth century is that the acceptance of free public access to shelves among US librarians can be dated to 1896 when only twelve of 300 delegates at the ALA convention indicated opposition in a show of hands, which was noted to be very different to the views three years earlier (Thomison 1978, p. 42).
access to databases and the digital library. The dramatic improvements in access available via full text searching, the world wide web, electronic delivery and so on have now made it possible to renew the vision of the universal library. Rather than a vast Alexandrian storehouse, the universal library is now achievable through library facilitated access to all recorded knowledge. This offers a more robust model of comprehensiveness because of the redundancy inherent in a networked system of collections and datasets – “Lots of Copies Keep Stuff Safe” in the catchphrase of the LOCKSS approach to the archiving of electronic journals (Reich 2002).

The fundamental mission of ensuring both the preservation of knowledge and its current and future use remains:

Although libraries have changed significantly over the course of history … their cultural role has not. Libraries remain responsible for acquiring or providing access to books, periodicals, and other media that meet the educational, recreational, and informational needs of their users. They continue to keep the business, legal, historical, and religious records of a civilization. They are the place where a toddler can hear his first story and a scholar can carry out her research (Estabrook 1998).

Social capital is nurtured through this husbandry, pithily summarised as “to facilitate communication between human beings” (McGarry 1972). The seeds are sown with the toddler’s absorption in a story and the ecology of society is fed as citizens find what they need to support their study, work and interests. The libraries’ collections and services develop to meet those needs. As they take form, they evolve into a model of the concerns of the communities in which they operate. Those communities’ interests are reflected in the nature of their libraries and information services. A central public library in a city will have strong collections to support local businesses as well as materials for students and recreation. A university library’s collections and services will mirror the
disciplines and modes of study at the institution. A rural public library or community information resource centre will feature information on agriculture, land management and related subjects and promote local knowledge (Mchombu 2002). A telecentre will offer immediate access to information for daily life. The reflection of societal interests is not incidental, it is a consequence of the purposive development of each library or information service to meet the needs of its community and to build its social capital.

This is not to ignore the contested nature of the concept of community nor strictures against “a postmodern, post-Fordist pragmatism where managers seek merely to respond to demand rather than make value judgements and set agendas according to what they believe is socially good” (Black and Muddiman 1997, p. 10). It is rather to recognise the continuities in library aspirations which are celebrated in the Public Library Manifesto. In a pluralist society, pluralist texts present a multiplicity of uses which can at operate at multiple levels to succour but also manifest and celebrate the diversity of society. Libraries display similar ambivalences, preserving their multiple roles as treasure houses and educative institutions while becoming connected instruments of civil society.
A haven of peace in a stormy world: the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions

Recognition of libraries as instruments for social development crystallised during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For the first time they began to see themselves and became recognised as necessary to the general well being of society. They began to play a more active part in the scientific and cultural life of their countries. As discussed in the last chapter, libraries began to be regarded as “the poor man’s university” and as a locus for social and economic development, not just as repositories of learned or cultural documents. Libraries became much more complicated. They had to adapt to the rapidly changing needs of their nations. As Panizzi demonstrated through his development of the British Museum Library, the changes involved the design of buildings, creation of new forms of catalogues and new classification systems, purposive collection development and new attitudes towards users (Miller 1988).

The earliest professional bodies for libraries and librarianship, the American Library Association (ALA) in the United States and the Library Association (LA) in the United Kingdom, were established in 1876 and 1877 respectively. The establishment of the ALA was inspired by an anonymous article which proposed an international conference of librarians, and was written by Professor Max-Muller⁰¹, published in the Academy (London) on 18 March 1876 and reproduced

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⁰¹ A former curator of the Bodleian Library in Oxford.
in *Publishers’ Weekly* (New York) on 22 April 1876 (Haslam 1975) 22. The resolution which brought it into being at a meeting in Philadelphia on 6 October 1876 began: “For the purpose of promoting the library interests of the country…” (Stevenson 1968, p. 267). James Yates, Librarian of the Free Library of Leeds was an invited delegate and the following year twelve American librarians were present at the establishment of the Library Association of the United Kingdom. Internationalism thus influenced library associations from their outset.

**The establishment of IFLA**

The first international conference of librarians was held under the auspices of the LA in London 2-5 October 1877 with 216 delegates from nine countries (Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, United Kingdom, United States) (Haslam 1975). The second, in 1897, attracted 641 delegates. These initiatives led to discussion at the beginning of the twentieth century of the need for an organised, permanent vehicle for international cooperation in librarianship. Prominent leaders of various libraries realised that their libraries had many problems in common which might be addressed through international understanding and cooperation. They began to meet despite the difficulties of long distance travel. At the two international library congresses which took place before the First World War, in Saint Louis, 1904, and in Brussels, 1910, the wish for an international library federation was expressed. In Brussels the first International Committee was founded, chiefly for the purpose of preparing future congresses (Miller 1988).

The first concrete steps in the creation of IFLA were taken during the International Congress of Librarians and Friends of Books, held in Prague 28 June

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22 It had been prefigured by a convention of librarians in 1853 which had been unsuccessful in establishing a permanent organisation or even stimulating a second meeting, perhaps because of the intervention of the Civil War. The American centennial year of 1876 was more hospitable to national initiatives (Thomison 1978).
to 3 July 1926. Gabriel Henriot, President of the Association des Bibliothécaires Français (ABF), proposed the establishment of a permanent international committee of national library associations, noting that chemists, engineers and documentalists had preceded librarians. Henriot suggested that the committee should be charged with listing annually the major reference works published during the previous year in all fields of knowledge. At another level, Henriot believed that the committee would have greater authority than national associations in arguing the “much misunderstood cause of modern librarians” especially with the League of Nations, which was then at the height of its political effectiveness (King-Hall 1941, pp. 732 ff) and its Institute for Intellectual Co-operation (IFLA 1935, pp. 3-6). The Congress passed a resolution to establish an international committee which would fix the date and location of the next international congress. It was expected facilitate activities which involved international collaboration such as the preparation of a list of principal bibliographies. But, tellingly in the light of this study, the founders also proposed that this new international focus for cooperation in librarianship would intervene officially on behalf of national associations “each time that they consider it useful, in particular for the defence of professional interests” (Ibid, p. 6, emphasis added).

IFLA was then formally initiated through a resolution at the Fiftieth Anniversary Conference of the American Library Association held in Atlantic City in October 1926. That resolution led to the formation of the International Library and

23 The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was appointed by the Council of League of Nations in May 1922. Established at the urging of the French and Belgian governments, and largely at the instigation of Belgians Henri Lafontaine and Paul Otlet who had led the establishment of FID, it was intended to improve the material conditions of and build international contacts between intellectual workers and to strengthen the League’s influence for peace. The Committee’s initial program included studies on bibliography and the international exchange of scientific publications and copyright protection. In 1924, the French Government offered to establish an International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris but it was only after 1930 that it became an effective vehicle for the program although its capacity was always circumscribed by limited funding. The much better funded UNESCO took up its role after the establishment of the United Nations (Walters 1952). Both had a particular focus on the development of libraries and library and communication issues (Foskett 1998).
Bibliographical Committee at the Library Association’s Fiftieth Anniversary Congress in Edinburgh on 30 September 1927. Among the 823 delegates, 117 were from overseas including 69 from the United States (Haslam 1975).

The new committee set about planning the first congress. It was held in Italy in 15-30 June 1929, travelling from Rome to Florence to Venice with sessions in each city. Support from cities and governments set the model for future conferences.

In his response to Mussolini’s opening address at the first conference, the President of the Committee, Dr Isak Collijn,

thanked very especially His Excellency Signor Mussolini, the head of the New Italy, the man who with a strong hand ruled its destiny and built up its power … [and] recalled the words which the Duce himself had to say on another occasion: “It happens that men know themselves because the people can be heard” (Koch 1929, p. 701).

With this interchange at the commencement of the first congress, the political dimension of the world union’s activities was highlighted. Collijn’s words paid respect to a head of state, whatever his private views may have been. In contrast, Pope Pius XI, who had previously filled the post of Librarian of the Ambrosiano at Milan, warmly greeted old friends and guests at his reception for the delegates but chose to speak only informally, welcoming colleagues “in this noble and important field of libraries, of bibliography and of books” (Ibid, p. 703). This political dimension, and its avoidance, have influenced IFLA’s professional programs ever since.

Lofty aspirations were expressed by Dr Collijn in his response to Signor Mussolini when he noted that those who dedicate their work to the book and study have a part to play in the reconstruction of the world after the Great War.
Continuing, he expressed a vision for IFLA as an international federation of library associations which would address new professional problems but be inspired by the pursuit of intellectual collaboration in support of world peace (First World Congress 1929, pp. 95-96). However, in spite of this vision, the conference papers were focussed on professional and technical issues as, from the outset, it had been agreed that the programs of the international conferences should be truly international, treating “only international questions of a bibliographical and technical nature” (Koch, *op cit*, p. 703).

The resolutions of the First World Congress covered the development of bibliographic tools, preservation of books and manuscripts, fostering professional exchanges, establishment of library schools in every country and recognition of qualifications in librarianship, publication of a directory of component associations, creation of comprehensive national collections of each nation’s publications, reciprocal international library loans, international exchanges of literary and scientific publications, regulation of exchange of university theses, exemption of library purchases from customs duty, national offices of bibliographical instruction and orientation, and formulation of rules for statistics of printed books (Koch, *op cit*, pp. 704-705). A general resolution on the last day declared libraries to be “in the first rank of institutions for higher and popular education” and called on governments to support them (Library Association 1929). It was renamed the International Federation of Library Associations and promulgated its Statutes stating that “The object of the Federation shall be to promote international library cooperation” (IFLA c1935, p. 36).

To a significant degree, the resolutions adopted at the 1926 Prague Congress had anticipated these outcomes. They highlighted international exchange of publications, international interlibrary lending, education of librarians, international statistics and the need for a world bibliography. As Malek notes, “that the Congress appealed to the librarians of all countries to give their support to the efforts for international co-operation of libraries which could also contribute

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to the enhancing of the social prestige of the librarians’ profession and ensure for librarianship and its newly constituted organisation the place they are entitled to in the great intellectual development of the world” (Malek 1970). This summary might form an agenda for any international professional body, because its elements address the core professional concerns of advancement of the profession’s practice, prestige and recognition. But they offer no hint that the body might consider itself to have a wider social responsibility. The new Federation’s agency did not extend far past the technical concerns of the profession and its aspirations for greater recognition of the importance of its work and the status of its members.

Through the Depression

The next meeting of the new federation, held in Stockholm in 1930, further developed rules of membership and the Federation’s Statutes. It initiated discussion of the key professional topics of concern, many of which are still of concern today: international bibliography and national bibliographic agencies, relations with the League of Nations Institute for Intellectual Co-operation (UNESCO today), conservation, micrography, exchanges, library schools, national libraries and legal deposit, international interlibrary lending, international exchange of theses, nil customs duty on books, and statistics (IFLA 1930).

The full effects of the Great Depression were being experienced by the following meeting which was held in Cheltenham, England. Only twenty delegates, from twelve nations, participated - half the number of participants seen at Stockholm, who had come from twenty nations. Collijn, in his presidential address, noted “…the present situation of general depression in all countries. It is obvious that these conditions cast their shadow even within the area of intellectual activity, and library work especially has suffered heavily from economic difficulties in several lands. But happily there are bright aspects which illuminate our pathway
onwards. Never has such an intense activity been known within the bibliographical field as to-day …” (IFLA 1931, p. 6). He then gave examples of bibliography, a new library law in France and new library building in the United States. The concern about the economic disaster dominated the next two meetings (IFLA 1932; IFLA 1933) but was tempered by optimism about the value of librarians as “guardians of spiritual heritage” and the role of libraries to make available the “doings, thoughts, discoveries, feelings” of previous ages, in Godet’s phrase (IFLA 1932, p. 10). In 1932, the participants unanimously resolved that:

The Committee urgently requests Governments, in spite of the world crisis, to maintain undiminished, for the service of intellectual workers, the financial provision made for national education and instruction, and notably the credits voted for libraries (Ibid, p. 43).

While this might be perceived to be an attempt to preserve the professional interests and positions of libraries and librarians, it is clear that the participants were primarily concerned with the value of libraries, as mentioned by Godet, and the ways in which libraries might both assist the many unemployed the time “for the double purpose of recreation and self-education” and “hold our organizations intact, ready for prompt service and development when a happier day shall dawn” (Ibid, p. 9).

The program for the 1935 meeting, planned in 1934, began to assume a familiar form with a formal opening, followed by meetings of the sections, country reports, resolutions and formal closing. Topics included the issues relating to specific types of libraries (regional, children’s, hospital, prison, commercial and industrial, parliamentary and administrative, educational), international interlibrary lending, professional education, cooperative initiatives (including bibliography and exchange of publications), and the publication and cost of serials (IFLA 1934, pp. 43-44). Held in Madrid and Barcelona in conjunction with the
Second International Congress of Libraries and Bibliography which was attended by 600 participants from some 40 nations, this eighth meeting of the Federation attracted 65 delegates from 26 nations. Delegates came from as far afield as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When an invitation to meet in China was declined because of the difficulty many might have in attending, the Japanese representative noted that all the delegates from the Far East had to travel long distances to meetings in Europe. The Congress was a watershed in international librarianship as it was the occasion on which Marcel Godet led the endorsement of common regulations for international interlibrary loans (IFLA 1935).

Three years later, in his presidential address at the eleventh meeting, held in Brussels, Godet noted with sadness the destruction of libraries in Spain and China during the Spanish Civil War and the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Continuing, he proclaimed that all must be touched by such destruction and ready to assist reconstruction. Noting that books and manuscripts also suffer from “maladies” such as insects and moulds, he exclaimed that such maladies, bombs and fires were a lesser threat to books and culture than more subtle “menaces”. Godet suggested that a “Crisis of the Book” was being experienced in a number of countries and that it resulted from economic causes such as reduced purchasing power and psychological and social reasons including the preference for “other pleasures” and for reading magazines (IFLA 1938, pp. 11-12). He made no mention of political causes such as censorship but concluded his address by enjoining participants “à conserver la paix en maintenant au-dessus des peuples la pensée d’humanité! [to preserve peace and keep the idea of humanity on high for all peoples – speaker’s emphasis]” (Ibid, p. 18).

Nevertheless, and despite the growing obstacles to participation in IFLA meetings which had been placed on many respected German librarians since the rise to power of the Nazis (IFLA 1948, p. 13), delegates accepted an invitation first made in 1935 to hold the next International Congress in Germany in 1940 to celebrate
the 500th Jubilee of Gutenberg with the theme “The library and its users” (IFLA 1938, p. 41).

**On the brink of the Second World War**

By July 1939, following the dismal May session of the Council of the League of Nations (Walters 1952, pp. 791-792), it was clear that war was imminent. Meeting in The Hague and Amsterdam, the topics on the program continued those of previous years. Not surprisingly, participants were concerned with effects on libraries and freedom of expression of the political and military developments in Europe. A detailed report was presented on the destruction of libraries in China. In his country report, presented as was then customary, the leader of the German delegation, Herr Krüss, noted that the libraries of Ostmark, Altreich and Sudetenland were now under German Sovereignty – Austria and Czechoslovakia had previously been members of IFLA.

President Godet noted that “the subject we are coming to is certainly delicate and painful, but it is among friends – and we are friends – that there is a more painful thing than to entertain a painful subject, that is to avoid it, when, it is in the thoughts of each one; it is to try to stifle under futile prattling or lying silence the common and deep concern of all” (IFLA 1939, p. 11). Asking to be excused his frankness and for any oversimplification, Godet noted that the division of the world at that time was profound and that the library world could not escape the effects of that division. He noted that if the state represents the supreme principle to which all must be subordinated without reserve, then “intellectual life must be captured, disciplined, controlled, directed … like other national forces, towards the objectives identified by the Leader. This subordination of intellectual activities to political ends … introduces into the world of disinterested research … an element of disunion” (Ibid, p. 12). Furthermore, he argued that the Federation itself was affected by this tension because its members would not only find themselves in

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opposing camps but with different conceptions on fundamental professional issues. Contrasting the conception of libraries as a place of free inquiry with that of the library as an instrument of forming collective civic identity, Godet noted that in the latter there was no barrier between culture and propaganda. He continued contrasting free, “eclectic” and tolerant selection of materials, admission of all to the library, bibliography based on the intrinsic value of the works, and the recruitment of librarians on purely professional grounds, with policies based on control, opinion and race.

Responding to a colleague’s question about what remained that would unite librarians across borders, he answered that there was a shared commitment to the Book in all its forms, shared professional methods and standards, personal relations among colleagues, and, above all, the same reverence for the “treasures of the spirit”. Godet concluded that librarians must always work “à humaniser l’homme [to humanise humanity]” (Ibid, pp. 11-17). Godet’s successor as IFLA President, Munthe, noted after the war that the faces of the German and Italian delegates stiffened during the speech (IFLA 1947, p. 21). However, Krüss, whose “exceptional tact and skilful negotiating” had been instrumental in the 1927 establishment of IFLA (Campbell 2002), thanked Godet for his address. Krüss quoted the comment of Arundell Esdaile, President of the Library Association, that IFLA “has done a great work in bringing the profession into a fellowship – a fellowship which, I may say, is a haven of peace in a stormy world” (IFLA 1939, p. 17).

Despite this tension and the imminence of war, it was confirmed that the Third International Congress and the next IFLA meeting would be held conjointly 3-12 August 1940 in Berlin, Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main.
Following the War

Due to the intervention of the Second World War, that conference was not held, nor were any others until IFLA’s first post War meeting was held in Oslo in 1947. Godet, as a Swiss national, maintained the existence of IFLA throughout the Second World War and its immediate aftermath with the assistance of Secretary-General Sevensma (Campbell 2002). Although there were no conferences, some contacts were maintained despite the conflict surrounding Switzerland and across the world.

Godet had been nominated Vice President at Cheltenham in 1931, elected President in Warsaw in 1936 and served till W. Munthe, Director of the University Library in Oslo, assumed the presidency at the 1947 conference having declined to assume the IFLA presidency in 1939 “because I could not get over my dislike, my reluctance for the presidency over a congress in Germany, which involved fraternising with Nazism and making complacent addresses to Dr Goebbels and consorts” (IFLA 1947, p. 19).

In his final presidential address in Oslo, after first reviewing the destruction caused by the War, Godet noted the work of colleagues including representations about librarians in concentration camps, providing reading materials for prisoners of war, and holding American periodicals for libraries in war zones. He added that the consequences of the War had hampered the revival of IFLA since some member associations no longer existed and others were paralysed as a result of political upsets (instancing Italy), frontier changes (instancing Baltic nations), or zones of occupation (instancing Germany). Some colleagues had retired, some had been eliminated for political reasons, others had died. Turning to the future, he celebrated the unparalleled opportunities to reinvigorate interlibrary loan, develop collective catalogues and protect bibliographic treasures by microfilming them. He advocated the reestablishment of library associations, including in time those of former enemy nations, and the development of an entente with
international organisations such as the International Federation of Documentation and UNESCO. Concluding his address, and his presidency, Godet asked whether libraries, which register and conserve the ideas and experiences of successive generations, are not one of the major safeguards of civilisation. Then, opening the meeting, he expressed his conviction of “our international solidarity, not only professional, but human” (IFLA 1947, pp. 10-21).

Munthe later proposed an agreement for mutual recognition between IFLA and the recently established United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) which had succeeded the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Endorsed unanimously, the agreement provided for general cooperation, mutual consultation, reciprocal representation and specific projects. In addition to agreement to “further in all ways possible the development, improvement and extension of libraries and their associated services”, IFLA and UNESCO agreed to “further by all possible means the greatest freedom in the distribution and exchanges [sic] across national frontiers of publications, other material of libraries, information about publications, etc.” (IFLA 1947, pp. 47-49).

Thus, at its first post War meeting, IFLA committed itself to freedom of access to information across national frontiers. This anticipated the phrase “regardless of frontiers” which was embedded in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the following year and implicitly committed the Federation to maintaining dialogue and cooperation across Churchill’s “iron curtain” (Hinton 1946).

IFLA also declared its acceptance of the principles underlying the constitution of UNESCO which included “the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and … the free exchange of ideas and knowledge” (UNESCO 1966). This echoed the Federation’s earlier recognition of the importance of the League of Nations and the stress it placed on developing a relationship with the League’s Institute for

A haven of peace in a stormy world
Intellectual Cooperation. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that newly revitalised IFLA placed such emphasis on developing a close relationship with the most relevant arm of the United Nations: the emphasis confirmed the Federation’s desire to promote international cooperation and to work at the highest international level. The commitment was made with some scepticism as Munthe noted in 1948 when he asked whether UNESCO might only be “an enormous contrivance for unrealistic dreamers and enthusiasts” (IFLA 1948, p. 11). In spite of that caution, Munthe concluded that UNESCO’s principles must commend themselves to all librarians.

At that 1948 meeting, in the midst of London’s post War austerity, Munthe turned to the increasing international distrust and growing financial difficulties. He asked:

Where are the freedoms of the Atlantic Charter? The freedom from fear has totally vanished, and the freedoms of thought, of speech, of reading - which we librarians are mostly interested in - are gradually vanishing in one country after another … we must prepare for the worst, but we must also work for the best. And perhaps never have we librarians had a greater opportunity to make positive contribution to the revival of the intellectual life in war-damaged countries, and to assist all good forces and building up a new mentality … (IFLA 1948, p. 11)

Recalling that many thousands of books had been collected and sent to damaged libraries in Europe, Munthe proceeded to draw attention to the first International Summer School on Public Library Practice which was proceeding at the same location and time as the meeting and had been jointly sponsored by IFLA and UNESCO. It would offer 50 librarians from various countries the opportunity to study all aspects of the public library and “its work as a democratic agency for self-education” (IFLA 1948, p. 12).
Munthe concluded his presidential address by speaking passionately about two pressing issues for IFLA as an international professional organisation.

He first decried the inability of Russian librarians to join the Federation in spite of the tremendous initiatives under way in Russia to build libraries and to campaign against illiteracy. Munthe expressed the hope “of being on speaking terms with this enormous empire again”. While the hope of dialogue was doubtless heartfelt and consistent with IFLA’s history of encouraging professional interaction even at the cost of not raising issues of principle, his reference to the library and literacy initiatives appears to display considerable naïveté about the conditions in the Soviet Union at that time. The prohibition on participation was characteristic of the extremes of Stalinism, under which only a very few favoured libraries and librarians were allowed to engage in international activity.

Secondly, Munthe lamented the overwhelming destruction of both the many great libraries and the publishing industry of Germany and the consequent spiritual and intellectual suffering of the German people. He argued that:

… never have the Western powers had a better chance to influence German mentality and to gain ground for Western democratic thoughts. This is the time when the intellectual isolation of Germany should be broken. We ought to send thousands and thousands of worthwhile books to every part of Germany … [and] to let a constant stream of Swiss books in the German language flow into that dry country. Let us also do away with all sorts of censorship. As we may really understand, the German mind has developed a strong sensitive reaction on that point. … If we can accomplish something along these lines, I think IFLA has proved its raison d’être. (IFLA 1948, pp. 12-15)
Professionalism in the Cold War

The publication of the UNESCO *Public Library Manifesto* in 1949 proclaimed the public library as an instrument for democracy (Harrison 1989, pp. 18-21), echoing the earlier ALA formulation. It led to the development of the *Standards for public libraries*. Nevertheless, the brave rhetoric of those documents was not reflected in the IFLA Conference programs or the work of the sections and committees over the following three decades. Their work concentrated on technical aspects of librarianship and fostering personal contacts and friendships as well as international collaboration. This was conditioned by the growing global polarisation during the Cold War in which the rivalry between the USSR and United States dominated relationships between other states (Fukuyama 1992, pp. 249-250). The hopeful aspirations evident in the reinvigorated IFLA of the late 1940s were dissipated in similar fashion to the emasculation of the UN Security Council by the USSR’s use of the veto and boycotting the organisation (*Ibid*, p. 251). The retreat by IFLA members into the consideration of purely technical issues was probably a consequence of the international climate and the underlying ideological differences. Participants were conscious of the constraints, with the prominent Russian librarian, Rudomino, remarking that professional needs “must override political differences, bias and prejudice” (Lyle 1970, p. 103).

One notable exception to this pattern was the growing interest in the needs and problems of developing countries. Perhaps it was less confrontational to agree on the needs of African libraries than to challenge the mores of Soviet or American

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24 The strength of feeling among some is illustrated by noting that some libraries in the United States during that ideologically charged period and under the shadow of McCarthyism felt that they should not hold the subversive works of Marx and Lenin – while others felt that there was a need ‘to know your enemy’ (Mosher 1954).

25 Margarita Rudomino was the founder of the State Library for Foreign Literature and a major contributor to IFLA as Vice-President 1967-1972, First Vice-President 1972-1973 and Honorary First Vice-President 1973-1990 (Skorodenko 1997). Under her leadership, the Library became a clearinghouse for IFLA publications, reports and other documents, with staff members often translating them into Russian to ensure wider accessibility.
colleagues and their libraries. Or perhaps it was inspired by the drive for independence of the regions under European colonial domination. Whatever the reason, IFLA took the initiative in 1954 when the then President of IFLA, Dr Bourgeois, invited the renowned Indian scholar of librarianship and documentation, Professor Shiyali Ranganathan, to comment on the measures IFLA could take to become a truly international and effective body. Ranganathan responded with a detailed paper (Ranganathan 1954). While emphasising the need to move beyond Europe and North America and to involve the developing nations, Ranganathan made no mention of a responsibility to address issues of intellectual freedom. This is extraordinary in the light of his eminence as a philosopher of librarianship, his impassioned arguments in favour of developing countries and the contemporaneous worldwide process of decolonisation. Perhaps he considered it to be implicit in view of the second of his well known five laws of library science: “Every reader his book”\textsuperscript{26}.

IFLA’s first full time permanent secretariat was established in 1962 thanks to increased support from UNESCO. In following years, there was a concentration on cooperation with UNESCO and enhanced activity by committees and sections (Wijnstroom 1974; Roberts 1973). In a watershed document, Libraries in the World (IFLA 1963), the Federation set out an agenda for the coming years. It discussed the issues it faced, noting that IFLA’s old commitments, “to master the problems raised by the ever-increasing bulk of publications and to give readers the most reliable information with the least delay” (Ibid, p. 8), remained. However, the spread to IFLA to countries in Eastern Europe, South America, Asia and Africa, had brought an additional responsibility, “to hand down the knowledge and tradition of centuries to those who until lately have had little experience of the administration of libraries” (Ibid). A discussion of selection included approving mention of collaborative approaches such as the Farmington Plan in the USA, the Sondersammelgebiete in Germany and the Scandia Plan in Scandinavian countries.

\textsuperscript{26} Ranganathan’s other laws were: 1. Books are for use; 3. Every book its reader; 4. Save the time of the reader; 5. A library is a growing organism (Ranganathan 1967 [1937]).
(Ibid, p. 13). It mentioned cost, exchange agreements and preservation but included nothing on censorship, intellectual freedom or the free flow of information in spite of the very recent Berlin and Cuban missile crises.

The Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia coincided with the 1968 IFLA Congress in West Germany. Delegates responded by declining an invitation to hold the 1969 Conference in Moscow (Lyle 1970, p. 102) although a subsequent invitation to go there in 1970 was accepted. The conference broke into disarray in response to the invasion. Many were conscious that the invasion had crushed the Prague Spring in which censorship had vanished and there was “freedom of expression, a pluralism of attitudes and a very dynamic cultural life” (Kundera 1984). Attempting to avert division, IFLA President Sir Frank Francis outlined the key characteristics of IFLA in measured tones: “First, IFLA is an international association in which all members have equal rights to participate in the discussions and to influence the conclusions. Second, its power stems from its ability to facilitate and organize fruitful discussion of subjects of current interest in the world of librarianship … and on the basis of informed and matured [sic] discussion to make recommendations for action” (Welch 1969, p. 428). His words served to emphasise both the collegial nature of IFLA and also the need for cohesion even in the face of confronting international events. The phrase “informed and matured discussion” appears to have been a warning against precipitate comment or action. Wieder noted that IFLA was able to weather this crisis because of its “inner force and firmness of purpose” (Wieder and Campbell 2002).

The Congress report includes no mention of any recognition of the revolutionary current that swept many countries and cities from Gdansk to Paris in that year. Nor was any dissent or other comment recorded two years later when Grigoriev argued at the 1970 Moscow Conference that Lenin had believed that libraries had a vital role to play in the development of the consciousness of the masses (Grigoriev 1971). His comment underlined the very deep ideological differences
illustrated in Malek’s report in a collection of papers on library services to children which described how the libraries of Communist Czechoslovakia had expunged inappropriate materials and replaced them with suitable socialist materials (Malek 1963). Although such statements clearly reflected the requirement to express official policy, they nevertheless greatly inhibited open dialogue. For instance, when the Soviet Union joined IFLA as a national member in 1959 it had to be represented by a library board formed for the purpose because there was no professional library association in the Soviet Union.\footnote{Until the Russian Library Association was incorporated in 1994.}

Since the collapse of Soviet Communism, it has been admitted that the contributions of the official delegation “did not rise far above the propaganda of the Soviet Union’s achievements in library service and its good progress in carrying out CPSU Central Committee decisions” (Skorodenko 1997, p.35-36).

Looking back, it is evident that there was tacit agreement not to discuss the fundamental ideological differences. Secretary-General Margreet Wijnstroom, penning an outline of IFLA for the Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, made no mention of intellectual freedom or of the political inhibitions to access to information experienced in many of the countries of members (Wijnstroom 1974). The success of IFLA in staying together, continuing to grow and addressing many important issues over the decades from the beginning of the Cold War may owe much to a realism in which the world order of the period was accepted as well as the diplomacy of leaders such as Rudomino who worked to promote dialogue in spite of the tension between the great powers (Campbell 2002). Method, technique and structure were emphasised over principle, with the focus on addressing those issues of professional practice which were unlikely to reflect, or cause, ideological division. This program was a far cry from Munthe’s post war hopes of promoting intellectual freedom and international dialogue but was inevitable in the face of the deep division engendered by the Cold War.
The significant achievements of IFLA during the 1960s and 1970s were of a technical and programmatic nature and did much to advance librarianship around the world. The operationalisation of the Public Library Manifesto into the Standards for Public Libraries and the work to ensure their adoption and application was invaluable. Many areas of professional practice were enhanced, standards formulated and techniques shared. Ranganathan’s challenge to respond to the needs of developing countries attracted growing support. The first IFLA Pre-session Seminar for Developing Countries, which was held in Liverpool in 1971, led to the creation of a working group on developing countries to coordinate the work of IFLA and provide a forum for the library problems of common interest to developing countries (Wijnstroom 1974). This thrust led eventually to the establishment of ALP and Division VIII\(^{28}\) as well as activities initiated by many IFLA sections.

**IFLA’s evolving role**

Although representatives from China and Japan and other distant countries had attended early conferences, North American and European nations are better represented among the Federation’s membership, an observation which is consistent with the experience of international non governmental organisations in general (Boli *et al.* 1999). In fact, the dominance has been even tighter with a very marked emphasis on Northern European and North American members\(^ {29}\). Its foundation was proposed in northern Europe and the USA and its early leaders

\(^{28}\) ALP (Advancement of Librarianship Program) is an IFLA core activity which is based in Uppsala in Sweden and supports library development programs in developing countries. Division VIII, the Division of Regional Activities was established under the IFLA Statutes to provide a forum for the shared interests of members from regions outside Europe and North America.

\(^{29}\) From the perspective of other members this “Northern European and North American” caste includes others of similar cultural orientation including the more far flung native English speaking nations such as Australia and New Zealand. This grouping reflects the United Nations WEOG – Western Europe and Others Group – plus North America and in recent years has in turn been dominated by the Anglophone nations. The increasing dominance of English for communication, especially following the widespread adoption of the Internet, has led to some reaction against Anglophone dominance particularly among French and Spanish speakers.
were drawn from those regions. All of the thirteen Presidents elected before the implementation of the 2000 Statutes were drawn from those regions. Furthermore, IFLA headquarters remains, as it has been since its establishment, in a Northern European locale.\footnote{Successively Geneva, Sevenoaks, The Hague.}

Because of their early dominance, stronger representation and greater capacity to obtain travel funding, European and North American members have predominated among the membership of the standing committees, roundtables and other committees within IFLA, including the Executive Board.\footnote{At the 2001 Boston conference, for instance, a survey confirmed that the regular attendees at IFLA conferences came predominantly from those regions and that the location had attracted high proportion of first timers from the USA, 56%, and an even greater proportion from South America, 66% (Pors 2002).} Members from Northern Europe and North America have been represented even more strongly among the officers (the chairs and secretaries of section standing committees and members of Executive Board) because of their greater capacity to attend international meetings and to assign institutional or other resources to the work of IFLA. Thus they have dominated the forums in which most of the professional work of IFLA has been initiated and pursued. Of course, this reflects the pattern of membership of IFLA since many associations and institutions in poorer countries cannot afford to join the Federation, much less meet the costs of participation in the annual conferences which is a precondition for election to the standing committees and coordinating boards. Representatives from developing countries have argued that it is difficult for them to be elected and that they do not feel able to participate.

This pattern is changing. Before it met in Manila in 1980, the general conference had never been held outside Europe or North America. Even though it subsequently chose to meet every 2-3 years in other parts of the world, biennial Council meetings replaced the previous practice of annual Council meetings so that the Council meetings continued to be held in Europe and North America until
the 1995 Istanbul Conference, which was the first occasion on which a Council meeting was held outside Europe or North America, Bangkok in 1999 the second. This changed on the registration of new Statutes in 2001 when it was discovered that an annual Council meeting would be required under the Netherlands law of incorporation.

From the first meetings in 1928-1929 to World War II, 73% of the conferences were held in Europe north of the Alps with one, 1933, jointly held in Chicago and Avignon (IFLA 2002a). In the next period, from the first post war meeting in 1947 to the adoption of new Statutes in Rome in 1964, all of the conferences were held in Europe, 72% north of the Alps. From 1965 to IFLA’s fiftieth anniversary in 1977, two were held in North America (Toronto and Washington) and the remaining 87% were held in Europe north of the Alps (including Moscow and Budapest). The pattern changed in the decisive years from 1978 to 1989 – the year of perestroika and a French resolution to restate the recognition of Article 19 - during which IFLA met twice in North America (Montreal and Chicago), twice in Asia (Manila and Tokyo) and once each in Africa and Australasia (Nairobi and Sydney). But it still managed to hold 50% of its conferences in Europe north of the Alps. The changing pattern was confirmed during the final period under consideration for this study, 1990 to 2002, when 38% of conferences were held in Europe north of the Alps (Stockholm, Moscow, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Glasgow) and also in Asia (New Delhi, Istanbul, Beijing, Bangkok, Jerusalem) with one in North America (Boston), one in Latin America (Havana) and one in southern Europe (Barcelona).

The locations of IFLA’s conferences are worth considering in some detail because they confirm the emergence of an increasingly global consciousness in the Federation. For many years, the conferences were held primarily in Europe with a marked preference for Northern Europe. While this reflected the locations of most of the members and their capacity to travel (North Americans apparently being more willing or able to travel to Europe than vice versa) it also
demonstrated a marked Eurocentrism. Wieder politely suggests that the insistence of Chinese and Indian delegations that the 1936 meeting should be held in Asia was declined for financial reasons (Wieder & Campbell 2002). Although the effects of the Great Depression were still being felt at that time, the pattern of meetings suggests that the European orientation of the Federation would have made acceptance unlikely whatever the financial capacity. The more frequent visits to North America after 1964 probably reflected the growing prosperity in Europe and greater capacity to travel following the introduction of commercial passenger jets. But it is interesting to notice the reduced frequency of meetings in southern Europe which has no obvious explanation except perhaps the more rapid economic recovery and resultant prosperity of Northern Europe after the Second World War. The 1980s saw IFLA become much more globally focussed with conferences held in all the inhabited continents except South America.\(^{32}\)

This change not only reflects the growing strength of the Federation and the greater capacity to travel of its members but also the increasing ability of national library associations in many countries to organise and provide appropriate facilities for large conferences. It is important not only because it reflects a increasing global consciousness on behalf of IFLA but also because it enables, even forces, participating IFLA members (and especially the officers and others who attend successive conferences) to make themselves aware of the conditions in which library services are offered around the world. Finally, the holding of an IFLA conference in a region in which it is seldom held permits many local professionals to participate – as delegates, presenters, organisers or volunteers – and to gain an appreciation of international librarianship and the role of IFLA and to expand their knowledge and develop professional contacts with visiting delegates. The IFLA conferences’ global itinerary thus promotes and facilitates international library understanding and collaboration.

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\(^{32}\) An omission which will begin to be rectified with the conference in Buenos Aires in 2004.
Nevertheless, many representatives from developing countries and their sympathisers feel that their concerns, and they themselves, continue to be marginalised within IFLA. The recent furore over the proposed termination of Division VIII brought out the concerns of developing country members that their priorities would be submerged by the more numerous and louder voices of those from Western nations (IFLA 2000; IFLA 2001b). In a break with the past, which both reflected the extent of the change and was highly symbolic of change at the outset of a new century, Kay Raseroka from Botswana was elected in 2001 as President-Elect. She took office as the first IFLA President from outside Europe and North America in 2003.

From an operational perspective, the intent of the new IFLA Statutes, adopted by IFLA Council meeting in Jerusalem on 13 August 2000 (IFLA 2002c), was to make the Federation more effective and to streamline its operations as well as to facilitate participation by its global membership. Postal voting for members of the new Governing Board replaced the previous system of electing Executive Board members at the Council meetings. The former practice was believed to have favoured those candidates supported by delegates from developed countries who were more able to attend Council meetings and to bring proxy votes. The result the first elections under the new procedure, the 2001 and 2003 elections, appear to have confirmed this suspicion since they returned Governing Board members from every continent (except Antarctica) as well as Presidents from Africa and Australia, Kay Raseroka and Alex Byrne in 2001 and 2003 respectively. These election results have underscored IFLA’s aspirations to become a truly global body in all possible senses.

In the deliberations of IFLA, and especially Council votes, the Nordic member associations and institutions and those from the United States have formed particularly noticeable voting blocs which have ensured the election of their favoured candidates and promotion of their favoured causes. For example, Nordic representatives were prominent among those who supported the reconsideration of the proposal to disestablish Division VIII. Their support was also evident in the
election of Kay Raseroka as the first President-elect – and also the first black woman and first President from outside Europe and North America - in 2001. Americans and Scandinavians were also influential in the passing of many resolutions. For example, the 1993 resolution on the destruction of libraries in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina was sponsored by five US association members, one US institutional member, two Scandinavian associations, two Scandinavian institutions and Russian and UK associations (IFLA 1993). The alliance of sponsors for that motion demonstrated the continuing importance of those long established and powerful blocs but also the post Cold War possibilities for collective action.

Many of the Northern European and North American members used their strength to promote the long pursued programs to address the needs of libraries in developing countries. From Ranganathan’s report and the Liverpool Pre-session Seminar, they have consistently supported a range of measures to promote the establishment of library associations, the spread and strengthening of library services and the education of librarians (Harrison 1989). DANIDA, the Danish International Development Agency, for example has been led to support the participation of delegates from developing countries at IFLA Conferences over the last decade. ALP has made a special and much appreciated contribution from its home at the University of Uppsala in Sweden. Nonetheless, although an increasing number of activities, programs and projects were conducted in developing countries, most had an ‘aid’ character, aiming to improve libraries and librarianship in those other parts of the world and especially in Africa, identified as the primary locus of need for development by many members from Europe and North America. Discourse on the topic recorded in IFLA publications clearly indicates that knowledge, expertise and assistance were invariably expected to flow from the richer professionals of the ‘North’ to their poorer colleagues in the ‘South’.
Indeed, the technical and professional theory and innovation which have formed the substance of IFLA’s debates and initiatives have largely come from the strong library traditions of the United States, Britain and other Northern European nations (Harrison 1989). The early Anglo-American advances in the practice of librarianship, identified in Chapter 2, have provided the most influential models for library and information service. The very intellectual foundations of librarianship espoused by IFLA were Anglo-American and Northern European in origin and conception. They reflected Anglo-American and Northern European understandings, models and systems of librarianship. They were based on the considerable body of professional literature which has been created since the late nineteenth century in those regions. The standards by which libraries are judged and the models of service to which they aspire have evolved from the practices developed in those library traditions.

Review of the professional literature, including *IFLA Journal*, demonstrates that success in international librarianship has been understood in terms of emulating Anglo-American and Northern European modes and practices. IFLA has, for example, promoted the use of the UNESCO developed CDS-ISIS information management software throughout developing countries such as Thailand (Siriwongworawat 2003). That project was intended and may be interpreted as a pragmatic approach to assist libraries in developing countries which might be expected to lack the financial capacity or expertise to develop or buy their own software, or to apply computer technology to their operations without assistance. Alternatively, it might be considered to represent a form of cultural and economic imperialism. Either way, its effect has been to embed the underlying structure and assumptions inherent in the software in the operations of the recipient libraries, which might or might not be appropriate.

The schools of library and information studies reinforce that strategy since the best regarded are located in those regions. But it must be noted that their central role in education for librarianship, particularly at the postgraduate level, has been
bolstered by postcolonial patterns of education supported by generous scholarship schemes.

Thus, through its efforts to promote effective professional practice as it is expressed in the mainstream professional literature, IFLA could be considered to be an instrument for maintaining the dominance of Anglo-American and Northern European models of librarianship. That understanding represents an acceptance of the Anglo-American and Northern European models which legitimates their historical dominance. It represents a reproduction strategy for the dominant group, whose dominance in terms of recognised cultural capital has been acknowledged and thus reinforced (Harker et al. 1990, p. 86).

Extending this argument, it could be suggested that a consequence of this process would include the suppression of alternative approaches to librarianship. However, there does not appear to be any evidence of active suppression of other approaches. It appears more likely that Anglo-American and Northern European models and methods have been adopted widely because they have proved effective. Their very pervasiveness, even in countries which have been ideologically opposed to Western constructs and methods, suggests that they are widely recognised to offer the best models of practice for library and information services. Colonial influence might explain their initial adoption in colonies and former colonies (Palmer 1966) but they have not been abandoned or replaced by other, indigenous practices in the more recently established states. Indeed, some of the new states, notably including Singapore, have invested significantly in modern libraries.

Within the professional literature, the work of Ranganathan, among others, suggests that the consolidation and development of the practices stems from their global applicability despite cultural or ideological difference and limited only by economic and other resource constraints. Despite his strictures about the obstructive behaviour of developed nations, Ranganathan advocated library
practices in the Anglo-American tradition and contributed significantly to the
development of that body of theory and practice (Coblans 1974; Kaula 1996),
grounding his philosophy in Hindu philosophy (Ranganathan 1963 [1946]). The
spread of the Anglo-American and Northern European approaches appears to be
similar to the widespread adoption of English as a **lingua franca** because it is
considered to be “developed, modern, efficient and scientific” (Pennycook 1994,
p.159). It therefore reflects a modernist orientation which sits comfortably with
the progressivist understanding of professionalism evident in IFLA discourse and
practice.

Over its first seven decades, IFLA succeeded as an international professional
organisation through its promotion of international collaboration and technical
proficiency but had much more limited success in articulating the relationship
between the library’s role in society and the underlying human rights which are
explored in the next chapter. Declarations such as the Public and School Library
Manifestos identified the relationship but their expression fell short of tackling the
major political and societal obstacles to the realisation of unrestricted access to
information. The narrow professional focus suggests that the comment by Krüss
on the eve of the War, quoted above, might therefore been seen to have an ironic
twist in that IFLA has indeed provided a haven of **professional** peace in a stormy
world, a place in which librarians could share many technical and programmatic
concerns while avoiding issues deriving from ideological division.
Uncertain beginnings: 
towards a recognition of human rights

Over the decades, many professional issues were addressed but IFLA skirted around the fundamental and underlying issues of principle in regard to the right to information. It is little wonder that John G Lorenz, Deputy Librarian of the Library of Congress, observed caustically in 1969 that “IFLA is an international library organization which has been limping along for quite a few years … but certain progress has been made in international cataloguing principles and other international standards” (Lyle 1970, p. 101).

Putting human rights on the IFLA agenda

The two areas in which human rights were recognised were in relation to the perils of racism and the needs of developing countries. At the 1971 Conference in Liverpool, IFLA President Hermann Liebaers reaffirmed IFLA’s allegiance to the Declaration of Human Rights and its opposition to all forms of racial discrimination and expressed “the hope that all its member associations and associate members will live up to the same ethical standards” (IFLA 1971, p. 128). This followed the successful IFLA Pre-session Seminar for Developing Countries and reflected the emerging concern that IFLA’s programs should advance libraries and librarianship in developing countries.

However, external pressure was needed to prompt IFLA to take action on a question of racial discrimination. In 1972, UNESCO suspended its relationship
with IFLA for six months and required IFLA to investigate the South African Library Association (SALA). The anticipated outcome of the investigation was to be the termination of relations with SALA if the Association was determined to be practicing racial discrimination and not to be prepared to change its policies (IFLA 1972, p. 41). After an investigation by the Secretary-General, relations were broken off with SALA and UNESCO resumed its collaboration with IFLA.

Intellectual freedom was not explicitly on the agenda until the 1976 Conference in Lausanne, where President Preben Kirkegaard opened the plenary business meeting with a passionate plea for international understanding which would lead to peace (IFLA 1976, p. 29):

You will not find the word ‘peace’ in our Federation’s statement of purpose because, in my opinion, we go beyond the simple concept of peace. We have preferred instead to use the phrase ‘international understanding’.

As an organization, therefore, it is our moral obligation to cultivate and work for an understanding of different cultures, different races, different societies, and different political and social systems. Through such an understanding of and respect for the diversities of life and the conditions which create them, we can attain a level of maturity and wisdom which will eliminate war and create an environment in which peace will flourish.

IFLA celebrated its golden jubilee in 1977 with a conference in Brussels on the theme of “Libraries for all: one world of information” but the proceedings record no specific mention of peace or intellectual freedom. Nor does the celebratory history of the first fifty years (Campbell 2002).

However, the following year, those issues were forcefully placed before the IFLA Council when it was meeting in Štrbské Pleso, Czechoslovakia, under the theme
of “Universal Availability of Publications” (UAP\textsuperscript{33}). The President of the American Library Association, Russell Shank, presented a resolution (IFLA 1978, p. 60) that recommended that IFLA should consider supporting the Helsinki Accord\textsuperscript{34} and

That it urge all who work for the development of IFLA programmes such as UBC and UAP to take appropriate action with regard to states with whom they work which abridge human rights, and particularly the rights of free expression, of free access to information, and of the free flow of publications among nations.

This resolution exposed underlying tensions since some members wished to use the term ‘access’ but those from the Soviet Union insisted on ‘availability’. The former implies that users can actually obtain a desired book or other resource, the latter only that it will be held somewhere, albeit on restricted access as in the closed repositories characteristic of many Soviet era libraries including the Lenin Library mentioned above.

In spite of the terminological concession, the theme of Universal Availability of Publications proved a potent vehicle for intellectual freedom as it was mentioned in that context at both the succeeding conferences. In 1979, the Danish Minister of Cultural Affairs, Neils Matthiasen, praised UAP for transcending national borders and political systems and reminded delegates that “freedom of speech must be not only formal but also real … Among those who wish to protect the freedom of cultural life library people occupy a leading position” (IFLA 1979, pp. 22-24). Wolfgang Löhner, representing UNESCO, drew attention to the

\textsuperscript{33} Universal Availability of Publications (UAP) and Universal Bibliographic Control (UBC) were two of the long standing IFLA Core Programmes, now called Core Activities. UBC was the theme of the 1973 Conference in Grenoble (IFLA 1973).

\textsuperscript{34} The Helsinki Accord was the outcome of a 1975 meeting of 35 countries, including the USA and USSR, on cooperation in security, economic development, science, technology and human rights. Location, participants and agenda exposed the Cold War preoccupation with confrontation in Europe.
Declaration of the Rights of the Child and encouraged IFLA and its members to promote effectively the use of information by children (Ibid, p. 21). At the first Conference outside Europe or North America, which was held in Manila in 1980, the new President, Else Granheim, spoke highly of the aims of UAP and emphasised the need for free access to information to create “a better community with more equal opportunities for all” (IFLA 1980, pp. 20-23). Her comments were echoed by President Marcos who eloquently argued for more equitable access to information throughout the world, and particularly in developing countries (Ibid, pp. 27-33)

At its Munich meeting in 1983, IFLA Council recognised the importance of human rights and the need for solidarity with colleagues who may be facing persecution for their opinions by adopting a General Resolution which had been submitted by the French association members (IFLA 1983, p. 88). But it went further, mandating the IFLA President to intervene on behalf of those colleagues. IFLA as yet had no established mechanism to deal with human rights abuses concerning libraries and librarians but it had recognised the need to intervene in some circumstances. The French associations pursued their argument in 1985 with a declaration which reminded the President of the humanitarian responsibility expressed in the Munich resolution (IFLA 1985, p. 79). They invited all associations to raise any concerns with the President when necessary.

The new President, Dr Hans-Peter Geh, returned to the topic of peace in 1986. He suggested, in metaphorical terms, that the peaceful co-existence of books sitting side by side in libraries could be a model for “the free exchange of information, of justice, and the safeguarding of human rights” (IFLA 1986, p. 29). He continued to promote this theme throughout his presidency (IFLA 1987; IFLA 1988; IFLA 1989). Inspired by the location of the 1989 Conference in Paris on the bicentennial of the French Revolution, Geh discussed the relevance of liberty, equality and fraternity for library and information work (IFLA 1989, pp. 29-34). He noted that intellectual freedom is of special importance and that IFLA’s policy...
had always upheld free and unhindered flow of information and a readiness to take responsibility for its promotion. A commitment to equality included equal opportunity to participate in the work of IFLA, the fight against illiteracy, equal chances for cultural and linguistic minorities and the disabled, open libraries, and the promotion of reading. He described the fraternity of librarians around the world but proclaimed that humanity must first and foremost be concerned with the preservation of human rights.

Geh’s passion was taken up by the French associations, supported by the American Library Association and the Association of Research Libraries (also from the USA). They moved a motion which recalled the resolution adopted in 1983, Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and a number of other international instruments, and called on librarians and library associations worldwide to mobilise in favour of Article 19 (Ibid, pp. 99-101). It went further, enjoining the IFLA President to intervene in support of freedom of expression and to work with other international organisations to that end. Council endorsed the resolution, passing it to the Executive Board for implementation.

At the same Council meeting, the IFLA Section of Library Services to Multicultural Populations moved that Council reconsider the continuing membership of libraries, institutions and individuals from the Republic of South Africa (Ibid, pp. 101-102) in view of the offensiveness of the apartheid system and the role of libraries within that system. The motion was not put as Council accepted an Executive Board proposal to appoint a working group to review all relevant questions and report within a year. Coupled with a humanitarian motion to support the victims of a severe earthquake in Soviet Armenia, Council demonstrated that human rights were definitely on the IFLA agenda.

Concluding his presidency at the Moscow conference in 1991, Geh stressed that “all our activities are also aimed at ensuring the maintenance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the countries of our members” (IFLA 1991, p.
24). It was a time of high drama since the Conference coincided with the unsuccessful coup attempt. Communicating the views of many delegates at a Kremlin reception, Geh expressed the hope that the USSR would maintain the path towards democracy which would recognise freedom of opinion, human rights and peace (Ibid, p. 101). His successor, Robert Wedgeworth, stressed the importance of defending freedom and justice and opposing censorship and repression in closing that momentous Conference (Ibid, p. 111). He recalled that he had quoted Frederick Douglass, “… without struggle there can be no freedom …” as an encouragement to colleagues in the Soviet Union and central Europe. The coincidental timing of IFLA’s meeting with the attempted coup, although inconvenient and frightening for delegates, was fortuitous in that it established a sympathy between the visiting delegates and their eastern European colleagues.

Two years later, at the Barcelona Conference, Salvador Giner gave the plenary address, discussing the ‘universal library’ and emphasising the relationship between the library and civilised life. Decrying censorship, intellectual repression and the effects of “the new forms of computerized illiteracy and mass media torpor”, he confessed that he did not know how librarians could “fight such evils efficiently” (IFLA 1993, p. 41). However, responding to the destruction of libraries in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the concluding Council session accepted a strong resolution which condemned “this violation of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights”, expressed support and solidarity with professional colleagues in those regions and called for copies of the resolution to be forwarded to the UN, UNESCO, WHO and Article 19 (Ibid, pp. 83-84).

With this step, IFLA explicitly accepted a responsibility to object to infringements of the right to information and expressed it in terms of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Fulfilling the challenge raised by the French library associations and their supporters in 1983, 1985 and 1989, IFLA began to take action in regard to a human right without focussing on the narrowly professional, or technical, aspects. This move was the culmination of the growing
awareness of the need to take such action, prompted by the series of resolutions and statements described above. It set the scene for the formal examination of strategies to address such issues which was to be initiated at the Istanbul Conference in 1995.

Taking this seminal step at this time reflected the growing maturity and strength of IFLA as a professional and international association but also the nature of the times. In the post perestroika period there was a revival of optimism and a stronger belief in the possibility of forceful action by liberal democratic states to protect their collective security (Fukuyama 1992, pp. 282-283). Citizens of both established democracies and newly democratising states hoped to achieve Havel’s aim “for humanity’s rightful dignity, for moral integrity, for free expression of being and a sense of transcendence over the world of existences” (Havel et al. 1985, p. 48). In the new international political climate, it became possible for IFLA members to discuss such issues without threatening the harmony of the Federation, without promoting divisiveness that could be inimical to the great ideals of international cooperation on which it was founded.

By the mid nineteen nineties, IFLA was strengthening its position as a peak international professional body with increasing membership and representation from approximately three quarters of the world’s nations. The Federation was operating in a significantly altered international context which offered possibilities which had not been available previously. The Cold War ideological tension, and resultant barriers, between representatives from Western and Communist nations had been largely removed by the collapse of the Soviet bloc. Other issues were becoming more prominent including, especially, a deep concern for human rights which reflected the growth in international recognition of their importance and widespread acceptance of their universality. NGOs and IGOs had proliferated and become more influential in the processes of reordering the priorities of governments and redefining the boundaries of acceptability in governmental and intergovernmental actions.
These considerations intersected in a decision taken at the IFLA Council meeting in Istanbul in 1995. Responding to the increasing pressure from some IFLA members\textsuperscript{35}, the Council confirmed the commitment to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that had been expressed in the resolution adopted at the 1989 meeting in Paris. Under the leadership of President Robert Wedgeworth, IFLA decided to investigate what role it might play in addressing the constraints on the right to information. An ad hoc committee was established to inquire into the question and charged to advise the Federation at its next Council meeting which was scheduled for 1997 in Copenhagen.

Following the Istanbul Council resolution, the Executive Board formally constituted the Committee on Access to Information and Freedom of Expression, which came to be known as CAIFE, with 35 members from 32 nations plus two resource persons. The national origins of the Committee members were broadly representative of the diversity of IFLA’s membership and the global variety of languages, faiths and political systems. Although nine of the members came from the North American and Northern European nations which have traditionally dominated IFLA, the rest of the members were drawn from all of the continents (except Antarctica of course)\textsuperscript{36}. Professor AJ (Tony) Evans of the United Kingdom was appointed to chair the Committee. He was at that time President of the Commonwealth Library Association and had long been involved with IFLA including serving from 1983 to 1989 on the Executive Board (Evans 1995a).

\textsuperscript{35} In addition to the resolutions mentioned earlier, the issues were also raised at a conference of the International Group of the Library Association in Oxford in September 1994 which featured a keynote address by Russell Bowden (Turfan et al. 1995).

\textsuperscript{36} CAIFE members came from: Australia (1 + Executive Board representative), Canada, Chile, China, Croatia, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Lithuania, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom (1 + Chair), USA (2 + 2 resource persons), Venezuela.
CAIFE’s deliberations

In an introductory paper, Evans advised the Committee of the importance and difficulty of the task (Evans 1995b) He stressed his view that the Committee should restrict its focus to “IFLA’s area of expertise and not get involved with the much wider issues of human rights in general”. He suggested a need to first categorise the types of problems which might fall under the purview of IFLA “and to put aside those aspects which are entirely ‘political’ …” noting that “This latter point will I suspect be an extremely difficult, if not impossible task”. Nevertheless, he enjoined the Committee to produce a report which would be “internationally understandable” and should “not be too bland and generalised but … not be so specific as to restrict action and comment on a wide range of cases that will inevitably come up for consideration by IFLA in the years to come”. Finally, he noted the need to include proposals for implementation of the policies which would be recommended in the report.

By setting this agenda, Evans focussed the attention of the Committee on the outcome of its deliberations and anticipated that the result would include recommendations for both policy and action by the Federation. A number of members responded with summaries of the state of freedom of access to information and freedom of expression in their own countries. However, the work of CAIFE really began with meetings the following year at the IFLA Conference in Beijing.

Four meetings were held in Beijing, on 26, 27 and 29 August 1996, together with a guest lecture, one in a series initiated by Wedgeworth to create a climate of interest in the issues – the others were given in Istanbul (D'Souza 1995) and Copenhagen (Owen 1997). The guest lecture by Marianna Tax Choldin, a prominent expert on libraries and intellectual freedom37, highlighted the

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37 Director and Distinguished Professor of the Mortenson Center for International Library Programs at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
importance of issues of intellectual freedom for information professionals, noted that all nations have problems with access to information and freedom of expression, acknowledged that “people within a country know their own situation better than anyone outside possibly can”, and accepted a universal need for free expression which is mirrored in an “inexorable” urge to censor (Choldin 1996). Choldin concluded with an invitation to IFLA members to contribute to work of CAIFE.

Four principal issues were identified at the first meeting which was a formal meeting of the Committee (Ertel 1996a). The first was the need for a policy statement which in the view of the participants should be broader than Article 19 and must be related to libraries and librarianship, and should identify shared principles and values. This raised the question of how to address issues arising from cultural difference. The second was the need for a common vocabulary, especially in regard to the meaning for IFLA of ‘access to information’ and ‘freedom of expression’, and for the development of guidelines. The identification of procedures for addressing problems formed the third issue and the question of how IFLA might resource the work was the last. General discussion emphasised cultural differences and the importance of diplomacy. However, some feared that the approach might be too confrontational and warned that IFLA’s expertise lay in “how people need, use and access information … NOT in political issues” (Ertel 1996b).

At the second meeting, a subcommittee38 planned the Open Forum. It agreed that the Forum would offer an opportunity to gather membership opinion and that it should focus on the impact of problems on libraries and on ways to handle issues rather than the issues themselves (Ertel 1996d).

38 Evans (UK), Byrne (Australia), Choldin (USA), Doyle (USA), Ertel (USA), Møller (Denmark), Stenberg (Sweden).
Approximately 100 conference delegates attended the Open Forum (Ertel 1996b) which indicated a high level of interest since it was scheduled at the same time as the workshops held by IFLA Sections. Strong support for IFLA to become more active in this area was expressed. This might not be surprising since the participants had chosen to attend the Forum but nevertheless indicated the importance that IFLA members gave to this project. The differences were essentially those of emphasis and approach. For example, the CAIFE member from Germany, Birgit Dankert, advocated forceful action while a speaker from Guam disavowed force but encouraged regional responses. Some expressed a sense of urgency, such as Ross Shimmon who declared:

We need courage, conviction and impatience over sense of humor, diplomacy and patience. If we don’t take a stand on this, we are not an association worthy of our name. These are basic human rights. We need a policy quickly that we can promote throughout the world.

The CAIFE member from Cuba, Marta Terry, responded by recommending that IFLA should act with courage, patience and diplomacy. The Chinese member of the Committee, Ms Lou Xiaoyan, warned that any recommendations should be sensitive to cultural difference, noting that the ‘Asian way’ differed from the more forthright Western approach. Despite the variety of views expressed by these speakers, they were in agreement that this was an important area for IFLA to address. No one suggested that it would be inappropriate for IFLA to attempt to address issues relating to freedom of expression and unrestricted access to information. Some, including a representative of the Danish Library Association, recognised that effective action on these issues would “give power to the organization”.

The final meeting was a meeting of Committee members which considered the results of the Open Session (Ertel 1996c). It agreed that a number of

39 Library Association (UK), later IFLA Secretary-General.
communication strategies should be used to obtain more input to the Committee and that a draft policy statement should be prepared. Because time had run out and it was clear that the Committee could not collectively write a report, a drafting subcommittee was established to prepare a draft for discussion by email and submission to the December 1996 meeting of the IFLA Executive Board\textsuperscript{40}.

Doyle and Choldin prepared initial drafts to which subcommittee members responded. An amended version was submitted to the Executive Board which asked for a number of changes. The most important were the deletion of the detail included in a section on handling ‘specific situations’ and the decision that it would be safer to recommend the establishment of a standing committee rather than the suggested core programme. It was feared that inclusion of the former might cause controversy and thus hamper acceptance of the recommendations (Evans 1997a). Establishment of a core programme, like the long established ALP or UAP, was rejected because of the cost (Ertel 1997a). A subsequent draft was considered and accepted by the Board in April 1997 (Ertel 1997b).

Demonstrating its commitment to establishing the initiative, the Board also decided that it would prepare a draft resolution for the Council meeting in Copenhagen rather than “rely/risk” a motion from the floor (Evans 1997a). This reflected a desire to ensure that the spirit of the report would be endorsed by the Council but also indicated some uncertainty about the likely level of support. The Board wished to avoid conflict, and possible derailment of the resolution, if any more radical elements among the membership might wish to promote a more adventurous approach.

Despite the guarded approach of the Board, the remarkable unanimity which was demonstrated in the discussions between CAIFE members and with other participants in the various sessions suggested that the time had come for such an

\textsuperscript{40} Evans, Byrne, Stenberg, Choldin, Doyle, Ertel; Møller was subsequently included in the email exchange of drafts and comments.
initiative. While some expressed caution, especially in regard to becoming too ‘political’, and some emphasised economic and other barriers, the overwhelming mood confirmed that the promotion of the right to information was considered to be both necessary and an appropriate activity for IFLA. Indeed, the annoyance expressed by some at the substitution of the establishment of a standing committee in place of a core programme highlighted their strongly felt wish for action rather than words. It perhaps also reflected experience with the often ponderous operation of IFLA’s many committees and boards and a fear that this work, which they considered to be so important, might be frustrated by being passed to a committee.

Creating FAIFE, “a platform to bark from”

In its final form, the CAIFE report had five sections: introduction, principles of access to information and freedom of expression, illustrative examples of problem areas, proposals for strategic action, and mechanism for action (IFLA CAIFE 1997). It was recognised to be “beginning a conversation” and emphasised that “IFLA must focus on those issues which relate to libraries and their ability to serve their users”. The principles drew on the IFLA/Unesco Public Library Manifesto, restating that libraries should be available to all without restriction, demanding adequate funding, rejecting censorship, and respecting privacy. Examples cited included national censorship and discrimination, censorship by local groups, financial incapacity, discriminatory library policies, and the effects of commercial, trade and legal restraints. The report recommended the establishment of a standing committee which would be charged to develop IFLA policy and practice in this area, collect and disseminate information, and report regularly to IFLA Council. It cautioned against the establishment of an office “since it would draw limited resources from other areas of activity”.

Uncertain beginnings
In Copenhagen, the Committee met on 31 August and 3 September 1997 and held an Open Forum on 1 September. At the first meeting, Evans noted that the document was a compromise because of the difficulty of obtaining agreement on such a controversial topic with members from 32 countries (Ibid). At the Open Forum, President Wedgeworth introduced CAIFE and advised that a resolution would be put to the Council to recommend to the Executive Board that it should create a new standing committee to explore issues raised by CAIFE. Participants supported the initiative although there was some disappointment that the resolution proposed establishment of a standing committee rather than a more substantial mechanism such as a core programme. A representative from Denmark noted that “IFLA needs a platform to ‘bark’ from” (Ertel 1997a). Those participating in the second Committee meeting reviewed the contributions at the Open Forum and discussed possible mechanisms to facilitate rapid responses to specific cases. An offer on behalf of the Danish Library Umbrella41 to fund an office for two years was noted with gratitude (Choldin 1997).

The second session of the Council meeting endorsed the resolution submitted by the Executive Board which recommended to the Board that it should:

establish a Committee on Freedom of Access to Information and Freedom of Expression that will advise IFLA on matters of international significance to libraries and librarianship in this area, including, but not limited to:

- Censorship of library materials.

- Ideological, economic, political or religious pressures resulting in limitations on access to information in libraries, or restrictions on

41 The Danish Library Umbrella was a grouping of library associations and agencies formed to organise the 1997 Copenhagen Conference.
librarians and other information specialists who provide reference and other information services (IFLA Executive Board 1997).

The resolution was strongly supported. Not only did the Scandinavian, North American, French, UK and other ‘Western’ voting delegates support it, as might have been expected, but so did the representatives of other countries. Even though the leadership of the CAIFE investigation and the membership of the drafting committee had consisted of representatives from Western countries – UK, USA, Sweden, Denmark and Australia – the report and resolution had been broadly accepted. The strength of the vote demonstrated that the time for focus on this area of concern had come.

Finally, to acclamation, Møgens Damm, then President of the Danish Library Association, announced that the Danish Library Umbrella was offering to establish an office to service this initiative with financial support from the Danish Ministry of Culture and logistical support from the City of Copenhagen. With his statement, the new project was immediately transformed into a new core programme or activity, as they soon came to be called.

The support for the resolution clearly indicates that views within IFLA in the mid 1990s were different to those of earlier times. Although the CAIFE investigation and report set the scene, and the CAIFE meetings and forums demonstrated a desire for IFLA to address the issues, it seems remarkable that a critical mass of Council votes was available to support the project. The report had been circulated to IFLA members to facilitate consultation but there had not been widespread discussion before the proposal was put to the Council. The passage of the resolution demonstrated that enough members felt that the issues identified by CAIFE were sufficiently important for the Federation to make intellectual freedom a core focus. While this was doubtless assisted by the consideration at the same meeting of a resolution on the Front National controlled libraries in France (IFLA Council 1997), the Council had not previously translated its
concern about a specific issue into specific action let alone the creation of a mechanism to undertake systematic action on issues as they would arise in the future.

By placing their votes for the resolution at the IFLA Council meeting, the members supporting it signalled a desire for the Federation’s goals as a purposive association (Frost 2002) to include action on that fundamental human right. They effectively confirmed the earlier votes in favour of the recognition of Article 19 but went further by endorsing the creation of a mechanism for the promotion and defence of intellectual freedom in relation to library and information services. That is, they wished IFLA to offer a vehicle for advancing a basic human right to information which is recognised to constitute an essential element of civil society and for the enjoyment of citizenship.

This analysis is reinforced by noting the simultaneous establishment of the IFLA Committee on Copyright and Other Legal Matters (CLM). Its creation at the same Council meeting was a direct outcome of the success of the intervention in the 1996 WIPO\textsuperscript{42} meeting. Insertion of a knowledgeable young Australian lawyer, Jamie Wodetski, into the WIPO negotiations to represent library interests resulted in a more balanced recommendation which better served the interests of libraries and their users. It reflected the growing awareness of the issues posed for libraries and information services by global economic policies and the need to respond more actively. The initiatives to create that Committee and the FAIFE Committee at the Copenhagen meeting, both individually and together, heralded a new era for IFLA. The Federation’s preparedness to take the initiatives demonstrated a major change in its perception of its role which was also shown in the adoption of the revised Statutes. It showed that the Federation recognised the necessity of a more interventionist stance and the need to create mechanisms

\textsuperscript{42} Supranational bodies, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO), have been created to harmonise international trade relations and other policies.
outside the normal structure of divisions, sections and round tables to address the
concerns.

An important effect of this decision and its implementation would be the
extension of the understanding of the ‘constitutive norms’ (Frost 2002) of
librarianship beyond the long accepted issues of practice, technical questions,
standards and cooperation. However, it would not be correct to argue that the
supporters of the resolution wished IFLA to become solely a purposive
association at the cost of its traditional agency as an authoritative practice because
members clearly continued to appreciate the ‘value standing’ which IFLA offers
as a peak international federation of professional associations and organisations.
Rather, supporters wished to enrich the Federation by extending its ethical
justification and its remit. They wished to bring a concern with the human right
expressed in Article 19 into the internal “rules, roles, goals, traditions and ways of
being” of the library and information profession (Ibid, p. 41). By arguing that the
practice of librarianship must be essential to the enjoyment of the basic human
right to receive and impart information, supporters were investing the practice
with a higher moral purpose and thus enhancing its ‘value standing’. The cachet
thought to be offered by a strong and visible commitment to human rights reflects
the growing global acceptance and commitment to human rights or, in other
words, the commitment to membership of civil society.

But a key issue is the question of timing: why was this resolution so strongly
supported at this time? The ALA and its members had recognised the centrality
of intellectual freedom to the practice of librarianship since The library's bill of
rights (American Library Association 1939) nearly sixty years earlier and had
subsequently committed considerable resources to both the promotion and the
defence of the principle through its Office for Intellectual Freedom. Other
member associations of IFLA had subsequently adopted statements on intellectual
freedom – such as the CLA two decades before the FAIFE decision (Canadian
Library Association 1985 [1974]). The consequences of perestroika and the
dissolution of the Communist bloc must surely form part of the explanation for
the timing since that dramatic series of events removed obstacles to certain areas
of dialogue which had bedevilled the Federation throughout the Cold War.
Nevertheless, to a degree, that part of the explanation begs the question because, if
the right to information is central to the practice, why did a program to promote it
have to wait for perestroika and, indeed, for another half decade?

The zeitgeist of human rights offers a major reason. International acceptance of
human rights, and specifically of the right to information, had reached a critical
mass. This created a transnational agency of civil society which extended to the
profession of librarianship, enabling its members to feel that they could and
should make the commitment to the right to information and thus broaden the
understanding of the profession’s practice at this time. In addition, the end of the
Cold War and the corresponding ideological confrontation had removed the
ligatures imposed on the areas of acceptable professional interaction. Those
obstacles had had a most chilling effect because colleagues avoided professional
discourse which might have risked division or even the withdrawal of some
members. Their sudden removal permitted engagement with topics which would
have been impossible previously. These factors explain the enthusiastic
endorsement of the proposal which will be further discussed in Chapter 10.

Considerable support for this analysis is given by parallel developments within
IFLA including the establishment of the Social Responsibilities Discussion Group
during the Copenhagen Conference in 1997 and the strong support accorded to the
new Statutes when they were adopted in August 2000. The former acted as a
ginger group to stimulate discussion on “equality of access to library collections
and facilities, the growing gap between library rich and poor between and within
countries, and the ‘right to know’” (IFLA Social Responsibilities Discussion
Group and Kagan 2002). The latter identify the Federation’s purposes as “to
promote high standards of delivery of library and information services; to
encourage widespread understanding of the value and importance of high quality
library and information services in the private, public and voluntary sectors; and to represent the interests of its Members throughout the world” (IFLA 2002c, p. 13). Those purposes are to be guided by the following core values (Ibid, p. 14):

(a) the endorsement of the principles of freedom of access to information, ideas and works of imagination and freedom of expression embodied in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
(b) the belief that people, communities and organizations need universal and equitable access to information, ideas and works of imagination for their social, educational, cultural, democratic and economic well-being
(c) the conviction that delivery of high quality library and information services helps guarantee that access
(d) the commitment to enable all Members of the Federation to engage in, and benefit from, its activities without regard to citizenship, disability, ethnic origin, gender, geographical location, language, political philosophy, race or religion.

This statement of values places intellectual freedom and the right to information at the apex of the Federation’s approach to its objects and define a primary goal for library and information services in terms of the advancement of “social, educational, cultural, democratic and economic well-being”. It confirms that IFLA’s members wished their Federation to continue to advance their professional concerns but to do so in concert with the promotion of human rights.
The adoption of intellectual freedom as a cause by IFLA:
the development of FAIFE

The Executive Board moved swiftly to establish the new program (Sørensen 1998). I was invited to be the inaugural Chair and was asked to attend the December 1997 Executive Board meeting at IFLA Headquarters in The Hague. At that meeting the Committee on Free Access to Information and Freedom of Expression was formally established, the Danish offer was accepted and Sørensen was identified as the Board representative for the project. Secretary-General Leo Voogt, Sørensen and I agreed that we should work closely together to advance the project as quickly as possible. Following that meeting, Voogt and Sørensen took the necessary steps to establish the Committee and the Office.

Formation of the Committee and Office

Sørensen advertised for a Director for the new office. Two impressive applications were received so Sørensen decided, in consultation with the Chair and Secretary-General, to appoint both. Jan Ristarp was appointed as the first Director and Carsten Frederiksen as Deputy Director. The Office was given accommodation in the central offices of the City of Copenhagen and commenced operations in July 1998.

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Mr Jan Ristarp, from Sweden, was a former head of the Main Library of Stockholm and had considerable international welfare experience as general manager for the Swedish Government Seamen’s Service. Mr Carsten Frederiksen, from Denmark, had been the international secretary of both the Danish Union of Librarians and the Danish Library Association (Frederiksen 1998a).
Voogt circulated national library association members of IFLA inviting them to provide nominations for appointment to the new Committee. Twenty two members from 20 nations were appointed by the Executive Board. Their origins echoed the representation on CAIFE and included some of the same members. However, the lack of members from South America, South Asia or Islamic countries, in particular, was of concern to the Chair and Office. This deficiency was partially addressed after the 1998 Amsterdam Conference when the Executive Board agreed to increase the Committee membership to 27 in order to broaden the representation (Voogt 1999).

The question of representativeness was a delicate issue because of the traditional dominance of North American and Northern European (and others) members within IFLA and was especially sensitive in regard to FAIFE because of a perception by some that human rights were used by the ‘North’ to castigate the ‘South’.

The initial program

The new Committee’s brief was provided by the CAIFE report (Op cit) which recommended that it should:

- Develop IFLA policy and practices in this area.
- Work cooperatively with “all persons and groups concerned with resisting the abridgment of free expression and access to information” including creators and disseminators of information, relevant NGOs and intergovernmental organisations.

44 Armenia, Australia (Chair), Cameroon, Canada, China, Croatia, Cuba, Denmark, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom, USA, Zimbabwe (Frederiksen 1998a).
• Respond to specific incidents, wherever possible in cooperation with the national library associations, by providing advice and supportive materials and working through diplomatic channels.

• Provide a clearing house of relevant information (eg policy statements, strategies to fight violations, names of resource people and experienced contacts).

• Communicate widely, through IFLANET and other means, the issues and information on violations, being however sensitive to issues of confidentiality and the danger of reprisals.

• Liaise with IFLA HQ and the Executive Board (especially in regard to major violations).

• Cooperate with other areas of IFLA activity and in particular UAP and Copyright to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort.

• Prepare regular reports and submit them to Council.

This was reformulated as an outline for the IFLA/FAIFE project by the Chair in March 1998 in a paper which identified three priorities. It required the project to:

1. Promote freedom of access to information and freedom of expression as fundamental human rights which are vital cornerstones of the mission of libraries to be gateways to knowledge in support of human rights, peace, democracy and development.

2. Be the leading organisation in responding to attacks and limitations on libraries and librarians [seeking the support and assistance of other organisations as appropriate].

3. Support and assist other organisations which are addressing other relevant issues which may indirectly affect libraries and librarians (Byrne 1998).

The paper suggested that the success of the project would be demonstrated through effective operation of the Committee and Office and actual outcomes. In
supporting and defending freedom of access to information and freedom of expression, three key result areas were identified: promotion of the concept, advocacy in regard to incidents or violations, and the establishment of alliances with organisations pursuing similar concerns. The paper laid out the framework for a work plan, suggested a division of responsibilities between the Committee and the Office, established protocols for pursuing the project and identified a possible program for the forthcoming Bangkok Conference.

The priorities were included without change in a paper which was prepared by the Chair and Office for consideration by the Committee at its first meetings in Amsterdam (IFLA FAIFE 1998). The paper codified the scope of the IFLA/FAIFE project, formulated a strategic framework and created a work plan for 1998-1999. Three strategic themes were expressed for the program: monitoring and communications, policy development and assistance to members. The Committee endorsed the program and it was adopted by the Executive Board on 21 August 1998, forming the basis for the development of the project and offering a platform for its evaluation.

The FAIFE Committee

At its December 1999 meeting, the Executive Board appointed three additional members bringing the committee to a total of 28 full members, one resource person, a representative each of the Executive and Professional Boards, and three associate members. The Committee held two business meetings at the Jerusalem, Boston and Glasgow conferences. Like other IFLA Committees, it was somewhat hampered by only being able to meet during the annual conference. Attempts to hold mid term meetings proved unsuccessful because of the difficulties experienced by members in meeting the costs of travel and scheduling additional

45 Clara Budnik (Chile), Ana Cecilia Torres (Costa Rica) and Winnie Vitzansky (Denmark, replacing Søren Møller).
time away from work. In common with other committees, some members of the FAIFE Committee were very active, some responded to messages and provided country reports, some did not contribute at all. This caused considerable frustration to the Director, Chair and other members of the Committee who tried to encourage participation (Seidelin 2002a). Choldin stated bluntly to the Committee:

If you do wish to remain a member of the FAIFE Committee, but have not been active, please consider now how you may become an active member … Please *think seriously about your active involvement in the work of FAIFE*. Many committees on which we serve in our professional lives deal with matters that are important but not exactly earthshaking (we can all think of examples!). The issues with which FAIFE deals affect library-users in fundamental and often dramatic ways, and offer our members opportunities to make a real difference in how people access information and knowledge. Sometimes these are very serious, controversial, even life-threatening issues. Understanding the nature of our work, how do you think you personally can best contribute? What are your particular talents, strengths, and interests?

In the best case, each of us will find a niche and become an active member, contributing actively to FAIFE and working to accomplish our goals. But what about those of us who remain inactive? Perhaps the Advisory Board should review each member’s activity level on an annual basis and recommend that inactive members be retired from the Committee. What do you think about this idea? (Choldin 2002)

The problem appeared to be very difficult to overcome, presumably because Committee members had other responsibilities and priorities. For some members
there was an additional reason in that it was not a major area of interest to them personally despite their nomination by their national library association.\textsuperscript{46}

**The FAIFE Office**

The Office was initially established in the central offices of the City of Copenhagen but relocated to the Royal Danish School of Library and Information Science, elsewhere in Copenhagen, during 2000. Its activities have been summarised in a series of reports (Ristarp and Frederiksen 2000; Frederiksen 2001; Seidelin 2001\textsuperscript{a}; Seidelin 2001\textsuperscript{b}; Seidelin 2002\textsuperscript{c}; Seidelin 2002\textsuperscript{b}; Seidelin 2003).

The inaugural Director of the FAIFE Office, Jan Ristarp, retired in October 2000. The position was advertised internationally and his successor, Ms Susanne Seidelin\textsuperscript{47}, commenced on 1 February 2001. The Deputy Director, Carsten Frederiksen, left in the middle of 2001 to pursue further study. Coupled with the budgetary concerns, this meant that the Office was staffed by only one person from the middle of 2001 with resultant constraints on the achievable level of activity.

Strongly supported in its first years by the Danish Library Umbrella, City of Copenhagen and Danish Government, the Office was subsequently mainly supported by SIDA and DANIDA. This support made possible many of the achievements of the first half decade. However, that dependence rendered the project vulnerable to the possible discontinuation of the funding. From the middle of 2001, it became clear that the commitment of agencies to continue funding the

\textsuperscript{46} This was explained to the Chair and Committee by a member at a Committee meeting in Glasgow in 2002.

\textsuperscript{47} Ms Susanne Seidelin, a professional librarian, had made a significant contribution to services to the blind and print handicapped through the DAISY Consortium and thus had a good understanding of the consequences of inequality in access to information.
project was not as assured as had previously been advised by the former Deputy Director. At the same time, it became necessary to relocate from the offices of the City of Copenhagen which had been provided rent free. The move to the Royal School produced welcome synergies which occasioned the joint PhD program but it also became necessary to pay a modest monthly rent and to contribute to the cost of the PhD program. Prudence therefore dictated that the level of staffing should be reduced to the position of Director until guaranteed funding could be secured. Unfortunately, with the election of a new government in Denmark, cuts were made to DANIDA’s budget and the FAIFE Office was advised in late 2001 that funding would not continue although subsequent negotiations held some promise of the possibility of some renewed funding in 2004. This confirmed the need to secure a broader financial foundation both to safeguard the project and to confirm its global status.

The Office has been an essential facilitator of the program in its formative years but the difficulties it has faced have constrained the full development of FAIFE. Without its early establishment, the IFLA/FAIFE project would have been limited to those activities which could be pursued by volunteers on the Committee or wishing to support its objects. Its establishment, through the initiative of Danish librarians, enabled the program to develop rapidly and to address most of the goals initially envisioned as will be discussed below. However, the exhaustion of the Copenhagen Conference fund, the inability of the City of Copenhagen to continue to provide accommodation free of charge, and the discontinuation of DANIDA funding severely reduced the budgetary capacity of the Office and hence reduced the staffing to one person, the Director. This limitation both restricted the scope of the activities which could be pursued and also required the Director to devote considerable time to seeking additional funding, thus further reducing the resource available to prosecute the FAIFE program.
The first year of activity: 1998-1999

Policy development and communication were necessarily important initial priorities. The Committee held its first two meetings and an open forum at the August 1998 Conference in Amsterdam (Frederiksen 1998a).

A brochure was written and published in English with sponsorship from a Danish organisation. It was rapidly translated into 11 languages (Byrne 1999e). A website with its own domain name (http://www.faife.dk) was created and launched in November 1998 (Frederiksen 1998b). The Director and Deputy Director visited the ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom in Chicago and the Library Association, Article 19 and Index on Censorship in London to learn from their considerable experience in promoting the cause (Ristarp 1998). Participation in the Riga Conference on freedom of expression, censorship and libraries (Yushkiavitshus 1998), the New Norcia Library Lecture (Byrne 1999d) and a number of other presentations and publications expanded communication and dialogue with professional colleagues. At the IFLA Conference in Bangkok, FAIFE held two business meetings, an open session to introduce the new IFLA activity (Byrne 1999b) and a workshop (Byrne 1999c) in addition to the guest lecture on “Right to life, intellectual freedom and the need for deep dialogue between East and West” (Fernando 1999).

However, the most important development during this first year of operation was the drafting of the IFLA Statement on Libraries and Intellectual Freedom which was approved by the Executive Board on 25 March 1999, (IFLA 1999b). That Statement extended the provisions of the Public Library Manifesto and the School Library Manifesto to all libraries and information services. It asserted that “a commitment to intellectual freedom is a core responsibility of the library and information profession” thereby emphasising the change in the professional habitus. It emphasised the duality of freedom of expression and the right to information and called on libraries and their staff members to uphold the
principles of intellectual freedom. It became a key document for the prosecution of the FAIFE program.

The report to the 1999 Council meeting in Bangkok summarised these activities and also listed some of the specific issues which had arisen during the two years since the resolution in Copenhagen. They are discussed in the next Chapter and included the threat to libraries and librarians in Iran, political interference to libraries in France, a challenge to a university library in Britain, and Internet censorship in Australia (Byrne 1999e). On a more positive note, it observed that some restrictions had been lifted in Indonesia but described some of the challenges to be found in Southeast Asia with particular mention of Myanmar. It anticipated the imminent publication of country reports to summarise the global state of freedom of access to information and freedom of expression.

Policy development

As the project developed, the Chair, Committee and Office, with support from IFLA Headquarters and other sympathisers, began to address the matters identified in the CAIFE report and the subsequent papers which defined the ambit of the project.

The first CAIFE recommendation was that the new Committee should develop IFLA policy and practices in the area of intellectual freedom and libraries. This process was commenced with the initial work plan which outlined the key policy and practice issues to be addressed. The development of policy flowered with the endorsement of the *IFLA Statement on Libraries and Intellectual Freedom* mentioned above. It communicated the Federation’s position on intellectual freedom and filled a need as was demonstrated by the rapidity with which it was translated into other languages from the original English language version.
From 2001, the FAIFE Committee and Office became a major source of policy statements for IFLA. Appalled by the events of September 11, 2001 and fearful of the imposition of censorship in reaction to them, a statement on *Terrorism, the Internet and Free Access to Information* was issued on 4 October 2001 (IFLA 2001c). It argued the need to safeguard access to information in order to conquer “inequality, poverty and despair” and hence remove the reasons for which some might support terrorism. It was followed by other specifically focused statements and the landmark *IFLA Internet Manifesto* (IFLA 2002d) and the *Glasgow Declaration on libraries, information services and intellectual freedom* (IFLA 2002b).

The *Manifesto* was conceived by Shimmon and Byrne as a companion to the well established *Public Library* and *School Library Manifestos*. Work started with a discussion led by Seidelin at the Boston Conference. It was given additional impetus by the reaction of US authorities to the events of September 11, a few days after that Conference. Stories about Internet use by the terrorists responsible for the attacks led to renewed calls for controls on Internet use. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the USA PATRIOT Act in particular heightened concern because of the unconstrained powers it gave to police and security agencies to seize records of interest, including library records. This injected greater urgency into the drafting of the *Manifesto* which was finished in time to be endorsed by the IFLA Council at its second meeting in Glasgow in 2002. Even before its formal endorsement, it proved useful as a resource in workshops on freedom of access to information which were held in Chile in the middle of 2002 (Budnik 2002). However, attempts to get it adopted by UNESCO, similarly to the previous Manifestos, were sidetracked by the failure of the Secretariat to include it on the agenda for the meeting of the Intergovernmental Council for the Information for All Programme on 15 April 2002 (Koopman 2002). Nevertheless, following its endorsement by IFLA Council, it was rapidly translated into many languages which testified to its timeliness and usefulness.
The *Glasgow Declaration* was a reformulation and updating of the *IFLA Statement on Libraries and Intellectual Freedom* to take advantage of the 75\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of IFLA and the 5\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the establishment of FAIFE. Drawing on the experience of the first five years, it aimed to turn the *Statement* into a landmark declaration for the profession. Although it is too early to consider its consequences, its endorsement by acclamation and without any dissent or abstention at the first IFLA Council meeting in Glasgow indicates the very marked desire of the participants to make a strong statement about libraries and intellectual freedom. Its subsequent very rapid translation into many languages in addition to the five official IFLA languages confirmed the interest in it.

Other more specific statements were drafted on other topics of relevance to freedom of access to information. They progressively amplified IFLA’s policy framework as they addressed issues of current importance and took advantage of opportunities.

Two initiatives related to world summits. The first was a statement prepared for the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg 26 August – 4 September 2002 (IFLA 2002f). It had limited effect, probably because IFLA did not prepare adequately for the Summit by developing a clear strategy, participating in the preparatory meetings, creating alliances and lobbying governmental representatives (Vitzansky 2002). Vitzansky advised that she was embarrassed to represent the Federation with such limited preparation. She recommended that IFLA should establish an advocacy capability which could develop alliances with other INGOs and stimulate the lobbying of governmental representatives.

The lessons of that experience were taken into account in the preparations for the World Summit on the Information Society planned for Geneva in December 2003 and Tunis in 2005. The FAIFE Director and Chair attended many of the preparatory meetings working in concert with the Secretary-General, Coordinator...
of Professional Activities, President, President-elect and other members of the Governing Board. This constituted a much more significant delegation and its members were greatly assisted by Swiss colleagues who provided a local secretariat for the meetings held in Geneva. The FAIFE Director and Chair collaborated with the Secretary-General and the Coordinator of Professional Activities to prepare papers for submission to the preparatory meetings (Koopman 2003; IFLA 2002e). The warm relationship which had been developed with the International Publishers’ Association (IPA) provided the foundation for an alliance which allowed both organizations to be much more effective during the second preparatory meeting, PrepCom2, and beyond.

Another statement related to the knowledge developed and owned by indigenous peoples. The FAIFE Chair responded to a resolution submitted to the IFLA Governing Board meeting in August 2002 from the 15th Standing Conference for Eastern, Central and Southern African Library Associations (SCECSAL) 2002 meeting. The resolution was reworked as the *Statement on indigenous traditional knowledge* (IFLA 2003c) which calls on libraries to collect, preserve and disseminate traditional indigenous knowledge resources. It urges governments to exempt media recording indigenous knowledge from taxes and encourages the proper protection and use of such knowledge by recognising its special characteristics in the formulation of the principles of intellectual property.

The March 2002 Governing Board meeting had been invited to consider endorsement of the declaration of the Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) but declined to do so, deciding instead to develop its own statement access to scholarly information. It was concerned that the BOAI declaration was overly antagonistic to publishers and placed too much emphasis on specific technological methods of improving access. IFLA wished to place more emphasis on broad principles of unrestricted access to information - and especially on the needs of developing countries, indigenous peoples and the disabled.
The other major aspect of the CAIFE recommendation was that the IFLA/FAIFE project should address relevant IFLA ‘practices’ especially in regard to ‘incidents’ or ‘violations’. While the handling of incidents will be discussed in the next chapter, the principles and procedures relating to their handling should be raised here since they constitute an important set of practices for IFLA. The CAIFE deliberations and report emphasised the need to involve national library associations in the handling of incidents (perhaps not surprisingly since the CAIFE members had been nominated by the associations and several were officers in their associations). It also advocated the requirement for sensitivity to issues of confidentiality and awareness of the danger of reprisals. Those considerations and the obligation to preserve the authority and reputation of IFLA indicated the need for careful handling of incidents. It was agreed from the outset that the Chair would consult with the Secretary-General before responding to incidents and that only the Chair and Secretary-General were authorised to take action. The practice developed of close consultation between those two and the Director with reference to other interested parties, especially the national library associations. However, the national association could not be involved in some circumstances in which it could not be regarded as independent. All possible means of checking the reported facts, especially by reference to Amnesty International or IFEX members, were used. Although hopes of developing an ‘alerts manual’ were not fulfilled within the initial five year period, these practices reflected a de facto policy on handling violations.

Other practices were developed in regard to the identification and elaboration of issues and the promotion of engagement with them through publications, papers and the professional program. The approach to practices reflected a wish to be effective but without risking the reputation of the Federation. It demanded careful checking and close liaison, especially between the Director, Chair and Secretary-General.
From 1999: a developing professional program

Following the successful Bangkok Conference, the Director and Deputy Director made an investigatory trip to Cambodia. The Chair subsequently visited Russia, Finland, Sweden and Denmark to discuss issues of intellectual freedom and to promote the program. In Russia, for example, the assistance of the Library for Foreign Literature and its head, Ekaterina Genieva, opened many doors to organisations which would otherwise have been very difficult to access including the Russian State Library, the Central Archives of the Communist Party, Memorial and officials of the then government. This facilitation and the generously provided translation services offered a glimpse of the dramatic changes occurring in Russian society and opportunities to promote the ideal of unrestricted access to information. It led to a proposal to establish an IFLA/FAIFE ‘network centre’ at the Library for Foreign Literature.

Through these investigations, IFLA/FAIFE began to compile a dossier on the state of intellectual freedom in regard to libraries. The investigations were amplified by a number of country reports which were received and edited for publication on the FAIFE website. They constituted the first steps towards the publication of the *IFLA/FAIFE World Report*.

Later in 1999, the Chair wrote to the chairs of the IFLA Standing Committees and Coordinating Boards to introduce FAIFE and invite collaboration in promoting joint activities in areas relating to each the concerns of each Section or Division (Byrne 1999a). Several responded, most indicating that their plans for the next conference were well advanced but expressing interest in future collaboration. Some, however, noted that they had some difficulty in relating the IFLA/FAIFE project to their focal areas: this was more common with those Standing Committees concerned with professional practices rather than those which represent the interests of particular types of libraries. Nevertheless, the success of these approaches and the growing strength of the IFLA/FAIFE project was
demonstrated in the increasingly number and variety of FAIFE related activities at each successive conference, including some which had been organised with no involvement from the FAIFE Office or Committee.

Activities included in Conference programs included a joint session with the IFLA Committee on Copyright and Other Legal Matters on the topic of ‘Access to Information: Challenges’ which was held at the Jerusalem Conference in 2000. Participation in that Conference provided the first major challenge for the IFLA/FAIFE project because the holding of the Conference in Jerusalem was questioned by Arab and Muslim members of the Federation and a number of incidents occurred in relation to Palestinian colleagues before and during the Conference. In spite of those difficulties, the Conference was successful for IFLA/FAIFE because of the extent of the professional program and the engagement of many members with its goals.

The following year in Boston, FAIFE presented a varied program consisting of the annual open forum (on this occasion featuring a paper on the Jerusalem Conference by Ms Cendrella Abdallah), two workshops (‘X-Rated’ on personal and professional responses to ‘offensive’ materials, and ‘Taking a stand’ with presentation by Ms Linda Wright and Ms Ekaterina Genieva), an exhibition on censored titles at the Boston Public Library, and a panel discussion on the ‘independent libraries’ of Cuba (with presentations by Mr Eliades Acosta, Mr Robert Kent, Mr Stuart Hamilton and Ms Susanne Seidelin – the background to this session and its consequences are discussed in the next chapter). In addition, there was the now customary FAIFE Committee dinner, two business meetings and the Chair presented a report to the second meeting of the IFLA Council.

The Glasgow Conference in 2002 presented a similarly varied and extensive FAIFE program. It featured an open session (focusing on Libraries and Conflicts), a workshop (with the University and other General Research Libraries Section, Latin America and the Caribbean Section, and the Regional Office in
Brazil on ‘The role of the university library in promoting democracy and diversity’), and a debate (with the Section of Libraries for the Blind on ‘This house believes that the existence of separate libraries for special populations is a form of censorship’). In addition to the two business meetings and dinner for the Committee, the recently established Advisory Board held two meetings and a number of work teams held meetings. The high points were the presentation of the Glasgow Declaration to the first meeting of Council and the IFLA Internet Manifesto to the second. Both were endorsed without dissent, the former to acclamation.

Making alliances

Relationships with other relevant organisations were developed (Byrne 2001). They included International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX), UNESCO, the Council of Europe, ALA, Article19, Index on Censorship, Electronic Frontiers Australia, Transparency International and the Norwegian Forum for Freedom of Expression (especially in regard to the creation of a database on censored publications for the inauguration of the new Biblioteca Alexandrina).

Membership of IFEX was especially important because it took IFLA/FAIFE into the family of transnational social movement organisations which are primarily concerned about freedom of expression. The other members of IFEX are mostly connected to journalism or other forms of authorship and hence emphasise freedom of expression – IFLA/FAIFE highlights the counterpart, unrestricted access to information. The IFEX online newsletter provides a valuable tool for awareness of current issues and incidents relating to freedom of expression and has been used several times by IFLA/FAIFE to inform subscribers of its concerns.

IFLA/FAIFE representatives participated in many other conferences in addition to the annual IFLA Conferences. Some examples were: the seminars on libraries and democracy arranged by SAB (Swedish Library Association) in November 1999
and February-May 2000; the Crimea 2001 Conference which offered a significant
venue for meeting librarians from CIS nations; the Harare Book Fair *INBADA
2001 Changing Lives: Promoting a Reading Culture in Africa* in August 2001; the
XIX International Colloquy of Library and Information Sciences, held in Mexico
City in August 2001 and entitled “The most important problems of information in
contemporary society”. Lectures on libraries and intellectual freedom and
professional codes of ethics were given at a number of library schools including
the Royal School of Library and Information Science in Copenhagen and the
University of Technology, Sydney – in places with which members of the Office
or Committee were connected.

In addition to collocating with the Royal Danish School of Library and
Information Science, IFLA/FAIFE and the School launched a PhD co-project in
2001 on the topic “To what extent can libraries ensure free, equal and unhampered
access to Internet-accessible resources on a global scale?” It attracted twelve
applicants from whom Stuart Hamilton was selected. He soon began his research,
working in close connection with the Office.

**Publications**

The FAIFE website has been one of the most important means of communication
for the program. It rapidly became a vital source of information and resources for
those promoting freedom of expression and access to information. Thanks to the
initial work of Frederiksen, it featured a wealth of useful resources relating to
libraries and intellectual freedom. Besides the documents emanating from the
FAIFE program, it included many other papers, resources and links. A
particularly strong and valued feature has been a collection of codes of ethics and
related documents of relevance to library and information practice (IFLA FAIFE
1998 *et seq*). It offered an online clearing house of codes, policy statements,
papers and lectures and strategies. It also offered a vital means of communication.
with the professional library and information community.

The website has consequently been heavily used, particularly by students at schools of library and information science. In 2001, it received more than 30,000 successful hits per month, averaging more than 100 user sessions per day (Byrne 2001). As might be expected, the most frequent origins of hits have been in North American, Northern Europe and other countries with high Internet usage\textsuperscript{48}, but many hits also originated in less highly networked countries\textsuperscript{49}. At the end of 2002, it was integrated into IFLANET and responsibility for maintenance was transferred to IFLA Headquarters.

A series of reports on activities were prepared for the Committee, Executive (later Governing) Board and funding agencies. Reports were presented to IFLA Council in 1999 and 2001 as recommended in the CAIFE report. Many papers were given at conferences and articles published in journals, including special issues of \textit{IFLA Journal} (Henry 2000) and \textit{Index on Censorship} (Owen 1999).

However, the most significant publication was the first \textit{IFLA/FAIFE World Report: libraries and intellectual freedom} which was launched at the 2001 Boston Conference (Byrne \textit{et al.} 2001). It included contributions from 46 countries\textsuperscript{50}, representing around a third of the countries approached, and was the result of persistent requests by the FAIFE Office. It received considerable attention although the Chair acknowledged the need to secure coverage of more countries and more consistency in style and content ('Access is fragile: freedom of information' 2001). Because of the enormous effort and long time scales required

\textsuperscript{48} USA, Denmark, UK, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Finland, France, Australia, New Zealand, The Netherlands, Japan and Germany.
\textsuperscript{49} Russia, Spain, South Africa, Malaysia, Hungary, Croatia, Lithuania, Mexico and the United Arab Emirates.
\textsuperscript{50} Albania, Armenia, Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Iceland, India, Israel, Italy Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Lithuania, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Rwanda, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom United States, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

\textit{The adoption of intellectual freedom}
to produce the *World Report*, the Committee decided to alternate it with a *Summary Report* to be published in even numbered years. The first *Summary Report* (Byrne and Seidelin 2002) was launched in 2002 and canvassed major issues of concern at that time: a range of library issues relating to conflict and those relating to the Internet. The second World Report on the theme of intellectual freedom in the information society, libraries and the Internet was launched at the 2003 IFLA conference in Berlin (Seidelin and Hamilton 2003).

The country reports, published on the website and in the *World Report*, confirmed the need for the IFLA/FAIFE project. They illustrated the constraints on freedom of access to information and freedom of expression in the world. In the first *World Report*, positive moves towards protecting free access to information and freedom of expression could be discerned in Eastern Europe. However, inadequate funding prevented (and continues to prevent) library services from meeting even the most basic needs of their clients and compromises professional standards. Eastern European professionals demonstrated their commitment to free access to information through many initiatives such as opening previously closed collections of banned books. In Africa, censorship played (and continues to play) a key role in some countries where violation of human rights is part of daily life. In many countries around the world, censorship of the Internet was being attempted. Many of these issues related to the examples discussed in the next chapter.

**Growing recognition**

Despite these limitations, the work continued, culminating in the proclamation of the *Glasgow Declaration on Libraries, Information Services and Intellectual Freedom* at the 75th anniversary of IFLA in Glasgow (IFLA 2002b). The *Glasgow Declaration* reworked the principles expressed in the *Statement on libraries and intellectual freedom* (IFLA 1999b) and highlighted their importance
through a landmark declaration. At the same Council meeting, another landmark statement, the *IFLA Internet Manifesto*, was adopted (IFLA 2002d). That Manifesto was intended to parallel the earlier *Public Library Manifesto* and *School Library Manifesto* and addressed important issues of principle in regard to the Internet and libraries.

Over the period of this study, the IFLA/FAIFE project progressed from its initial project stage to recognition as a permanent IFLA core activity. At the Boston Conference it was recognised that it had reached the time for both consolidation and expansion in strategic directions. The IFLA/FAIFE Committee discussed future directions at its meetings in Boston and communicated them in its action plan trying to emphasise that “all activities should make a difference and be noteworthy” (Byrne 2001). It proposed that it should work to ensure that IFLA members would ‘own’ FAIFE and be able to translate the Federation’s commitment to free access to information and freedom of expression into their activities within IFLA and in their professional practice.

**Evaluation of the first five years of IFLA/FAIFE**

As indicated above, the recommendations in the CAIFE report provided a framework for the project and hence for its evaluation. Leaving aside the aspects relating to specific incidents and issues, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the success of the project may be considered against that framework over the initial period. An appropriate period for this study is the first five years from the 1997 resolution in Copenhagen to the 2002 proclamation of the *Glasgow Declaration*.

Incidents aside, the recommendations identified seven key areas in which outcomes would be sought:
1. development of IFLA policy and practices;
2. creation of alliances with “all persons and groups concerned with resisting the abridgment of free expression and access to information”;
3. provision of a clearing house of relevant documents;
4. wide communication;
5. liaison with IFLA Headquarters and the Executive Board;
6. cooperation with other areas of IFLA activity;
7. regular reporting to Council.

All seven areas have been addressed and have been discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. They are of course interrelated but it is useful to consider them separately in order to assess the outcomes of the project’s first half decade.

The IFLA/FAIFE project has contributed significantly to the development of IFLA’s policies and practices in relevant areas. It has been particularly influential in its work on unrestricted access to information via the Internet, which will be explored further in the next chapter. But it has also contributed to the identification of obstacles to information in other circumstances, including those experienced by indigenous peoples and by the disabled. It has also developed its practices in investigating issues of importance, stimulating recognition and debate and handling incidents. The policy work of its first phase culminated with the proclamation of the Glasgow Declaration which reinforced the commitment of the Federation to addressing issues of intellectual freedom relating to libraries. However, even before that proclamation, IFLA/FAIFE had become a major contributor to policy development on a broader front as has been demonstrated during the preparations for the World Summit on the Information Society. In this respect it is fulfilling its mission to develop IFLA policy and practices in areas relevant to its mandate, the expression of Article 19 in relation to libraries and information services.
As was discussed above, IFLA/FAIFE developed strong linkage to key organisations working in its area of interest. Most tend to emphasise freedom of expression so IFLA/FAIFE has offered a complementary voice. It has been welcomed to membership of the International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX) but IFLA/FAIFE’s concerns are somewhat submerged by the numerous and often better resourced groups concerned with censorship of free expression, particularly through the media. Nevertheless, the links with such cognate organisations as Article 19, Index on Censorship and IFEX have been most useful. Amnesty International with its broader remit, strong network and investigative resources has been of invaluable assistance in verifying incidents.

Frederiksen’s work in establishing the IFLA/FAIFE website has given the project a strong global presence by providing an important resource on freedom of expression and ethics related to library and information services via the Internet. It has proved especially useful to library associations and library schools and provided a foundation for the preparation of *The ethics of librarianship: an international survey* (Vaagan 2002a). It has supported wide communication with practitioners worldwide.

Liaison with IFLA Headquarters has been close, particularly since the appointment of Susanne Seidelin as the second IFLA/FAIFE Director. She has worked closely with the Secretary-General and the Coordinator of Professional Activities and developed warm relations with other Headquarters staff members even though she is based in Copenhagen, an hour’s flight from IFLA Headquarters in The Hague. It must, however, be questioned whether IFLA/FAIFE might have operated more efficiently if the Office had been collocated with the Headquarters. Shared use of office resources would certainly have been possible as would better coverage when the Director had to be away from the office. On the other hand, there would have been a danger that the Director’s time and energy could have been diverted from the project’s concerns to deal with other urgent IFLA business. To a degree this happened with the 2002-
2003 preoccupation with the World Summit on the Information Society when the IFLA/FAIFE Director and Chair and the IFLA Secretary-General and Coordinator of Professional Activities bore the brunt of preparing documentation and of the representation which was required to present IFLA’s concerns to the preparatory meetings.

There was considerable programmatic collaboration with many of the IFLA Sections and Roundtables and particularly the Roundtable on the Management of Library Associations under the leadership of Stenberg, who had been an active member of the CAIFE investigation. The increasing number of conference sessions which addressed issues relating to access to information, freedom of expression and intellectual freedom testified to the effectiveness of that cooperation. However, cooperation with the other core activities, except CLM, was minimal. A relationship between CLM and FAIFE was inevitable and desirable since they share a number of concerns with CLM emphasising the legal aspects.

The requirement to report regularly to Council was satisfied by the presentation of reports every second year, to the 1999 Council meeting in Bangkok and the 2001 meeting in Boston (and, subsequently, the 2003 meeting in Berlin). Policy issues were regularly taken to the Executive Board and its successor, the Governing Board. Plans were submitted to the Professional Board (subsequently Committee). However, the impetus to address the wide range of issues of concern and to satisfy the hope implicit in the 1997 Copenhagen resolution largely came from the troika of Chair, Director and Secretary-General. The level of positive feedback indicates that this reflects overall satisfaction with the progress made towards achieving the IFLA/FAIFE goals. However, it also demonstrates a degree of failure to harness a substantial group of the Federation’s officers and members to focus on those goals.
Nevertheless, this brief consideration of the degree to which IFLA/FAIFE delivered outcomes against the seven key result areas during its first half decade suggests that it achieved significant success in programmatic terms. At the end of the period, IFLA had a new range of policies, established (if \textit{de facto}) mechanisms for action and number of most important alliances. Its success in dealing with incidents will be discussed in the next chapter but, leaving that aside, it is clear from comments at the 2002 Glasgow Conference that there was very strong support within the Federation for the continuation of the project and widespread, if not completely unanimous, endorsement for its work. The major area of weakness was in the financial support for its program.

**Support for the project**

The fillip given to IFLA/FAIFE by the Danish library community’s support for the establishment of the Office at the earliest possible time enabled the project to establish itself quickly and be more successful that an unresourced committee consisting of volunteers. However, following the appointment of the second Director, Susanne Seidelin, in early 2001, it became clear that the project’s funding was precarious. As was noted at the 2001 Boston Conference, the project was vulnerable because of its dependence on DANIDA and SIDA for most of its funding. DANIDA’s inability to continue the funding for FAIFE confirmed that vulnerability\textsuperscript{51}.

\textsuperscript{51} This did not only affect FAIFE, DANIDA also terminated its previously strong financial support for bursaries, administered by ALP, which enabled librarians from developing countries to attend IFLA conferences.
IFLA/FAIFE was not alone in facing reduced resources. Despite the increasing financial soundness of IFLA, it was unable to allocate funds to maintain the operation of the core activities. The older core activities, collectively referred to as the “core programmes”, depended mainly on the support of host organisations, mostly national libraries, and some grants from other interested parties. From 2000, a number of national libraries were reviewing their support for those Core Programmes. This appeared to be largely due to changes in budgetary requirements and accountability for public authorities in many countries. Program budgeting and similar management modalities made it difficult to support externally focused activities such as the IFLA core programmes. The appointment of new chief executives in many of the host organisations may also have played a part: programs their predecessors had supported for a long time were not necessarily attractive to those wielding a new broom.

An additional factor was that many of the core programmes had been operating for many years, had achieved much during that time but were almost certainly due, perhaps overdue, for reconsideration. This had been recognised by the group reviewing the IFLA Statutes which had reported in 1998 that:

- Regular reviews of the core programmes were necessary, together with prioritising and assessment on a regular basis
- More active support from the National Libraries was desirable
- More flexible options and arrangements were needed
- The research activities could be built upon
- Ad hoc and task force arrangements may be better for some key priorities of IFLA

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52 As the Treasurer, Derek Law, commented when presenting the 2001 accounts at the Council meeting in Glasgow, “IFLA has now joined the million dollar club”. The 2002 accounts confirmed the new level of the cash flow but, as Law warned at the March 2003 Governing Board meeting, it was significantly due to the financial results of the well attended conferences in Boston and Glasgow.
• Further evaluations of the Core programmes were needed in relation to the needs of IFLA
• A redefinition of IFLA’s key professional priorities could lead to a new concept of core activities, which would match closely the Medium Term Programme (IFLA Working Group on the Revision of the Statutes 1998).

The issues had subsequently been addressed by a working party of the Executive Board (IFLA Working Group on the Core Programmes 1999) and, in consultation with the administrators of the core activities and the ‘group of seven’ host organisations within CDNL, a series of recommendations had been prepared for the Executive Board (Shimmon and Koopman 2000) That report recommended closer alignment with IFLA’s professional priorities, better planning including a 3 year business plan and the establishment of an advisory board for each core activity, chaired by a member of the Governing Board (with which the review of the Statutes had proposed to replace the Executive Board). The report also noted the prerogative of host organisations to pursue their own priorities and the need to seek alternative funding. All the recommendations were implemented, starting with the creation of the advisory boards and culminating in the December 2002 decision of the Professional Committee to conduct reviews of all the core activities by March 2005. The recommendation to seek alternative funding was implemented by writing to all IFLA members to ask them to contribute to the core activity or activities of their choice. Few did so and the attempt was judged a failure by the Governing Board which in 2003 proposed the establishment of a “Blue Ribbon Funding Committee”.

Without immediate alternative sources of funding, the decline in support for the Core Programmes posed a problem for IFLA which was raised in the annual discussions between the IFLA Executive Committee and the Council of Directors of National Libraries (CDNL). CDNL instigated an investigation, establishing an "IFLA Core Programmes Committee" led by the Director General of the National
Libraries’ Board of Singapore, Mr Christopher Chia. CDNL Committee’s report, issued in 2002, addressed all of the IFLA core activities including both the long established Core Programmes and the newer FAIFE and CLM (CDNL IFLA Core Programmes Committee and Chia 2002). It was critical of the focus and administration of the core activities but recommended no major commitment by the CDNL members. It was especially critical of FAIFE, of which it stated:

Regardless of all disclaimers, this activity is perceived as political in some parts of the world. To that extent it conflicts with IFLA’s otherwise independent stance (p. 9).

The report recommended, in somewhat patronising fashion, that “FAIFE is a new activity, which had a good start. It should be continued”. But it added:

However, to the extent that it could conflict with IFLA’s independent stance, Committee should proposed (sic) that IFLA reconsider whether FAIFE as presently defined is the appropriate vehicle for this activity, or whether it should be oriented more toward advising IFLA on ‘information society’ – related issues, and referring other issues to established NGOs or UN or other national or intergovernmental bodies as appropriate (p.10).

In common with many of the comments in the report, this criticism was presumptuous. The CDNL committee went beyond its brief to consider support for the core activities by expressing its views on IFLA priorities which are the responsibility of the Professional Committee and Governing Board. By making these criticisms, the authors suggested that they were apparently ignorant of the direct mandate given to FAIFE by the new IFLA Statutes adopted in 2000. It may be that they were simply expressing their own concerns about FAIFE or the ideologies of their home countries.
Others outside CDNL shared concerns about FAIFE being ‘political’ and felt that the issues – presumably ‘incidents’ - it identified might be better handled by other bodies. This view went to the heart of the IFLA/FAIFE project: it set the former understanding of professionalism as a largely internal construct against a broader societally contextualised professional ethic.

Even some of FAIFE’s strongest supporters were worried that its agenda might be perceived to reflect primarily the concerns of members from Western liberal democracies and to be seen as an assumption of their moral superiority, reinforcing and extending their traditional advantage in terms of professional resources and techniques. Considered in relation to the dynamics of IFLA, FAIFE could therefore be thought to be a tool for maintaining the traditional dominance of the North American and Northern European (and other) members. More pointedly, some thought that FAIFE could be vulnerable to the accusation that it was primarily a Scandinavian concern because of the strong support for the project from the Nordic countries, the location of the Office in Copenhagen and the Danish and Swedish national origins of the staff, and the highly visible participation and leadership of representatives from Scandinavia (together with those from the US, UK and Australia).

Thus, by considering the work discussed in this chapter and leaving aside the response to incidents at this point, it can be said that the IFLA/FAIFE program largely fulfilled the expectations held for it in the original mandate expressed in the CAIFE Report and the Copenhagen resolution. It delivered the anticipated outcomes and engaged with many members of the Federation and the broader library and information services profession. This success was not, however, accompanied by strong financial support from the profession. The major sources of funding at the end of the period remained the Danish and Swedish international development agencies. No major library had offered to host the program and few had contributed any funds. Many individuals had contributed time and energy but few had contributed financially. If the success of a venture can be judged by the
amount that supporters will pay to keep it going, then IFLA/FAIFE must be judged a failure. However, the unanimous support for the *Glasgow Declaration* and *IFLA Internet Manifesto* among other achievements showed that the Federation’s membership did support the program very strongly – their lack of financial support probably reflects the dynamics of a service profession which is largely, if not entirely, government supported in many countries.
IFLA/FAIFE and the politics of action:
from Cuba to Zimbabwe

The establishment of the IFLA/FAIFE project was inspired by a wish to promote a broader ethos of librarianship. From the 1989 resolution at the Council meeting in Paris, and before, a proportion of the Federation’s membership wanted a more explicit commitment to advance human rights in IFLA’s program and in the profession’s practice. However, from the beginning of the investigatory committee, CAIFE, some members also wanted IFLA to take actions on ‘incidents’ or ‘violations’ of human rights of relevance to library and information service. This feature of the mandate for FAIFE is considered in this chapter, separately from the programmatic aspects discussed in Chapter 5, because its adoption introduced a more performative style than had been manifested in IFLA’s previous programs. It consequently had implications for the development of the initiative, its impact on IFLA and its recognition beyond the Federation.

The CAIFE report recommended that the new initiative should “respond to specific incidents”. The term, which was also used in early formulations of the FAIFE project, is studiously neutral. It conveys that the occurrence under consideration may not be fully comprehended but has the potential to have grave consequences (Delbridge et al. 1981). The term is appropriate since, for most of the incidents discussed in this chapter, a specific event brought the matter to the attention of IFLA/FAIFE. Nonetheless, all exposed underlying issues, and usually a complex of issues, relating to the promotion and protection of intellectual freedom. In some cases, such as the detention of Mr Song Yongyi in China, the specific circumstance demanded immediate attention but it also served
to highlight a range of systemic issues – the restrictive policies of the Chinese Government in that case.

The CAIFE report suggested a number of guidelines for the manner of the response, including the need to work “with IFLA HQ and the Executive Board (especially in regard to major violations)”, “wherever possible in cooperation with the national library associations”, “by providing advice and supportive materials and working through diplomatic channels”, by providing “a clearing house of … strategies to fight violations, names of resource people and experienced contacts”, and by communicating widely “the issues and information on violations”. This advice to combine a degree of boldness with considered process reflected the views expressed at the CAIFE meetings. Cognisant, most likely, of the experience of Amnesty International and other interventionist human rights organisation, the CAIFE report included two cautionary notes: “Liaise … especially in regard to major violations” and “Communicate widely … being however sensitive to issues of confidentiality and the danger of reprisals” (IFLA CAIFE 1997, emphasis added).

Implementation of this feature of the FAIFE mandate was quite novel because IFLA had not had a program through which it might identify and respond to incidents. Previously established programs such as ALP and UAP had sought to address systemic barriers to access to information by building professional capacities, improving methods and instituting standards. They had not identified a need for a process to identify relevant events and then to respond to them but, rather, sought to address the causes of disadvantage through long term programs and focussed projects.

Except for general expressions of concern and a few resolutions, IFLA had developed no mechanism for action even during periods in which the operations of libraries were severely compromised and many were destroyed. For example, the destruction of libraries during World War II had neither been addressed at a
political level nor through any program aimed at ensuring their protection. More recently, the Preservation and Conservation (PAC) core programme, which might have been expected to have a programmatic interest in the destruction of library collections through natural disaster or warfare, eschewed response to specific incidents. It concentrated on the development and implementation of means of ensuring preservation and good practice in preparation for disaster, citing lack of resources to provide timely assistance in times of catastrophe (Varlamoff 2002a; Varlamoff 2002b). Formation of the International Committee of the Blue Shield in 1996 by IFLA and its siblings, the International Council on Archives (ICA), International Council of Museums and the International Council on Monuments and Sites had constituted the Federation’s major attempt to take a stand on such issues but without any resources to commit to investigation, triage or reconstruction.

In contrast to the many associations and centres which endeavour to promote freedom of expression and to defend journalists and other writers facing threats, the library and information services sector had no organisation established to offer similar advocacy internationally on behalf of librarians facing intimidation or in favour of unrestricted access to information. The reasons for this reticence on the part of the library and information profession will be explored in a subsequent chapter. However, one stated reason was curious: the view that incidents do not happen frequently, a suggestion that book burning, censorship and political intimidation belonged to other times and places. Even within the deliberations of CAIFE, there was some scepticism about the occurrence of relevant events. Evans, the Chair of CAIFE, stated to the Committee meeting in Beijing and in his introduction to the open forums in Beijing and Copenhagen that he had experienced difficulty in identifying incidents and that they seemed to be

53 Although IFLA had taken some actions including providing assistance with the distribution of books to prisoner of war camps (Campbell 2002).

54 The American Library Association’s Office of Intellectual Freedom offered, and continues to offer, an exemplary demonstration of the need for such bodies in the library and information field but its mandate is restricted to the United States.
uncommon (Evans 1996a; Evans 1996b; Evans 1997b). Others, including Choldin, Dankert, Byrne and Doyle had no doubt that there were many circumstances requiring action at an international level. They justified their belief by reference to the frequency of matters addressed by the American Library Association (ALA. Office for Intellectual Freedom 2002). Despite the scepticism, the need for a mechanism to handle incidents had, of course, been raised within IFLA more than a decade earlier in the Munich resolution (IFLA 1983, p. 88). It recognised the importance of human rights and the need for solidarity with colleagues facing persecution for their opinions. The CAIFE report finally offered a mechanism to fulfil the resolution’s expressed mandate for the IFLA President to intervene on behalf of persecuted colleagues.

The Chair’s initial outline for the project identified response to incidents as one of the three priorities for the FAIFE project. It also suggested that alliances with other organisations should be developed in order to seek their assistance with incidents within IFLA’s purview and to offer assistance with incidents in their spheres of action. The CAIFE deliberations and report emphasised the need to involve national library associations in the handling of incidents. It also advocated the requirement for sensitivity to issues of confidentiality and awareness of the danger of reprisals. Those considerations and the obligation to preserve the authority and reputation of IFLA indicated the need for careful handling of incidents. It was agreed from the outset that the Chair would consult with the Secretary-General before responding to incidents and that only the Chair and Secretary-General were authorised to take action.

**Incidents over the first five years**

An extensive range of incidents came to the attention of the IFLA/FAIFE Office and Committee over the first half decade of the initiative. It is certain that they

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55 Noted during discussions between CAIFE members in Beijing and Copenhagen.
represent only a small proportion of the incidents which occurred over the period. This is clear because the circumstances which have led to the reported violations exist in many countries beyond those in which they have been reported. It is also corroborated by the experience of the American Library Association’s Office of Intellectual Freedom: despite the relative freedom enjoyed in the United States of America, it has no shortage of incidents to deal with throughout every year.

For IFLA/FAIFE, the number of incidents handled has been limited essentially by the resources available to handle them which, for most of the period, consisted of the Director of the FAIFE Office in Copenhagen and a volunteer, necessarily part time Chair based in Sydney. Without efficient procedures for discovering incidents and a manual for handling alerts, only those cases brought directly to the attention of IFLA/FAIFE or discovered by the Director or Chair could be noted. Lacking the investigatory resources available to an organisation of the scale of Amnesty International, IFLA/FAIFE could not actively investigate and pursue more than a handful of incidents each year. Although hopes of developing an alerts manual were not fulfilled within the first five years, practices developed which reflected an agreed approach to handling incidents. They included close consultation between the Chair, Secretary-General and Director on all incidents. Reference to other interested parties, especially the national library associations, was made when necessary and appropriate, that is except in those circumstances in which the associations could not be regarded as independent. All possible means of checking the reported facts, especially by reference to Amnesty International or IFEX members, were used.

In spite of the limitations imposed by the available resources, the range of incidents is extensive, as can be seen from the chronological list of incidents, issues and events which have been noted by IFLA/FAIFE over its first half decade and are summarised in Table 1.

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56 A draft alerts manual has been prepared for consideration by the FAIFE Committee at its 2003 meeting in Berlin.
Table 1  IFLA/FAIFE incidents, issues and events 1997-2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Incident</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Front National control of libraries</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Book burning at Ekaterinburg</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mapplethorpe photographs</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Legislative protections for FAIFE</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Library association codes of ethics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>IFLA 2000 Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Intimidation of operators of independent libraries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Cuba blockade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Damage to libraries in Kosovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Destruction of libraries in East Timor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Child Internet Protection Act (CIPA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Internet censorship legislation</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Detention of Mr Song Yongyi</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Internet censorship legislation</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Pornography and libraries</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Harry Potter censorship</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Attempted intimidation of Mr Driden Kunaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Closure of British Council Library</td>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Histories bowdlerised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Removal of titles from school reading lists</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>School library censorship</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>September 11 attacks</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Elsevier removal of articles from full text journals</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Damage to libraries through conflict</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Ottawa public library staff action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Basic Law Article 23</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Destruction of Palestinian libraries and archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>USA PATRIOT Act</td>
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</table>
The locations of the incidents extend from those which occurred in liberal democracies including France, Australia and the United States to those manifested under repressive regimes such as that imposed by the Mugabe Government in Zimbabwe. The recorded incidents were spread around the globe but in relatively few countries. No incidents were recorded in Latin America outside Cuba, in Africa outside South Africa and Zimbabwe, in Europe outside France and the UK or in most Asian countries. Of course, this does not mean that no incidents occurred during the period in the other countries and far less that there were no issues to be addressed. The experience of the ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom has convincingly demonstrated that no country could be free of issues relating to libraries and intellectual freedom. Its reports and historical evidence confirm that attempts to limit access to information, both in specific instances and systematically, are all too frequent. The broad distribution of issues has been confirmed through the country reports published in the IFLA/FAIFE World Report series. Thus, the limited geographical distribution of incidents recorded over the first five year reflects patterns of reporting and the limited resources of IFLA/FAIFE to identify, verify, document and respond to incidents. As a Committee member, Yasuyo Inouye, said at the FAIFE workshop in Bangkok: “we do the best we can”.

Some of the incidents, or rather issues in this respect, have had widespread relevance and are included in the list above with the countries affected listed as ‘various’. However, even those which were reported from specific countries often had wider ramifications either because they represent ‘types’ which have been manifested elsewhere or because they offered models which could be or have been imitated in other countries. Some were instigated by pressure groups within civil society, others by elements preying on civil society and others by governments. Some were a consequence of overt conflict. However, most occurred within societies operating largely or entirely within the norms of civil society although many involved aspects of societal conflict.
Early reports: 1997-1999

The incidents recorded in 1997 and 1998 occurred as IFLA/FAIFE was being established and before the appointment of the Committee members or initiation of the Office. No formal action was therefore taken to address them. Nevertheless, they provided early confirmation of the need for the FAIFE project and they offer examples of the issues with which the profession needs to deal.

In particular, the burning of books at Ekaterinburg harked back to the destruction of heretical works by the Inquisition. Books by modern philosophers were burnt by order of the bishop who was evidently alarmed by developments in modern Russia (Genieva 2001). The events starkly illustrated the ideological battles between church, state and secular society in post Communist Russia. They demonstrated the capacity of a religious pressure group, in this case the revitalised Russian Orthodox Church, to exert its moral views thereby challenging intellectual freedom. In a time of transition to democracy, this illustrated the challenges to those who would advocate freedom of access to information and other freedoms.

The Mapplethorpe case was less dramatic in form but perhaps more alarming for many citizens of liberal democracies because it occurred in the United Kingdom. The sequence of events was simple (University of Central England 1998; Byrne 1999d). A student at the University of Central England in Birmingham took photographs of illustrations in a book on the eminent photographer Mapplethorpe which had been published by Jonathan Cape (Mapplethorpe 1992). She dropped the film off for developing at a pharmacy. The shopkeeper decided the photographs were obscene, informed the police, who demanded that the University surrender the book and subsequently advised the Office of Criminal Prosecutions. The book was eventually returned and no charges were laid but the action caused considerable concern among librarians, especially in the UK. Reasons for concern included the breach of the confidentiality which the student...
might have expected from the film processor and the interference with study and research. Both the shopkeeper and the attending police applied a moral regulatory frame in deciding that Mapplethorpe’s photographs were obscene and that their reproduction warranted action even though they had been published in the United Kingdom by a highly regarded publisher. However, even without that evidence of acceptability, the events challenged the educational role of the library and the professional habitus of its staff. Even though many people might find Mapplethorpe’s photography confronting in subject and depiction, most university library staff would feel that they provide information materials to support research and study non-judgementally. This perspective was underlined by the response of many librarians on hearing of the events: their initial reaction was to express concern that the student had potentially breached copyright rather than about the alleged reproduction of obscenity (IFLA members 1999).

These events demonstrated the need for international defence of unrestricted access to information via libraries as identified in the CAIFE report. However, the actions of Front National politicians in municipalities in the south of France showed a graver dimension. In that case, the members of the local authorities elected in 1995 told the public libraries that they must remove ‘unsuitable’ titles from their acquisitions lists and must collect and make available more ‘balanced’ materials including Front National publications (Belayche and Bonnale 1999). The public librarians distinguished themselves by resisting those instructions in a long running campaign but their resistance led to many losing their positions. A resolution on the issue was adopted at the IFLA Council meeting in Copenhagen at which FAIFE was established. It expressed grave concern and called for legislation to ensure that public libraries could be operated in accordance with the Public Library Manifesto (IFLA Council 1997). The events confirmed that a liberal democracy was not immune to extremist political pressure and that elected officials would not necessarily uphold the independence and non-discriminatory policies of libraries. They also demonstrated the difficulty of verifying details and
responding appropriately to incidents in other countries and other languages and in collaboration with other organisations.

With the establishment of the IFLA/FAIFE Office and appointment of Committee members in the middle of 1998, the new initiative began to develop. Carsten Frederiksen, the Deputy Director of the Office, began to build a website which would develop into a resource to promote the aims of the FAIFE initiative and to support colleagues in advocating the interests of intellectual freedom in relation to libraries. The website featured a wide range of papers on the initiative and related topics including papers given by the Office staff, Committee Chair and others at a variety of conferences. Particularly valuable was the early inclusion of codes of ethics drawn from many national library associations (IFLA FAIFE 1998 et seq). They provided models for others developing codes of ethics, especially those in the newly independent Eastern European nations. Also important were a range of legal instruments and other documents setting out legislative protections for freedom of access to information and freedom of expression. These developments were not ‘incidents’ in the sense of specific events but have been included here because the development of the website constituted a strategy to address pre-emptively important issues which condition the likely occurrence or possible responses to specific incidents. For example, the lack of a code of ethics on the part of the French national library association, Association des Bibliothécaires Français (ABF), removed an important tool which might have been used in response to the Front National officials’ actions.

Despite the limited number of incidents handled, the biennial report to IFLA Council which was presented in Bangkok in August 1999 had much to report on the development of the initiative. It also highlighted the wide ranging

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57 The website was initially located in its own domain on a server in Denmark at http://www.faife.dk but was later relocated to the IFLA website server hosted by INIST in France at http://www.ifla.org/faife.

58 The ABF adopted a code in 2003 drawing on the resources on the IFLA/FAIFE website. It has since been added to the website.
implications of the IFLA/FAIFE program by reference to the region in which the conference was being held (IFLA 1999a):

In this part of the world, Southeast Asia, we have been heartened to see the lifting of some restrictions in Indonesia. Formerly banned serials have been permitted to publish. Information, long suppressed, on such issues as the extra-judicial killings in Aceh and Timor Timur has been published. The works of the great Indonesian writer, Pramodiya Ananta Toer, have at long last been published in his own country, many years after their international publication and acclaim. However, despite the tremendous expansion of literacy since Independence, most of the population has little access to the information required to take charge of their lives. Independent information on such issues as the effects of agricultural chemicals, pollution and health is not readily available. Even in the universities, information access is limited, through import restrictions and through lack of purchasing power.

Lack of purchasing power has been a longstanding concern of libraries throughout the region, as in other developing countries. It has been exacerbated since the regional currency crisis of 1997. The concerns, however, run deeper: both local and international commentators express concern about freedom of expression and access to information in the countries of Southeast Asia. In the Philippines, for example, it is concern about suppression of the media. In Singapore, about Internet control. Closer to Bangkok, we see the valiant efforts of our colleagues from Cambodia and Laos to rebuild their shattered libraries. Looking across the long border with Burma, we see unbridled suppression of individual liberty. We see a nation in which the 1974 Constitution and the current Government do not recognise the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
This summary identified many issues of relevance to the initiative which could be expected to spawn many incidents whether or not they had been or would be reported formally. It also set ambitious aims for the initiative if it was to address the issues and to develop a means of identifying, investigating and responding to the incidents the existence of which it recognised. The collection of country reports for the World Report began at that time as a way to document both systemic issues and significant incidents within the constraints of the resources available to the initiative.

Conflict and libraries

However, that year, 1999, brought a number of incidents and issues. The damage to libraries in Kosovo in the bitter internecine fighting between ethnic Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia offered a dramatic illustration of the vulnerability of libraries to organised destruction. A sustained campaign of ‘cultural cleansing’ started around 1991 and included the harassment of Albanian speaking staff, the removal and pulping of library resources in the Albanian language or dealing with Albanian culture (Frederiksen and Bakken 2000; Frederiksen and Bakken 2001). Reminiscent of the Nazi destruction of ‘Jewish’ books and ‘degenerate’ art, these actions sought to expunge Albanian culture from the Kosovo region.

IFLA/FAIFE responded to the allegations by investigating and documenting the events with support from the Council of Europe. It was subsequently asked to contribute to the reestablishment of library services by assisting with the development of a new library law, demonstrating the value of the gathering of resources on the website which had been initiated by Frederiksen.

The incident raises major ethical dilemmas concerning the responsibilities of librarians and libraries. Particularly under question is the culpability of those library staff members who were directly involved and that of those who were aware of the process but said nothing. In addition, those who were ignorant of the
program might have been more watchful and responsive since, with the benefits of hindsight, a decade-long failure to identify and engage with the issues can be perceived. From a broader perspective, the events challenge the profession to devise ways in which it might ensure that such a pattern of events would not happen again. Besides demonstrating their vulnerability to destruction, the evidently strongly felt need to destroy confirms the importance of libraries as symbols and practical demonstrations of cultural identity.

Libraries were also destroyed in East Timor during the rampage by militia with Indonesian army support in September 1999 (Blood 2001). However, in this case, the destruction was not intended to remove references to a particular culture: it formed an element of the wide scale destruction of infrastructure in the then province following the very decisive ballot for independence from Indonesia. It was thus more of an act of revenge, anger and intimidation. The destruction of libraries along with schools, hospitals, telecommunications and all other elements of civil infrastructure created a most severe handicap for the new nation of Timor Loro’sae but the evidence of cultural identity was to be found in the language, stories, songs and skills of the people rather than in the libraries since those institutions had been established by the occupying Indonesian authorities. Documentation on the country and its people was more likely to be found in libraries outside the country including those of the former colonial power, Portugal, and of the near neighbour, Australia. Nevertheless, the events demonstrated IFLA’s impotence in response to such destruction.

The events in Kosovo and East Timor highlighted the challenge for IFLA to respond to the effects of conflict on libraries and information services. The Kosovo experience demonstrated that, given sufficient resources, IFLA could mount an effective investigation of alleged destruction, document the incident fully and contribute to the reestablishment of library services. However, it also showed that there was no mechanism to obtain early warning of possible incidents and no capacity for early intervention. Any response was highly dependent on the
resources available to address it. IFLA/FAIFE was enabled to be successful in Kosovo because the support from the Council of Europe. It was ineffectual in East Timor because similar support was lacking: the response there was limited to voluntary assistance from professional colleagues, principally from Australia.

Some progress, but also continuing impotence, can be seen by moving forward to consider the events in Afghanistan in 2002 and Iraq in 2003.

The world was shocked by the destruction of the giant statues of Buddha at Bamiyan in Afghanistan by the ideologues of the Taliban regime. The wanton destruction of such ancient cultural treasures presented the regime as anti-culture, further damaging the Taliban’s image which was already unacceptable to many because of their opposition to women’s participation in education, employment and civil society. It created considerable sympathy for the American led invasion which had been mounted to eliminate the Al-Qaida terrorists held responsible for the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and Washington. IFLA/FAIFE had previously taken no action on the neglect of libraries and strictures against use by women under the Taliban regime. Nor was it able to intervene after the invasion removed that regime. A desk report on the situation was prepared (Seidelin 2002d) and proposal to intervene was developed and submitted to UNESCO (IFLA/FAIFE 2002). Despite considerable pressure from members of the IFLA/FAIFE Office and Committee and IFLA Headquarters no resources were made available to support any intervention, even an investigation.

In the period leading up to the invasion of Iraq, on the other hand, warnings were voiced by international scholars and those concerned with cultural heritage such as the International Committee of the Blue Shield under IFLA leadership (Blue Shield 2003b). The danger to cultural resources and sites was acknowledged to be an issue by UK Prime Minister Blair who indicated that the resources and sites would be safeguarded. However, the invading forces stood by while antiquities in the Museum of Archaeology were looted and destroyed, the National Archives
and the Koranic library were burnt and other museums and libraries were looted and damaged (Fisk 2003). Blue Shield expressed its dismay and participated in discussions with UNESCO and other agencies to mount a prompt investigation and recovery program (Blue Shield 2003a). US occupation authorities prevented the entry of some specialists initially although others were permitted to enter later. IFLA/FAIFE also raised awareness of the issue (Byrne 2003b). When experts were permitted to investigate, it became clear that some materials had been transferred to safe keeping, some had been damaged and some had disappeared and were probably destined for the illicit market (Arnoult 2003). The scale of the destruction, starkly depicted in photographs, was sobering. Urgent action to ensure the security of collections and building and to prevent further deterioration was recommended.

This series of incidents and the responses to them have demonstrated that conflicts raise major issues for libraries extending from outright destruction to ‘cultural cleansing’ and with many consequences for the communities they serve. To variable degrees, IFLA and its FAIFE program have been able to warn of the likely consequences, document some of the consequences and contribute to the subsequent recovery. Blue Shield has proved to be a useful mechanism to raise concerns in coalition with the other international peak bodies concerned with heritage. It has also provided some useful statements of principle built around the Hague convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict (United Nations 1954). But this places the focus on the consequences for the preservation of heritage, it neglects the very serious damage caused to communities through the loss of civic institutions such as libraries. That damage includes inability to support education and social development as well as the removal of potent symbols of identity. Further, the capacity of IFLA and FAIFE to act has been severely constrained by the limited resources available to support such work, especially in unsafe environments in which the security of any investigators and advisors must be safeguarded.
“Next year in Jerusalem”

An issue of a different order came to prominence during 1999. It was the consequence of the decision to hold the IFLA 2000 Conference in Israel and especially in the contested city of Jerusalem. That decision had been made in 1995 in the optimistic climate following the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (Hirsch et al. 2002). Many were inspired by the notion of librarians as ‘people of the book’ going to the home of the ‘peoples of the Book’, a city considered to be sacred by the three great monotheistic religions, at the end of the second millennium in the Christian calendar.

However, the decision of the Israeli National Organising Committee to hold the conference in Jerusalem provoked concern among many from Arab and Islamic nations. IFLA’s acceptance of an Israeli Library Association invitation to Jerusalem was considered to offer tacit recognition of the Israeli Government’s claim over the contested city. In addition, there was concern that some delegates from Islamic nations would be unable to obtain visas to enter Israel or would be prevented by their own governments’ policies from visiting Israel. This led to threats of a boycott and the promotion by the Arab Federation for Libraries and Information (AFLI) of an alternative conference to be held at the same time as the IFLA Conference.

The IFLA/FAIFE Office produced a report on the background with recommendations on measures to address the concerns (IFLA/FAIFE 1999b). It covered the status of Jerusalem and the situation in regard to human rights with particular attention to freedom of information. The recommendations recognised that it would be undesirable to cancel, especially at such a late date, and attempted to mediate by recognising the various positions. It suggested that the Executive Board should issue a statement affirming that IFLA convened the conference to further international understanding and also that IFLA recognised “the importance and sensitivity of the issue of Jerusalem to all parties”. It further recommended
that IFLA should urge “the Israeli Organizing Committee to officially include representatives of the Palestinian library community in its work and to let the Jerusalem conference reflect and represent both parties claiming the city”. And it proposed an IFLA delegation to Jerusalem before the end of 1999 in order to emphasise the Federation’s position and to report back to the Executive Board. Finally, it suggested a number of programmatic initiatives to recognise the issues of concern within the conference and in a pre-conference seminar. The Executive Board essentially followed these recommendations but the Israeli National Organising Committee remained obdurate and there was no official Palestinian involvement in the organisation or delivery of the conference. The delegation returned from its visit and confirmed that the conference would proceed.

Minimising the seriousness of the breach, a member of the delegation, Treasurer Derek Law, exclaimed whimsically at the end of the 1999 conference the traditional Jewish prayer of hope: “Next year in Jerusalem!”

In the event, AFLI did not proceed with an alternative conference but a number of delegates were denied entry to Israel and others chose not to attend or were prevented by the authorities of their own nations. FAIFE Office staff and some other colleagues met with representatives of the Palestinian Library Association who reported harassment by Israeli authorities immediately before the conference. The official opening speaker was a member of the Knesset, Mr Zevulun Orlev, who had been invited by the Israeli National Organising Committee. He provoked anger by welcoming delegates to Jerusalem, “the undivided capital of Israel”. Delegates on a library tour to the West Bank complained that their Israeli guide tried to deny them a visit to a Palestinian library and that the visit appeared to be staged when they insisted that it should proceed (Haggström 2000). A summary of the issues from the Arab and Islamic perspectives was provided the following year at the conference in Boston (Abdallah 2001).

Many delegates were perturbed by the events surrounding the conference and were dismayed by the exclusion of Palestinian colleagues. More were concerned
that IFLA had come uncomfortably close to schism. Concerns had been voiced about holding previous conferences in countries with poor records of supporting human rights including Moscow 1991, Havana 1994, Istanbul 1995 and Beijing 1996. But in those cases an argument had been sustained that it was desirable to go to such countries and speak about open societies. The contested nature of the city of Jerusalem and strong feelings about the Israeli-Palestinian issues had rendered this a much more divisive issue which had the potential to split the Federation. It did not split because AFLI and other Arab and Islamic representatives restrained their actions to criticising the holding of the conference in Jerusalem and chose not to secede or hold the mooted alternative conference. This may in part have been due to the sympathy for the plight of Palestinians expressed by many conference delegates and behind the scenes diplomacy including meetings with the Palestinian Library Association.

Shortly after the IFLA Conference, the Intifada resumed (Hendriks 2000). Among the aggressive actions perpetrated by both sides, libraries and archives were damaged or destroyed especially in Palestinian areas (Hanafi 2002; Sayej-Naser 2002; Litwin 2001 [1998]). AFLI called for condemnation of the destruction (Gdoura 2002). IFLA/FAIFE investigated and proposed that a delegation should visit to investigate effects on both Israeli and Palestinian services but it was precluded by the security situation.

In response to the dismay expressed by members at the destruction, the Council of the American Library Association adopted a resolution on the destruction of Palestinian libraries, archives, and other cultural institutions on 19 June 2002 prompting angry responses from some members, one of whom wrote:

It is a further waste of the American Library Association's time and energy to involve itself in a political issue such as this. I had always believed that the ALA was a professional and therefore politically neutral organization. I respectfully request that the American Library Association demonstrate
the level of professionalism for which I have come to admire the organization by retracting this politically charged and wholly unnecessary resolution (Bernstein 2002).

This not only reiterated the strong feelings on the conflict but again highlighted differing interpretations of the boundaries of professionalism.

‘Independent libraries’ in Cuba: FAIFE’s coming of age

Late in 1999, another very divisive issue was brought to the attention of the IFLA/FAIFE Office. It was the alleged intimidation of the operators of so called independent libraries in Cuba. The Office investigated the report and concluded that intimidation was indeed occurring (IFLA/FAIFE 1999a). On raising the issue with the Cuban Library Association, ASCUBI, the Office was informed that nothing was known of these matters. It became clear that the ‘independent libraries’ consisted of collections of books from several hundred to perhaps two thousand in private houses. Their proponents claimed that they were made available to the general public and offered access to materials not obtainable through Cuba’s government supported libraries. Their opponents denied that they were real libraries since they were not operated by qualified librarians and were located in private houses and therefore not available to the general public. Further, they argued that the ‘independent libraries’ were operated by dissidents and were a United States supported front for subversion of the Cuban Government. This was not denied by the operators of the ‘independent libraries’ who claimed that they were trying to counter censorship in Cuba. Cuban authorities and their supporters countered that there was no censorship in Cuba, in Castro’s words at the Havana International Book Fair in February of 1998, "In Cuba there are no prohibited books, only those we do not have the money to buy".
The Chair, in consultation with the FAIFE Office Director and the IFLA Secretary-General, decided that the fundamental question was the principle of freedom of access to information. Whether the ‘independent libraries’ could meet formal definitions of libraries or not and whether their operators were dissidents or not were essentially irrelevant. The core issue was simply that of freedom of information: if there was indeed no restriction on access to information in Cuba then there could be no harm in anyone providing access to books in any way. On that basis, the Chair wrote an open letter to President Castro calling for respect for the principle of freedom of access to information. No response was ever received from the Cuban Government but highly indignant responses came from Cuban library authorities and the report and letter were seized upon by supporters of the ‘independent libraries’, especially Mr Robert Kent of the ‘Friends of Cuban Libraries’, a US based body opposed to the Cuban Government.

Passions ran high on this question at the following IFLA conference in Jerusalem. Ms Marta Terry, distinguished Cuban librarian and former member of the IFLA Executive Board, denounced the IFLA/FAIFE report and action as “Calumnia!” (Terry 2000). Former IFLA President Robert Wedgeworth commented to the Chair that this matter would constitute the “coming of age of FAIFE” (Wedgeworth 2000).

He was correct. It has been the longest running and most intensively debated matter addressed by IFLA/FAIFE during the first six years of its operation. On one side, Kent has kept up a barrage of email messages denouncing Cuban Government oppression, especially of the operators of the ‘independent libraries’. On the other, Cuban librarians have felt that their professionalism has been traduced and their achievements denigrated. Their supporters, principally found in the USA and UK, have vociferously denigrated the ‘independent libraries’ and

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50 Evidence for this view was later provided in a book distributed by the National Librarian of Cuba. It had been compiled by “agents of Cuban State Security” according to the title pages (Elizade and Baez 2003).
60 “Slander!”
denounced Kent and the ‘Friends of Cuban Libraries’. Both the Cuban librarians and their supporters have argued that the economic distress caused by the continuing US Government enforced embargo of Cuba has been the major impediment to access to information. However, outside North America and, to some degree, Latin America this issue raised much less interest and was considered by some to be a distraction from other important issues.

Throughout this debate, IFLA/FAIFE focussed on the principle enunciated at the outset. It investigated and prepared reports twice, the original in 1999 (IFLA/FAIFE 1999a) and another in 2001 following an investigatory visit to Cuba (Seidelin 2001c). A debate on the issue was held at the 2001 Boston conference: it featured Mr Eliades Acosta Matos, National Librarian of Cuba, as well as Kent. A resolution calling on the United States to remove the embargo was adopted at the IFLA Council II meeting in Boston. In addition to the original open letter, statements criticising the arrest and imprisonment of ‘independent librarians’ in a crackdown on dissidents and against US embargo were issued in 2003 (IFLA 2003b; IFLA 2003a).

The IFLA/FAIFE program ‘came of age’ through this experience because it was required to prove its capacity to make an independent judgement based on the principles it was established to uphold. It had to demonstrate that its objectivity could be swayed neither by the attacks from the contending sides nor by any personal considerations such as ideology or feelings for or against the proponents or opponents. Bias and the appearance of bias could be avoided through well researched reports and measured statements. However, the experience also exposed the need to resist the diversion of the limited resources of IFLA/FAIFE from program priorities to respond to the persistent and determined agitation of advocates concerned to advance a single issue.
The release of Song Yongyi

An incident in China demonstrated that representations from bodies such as IFLA/FAIFE could be effective even when dealing with an authoritarian government, as Amnesty International has confirmed many times over. Mr Song Yongyi, a Chinese librarian who has been working at Dickinson College in Pennsylvania USA for a decade, went to China with his wife, Helen Yao, in 1999 to visit family and to collect research materials, newspapers from the time of the Cultural Revolution (Byrne 2000). Both Song and Yao were detained in Beijing in August 1999. Several months later, in November, Yao was released and allowed to return to the United States. He, however, was kept and eventually formally arrested on Christmas Eve and charged with the collection of state secrets for sale to foreigners. As soon as his arrest became known, an international campaign for his release was started, driven by his colleagues at Dickinson College. Along with other professional and academic bodies, IFLA/FAIFE made representations to the Government of the Peoples' Republic of China, writing to the Premier on 18 January 2000. Following this international campaign, Song was released on 28 January and permitted to return to the USA (Dickinson College 2003).

The result showed that concerted action could obtain the desired result. It is improbable that any one of the representations of itself would have achieved the result but the strength of the combined reaction to his detention and arrest raised the importance of the matter in the eyes of the Government of China. Another factor may have been more decisive in achieving the result: the contemporaneous negotiations for the accession of China to the World Trade Organisation (WTO). US negotiators had raised concerns about China’s record of respecting human rights and were seeking assurances that they would be respected (Berry 2000). The case of Song Yongyi was therefore embarrassing for the Chinese Government even though he had not yet received American citizenship and the protection of a US passport. Nevertheless, his release in such circumstances should not imply any culpability or improper behaviour on his part. His activities were nothing
more than the routine collection of materials to support research and scholarship, which are normal professional activities for a librarian.

For IFLA/FAIFE, this case showed the power of working in alliance with other organisations and the importance of geopolitical context. Chinese authorities responded promptly and courteously to the representations unlike the Government of Cuba. They might have decided to release him as a result of the pressure and publicity but the coincidence of the WTO negotiations is highly likely to have created a favourable climate for the decision.

**Beyond the rule of law: Zimbabwe**

Libraries and librarians became a target in the social disintegration being experienced in Zimbabwe under the Mugabe Government. The British Council Library and Information Service in Harare was closed on 8 May 2001 ‘until further notice’ as a result of intimidation. Actions by so-called ‘veterans’ of the war of independence associated with the ruling ZANU PF party were threatening to staff and clients. Some services were relocated to other premises but the Library was closed.

IFLA/FAIFE wrote to President Mugabe and issued a statement in which it raised its concerns (IFLA/FAIFE 2001a). A polite was response was received from the Zimbabwean High Commissioner in Australia, to whom it had been copied, assuring IFLA of full protection for the British Council Library and noting “that the Government of Zimbabwe has taken measures to stamp out the extra-legal interventions in labour disputes and harassment of international Non-Government Organisations (NGO’S) by some criminals who were taking advantage of the current political situation” (Chitauro 2001). Despite these assurances, the Library had not reopened by mid 2003. Its closure was of particular concern because such facilities provide valuable resources for people in developing countries. They are
often better stocked than local libraries and can provide an environment in which clients feel more secure and less subject to surveillance. The loss of the British Council Library in Harare was of even greater concern because of the very circumstances in which it was closed: free access to information in a safe environment is especially important in the climate of social disorder which has characterised Zimbabwe in recent years.

This incident had been preceded by the attempted intimidation of Mr Driden Kunaka, a member of the IFLA/FAIFE Committee. Kunaka had given a paper at a joint workshop organised by FAIFE and the IFLA Round Table on the Management of Library Associations at the 1999 IFLA Conference in Bangkok (Kunaka 1999). In it he carefully traced the provisions which uphold freedom of access to information and freedom of expression from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights through the constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe and into specific laws but then outlined how those provisions were not honoured in practice. Firmly based on documentary evidence, including quotations from President Mugabe, the paper was nonetheless potentially dangerous in the “political situation” current in Zimbabwe. Eight months later, in May 2000, Kunaka reported that he was in fact facing intimidation (Kunaka 2000c). He was threatened with expulsion from the Zimbabwe Library Association (ZLA) and also heard that he might be harassed by agents of the Central Intelligence Organisation. The possibility that he might be killed for his temerity was also raised because the letter of expulsion from the ZLA was copied to several government ministries, including the Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunication whose Minister, Mr Chen Chimutengwende, had been very much involved in the campaign of social disorder (Kunaka 2000b). However, Kunaka reassured fellow Committee members that “I am safe, at least for the time being, and I don't expect any problems from Government. Please do not panic and start sending messages to President Mugabe or anybody, but I would welcome questions, comments etc from colleagues in FAIFE” (Kunaka 2000d). Shortly after the British Council Library incident, he lost his job at UNICEF when
his position was abolished although he did not suggest that the termination was connected to his FAIFE activities (Kunaka 2001). 

Six months later, Kunaka advised the Committee that his colleagues in the Zimbabwe Library Association (ZLA) appeared to be starting to appreciate the value of the activities of IFLA/FAIFE (Kunaka 2000a). This followed a successful "Seminar on libraries and intellectual freedom" organised by IFLA/FAIFE in Harare on 8 August 2001 together with the Zimbabwe, Norwegian and Swedish Library Associations. The chair of the seminar was Bill Saidi, a prominent journalist in Zimbabwe working in the independent newspaper Daily News. Emphasising the risk of speaking out in dangerous times, he was arrested a week later along with the editor and two colleagues because of their independent reporting of the situation in Zimbabwe ('Journalists arrested' 2001). Perhaps because of this overt intimidation or simply because of the volatile climate in the country, Kunaka reported two years later that the ZLA appeared to be “sinking into oblivion” and was getting no media coverage, compared to good coverage obtained between 1996 and 1998 (Kunaka 2003).

In spite of the polite response to IFLA/FAIFE’s letter and statement, the British Council Library in Harare has remained closed. While the closure might in itself pale in comparison with the wave of violence, murders and destruction in the country, the elimination of that independent library service removed a valuable element of civil society. The failure to reopen the Library showed the impotence of both the British Council and IFLA/FAIFE in the face of oppression. Even when a member of the FAIFE Committee was threatened, IFLA/FAIFE could do little without risking further danger to him. Participants in a seminar on intellectual freedom were in danger. These events emphasised the need to adopt practices which would offer the greatest possible degree of safety to those

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61 He was subsequently employed by the Movement for Democratic Change, the opposition party in Zimbabwe (Kunaka 2003).
supporting the FAIFE program including measures to protect the anonymity of those contributing information on incidents.

**Preserving the law in Hong Kong**

The freedoms enjoyed under colonial administration were maintained under the agreed ‘Blue Print’ when Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997 and established as a Special Administrative Region (HKSAR). However, in 2002 concern was expressed about a bill which had been proposed to implement Article 23 of the Basic Law in the HKSAR. The Hong Kong Library Association contacted IFLA in regard to the undesirable effects of general uncertainty, censorship and self-censorship that could be generated by the proposed implementation of the Act and especially *Chapter 4: Sedition* and *Chapter 8: Investigation Powers of the Act*. IFLA wrote to the HKSAR Government urging consultation the Hong Kong Library Association and other information professionals and assurance that there would be “no immediate, potential or future adverse impact on freedom of access to information and freedom of expression” and “that librarians will not be prosecuted for dealing with materials when performing their professional duties collecting, organizing and disseminating information” (Shimmon 2002). IFLA’s action preserved professional solidarity with the members of the Hong Kong Library Association and defended the principle of Article 19. It drew explicitly on the Blue Print for the HKSAR:

> Hong Kong residents shall have, among other things, freedom of speech, of the press and of publication; freedom of … communication .. The provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and international labour conventions as applied to Hong Kong will remain in force (Peoples' Republic of China 1990).
In consultation with IFLA, the International Publishers’ Association (IPA) pursued the matter because of the direct threat the implementation of Article 23 would pose to publishers (Grahn 2003). Following many representations and mass public demonstrations in Hong Kong and other cities, the Government of Hong Kong postponed consideration of the law (Ferguson 2003; International Federation of Journalists 2003; Lague and Lawrence 2003). Although the fierce reaction demanded a review of tactics by the authorities, it seems likely that implementation will be pursued in order to bring the level of control of freedom of expression in Hong Kong more into line with that applying in the heartland of China. Support for this view is provided by noting that there is some evidence that the Chinese Government is concerned about unrest spreading to other cities (Lague 2003).

In this case, IFLA worked with the local library association and in partnership with IPA. It recognised that it would be appropriate for IPA to be the lead organisation because of the more direct effect of the provision on publishers. It is a strategy which preserves IFLA’s focus on library specific issues while enabling it to encompass the broader range of relevant concerns.

Text books, reading lists and school libraries

The Hong Kong incident revolved around the wish of the Chinese and Hong Kong SAR authorities to exert the controls which have been so long established in China while the Kosovo incident highlighted the desire of Serbian authorities to eliminate evidence of the region’s Albanian history. However, another approach is to misrepresent history, an approach which is especially prevalent in regard to school text books.

While it would certainly be expected that school text books and reading lists would convey a broadly positive record of a nation’s history, it is unacceptable to
misrepresent and bowdlerise the history. This can occur through romanticised versions of national history, such as the heroic tamer of the wilderness in the myths of invasion and settlement in the USA and Australia, or the exclusion of unpalatable elements of the history. Of course both are connected because the romanticised versions omit those aspects which do not support the gilded history, as Stanner noted when speaking on “the great Australian silence” about Aboriginal peoples (Stanner 2001 [1968]).

One example of exclusion which came to the attention of IFLA/FAIFE has been the omission from Japanese histories of the brutality exercised by Japanese soldiers during the invasion and occupation of Manchuria and then through the territories occupied during the Second World War. In 2000, stories of comfort women hit the headlines in a number of countries. These were women who had been taken by the Japanese military during the World War and forced to serve as prostitutes for Japanese soldiers. They included women from all the occupied territories including the Indonesian archipelago and Korea. However, these episodes in Japanese history together with other aspects of their soldiers’ brutality during the war, including the “rape of Nanjing” (Xu 1995) and the brutality and privations experienced by prisoners of war, has been suppressed from Japanese historical texts (‘Controversial nationalists to write Japan texts’ 2001). For example, a junior high school textbook which omitted to discuss Japanese atrocities, New History Textbook, was approved by education authorities for use in schools. The recommendation offended both representatives of other Asian nations, particularly China and South Korea, and some constituencies within Japan (Nozaki 2002).

A Japanese member of the IFLA/FAIFE Committee, Yasuyo Inouye, raised her concerns about this occlusion and suggested that it would be useful for FAIFE to attempt to explore the issues by holding a preconference with both Japanese and Korean in Osaka, Japan before the IFLA Conference planned for Seoul in 2006.
(Inouye 2001b). She suggested that, in the “Asian way”, it would be good to start informal discussions early to raise the possibility of holding such a seminar in Japan. It was agreed to try to discuss the idea with Korean Library Association representatives at the then imminent 2001 Boston Conference but that proved impossible. Inouye followed up the matter with Chinese colleagues in Shanghai in October 2001 (Inouye 2001c). The suggestion remains as a proposal but will need delicate handling because of the extreme sensitivities involved.

Another example of this process of shaping children’s understanding of national identity which was brought to the notice of IFLA/FAIFE in 2001 was the threatened removal of certain titles from school reading lists in South Africa. An advisory committee to the Education Department of Gauteng Province proposed the removal of some classic works of literature from the curriculum. Among many was Nadine Gordimer’s *July's People*, which had been set reading in schools for seven years, because it is "deeply racist, superior and patronising. The novel seems one-sided and outdated". Also included were works by contemporary southern African writers including Njabulo Ndebele and Dambudzo Marachera as well as classics such as Orwell’s *1984*, Defoe’s *Gulliver's Travels* (because its humour was deemed foreign to South Africans) and a number of Shakespeare’s plays. IFLA/FAIFE investigated the matter and was preparing to write to the South African President asking him to intervene to prevent the proposed censorship when the South African Minister for Education announced that the Gauteng Province action was being reviewed (IFLA/FAIFE 2001b). Gordimer was subsequently offered an apology ('Gordimer offered apology as 'racist' book ban is lifted' 2001).

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62 Incidentally, Inouye was unaware of sensitivities in Australia, New Zealand and Britain about the exclusion of the treatment of Allied prisoners of war from Japanese textbooks (Inouye 2001a).
Although this example was somewhat farcical and averted by prompt local and international reaction, attempts to censor books for children are all too common. The ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom regularly deals with attempts to remove books from the curriculum or school libraries because of school policies, parental fears or the demands of pressure groups. Among the books censored in public and school libraries in the USA in 1996 were Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn*, Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick*, Alex Comfort’s *The Joy of Sex*, John Grisham’s *The Client*, Toni Morrison’s *Beloved*, AM Homes’ *Jack* and Kevin O’Malley’s *Froggy Went A-Courtin’*. The most common reason was ‘conflicts with the values of the community’ (Doyle 1997). Through many years of activity, the ALA Office has learnt techniques to handle these matters most effectively and has proved its value as a specialist office within a large national library association. Its techniques include advice and support to librarians confronted by calls for censorship, support for state and specialist library associations, use of the mass media to communicate the principles of intellectual freedom and, where necessary, legal intervention (ALA 1992).

Other national library associations do not have an equivalently resourced unit to deal with such matters, although similar issues have been identified in a number of countries including Australia (Williams, CL 1993). The need for such a unit has been emphasised through the experience of JK Rowling’s *Harry Potter* series of novels for children. Their phenomenal international success in recent years has been accompanied by frequent calls for censorship. Calls for removal of the books from school libraries have been based on their explicit references to magic which is considered by some to be anti-Christian and dangerous. Calls for removal of the books from school libraries, often by parents, have been based on their inclusion of explicit reference to magic - which has been called evil, anti-Christian and offensive to Christians ("Evil" book back in library' 2003).

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64 *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (Rowling 2003), for example, sold five million copies on its first day on sale in the United States, nearly twice as many copies as were sold in twelve months of the 2001 hardback bestseller, *The Summons* by John Grisham (Kirkpatrick 2003).
Montgomery (2002) reports a library employee’s objection to ordering them on the grounds that they promote “witchery”. Writing about the books, Christian publications have warned against the dangers of making “light of sorcery, charms and spells … [which] invoke evil – and the origin of all evil is demonic” (Horvat 2002). A Roman Catholic exorcist, Fr Gabriele Amorth, is reported as saying that “Behind Harry Potter hides the signature of the king of the darkness, the devil” and criticising the “disordered morality presented in Rowling’s books, noting that they suggest that rules can be contravened and lying is justified when they work to one’s benefit (sic)” (Lifesite 2002). But these concerns are far from universally held. They have been parodied in a mock complaint about the depiction of a “vile” journalist in *Harry Potter and the goblet of fire* which is “arguably the worst thing to happen to the public image of journalism in years” (Lee 2001).

Alongside all these objections, the books have been immensely popular, firstly in the English reading world and then in translation. Parents and teachers have reported that non-readers have become so engrossed that they have read them avidly and to the end.

IFLA/FAIFE has come close to raising this issue on a number of occasions but it has been unnecessary because of the broad community rejection of the calls. However, the frequency of demands for censorship and the exhibition in so many countries have demonstrated the need for constant monitoring and the capacity to respond at the national level. IFLA/FAIFE is challenged through such examples to develop an alerting mechanism which can be used by national library associations to record censorship incidents and coordinate a response, firstly at the national – or even more local – level and later, if necessary, at the international level.
The Human Immunology affair

Censorship in education is not confined to textbooks and the holdings of school libraries. It can also extend to research publications.

One striking example was the removal of an article from Elsevier’s ScienceDirect database (Krimsky 2002). A paper on the genetic identity of Mediterranean peoples (Arnaiz-Villena et al. 2001) published in the highly regarded scholarly journal Human Immunology was removed from the database because of complaints from those who felt that it mixed science with an ideologically driven perspective on the history of Mediterranean peoples. Rather than challenge the findings through the normal scholarly processes, the critics prevailed on the editor in chief to suppress the article on behalf of the journal’s owners, the American Society of Histocompatibility and Immunogenetics. The matter was raised with IFLA/FAIFE but time precluded any action. Fortunately, the outcry resulting from the suppression led to Elsevier adopting a new policy in February 2003 and the article was restored to the database and marked “RETRACTED”. This was not an entirely satisfactory result for Arnaiz-Villena and his colleagues since their paper was effectively labelled as suspect rather than debated in the scholarly literature. However, it was a beneficial result in that it led to the development of much more cogent and sounder policy by Elsevier, the world’s major publisher of scientific information. Nevertheless, the case illustrated the potential for suppression by removal from a database, a process which was much harder to achieve with printed publications. It is one of the many ways in which the ‘digital library’ can enable barriers to access to information which are no less severe than those which have long been known in regard to printed publications (Byrne 2003a).
Cyberspace: The Internet Manifesto

One set of electronic barriers assumed prominence in the watershed year of 1999, attempts by Governments to control access to information via the Internet. Thanks to the development of the World Wide Web and the addition of other software applications, the Internet had very rapidly developed from a communications network used by the global research community into a powerful medium for communication and information access within and between nations.

By 1999, it was clear that access to the Internet had the potential to circumvent previous barriers to communication and information access including distance and borders. It had the potential to realise the aspiration of the Universal Declaration’s Article 19 that “Everyone has the right … to seek, receive and impart information and ideas … regardless of frontiers”. Commercial and entertainment applications were developing and governments, organisations and individuals were using it to communicate their messages. Although these developments and growth in usage were concentrated in the wealthier nations, access was becoming possible from most countries. In many, however, there were considerable barriers to access particularly those imposed by poverty and lack of technical infrastructure, the so-called “digital divide”. The barriers included, and continue to include, literacy and information literacy, command of the major languages used on the Internet (especially English), commercial limitations and political barriers. It had become evident that widespread adoption of the Internet as a communication medium had the potential to increase the marginalisation of the already marginalised including, especially, indigenous peoples (Byrne op cit). That enormous range of barriers to access to information via the Internet and their consequences is daunting.

In spite of these strictures, most governments, in pursuit of expected benefits in terms of economic development, implemented programs to stimulate Internet adoption, its accessibility from schools and initiatives such as ‘e-government’ and ‘e-
commerce’. In Australia, such programs included both federal and state initiatives with the State of Tasmania, for instance, billing itself as ‘The Intelligent Island’. Commercial organisations similarly adopted e-commerce, leading to the enthusiastic investment in the so-called ‘dot-com’ companies, many of which subsequently failed. Teachers, students and parents demanded that schools and universities should have Internet access and home usage began to grow steeply especially in the developed English-language nations.

However, against this euphoria, the technical difficulty of controlling access caused disquiet to many. Among a great variety of anxieties were the fears of those concerned with moral regulation about the potentially unbridled distribution of pornography, especially to children, while some governments were apprehensive about dangers to national security and some employers had qualms about loss of productivity while staff members ‘surfed the Internet’. Predatory behaviours, including ‘cyberstalking’ (McFarlane and Bocij 2003) and exchange of child pornography, were investigated by police and vigorously reported by the mass media. Authoritarian regimes, such as those in power in Cuba, China and Singapore, worried about loss of control (Kalathil and Boas 2003). They implemented a range of measures to prevent unauthorised access to the Internet, to monitor usage by those authorised and to attempt to filter unwanted content (Privacy International and GreenNet Educational Trust 2003). Other nations were more concerned at that time with controlling pornography. The US Government, for example, introduced the Child Internet Protection Act (CIPA) and the Australian Government the Broadcasting Services Amendment (Online Services) Act. The former was blocked through the determined actions of civil libertarians led by the American Library Association65, the latter is still in force.

Thus, Internet censorship legislation became a key issue for those interested in freedom of access to information and freedom of expression, including
IFLA/FAIFE. A letter of protest was sent to the responsible Federal minister about the Australian legislation, receiving a polite but dismissive response. Issues of access to the Internet were canvassed in the first IFLA/FAIFE World Report (Byrne et al. 2001) and became a particular topic for the first Summary Report (Byrne and Seidelin 2002).

The joint PhD program initiated collaboratively between the IFLA/FAIFE Office and the Royal Danish School of Library and Information Science in Copenhagen aimed to analyse from a global perspective the extent to which libraries can ensure free, unhampered and equal access to Internet-accessible information resources (Byrne 2001). As a result of that project, the IFLA/FAIFE World Report 2003 studied in depth issues of Internet accessibility relating to libraries (Seidelin and Hamilton 2003). The issues were also discussed in a number of sessions at IFLA and other conferences and in several published papers. However, the most significant IFLA/FAIFE action in regard to the complex of issues relating to access to information via the Internet was the development of the IFLA Internet Manifesto which was adopted without dissent or abstention at the IFLA Council meeting in Glasgow (IFLA 2002d). It has subsequently been translated into many languages and adopted by a number of national library associations. There are early indications that it will become an influential instrument for upholding freedom of access to information via the Internet, echoing the success of the IFLA/Unesco Public Library Manifesto.

Although many library associations, particularly in Nordic and Anglo-American jurisdictions, oppose filtering and promote unrestricted access to information via the Internet, some librarians have shared the often expressed public unease about pornography. Some library associations have tried to assist by providing guidance for members on the use of filtering software 66. Nevertheless, some practitioners

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65 A subsequent version of the US legislation, which required libraries in receipt of federal funding to install Internet filters, was initially struck down but restored on appeal to the US Supreme Court in 2003.

66 As, for example, the CILIP guide in the UK (Library Association 2000).
have faced a personal dilemma in attempting to reconcile a professional commitment to open access to information with an abhorrence of exploitative material which they may personally find disgusting. For others it has formed a professional problem by setting professional values against organisational policies to apply filtering or other controls. Some, of course, have felt no difficulty since their own personal and professional frames have been aligned with organisational wishes to control unacceptable material. Perhaps the most striking illustration of the strength of feeling behind these opposing perspectives has been the case of the Ottawa Public Library. Staff at that library rejected management opposition to filtering because they argued that client access to pornography created a hostile workplace (Gray 2003).

Internet related issues have become central to contemporary discussions on intellectual freedom and libraries. They raise many issues concerning free speech and open access to information together with practical, moral and legal questions (Spinello 2003). As indicated in the brief summary in this section, a number of specific incidents have occurred including the enactment of Internet censorship legislation and repressive action against users in some countries. These incidents are illustrative of the complex which needs to be treated holistically if the barriers are to be overcome and the hope of unfettered access “regardless of frontiers” is to be realised. Consequently, except for the objection to the Australian legislation and a statement following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, discussed below, IFLA/FAIFE’s actions in this respect have concentrated on monitoring, investigation, reportage and advocacy. Its preparation of the IFLA Internet Manifesto represented an attempt to delineate the principles underlying unrestricted access to Information via the Internet. Their application in relation to the barriers indicated above and other limitations will be explored in guidelines to be developed in collaboration with UNESCO (UNESCO 2003).
America Attacked: terrorism and freedom

In the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, authorities sought to limit access to information. Media organisations came under pressure to restrict the provision of information to the public. Some claimed that uninhibited access to the Internet had facilitated the attacks and other potential threats by making information readily available and providing a ubiquitous and easy means of communication. Shocked by the attacks and alarmed by the calls for information control, IFLA rapidly prepared a media statement which was issued three weeks later on 4 October 2001 (IFLA 2001c). It expressed IFLA’s concern about the pressures to limit information access and noted the use of the Internet to obtain news about the attacks and to enable families and friends to communicate and reassure each other. It argued that this “demonstrates the force of the ideal of free access to information and freedom of expression. It may be misused but it strengthens the peoples of the world.”

Despite such advocacy for open access the USA PATRIOT Act was passed in the highly charged atmosphere following the attacks and during the preparations for the bombardment and invasion of Afghanistan, (United States of America. Congress 2001). This legislation was not only of concern in the United States since there have been attempts, some successful, to emulate it in other states such as Denmark and Australia. The Act, together with guidelines issued by the US Attorney General in 2002, significantly extended the provisions enabling law enforcement and security organisations to monitor access to information by individuals (Kranich 2003a). It permitted officials to examine records of information use by suspected individuals without a warrant which put aside the protections of habeas corpus which have been a foundation of the common law since Magna Carta as well as the more recently recognised protections for the privacy of personal information in databanks required under European Union directives, international trade policies and the national laws of a growing number

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of countries. Furthermore, the legislation forbade those in charge of the records to inform anyone, including the subjects of suspicion, that the records had been examined thus co-opting the record holders into the process of surveillance.

In their customary fashion, American library associations responded forcefully to the enactment of the USA PATRIOT Act. They expressed their disquiet about the legislation and developed kits to inform libraries about it and the actions they might take in response to it in order to protect the privacy of their clients (Association of Research Libraries 2002; ALA Intellectual Freedom Committee 2003). Libraries took a variety of measures including shredding any notes on client queries and warnings to clients that their records might be examined (Neal 2003).

Details of the contacts with libraries have been difficult to obtain because of the secrecy provisions in the Act. However, an independent study sponsored by the Library Research Center at the University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science indicated that over 10% of the large public libraries responding to the study had been approached by the FBI or other law enforcement authorities since the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 (Kranich 2003b). In 2003, an assistant United States Attorney General told the US Congress that any information on library contacts in the course of national security investigations would be provided to Congress in a classified format. The pervasive effects of the Act are only beginning to be felt at the time of writing. Attorney-General Ashcroft attempted to minimise the consequences, referring to the ALA’s concern about the USA PATRIOT Act as “hysteria” (Ashcroft 2003) and obtained a quick riposte from ALA President Carla Hayden (Hayden 2003). Nonetheless, it is clear that libraries and other organisations are most concerned. Universities and colleges, for example, have found that the regulations imposed by the Act via the Student Exchange Visitor Information System on international students are onerous demanding detailed information and imposing strict conditions (Jaeger and Burnett 2003).
Supporting the vigorous action by American colleagues, IFLA/FAIFE issued a statement in June 2003. It expressed its concern that the “threat of covert monitoring is intimidating to library clients and can inhibit library use, especially among those who have suffered under authoritarian regimes” and calling for amendments to the Act to safeguard civil liberties and freedom of access to information (IFLA/FAIFE 2003). Although this occurred beyond the period of this study it was a response to an issue which arose during the period under study. It is worthy of note because, together with the US Government’s attempts to censor the Internet and the pressure applied to libraries by groups seeking to regulate morals, it demonstrated that the libraries of any country can be subjected to intimidatory pressures, even one with as many legislative protections as the United States.

**Frequent and varied incidents**

FAIFE’s experience over its first half decade of existence has countered the suggestion that library related abrogation of intellectual freedom may be uncommon. A quite extensive list of incidents and issues has been generated through the work of IFLA/FAIFE. Their number and geographic distribution appear to be limited only by the capacity of the program to monitor, investigate and respond.

The CAIFE report had recommended that the initiative should include a capacity to respond to specific incidents. As was noted above, it had suggested a number of guidelines for the manner of the response. They included liaison with IFLA Headquarters and the Executive Board (now Governing Board), cooperation with national library associations, use of diplomatic channels, provision of supportive resources and contacts, and publicity on the incidents and the underlying issues. All of these means were adopted during the first five years, establishing a *modus*
operandi which functioned well between Chair, Office and Secretary-General but was less effective in involving the rest of the IFLA/FAIFE Committee and library associations. Frequent email contact between those three officers ensured careful handling of incidents with facts checked with relevant sources including, where possible, national library associations. With the exception of some of the passionate comments on IFLA/FAIFE’s actions in regard to the ‘independent libraries’ in Cuba and the US embargo of Cuba, the various statements and other actions over the years were supported by IFLA members or at least raised no objections from them. Many applauded the actions, especially the prompt statement after the September 11, 2001 attacks which was widely applauded67. In this way, IFLA/FAIFE supplied the combination of boldness with considered process recommended in the CAIFE report.

The report had also warned of the need to be careful with major violations and to be concerned about confidentiality and the possibility of reprisals. The wisdom of that stricture was demonstrated in the unpleasant, and potentially very dangerous, experience of Kunaka described above. Fortunately, he was not subject to physical attack, imprisonment, or worse. But the danger of reprisals against informants and actors remains and must be kept constantly in mind when trying to intervene in events in order to defend human rights.

67 Endorsement came quickly from colleagues in the Uganda Library Association (Batambuze 2001) and the Pakistan Library Association (Ramzan 2001) among many.
Defending the right to information:  
the touchstone of all the freedoms

The basic human right which the IFLA/FAIFE project was established to promote and defend is the right to information. Expressed in terms of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948), it has reciprocal aspects:

Everyone has the right to freedom of expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

This is the right to the information needed for education, development, self expression and protection, political action, entertainment and all that supports both personal choice and communal self determination. Its importance was emphasised at the first session of the United Nations General Assembly on 14 December 1946: “Freedom of information is a fundamental human right and is the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated” (Weeramantry 1997b, p. 251). It has been widely adopted in international and national law over the half century since that resolution

The formulation of Article 19 demonstrates that the right is inherently reciprocal in supporting both freedom of expression and freedom of access to information.

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68 Appendix A offers a selective list of some instruments which offer direct or indirect support for the right to information or impose limitations on it, with an emphasis on those with global application (de Varennes 2000; Garcia 1990; Joseph et al. 2000; Piotrowicz and Kaye 2000; Weeramantry 1997a).
As the *IFLA Statement on Libraries and Intellectual Freedom* proclaimed “… the right to know and freedom of expression are two aspects of the same principle. The right to know is a requirement for freedom of thought and conscience; freedom of thought and freedom of expression are necessary conditions for freedom of access to information” (IFLA 1999b).

**Limitations on access to information**

This reciprocity of rights implies boundaries: the rights of individuals must be circumscribed to the extent which is necessary to protect the rights of other individuals, especially those lacking power. From the outset, this consideration raised questions about the limits of the FAIFE project’s espousal of the right to information. Members of the CAIFE working party presented a spectrum of views, from extremely libertarian to communitarian arguments in favour of at least some controls. They reflected the continuing debate in and between societies. That debate has continued throughout history and has been manifested, *inter alia*, via the tension between censorial control and its rival, dissidence against established authority. IFLA/FAIFE’s mandate to promote and defend the right to information set it in opposition to censorship and other barriers to access to information. The contestation of limits has consequently been integral to most of the issues the project has addressed.

Negotiation of limits is inevitable since they are inherent in the concept of access to information. Practical limitations derive from physical and managerial constraints: even the most munificent libraries have limited budgets to acquire materials, limited staff to purchase them and limited space in which to store them. In the supposedly boundary less world of digital information and broadband communications, storage and processing capacity is not unlimited but, even if it was, there would continue to be other constraints (Byrne 2003a). They include those imposed by the skills to access and use information and those resulting from
differences in language and culture. For instance, the dominance of a few
languages in scholarship and on the Internet continues to privilege users who are
fluent in those languages and, conversely, to marginalise those without sufficient
familiarity. The most highly educated scholar can be incapacitated by the highly
language dependent nature of the meshed systems of content-metadata-search-
access which make digital information systems. The least educated, among whom
many indigenous peoples are over represented, often speak English or any other
‘global’ language as a third, fourth or fifth language and are thus disadvantaged
from the outset. Outside the rich nations, these constraints are magnified through
poverty extending from the lack of reliable electricity supplies to the inability to
purchase expensive scholarly materials, or even school texts.

Limits are also inherent in the practice of librarianship. Some derive from the
constraints indicated above but others from the purposes of each particular library
or information service. In meeting those purposes, selectivity is necessary.
Books must be purchased, journals ordered and digital information accessed to
satisfy the purposes whether they be immediate educational or business needs or
long term records of a state, discipline or culture. Materials which do not assist
the satisfaction of the purposes are therefore excluded automatically through the
selection of those considered relevant. In many contexts, this selectivity generates
tensions. For example, public librarians may experience a tension between
satisfying community expectations and supporting the interests of minorities
while school librarians may feel that some materials detract from their mission to
foster the intellectual development of children.

Other limitations are external. Imposed to protect society, or the rulers of a state,
they amount to censorship. It might be the relatively benign censorship imposed
by liberal democratic governments through the use of classification systems to
warn about the potentially offensive content of some films, books and magazines
or the more sinister controls on ‘political’ materials imposed in dictatorial and
totalitarian states.

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IFLA/FAIFE’s focus on the supremacy of the right to information places its mission at the libertarian end of the spectrum where the rights of individuals should prevail unless they need to be imposed “to prevent harm to others” (Mill 1974 [1859], p. 135). This is the “harm principle” which assumes that each person’s equal right to moral independence operates as a trump over social policies that state a goal for the community as a whole in the absence of clear evidence of harm (Dworkin 1986, pp. 335-372; Grigoriev 1971, pp. 121-122).

**Information control**

Limitations on the right to information, and its counterpart freedom of expression, may include public security, national interest, personal privacy and data protection, intellectual property rights, commercial confidentiality and the protection of the vulnerable (Weeramantry 1997a). Freedom of expression can also be limited to minimise personal injury which could result from incitement to violence, defamation or comments which cause emotional distress (Smolla 1992, pp. 48-50). Such limitations are recognised in many instruments but notably in the *International Convention on Civil and Political Rights*. The Convention’s Article 19, which restates the right to information in the same terms as the *Universal Declaration*’s Article 19, also allows for restrictions but only to “respect of the rights or reputations of others” or for “the protection of national security or of public order (*ordre public*), or of public health or morals”. The Convention’s Article 17 provides for the right to privacy and Article 20 to outlaw propaganda for war and any “advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence”. Since this conflicts with strong constitutional guarantees of free speech and because of fears that the prohibition might endanger that freedom, reservations to Article 20 have been recorded by many nations including Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and the United States (Joseph *et al.* 2000, p. 410).
The means of restricting access to information extend from constitutionally or legally imposed controls to extralegal means. The latter were illustrated in the regrettable experiences of the British Council Library and Kunaka in Zimbabwe. The former elide from protective measures, intended to facilitate access by some while preventing harm to others, into active censorship which is intended to maintain an orthodoxy – political, religious, moral, societal. Reasons which are advanced to justify censorship are extensive as can be seen in Censorship: a world encyclopedia (Jones, D 2001a, pp. li-lx). Some centre on attitudes to sexuality and include prohibitions on obscenity and indecency, pornography and, latterly, that which might be considered to encourage paedophilia. Other concerns about decency can seek to prevent bad language, sexism and sexual harassment. At a societal level, the intention can be to ensure the suppression or advancement of specific ethnicities and languages, to prevent hate speech and racial vilification (and particularly anti-Semitism), or to protect religion by punishing blasphemy or inhibiting that which might be considered sinful. Some may wish to manufacture consent for a regime or rewrite history, perhaps to favour a particular interpretation or to hide an unpalatable past. At a personal level, justifications can include the protection of private property, maintenance of privacy or avoidance of defamation. Special provisions usually apply to protect national security and in times of war or the threat of war – this has been illustrated in the responses to the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001. This selective list indicates the broad extent of the purposes and methods of censorship but does not adequately convey its pervasiveness, its capacity to reach into and colour many aspects of daily life.

Sometimes the right to information is qualified in the interests of achieving another goal such as law enforcement or privacy as in the case of regulations relating to personal information kept by public authorities and in archives. While necessary to ensure personal privacy, such provisions can be misused. Investigation of the Soviet Gulag system has, for example, been hindered latterly, after a period of perestroika, by the use of archives legislation on the grounds that it might compromise the privacy of former prisoners and guards, a concern which
ignores the heartache of those who are trying to trace the family members and friends (Memorial Society 1999).

Even outside such extreme examples, governments can display “a formidable reticence towards the disclosure of certain types of information” (Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration 1976). In order to provide tools, albeit imperfect, to assist the citizen to know about government decisions, their backgrounds and their consequences, the Council of Europe has recognised the duty of public authorities to impart information on matters of public interest (Loucaides 1995, pp. 19 ff). This obligation has been codified in freedom of information legislation in a growing number of countries (Banisar 2002) and is exercised through such means as depositary collections in libraries and Freedom of Information legislation.

In addition to protection of privacy, there are protections for the rights and reputations of others and to prevent racially defamatory speech. Some contend that ‘hate speech’ does not deserve protection (Jones, TD 1998) others retort that, if freedom of expression is to have force then it must apply to speech which may be considered to be offensive since “no-one tries to ban any other kind” (Brown, C 1999, p.110). The need to balance the harm which might be caused by hate speech against the right of freedom of expression has been considered frequently in the United States where the weight of jurisprudence permits the regulation of hate speech in only a limited range of closely defined circumstances “as when it poses a clear and present danger of violence, or is intertwined with actual discriminatory conduct” (Smolla 1992, p. 169). This test sets a relatively high bar which justifies the stand taken in favour of freedom of expression by the ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom since many of the cases of attempted book banning which it has countered hinge on the usually less immediately dangerous use of derogatory language such as “nigger” or “negro”.
Commercial confidentiality is permitted to enable companies to compete actively but can be used to restrict information concerning social and environmental consequences of company activities (Klein 2001). Although the United States Securities and Exchange Commission and similar bodies in other countries require disclosure of certain information about the performance of companies, it might not extend to such matters of community concern as the location of toxic waste dumps. When such information is made available in libraries, concerned citizens can investigate both business performance and the other consequences of companies’ operations.

Progressing from ‘reticence’ to evasion, some governments have misused commercial in confidence provisions to mask hitherto publicly accountable activities from scrutiny when they have been privatised or outsourced. Issues are no longer able to be debated fully in Parliament and hence reported in Hansard. The details are often not available in public reports or subject to freedom of information legislation. Journalists are hindered in investigation and reporting. This becomes a library concern when libraries can no longer make available the customary reports on matters of public policy for the general public to examine and, in the longer term, researchers to analyse.

Another commercial reason for constraining general community access to information arises from the commodification of information. “In contrast to information as a social good, a different approach can treat information as a privately produced commodity for sale” (Schiller 1996, pp. 35). In this guise, information becomes a commodity for sale or, in the preferred business model, for lease. The value of the information lies in the potential financial return from its exploitation as a commercial asset rather than its cultural or social benefit. In the context of libraries, this has been perhaps most strikingly demonstrated in the dramatic reinvention of scholarly publishing and especially scholarly journals. The consequences of these changes have been far-reaching. Not only has scholarly documentation become a business asset, to be defended for its actual or
potential commercial exploitation, but access to it is now limited to those who are eligible to use it under contractual provisions without any allowance for access by the general community as a public good.

Restriction of access to information, often coupled with distortion of information made available, can become the customary style of operation for governments (Ellsberg 2002). Justifications for restriction include public security, national defence and other military or police reasons. The provisions are often abused: an example has been the claim that post-

\textit{perestroika} disclosure of information on the Soviet Gulag system might compromise the national security of contemporary Russia. The reason given was that former prisoners had worked on projects with possible military uses such as the White-Baltic Sea Canal and the Death Railway above the Arctic Circle (Memorial Society 1999). As with the misuse of privacy provisions, this ‘reticence’ is callous in the face of the anxious wish of survivors and the relatives of those who perished to understand the causes and consequences of the Gulag, not to mention the fact that the projects have never been used militarily (Genieva 1999). Conscious of the danger of abuse, the United Nations Human Rights Committee has demonstrated a reluctance to allow restriction for the purposes of national security and public order without detailed justification from the state in its decision in Sohn v Republic of Korea (Joseph \textit{et al.} 2000, pp. 404-407). In another case concerning the restrictions imposed under the state of siege in Chile, a member of the Committee stated that under Article 19(30) “freedom of opinion could not be restricted merely because the government considered it to be a threat to its own stability … Any restriction on freedom of opinion required convincing proof that a clear and present danger could not otherwise be overcome” (Partsch 1981, p. 223). Guidelines for providing such proof are encapsulated in the \textit{Johannesburg Principles on National Security, Freedom of Expression and Access to Information} which were adopted in 1995 (Coliver \textit{et al.} 1999).
Moral regulation

Morality presents yet another extended family of justifications and methods for the control of expression and information. It reflects the desire of societies, and especially religious, military or civil oligarchies, to defend – or sometimes create – a communal habitus which sustains their position. However, the illiberality inherent in the regulation of publications which may be considered to be morally dangerous can shape a community and condition its attitude to freedom of expression: “even if the publication and consumption of pornography is bad for the community as a whole, just considered in itself, the consequences of trying to censor or otherwise suppress pornography makes the community worse off, even in the long run” (Williams Committee 1979, p. 159).

Nevertheless, pornography or obscenity can in many societies be the first form of expression to be controlled perhaps because sexuality is a universal experience and attracts many taboos. Arguments about the right of users to explore their own sexuality or the diversity of human experience appear to lack substance in contrast to the fears of perversion or exploitation, especially of children. One of the key justifications expressed by advocates of censorship is to protect others against such dangers, particularly those which are considered by the would-be censor to pose moral dangers.

Despite the rhetoric, there is little agreement on what constitutes pornography or obscenity even within a culture, let alone between cultures. The nature and scale of the feared dangers are culturally contingent and change over time but the self-perceived moral or other superiority of the censor continues. The generally accepted test of obscenity in the Anglo-American tradition is based on community standards and the unacceptability of degradation or dehumanization of human beings with the defence of internal necessities for artistic expression (Griffith 1996, pp. 14-15).
Artistic experimentation is especially vulnerable because it characteristically challenges boundaries. This argument is supported by the frequency of suppression of literary works, which have subsequently been recognised to be great such as Joyce’s *Ulysses* (Winick 2001; Brown, R 1992). From this perspective, the censorship of pornography could be seen to deliberately favour the more mundane examples of artistic expression over more daring and innovative works. Literary history demonstrates that acceptability is a moveable feast. For example, a good collection of English literature today would almost certainly include DH Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* but it, like *Ulysses*, was considered obscene and banned in many countries (Grant 1992). The banning and subsequent release of both demonstrated that conceptions of the pornographic are contingent (Vanderham 1998). They continue to change, evolving in response to a variety of factors including, especially, community perceptions of current dangers.

Not surprisingly, pornography and consequently censorship have been important and contested issues for a number of feminist writers (Rodgerson and Wilson 1991; Jackson 1992). Many object to pornography on a variety of grounds, especially its purpose of providing gratification mainly for men and its exploitation of women in both its creation and in its depiction of female roles. They explore the problematic of free choice in the sex industries, questioning whether women’s participation in creating and using pornography can ever be truly voluntary (Leidholt and Raymond 1990). Some have said that a definite causal connection exists between violent pornography and the incidence of rape and other sexual assault (Griffith 1996, p. 9) and there has been some research to support this contention including behavioural research on effects of sexually violent material which has suggested that such depictions may increase the likelihood of a male viewer to perform rape (Paterson 1990, p. 2) but other cross cultural investigations have shown decreased sexual crime in countries which tolerate explicit pornography (Winick 2001).

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69 Despite its exclusion from *The western canon* (Bloom 1994).
More broadly, it has been suggested that the widespread display and consumption of pornography contributes to a cultural and social environment which is damaging to women (Griffith, *op cit*) and even that “women’s equality is unimaginable while pornography continues to exist” (Dwyer 1995, p. 16). On the contrary, Strossen argues that such views fuel discrimination, suggesting that the 1992 Canadian Supreme Court decision was destructive to feminist and lesbian literature (Strossen 1995). The proposition that the incitement to racial hatred legislation could offer a model for the regulation of pornography, rendering it unlawful to publish or distribute material which is likely to stir up sexual hatred (Itzin 1992, p. 413) has been criticised by some feminist commentators for casting women as victims who need to be protected rather than independent persons with a right to be liberated (Dwyer *op cit*, p. 183). The United Nations Human Rights Committee has supported protection, arguing that “the publication and dissemination of obscene and pornographic material which portrays women and girls as objects of violence or degrading or inhuman treatment is likely to promote these kinds of treatment of women and girls” (United Nations Human Rights Committee 2000 quoted in Joseph *et al.* 2000, p. 639). This represents an expression in international jurisprudence of the harm principle, justifying restrictions on the right to information by reference to other rights.

While it is very difficult to oppose arguments in favour of protecting the weak, and children in particular, there is a counter argument in favour of disadvantaged minorities. Their concerns, including psychosocial issues of gender and sexuality, are outside the mainstream and can therefore be seen to be subversive of public order, of a shared morality in this context. From a concern with the liberation of minorities it can be argued that censorship is inimical to the rights of the disadvantaged because it forms the acceptable modes of expression. This perspective has gained support from queer theory (Butler 1997). Publications that conservative pundits might consider to be pornographic or obscene - and consequently potentially injurious to “moral consensus” (Devlin 1965) - from this...
more libertarian view are seen to be merely subversive of public orthodoxies. It has been seen by both conservatives and libertarians to subvert heterosexual orthodoxies. The conservative view is that publications dealing with homosexuality or other “perversion” encourages deviation from normal sexuality and is contrary to religious dogma. Libertarians opposing that view hold that suppression of the depiction of the variety of human sexuality is oppressive to minorities and hence an abrogation of human rights. Furthermore, libertarians are sceptical of claims that the publication and viewing of books, images and films could be harmful in itself.

**Community standards**

The conservative approach to censorship emphasises the real or alleged harm to society which will result from moral disintegration including damage to the general social and cultural environment: “… what threatens moral consensus threatens society … because immoral conduct, even if it is no menace to others, can threaten one of the great moral principles on which society is based” (Devlin 1965). Decency activists and others have expressed similar views much more passionately as was demonstrated through the widespread attempts to suppress the Harry Potter books. As readers of newspaper letters pages can testify, the outrage of many correspondents rests upon an assumption of shared morality.

Devlin’s view has been challenged for underestimating the extent to which a stable society can and does support a real degree both of moral pluralism and changing community standards (Hart 1963; Post 1988). Further, Griffith suggests that Devlin displays “… a tendency to fundamentalism and paternalism, as well as a disregard for minority rights … operates with an assimilationist model of law which attempts to unify society around the cultural values of a single dominant group” (*Op cit*, pp. 8-9).
In the liberal democracies an approach is attempted which seeks a balance between the least possible inhibition on freedom of expression while restricting that which is considered to be beyond community standards and, especially, that which flouts the primary human rights. This is exemplified in the approach of the Australian Office of Film and Literature Classification which seeks to inform readers – or, more often, viewers – about certain characteristics of each work. It classifies films and magazines as G (general exhibition), PG (parental guidance required), MA15+ (restricted to viewers over 15 years of age), R18+ (restricted to viewers over 18 years of age). Advisory information may also be provided such as “adult themes”, “violence”, “offensive language”. Banned films and publications are euphemistically rated ‘RC’ or ‘Refused Classification’ by the Office of Film and Literature Classification. They are generally banned for sexual or violent content but reasons may include content considered to be dangerous such as descriptions of methods of making explosives or drugs. The justification for the scheme, and for its extension to the Internet, is based on protecting the community and especially minors from such ‘extreme’ content. Its application is consistent with the harm principle. Its aim is “of upholding that shared morality”. Material may be suppressed or access limited without any evidence of imminent harm to others. The principal defence rests on the artistic necessity of the content considered harmful.

Other countries adopt more liberal or more restrictive policies and practices, usually displaying tensions between those who would be more open and liberal and those who would favour orthodoxy. This has been dramatically illustrated in contemporary Iran by the seesaw between the democratic modernisation promoted by the elected President Mohammad Khatami, who was formerly the national librarian (Lyons 1999), and the reaction of the religious establishment.

Finding the balance to suit the societal habitus presents a continuing dialectic. Fed by narratives of identity, all societal groups may express their views of what is proper and demand adherence to those views, demonstrating that the “social world
is riddled with *calls to order*” (Bourdieu 1998 [1994], pp. 54-56). These calls are so self-evident to those who express them that they may be perplexed when others fail to acknowledge their legitimacy. Just as there would be mutual incomprehension between a sincere proponent of the politically driven purpose of access to information and a libertarian, there would be no room for agreement between those who would reject homoerotic and lesbian vampires in fiction as transgressive and those who would celebrate them as dramatic affirmation of ‘otherness’ (Wisker 2000).

In Bourdieu’s view the calls operate only for those who are predisposed to heeding them. Contrary to Weber, he argues that the recognition of legitimacy is not a free act of a clear conscience but a result of a perceived agreement between internalised understandings and external order. The obviousness of orthodoxy, and its consequent potency, results from its consonance with the cognitive structures through which it is perceived. In Bourdieu’s class based analysis, the dominant both determine the orthodoxy and the structures of perception by controlling the state.

This distinction is fundamental to Gusfield’s landmark work on the American temperance movement in which he argues that the success of the temperance movement in many communities was the culmination of an *assimilative* approach which held out the possibility of entrance into the more dominant community groups and at the same time reinforced the reformer’s sense of social superiority (Gusfield 1976 [1963], pp. 122-123). Prohibition on the other hand was a form of *coercive* moral reform directed at those who did not consider the reformer’s culture to be superior and thus had to be forced to accept the reformer’s views. Coercive reform operates in situation of polarization in which there conflicting social and political views without clear dominance. Amanda Wingfield’s outburst in *The glass menagerie* applies very similar coercive moralism to books
(Williams, T 1968 [1945], p.16)  70: “I took that horrible novel back to the library – yes! That hideous book by that insane Mr Lawrence. … I cannot control the output of diseased minds or people who cater for them … But I won’t allow such filth brought into my house! No, no, no, no, no!”

Censorship used in the broad sense adopted in this chapter can be either assimilative or coercive. It is assimilative when it is perceived to have legitimacy because of its imposition by recognised authority, by authority which is accepted to be legitimate and disinterested. It is coercive when it is employed as a means of enforcing the moral or ideological beliefs of an element of society which is not recognised to hold legitimate authority, at least in relation to imposing those beliefs. ‘Community standards’ consequently constitute an expression of legitimacy if they genuinely reflect the views of the community in which they are applied. That legitimacy is questionable when they are ignored or subverted by a substantial proportion of the community. Attempts to enforce them must then be considered to be coercive.

Community standards and the library

Prima facie it would appear that the concept of ‘community standards’ should sit well with library policy and practice. It is consistent with the notion of service to a community such as the residents served by a public library, the students and staff of a university or school, or the members of a research institute. The primary service is making available information materials, whether by purchase, electronic licence or other means. To that end, libraries and their staff members select materials to purchase or make available and develop selection policies to guide their decisions. Those policies reflect the interests of each library’s community of

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70 The glass menagerie was set in the United States just after Prohibition. Amanda Wingfield displays the contempt and fear towards “drunkards” which was, and is, expressed in temperance tracts (Gusfield op cit).
users and respond to their needs within whatever budgetary, policy and legislative constraints the library may operate.

However, it can be but a short step from selecting that which is relevant to rejecting that which might be considered objectionable by the community or indeed the librarian. It is easy to say ‘my clients don’t need that’ or ‘we can’t afford it’ when considering materials about which the selector feels uncomfortable or fears a community backlash. It is easy to avoid controversy by restricting purchases to the tastes of the majority using the justification of applying always limited resources to deliver the broadest benefit to the greatest number of people. But this strategy risks marginalising minority preferences whether they be for particular genres, languages or formats. The old blind lady with an interest in philosophy might, for example, find it very difficult to obtain spoken word versions of the writings of the great philosophers because all public libraries consider them to be of minority interest. Members of an ethnic minority might be unable to read in their own language. More challengingly for the librarian, the fetishist and neo-Nazi may demand and be refused materials supporting their interests. Each may claim that their interests have been ignored and they are subject to oppression by the majority.

Deciding what to purchase can pose major ethical dilemmas for both libraries and librarians. Since resources are always limited, selections must be made. The aim is to find a basis for making decisions which eschews bias. It challenges each library to develop a clear selection policy which is based firmly on the needs of the library’s clients and not subject to extraneous considerations such as political acceptability. For librarians, it can lead to self questioning of the reasons for making particular selection decisions especially when the materials are expected to be controversial or even personally objectionable to the selectors.

Pornography is troubling for many librarians in common with, and as members of, their communities. As with other community members, some librarians may find
some materials dealing with sex and sexuality “unconventional, unpopular or unacceptable”. They may decide to “select, censor, segregate, isolate, restrict, and otherwise discriminate” (Isaacson 2000) while recognising that they are capable of making mistakes and perhaps feeling awkward. As professionals committed to communitarian ideals, they both abhor exploitation and degradation, especially of children, and believe in the agency to information to promote personal autonomy through the acquisition of knowledge. Their commitment to access to information includes the commitment to enable client access to information which they may personally find abhorrent, creating moral dilemmas.

In practice, some refuse to purchase and make available materials which have been or might be challenged, citing ‘community standards’ or legality (sometimes on doubtful grounds). Some object to providing Internet access to pornographic sites in public libraries, as in the recent case in which the Canadian Union of Public Employees called the Ottawa Public Library a “porn palace” and a “poisoned work environment” (Gray 2003; 'Keep the porn away from kids - editorial' 2003). Many seek a middle way, often with timidity, as did Swansea Libraries on the release of Lady Chatterley’s Lover – they purchased a copy but made it available by request only (Lucas 2001). This timid response is in the long established library tradition of the closed cabinet of restricted materials, accessible through cryptic catalogue entries such as “Sex – see librarian” (Byrne 1999f). Others tough it out, expressing their strong commitment to freedom of access to information and consequently deciding to buy and make available solely on grounds of relevance or literary quality (Jones, D 2001b). Some assiduously build extensive collections of materials considered unacceptable which, over time, document changing tastes and moral views such as the infamous ‘Enfer’ of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Quignard 2001).

The philosophical foundation of the disinterested provision of information is expressed in the CLA statement on intellectual freedom which includes the assertions that
Libraries have a basic responsibility for the development and maintenance of intellectual freedom … [and] to guarantee and facilitate access to all expressions of knowledge and intellectual activity, including those which some elements of society may consider to be unconventional, unpopular or unacceptable. To this end, libraries shall acquire and make available the widest variety of materials (Canadian Library Association 1985 [1974]).

These sentiments were echoed later in the *IFLA Statement on libraries and intellectual freedom* (IFLA 1999b) which was subsequently transformed into the *Glasgow Declaration* (IFLA 2002b). However, in conflict with these aspirations, the weight of community expectations bears heavily on public and school libraries. The commitment to meeting the needs of the clientele can be expressed as a wish not to offend the general views of the community which the libraries serve. Thus, some material may be excluded from libraries for fear that it might offend the general community or a section of it. Its exclusion then might deprive another segment of the community from information which it desires to access or from which it might benefit. For example, the exclusion of material dealing with homosexuality to avoid giving offence to those who consider homosexuality to be immoral or unacceptable can deny others the opportunity to understand or celebrate their own sexuality.

The work of the ALA Office for Intellectual Freedom has demonstrated the frequency of demands for censorship imposed by pressure groups and highlighted the importance of a principled stand in response to such pressures (ALA, Office for Intellectual Freedom 2002). As was noted earlier, the most common justification advanced for censorship was ‘conflicts with the values of the community’ (Doyle 1997). An international example has been the calls in many countries for the banning or restriction of JK Rowling’s *Harry Potter* series. This sets perceived dangers, whether demonic or otherwise, against the goal of encouraging reading – a primary goal for librarians specialising in services for
children and young adults. The books are of appropriate literary standard for pre-
teen readers and may usefully challenge their reading ability because of complex
plots and length. To remove or censor them would violate the professional
commitments both to access to information and to meeting clients’ needs. The
case illustrates the contradictions between responding to calls for censorship in the
name of community standards on the one hand and both providing literature
desired by members of the community and also addressing broader community
goals such as the extension of literacy.

Such dilemmas have long been with librarians. The 1876 meeting at which the
ALA was established offers a telling illustration. A considerable difference of
opinion was expressed there, at the inception of library associations, about the
harm which might result from reading novels. A participant commented that
young people who were thought to be reading too many were sometimes deprived
of their library cards. Taking a positive approach, FB Perkins compiled a list of
the “best Hundred Novels” which was published in Library Journal the following
year. It included Tom Jones for its merits and in spite of “grossenesses (sic)”
(Stevenson 1968, p. 275). This anticipated the development of guides to good
literature, and latterly websites, by the ALA and others. In this vein for example,
NetAlert provides links to websites considered useful and safe for children.

Libraries’ educative role demands not only that they should provide the materials
required by their clients but also that they should contribute to the development of
a degree of critical media consciousness by their clients. These serious purposes
demand that effective libraries must make available useful – that is, ‘good’ –
materials, whatever they may be. To a degree, this requires libraries to combat the
“culture-death” which Postman warned would be the consequence for a
population that becomes distracted by trivia (Postman 1987, pp. 160-168).
However, the utilitarian commitment to non-judgementally meeting users’ needs
should mean providing what the user demands even if it should be unacceptable to
the librarian or the general community. It requires the expansion of professional
techniques such as classification to handle previously proscribed materials (Dilevko and Gottlieb 2002) while being very sensitive to the dangers of labelling. Further, the strongly held professional responsibility to maintain documentary heritage should be inclusive of all expression, including the obscene, if the record of human consciousness is to be preserved. The imperatives to make available that which is useful – as defined by individual clients and the broader communities served by each library – and to preserve the record imply that libraries will be forced into challenging any narrow definition of community standards.

Censorship and intellectual freedom

Similar challenges can be seen with respect to political content particularly in times of war or international tension, as was noted during the McCarthyist period in the United States:

Since the opening of the Korean War in 1950, the threat of Communism to the free world has seemed to be total … Communist use of words as weapons has brought forth a reply in kind, and the grinding together of hostile ideologies has tended to reduce the usual areas of debate thoughtful consideration, and peaceful discussion. … Since mid-1950 the drive to remove books on Communism from library shelves, to label them as untouchable, or to restrict their use has become more vocal and more insistent (Bixler 1954).

But Bixler was against restriction and quotes approvingly President Eisenhower’s abjuration to the students of Dartmouth College on June 14, 1953: “Don’t join the book burners … Don’t be afraid to go in your library and read every book as long as any document does not offend your own ideas of decency. That should be the only censorship.” Others speaking at the same conference as Bixler took a similar
stand in defence of the free play of ideas (Mosher 1954). Asheim, for example, drew a distinction between selection which “begins with a presumption in favor of liberty of thought” and censorship “with a presumption in favor of thought control” (Asheim 1954).

Outside the liberal democracies it has proven much more difficult to maintain principled opposition to censorship. As was discussed earlier, libraries when seen as instruments of the revolution must help to achieve the political ends of the revolution (Serov 1973). Anything else is unacceptable and comprehensible only as counter-revolutionary. For example, in communist Czechoslovakia, “Only good literature is to be found in the People’s, children’s and youth libraries: immediately after the war, all books published during the occupation of the country were removed if they had fascist, anti-democratic or anti-socialist tendencies. At the same time, libraries stopped lending trashy literature to boys and girls” (Malek 1963): 20). This fulfils the requirement for Soviet libraries to ensure:

the selection and promotion among a broad range of readers of literature that facilitates the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and political, occupational, and general educational knowledge; activity oriented toward all groups of readers; and use of the most active and effective methods for propaganda of books and guidance of reading” (Kanevskii 1973, pp. 707-708). It is consistent with the Soviet approach to selecting curriculum content which applied four criteria: “(a) the proven value of the material to be selected; (b) its social value; (c) is value in moulding a communist outlook; (d) the ease with which pupils can acquire it (Kraevskij and Lerner c1984, pp. 15).

A sincere exponent of this conception of good library practice and a believer in libertarian open access, even to the repugnant, would find their views mutually incomprehensible. For one it would be inconceivable that information should be
shaped to a social purpose, to the other it would be equally incomprehensible that information which could undermine the achievement of societal goals should be readily available within the society (and especially if the availability should be provided by organs of the state such as libraries).

This mutual incomprehension has been emphatically and repeatedly illustrated through the highly polarised positions of the advocates and opponents of the ‘independent libraries’ in Cuba. For the ‘official’ librarians, their library association ASCUBI and their supporters, the promoters of the ‘independent libraries’ are nothing more than counter revolutionary dissidents. Their treacherous intentions are confirmed by their acceptance of funds and resources from the US Interests Section office in Havana and through the vocal support of émigré groups and sympathisers in the United States. To the operators of the ‘independent libraries’ and their supporters, they are ordinary citizens of Cuba who are bravely opposing the harsh regime of Fidel Castro by highlighting the censorship and repression imposed by the regime. For IFLA/FAIFE it was an issue of access to information but for the opposing sides it was, and continues to be, a series of ideological set pieces.

Even within the liberal democracies, the pendulum has swung between control and liberty. A recent example has been seen in the response to increased concerns about terrorism in the United States and many Western countries since the atrocities of September 11, 2001. Those concerns have been seen by many to justify attempts by law enforcement authorities to obtain more extensive powers of inquiry into personal data as well as tighter controls over both access to information and also freedom of expression.

Considered broadly, intellectual repression is an inevitable result of censorship whether it be imposed by others or through self censorship adopted for fear of the consequences of expressing one’s thoughts or the perhaps even more pernicious danger of political correctness (Lessing 2001). Either way, it stultifies the
imagination and imprisons the human spirit. Its consequences are long lasting. The many years of dictatorship in Chile, for example, left a legacy of self censorship of which many Chileans are barely aware. It prevents them from openly discussing many topics and even from comprehending their self-imposed barriers. This inhibition has prevented librarians from pursuing their professional commitment to unrestricted access to information (Budnik 2002). In seeking accommodation with the oppressive regime, the librarian may become “a real heroine of moderation” - Kundera’s telling label for Ivana the Terrible, the headmistress in Škvorecký’s *Miracle in Bohemia* who picks out the least bad quotations from Marx (Kundera 1984, p. 18).

In the Soviet Union and under other totalitarian regimes, librarians could offer passive resistance by collecting unacceptable materials even if they could not be made available. They could hope for a better day and build for that future. However, it appears that such work was limited to the construction of state sanctioned collections of banned materials such as that in the Lenin Library. This is not surprising in view of the long history of repression in the Soviet Union. It would seem unlikely that private collections of unacceptable materials, and their creators, could have survived the Leninist and Stalinist purges or the systematic relegation to the Gulag of anyone who came to unfavourable notice. In such a totalitarian system, dissidence must be carried in the head or committed to ephemeral *samizdat*, but certainly not displayed tangibly in collections. As Budnik noted, the effects of living and practicing within a repressive system run deep and are shown in many ways of which the most insidious is self censorship.

**South Africa**

Outside Communist regimes and dictatorships, South Africa’s long history of intellectual repression, censorship and secrecy demonstrates the ways in which an authoritarian regime coupled political censorship with concern about pornography
(Merrett 1994). The intermeshed political and moral controls created a political
cage which inescapably trapped most oppressors and oppressed. It built a national
myth around the Boers’ courageous settlement of southern Africa and heroic
resistance against the British. That narrative attempted to explain and justify a
society layered on racial grounds but needed to be bolstered by the apparatus of
intellectual repression.

Before the Second World War, black writing was ignored and unconventional
white writing suppressed. Examples included Turbott Wolfe (Plomer 1925), which
dealt with miscegenation, and Turning wheels (Cloete 1937), which unheroically
depicted those on the Great Trek as ordinary human beings some of whom
engaged in extra-marital sex. From 1937, there were repeated calls for and
initiatives to impose political censorship to prevent criticism of fascism and to
suppress communist and anti-war views. Starting with the Suppression of
Communism Act of 1950\(^71\), the state constructed a structure of censorship and
self-censorship which lasted for four decades.

Imported books and periodicals were strictly controlled under the Customs Act on
sometimes arbitrary grounds. Although university libraries could obtain permits to
import banned books for research purposes, only two permits had been issued by
May 1955 – and the titles were kept confidential. However, there was relative
freedom for materials published in South Africa which enabled the publication of
a rich anti-apartheid literature (\textit{Ibid}).

The recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable
Publications (the Cronjé Commission) in 1957 included a single system for both
imported and domestic publications; a Publications Board to categorise materials;
registration of all newspapers, periodicals, publishers and booksellers; and

\(^71\) Contemporaneous to the House Un-American Activities (McCarthy) Committee in the USA and
the Communist Party Dissolution Bill which was introduced into the Australian Parliament by the
Menzies Government in April 1950 but not passed.
banning of communist literature. In a sop to universities it recommended that libraries could hold banned literature for research purposes. Nevertheless, the South African Library Association (SALA), among others, strongly opposed the subsequent 1960 Bill because of its effect on freedom of expression. The provisions regarding the press were dropped in favour of a Press Code. The legislation was reintroduced and passed in 1962 avowedly to control indecency, blasphemy and communist opinions.

After the shootings at Sharpeville in 1960 and subsequent marches, a state of emergency was introduced under which writers were imprisoned or deported and publications banned. Detention, house arrest, banning and listing, political trials and banishment were used over the following years to intimidate, harass and silence critics of the regime. Black writing and any critical of apartheid or presenting unacceptable race relations was suppressed. Banned persons, organisations declared unlawful, anything deemed to have security implications and anything which could cause embarrassment to the government could not even be mentioned. Merrett commented wryly “If the system had a saving grace it was the humour which could be extracted from the mindlessness of the censors” (Ibid, p. 64).

New censorship legislation in 1974 removed the right of appeal and enabled administrative banning. It was in Gordimer's chilling phrase, “an octopus of thought-surveillance” (Gordimer 1976). In the late 1970s, the Botha government made the system more sophisticated, giving the censors greater powers but introducing some positive amendments including a general exemption for university and other large libraries. Alternative publishing ventures challenged the system. Under the 1986-1990 state of emergency, suppression of ideas and control of communication were central. Widespread censorship “was very much more radical and effective than that which operated before 1986 … [it] sought to
control information only from within South Africa, depended almost entirely on
state employees to enforce it, and encouraged self-censorship” (Merrett, \textit{op cit}, p.
137).

From President de Klerk’s speech on 2 February 1990, this whole unwieldy
apparatus began to be dismantled as publications, organisations and individuals
were unbanned. However, although some provisions were removed, the Internal
Security Act remained in force and continued to be used. Classified documents
and archives were destroyed, presumably to protect those who might have been
held responsible for the crimes of apartheid. Merrett (\textit{Ibid}, p. 194) suggested that
“This seemed to sum up the censorship of the glasnost years, which allowed a
greater degree of freedom of opinion and expression while placing a high
premium upon covering up unedifying details of the past”. South Africa
subsequently provided a brave example of a nation attempting to deal with its dark
history when, from 1996, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission worked to
uncover those “unedifying details” while promoting reconciliation especially with
those who acknowledged their crimes.

Merrett considered that some South African university libraries were overzealous
in following the censorship laws, displaying a tendency to anticipate their
application. There was a climate “of apparent liberalism overlaid by an anxious
legalism and subservience to distant authority” and few challenged their
legitimation of “a system of thought control” (\textit{Ibid}, pp. 198-199). Over the fifteen
years from the promulgation of the Publications Act on 1 April 1975, 23,435 titles
were referred to the Publications Control Board, 88 per cent by police, customs or
the Directorate of Publications.

Further, Merrett charged the profession of librarianship with “collaboration and
connivance with the authorities” in zealously upholding the Act (\textit{Ibid}, pp. 211-
213). The entire professional ethos was undermined: the more liberal members
“appealed for administrative tidiness in the censorship system”, the “totalitarian

\textit{Defending the right to information}
aided and abetted the state by searching for escaped banned material on the open shelves, interpreting the law literally, and surrounding the process with an air of bureaucratic solemnity” (Ibid, p. 212). Merrett suggested that the Publications Act could have been rendered unworkable if librarians had chosen not to comply with its provisions and consequences.

Merrett may well have been correct in his analysis and, from a FAIFE perspective, it would have been preferable if the profession had tried to undermine the legislation. However, the demands he would have placed on South African librarians are weighty. As members of a racially divided society, they could be expected to reflect the views of the various segments of that society with some supporting the government’s policies, some accepting them as necessary if unpleasant, and some rejecting them. Even those who felt that the policies were wrong would have found it difficult to challenge them. A stronger response to the Publications Act and other repressive measures would have conflicted with their commitment to service to the community and their sense of obedience to authority, with key aspects of their professional habitus. It could also have placed their lives and livelihoods at risk and might have led to imprisonment, brutality or exile.

The responsibility of libraries

With the exception of its limited role in determining its relationship with the South African Library Association, under pressure from UNESCO, IFLA did not take a stand in relation to apartheid or the resultant intellectual repression. Nor did it oppose the censorship and other repression experienced under Soviet Communism, in Chile under the military dictatorship, or in many other countries. The failure of IFLA to respond to these experiences of repression reflected its focus on technical issues in avoiding Cold War antagonisms.
The various calls to order can create dilemmas for libraries and the librarians who work in them. On the one hand, there are the ideals expressed in the Glasgow Declaration and many national codes of ethics or similar documents. They proclaim the supremacy of Article 19 for libraries and information services and proceed to construct a body of expectations around the right to know which it expresses. On the other hand, an extensive array of reasons is advanced to limit the right to information. Many of the reasons are legitimated through the need to protect the weak, to maintain national security and other national interests, or to support other worthy goals. They offer persuasive reasons for qualifying the reciprocal rights to unrestricted access to information and freedom of expression. For librarians, there can be a contradiction between their commitment to open access to information and hence freedom of expression and respecting the limits imposed by censorship regulations or determinations, whether they believe the limits are legitimate or not. There can also be a conflict between those precepts and their personal moral values or ethical stance.

The experience of libraries in South Africa under apartheid and in the Communist countries underlines these challenges. In repressive situations, some librarians could actively stand up for the right to information and for intellectual freedom but for most passive resistance was the only available option. Library associations could be complicit in the repression but, even if not complicit, would be unlikely to be able to support dissidence.

In liberal democracies, the challenges are not as immediately striking but they are perhaps more difficult to handle because of their subtlety. They can demand support for despised minorities or objections to popularly endorsed calls to order, such as those against paedophilia and child pornography. They may require librarians to take a stand contrary to their own moral views in defence of a universal right. Opposition to the barriers to information access thus brings professionals to consider their values and the profession to assess itself.
This can be demonstrated through the experience of the IFLA/FAIFE project since many of the issues and incidents handled by it constituted responses to attempts to hinder access to information. The early examples – the Front National control of libraries in the south of France, the book burning at Ekaterinburg in Russia and the seizure of the Mapplethorpe book in the UK – illustrated the classic sources of regulation: ideology, religion and morals. This theme was maintained through such issues as the persistent attempts to censor materials in school libraries, to reframe reading lists and to bowdlerise histories as well as the various attempts to introduce Internet censorship legislation. An unusual example was the attempted suppression of an article in *Human Immunology*, an attempt which disregarded all the accepted conventions of scholarly practice in order to obliterate a research paper which critics considered ideologically unacceptable.

Other cases, however, demonstrated more brutal attempts at control. They included the ‘independent libraries’ imbroglio in Cuba and the intimidation leading to the closure of the British Council Library in Harare. The actions against individuals evident in those cases became even more personal in the attempted intimidation of Kunaka in Zimbabwe and the detention of Song Yongyi in China. But they were overshadowed by the damage to libraries in Kosovo and the destruction of libraries and archives in East Timor, Palestine and Afghanistan.

However varied may be the techniques, the underlying tension remains the same. It is the war of ideas between those who would control against those who favour freedom of access to information. The reasons for control are many, extending from protection of the vulnerable to defence of a regime. The countervailing arguments in favour of diversity, pluralism and the contention of ideas are based in a shared belief in the primacy of the fundamental human rights to know and to enjoy intellectual freedom. The IFLA/FAIFE initiative can be judged in terms of its success in assisting librarians to reconcile those issues and to develop their professional habitus to express the principles of intellectual freedom more strongly.
International organisations in transformation

Through the location of its headquarters in The Hague, IFLA identifies itself as one of the older generation of international non governmental organisations (INGOs) which are based in the capitals of Western Europe together with most of the major international governmental organisations (IGOs). These organisations operate in symbiotic relationships to promote international cooperation in agriculture, meteorology, telecommunications and many other fields.

Although some of the oldest IGOs were established before the League of Nations, they took on the characteristics of a network with its creation. They were joined by other agencies reflecting other areas of governmental interest and have proliferated since the formation of the United Nations and the subsequent adoption of a host of international conventions, treaties and agreements. The complementary INGOs represent worldwide non governmental interests often, like IFLA, constituting a federation of national or regional bodies. They seek to influence the IGOs and, through them, governments as they serve their members and promote their fields of interest. Governments must share the arenas of international relations with the IGOs and the numerous and diverse INGOs as well as national and regional non governmental organisations (della Porta et al. 1999). All three elements work together, often tentatively, to address international questions. In the planning for the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), for example, all three elements were drawn together in a number of preparatory regional and global meetings with INGOs identified by the Secretariat to be those organisations representing “private” (ie commercial) interests and civil
society, the “others” (WSIS 2003). Although the INGOs were both formally recognised and enabled to participate in the meetings, governmental representatives showed themselves to be loath to cede their authority for determining the final outcomes of the Summit.

IFLA’s participation in the preparations for that Summit demonstrated its special character. As a relatively old, well respected, international non governmental organisation it has long standing “formal associate relations” with UNESCO and observer or consultative status with the United Nations and many other international organisations including the World Intellectual Property Organization and the World Trade Organization (IFLA 2002c). This status gave it automatic right of participation as a civil society INGO and the capacity to communicate directly with IGOs and government delegations. However, its participation was also welcomed by the other INGOs in the civil society bloc because of its strongly articulated position on respect for human rights and for the right to information in particular. This dual acceptability assisted IFLA to negotiate its agenda within the bounds imposed by governmental geo-political rivalries and brinkmanship (Toner 2003).

**International organisations**

The recognition accorded to INGOs during the WSIS preparatory meetings was unprecedented. Although they were excluded from many discussions, given only limited time to address the plenary sessions of the government delegations, and experienced considerable frustration, their proposals were considered and much of the wording in the draft Declaration of Principles and draft Action Plan incorporated the language and concerns of civil society organisations (Burch 2003). The degree of involvement represented a tremendous advance on the experience at previous summits including the 2002 United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (Vitzansky 2002).
That greater recognition reflects the growing strength of INGOs which is a relatively recent phenomenon. Their number increased dramatically during the twentieth century as they proliferated and came to represent more sectors of society. They now represent humanitarian, environmental, commercial, professional and many other interests. The number more than quadrupled during the 1990s (Hoogvelt 2001, p. 267) with 25,540 listed in the 2002 edition of the *Yearbook of international organizations* along with 5,546 intergovernmental organisations (Union of International Organizations 2002). They have their own representative body, the Conference of Non Governmental Organizations (CONGO). Founded in 1948, CONGO has worked to ensure that NGOs are present when governments discuss issues of global concern at the United Nations and to facilitate NGO discussions on such issues (Conference of Non Governmental Organizations 2003). Its membership comprises national, regional and international nongovernmental organizations in consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

The growth of INGOs is highly correlated with measures of world development including indicators of economic, constitutional and educational development as well as those for communications, transport, energy and interstate relations (Boli and Thomas 1999). Their emergence and growing strength have offered both agency in the growth of world polity and a manifestation of its development. They not only grew in number but almost twice as fast in participation across nations (Boli *et al.* 1999). Together they constitute a civil society which can be defined in organisational terms as the other social entities which collectively form a third element between governments and business entities (Walzer 1995; Frost *op cit*). In a performative sense, their activities and interconnections are creating a transnational civil society through which citizens of one state can take political action in another through such means as protests and consumer boycotts (Beck 2000, pp. 64-86). Despite the diversity of their motivations for association and action, they are held together by shared beliefs in universalism, individualism,
rational voluntaristic authority, progress and global citizenship (Boli and Thomas *op cit*). To a degree they embody those notions and demonstrate their strength through concerted action as in the preparations for the World Summit on the Information Society when they showed themselves to be better able to present a consensus agenda than the government delegations. From a normative perspective, those shared beliefs constitute the bones of civil society, a contended and discursive notion of global citizenship built around “greater respect for cultural differences, stronger commitments to the reduction of material inequalities and significant advances in universality” (Linklater 1998, p.2).

Humanitarian concerns and human rights advocacy have been particularly fertile fields for the development of INGOs. Growing global recognition of human rights developed through the twentieth century in concert with increasing internationalism. A very early and extraordinarily influential example is the International Committee of the Red Cross which has been one of the most significant international organisations since its establishment. Formed as means of bringing succour to combatants, it became an influential international non governmental organisation (INGO) with a well established structure, an increasing number of national committees and widespread support (Finnemore 1999). Its strength and influence has grown since the adoption of the first Geneva Convention through its relationship with the League of Nations and the League’s successor, the United Nations. It has become recognised as a very important participant in intergovernmental and international negotiations.

In this way the International Committee of the Red Cross became a prime exemplar for other INGOs which were starting to take an important place in international relations. By 1933, White noted the maturing character of INGOs in terms of organisational structure, membership, fundraising and programs (White 1933) cited in (Chatfield 1997). As Chatfield notes, they developed constituencies for international programs and mobilised pressures on national policies, and were often catalysts for innovation and the creation of international governmental
organisations (IGOs).

The Red Cross has provided the basic template (Pictet 1979). It delivers medical and humanitarian assistance in crises caused by conflict or natural calamity. Non-partisanship is central to the approach of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which describes itself as “an impartial, neutral and independent organization” (International Committee of the Red Cross 2002). Throughout its long history, it has been able to work with the needy on both sides of conflicts, offering immediate succour but also carrying messages of hope from prisoners to their families and in return. The nature of its formation was also significant. It was not formed by states but through the efforts of a few morally committed private individuals and the networks they were able to use to build a transnational organisation (Finnemore 1999). In this aspect, too, the Red Cross foreshadowed the growth of INGOs in that they are essentially based on individualism, voluntarism and a sense of global citizenship. Although participation in INGOs is higher in Europe, the most developed countries, those with a long history of independence and those with a predominantly Christian population, it is spreading across all nations except those which are poor and have a deliberate policy on non-involvement – such as Burma/Myanmar (Boli et al. 1999).

Many of the INGOs are loose confederations of local or national bodies but some, such as Amnesty International, have well determined structures with established means of communication and elected representative governance. Others, such as IFLA and the World Council of Churches, are federations of professional or sectoral associations and institutions. In varying degrees, these diverse organisations work with international governmental organisations such as UNESCO and WHO.

The international organisations represent a culmination of the practical internationalism initiated in the nineteenth century as one of the approaches to the abolition of war in response to the experience of the Napoleonic and subsequent
campaigns. The other distinct strands in those efforts were: consultation between great powers, pacifism and the growth of international law (Walters 1952, pp. 7-10). Fostered by these approaches, international law grew slowly but continuously throughout the nineteenth century with particular emphasis on arbitration of differences between states. But there was limited success because of the lack of any treaty binding states to submit differences to arbitration as was illustrated by the half-hearted results of the Hague Conferences (Ibid, p. 9-10). Nevertheless the principle that there should be some supra-national codes was accepted. National governments ceded some autonomy to the new bodies of which the first was the Danube Commission set up by an 1856 Conference in Paris. It was followed in 1865 by the International Telegraphic Union and subsequently the Universal Postal Union, “the most successful, complete, and powerful example of its kind” (Ibid, p. 7). As these examples indicate, the new international organisations were particularly prevalent in fields which demanded international interconnection and at least a degree of standardisation. Metrology in fact was one of the early arenas of collaboration through the Convention of the Metre, signed in 1875, and its administering body, the Bureau International des Poids et Mesures (Mills 2002). By 1914 there were over thirty such organisations including the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome (1905) and International Health Office in Paris (1907) both of which eventually metamorphosed into UN agencies, the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the World Health Organisation respectively.

The multiplication of international organisation was paralleled by the establishment of international associations, including the Interparliamentary Union (1889), International Federation for Documentation (1895), International Publishers' Association (1896), International Federation of Trade Unions (1901), IFLA (much later in 1927) and “many other bodies connected with religion, science, literature, sport, and indeed with almost every aspect of human existence … [offered] a conclusive manifestation of the extent of the common interests of mankind, and of the artificiality of a world in which those interests are cut into
separate compartments by national frontiers” (*Ibid*, p. 8). The early associations emerged from shared interests and a perception that international dialogue and cooperation could result in benefits for all participants.

From Dunant and the Red Cross to Greenpeace, the authority of INGOs has been their moral suasion. That authority has been legitimated and enhanced through voluntary membership together with structures and organisation which facilitate commitment to socially valued purposes (Boli 1999). Many have long worked collaboratively with IGOs to mobilise states to engage with the issues of concern to them. Other approaches to achieving their ends have included the mobilisation of citizens and organisations within states.

As Beck (*op cit*) noted, both the growing number and increasing power of international organisations – including corporations as well as INGOs and IGOs – created, and continues to provide, a momentum. As transnational political actors, they are individually and collectively vital drivers for change. Most are autonomous but they often operate in concert through a range of shifting alliances. The alliances may be formed around such causes as ecology, poverty, corporate power and human or animal rights but they are conditioned by and operate in the context of global politics, especially those of major powers and their allies. Transnational action can bring together otherwise disparate partners which may adopt a variety of methods in prosecuting a shared cause. Their alliance may be more effective than any of the partners could be by itself.

Greenpeace and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) are examples of this face of global activism. Not only does MSF provide much needed medical assistance in emergency situations but it also endeavours to draw attention to the causes and consequences of the situations in which it works (Médecins Sans Frontières 2002b). Thus it takes a more overtly activist stance than the Red Cross. MSF shares its character with an extensive range of other international, national and local organisations, many of which focus on activism rather than aid. Greenpeace
undertakes dramatic, and sometimes dangerous, stunts to publicise environmental issues but also researches matters of concern and makes representations to those responsible for creating or regulating the matters (Beck 2000, pp. 68-69). Some of these organisations operate at local, national or regional levels but, in this study, the focus is on international non governmental organisations, and especially transnational social movement organisations (Smith et al. 1997). These TSMOs have members from more than two countries and a degree of formal structure which enables them to coordinate strategy through an international secretariat. They offer vehicles to “relatively marginalized actors to promote some form of social or political change”.

In the specific field of human rights activism, Amnesty International is one of the oldest TSMOs. It is highly regarded by citizens and governments, except those it criticises of course. Amnesty has established considerable authority and built up the resources to undertake its work through consistent and well based campaigns against individual and systemic human rights abuses and on particular issues such as the abolition of the death penalty, eradication of torture and release of prisoners of conscience (Amnesty International 1992). As a matter of principle, Amnesty accepts no money from governments or political bodies in order to emphasise its independence, impartiality and universality. These key principles of independence, accuracy and consistency have provided a model for many of the other INGOs and NGOs which have been established since Amnesty was initiated by Peter Benenson in 1961. Many have copied Amnesty’s methods. Particularly influential has been the deceptively simple but astonishingly effective technique of encouraging supporters worldwide to send brief, sincere and courteous letters on specific human rights issues to responsible officials. The supporters’ persistence and the often overwhelming number of letters and cards have worn down the resolve of many authorities.

Amnesty’s establishment was sparked by a specific incident, Benenson’s outrage over the imprisonment of two Portuguese students for toasting freedom (Ibid, p.
114) but its mandate is firmly based on the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and other international human rights instruments. Internationalism is at its core. Amnesty International exists because its members believe in an ideal of international respect for human rights and in the capacity of individuals, separately and together, to influence events in other countries. In writing letters and taking other actions, the members are acting as global citizens. While some focus on particular countries or regions or types of human rights abuses, all are reminded by the monthly newsletters and special campaigns of the worldwide need for human rights activism. While the membership grew from Britain and has been overwhelmingly drawn from the citizenry of Western democracies, it has many members in other countries including some who must remain covert because they live under repressive regimes. Irrespective of political orientation or religious belief, the members are committed to an ideal of universal basic human rights for all individuals and all communities. Their work has helped spread the call to respect those rights and inspired other organisations with specific agendas or regional foci.

The goals of social movement organisations extend from the protection of human rights to other social, environmental and economic issues. Some concentrate on very specific agendas, including the micro agendas that are sometimes categorised as ‘Not In My Back Yard’ (‘NIMBY’), others such as Amnesty and Greenpeace on much broader landscapes. All are perceived by their communities “as symbols of altruism and can draw to them people who share their vision and their values and thus act as banks for generating and transferring social capital’ (Scott 1999, p. 6). They build on underlying social networks and shared frames for collective actions which sustains long campaigns against powerful opposition (Tarrow 1998). However, there is considerable diversity among the SMOs among which range the moderate can be distinguished from the radical (Fitzgerald and Rodgers 2000). The moderate SMOs tend to feature hierarchical leadership with formal bureaucratic organisation and the potential to obtain significant resources. They adopt a reform agenda achieved through intervention in the existing political
system by means of non-violent legal action. Radical SMOs, on the other hand, exhibit participatory structures with non hierarchical leadership and generally command limited resources. They apply direct action, usually non violent, and novel tactics to implement a radical agenda with an emphasis on structural change and hence meet intense opposition.

Both types mobilise their resources to achieve their goals, determining collective actions by reference to shared goals (Gamson 1975). At the international level, both call on ‘global citizenship’, an expression of supranational values which is a form of capital that validates their programs in the face of opposition from governmental or other interests. International governmental organisations also draw upon this capital to find a mandate for globally interventionist measures such as the establishment of the International Criminal Court (United Nations 2002). However, the TSMOs can mobilise social movements to attain their goals rather than depending principally on negotiations between governmental representatives.

This is the performative manifestation of global citizenship. Analysis of the extensive literature on social movements, indicates that it depends on three factors for its emergence: cultural and political opportunity structures, pre-existing social networks, and the formation of a collective identity (Taylor 2000). Long standing ideologies, representations of disadvantaged groups and the availability of master protest frames provide cultural opportunities for mobilisation. Structural opportunities can arise when there exist such factors as changeover in an organisation’s leadership (such as representation by a member of a disadvantaged or challenging group), congruent norms, and the availability of allies. As Taylor notes, opportunity is not fixed but “a dynamic process of contestation”. Opportunity is most likely to be exploited in the presence of social networks in which people develop close affinity and share cultural meanings. Common interests and solidarity generates collective identity which enables people to unite in social action while deep divisions in identity hinder cohesion around a shared
goal. In turn, participation in social movements can provide sources of community, meaning and identity.

In considering the initiation of IFLA/FAIFE, it is clear that members of IFLA share a strong sense of identity as professional librarians engaged in international librarianship. The commonality of the issues which are raised in professional dialogue and of the philosophical approaches to dealing with them confirm that identity for those who are regular participants in IFLA conferences and readers of the professional literature. In addition, regular participants had built a network around the IFLA structure of sections and divisions. They met each other at annual meetings of committees and boards and maintained contact and dialogue in between via email and joint work on projects. Many formed enduring friendships and would holiday together and speak of their homes and families in addition to professional issues. This met two of Taylor’s criteria for establishment of a social movement. The other is opportunity, cultural and political. The former existed in the shared belief in access to information which was rehearsed in the professional literature although largely untested as a motive for political action by IFLA members. It was supported by the long standing recognition of the special needs of library and information services in developing countries and the more recent outrage at the growing disadvantage caused by changes in the economics of scholarly communication. The framing of the issue for IFLA in terms of Article 19 offered a “master protest frame” which was congruent with images of human rights activism which at that time and subsequently have often been presented through the mass media. Thus, application of these criteria indicates that IFLA offered fertile ground for such a disturbing innovation. The structural opportunity was offered by the end of the Cold War which enabled the underlying shared professional norms to be realised and the election of Robert Wedgeworth, an African American, as President. He both symbolised recognition of diversity and brought his own human rights commitment to the position.
The effectiveness of TSMOs usually rests on powers of promotion, persuasion and adverse publicity. Many engage in international political action to advance their causes. They seek to use the media, including the Internet, to publicise and coordinate action to pressure both governments and international agencies. The radical adopt ‘tactical media’ techniques for promotion and to annoy their targets (Meikle 2002). Demonstrative tactical methods can extend from Greenpeace’s televiual rubber boat assaults on ships with radioactive or polluting cargoes to dressing up in a Koala suit to hand out leaflets. The moderate TSMOs, which IFLA has emulated, eschew such media attractive tactics but attempt to communicate their concerns through representation, reports and public declarations. Tacit or open alliances of partners which use different techniques to draw attention to concerns can secure public attention. Public interest in turn pressures governments to take note of more formal submissions.

**International human rights organisations**

Conceived by United States President Woodrow Wilson, the establishment of the League of Nations brought principles of freedom and ethics into international law (Kissinger 1994, p. 30). It expressed the culmination of Wilson’s wish that the entry of the United States into the First World War would enable “the universal dominion of right, [and] the concert of free peoples to bring peace and safety to all nations” (New York Times 1917) although the participation of the United States in the League was subsequently blocked.

The League’s Covenant, adopted on 28 April 1919, laid the foundations for the international law of human rights, casting it in the libertarian tradition. While the Covenant did not explicitly support freedom of expression or information, Article 23 (f) did bind the member states to “make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for commerce” (Walters *op cit*, p. 59). The League was succeeded by the United Nations which
embedded a commitment to human rights in its Charter and moved rapidly to formulate and then adopt the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.  

The *Universal Declaration* has provided a warrant for action on human rights at many levels so that concern for the promotion and defence of human rights has been a primary concern of many INGOs during the half century since its formulation. It has stimulated the establishment of a host of international human rights organisations, both governmental and non-governmental (Feld et al. 1994). Many are devoted to the articulation, promotion and defence of human rights. At the apex of the system, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights is concerned with the global application of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. National bodies, such as the New Zealand Human Rights Commission or the Philippine Commission on Human Rights focus on national legislation and issues. Many of the international and national organisations have authority to investigate abuses of human rights and to impose sanctions or to invoke other authorities, such as the World Court of Justice. However, as the experience of the Human Rights Commission of Indonesia indicates, many have little power.

Non-governmental organisations include those concerned with specific peoples or issues, such as the Karen Human Rights Group or the End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism both based in Thailand, and those which take a broad approach to safeguarding human rights, notably Amnesty International and such regional bodies as the Asian Human Rights Commission (de Varennes 1998). As in other arenas of activism, they range from the quietly persistent support groups to the more visible and flamboyant organisers of public demonstrations.

These INGOs which focus on human rights are purposive associations (Frost 2002), the “soaring doves” of universalist humanitarianism (Canovan 2001). However, Canovan argues that most of these soaring doves are actually “homing pigeons” in that they rely heavily on the strong nation-states which drove their
establishment, in which they tend to be based and from which they draw most of their resources. Their capacity to bell the “prowling cat” of nationalism to prevent oppression is heavily dependent on the existence of a nucleus of nation-states which respect the rule of law and international instruments, and on the desire of some states to ‘join their clubs’ (Canovan 2001; Hirst and Thompson 1996, pp. 190-194). Through their actions, islets of international legal order are being established (Rosas 1995) much as Transparency International seeks to develop islands of anti-corruption (Transparency International 2001). However, as Canovan notes, the rights claimed on universal grounds “belong in practice only to those fortunate enough to be citizens of liberal nation-states, or to enjoy the fitful patronage of organizations based in those states” (Op cit, p. 212). To extend her arguments, and mix her metaphors, the soaring doves can only bell the prowling cats if the prowling cats are prepared to listen to the doves and to let them attach the bells of international civil opinion. For IFLA, this was illustrated in its intervention in Kosovo which was only possible because of the Council of Europe’s support for the mission in the context of international condemnation of the brutal civil war and NATO’s military actions.

**International professional associations**

The establishment of the International Federation for Documentation (FID) and of IFLA were examples of the nineteenth century practical internationalism, “internationalism in the proper sense of the word, a movement … [concerned] with practical co-operation in matters which affect the common interest of all” (Walters op cit, p. 7). Both were concerned with the advancement of their professional areas and encouraging international contacts and cooperation on matters of professional concern.

They have demonstrated the influential role which international professional associations can play. Many, including IFLA, are federations of national or
regional associations and thus indirectly represent the interests of the practitioners in the field they represent. This offers the international associations and their active members a degree of distance from immediate professional concerns and the pressures of the political and social contexts in which they operate. They are also less immediately dependent on the membership of practitioners or organisations. This additional degree of separation offers greater freedom of action so that the international professional associations can take up issues which may be unpopular, or even dangerous, for members in particular countries. It can permit the pursuit of a more radical or progressive thrust than might be considered acceptable at a national level. This was illustrated in the strong stand taken by the World Council of Churches on apartheid in South Africa, as will be discussed below, and more recently through the work of IFLA/FAIFE.

Taking a global perspective, international professional associations offer their practitioners arenas for professional dialogue and the development of transborder collegial networks. They can develop standards and modes of professional service which are intended to guide practice worldwide. IFLA operated very successfully in this fashion for more than six decades. Achievements such as the 1935 endorsement of common regulations for international interlibrary loans facilitated the development of international cooperative networks. The Public and School Library Manifestos encouraged the establishment and development of fine school and public library services worldwide.

However, there were opportunities which were neglected before the CAIFE investigation was initiated at the 1995 conference in Istanbul. The degree of separation available to international professional organisations can promote conceptions of professional ethics which may be positioned beyond the expectations of practitioners in individual nations. It can enable international leadership on issues which extend beyond the pragmatic and can facilitate projects to address global issues including inequities between nations. IFLA did not seize
that opportunity except perhaps in its dealing with the South African issue, when coerced by UNESCO.

Generally without any significant corps of individual members to effect implementation, international professional associations depend on national and sectoral professional bodies to translate their formulations into action. Without that translation, the formulations will have little relevance to the individual practitioner and may easily be rejected by national authorities as foreign interference. Broadly speaking, IFLA was quite successful over the decades in effecting the translation of its technical formulations into programs with measurable outcomes in countries with well established library associations but less successful elsewhere. However, a notable exception was the work in developing countries from the early seventies, especially that guided by the Advancement of Librarianship Program (ALP). That work strengthened libraries, librarianship and library associations and promoted the involvement of practitioners from developing countries in the work of IFLA. Its success, albeit partial, was demonstrated in the vehement defence of Division VIII when its abolition was recommended.

It is a condition of all membership based associations that they must operate within the bounds set by their members. Bounds may be set explicitly through voting for constitutional and other provisions or representatives with particular agendas or implicitly through a shared understanding of what is acceptable. Agreement, at least within certain parameters, is essential if there is to be sufficient unity of purpose for the association to achieve a degree of effectiveness in pursuing its goals. For international professional associations the bounds of acceptability require a similar consensus but its achievement is complicated by differing national orientations and members’ varied cultural and social views. Layering of those views may create an agreed foundation which permits action within certain domains but not others. Some areas of potential action may be
accepted to be out of bounds because the strong feelings they evoke could threaten
the consensus of which the association’s unity is based.

IFLA’s consensus has been driven historically by the orientation of members from
North America and Northern Europe. Other regions have, however, gained
greater influence, as was demonstrated in the vigorous opposition to the abolition
of Division VIII which represents their common interests and especially those of
developing countries. In that debate, the concerns of those regions that they
would be marginalised in IFLA without the special focus offered by Division VIII
were supported by colleagues from the ‘North’, especially Scandinavia.

This discussion of course leaves to one side such de facto international
professional associations as the American Society for Information Science, which
is actually a national professional association with a large international
membership. Such associations may well have international agendas but their
bases remain national and their outlook and priorities reflect those bases. In the
library and information field, the American Library Association and the UK based
Library Association both have extensive international memberships reflecting
their standing in the field, the number of their national members practising outside
their home countries and the many who have completed professional studies
within their home countries. There is no evidence that the international members
have significantly influenced the agendas of those associations.

The truly international association, such as IFLA, is a particular type of
organisation which faces specific constraints. Its capacity to foster international
dialogue and the development of the profession is based on a shared sense of
purpose which demands a degree of consensus and can be threatened by
disharmony. This then becomes a critical question for such bodies (and for this
study): does the need for harmony and unity of purpose prevent such bodies from
taking effective action on matters of principle? Is this the fatal flaw of
international professional associations? This fundamental question may be
brought into relief by considering the role of some international professional associations, including IFLA, in one of the most successful modern campaigns against tyranny, the campaign against apartheid.

The campaign against apartheid

The loose coalition against apartheid brought together such bodies as UNESCO, the World Council of Churches, the Commonwealth Heads of Government, academic coalitions and the controlling bodies of rugby and cricket to oppose the racially based policies of the South African Government. To a considerable degree, they were able to isolate the South African issue from Cold War politics and to keep the focus on the abhorrence of racism, despite the importance of South Africa to the global Anglo-American intelligence network. The eventual success of the campaign delivered without civil war a new constitution, multiracial elections, programs to advance those whose opportunities had been restricted by discrimination and, crucially, a program to achieve reconciliation. But success was not achieved before the collapse of the Soviet bloc – illustrating the importance of the global political context in which the campaign was played.

The World Council of Churches (WCC) offers an especially telling example of the role which can be played by an international professional association and the consequences of playing such roles. The WCC is an international and interdenominational organisation of Christian churches founded in 1948. It is the most significant international Christian ecumenical organisation even though the largest Christian church, the Roman Catholic Church, has chosen for doctrinal reasons not to be a full member (Moyser 1998). It has been an active and influential body which has expressed solidarity with the poor and the oppressed worldwide and campaigned on such issues as racism, the status of women, children, migrant workers, refugees, global warming and the arms race.
The WCC took a particularly strong stand against apartheid in South Africa (Smit 1998). In response to the 1960 Sharpeville massacre of 69 protestors against the pass laws, the WCC initiated the Cottesloe Consultations. Moderate criticism of apartheid was attacked by Prime Minister Verwoerd. The Dutch Reformed member churches resigned from the WCC, reaffirming their theological justification of government policy. Subsequently, in 1969, the WCC established the Programme to Combat Racism, supporting the campaign of the South African Council of Churches against apartheid and providing grants from a special fund to organisations engaged in liberationist guerrilla action in southern Africa\(^\text{72}\) (Ibid). Although provided to support nonmilitary educational, health and medical purposes, the grants led to criticism from churches and governments. The Salvation Army, a founding member of the WCC, objected to funding of “groups espoused to violence”, suspended its membership in 1978 and withdrew completely in 1981. Nevertheless, the special fund continues but with a drop in donations following the extensive political changes in southern Africa.

The reaction to this campaign and to other initiatives, such as criticism of Western forces in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, has led to accusations of anti-Western and anti-American bias and an overemphasis on political activism (Ibid). The WCC has suffered a decline in financial support, budget and staffing and a consequential reorganization of its bureaucracy in 1993. In spite of this backlash, the commitment to activism on human rights, democracy and civil society, discrimination, environmental and other questions of social justice remains.

IFLA’s stand was less principled than that taken by the WCC. President Liebaers reaffirmed in 1971 IFLA’s allegiance to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and its opposition to all forms of racial discrimination and expressed a hope that all its member associations and individual members would demonstrate

\(^{72}\) Including the South West African People’s Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa.
the same ethical standards (IFLA 1971, p. 128). IFLA did not actively participate in the academic boycotts which had effects on libraries (Haricombe and Lancaster 1995). In 1972, however, responding to pressure from UNESCO, IFLA broke off relations with the South African Library Association (IFLA 1972, p. 41). This measure was followed, somewhat belatedly in 1989, by the appointment of a working group to review the continuing membership of libraries, institutions and individuals from the Republic of South Africa. IFLA thus played a very restrained role at the height of the campaign against apartheid and had little influence on the behaviour of South African library associations and institutions at that time. The concerns voiced by IFLA members at various points received little support and not surprisingly, therefore, there were no obvious effects on membership or financial support from members although there was some difficulty experienced with UNESCO because of IFLA’s inaction on the question.

IFLA and key national association members did, however, play a significant role in the establishment of the new national library association, LIASA. Their efforts helped the South African library community to develop a strong multiracial association for the new ‘Rainbow Nation’.

The lesson of the campaign against apartheid for international professional associations is that it is possible to take effective action on important issues by working in concert with other bodies. But taking a stand involves risks and consideration of the risks can inhibit or shape activism. While it has been given credit for its role in the struggle against apartheid, the WCC has suffered loss of membership from those who felt that it went too far in its support for liberation movements in Southern Africa. IFLA, which behaved much more timidly in regard to apartheid, has not suffered such consequences but has been justly acknowledged for its support for library and information services in the new South Africa.
Activism in support of free access to information

The South African campaign aimed to end the racially based system of segregation and its iniquitous consequences for the peoples of South Africa. The defeat of apartheid was expected to bring repression to an end but the campaign was not specifically designed to counter censorship and intellectual repression. In fact, there has been little focus by international human rights organisations on the right of access to information. UNESCO, UNICEF and UNDP have been concerned to promote the establishment of libraries and the distribution of publications in support of development, education and culture. Programs to promote literacy and reading have been supported but the key right of access to information has, curiously, received little attention from either IGOs or INGOs. It seems that is has been assumed to be a natural consequence of freedom of expression even though its enjoyment requires much more than free expression since it needs open and uncorrupted channels of communication, archives to enable access to earlier expressions, and the skills to obtain and make use of the information.

In contrast, many organisations take a particular interest in freedom of expression, with a strong focus on freedom of the media and the defence of journalists. They include Article 19, Index on Censorship and PEN International, all based in London. Index on Censorship includes the very useful Index Index in its bimonthly journal (Index), listing incidents of infringement of freedom of expression reported by a number of organisations including Amnesty International, PEN International, Human Rights Watch, Reporters Sans Frontières and the BBC. They are joined by a host of media centres, associations of journalists and human rights bodies concerned with protecting and advancing freedom of expression, many of which are members of the International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX).

International organisations in transformation 215
IFLA’s FAIFE project consequently broke new ground in championing freedom of access to information internationally. Its major precursor, and model, was the ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom which works exclusively within the United States. The IFEX members and other organisations concerned with promoting freedom of expression are also concerned about its counterpart, unrestricted access to information. However, it was clear when participating in an IFEX conference in Bangkok that they considered access to information in terms of access to journalistic output, that is expression, rather than the longitudinal and borderless access to information which librarians hold dear.

However, the rights based approach to freedom of access to information has received fresh support from the unexpected quarter of economic development. One activist organisation concerned with access to information is Privacy International, a UK based human rights group. It has found that governments have become increasingly transparent over the last decade of the twentieth century and predicts that trend to continue despite the responses to the attacks of 11 September 2001 (Banisar 2002). Blanton agrees that the period from the collapse of the Soviet Union could be categorised as the “Decade of Openness” and that it will continue because freedom of information is necessary to market regulation, more efficient government, technological innovation and economic growth (Blanton 2002).

**Western hegemony**

This linkage of the right to information to development has been evident in the discussions of the FAIFE Committee and has also emerged in the deliberations in preparation for the WSIS. It is expressed via two distinct discourses. The first, a coercive model, demands compliance with certain standards of human rights as a

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precondition for trade. The second is a rights based approach in which development is defined as a human right which may be claimed by the underdeveloped nations.

Linkage of human rights to trade has long been a strategy of US Administrations and has also been pursued recently by the European Union. From Roosevelt’s original formulation of the four freedoms, United States Presidents have referred to human rights at particularly critical moments. Concern for human rights offered a weapon in the Cold War, a foundation for a democratic ideology with which to oppose Soviet communism (Simpson 2001). In 1977, during the Carter Administration, human rights considerations began to be routinely included in political, economic and security diplomacy (Flood 1998: 15) and has since become more frequent (Rights & Democracy 2003). It is of course paradoxical in that political and economic power is employed to force the adoption of principles which are considered acceptable by the more powerful (Canovan 2001). Despite its avowedly good intentions, it essentially expresses a process through which the nations of Europe and North America impose their conceptions of universal human rights on other nations and is understood to be hegemonic by those subjected to the requirements (Flood 1998, pp. 16-20).

IFLA’s sequence of resolutions and other measures, such as the 1994 revision of the Public Library Manifesto, exhibit all of these facets. In an organisation with marked North American and Northern European dominance, the tentative steps towards the incorporation of concerns with human rights into its preoccupations suggested that a new hegemonic process was at work.

The alternative, rights based, approach proposes an assimilative, progress oriented process to enable the citizens of the less developed nations to enjoy both the same rights and the same benefits as those in the developed nations. The right to development then imposes a lien on the richer nations to ensure that knowledge and resources are distributed in a manner which will share benefits globally. For
library and information services, key issues include the governance of the Internet as a public good and open access to scholarly communication and research documentation, especially that relating to health problems such as HIV/AIDS.

Thus the work of IFLA/FAIFE to promote and defend the right to information can be situated within the growing international discourse on human rights and the emerging recognition of civil society. It again raises the question of hegemony especially because of the traditional dominance of North American and Northern European (and others) members and modes within IFLA. The project could be interpreted as a new device to bolster that dominance at a time when some members from other parts of the world were demonstrating mastery of the technical aspects of library and information service through leading edge projects. Grounding the project on expression of the right to information in Article 19 locates it in the post Second World War discourse on human rights, a discourse which has been criticised by some as culturally inappropriate, especially in regard to freedom of expression and of access to information. Furthermore, the leadership displayed during the CAIFE deliberations and in the formative years of IFLA/FAIFE by members from the Nordic countries, the United States, Britain and Australia could be seen to confirm the suspicion that it was initiated to serve the ulterior purpose of reinforcing Western hegemony within the Federation.

Conversely, some of the projects strongest supporters have been from the ‘South’. In common with those who critique the Asian leaders’ comments on human rights, participants such as Kunaka have forcefully argued the need to vigorously support FAIFE objectives in order to benefit the less developed nations (Kunaka 1999). They are acutely conscious of the limitations on access to information imposed by authoritarian governments as well as the barriers due to lack of infrastructure, skills deficiencies, language and poverty. This perspective places the right to information as a mechanism to promote equality and consequently to subvert Western hegemony.
In the face of both these contentions, Flood (*Op cit*) has suggested that the international community of states has undergone a process of normative change to come to accept that it should collectively articulate human rights and try to influence states to uphold those standards. The very strong support for the establishment of IFLA/FAIFE provided an example of the transfer of that normative change into a professional arena.

**Living dangerously**

This discussion identifies one of the dangers posed by IFLA’s adoption of intellectual freedom as a cause, the danger of division. Considered as a means of reinforcing North American and Northern European dominance, IFLA/FAIFE has the potential to deepen divisions within the Federation. The anxieties and vulnerabilities exposed by the proposal to abolish Division VIII could have been heightened by the initiative, thereby undermining the rapprochement achieved through the work of Division VIII and ALP. At the extreme, the resultant polarisation could lead to secession of some members or even schism.

IFLA had faced potential schism previously when members met at the 1939 Congress on the eve of the Second World War. The strong feelings of participants reflected the incendiary climate as post War President Munthe noted when saying that he had declined an invitation to assume the IFLA presidency in 1939 to avoid “fraternising with Nazism and making complacent addresses to Dr Goebbels and consorts” (*IFLA 1947*, p. 19). Despite those strong feelings, preservation of the Federation and the capacity for continuing dialogue with colleagues was considered to be paramount. Similar views obtained during the Cold War when dialogue on technical matters continued through times of fearful international tension.
After the establishment of the IFLA/FAIFE project, IFLA again faced a possible split over the plan to hold the 2000 conference in Jerusalem. That danger was averted through diplomacy and the decision of AFLI members to boycott the conference but not hold a counter conference.

IFLA/FAIFE itself has not to date provoked any suggestion of a split. The criticism of the project which was included in the CDNL report (Op cit 2002) did not receive widespread support. Indeed, the unanimous support accorded the adoption of the Glasgow Declaration at the same conference indicated that the authors’ comments did not reflect any widespread concern about the initiative. Even ASCUBI’s strongly expressed rejection of the FAIFE findings and recommendations in regard to the ‘independent libraries’ in Cuba, did not indicate any wish on the part of the Cuban association to secede or to promote division. This experience indicates that the initiative has been assimilated into the operations and discourse of the Federation, challenging it to a degree but not to the extent of causing irreparable damage. In this way IFLA has, at least to date, survived one of the greatest challenges to an international federation, the test of maintaining cohesion in the face of ideological and other divisions.

**International organisations in transformation**

The remarkable growth in the number and variety of international nongovernmental organisations during the twentieth century, and particularly in recent decades, has created a visible manifestation of the interests of civil society. These transnational social movement organisations operate across a spectrum from the rationally constructed moderate TSMOs which aim to work largely inside the existing system to the radical TSMOs which challenge the system in promoting their specific goals. Both ideal types, however, and those arranged across the spectrum reflect a commonality of beliefs built around principles underlying the notion of global citizenship. Their agency is being recognised by
governments and international governmental organisations as has been
demonstrated through the recognition they have been given in the preparatory
negotiations for the World Summit on the Information Society. Through this
transformative process, they are emerging as a potent voice in world affairs.
Governments are being forced to accept that international discussions are no
longer their sole preserve but that they have been joined in tripartite negotiations
by the civil society organisations and the complementary – and competing –
representatives of business interests, supported by a chorus of international
governmental organisations.

IFLA has transformed itself into one of these new, interventionist international
nongovernmental organisations. It has managed to leverage its long standing
relationships with UNESCO, other international governmental organisations and
its cognate professional federations but also to establish its credibility as a
transnational social movement organisation which is accepted by the other civil
society organisations. It is establishing itself as the promoter of the right of access
to information, cooperating with the advocates for freedom of expression. And it
has managed to do this without fracturing. Indeed, this transformation may be
seen as a process of renewal through which IFLA has repositioned itself and
established new relevance for both continuing and potential members.
The politics of professional boundaries in the age of human rights

Advancement of the profession has been a central concern for IFLA since its inception. As a federation of professional associations, organisations offering professional services and, to a lesser extent, professional practitioners within the field of librarianship, it has been concerned to advance both the practice and the standing of the profession. It has built upon the work of the stronger and older national associations and inspired the newer to promote the highest standards of professional services. It has worked to establish librarianship as an internationally recognised profession, seeking to enhance its status throughout the world and especially in the eyes of governments and relevant international organisations such as UNESCO.

This aim has been demonstrated through the promotion of landmark statements, notably including the IFLA/UNESCO Public Library Manifesto (IFLA and UNESCO 1994 [1949]), and the work to further professional practice in many areas such as the promotion and facilitation of universal bibliographical control and also preservation of print and digital materials. Wide ranging programs over many decades have worked at many levels and through many mechanisms. Some have transferred national initiatives into international collaboration as in the work to harmonise bibliographic standards and data interchange globally. Others have fostered cooperative responses to international problems as in the development of protocols and mechanisms to support international interlending which have extended from the Madrid Conference in 1935 (IFLA 1935) to the present.
International cooperation has been based on a shared conception of librarianship as a profession which applies the methods of library and information science within a broadly agreed professional framework of understandings. While there are certainly differences in the resources available to librarians in rich and poor countries and in the methods employed in different library traditions, the degree of commonality in professional outlook is remarkable. It is evident both to the casual participant at international conferences and in the shared importance placed on such issues as preservation. This is not to deny the major differences in outlook between many professional colleagues especially those in the developing countries of the ‘South’ versus those in the rich ‘North’ or, during the Cold War, those in the ‘West’ versus those in the ‘Communist bloc’ (Volodin 2000). It is, however, to affirm that there is an identifiable métier of librarianship with certain shared practices and dispositions.

Rise of the professions

Through consideration of this set of understandings, practices and dispositions, librarianship has been identified to be a special kind of occupation, one with the characteristics of a profession. A much contested term, ‘profession’ is given the common dictionary definition as “a vocation requiring knowledge of some department of learning or science” (Delbridge et al. 1981, p. 1376). Sociological definitions place more emphasis on the authority in relation to clients which is conferred by the specialised knowledge and skill and which is carefully maintained through professional associations and ethical standards (Gould and Kolb 1964, p.542). They also identify the contested nature of the recognition of the professions (Boudon and Bourricaud 1989 [1982], pp. 278-280).

The definitions reflect the understanding of professions which arose during the nineteenth century as newly important vocations such as engineering were recognised to be professions with similar characteristics to the ancient learned
professions (Millerson 1964). In tandem with the technological innovations of the
nineteenth century and expanding dramatically through the twentieth century, new
and old professions became codified. They isolated the fields of performance in
which they could be distinctive and could, to an extent, monopolise practice
(Walzer 1983, p. 156). In Bourdieu’s terminology, this “monopoly of the
universal” can only be obtained by presenting, at least in appearance, an image of
legitimacy and disinterest (Bourdieu 1998 [1994], p. 59). Delineation of an
occupation’s distinctive body of knowledge and skill is, however, very much in its
interest if it wishes to be considered to gain legitimacy as a profession.
Monopolising that body of knowledge and skill is what distinguishes it from other
occupations and therefore defines its jurisdiction (Macdonald 1995). Threats to
the ownership from other occupations or through technological or organisational
change thus threaten the viability of the profession.

Another key issue has been independence. While traditionally most practitioners
practised individually as is still largely the case among barristers in the British
legal tradition, many now practice in bureaucratic organisations such as large
national or multinational legal partnerships. In that context, multiple levels of
responsibility operate, leaving the individual practitioner with less personal
liability but also less autonomy. This process has lead to a reinterpretation of the
nature of profession, refocusing on the authority and the specialised knowledge
and skill which make each profession distinctive. Some have expressed concern
that this redefinition might blur the definition of profession, confusing it with
occupational expertise or integrity (Abercrombie et al. 1994). This is but a
defensive ploy from the more traditional professions since examination of the
modern world identifies the triumph of professional expertise and bureaucratic
management working through large organisations to create and operate
technologically rich complex post industrial societies (Perkin 1996). This is not
the professional world of the eighteenth century but it is a world dominated by
professions.
In the extensive literature on professions, the nature of professions is characterised by certain specific criteria including a shared body of knowledge, a commitment to provide service to society and an agreed ethical foundation (Oppenheim and Pollecutt 2000). This follows the sociological tradition of considering professions as separate groups within society (Elliott 1972, p. 11). It is exemplified in the following formal generic definition for the modern professions:

A Profession is a disciplined group of individuals who adhere to high ethical standards and uphold themselves to, and are accepted by, the public as possessing special knowledge and skills in a widely recognised, organised body of learning derived from education and training at a high level, and who are prepared to exercise this knowledge and these skills in the interest of others (Australian Council of Professions 1990).

From a regulatory perspective, two distinctive models for establishing and maintaining a profession can be distinguished (Ramsey 2000, p. 94). The ‘statutory professions’ are those established by and subject to law such as doctors, dentists and lawyers. The ‘self-regulated professions’ on the other hand have established bodies to regulate their own standards and ethics and include social workers, engineers and accountants. The key difference for Ramsey is that breaches of professional or ethical practice can lead to loss of the right to practice for members of statutory professions but only loss of membership of the professional association for the second type. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in many countries members of both types of profession face increasing regulation and litigation in the event of failure or perceived failure. The statutory professions have traditionally been considered to consist of those in whose practice error can be immediately threatening to the lives or livelihoods of their clients but the distinctions are less clear in complex post industrial societies.

The characterisation of professions functions within a social context in which the professional values are credited by the community and contribute to social capital.
(Cox 1995). In return for self-regulation, the profession gains a high degree of autonomy and high status from the community (Review of Engineering Education 1996). That recognition demands more than ‘professional’ (ie extremely competent and honest) practice: the profession must identify its service obligations and impose self-regulation through a professional body.

Because teaching lacks self-regulation through a professional body, Ramsey judges that “while teachers are most often described as professional people, teaching is not a profession” (Op cit, pp. 94-95). This distinction is too acute and legalistic. Writings on professions, sampled above, indicate a spectrum of definition from Delbridge’s emphasis on a profession’s body of knowledge to Ramsey’s emphasis on regulation. The key word in the Australian Council of Professions definition quoted above is perhaps “disciplined”. It is the acceptance of a self discipline, which might or might not be supported by various forms of regulation, which is the vital element that distinguishes a profession from other vocations. That self discipline is achieved by internalising the norms and values of the profession (Elliott, op cit).

Those seeking professional recognition, or uncertain of their professional status, took steps to identify the accepted characteristics within their putative professions. Thus, in the literature of librarianship – mirrored in engineering, nursing and many other areas – we find many writers who attempt to demonstrate the conformity of their modes and usages with the expected models of professions. In librarianship, this search was marked by much uncertainty (Bennett 1988) while the profession steadily acquired the characteristics of a self-regulating profession. Although librarianship might fail Ramsey’s more stringent test, it can be considered a profession by reason of its acceptance of a self discipline as required by the Australian Council of Professions definition. That discipline is articulated through a professional orthodoxy and bolstered by codes of ethics and statements of values.
Role of professional associations

The formation of a ‘qualifying association’, such as the Library Association, provided a means to convert occupations into professions (Millerson 1964). It has been a potent agent for the advancement of professionalism through its capacity to examine and qualify individuals to practice (or, latterly, to approve courses at educational institutions). This authority gives the qualifying associations a key position in the system of professional organisation. In addition to the power to qualify aspirants, such associations aim to advance the subject areas and techniques, to elevate the profession’s status and to extend their aegis to include the control of professional conduct.

In this respect, professional bodies function in analogous fashion to schools in both reproducing and modifying the culture of a dominant group. Durkheim claimed that schools advance each society’s “certain idea of man, of what should be, as much for an intellectual point of view as the physical and moral; that this ideal is, to a degree, the same for all the citizens …” (Durkheim, E 1956, p. 70). In defining his concept of reproduction, Bourdieu explored “the tension between the conservative aspect of schooling (in the preservation of knowledge and experience from one generation to the next (re-production)), and the dynamic, innovative aspect (the generation of new knowledge (pro-duction))” (Harker 1990, p. 86). Professional associations exhibit a similar tension between their responsibilities to safeguard the nature of the particular profession and their aspirations to respond to changing environments and to extend the profession into new fields. They function as instruments for the reproduction (in Bourdieu’s sense of the term) of the professions with which they are concerned while working in a system in which the professions are interrelated to each other and to their environment (Abbott 1988).

Professional associations draw on collective power to impose limits on their members and therefore the more stable and organised can better develop their
codes of ethics and more rigorously apply them (Durkheim, Emile 1957 [1950], pp. 7-8). However, the extent to which they wish to regulate professional conduct, or are able to do so, varies. British qualifying associations, for example, displayed much less interest in creating codes than their counterparts in the United States perhaps because, as a past President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales suggested, it was a national characteristic in the UK to prefer shared understandings of acceptable practice, ‘what is done’, to written codes (Millerson op cit, pp. 148 seq).

Associations are crucial in that they form the formally identifiable faces of the professions. They attempt to give their professions substance and identity. Their spokespersons strive to build public perceptions of the professions which will project such positive qualities as competence and probity. They try to overcome stereotypes and the notoriety resulting from reports about those caught in malpractice. Many work assiduously to raise standards but their capacity to do so can be limited since they are membership organisations which have to attract and retain members (Victoria. Legal Ombudsman 2000, p. 56) and because, in many cases, a significant proportion of members of a profession does not belong to the relevant association (New South Wales Health 1998, p. 6).

By accrediting courses of study which prepare students to enter the professions, professional associations seek to ensure that entrants have the requisite skills, knowledge and attitudes which they believe to be essential for acceptable practice and maintenance of the standards of the profession. The threat of withholding accreditation is sometimes used to ensure that courses are adequately staffed to provide the necessary educational breadth and depth. But associations do not only try to perpetuate existing professional modes: they can also attempt to steer the development of the profession by seeking to shape the courses as has the Institution of Engineers Australia (Review of Engineering Education 1996). However, renewal of a profession requires more than can be achieved by changing the programs studied by neophytes: it demands change from those already
practicing. This places a focus on continuing professional education as has been noted in relation to the use of the IFLA Section on Continuing Professional Education as a forum through which the challenge of creating change in the profession of librarianship could be pursued (Ritchie 2002).

Jurisdiction and status

The definitional approach is too rigid to account for the variety of modes of professionalisation and professional practice and the different experiences across national traditions of the professions. The set of criteria it establishes forms a “scale to be traversed” rather than a checklist for endorsement (Moore, WE 1970, p. 56). Some occupations come to be accepted as professions, others are considered sub- or para-professional. This creates a trajectory of professionalisation with stages at which occupations can be situated by considering the extent to which they exhibit the characteristics of professions (Elliott, op cit).

The typologies the ‘scale’ creates tend to treat each profession in isolation and to presuppose unidirectional development. However, the reality is much more complex. It is better analysed by considering the professions as a system in which each profession has certain jurisdictions with boundaries which are in constant dispute (Abbott op cit, p.2). Jurisdictional disputes can give rise to changes in a profession’s focus, the identification of new areas in which to apply the profession’s knowledge and skills, as well as major distinctions between areas of practice which can lead to cleavage. Such disputes have been noted in sociology and anthropology (Imber and Horowitz 1999) and can be seen in the divergences between librarians, documentalists and archivists represented at the international level by IFLA, FID (until its dissolution) and ICA respectively. But the system operates in a societal environment in which ‘disturbances’ create opportunities for professions to expand their activities and influence. This was illustrated via the
tremendous growth in the number of libraries which adorned the towns and cities created through the dramatic population growth, speed of industrialisation and rapidity of societal change in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century (Ibid, p. 215-224).

Much of the literature on the recognition of occupations as professions reflects their aspirations for acknowledgement of the value of their contributions to society and for higher status for their members. That recognition demonstrates and endorses the status accorded to the occupations and is therefore highly desired by those seeking social standing. Conversely, the sometimes terse dismissal of claims to professional status appears to be protective of existing professional order. In distinguishing occupations considered to be worthy of recognition, it also demonstrates highly gendered perceptions of occupational value which often reflect the gender of the professions’ membership (Abercrombie et al. 1994).

The power of the professions is inextricably intertwined with their status. Their capacity, collectively and singularly, to impose their own world view both demonstrates and reinforces their power and status (Abbott op cit, p.185). The orthodoxy of secular industrial and post industrial states conceives of a world created, managed and regulated by professionals. The power of professions is rooted in community recognition of their legitimacy which is underscored by their authority to specify the parameters of legitimacy. Legitimacy is presented and understood as a status which purports to be self-evident, to be recognised in terms of its own choosing. But it is contingent, depending on the ever changing interplay between professions, their work and their environment.

Commonly agreed perceptions, in Bourdieu’s term “doxa”, form an orthodoxy, a generally accepted view which, for the “bureaucratic field” forms a representation “of a universe whose fundamental law is public service; a universe in which social agents have no personal interest and sacrifice their own interests to the public, to public service, to the universal. … ” (Bourdieu 1998 [1994], pp. 84-85).
Bourdieu’s bureaucratic field, which includes officials and professionals, creates a construct which reflexively defines its own legitimacy. It is the particular point of view of the dominant “which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view” (Ibid, p. 57). The more powerful a profession, the more its authority is accepted as legitimate and disinterested. In making “the obligatory reference to the values of neutrality and disinterested loyalty to the public good” (Ibid, p.59), professionals create both their self-identity and the public perception of their professions. The combined efforts of the professions, in the widest sense, builds acceptance of the legitimacy of both the nation and its bureaucratic and professional structures. Dishonest and dishonourable behaviours must be suppressed so that they cannot undermine that representation of ‘what is done’.

**Disinterest**

The professional narrative of non-judgemental, disinterested provision of access to information offers a prized self-image to librarians. General community acceptance of that self-image confers legitimacy on their professional choices to make available or not make available. This legitimacy operates to endorse their decisions thereby ‘sanctifying’ that which they identify as worthy of being made available and, simultaneously marginalising that which they proscribe. When that legitimacy is not accepted, assimilative processes cannot operate and librarians may be forced to consider coercive measures. Decisions to remove Enid Blyton books from library shelves in many countries, including Australia and Sweden (Stenberg 1996), in the 1960s and 1970s offer prime examples of such coercive professional behaviour. The librarians making those decisions denied the popularity of the books among children in Blyton’s target reading ages, somewhat sanctimoniously removing the books because of a perception that they were educationally unsound. In contrast, librarians have largely resisted pressures to censor the Harry Potter books, recognising both their popularity and their value in promoting reading among children.
The responsibility to make available information in a spirit of disinterestedness implies a requirement to ‘tell the truth’, to transmit the record accurately. As Steven Spielberg says of the Shoah Foundation Archive, “Through this material, long after they are gone, survivors can speak to future generations” (Lappin 1999, p. 9). But ‘telling the truth’ and ‘transmitting the record accurately’ are not identical. An aspect of intellectual integrity is the professional disposition is to display a commitment to accuracy, to find it shameful to ‘fudge’ an answer (Williams, B 2002, p. 150). For librarians, this responsibility is manifested as an obligation to accurately transmit the documentary record of humanity’s discoveries, thoughts and obsessions. In building balanced collections, describing materials well and guiding clients to find documentation both supporting and rebutting a case, librarians display their professional commitment to accuracy. They are not, and should not be, concerned with the ‘truth’ of the materials they present to clients: their ‘truthfulness’ lies in accurately transmitting the record in similar fashion to the obligation on journalists to report accurately even if they fail to uncover the underlying ‘truth’. The librarian thus presents works as they are without seeking or purporting to certify their accuracy. The responsibility of veracity is fulfilled through unbiased selection and attempting to collect the widest possible range of perspectives rather than by testing the ‘truth’ of individual works. An authentic work is what it appears to be: a scholarly journal article is a record of research and scholarship, a novel is work of the imagination, a history is based on facts (contested as they may be). From a library perspective, authenticity means that works can be accurately described and presented to clients. The burden of proving the veracity of the works they collect is too heavy for libraries: their primary function is to transmit the record and to make available works which support intellectual debate.

Critics have observed that the vaunted spirit of disinterestedness can demonstrate an “inhumane liberalism” (Bundy 1972) which hides elitism and inaction behind a claimed universality, neutrality and public service (Black and Muddiman 1997,
The bureaucratic habitus can become a mask for self-serving and corrupt activities, both through personal dishonesty or structural corruption (Perkin 1996) in which service to the community becomes a minor consideration. However, contemporary librarians call for values and activism to be harnessed to meet the challenges of renewing the mission of libraries (Lux 2002). This strategy can enable the public library to become a vehicle for social change, committing itself “to plural, flexible and democratic models of service provision” (Black and Muddiman op cit, p. 150). In this way, libraries to move beyond the conscientious provision of services to the community to the demonstration of a broader responsibility to serve the community (Spigelman 2002). This extends the idea of serving the community well outside the provision of specific services to include the cultural and symbolic goods provided by libraries through their very existence and commitment to their values as “democratic institutions”.

The library and information profession’s valorisation of information access contrasts with the perspectives of other professions. Psychiatrists, for example, regard client access to information as a contingent property which depends on the client’s capacity to understand and use the information without self-harm. But even in situations in which the patient’s capacity to understand information is diminished or impaired, psychiatrists must “take special care to ensure that the necessary understanding does occur; it does not mean that the patient should be given less information” (Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists 1998). In other contexts, an ethic which prizes unhindered information access can bring it into conflict with other ethical principles such as respect for privacy (Barnes 1979) and with personal views including concerns about pornography (Isaacson 2000).

In desperate times, that commitment can be expressed in terms of ‘keeping the record’, a form of passive resistance which weakens the foundations of despotic regimes. For example, the manuscripts of murdered Russian writers were often preserved in the Lubyanka and in the Lenin Library (Genieva 1999). Sometimes
the resources need to be held outside the country in order to be preserved. The
reconstruction of the national library of Cambodia, for example, depended vitally
on the assistance of libraries in the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Germany, Australia,
France and the United States (Suon 2001). However, it should be noted that
librarians and their collaborators have not always been so honourable. The
compilers of the Soviet *Literary Encyclopedia*, for example, had been complicit in
the falsification of the dates of death of writers murdered by the KGB
(Shentalinsky 1997, p. 221). Librarians, such as those in Communist
Czechoslovakia, have not only followed orders to remove books and journals
from their collections but, in some cases, have done so with zeal. Demonstrating
similar ethical blinkers, members of the South African Library Association failed
to oppose the racist and repressive policies of the government, concentrating on
‘professional’ issues.

IFLA’s traditional focus on technical concerns has reflected the wish of librarians
to be accepted as professionals by constructing their own distinctive body of
specialised knowledge and skill, identifying their areas of service to society and
accepting self discipline. But it has also operated as a defensive mechanism to
avoid confronting difficult issues, especially those which might threaten the
cohesiveness of the Federation. Avowed disinterestedness has offered a
justification for non engagement with intellectual freedom and its reverse,
intellectual repression. Professional dialogue has been maintained across
ideological barriers by relegating some topics to domains beyond the accepted
areas of professional discourse.

**Extending the professional boundaries**

Bourdieu’s analysis of the habitus of a group or class and his work in regard to
academics offer an approach to understanding the role of professional associations
in promoting the trajectories of the profession through privileging and rewarding
certain dispositions (or capacities, tendencies, abilities to recognise and to act) among members of the profession (Bourdieu 1977 [1972]; Bourdieu 1988 [1984]; Codd 1990). Through the development and rewarding of the habitus, individual professionals are disposed to both recognise situations and respond to them in particular ways, to recognise some possibilities for action and at the same time be prevented from recognising other possibilities (Bourdieu 1977 [1972], p. 78). The habitus both generates practices and limits the options for members of the profession: “there are questions that one does not ask and that one cannot ask” (Bourdieu 1987, p. 18). Operating to define professional boundaries, the habitus clarifies the extent of the profession’s concerns both for members of the profession and for the wider community. It helps to distinguish the issues and approaches which will be taken by members of one profession from those which lie in the domain of another. In making those distinctions, many matters are necessarily eliminated from the scope of a profession’s interest. While this might ensure that members of the profession address only issues which lie within their areas of expertise, it can also license them or even force them to ignore relevant considerations which might be considered too difficult or hazardous to address. The history of IFLA provides examples of such professional blinkers such as its failure to attempt to address information control by communist, fascist or military regimes or to engage substantively with ethical issues before the initiation of IFLA/FAIFE.

The various IFLA Council resolutions on Article 19 and related issues acted as early warning signals that some members felt that there were issues with which IFLA should engage. However, despite statements of principle by a number of IFLA Presidents, no action was taken until the CAIFE investigation was started in 1995. IFLA focussed on professional concerns of a technical nature considering, in the words of President Sir Frank Francis that “its power stems from its ability to facilitate and organize fruitful discussion of subjects of current interest in the world of librarianship” (Welch 1969, p. 428). This placed the concerns with
human rights among the “questions that one does not ask and that one cannot ask”
and defined the boundaries of professionalism in technical terms.

In adopting this position, IFLA was acting in the same manner as other
professional bodies. It effectively ignored early calls to address human rights
issues while clinging to a professional orthodoxy but it was eventually cajoled
into action like other bodies.

One of the better known examples of this process was presented by the British
Medical Association (BMA) through its changing stance on the promotion of
tobacco (Duncan 1986). The risks to health posed by smoking had been long
known and set out in the carefully documented reports published from 1962 by
the Royal College of Physicians. In the USA, lobbying by a coalition of the
American Cancer Society, the National Cancer Institute, American Heart
Association and the National Heart Institute led to the Surgeon-General’s 1967
decision that smoking was injurious to health and that health warnings should be
issued (Fritschler 1969, p.17). In contrast, The BMA had passed resolutions at its
annual conference from 1965 but they had resulted in “more rhetoric than action”
(Ibid, p.3) until 1984 when Pamela Taylor, BMA press officer and parliamentary
lobbyist, led the Association to launch an aggressive campaign against the
promotion of tobacco. The BMA had previously played a part in social reform
through campaigns against drink driving and for the compulsory use of seat belts
in cars and wearing of helmets by motorcycle riders. It had also initiated a
campaign to ban boxing. But its position on smoking had been less active. Its
policy was only to encourage its members to attempt to persuade individual
smokers to quit. The new politically focussed campaign changed the
Association’s approach significantly. It moved well beyond the former practice-
centred obligation to give health advice accurately and conscientiously to clients
to adopt a broader conception of professional responsibility. The BMA took
political action in seeking to ban all tobacco advertising, sponsorship and
promotion. Thus the campaign sought to address a cause of ill health at its source
rather than by the traditional application of medical knowledge and skills to addressing the symptoms and consequences of a medical condition.

By taking this initiative, the BMA extended the individualised norms and values of professional practice into collective action. The initiative brought issues which had previously been pursued by activist groups onto the agenda of the professional association, taking it beyond its former understanding of professional concerns. This broadening challenged the professional habitus of British doctors by asking them, as individual practitioners, to endorse a broader conception of professional practice, one which took responsibility to address societal problems at the systemic level in addition to succouring the individual patient. This significantly changed the previously accepted boundaries of the profession.

The IFLA/FAIFE project likewise expanded the ambit of librarianship by suggesting that members of the profession have an obligation to be concerned about the ideological and geo-political barriers to open access to information as well as the technical and methodological. Through taking a stand on such issues as the ‘independent libraries’ in Cuba, IFLA/FAIFE demonstrated an expectation that librarians would support the principle of freedom of access to information even when it brought them into conflict with highly regarded professional colleagues and their association. The campaign for the release of Song Yongyi particularised the new professional concerns in the defence of fellow practitioners – a novel area for IFLA.

**Image of the profession**

In adopting the initiative, IFLA began to delineate a new self-image for the profession of librarianship. IFLA/FAIFE introduced a new dimension, that of social actor, to the previous dimensions of the profession which emphasised technical expertise, authority, disinterestedness and social concern.
Promulgation of the Public and School Library Manifestos had broadened the profession’s focus from an essentially technocratic model which prized the application of expertise to technical problems to encompass the construction of social capital. In parallel, the growing preoccupation with the advancement of librarianship in developing countries showed a concern for global equity and social benefit. Discussion of these and other concerns can be noted in the records of IFLA conferences and in the papers published in the *IFLA Journal* and the Saur series of IFLA publications. This discourse reflected the changing perceptions of libraries as they evolved from the collection centred treasury paradigm to the people and community centred education and democracy paradigms and the client service oriented access and connected paradigms. It portrayed a profession that was socially engaged, growing in confidence and technically proficient.

However, in common with many professionals, especially members of the ‘new professions’, some librarians have been perturbed about their public image. Together with some nurses, accountants, social workers, journalists and others, some librarians express great concern at stereotypical portrayals of their work, especially if negative. Members of other professions had greater concerns as their vocations were poorly regarded by the general public. In Australia, those ranked at the bottom for ethics and honesty include real estate and automobile salesmen, advertising practitioners, politicians and journalists (Roy Morgan Survey 2000). While not all of these would be considered by many people to be professions, all except politicians have codes of ethics. Comparisons with surveys in other countries indicate that different vocations have differing status in different environments, but it seems that there will always be some which are very poorly regarded by the general community (Lunn 2001). Such negative views may well result from unethical or exploitative practices but, for some occupations, they appear to be integral to the public’s expectations of the occupations.
In the literature of librarianship, concern has centred on the hackneyed images of librarians used in advertising and other media. This was illustrated through a recent Australian controversy which flared when the successful conclusion of an industrial pay equity case based partly on gender issues was questioned by a pundit who depicted librarianship as “a genteel occupation with regular hours where work is sedentary and comfortable” (McGuinness 2002). Heated responses from librarians ensued, demonstrating their sensitivity to such comments. Others have humorously attacked the stereotypes by creating alternatives, such as Conan the Librarian (Baxendale 1987), the “greatest of the reference warriors” (Baxendale 1992). This powerful, quasi-mythological, masculinist image neatly reversed the somewhat passive, feminine and controlled image of librarians displayed in the stereotypes to which librarians object so strongly.

IFLA and its constituent national library associations have kept such concerns in perspective as was illustrated by the conclusion to a study for the IFLA Round Table on the Management of Library Associations: that there was no need “to invest a lot of energy in setting up action lines” since few member associations responded to the survey and only 20% considered the status and image of librarians to be a ‘hot’ issue (Storm 1995). Such confidence was based on the distinctive expertise of library and information professionals and their internalised belief that their work contributed to society. The low level of concern about image showed a degree of maturity in the profession, at least at the national association and IFLA levels.

That confidence and maturity was perhaps one of the factors which permitted IFLA to take the risk of extending the professional boundaries by becoming an overt champion of the right to information. Where the retreat into technical considerations had marked IFLA’s response to the divisiveness of the Cold War, its new confidence helped IFLA commit to actions which would inevitably expose it to ideological disagreement, as was noted during the CAIFE investigation.
Ethical codes

To ensure professional recognition, and to attempt to control errant colleagues, it has become important to codify the ethical expectations which should be imposed on members of a profession. This requires each profession to develop an ethical framework which would be appropriate to its field. The expectations are usually expressed in terms of codes of ethics which exert at least moral force over the members of the profession. A code binds its members to do good, or at least avoid doing harm, in the practice of the profession. In the absence of a traditionally accepted guide like the Hippocratic oath, each of the new professions has had to develop an ethical framework which would be appropriate to its field in order to codify the ethical expectations which might be placed on its members. In a more sceptical world, the ancient professions have also elaborated their codes. Medicine, for example emphasises respect and responsibilities to patients, professional conduct and responsibilities to society (Australian Medical Association 2002).

The core emphases are placed on knowledge, honesty, integrity and fairness, together with concern for the general community as well as employers and clients. Professionals are expected to practice only within their areas of competence and to continue to extend and maintain their competence throughout their professional lives. These expectations are summarised in a generic code which requires professionals to:

1. at all times place the responsibility for the welfare, health and safety of the community before their responsibility to the profession, to sectional or private interests, or to other professionals;
2. act so as to uphold and enhance the honour, integrity and dignity of the profession;
3. perform professional practice in only their areas of competence;
4. build their professional reputation on merit and … not compete unfairly;
5. apply their skills and knowledge in the interest of their employer or client for whom they … act, in professional matters, as faithful agents or trustees;
6. give evidence, express opinions or make statements in an objective and truthful manner and on the basis of adequate knowledge;
7. continue their professional development throughout their careers and … actively assist and encourage professionals under their direction to advance their knowledge and experience (Australian Council of Professions 1990).

Similar issues have been identified in such fields as psychology (Keith-Spiegel and Koocher 1985), journalism (Belsey and Chadwick 1992; Hurst and White 1994), bureaucracy (Rohr 1989) and librarianship (Lindsey and Prentice 1985).

Applying generalised expressions of the principles articulated in the Nuremberg trials after World War II, the responsibilities of professionals have been extended beyond their immediate clients into obligations to the broader communities in which they practice and in some situations to humanity in general. They have subsequently have been joined by concerns to enhance environmental sustainability, resist social exploitation and ensure commercial and legal transparency, among others. For instance, in regard to engineering, the broader issues to be addressed include “global awareness” which includes issues relating to multinational corporations, the environment, use of computers and work on weapons (Martin and Schinzinger 1989). Under the rubric of these broadened expectations, each professional is expected to contemplate the effects of his or her actions both for the client and the community. Conflicting imperatives, particularly the expectation to serve the client versus the expectation to serve the community, must be resolved against an ethical framework in which disinterested practice is essential and the general good is given considerable emphasis.
Nuremberg conclusively articulated personal responsibility: actions can neither be excused as ‘just following orders’ nor as accepted practice. Ethical practice “requires commitment, reflection, and perseverance … a body of moral knowledge and a facility in moral reasoning” (Day, LA 1999, p.412 - author’s emphasis). The professional must beware of self-deception by cultivating “openness of mind, existential vigilance and skeptical sensibility” (Cooper 2001).

The code might be enforced through legal or quasi-legal sanctions such as disciplinary action or expulsion from the professional association. In the statutory professions, the requirements have legal force resulting in a liability for unprofessional conduct under such provisions as the Medical Practice Act (New South Wales. Parliament 1992). Even without such provisions, professional associations are expected to implement a “disciplinary provision under which alleged breaking of code of ethics by any of their members can be investigated and, if proven, penalized” (Australian Council of Professions 1990). However, enforcement of self regulation has been compromised in many professional settings because of the need for the associations to retain the confidence of their members and its effectiveness has also been questioned by a public unsure of the independence of the regulatory processes (Victoria. Legal Ombudsman 2000, pp. 56-57). Community scepticism about the professions and individual professionals has increased as part of the ‘consumer revolution’ and community views that professionals are serving self above the public and the community (McDowell 1991; Illich 1978). There is a growing expectation that they will be more responsible and more accountable to their clients and to the public in general. This may be a consequence of the significant increase in the numbers of professions and professionals and their increasingly central importance to the operation of society (Bayles 1989, p. 4) and their increased, supranational agency which has emerged through globalism (Engel and Engel 1990).
Ethics in librarianship

Ethical concerns in librarianship have included the duty to the client, societal responsibility, impartiality, accuracy as well as the more general expectations to respect the autonomy and moral worth of all human beings; promote social harmony, justice and fairness; minimize harm; and justify organisational, professional, public and cultural trust (Froehlich 1997, pp. 24-25). While these reflect an ontological commitment to the enhancement of human well-being, they also underlie traditional professional concerns including, especially, the long held commitment to preserve the record of knowledge. Both are framed in an explicit frame of professional disavowal of interest.

Library associations have tried to guide and assist both institutions and individual librarians by preparing ethical statements which require librarians to provide the best possible access to information which will meet the needs of users and resist censorship (Vaagan 2002b; Melentieva 2002). Many statements of library ethics include a statement along the lines of the Australian Library and Information Association’s (ALIA 1997):

Librarians … Should not exercise censorship in the selection, use or access to material by rejecting on moral, political, gender, sexual preference, racial or religious grounds alone material which is otherwise relevant to the purpose of the library and meets the standards which are appropriate to the library concerned. Material must not be rejected on the grounds that its content is controversial or likely to offend some sections of the library's community.

Although far from universal, these commitments to meeting the users’ needs, objectivity and resisting censorship are widely shared by librarians and their associations.
Under its charter, IFLA/FAIFE has worked to emphasise the importance of professional ethics and to encourage associations to establish codes or strengthen them, particularly by increasing the emphasis on intellectual freedom. To that end, IFLA/FAIFE has sought out codes for inclusion on its website and has collaborated in projects such as the compilation of an international survey of ethics for library and information services (Vaagan 2002a). As always, the codes of the national associations of Northern Europe and North America are strongly represented. However, a number of associations, including several from post Communist Eastern Europe, have introduced or substantially revised codes and taken steps to give them force.

For the practitioner, the ethical guidance focuses on professional priorities, such as the key values espoused by the Australian professional body, the Australian Library and Information Association (ALIA 2002):

1. Promotion of the free flow of information and ideas through open access to recorded knowledge, information, and creative works.
2. Connection of people to ideas.
3. Commitment to literacy, information literacy and learning.
4. Respect for the diversity and individuality of all people.
5. Preservation of the human record.
6. Excellence in professional service to our communities.
7. Partnerships to advance these values.

These seven values give moral force to the Association’s Constitution, particularly the first object, “To promote the free flow of information and ideas in the interests of all Australians and a thriving culture and democracy”, and the third object, “To ensure the high standard of personnel engaged in information provision and foster their professional interests and aspirations” (ALIA 2000). Together they set a high benchmark for professional conduct as “members of a profession committed to intellectual freedom and the free flow of ideas and information” (ALIA 2001).
They emphasise the Association’s professional commitment to free access to information as a commitment which goes to the heart of societies which aim to provide the widest opportunities for their peoples.

Attention to such ‘values’ and to broad societal ethics has been long-held but understated. Even when considering professional ethics, library commentators have tended to focus on the procedurally and technologically related issues with limited attention to political and ideological factors. Corrall and Brewerton, for example, discuss ethics in relation to the development of professional competence. They do not mention issues of intellectual freedom and censorship except for passing references to the “tensions between freedom of information and personal privacy (and protection from offensive material)” (Corrall and Brewerton 1999) and to conflict of interest in the acquisition of library resources citing a case which concerned the controversial outsourcing of materials selection to Baker & Taylor by the Hawaii State Public Library System in 1996, a measure that assigned to a commercial company decisions on the expenditure of public funds. Neglect of such ethical dilemmas in a professional guide is curious since they are integral to professional practice. Nevertheless, it appears to reflect a common perspective on the paucity of ethical concerns. Indeed, some uncertainty about the frequency with which issues might arise was raised during the CAIFE investigation. However, the range of issues handled by IFLA/FAIFE confirms that there are significant ethical questions in library and information practice, as in other fields.

The extension of the boundaries of library and information service exhibited through the initiation of IFLA/FAIFE brought these questions to the fore. The redefined ambit of the profession’s international peak body explicitly encompassed a commitment to intellectual freedom and called on members of the profession to advance it. By promulgating statements of principle such as the *Glasgow Declaration* and codes of ethics, IFLA and its constituent associations place high expectations on both practitioners and institutions. The various calls to
order can create dilemmas for libraries and the librarians who work in them. As one would expect, the strongly internalised precepts of librarians to provide access to information without bias and to respond to the needs of their clienteles can lead to conflict when set against censorship regimes, be they legal or extralegal, restrictive or relatively benign. For librarians, there can be a contradiction between their commitment to open access to information and hence freedom of expression, and respecting the limits imposed by censorship regulations or determinations. There can also be a conflict between those precepts and their professional habitus of service or their own moral values. As law-abiding citizens, and because they are generally employed by some public authority, librarians exhibit strong respect for the law. Censorship may make them uncomfortable but they are unlikely to oppose its application publicly unless strongly supported. This presents a challenge to their professional bodies.

If the statements and codes are to be more than just pious expressions, if they are to be adopted into a consistent habitus, then the professional bodies need to be able to demonstrate how they can be applied in practice. They need to show leadership and to support their members in applying the principles. While this broader context of intellectual freedom has been recognised by many, including ALIA, realisation of the responsibility to address the issues will require a stronger focus on intellectual freedom - even in the United States in spite of the ALA’s long history of fighting for intellectual freedom (Stichler 1992). The IFLA/FAIFE initiative can be judged in terms of its success in assisting librarians to reconcile those issues and to develop their professional habitus to express the principles of intellectual freedom more strongly.

**Professional activism**

Some professionals face a challenge in reconciling professional values with their personal values and professions as a whole can experience difficulty in addressing
universal values such as human rights. This is perhaps best illustrated by the extremely polarized positions taken by the medical and nursing professions on such issues as abortion and voluntary euthanasia. At one extreme, some adopt a permissive attitude to either or both issues, others are as strongly opposed. Less widely known but similar dilemmas face information professionals. Their codes of ethics typically require them to provide clients with the information they seek. But, in some circumstances, the professional may find the sought information repugnant or consider that it may be dangerous to the client. The difficulty of addressing such strongly felt positions perhaps explains why few professional associations have adopted activist positions on human rights issues. Just as their dependence on the support of their members tends to compromise their capacity to act in regulatory roles, it also limits their capacity to speak out on social and moral issues.

Some of their members, however, may have formed sections within the association or outside groups to pursue activist agendas. Groups advancing social responsibility in engineering and similar fields have been prominent in advocating human rights and environmental sustainability. Médecins Sans Frontières is a particular example which is frequently featured in the media. Although it is an association composed primarily of medical professionals, it is not a professional association. It describes itself as “an international humanitarian aid organisation that provides emergency medical assistance to populations in danger” (Médecins Sans Frontières 2002a). It also seeks to raise awareness of crisis and to ensure respect for human rights. As an activist organisation which is concerned to avoid “compromise or manipulation” of its relief activities, MSF maintains neutrality and independence from governments.

In pursuing its campaign against tobacco promotion, outlined above, the BMA took a number of steps (Duncan 1986). They included the making of key alliances, development of strategy and the campaign, use of the media, lobbying of politicians and civil servants, and communication with members. A crucial
first step was to overcome some initial suspicion and to develop an alliance with an established advocacy group, Action on Smoking and Health (ASH), which had been working on the issue for some time. In developing its campaign, the BMA learned from ASH’s experience and from that of successful campaigners from Australia. A carefully prepared campaign was launched to the media in October 1984 and tightly managed, ensuring that the BMA’s members were kept informed in order to avoid dissension. The discovery that some of the specialist professional associations, the Royal Colleges, had financial links to the tobacco industry posed a problem which needed to be handled carefully. The issue posed the risk of divisiveness if the BMA was seen to get out of step with its membership and especially the influential specialist associations. They might secede from collaboration or even take a competitive position. These features of the BMA campaign present some of the essential characteristics of a venture into activism by an established professional association: it takes both the body and its members beyond the boundaries of a previously understood professional habitus, it involves the creation of alliances which may be uneasy, and it risks dissent and possible schism.

In librarianship, there have been examples of activism by individual professionals such as the part played by some in the civil rights movement in the United States (Graham 2001). However, in general there has been little overt endorsement of action on wider social issues by the profession, at least as represented by the professional associations, outside the work of the ALA’s Office for Intellectual Freedom. The OIF is uniquely notable among professional bodies in the library and information fields for the five decades during which it has vigorously prosecuted intellectual freedom by appealing to the First Amendment rights in the United States constitutional framework. In establishing its FAIFE initiative, IFLA thus took a most significant step in which it echoed the ALA in broadening its explicit concerns as an international professional body to include intellectual freedom and human rights.
Consequences of the IFLA/FAIFE project

An important effect of the Copenhagen decision and its implementation has been the extension of the understanding of the ‘constitutive norms’ (Frost 2002) of librarianship beyond the long accepted issues of practice, technical questions, standards and cooperation. This has challenged the expectations of practice in the field and thus the criteria by which membership of the profession and delivery of services are judged. It has redefined the profession’s ethical landscape both reflecting the evolving professional habitus and contributing to its evolution. The changing habitus presents a different range of dispositions for which members of the profession can be rewarded, a range built around a paramount concern for intellectual freedom. Through privileging new capacities to recognise situations and act on them, IFLA and its constituent professional associations dispose individual professionals to recognise intellectual freedom as a primary value and to support it. This opens up some of the “questions that one does not ask and that one cannot ask”. In replacing the former habitus, the new generates new practices which promote human rights but also renders unacceptable practices which were previously acceptable, at least in some circumstances.

However, it would not be correct to argue that the supporters of the CAIFE resolution wished IFLA to become a purposive association at the cost of its traditional role as an authoritative practice because members clearly continued to appreciate the ‘value standing’ which IFLA offers as a peak international federation of professional associations and organisations. Rather, supporters wished to enrich the Federation by extending its ethical justification and its remit. They wished to bring a concern with the human right expressed in Article 19 into the internal “rules, roles, goals, traditions and ways of being” of the library and information profession. By arguing that the practice of librarianship must be essential to the enjoyment of the basic human right to receive and impart information, supporters were investing the practice with a higher moral purpose and thus enhancing its ‘value standing’. The value accorded to a strong and
visible commitment to human rights reflects the growing global acceptance and commitment to human rights or, in other words, the commitment to membership of civil society.

Through the IFLA/FAIFE initiative, IFLA thus demonstrated evolution in professionalisation. In its operation, the project has drawn on evolving and contested understandings of professional responsibilities which function in a complex global environment. In promoting the right to information as a fundamental human right, IFLA has set itself against the multiplicity of powerful forces for intellectual regulation. For some librarians, this new emphasis has challenged deeply felt personal beliefs, entrenched societal orthodoxies and established professional habitus. The accepted boundaries of the professional discourse have been redrawn with a significant effect on professional debate within IFLA. Although the new boundaries were queried by some, the unanimous adoption of the Glasgow Declaration indicated that they were warmly accepted by most members, or at least all the members who attended the IFLA Council meeting in Glasgow.

This reinforced IFLA’s jurisdiction and thereby strengthened the Federation. Unlike FID, which lost the support and mandate of its members eventually fading away in financial incapacity, IFLA has continued to flourish while undertaking a radical process of renewal. This has implications for other peak professional bodies by highlighting the need for reinvigoration. By finding a new core purpose, and establishing its acceptability to members, a professional organisation can establish a new warrant. But it must maintain its relevance to members so that they will accept the new professional habitus and the need to explore its implications.
IFLA launched its CAIFE investigation in response to persistent pressure from some of its members. That ad hoc committee was set up to examine the role IFLA might play in addressing the constraints on the right to information. Its broad brief was guided by the Council’s reconfirmation of the Federation’s commitment to Article 19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and by the exhortation of the CAIFE Chair, Tony Evans, that the committee should produce a report which would not be “too bland and generalised” but should also not be so specific as to restrict IFLA’s future action. The only constraint placed on the investigation was the Executive Board’s requirement that the committee should restrict itself to recommending the establishment of a standing committee to pursue its recommendations. In the event, that constraint proved to be unnecessary because the Danish library community organised and funded the establishment of an office to support the work of the new FAIFE Committee. Consequently, less than a year after the overwhelming endorsement of the CAIFE recommendations at the 1997 Council meeting in Copenhagen, the new IFLA/FAIFE activity was in operation with a Committee and an Office.

**IFLA/FAIFE and IFLA**

The start set the character for the new project. Its initiation was instigated by a few members, drawn mainly from the traditionally dominant North American Northern European (and others) membership, and its most active participants and
most tangible support came from the same quarters. Although rooted in the long
held sense of social justice of many librarians, the IFLA/FAIFE program was a
bold initiative for such a significant and long established international
professional organisation. Created in response to pressure from several national
library associations and a number of individuals, it identified a mandate to
promote intellectual freedom in relation to libraries and to take action on
violations. In doing this it effectively extended the scope of IFLA and gave
expression to a broader understanding of professional responsibilities within
librarianship. This was a radical step for IFLA itself and as an example among
international professional associations. It was far from obvious or easy since it
challenged the assumptions about appropriate professional concerns held by a
proportion, perhaps most, of the Federation’s members.

But the very strong endorsement given to its establishment and to subsequent
activities, culminating in the 2002 adoption by acclamation of the Glasgow
Declaration on Libraries, Information Services and Intellectual Freedom,
indicated that the project’s support extended well beyond those traditionally
dominant areas. This contradicted any suggestion that the project was essentially
a means of reinforcing ‘Western’ hegemony within IFLA and the profession of
librarianship.

In fact, as IFLA/FAIFE developed from a project into an ongoing program of the
Federation, it became clear that its activities were articulating a new central
purpose for the Federation. Formally expressed in the revised Statutes approved
in 2000, this purpose placed intellectual freedom at the heart of IFLA’s concerns
and, by implication, at the heart of the international conception of library and
information service. It expressed on behalf of practitioners and their associations
a new sense of moral purpose, a new scale by which the profession could evaluate
its principles, policies and programs. This new framework began to be elaborated
in a suite of statements and declarations which were rapidly translated into many
languages and applied by national library associations and some institutional

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members of IFLA when revising their own professional statements, organising conferences and planning training programs.

Within the Federation, the new concerns began to be exhibited in the professional programs. Initially many of the programmatic activities which focussed on intellectual freedom issues were organised by the IFLA/FAIFE Committee and Office, working independently or in collaboration with various IFLA sections, but the concerns increasingly found their way into activities with no direct IFLA/FAIFE involvement.

At a more pragmatic level, the handling of ‘incidents’ drew attention to issues of concern and assisted colleagues in many countries, including some who faced personal danger. Although the number of incidents handled was severely limited by the available resources, their range and scope is extensive. It confirms that the Federation was justified in moving beyond its traditional modalities to create such a ‘political’ program (in Chia’s pejorative usage). Many of the issues which were addressed over the initial period concern contemporary issues of great note including control of the Internet, the “war on terrorism” and societal versus individual freedom. Engaging with those issues through the windows offered by the incidents has reminded IFLA members of the immediacy of their profession to world events and human well being.

This reminder and the elaboration of principles and policies have contributed to the renewal of IFLA. They have caused many of the active members to reconsider their professional priorities in terms of the ‘big issues’ of intellectual freedom and the promotion of unrestricted access to information. Far from causing serious division within IFLA, the new sense of purpose has helped to bring the Federation together. Through the work of IFLA/FAIFE – as well as CLM and other programs – IFLA now seems more relevant, more active and more effective than a decade ago, especially to those outside the traditionally strongly represented North American Northern European nations. The more vigorously

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expressed commitments have strengthened old alliances and helped forge new partnerships, especially with civil society and human rights organisations. In combination, these factors may well assist the attraction and retention of members although it is too early to measure such long term effects.

When IFLA/FAIFE joined IFEX, it signalled that the Federation identified itself with the transnational social movement organisations concerned with the promotion of the rights expressed in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This symbolically marked a major departure from IFLA’s long held self perception as an international federation of professional organisations. While IFLA did not abandon that character, nor the opportunities it provided for close relationships with other professional bodies and international governmental organisations, it added additional dimensions. It expressed a willingness to take action on intellectual freedom issues and demonstrated an ability to forge alliances outside the set of cognate professional organisations such as the International Council on Archives and the other members of the Blue Shield. Those new capacities proved fruitful in the preparations for the World Summit on the Information Society. IFLA demonstrated that it could continue to work with UNESCO, other IGOs, partner international professional bodies such as the International Publishers’ Association, and some governments but also that it could collaborate very productively with the transnational social movement organisations represented in the civil society sector. More significantly, IFLA saw itself more forcefully as a political actor which could, and even should, intervene in international negotiations of relevance to its concerns and promote intervention at a national level by its members.

The promotion of the right to information

Membership of IFEX also highlighted the imbalance in the advocacy for the Article 19 rights since all the other members were concerned primarily with the
promotion and defence of freedom of expression. They emphasised the “right to freedom of expression … to hold opinions without interference and to … impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers” but paid little heed to the reciprocal right “to seek, [and] receive … information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”. Neglect of that complementary aspect did not imply opposition but just that it was assumed by the IFEX members, most of which were media centres and associations. They were understandably preoccupied by the many issues and incidents relating to press and media freedom and the safety of journalists. The work of IFLA/FAIFE, and the long term investigations of the ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom and other commentators, has demonstrated that there are just as many formidable barriers to seeking and receiving information as there are to imparting it.

This is the special domain of IFLA/FAIFE and of librarianship and related fields such as archives. The decision of IFLA to create a means of defending and advancing the right to information, almost fifty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, returned symmetry to the defence of intellectual freedom. But it also very quickly highlighted the enormous scale of the endeavour the Federation had initiated. Advancement of the right to information was soon shown to have many ramifications and the number of incidents and issues to be addressed appeared to be limited only by the resources available to identify, examine and respond to them. To tackle the agenda globally, with all the linguistic and cultural challenges that would involve, was obviously beyond the capacity of a Committee composed of volunteers and a very small Office located in Copenhagen. IFLA/FAIFE consequently had to find ways in which it might mobilise colleagues across the world.

In view of these constraints, three principal strategies were adopted to advance the IFLA/FAIFE agenda. The first, policy and advocacy, involved the development of a number of key policy documents, promotion of codes of ethics and a vigorous communication program. The second comprised responses to incidents reported to
IFLA/FAIFE or identified from news reports or other sources. The third aimed to develop alliances with other organisations pursuing similar concerns. This program fulfilled priorities identified in the original outline which also suggested that the success of the project would be demonstrated through effective operation of the Committee and Office and actual outcomes.

The policy and advocacy strategy produced a significant number of policy documents and position statements. The policy documents started with the *IFLA Statement on Libraries and Intellectual Freedom* and culminating in 2002 with the *Glasgow Declaration* and the *IFLA Internet Manifesto*. They were rapidly translated and began to have influence. Another key element was the early creation of a website which has become a major resource for documentation on intellectual freedom issues relating to libraries and information services and the codes of ethics. Many of the documents have been presented in a number of languages which enhances their global utility. This usefulness is confirmed by the high hit rates recorded on the website, especially by students at schools of library and information management. That access and the application of the documentation by library associations and some institutions indicate that considerable change in the profession can be expected to occur over coming years.

An extensive range of incidents, or violations of freedom of access to information, were taken up and addressed in pursuing the project’s action strategy. In the absence of any serious investigative capacity, the approach was essentially opportunistic, mainly in response to incidents raised with IFLA/FAIFE but, in some cases, by taking up issues which came to the attention of the Chair and Office through media reports. The first category included the detention of Song Yongyi, the closure of the British Council Library in Harare and the Cuban affair, among others. The second included the damage to libraries and other facilities in East Timor and the issues surrounding the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States and the subsequent passing of the USA PATRIOT Act. The variety and number of incidents demonstrated that IFLA/FAIFE needs a well resourced
capacity to identify, investigate and respond promptly to incidents affecting intellectual freedom and access to information concerning libraries and information services. It is not enough to depend on volunteer members of a Committee and an Office staffed essentially by one person. An attempt to develop a number of IFLA/FAIFE Network Centres, with centres initially located in Moscow and Chicago, was stillborn because the Chair and Office did not have the time or resources to visit the willing host organisations in order to plan and implement the concept. It remains a priority subject to finding additional resources.

IFLA/FAIFE was more successful in developing alliances. Early relationships were with the flagship human rights organisations concerned with freedom of expression: Article 19, Index on Censorship and Amnesty International. Fruitful collaborations have continued with those organisations, especially in regard to the verification of incidents. Joining IFEX developed more alliances and strong relationships have also been forged with a number of library associations. Originally proposed in the CAIFE report for instrumental reasons, as a means of prosecuting the project’s responsibilities, these alliances have proved much more important and have assisted IFLA to reposition itself among the transnational social movement organisations of civil society as was mentioned above.

The strategies have proved remarkably effective. In spite of the limited resources available to support IFLA/FAIFE, it has had a significant effect within IFLA and some, as yet unmeasured effects, on the profession more generally. It has brought attention to the need to defend and promote access to information as well as freedom of expression and has helped to equip IFLA to become a more articulate advocate in international forums such as the World Summit on the Information Society.

Conclusion
Transformation of international associations

The experience of IFLA is significant beyond the boundaries of that long established international professional organisation. It has implications for other international associations in demonstrating that such an august body could reinvent itself.

From the perspective of those who feel very concerned about human rights, IFLA was slow to act. The CAIFE investigation was started nearly five decades after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and nearly two decades after the ALA sponsored resolution that recommended “action with regard to states … which abridge human rights, and particularly the rights of free expression, of free access to information, and of the free flow of publications among nations” (IFLA 1978, p. 60). It only occurred after the Cold War barriers were dismantled following perestroika and after repeated urging from concerned members. The initial response was careful, an investigation by a large, internationally representative but ad hoc and unresourced committee. Leadership of the investigation was entrusted to an ‘old hand’, a former member of the Executive Board. And, finally, when a draft report had been produced, the Executive Board requested some changes and took responsibility for framing the Council resolution in order to ensure its passage.

This analysis of the salient points of the initial process highlights the caution with which the Executive Board approached the matter. It suggests that the Board’s members had little confidence in a positive outcome. Indeed, even the CAIFE chair stressed the need to focus on IFLA’s area of expertise and to avoid consideration of human rights in general and expressed a view that incidents seemed to be uncommon. This caution was shared by some members of the investigatory committee.
In contrast, many of the committee members and of the audiences at the open meetings clearly felt a sense of urgency about the need to address the issues. Their view was confirmed by the strong endorsement given to the resolution when it was considered by the Council meeting in Copenhagen and the very warm response accorded the Danish proposal to resource the creation of an Office. The strong support for IFLA/FAIFE since its establishment has further emphasised that the time was right to initiate the project.

It was suggested earlier that the timing of the initiative was largely due to the zeitgeist of human rights in that a desire to advance those rights had become a primary concern of people across the world. That concern was reflected in the accession by most countries to the *Universal Declaration* and the negotiation of host of other agreements, declarations and treaties as well as the rapidly growing number of national and transnational social movement organisations established to promote recognition of the rights. The dissolution of the Soviet Communist bloc and consequent end of the Cold War had removed a particularly strong obstacle, permitting the members of IFLA to address long dormant concerns. This explanation is satisfactory up to a point. It identifies necessary but not sufficient conditions for the decisions to consider action in regard to the right to information and then to create a mechanism to act. Widespread concern about human rights was necessary as was the removal of perceived obstacles to action. But those factors of themselves would not instigate action. The long series of resolutions about Article 19 and related matters signalled the importance of the issues to a significant proportion of IFLA members but none of them led to action even when a resolution passed by IFLA Council empowered the President to act.

While the resolution on French libraries and the establishment of the IFLA Social Responsibilities Discussion Group underlined that the time was right, the catalyst was President Robert Wedgeworth. He was inspired to begin a process of addressing the issue by his deeply felt belief in social justice, heightened by his understanding of the long fight of African Americans for civil rights. He sought
to bring the issues to the attention of members by inviting prominent human rights advocates to present guest lectures at the annual conferences and by raising the issues himself in his presidential addresses. That leadership was vital. It fostered a climate which would be favourable to the membership’s agreement that it would be important to promote the right to information, thus satisfying all the requirements for mobilising to achieve change, which were summarised by Taylor (2000). Nevertheless, the caution exhibited by the Executive Board under his chairmanship indicated a lack of confidence that the Federation was ready to initiate such significant change.

The contrast between that lack of confidence and the enthusiastic support of the Council members may perhaps be explained by reference to Frost’s distinction between purposive associations and authoritative practices. Members clearly continued to appreciate the ‘value standing’ which IFLA offers as an authoritative practice through its role as a peak international federation of professional associations and organisations. However, supporters of the FAIFE initiative wished to extend the Federation’s ‘value standing’ by adding a strong and visible commitment to human rights which would, at least to a degree, convert IFLA into a transnational social movement organisation. This would build on the sense of social purpose identified in the education and democracy paradigms for libraries and expressed in the public and school library manifestos. It would confirm that libraries are important institutions of civil society and that they, and their associations, have a capacity to advance its interests.

Conversion of the IFLA/FAIFE project into an established program of the Federation has demonstrated that its concerns lie at the core of the organisation. *Pace* Chia, there has been no strongly voiced suggestion that the initiative might be inappropriate, far less that it might have harmed the Federation or that it should be discontinued. IFLA continues to advance the interests of the profession. It still focuses on the improvement of professional methods and the promotion of library and information service globally. Through this experience, IFLA has undergone a

*Conclusion*
profound transformation which is gradually becoming evident. It remains an international federation of professional associations as it has been since its inception but it has added dimensions which are socially aware, ethically motivated and externally focused.

In adding those dimensions, IFLA has reinforced its attractiveness to members by demonstrating its relevance and effectiveness. By undertaking this project, it has provided an exemplar of an international association in transformation. In becoming a putative transnational social movement organisation, it has engaged its members but also established new alliances with the organisations of civil society. However, its standing as an authoritative practice has given it additional gravitas when acting as a purposive association by providing an entree to negotiations with international governmental organisations and some governments. It shares the characteristics of the ideal type of the moderate TSMO (Fitzgerald and Rodgers 2000) but offers a variant model for a social movement organisation, one which is based on a shared area of professional activity. It differs from the classic social movement organisation in that the primary reason for association does not derive from the shared goal of social transformation but rather from professional solidarity. But it can also be distinguished from the traditional professional association in that it places heavy emphasis on social change and, to a significant extent, orients its professional program to advancing that transformation.

Under this new rubric, the maintenance and enhancement of the profession’s status and reputation is now contingent on performance in both the areas of traditional professional concern and in the arenas of civil society. It is a rubric which sits well with internalised precepts of librarians and the roles of libraries in society. Nevertheless tensions between the new and traditional goals can emerge for both individuals and professional bodies. They can also be manifested, for at least some members of the profession, between the new goals and their accepted professional habitus.
The transformative project is both facilitated and constrained by operating at the international level. The distance from localised concerns can give an international body greater freedom of action in that it has to be less conscious of national and local pressures. For a federation, the additional distance from the individual members of its constituent associations can protect the leadership from the immediacy of individual practitioners’ demands. However, an international body must also take account of cultural difference and ensure that its program does not alienate or marginalise a proportion of members or be considered partisan in areas of global divisiveness – such as the split in regard to questions concerning Israel and Palestine. The risk of schism which always faces a federated body is heightened by the programmatic consideration of moral purposes because such concerns are more likely than technical questions to generate conflicts with religious or ideological views.

Redrawing professional boundaries

The traditional expectations of members of a profession have been that they should apply their knowledge and skills to benefit clients and employers with honesty, integrity and fairness and that they should provide service to the general community. More recently, as the generic definition quoted earlier notes, they have been expected “at all times [to] place the responsibility for the welfare, health and safety of the community before their responsibility to the profession, to sectional or private interests, or to other professionals” (Australian Council of Professions 1990, emphasis added).

As with the earlier BMA experience, the IFLA/FAIFE project has challenged these previous understandings of the bounds of professionalism. It has gone further than requiring library and information service professionals to place community interests before professional or personal interests at all times by...
investing the profession with a higher responsibility. That responsibility, to promote the fundamental human right to information, has been posited as the key motivation for library and information service, as the touchstone for evaluating professional priorities. This locates the primary purpose of the profession outside the profession in a supranational, absolute and universally recognised social goal. IFLA and some of its constituent associations, such as ALIA, have identified this external motivation as their primary object in their statutes or constitutions.

The BMA initiative extended the boundaries of medical professionalism to tackle a social practice with severe effects on health. The attack on tobacco advertising sought to limit the proportion of the population which would begin or continue to smoke tobacco. It sought to prevent ill health by limiting a cause of injury. This was consistent with the Association’s previous campaigns against drink driving and boxing, and in favour of the compulsory use of seat belts and motorcycle helmets. Through these campaigns, the BMA implicitly redefined the goal of medical practice as the promotion of health rather than the treatment of illness. However, it did not go so far as to express this aim in terms of a human right to health. The campaign against tobacco advertising and the other campaigns were expressed in terms of the profession’s responsibility to society and were supported by assertions about the savings which might be realised by the health industry, and hence the public purse via the National Health Scheme, through a reduction in such causal factors.

IFLA’s adoption of intellectual freedom as a primary object has had the effect of providing a high level moral purpose for the profession, against which its more specific purposes can be validated, but it also significantly expands the ambit of the profession’s concerns. Professional issues and methods can no longer be seen in largely instrumental terms – broader resources, better catalogues, more highly trained staff – but must be considered in terms of their success in promoting access to information, opinions and ideas “through any media and regardless of frontiers”. Redefining the profession in terms of values and objects relocates its
legitimacy from dependency on monopolisation of a defined area of knowledge and skill and thus strengthens the profession. Library associations, as the embodiment of the profession, are remotivated but also challenged by the new ethos. It also demands of individual libraries that they should re-examine their policies and processes and of individual professionals that they should reconsider their professional practice.

But IFLA remains an international federation of professional associations and its membership continues to consist of library associations, libraries and information services and individual librarians. Their affinity is formed by a shared commitment to a specific, albeit changing, profession. Their networks continue to be built by working together on professional questions. IFLA remains a purposive association in which members choose to participate if they feel that it serves the purpose of advancing their profession. The very strong support for the IFLA/FAIFE project indicates that the adoption of the new moral purpose and engagement with its implications is seen also to be purposive in addressing issues which the members feel to be important and thereby fulfilling one of the enduring goals, the advancement of the reputation and status of the profession of librarianship. This operates as a process of renewal for the profession as well as its peak international body. The consequent reconsideration of the professional ethos is redefining the role of librarians and the services they provide. It extends the shifts in library paradigms from an orientation towards service to clients into a responsibility to communities, both local and global. This challenges the disengagement which can be implied by the hallowed professional disinterest of the bureaucratic habitus. A new habitus is created which demands an engaged interest in the promotion and defence of the right to information.

This has implications for other professions. The professional renewal which IFLA has constructed for itself and its constituents is available to other professions. Although instigated in response to the demands of a vocal minority, the IFLA/FAIFE initiative has articulated issues of concern to many within the

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Federation and, through that process, it has redefined the core for the profession of librarianship. Other professions have other purposes but the experience of IFLA and librarianship suggests that rediscovery of a profession’s core purpose can have an inspiring effect which could reinvigorate the profession, redefine its habitus and reinforce its jurisdiction. It returns professions to the oft neglected second of the three classic criteria for professional recognition, ‘a commitment to provide service to society’ and grounds it in universally accepted human rights. That foundation also provides a touchstone for the third criterion, ‘an agreed ethical foundation’, which takes codes of ethics outside the possibly self-serving focus on acting “so as to uphold and enhance the honour, integrity and dignity of the profession” (Australian Council of Professions 1990) into a broader region of societal responsibility. The incontestability of fundamental human rights in themselves means that a professional body which would accept such a basis for its mission will be forced to question its values and norms. The self-inflicted disturbance will profoundly challenge the professional habitus: the essential choice will be whether to face the challenge or to remain within accepted professional boundaries. Throughout the Cold War, IFLA took the latter course. With the establishment of IFLA/FAIFE, it has attempted the former and both the Federation and many of its members are now working through the implications, both together and severally. IFLA’s example offers a possible route for other professions which are seeking renewal.

The conditions for transformation

However, the path is not obvious nor is it evident that taking up such a moral purpose would be beneficial or even relevant to a professional organisation. Consideration of the history of IFLA has demonstrated that it was neither inevitable that IFLA would seriously consider making more than a formulaic commitment to Article 19 nor commit to taking action to address its implications for library and information services and the profession of librarianship.
That doubt was expressed in this study’s central question which was formulated at the beginning of 1999: “Can an international professional body be an agent of influence in regard to human rights?” It seemed that a very fundamental contradiction would emerge between the expectations of the Federation as an international professional body and those that would be held for a transnational social movement organisation concerned with the promotion of human rights. The requirements for a professional body to advance the status of its profession and to promote the development and promulgation of techniques seemed to be considerably different from the more performative behaviour expected of a highly media conscious organisation such as Greenpeace. Whatever their personal orientations and private activities, it seemed unlikely that librarians concerned about their personal reputations and professional standing would be likely to display the fervour of human rights activists.

Some of this pessimism has been justified, at least to date. The corps of active members of the FAIFE Committee has been small although it is growing and other actors are emerging within IFLA and elsewhere in the profession. A few voices have questioned the appropriateness of the endeavour for an international professional association. In addition, the financial resources available to support the project have been contracting with very little offered by library associations, institutions or individuals outside Denmark and Sweden – even IFLA at a corporate level looks for external funding for FAIFE as for the other core activities.

However, it is clear that support for the project has continued to grow and its purpose has been internalised by many IFLA participants and other members of the profession. Its influence on IFLA’s professional activities has been profound and it has produced a number of very high level policy statements which have received extraordinarily strong support. Although the handling of incidents has been severely restricted by the available resources, a good number of important
issues have been addressed. The actions have delivered immediate benefits for those concerned in most cases but have also helped the project to explore and articulate its concerns. Together with the codes of ethics, conference papers and other documents presented on the website and elsewhere, they have significantly amplified, in a remarkably short time, the body of literature on the questions of intellectual freedom which relate to libraries.

It is too early to determine the long term effect of the IFLA/FAIFE initiative on the authority and reputation of IFLA. Early indications are that it has been positive. It has certainly enhanced the Federation’s reputation with human rights organisations and with those library associations and other IFLA members who care strongly about intellectual freedom. There is considerable evidence that it has been a worthy endeavour which has benefited the Federation, the profession as a whole and civil society. The program review which will be undertaken by IFLA’s Professional Committee should confirm the accuracy of the analysis in this study. Its shape will be finalised in December 2003 and is expected to involve a self-assessment followed by an independent review to ensure that the program will be soundly assessed within the relevant contextual considerations. Achievements to date will be important but it will also need to consider future sustainability.

But the research has shown other dimensions. They include the demonstration of the need and a capacity to promote unrestricted access to information as the reciprocal of freedom of expression and the exploration of some of its implications for the peoples of the world, especially those in the poorer nations. It has demonstrated that a well established and respected international association can reinvent itself as a transnational social movement organisation - and be accepted as such by its counterparts in civil society – without abandoning its mission to further the interests of its profession. In regard to the profession, the research has shown that professional boundaries can be renegotiated to render them more relevant to the profession’s membership and to fulfil a higher social purpose than merely the advancement of the profession. This has provided some
insights into the politics of professionalism and the realignment of international political discourse in response to the growing influence of international organisations, both governmental and non governmental.
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