CHAPTER 1
From local to global: the expanding horizons of libraries and related information organizations

…I hold that library service, bibliographic organisation and library classification recognise no national or political boundaries. They are international. The library profession is international. Bibliographers and documentalists are international. As librarian and classificationist, I belong to the world and not merely to any particular country (Ranganathan 1951).

By its nature librarianship has always looked beyond the narrow group it was serving (Coblans 1974, 11).

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1.1   Introduction

Libraries are a world-wide phenomenon. Indeed, like schools and banks we find them in every country. They are also border-crossing institutions. Their fundamental purpose is to acquire, and facilitate access to, recorded knowledge regardless of its origin, so that knowledge can be put to work in their communities. Libraries are the proverbial window on the world, opening up horizons beyond the communities which sustain them, and beyond the borders of the countries where they are located. In a much-cited book, Matt Ridley (2010) extolled the human capacity for innovation as the answer to the many threats to our survival on this planet. He argued that the exchange of ideas, to which he refers provocatively as 'ideas having sex',[1] is critical to human survival and development. Librarians can endorse this sentiment. Libraries have for millennia been instrumental in the exchange of ideas between nations and cultures.

In the preceding paragraph I have deliberately avoided the word "international". The reason for this will become clear later in this chapter, in which I attempt to sketch the evolution of the spatial and intellectual horizons of librarianship, documentation, and information activities – the wider field of librarianship, documentation and information services commonly denoted by LIS – from early times to the present. Here the focus is on the international dimension of LIS as a field of activity, International and comparative librarianship as a field of study is dealt with in Chapter 2. My emphasis is on internationalism and international LIS activities from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, followed by the impact of globalization after the Second World War.

1.2   Periodization of library development

The development of libraries is commonly delineated following the periodization of world history, which in most cases is focussed on the history of Europe and its antecedents. A tripartite division of history into ancient, medieval and modern, which had developed since the fifteenth century and was enshrined in the twentieth century in the three massive Cambridge histories of the modern, medieval and ancient periods,[2] today remains the norm in western conceptualization. This is reflected for example in American university departments, textbooks and journals, and even in textbooks purporting to reject the prevailing Eurocentric focus (W. A. Green 1992).[3] In library science texts we commonly find chapters dealing with libraries in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the

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[1] " …at some point in human history, ideas began to meet and mate, to have sex with one another." (p.6). A video of Ridley expounding this belief can be viewed at TED, http://www.ted.com/talks/matt_ridley_when_ideas_have_sex.html, accessed 2016-06-17.

[2] These multi-volume works, published over many years under successive editors, are listed at Cambridge Histories Online, http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/histories/subject_title_list.jsf;jsessionid=99150400A8DCFA3C 5CF5D5AE2DB70BE1?subjectCode=04&heading=General+History&tSort=title+closed&aSort=author+default _list&ySort=year+default_list, accessed 2016-06-29. The more recent *Cambridge world history*, in nine volumes, also listed there, employs a more nuanced and partly overlapping periodization.

[3] Green himself does not subscribe to the tripartite division, preferring a view which identifies the 10th and 18th centuries as "times of major discontinuity in European society" and for world history, a sixteenth century division between pre-modern and modern epochs.

Enlightenment and the modern period (e.g. Harris 1999; Arns 2009). Sometimes Byzantine and Arab libraries are also covered, and in the modern period there may be some mention of libraries in the developing world. But the periodization is essentially Eurocentric and Americentric. An example of this is the approach followed by Glynn (2004) in his brief overview of the development of "global librarianship".[4] More recently, Richards, Wiegand and Dalbello (2015) have sought to extend and deepen the work of Harris (1999) by including chapters on European influence in Africa and Australasia. In covering the period between the eighteenth and early 21st centuries, they identified three "historical transitions. First, in the mid-nineteenth century librarianship in the USA and Britain evolved from "keepers of books" to a "pragmatic profession committed to serving the public at large". In a second transition, the Anglo-American concept of librarianship spread to continental Europe. The third, postcolonial transition is characterized by globalization and major technological changes (Richards, Wiegand, and Dalbello 2015, xvi). Here library history is related to political, social and cultural history, but Western library history dominates. This is necessarily the case in the *Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland* (Hoare et al. 2006), which is divided into three longer periods anchored in British history: to 1640, 1640-1850, and 1850-2000.

Library history is also related to the history of the technologies that have particularly shaped their contents and services, as in a history of the book by Dahl (1968). Elements of periodization in which stages and transitions are identified, can be found in works dealing with documentation (Coblans 1974), information science (Rayward 1996) information history (Weller 2008; Weller 2011a; Black and Schiller 2014), and digital convergence (Dalbello 2015, 206–7). From the perspective of information technology the advent of printing in the West provides an obvious point of demarcation. That of digital information and communication technology, specifically the Internet, is another. Since the late 20th century there has been a widespread belief that some sort of watershed has been reached, an information revolution is taking place, and that the world has entered a new era, variously referred to as the post-industrial society (Bell 1976), the information society, the knowledge society (Burch 2006), the knowledge economy, network society, etc. (UNESCO 2005; Weller 2008, 76–81). But this may be a blinkered view. Webster (2014, 2–3, 11–13) has commented on the succession of 'revolutions', 'societies' and 'hot topics' that have been announced since the advent of micro-electronics in the 1970s, and called into question "the implied causal chain: that technology impacts on society/politics to change the way we are" (xi). In any case, historians are pointing out that information is not new; humankind has depended on the transmission of information from the earliest times. What has changed is that we have become aware of it as an entity rather than as a process. This change coincided with the Enlightenment. According to Black (Black 1998, 41), "[t]he reification of information as a resource, which stands at the heart of the information society idea, is not …recent in origin, but parallels the development of modernity." A long gestation period, from about 1750 (Weller 2011b, 3–5) or 1650 (Rayward 2012), with complex political, cultural, societal and intellectual dimensions, preceded the information revolution. The reflection of Rayward (2012) on the development of "information infrastructures" during the period spanning the mid-17th century to the

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[4] In the frequently prescribed introductory LIS text by Rubin (2004) libraries cross the Atlantic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and we hear no more of them elsewhere. Of this period Rubin writes: "As we move to the next period in the development of library missions, it is time to leave the European continent" (p.273). In fairness to Rubin, we need to take into account that his text is intended for American students and is of very general scope. Library history barely occupies half a chapter. But this Americentric worldview is widespread, being reflected for example in the entry by Arns (2009) on "Libraries" in the *Encyclopedia of library and information science*. Here the sections on "Nineteenth century libraries" and "Modern libraries" are entirely devoted to library development in the USA.

present, is particularly relevant here in that it places bibliographic control in its international context. Within this period he has focussed on the Belle Époque, approximately 1880-1914, as a key period in the development of international librarianship and documentation (Rayward 2014, 1–4).

In a theoretically based attempt to devise a comprehensive periodization scheme for library history, Meijer (1991) explicitly took Western history (including its origins in the ancient Near East, and in other regions in which European culture has subsequently been adopted) as the basis for his work. After considering various "keys" he arrived at "knowledge development" as the "periodizing key" and divided the history of Western librarianship into three eras, the "Era of limited knowledge (3000 BC – AD 1520)"; "Era of broader knowledge (1520-1789)"; and the "Era of specialized knowledge (1789 onwards)", based primarily on the extent to which the whole population was able to "participate in the development and refinement of fields of knowledge" (Meijer 1991, 73). For the purpose of this chapter, Meijer's periodization is too broad. A less rigid approach more grounded in intellectual history was followed by Krummel (1999) who based a scheme of "seven ages of librarianship" on "the changing and cumulative institutional functions of libraries in Western civilization". For each "age" he gave a rough starting date, but no end date, and outlined the general character, institutional objectives (or guiding ideals), sponsors and contents of libraries. These can be summarized as follows

1. From 3000 BCE: The Quotidian Age, the earliest libraries, serving as working archives in emerging civilizations
2. From 300 BCE: The Academic Age, libraries serving as centres of culture (with the ancient Library of Alexandria as the most famous example)
3. From 500 CE: The Religious Age, libraries, such those of monasteries, serving as archival shrines
4. From 1350 CE: The Humanistic Age, libraries, such as those of scholar-princes of the Renaissance, serving as testimony to virtue
5. From 1600 CE: The Age of Reason, scientific libraries, such as Oxford's Bodleian, serving as a basis for knowledge and study
6. From 1700 CE: The Age of Democracy, libraries such as national libraries, university and (especially from 1850) public libraries, serving as instrument of social betterment
7. From 1910 CE (and more specifically 1945 or 1970): The Age of Technology, technocratic libraries, serving as instrument for social change

This does not do justice to Krummel's thought-provoking periodization, which has the merit of taking a number of aspects into account. At the other extreme, a periodization specifically of international librarianship by Ludington (1954) covered only the field of US involvement from 1876 to the early 1950s. Ludington identified three periods. The first period comprises 1876 to the outbreak of WW1; the second period is that between the two world wars; the third period covers WW2 and after. In an article marking the centenary of the American Library Association, Werdel and Adams (1976) proposed a different periodization more closely linked to library development in the USA, dividing their historical overview of US participation in international scientific and technical communication since 1776, into four periods: (1) the Age of dependence, 1776-1826; (2) Age of national growth, 1826-1876; (3) Growth of specialization and international cooperation, 1876-1926; (4) The modern era, 1926-1976. The year 1926 was chosen because it marked the establishment of the International Library and Bibliographic Committee, the direct forerunner of the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA). Generally, all of these attempts at periodization are limited in that they are derived largely from Western political, social and technological developments.

If nothing else, this affects the timeframe, which in developing countries is greatly compressed in comparison with that of library development in Europe (Asheim 1966, 82).

Rayward (1996, 12–13) contributed a useful reflection on periodicity in relation to the history of information science, referring to the distinction made by the *Annales* school of French historiography, and formulated by Braudel (1958), between the different historical rhythms of history, the slow-moving, almost timeless *durée longue* (long term or time), the *durée moyenne* (medium term), in which the rate of change is measured rather in centuries and encompasses major social, economic and technological movements, and the *durée courte* (short term), in which change, punctuated by events, takes place at a tempo that contemporaries can perceive. In library history, it seems, we tend to focus on the *durée courte*, in the more recent and very recent past, but medium and long term rhythms continue below the surface of recent and contemporary blips. As I explored the topic, it became clear that I was not dealing simply with periods that succeeded one another in time, but with orientations and aspirations in librarianship. Like those of Krummel, these emerged over time, but they were not necessarily replaced by newer ones. I shall refer to these orientations and aspirations as 'horizons'.

1.3   Libraries – from local to global horizons

In the sections that follow I attempt to sketch the evolution of the spatial and intellectual horizons of librarianship from early times to the present. By 'horizon' I mean the geographic (e.g. local, national, international, global) and intellectual space within which librarians see their work (for example in terms of collections, bibliographic control and users) and the extent to which they interact with librarians and scholars in other cultural and political entities. One might also use the German word *Umwelt*, which has a greater resonance than the English 'environment', to refer broadly to the spatial and cultural reach and intellectual scope of libraries. The term 'horizons' implies that different horizons can coexist in the same geographical space and at the same time. The evolution of libraries in terms of such horizons is not necessarily synchronized. Although I relate this evolution to certain historical periods and identify a number of phases occurring in a chronological sequence, the horizons overlap and some recur in new manifestations.

I must emphasize that this is an exploratory exercise and I paint with a broad brush. Unfortunately, this overview is limited largely to Western library and information history, and my emphasis is on the more recent periods. With these provisos, an outline of the horizons follows, roughly in order of appearance.

1.4   Horizon 1: Local

The first libraries, which may have been primarily archives, are thought to have made their appearance in temples, which had governance as well as religious functions. Early libraries are known from China, Egypt and Mesopotamia (Harris 1999; Glynn 2004; Yu and Chiou-Peng 2011). The early city states were small, as were the collections. In the course of time polities grew and we find royal libraries of greater scope. But libraries of mainly local significance and with collections of limited scope have persisted to this day. City libraries in Ancient Greece and the collections of monasteries, cathedrals and the nobility during the Middle Ages were of limited scope.

The advent of free public libraries during the 19th century was a significant development at the local level. These libraries were preceded by various forms of social and subscription libraries serving the educated elites, and by agencies aimed at educating and uplifting the working classes, such as the mechanics' institutes. True public libraries, funded by public authorities from tax revenues were a phenomenon of the mid-19th century in both Britain, where enabling legislation, the Public Libraries Act, was passed in 1850, and in the United States, where the public library of Boston was founded in 1854 (Rubin 2004, 274–77; Sturges 2003, 96–100). It should be noted, however, that the public libraries that emerged in large cities developed major scholarly collections, and were by no means limited to a purely local horizon. Following explosive growth since the mid-19th Century, the vast majority of libraries in the world today are relatively small public and school libraries. Their horizon is mainly local or institutional, which is not to say that their collections do not encompass material from the wider world.

1.5   Horizon 2: Imperial

It is in the larger, expanding polities that we first find royal libraries with an imperial horizon. Here the well-known ancient libraries of Ashurbanipal, Alexandria, and Pergamum can be mentioned (Harris 1999, 19–21, 42–48), while in China royal archives or libraries were maintained as early as the Shang Dynasty (1600-1100 BCE) (Yu and Chiou-Peng 2011, 976). The horizon expanded to encompass the literary and scholarly products of the diverse peoples of an empire. According to Thompson ([1940] 1962, 11–12) Assurbanipal (668 BCE – c. 627 BCE) gave instructions to ensure that clay books found in various provinces of his empire were systematically collected and delivered to his library, where they were transcribed and annotated. Whilst the Ptolemies of Egypt were therefore not the first rulers to collect and translate books in many languages "as tools of commercial and political intelligence and cultural information", the Library of Alexandria, founded in the reign of Ptolemy I Soter in the 3rd century BCE, was "unique in scope and scale… the first to underwrite a programme of cultural imperialism"(MacLeod 2000, 2–3). The Library aggressively collected books from beyond its country's borders, and Galen recounted that the Pharaoh's customs officials confiscated books from ships entering the harbour, copied them and returned the copies to the ships, whilst keeping the originals (MacLeod 2000). The Library at Alexandria was engaged in rivalry with the library of the King of Pergamon. If the story is to be believed, this led to an early example of book-related trade sanctions, when the Ptolemies forbade the export of papyrus to Pergamon, forcing the Pergamenes to start using the substance we now know as parchment (Staikos 2004, 254).

Here one should also mention the libraries that flourished during the period of Arab dominance of the Mediterranean basin. The fine editions of the ancient Greek philosophers that were printed in the European Renaissance were made possible by the Byzantines and the Arabs, who had preserved, studied and copied the ancient Greek works in their libraries after the Western Roman Empire had disintegrated. Were it not for the Arabs, who established great centres of learning throughout the Arab world – as far afield as Timbuktu – much of our classical heritage would have been lost (Lerner 1998).

The imperial horizon was to reappear later, notably in Western Europe in the nineteenth century, when national libraries, along with museums built up collections of books and

artefacts collected from the colonial empires. An interesting example comes from 19th century South Africa and New Zealand. The same British colonial administrator, Sir George Grey, served as governor of New Zealand (1845-1853 and 1861-1868) and of the Cape Colony (1854-1861). He took a great interest in philology and amassed a considerable collection of early books and pamphlets dealing with the indigenous languages of Sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania – vocabularies, grammars, translations of catechisms, hymns and gospels, mostly produced by missionaries. Through a combination of generosity and accident, these materials are now held in the National Library of South Africa, in Cape Town, and in the Auckland Public Library, in New Zealand, but although legislation was passed to permit the exchange of materials, South Africa's national library still holds significant Maori and Polynesian materials. It is interesting to note that, in addition, these two outposts of the British Empire acquired some medieval manuscripts and some incunabula from Sir George Grey (Kerr 2006).

Today, imperialism is a term of opprobrium. In this connection it is interesting to note that the reproach of "bibliographic imperialism" has more recently been levelled at the United States Library of Congress in connection with its acquisitions activities in Africa (Lor and Britz 2004). Imperialism in relation to colonialism, and contemporary cultural imperialism and imperialism in the political-economic sense are referred to in later chapters.

1.6   Horizon 3: Universal

It is difficult to separate the imperial from the universal horizons. The imperial horizon of the ancient Library of Alexandria rapidly expanded to *universal* scope, as is reflected in its aggressive collection of books from beyond its ruler's realm. During the Middle Ages the universe of libraries contracted. It was an intellectual rather than a spatial universe. Libraries served a society in which national boundaries were less significant than the church and the monastic orders, and where the national languages then developing took second place to Latin. For Europe at least, Latin was the universal language of the Church and scholarship. Astronomers from Poland, Denmark and Italy communicated their discoveries in Latin; Erasmus and Descartes wrote in Latin; in Sweden Linnaeus devised a universal scheme for naming all living organisms, using a mixture of Latin and Greek.   The universal idea was widespread and from the late Middle Ages it found expression also in dreams of universal bibliography, best exemplified by Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* of 1545 (Coblans 1974, 25–26) and by the proposals (not implemented) of a later polymath, Gottfried von Leibniz (1646-1716), for universal abstracting and indexing (Glynn 2004, 7).

The growing use in European scholarship of languages other than Latin, and the advent of the scientific journal greatly impeded bibliographic control (Coblans 1974, 26), but the universal ideal surfaced again in the 19th century, being reflected for example in formal agreements for the exchange of publications between institutions in different countries, and in the late 19th and early 20th Century projects, taken up again after the Second World War, for universal bibliographic control. Here formal international collaboration was harnessed with varying degrees of success. International projects strictly speaking imply the existence of nation-states, and it is therefore necessary to consider the national horizon before proceeding to the international horizon.

1.7   Horizon 4: National

The Peace of Westphalia, a set of treaties which brought to an end the Thirty Years War (1618 to 1648), has traditionally been thought to have provided the formal basis for the sovereignty of states, consolidating a transition that had commenced three centuries earlier (Philpott 2014). This was followed somewhat later by the notion of the nation-state, which emerged with the rise of nationalism and proliferated world-wide following the American and French revolutions of the late 18th Century (Wimmer and Feinstein 2010). The recognition in 1648 of the sovereignty of the major European states was a milestone in a development process that had started considerably earlier, as is exemplified by the slow process by which the rulers of the Île de France gradually extended their control over the hexagonal territory that we today know as France. Dialects spoken in centres of political and economic power such as the various royal capitals gained recognition as national languages. This period also saw the emergence of royal libraries in various royal capitals. From 1483 the royal library of the kings of France was passed on from father to son. It was moved to the royal palace of the Louvre in Paris in the 1560s. These royal collections later provided the basis for some of Europe's national libraries. The French royal library was renamed the Bibliothèque nationale during the French Revolution (Poulain 1992, 1877). The 16th and 17th centuries were also marked by other book and bibliographic developments of national scope, for example, the first legal deposit legislation, which was first promulgated in 1537 in France by King François I (Crews 1988, 553).

Further development of national libraries took place in the 19th and 20th centuries, sometimes as a symbol of national identity, as new states emerged (McGowan 2011, 3854–55). Augst (2001, 17) commented that "[T]he creation of large national libraries throughout the early modern period were co-incident with the invention of traditions that helped to legitimize the modern nation-state."

But the national, imperial and universal horizons were intertwined. The great national libraries of major powers (such as the British Museum, the Bibliothèque nationale, and the Library of Congress) were national institutions but universal and imperial in scope. Specimens and artefacts of all kinds, including books and other documentary materials, collected or looted in the colonies, were added to the collections of national museums, libraries and archives. The British Museum Department of Printed Books has been regarded as one of the instruments of imperial rule (Black and Schiller 2014, 650). For example, in 1842 the British Copyright Act was made applicable to all the colonies and territories comprising the British Empire, so that in the case of South Africa publishers in the Cape Colony and the Colony of Natal were required to send a copy of each printed work to London, to be added to the collection of the British Museum's Department of Printed Books. Unfortunately for the retrospective bibliography of South Africa, this requirement was honoured more in the breach than in the observance (Willemse 1962). From the late 1800s to the mid-1900s the printed catalogues of the great national libraries were the closest approximation to universal bibliography to be found at that time. However, the cataloguing rules they handed down were national; there was as yet no impetus for international standardization (Coblans 1974, 11–12).

The national horizon continues to this day in national libraries and national library services, national legislation, standards, library associations, etc.

1.8   Horizon 5: International

The concept 'international' presupposes that of 'national'. Hence one cannot strictly speaking discuss international librarianship before the coming of the nation state. Indeed, according to the *Oxford English dictionary* (OED) the word 'international' is of relatively recent origin, having been coined by the English utilitarian philosopher – and prolific creator of new words – Jeremy Bentham. He introduced it in 1789 in his *Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation* to refer to the law of nations.[5] International law was important to maintain relations – international relations in the true sense – between the autonomous nation states which formed the building blocks of the system of nation states that had emerged from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The 19th century saw the emergence of many new states. Following the Napoleonic wars the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) attempted to consolidate and bring into balance the major European powers, but the balance was disturbed by the decline of some empires, such as those of Spain and Turkey, and the expansion of others, such as those of Britain, France and Russia. Further turmoil accompanied the unification of Germany and Italy and the emergence or re-emergence of smaller nation states (e.g. Belgium and Serbia) in the interstices between the major powers (Schroeder 2001). At the same time colonial empires expanded to cover the blank spaces on the maps of all the continents but Antarctica. By the end of the 19th century the system of nation states had developed to the point where almost all of the Earth's surface was controlled, at least nominally, by one nation state or another. The competition among the major powers, growing ethnic nationalisms, and the resistance of subordinate groups striving to establish their own nation states led to a growing threat of instability and armed conflict. It is against this background that we see the rise of internationalism.

Internationalism

According to the OED[6] the word 'internationalism' was first recorded in 1843. The OED lists four meanings, of which the second (first recorded in 1851) is relevant here: "The principle of cooperation and understanding between different nations; belief or advocacy of this principle".[7] Here I use the term 'internationalism' broadly to refer to attitudes, ideals and advocacy in favour of constructive relations among nations, and in favour of arrangements among them that promote peace, stability and human wellbeing. Internationalists then, are those who hold such attitudes and contribute to the pursuit of these ideals. The two broad categories of internationalists proposed by Herman (1969, 6–8) and further developed by Kuehl (1986) provide a useful perspective on internationalism.[8] Writing

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[5] *Oxford English dictionary*, "International", http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/view/Entry/98072?redirectedFrom=international#eid, accessed 2014-06-21.

[6] *Oxford English dictionary*, "Internationalism", http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/view/Entry/98074?redirectedFrom=internationalism#eid, accessed 2016-01-06

[7] I note in passing that the third meaning, where 'internationalism' is frequently spelled with an initial capital, is "A movement or doctrine advocating international proletarian revolution…" This connotation may explain why, for example in the USA, the term 'internationalism' may evoke some suspicion.

[8] I have discussed this elsewhere with particular reference to internationalism and the role of libraries in promoting peace (Lor 2015; Lor 2016).

about American internationalism in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and building on the distinction between 'community' (*Gemeinschaft*) and 'society' (*Gesellschaft*) made by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1887), Herman distinguished between "political" and "community" internationalists. The distinction was summarized by Kuehl (1986, 4), who preferred the term 'polity' to 'political':

> The community internationalists perceive society as something more than structured national states. They believe that people possess an autonomy of their own and that an interdependency of human beings does exist. The polity internationalists think primarily along juridical or governmental lines.

Here we see two main strands of internationalism. Both were concerned with ensuring lasting world peace. But while the polity internationalists worked within the framework of the nation-state system to create formal structures for peace such as, in the course of time, the League of Nations and later the United Nations and related intergovernmental organizations, the "community internationalists" took more idealistic approaches:

> They called for universal brotherhood, advanced the notion of an interdependent world, hoped to spread democracy, achieve disarmament, combat militarism, and abolish warfare (Kuehl 1986, 4).

Kuehl proposed two further categories of internationalists: Socialist internationalists adhered to Marxist doctrine, emphasizing the brotherhood of man and the necessity for the "minds of the masses…[to] be imbued with class consciousness before international cooperation in the form of universal brotherhood can be achieved" (Kuehl 1986, 5). This was sometimes referred to as "red internationalism" (Somsen 2014, 217). It was associated with socialism, communism and the socialist Internationals – the First Workingmen's International (1848-), the Second International (1889-1916) of socialist and labour parties, and the Third or Communist International, also known as the Comintern (1919-1943) (P. Anderson 2002). It is interesting to note that the Second International's permanent executive and information body was the International Socialist Bureau, based in Brussels,[9] a city which features prominently in the history of our field during this period.

The other category proposed by Kuehl was that of "liberal internationalism", which had a middle class character, took a generally optimistic and positivist approach to the development of society, and sought practical means of achieving peace, for example, by arms control and arbitration (Kuehl 1986, 5). Within this category I would place what I shall call the *scientific universalists*, who held a positivist belief that the sciences offered the solutions to the problems of society, and who sought to create systems and even artificial languages for the universal dissemination of scientific literature. Is it far-fetched to see them as heirs to the earlier Latin-speaking universal scholars? This shows that there were many strands of internationalism. Within them there were many variations. Figure 1.1 depicts the broad classification used here.

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[9] Wikipedia, "Second International", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_International, accessed 2014-07-02
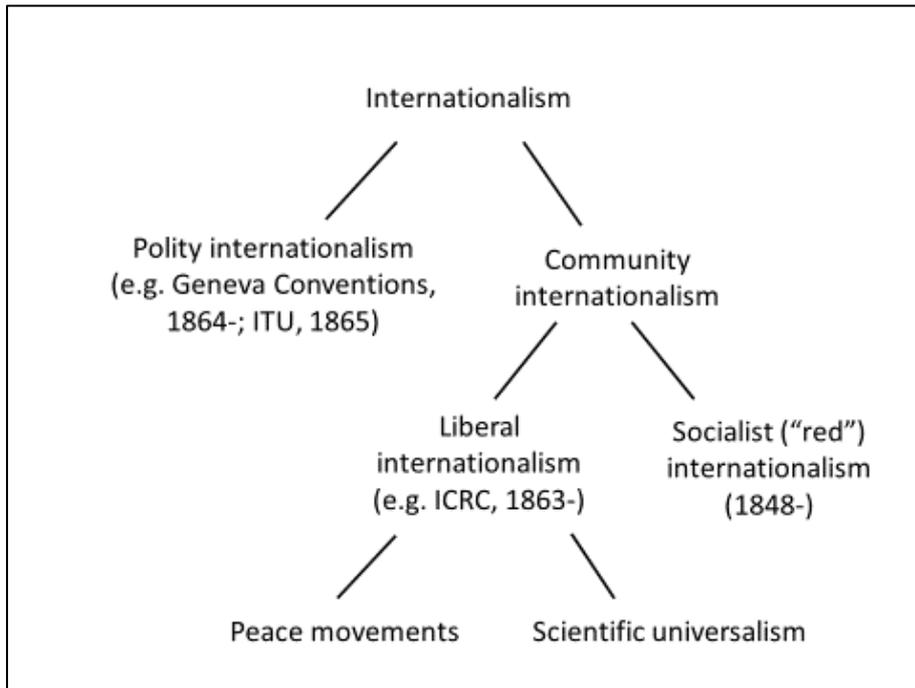
FIGURE 1.1 Strands of internationalism

It should be noted that Figure 1.1 depicts *inter alia* a distinction between liberal and socialist *internationalism*. Liberal internationalism should not be confused with liberalism in *international relations* as studied in political science, where a distinction is made between political liberalism (or idealism) and political realism, theoretical perspectives which in various versions alternatively dominated international relations from the First World War onwards (Korab-Karpowicz 2013).

If all this seems rather far removed from librarianship, I hope that it will prove more relevant a little later as we consider the perspectives of librarians, documentalists and others concerned with information and knowledge.

Responses of polity and community internationalists

The period which stretched approximately from the mid-19th century to the 1930s was one of transition, characterized by increasing complexity and risk. Polity internationalists responded *inter alia* by the development of international law, including the first Geneva Conventions (1864, 1906,

1929)[10] and Hague Conventions (1899, 1907)[11] dealing with humanitarian relief and rules of war respectively. Various international agreements were reached relating to transport and communications. The Permanent Court of Arbitration was established in The Hague in 1899. In the aftermath of the First World War the League of Nations (1919)[12] and the Permanent Court of International Justice[13] (1922) were established. A new, global telecommunications order started taking shape in the mid-1800s (Hartmann 2014, 23–24). The International Telecommunications Union was founded in 1865 as the International Telegraph Union; it was followed by the World Meteorological Organization, founded as the International Meteorological Organization in 1873, and the Universal Postal Union in 1874.[14] In 1884 the Greenwich meridian was selected as the word's prime meridian at the International Meridian Conference, although the French Government abstained and continued to use the meridian of Paris for some decades after,[15] illustrating the obstacles presented by national pride.

The responses of community internationalists took many forms. I have already referred to "Red internationalism" and the formation of international socialist and communist organizations. Various shades of liberal internationalists pursued ideals of universal peace, world government, and the harnessing of scientific progress for human well-being regardless of national borders (Somsen 2014). This is illustrated by the creation of non-governmental organizations and institutions for humanitarian work, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)[16] in 1863. This can be seen as part of a larger phenomenon, the emergence of international non-governmental associations. In this era of scientific positivism many scientists – I have referred to these as scientific universalists – believed that scientific progress should be harnessed not only to combat social problems and promote healthier and more harmonious societies, but also to ensure world peace. During the 19th century there were at least 38 projects to create artificial languages such as Volapük. Esperanto and Ido. Some were intended as auxiliary languages to facilitate scientific communication, others for the more general purpose of bridging linguistic barriers between peoples (Kajewski 2014; Kloe 2014).

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[10] Wikipedia, "Geneva Conventions", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geneva_Conventions, accessed 2016-06-17.
[11] Wikipedia, "Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907",
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hague_Conventions_of_1899_and_1907, accessed 2016-06-17.
[12] Wikipedia, "League of Nations, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/League_of_Nations, accessed 2016-06-17.

[13] Wikipedia, "Permanent Court of International Justice",

 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Permanent_Court_of_International_Justice, accessed 2016-06-17.

[14] Wikipedia, "United Nations, Specialized agencies",
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations#Specialized_agencies, accessed 2016-06-17.

[15] Wikipedia, "Prime meridian (Greenwich)", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prime_meridian_(Greenwich), accessed 2016-06-17.

[16] The ICRC is a private humanitarian organization, but enjoys special recognition under international humanitarian law. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Red_Cross_and_Red_Crescent_Movement, accessed 2016-06-17

Scholarly communication

It is in this context that we should mention various international schemes for the exchange of publications among universities and research institutions. Formal arrangements for the exchange of publications between universities in Germany and France developed in the first half of the 19th century. These mainly concerned the exchange of dissertations. The *Akademische Tauschverein* (academic exchange association), established at the University of Marburg in 1817, soon gained member institutions outside Germany. An *Agence centrale des échanges internationaux* (centre for international exchanges) was set up by Alexandre Vattemare in Paris in or around 1832 but did not survive its founder's death in 1864. On the other side of the Atlantic, the Smithsonian Institution (founded in 1846) embarked on a large-scale international program for the exchange of government publications (Krüss 1961; Gwinn 2010). Another manifestation of internationalism is the influence of American librarianship in Europe, mainly through exposure of European visitors to American libraries and library education (cf. Danton 1957; Chaplan 1971; Byberg 1993; Black 2016). This will be discussed in a later chapter.

The variously named international fairs and expositions that became prominent from the mid-19th century can be seen as expressions of both polity and liberal internationalism. Although it was not the first such exposition, the "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations", held in London in 1851, is conventionally considered to have been the first in a series of the major universal expositions.[17] The national pavilions showcased the achievements and nationalist aspirations of the participating nation states. They served national commercial interests, but also provided opportunities for the diffusion of information and for communicating scientific progress, providing platforms for scientific universalists. Rayward (2014, 6) expresses the paradox: "They embodied a universalist aspiration that was harnessed to goals of nationalist prestige".

International library conferences and cooperation

The international expositions are of particular interest here because they played a significant role in the development of our field, stimulating both national and international contact and cooperation in librarianship. The first national meeting of librarians took place concurrently with the second World's Fair, held in New York in 1853 in imitation of London's Great Exhibition. This first 'national convention of librarians' in the United States attracted some international interest. Vattemare was in attendance to promote his scheme for international exchanges, and a number of foreign librarians presented papers (Rudomino 1977, 66). It was followed by a second meeting of librarians at the second World's Fair held in the United States, the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. One British librarian attended (Black 2016, 147) as well as some other foreign guests (Rudomino 1977, 67). On this occasion the American Library Association (ALA) was founded (Gambee 1968). The British followed the American example in the following year, when the (British) Library Association was founded at the First International Congress of Librarians, in which librarians from a number of countries participated (Hewitt 1976; Horrocks 1977). This was the first of eleven international

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[17] Wikipedia, "World's fair", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World%27s_fair, accessed 2016-06-17.

conferences of librarians, bibliophiles and archivists which preceded the founding of IFLA.[18] Paul Otlet used the Universal Exposition of Brussels, held in 1897, to promote his project (on which more below) of a universal scientific catalogue, a section on bibliography being included in the science exhibition (Rayward 2014, 8–9). The holding of international conferences of librarians and the creation of international associations of librarians and documentalists can also be seen as manifestations of liberal internationalism.

The American and British library associations engaged in international activities at an early stage. In 1905 the ALA established a Committee on International Relations (Krüss 1961). For a brief period (1877-1882) the two associations shared a journal, that of the ALA (Olle 1977, 252). Initially international activities mainly took the form of representation at each other's conferences and at those of other national associations, but in the first decade of the twentieth century cooperation between the USA and the United Kingdom was manifested more concretely in the adoption of the Anglo-American cataloguing rules of 1908 (Munford 1976; Blake 2002).

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[18] These international conferences have been described by Rudomino (1977) in her chapter on the "prehistory of IFLA", which provides useful references to early proceedings and accounts. They are also referred to by Black (2016, 147–49) in the context of early US influence on British librarianship,

The ideal of universal bibliography

Rayward (2012; 2014) has discussed the growth of the idea of a universal catalogue from roughly 1850 onwards, focussing especially on the European Belle Époque, from 1880 to 1914, as a turning point in the development of the world's information infrastructure.[19] Coblans (1974, 26–28) described the 19th century as a period of crisis in bibliographic control, which came to a head in the last decade of the 19th century. I see this as a period during which the universal, imperial, national and international horizons coincided to a greater or lesser extent. During this period too, the contradictions internal to internationalism, as reflected in the various forms mentioned above, can be discerned in various international initiatives and projects in the fields of bibliography and librarianship. At the risk of oversimplification it is necessary to distinguish here between the bibliographic control of books and that of journal literature. The bibliographic control of books and related publications was being addressed by the creation of national and trade bibliographies and by the publication of the catalogues of major national libraries, referred to earlier. This was being done, essentially, within the framework of the system of nation states. However, the enormously expanding scientific and scholarly literature appearing in scientific journals and other serials could not be dealt with in the same way. Scientists needed relevant publications regardless of language and country of origin. Growing specialization, the proliferation of journals throughout the West and the use of multiple languages, such as the Slavic languages spoken in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and German empires (cf. Surman 2014), gave rise to a sense of crisis. Given the nationalist and imperialist context of the period, could this literature be dealt with in the same manner, that is, using national structures as building blocks for an international system?

An illustrative answer to this question is found in an ambitious project by the Royal Society to compile a universal index, the *International catalogue of scientific literature,* which ultimately covered the years 1901-1914. The project was plagued by problems and was finally written off. The failure of the project was in part due to its reliance on "national bureaux" and the recording of scientific input on a country-by-country basis (Coblans 1974, 27–28). During roughly the same period, American scientists were involved in setting up international indexes along broad disciplinary lines, such as chemistry and zoology, the latter initiative giving rise in 1896 to the Concilium Bibliographicum, a scheme for international bibliographic control of zoological literature, based in Zurich (Werdel and Adams 1976, 46).

The most ambitious and fascinating initiatives during this period were those of two Belgian lawyers, Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine, who organized the First International Conference of Bibliography in 1895 and followed it up by founding the *Institut international de bibliographie* (International Institute of Bibliography, IIB). An international office to support it was set up in Brussels with support from the Belgian government. The aim of the IIB was the construction of an index named the *Répertoire bibliographique universel*. It would organize the scholarly literature of the entire world, using the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC), an adaptation and expansion by Otlet of Melvil Dewey's Decimal Classification. The first conference was followed by four more, in 1897, 1900, 1908 and 1910. The *Répertoire* was a visionary scheme, well in advance of the technology it needed. It did not long survive the calamities of the First World War and the lack of interest on the part of

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[19] Rayward has written extensively on bibliographic control initiatives of international scope in this pivotal period (e.g. 1975; 1981; 1991; 1997; 2003; 2012; 2014).

successive Belgian governments. It was terminated in the 1930s, when it had grown to around 16 million entries (Rayward 2012). However, the IIB did survive under different names until 2001. The UDC is still being updated and used in many countries.

It is worth noting that this ambitious bibliographic enterprise by no means exhausts the scope of Otlet's endeavours, which included laying the theoretical foundations for scientific documentation and the creation of the Palais Mondial, later named the Mundaneum, an institution conceived not only to house the RBU's index cards, but also to serve as a multifaceted expression of internationalism (Rayward 2003, 4–6). Together with La Fontaine he was also instrumental in founding the Union of International Associations (Laqua 2013, 471; Laqua 2014), which still exists today as a research institute and documentation centre for research and information on international organizations.[20]

Both Otlet and La Fontaine (a Belgian senator who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1913) were strong advocates for world peace. In terms of the categories of internationalists, I would classify them as liberal internationalists, and within this category I would group Otlet with the scientific universalists. Rayward indicates that, although Otlet had a positivist worldview, there was also a mystical element in his writings and this is reflected in his conceptualization of the Mundaneum (Rayward 2003, 6–7). One can thus read the outcomes of initiatives such as those of Otlet and La Fontaine, and the failed attempts by leaders of the British Society for International Bibliography to work with the IIB and the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, (Laqua 2013) as reflecting a clash between the universality of science (reminiscent of the earlier universal horizon) and the ideals of community internationalism on the one hand and on the other, the constrains imposed by the nation-state system.

The increasing emphasis on nation states as the basis for international bibliographic work is reflected in the evolution of the IIB. In 1937 it became the *Fédération internationale de documentation* (FID, International Federation for Documentation), renamed in 1988 International Federation for Information and Documentation (Rayward 1994). The changes of name reflected organizational changes. As the work at its Brussels headquarters declined and effectively came to an end in the 1930s, leadership passed to a younger generation. Following a revision of its constitution in 1924, the IIB evolved into an international non-governmental organization with national organizations as the effective members (Rayward 1994). In 1934 the headquarters were moved to The Hague. In 1994 the FID took the initiative to create a "Strategic Alliance of International Non-Governmental Organizations in Information to serve better the World Community" (Horton 2009, 2897), a strategic shift to the high ground of the information society. In spite of this, the FID was dissolved in 2001, having played a major role as the international forum for documentalists and librarians in research libraries and special libraries for over 100 years. It seems ironical that the FID, which had positioned itself in the broader information society, failed while the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) survived in spite of being more closely linked to libraries – institutions some regarded as obsolescent. One clue to FID's demise may be found in Horton's (2009, 2897) account of the final years, which highlighted FID's dependence on a dwindling number of national members.

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[20] "Union of International Associations", http://www.uia.org/, accessed 2016-06-22.

The Inter-War period

A great deal of international library activity followed the First World War. This should be seen in the context of the idealist dominance of international relations in the aftermath of that War:

> The idealists of the 1920s and 1930s (also called liberal internationalists or utopians) had the goal of building peace in order to prevent another world conflict. They saw the solution to inter-state problems as being the creation of a respected system of international law, backed by international organizations (Korab-Karpowicz 2013, n.p.).

However, the idealism that led to the founding of the League of Nations was followed by a new realism. The US failed to join the League, major powers such as Germany withdrew from it when it suited them to ignore criticism of their policies, and gradually the scene was set for the Second World War.

This is reflected in the fortunes of the inter-war library initiatives. The horrific destruction wrought by the war stimulated humanitarian and library development activities in Europe by American organizations, for example the rebuilding of the University Library of Leuven in Belgium (Civallero 2007), the donation of children's libraries named *L'Heure joyeuse* in Belgium and France (Maack 1993), and the creation of the American Library in Paris (Maack 2005; Maack 2007). The short-lived but influential American-sponsored Paris Library School (1923-1928), has been analysed by Witt (2013; 2014) as an example of cultural internationalism and the advent of globalization. Following Iriye (1997), Witt (2014, 506) described cultural internationalism as a "new variety of internationalism", which had many of its origins in the period between the two world wars, and placed it in the context of a growing sense of "global community", the peace movement, the advent of international non-governmental organizations, and early manifestations of (a somewhat benevolent) globalization. He considered it to be "distinct from the political and economic internationalism seen in the formation of the League of Nations and international trade agreements" in that it sought to promote lasting peace through international exchanges, scholarly exchanges, education, and cultural understanding. The question arises whether it is such a radical departure, given the distinction which we have already seen above between polity internationalism and community internationalism. The latter, with its emphasis on promoting peace through scholarly communication and collaboration, dates back to the second quarter of the 19th century. However, it is certainly the case that, as Witt pointed out, the growth of cultural internationalism during the inter-war period was accompanied by a significant increase in the number of international nongovernmental organizations, which included the founding of IFLA (Witt 2014, 506–7).

The ALA was deeply involved in international work, with an emphasis on Europe, but also elsewhere, for example in China. Towards the end of the inter-war period an increasing Axis presence in the Western Hemisphere prompted Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbors policy and the creation of a Division of Cultural Relations in the United States State Department (Brewster 1976, 10–13). The

ALA collaborated in its cultural diplomacy initiatives, which intensified during WW2. This included the establishment of "binational centers" and libraries, such as the Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin in Mexico (Collett 1972). The 1920s and 1930s saw major library development programmes by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in British Commonwealth countries (Rochester 1990; Rochester 1993; Rochester 1996). Space constraints preclude a discussion of these varied activities, which reflect the full spectrum of polity and community internationalism, and some of which are dealt with in Part II.

An outcome of the "new, more zealous spirit growing out of World War 1" (Kraske 1985, 6) was the founding of IFLA, in which American librarians played a significant role (Mohrhardt 1977). As noted by Witt, it was one of the many international NGOs that emerged after WW1. Koops and Wieder (1977, 12) situated the origins of IFLA "in the light of the reviving supra-national tendencies towards union, characteristic of the post-war period of the twenties. These amalgamating trends were strongly effected [sic] by the consequences of … World War I…" and by "the radiance of a youthful League of Nations". Here they refer also to the League's Commission (or International Committee) for Intellectual Cooperation and its Secretariat, the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. This Institute, founded in Paris in 1925 and funded primarily by France, undertook a number of projects in international cooperation in bibliography and librarianship. It set up a Sub-Committee on Bibliography in which many library directors took part (Krüss 1961, 853), encouraged the exchange of publications among scholarly institutions, and initiated the compilation of a bibliography of bibliographies, the *Index bibliographicus*, as well as a bibliography of translations, the *Index translationum* (Coblans 1974, 32). It also encouraged international inter-library loan (ILL) and the adoption by IFLA in 1936 of international rules for ILL (Jefferson 1977, 147). It did not, however, provide a support base for the post-war continuation of Otlet's International Institute of Bibliography and his ambitious international projects (Rayward 1981, 456–62). Although much of the work of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation in this field was unsuccessful (Rayward 1981, 461–62), it can be seen as a precursor of the work in librarianship and documentation of UNESCO, which continued a number of its projects.

In terms of the categories of internationalism, IFLA appears to have been of mixed parentage, having roots in both community and polity internationalism. During the Inter-War period IFLA was closely associated with the League of Nations. IFLA's long-serving first Secretary General, Dr Tietse Sevensma, was the head of the League's Library in Geneva (Lor 2012, 270). But it has been noted that in its early years IFLA resembled nothing so much as a "gentleman's club" (Wilhite 2012, 23) – perhaps evidence of the more bourgeois manifestation of liberal internationalism. In the magisterial *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, founded by Fritz Milkau before the war, and revised subsequently under the direction of Georg Leyh, there are detailed and well-documented accounts of the history of the organizations involved in international librarianship up to the inter-war years (Krüss 1961) and into the 1950s (Breycha-Vauthier 1961).

Until 1976 IFLA's membership was limited to national library associations, reflecting the primacy of the nation state in international professional cooperation, but in that year membership was opened to institutions and its name was changed to reflect this, to International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions, while the acronym IFLA was left unchanged. It is tempting but speculative to interpret this change as a reduction of IFLA's dependence on bodies delimited in terms of nation states, and hence as a clue to its survival in contrast with FID.

Aftermath of the Second World War

The end of the Second World War, like the end of the First World War, was followed by a period in which relief that peace had returned was accompanied by shame and revulsion, and by a renewed determination that this should never be allowed to happen again. During this period the United Nations came into being, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted, and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was founded as the successor to the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation. Its founding document embodies the ideals of community internationalism: its founding ideal as stated in the Preamble to its constitution being: "[S]ince wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" (UNESCO 1945). This statement echoes an idealistic community internationalism that goes back to the late 19th century.

UNESCO is a member of the "United Nations family", a panoply of subsidiary or related intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), some of which had been founded as early as the 19th century. These organizations came to play an increasingly significant role world-wide. I argue that, in effect, they tend to reinforce the nation-state system. While they generally pursue humanitarian aims, they are based on nation states as their building blocks, and hence they embody the assumptions and procedures of polity internationalism. This ambivalence of internationalism after WW2 is illustrated by the World Intellectual Property Organization, where on political grounds diplomatic representatives of governments (when not deadlocked) make decisions that affect access to knowledge by students, scholars, and the populations of poor developing countries, while lobbyists from international civil society and representatives of commercial organizations try to influence the decisions in the corridors and at fringe events.

UNESCO

For our purposes UNESCO is the most relevant of the IGOs. As in all IGOs the lofty ideals expressed in UNESCO's constitution have to be pursued using resources provided by governments that may not share these ideals and are often unwilling to contribute the resources. In accordance with the nation-state system decisions are made by diplomats representing governments. In many cases the governments of wealthy countries, which contribute most of UNESCO's funding, jealously guard their sovereignty and are the most reluctant to agree to any form of super-national structure or programme.

This is illustrated by the fate of a proposal by Theodor Besterman, head of UNESCO's Bibliographical Section, and author of the acclaimed *World bibliography of bibliographies*, for a "World Bibliographical and Library Centre" at UNESCO in Paris. This was rejected in 1948 by UNESCO's General Conference as "over ambitious and authoritarian" (Coblans 1974, 33). Instead, UNESCO placed more emphasis on coordination and stimulation, working through international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) such as IFLA and FID and through national associations (Coblans 1974, 32–33). The fate of Besterman's proposal prefigured by several decades the debacle of the proposal for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), which was

proposed following the report, *Many voices, one world* (1980), of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, chaired by Sean MacBride. This study was undertaken in response to complaints by Third World Countries about the one-way flow of information from the First to the Third World. The Commission's proposals to remedy this gave rise to a great controversy in UNESCO and led to the withdrawal from the organization of the United States, the United Kingdom (Dick 2002, 141–42), and Singapore.

Nevertheless UNESCO has played a long and significant role in international librarianship, documentation and related fields. In the first decades following World War II UNESCO exercised a strong influence on library development worldwide, initially emphasizing public libraries as vehicles for promoting literacy and education, the underlying assumption being that knowledge leads to understanding, tolerance and peace (Petersen 1953). UNESCO considered libraries important enough to justify setting up a separate Libraries Division. This was engaged in a wide range of programmes, including seminars, conferences and training activities to develop national and academic libraries as well as public libraries. Such areas as bibliographic control and bibliographic standards, education and training of library workers, library cooperation, and preservation, were addressed (M. B. Evans 1954; Lor 2012, 271–73; Parker 1985, 111–47). UNESCO also promoted the international exchange of publications, which was a significant activity for countries lacking foreign exchange, and played an important role as a partner and sponsor of IFLA programs. While much of this work was done in collaboration with the two main international NGOs in the field of information and documentation, FID and IFLA, UNESCO also developed special relationships with other "peak" international bodies in related fields, such as the International Council on Archives (ICA) the International Council of Museums (ICOM), and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

Over time UNESCO's focus shifted away from libraries as such to issues of documentation and information management. In developing countries UNESCO promoted the adoption of national information policies: primarily through two competing programmes, the UNISIST (World Science Information System) and NATIS (National Information Systems) programs (Havard-Williams 1972; Parker 1985, 219–322), which ultimately failed (Sturges and Neill 1998, 117–28).

IFLA

UNESCO played a major role in resuscitating IFLA after WW2. In 1947 IFLA met again in Oslo after a period of dormancy, in which, it is true, it had played a modest role in a Red Cross program to deliver books to prisoners of war (Breycha-Vauthier 1961). Under the leadership of its post-war Norwegian president, Wilhelm Munthe, IFLA reached out to the German colleagues, whose newly established library associations were readmitted in 1949. During most of the immediate post-war period the IFLA leadership engaged in careful diplomacy to bridge the Cold War divide by maintaining cordial relations with colleagues behind the 'Iron Curtain', despite the icy relations between their governments (Davis and Feis 2001). Throughout the post-war period, and particularly from the late 1960s, when IFLA adopted deliberate policies of reaching out to a potential membership outside Europe and North America, IFLA played a leading role in international librarianship (Campbell 2001).

In the early years UNESCO's involvement in IFLA was not limited to funding and formal partnership relationships, but also extended to providing advice on how to run IFLA in an efficient manner. The result was that IFLA became a more modern and effective international NGO. At the same time, IFLA (along with FID, ICA, ICOM and ICOMOS) adopted terminology and somewhat bureaucratic procedures similar to those of UNESCO, such as medium-term programmes (Lor 2012, 271). Several of the international NGOs which had close relationships with UNESCO sometimes resembled a miniaturized version of UNESCO itself. By taking on the structures and procedures of an intergovernmental organization (IGO), these international NGOs also tended to adopt the discourse of polity internationalism.

As UNESCO's interest in libraries waned, so did its support for IFLA and with it, its influence there. But on balance UNESCO's contributions made IFLA what it is. In particular, UNESCO provided significant support to a number of major joint initiatives such as the International Conference on Cataloguing Principles, held in Paris in 1961 (Wilhite 2012, 55–56). Other interesting examples of UNESCO's contribution are its involvement in two of IFLA's core programmes during the 1970s to 1990s, Universal Bibliographic Control (UBC) and Universal Availability of Publications (UAP) (Lor 2012, 274). The emphasis was on national building blocks for international systems. The inclusion in their names of the word "universal" notwithstanding, these programmes were conceptualized within the framework of polity internationalism. They required the construction of infrastructure at the national level. International and regional reports, meetings and training workshops were employed to promote the development of national structures, activities and facilities (such as national bibliographies, national union catalogues and inter-library lending systems). These were to feed into "universal" (more correctly, international) systems through standardization and the sharing of data and resources. Much work was done, particularly in developing countries, to promote cooperation at the national level and to cajole national governments into releasing the necessary funding, but with limited success.

The UBC and UAP programmes were terminated in 2003.[21] Although brave statements were made about the concepts and principles having been successfully disseminated, and about the programmes' legacy of standards, programmes and publications (Parent 2004), in fact national bibliographies and inter-library lending in many developing countries still leave much to be desired. It can be argued that such progress as has taken place, has been through the Internet and OCLC – but these are considered in Section 1.9 on the global horizon.

Promoting library development in developing countries

The emergence of independent states in Asia and Africa after the Second World War aroused much interest among internationally-minded librarians (Asheim 1966) and gave rise to idealistic and ambitious plans for developing national library services. Both IFLA and UNESCO were involved in programmes that promoted library development in developing countries, as were the cultural and aid organs of major Western countries such as the United States, through the US Information Service

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[21] The UBC programme survived in a slimmed down version as part of the UBCIM (UBC-International MARC) programme.

(USIS), and the United Kingdom, through the British Council. The work of these foreign agencies, for example the work of the British Council in developing national library services in former British colonies (discussed in Chapter 10) was applauded at the time, but has since been re-evaluated more critically.

In spite of the critical questions, a number of governmental aid agencies, particularly those of the USA, Canada, Great Britain and the Nordic countries, have continued to play a significant role in supporting library development in the developing countries, as have a number of foundations such as the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in the USA, and the Open Society Institute in Europe. These donors increasingly emphasize accountability and the sustainability of projects. This has stimulated programs aimed at capacity building by providing training opportunities for future leaders of the library profession in developing countries. Examples of such programs are those of the Mortenson Center for International Library Programs at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the Goethe Institut (Germany). Another is the Jay Jordan IFLA/OCLC Early Career Fellowship program of OCLC in partnership with IFLA.

Wider involvement

Over time, more players came forward in international library development and resource sharing. The British Library Lending Division, which had provided the headquarters for the UAP programme, itself became a major international supplier, while in various other countries national institutions such as the *Technische Informationsbibliothek Hannover* in Germany, and the Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information (CISTI) took on an international document supply role as well. National libraries adopted an increasingly international outlook, serving as national centres for international lending and for universal bibliographic control, and providing support for other IFLA programmes (S. Green 1977; Wedgeworth, Neven, and Voogt 1999, 307). The Conference of Directors of National Libraries (CDNL) was founded in 1974 (Scott 1995).

Other international non-governmental organizations have also provided forums for international cooperation, discussion and reflection. Beginning in the 1950s various specialized international associations such as IAML (International Association of Music Libraries) and IBBY (the International Board on Books for Young People) were established, and they have been followed by ever more specialized bodies, such as the International Society for Knowledge Organization (ISKO). There has also been an increase in regional[22] bodies such as ACURIL (Association of Caribbean Research, University and Institutional Libraries), CONSAL (Congress of Southeast Asian Librarians) and SCECSAL (Standing Conference of East, Central and Southern African Library and Information Associations). The growth of international associations has been attributed to greater international awareness following the Second World War, as well as to the advent of regular, affordable air

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[22] Whilst in many countries the terms 'region' and 'regional' refer to regions within countries, in international usage ('UN-speak') these terms mostly refer to supranational regions such as continents or groups of neighbouring countries, e.g. Latin America and the Caribbean.

transportation (Harrison 1989) – it was no longer necessary for delegates to spend a week or more on board an ocean liner to attend an international conference.

Technological advances

The use of information technology in information management operations dates back to the late 19th Century, with the invention of the punched-card machine or 'Hollerith machine' in 1880. Punched-card systems first appeared in libraries in 1934, being used in circulation systems, and various types of punched-cards were adopted in information retrieval systems by the early 1940s (Black 2007). After the War, interesti n 'mechanization' grew. In 1956 the journal *Library trends* published a special issue on "Mechanization in libraries". The introduction of IBM's 360 series in 1964 provided a new, more capable platform for data processing in libraries (McCallum 2003, 1). High hopes were pinned on the new technology, although it met some scepticism and resistance (Kosrow and Hinchliffe 2015). In libraries the initial emphasis was on circulation systems, while institutions such as US National Library of Medicine started experimenting with the computerization of indexing and abstracting services during the 1950s (Dee 2007).

As the mid-1960s approached, young people born during the post-war "baby boom" reached school-leaving age. This necessitated a huge expansion of higher education, particularly in the USA. New colleges and universities were set up and there was a need for massive expansion of library facilities, including the acquisition and cataloguing of new collections. There was a need for cooperative cataloguing and other forms of resource sharing. In the US state of Ohio, university presidents responded to the challenge by creating a non-profit organization called the Ohio College Library Center, which was to evolve into the global library utility known today as OCLC[23] (Jordan 2009). National bibliographies and union catalogues were being computerized, generating a need for the sharing of bibliographic records. As information and communication technology developed in the 1970s and 1980s "library cooperation on an international scale" (Havard-Williams 1972, 172) became increasingly feasible, and the early notions of cooperation were progressively extended to resource sharing and networking. The national and international exchange of bibliographic record requires standardization. The MARC format, developed in the USA, soon became an international standardization phenomenon, generating national variants and international cooperation in the development of library catalogues, union catalogues and national bibliographies. This also stimulated international cooperation in respect of cataloguing rules, standards such as the international standard bibliographic descriptions (ISBDs), and the fundamental principles of cataloguing, as expressed more recently in the *Functional requirements for bibliographic records* (FRBR) and related principles for authority records (Bianchini and Guerrini 2009).

During the same period, advances in computerized information processing and telecommunications were being exploited to create computerized indexing and abstracting databases that could be interrogated at a distance. The databases were mounted on computers operated by hosts as Lockheed DIALOG (Bourne and Hahn 2003), and dial-up access was slow and cumbersome, but this was a great improvement on printed indexes and abstract services. Such databases were generally discipline

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[23] OCLC now stands for Online Computer Library Center.

or application oriented and were being created by scientific societies such as the American Chemical Society (*Chemical abstracts*), commercial undertakings such as the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), creator of the *Science citation index* and its siblings, government agencies such as the US National Library of Medicine, which created the Medical Literature Analysis and Retrieval System (MEDLARS), and intergovernmental NGOs, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, which created the International Nuclear Information System (INIS). All these were international in the sense of being used by users in many countries, and some, such as INIS, were being compiled on an international basis by entering abstracts and bibliographic data contributed by national centres in multiple countries. Here was the answer to the insurmountable technical problems encountered by the Royal Society and Otlet at the end of the 19th century.

Internationalism following the Second World War

Although the founding of the UN and UNESCO reflected liberal and utopian thinking, in the first generation of the post-war period, the theory of international relations was dominated by the realist school, of which Hans Morgenthau was the most influential theorist. Morgenthau emphasized the selfishness of humanity, and the universal craving for power, as the main causes of conflict (Korab-Karpowicz 2013). This is reflected in three further aspects of internationalism in the period following the war. This period was marked by the Cold War and decolonization, and by intense competition between the West and the East for the allegiance and resources of unaligned countries. In the Third World a number of proxy wars were conducted between forces allied to the two blocs. The rivalry gave rise to a great deal of international activity involving libraries, documentation and information services. Here I highlight three areas: cultural diplomacy and development aid, area studies, and the internationalization of LIS education.

Cultural diplomacy was part of Cold War rivalry. Agencies such as the United States Information Agency (USIA) (Dizard 2003; Simmons 2005) and the British Council (O'Connor and Roman 1994; Maack 2001) disseminated information materials generally intended to put the donor country in a favourable light, which is not to say that they were not found useful. Donations of such materials were also made to libraries and other institutions. The cultural diplomacy agencies also showcased modern Western library techniques in developing countries and promoted library development there based on Western models, sending expert consultants and expatriate librarians to set up libraries and provide technical assistance and training. Thus LIS related development aid was intertwined with cultural diplomacy. The British Council in particular played a significant role in library development in former British colonies (Rosenberg 1994; Olden 1995). Library associations in developed countries and a variety of NGOs and IGOs, especially UNESCO, contributed to these efforts. Some of the advice was misdirected, as was a great deal of the "book aid" (Priestley 1993; Sturges and Neill 1998, 95–99). But the training and education of library staff, both at universities in the donor country and in-country, had a significant, often long-lasting impact. Although library and information related aid has never been more than a minor component of aid programmes, it generated much professional discussion, including critical views on the relevance of American and other Western LIS education for alumni returning to their countries, as illustrated by the papers collected in the volume edited by Tallman and Ojiambo (1990). By the 1980s and 1990s it was clear that in a significant number of developing countries well-intentioned, western-inspired library development programs had begun to falter. At the same time, shifts in international aid policy led to reduced funding for library development. Against a

background of the radical critique of 'cultural imperialism' which emerged in the 1960s (Sarmela 1977; Tomlinson 2002, 2), in the 1970s a critical re-evaluation of these post-colonial library development efforts got under way. This is reflected in the writings of librarians from developing countries such as Briquet de Lemos (1981), a Brazilian librarian, by younger African librarians such as Adolphe Amadi (1981) and Kingo Mchombu (1982), and in seminal works such as Gassol de Horowitz's *Librarianship: a third world perspective* (1988) and *The quiet struggle: information and libraries for the people of Africa,* by Sturges and Neil (1990). More attention is paid to this in several later chapters.

A second consequence of the rivalry between East and West was the rise of area studies, particularly in the United States but also in the USSR (Steiner-Khamsi 2006). For effective diplomatic and military action, the competing powers needed information about their enemies, their allies, and countries in between. Area studies brought together in research centres scholars from different disciplines to focus in depth on a particular region of the world (Katzenstein 2001, 787). In the USA a number of Federal programmes provided significant funding for area studies. Public Law 480 of 1954 allowed countries receiving food aid to pay for this using their national currencies. These payments were placed in special accounts that were used in part for the acquisition of materials from those countries by Field Offices operated by the Library of Congress (Hazen 2012, 123–24). In 1966 the Library of Congress initiated the ambitious National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging (NPAC), involving a number of "shared cataloging centers" overseas as well as cooperative arrangements with national libraries for the acquisition of data from national bibliographies (Lorenz 1972, 553–58). Using mechanisms such as these, large research collections on regions such as Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe have been built up in the Library of Congress and in major US universities. The scale of the programmes and the resulting collections, running into hundreds of thousands of volumes, are those of an imperial power and far exceed what the 19th century librarians of the British Museum could have imagined. However, funding for these programmes fluctuates depending on the state of international relations. Following the end of the Cold War, area studies have been in decline in the USA. This is partly the result of a perception that the level of threat of certain competing powers had declined. For example, in October 2013 the US State Department eliminated a programme which had funded advanced language and cultural training relating to the former Soviet Union, ironically just months before Russia's annexation of the Crimea and a precipitate downturn in US relations with Russia (King 2015, 88).

In the USA a third consequence of post-war conditions was a movement for the 'internationalization' of library education. At that time internationalization was defined as "the process by which a nationalistic library school topic, an entire curriculum, or an entire school is changed into one with a significant and varied international thrust, the process whereby it is permeated with international policies, viewpoints, ideas and facts" (Carroll 1987, x). The American use of the word 'international' to mean 'foreign' can cause confusion here, as 'international education' is sometimes used to refer to the education of foreign students. Here the education of American students was intended.

Carroll, an early scholar in this field, wrote a PhD dissertation on *The development of an instrument for the evaluation of internationalism in education for librarianship* (Carroll 1970). In it she identified six possible goals of international content in US library school curricula, which included "international understanding", "advancement of knowledge" and "technical assistance" (Carroll 1970, 43–55). Another aim was to advance the objectives of US foreign policy (including the combating of communism and the strengthening of relations with the allies of the USA). Carroll's analysis reveals

some of the ambivalence inherent in international studies, particularly at the height of the Cold War. Some goals are clearly subordinated to national policy interests. Others too, may not be as altruistic or idealistic as they look. The promotion of positive attitudes, friendship and cooperativeness in the library sphere, and understanding the behaviour of librarians in other countries are laudable motives, but can also be instruments for exerting national influence in addition to promoting international understanding. It would be uncharitable, however, to ascribe all this to selfish (national) motives. Regardless of the motives of the politicians and administrators who recruit them, many library professionals give unselfishly of their time and energy in the belief that they are contributing to international understanding – idealism harnessed in the pursuit of Realpolitik.

I note in passing that more recently there has been renewed interest in the internationalization of LIS education in North America and Europe (Abdullahi, Kajberg, and Virkus 2007). In Europe it is receiving much attention as part of the project of European integration, which in higher education is manifested notably in the Bologna process (Tammaro 2006). This is part of a much broader process of Europeanization, discussed in Chapter 8.

It is no coincidence that, although international relations and international comparisons among libraries can be traced much further back, international and comparative librarianship made their appearance as distinct fields of study during the 1950s and 1960s, coinciding with the growing Cold War competition described above. The origins and development of scholarly interest in international and comparative librarianship are dealt with in Chapter 2.

1.9   Horizon 6: Global

It has become standard practice for people writing about contemporary library matters to preface statements by phrases such as "in this era of globalization" or "in our globalized world". Although globalization is often mentioned in this way, there is much less in-depth discussion of it. Globalization is a bit like neoliberalism: those in favour of it do not discuss it nearly as often as those who oppose it. The word 'globalization' was first recorded in 1930, but judging by the quotations cited in the OED[24] the current meaning of the word did not emerge until ten or twenty years later:

> The action, process, or fact of making global; *esp.* (in later use) the process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale, widely considered to be at the expense of national identity.

In his book *The Gutenberg galaxy: the making of typographic man*, Marshall McLuhan (1962) coined the term "global village" and subsequently the word 'globalization' was popularized by Theodore Levitt (1983) in an influential article in the *Harvard business review*. In the meantime it has become evident that globalization is a much more complex phenomenon than this definition suggests. Furthermore, it is a phenomenon of ancient origin. Rikowski (2005, 9–10) traced it back to the ancient

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[24] *Oxford English dictionary*, "Globalization",
http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/view/Entry/272264?redirectedFrom=Globalization#eid, accessed 2014-07-07

Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations. Tilly (2004, 13) took it back much further, arguing that "since the movement of humans out of Africa some 40,000 years ago, humanity has globalized repeatedly". He identified three phases of globalization since 1500. The third, now under way, followed the Second World War. It is characterized by a complex pattern of migration, the rise of multinational companies, the growth of international trade, and a multifaceted development of international relations and institutions which undermine the power of individual states (Tilly 2004, 13–21). Left out of this list is the impact of modern information and communications technologies (ICTs), which are bringing about a profound transformation in the information and knowledge landscape, affecting the economy, politics, business, education, culture – in fact all spheres of human activity, for we cannot exist without communicating.

Impact of globalization

Globalization is not an exclusively economic phenomenon. It has wide-ranging social and cultural ramifications, and its impact is debatable. Supporters of globalization point to benefits such as more rapid economic growth, improvements in living standards and the peaceful resolution of international political and economic tension. But these benefits are not evident everywhere. They are said to accrue to countries that "engage well with the international economy".[25] Countries that do not "engage well", whether for ideological reasons or because of economic or geographic handicaps that prevent them from taking advantage of globalization, tend to get left behind. This is emphasized by a broad anti-globalist or 'mundialist' movement that has come into prominence as a result of large and sometimes violent demonstrations at world economic summits (Engler 2007; Juris 2008). They cite a range of problems attributed to globalization, for example the heavy social and economic costs of economic restructuring required to be competitive in the world market, a growing gap in the standard of living between richest and poorest countries, environmental damage, and the erosion of national cultures and languages (Haynes 2008, 54–59).

Globalization is multidimensional, embracing not only the commercial and economic domain emphasized by the OED, but also political, social, cultural, technological and environmental domains (Tilly 2004; Rikowski 2005; Smith 2005). Its impact in these domains – positive or negative – is contested, particularly in developing countries (Rist 1997; Haynes 2008; Nederveen Pieterse 2010). In our field the impact of globalization, amplified by modern information and communications technologies, on the flow of information and access to knowledge is particularly relevant. The perceived global dominance of mass media by multinational corporations – especially those based in the USA – is seen as threatening the world's cultural and linguistic diversity, generating fears that the cultures of smaller countries and cultural groups will be diluted or swamped (Wang 1997; Lukose 2008), and that languages spoken by smaller groups will become extinct. But language extinction, which is ongoing, is a complex phenomenon and cannot be blamed entirely on globalization (Mufwene 2002; Amano et al. 2014). The grave reservations of development theorists (e.g. Rist 1997, 211–37; Haynes 2008, 41–64; Nederveen Pieterse 2010, 36–53) and fears of economic and cultural hegemony and homogenization (westernization or Americanization) expressed by scholars from the

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[25] Ecoglobe, "Globalisation background", http://www.ecoglobe.org/economics/e/globa-bg.htm, accessed 2015-11-18

Third World such as Abdul Razak (2011), are not universally shared. In the study of the American-initiated Paris Library School, referred to earlier, Witt (2014, 509–10), following Appadurai (1996), argued that globalization does not necessarily lead to Americanization or cultural homogenization. Instead, hybridization may occur, giving rise to new, unexpected outcomes. Here I outline some aspects of the political-economic impact of globalization on the nation state which are of particular relevance to international librarianship. More attention is paid to various aspects of globalization in later chapters.

In many areas of modern life we are far more internationally connected than in the past. 'Territoriality' – where we are located geographically – counts for less too, and this has led to changes in thinking and behaviour (Haynes 2008, 55). There are many issues, such as the pollution of the environment, drug smuggling, flows of political and economic refugees, communicable diseases, terrorism, and cross-border information flows, which cannot be dealt with by individual governments. The reality is further that intergovernmental organizations – which are constituted by nation states – are also unable to deal with many of them. In response to domestic concerns nation states more readily block solutions than craft them. The tardiness of the 'international community' to deal decisively with global warming is a case in point and illustrates the limitations of the nation-state system in a globalizing world. This does not mean, of course, that the nation state will soon disappear, but rather that its power is reduced relative to supranational and non-state actors. Also, recent events, such as the "Brexit" referendum in the UK and the candidacy of Mr Trump in the 2016 presidential election, show that large numbers of citizens even in highly developed countries have taken little note of globalization and still fervently adhere to a belief in national sovereignty.

In (generally leftist) political-economic analyses the erosion of the power and significance of the nation state (Rikowski 2005, 12–13) and the "hollowing out of the state" (Smith 2005, 93) are mostly attributed to the growing power of multinational corporations and institutions such as the World Bank which enforce neoliberal economic policies. Rist, a development theorist, sees globalization rhetoric as a means of attacking the state in order to deregulate and privatize the economy along neoliberal lines, leading to "dismemberment of social policies" previously entrusted to the state, so that the market mechanisms, so it is thought, can be left to bring about prosperity (Rist 1997, 223–24). He points to the weakening of the state's control of the economy, for example, reduction of the state's ability to control the creation of money, interest rates and exchange rates, which are the "fundamental levers" of economic policy. Globalization has enabled big transnational corporations to "break loose from their nation-state of origin" (Rist 1997, 224). They can invest capital where most profits can be made, often shifting to countries with weak labour legislation, where labour is cheap and easily exploited.

The transformation wrought by modern ICTs in the world's information infrastructure and information relations has contributed to the concerns outlined above. Modern ICTs allow information to be carried swiftly and unobtrusively across national boundaries, but while information can flow faster and more freely, it is also recognized as the raw material for the new economy, as a key resource for competitiveness, and as a valuable asset for those who own and can control it. Thus the information economy is characterized by a number of trends of particular relevance to our profession. Two of these, dematerialization and commodification, are intimately interwoven with globalization.

Dematerialization

By allowing information to be unbundled from its original physical carriers, modern ICTs bring about a shift from the economics of things to the economics of information.

> When information is carried by things – by a salesperson or by a piece of direct mail, for example – it goes where the things go and no further. It is constrained to follow the linear flow of the physical value chain. But once anyone is connected electronically information can travel by itself…what is truly revolutionary about the explosion in connectivity is the possibility it offers to unbundle information from its physical carrier" (P. B. Evans and Wurster 1997, 73).

This has made possible what Clarke (2003, 1) has called a weightless and dematerialized economy. A somewhat frightening example of dematerialization is the world-wide economic crisis that originated in problems in the US sub-prime mortgage market when US house prices peaked in mid-2006. American banks had been giving large loans to home-buyers who had little or no chance of repaying them. Bonds were repackaged and sold on to other financial institutions and new financial instruments called 'special investment vehicles' were devised (Robinson 2007). These dematerialized assets were essentially information transmitted from computer to computer in worldwide networks, flowing around the world and ultimately affecting institutions and individuals who had no inkling that they were exposed to the risks of sub-prime mortgage loans in Stockton, California or Cleveland, Ohio. They also triggered the collapse of many other financial institutions whose stability relied on a combination of dematerialized assets and confidence.

Dematerialization affects libraries more directly. Personal diaries and photo albums are being replaced by ephemeral virtual equivalents on the Internet, for example using social media. A great deal of this content, which reflects currents and movements in society, is at risk. Web content is ephemeral. It can be moved from one server to another, and from one country to another, with a few clicks of a mouse. Hence international approaches are needed to ensure its preservation (UNESCO 2003; UNESCO 2013; Oury, Steinke, and Jones 2012; UNESCO Information for All Programme 2011). Turning our attention to more traditional content we note that, like investment bankers, librarians have been investing heavily in dematerialized assets. Increasingly libraries are replacing print-on-paper journal subscriptions and the acquisition of printed books by the signing of licensing deals. These deals involve dematerialized information, the right to access content in the form of streams of electrons, for display on computer screens. The management of digital resources, and especially digital preservation, are major challenges to our profession internationally. And the problem really is international, since the notion of a country of publication, a cornerstone of legal deposit, national bibliographic control, as well as universal bibliographic control and universal availability of publications, has become less clear-cut.

Dematerialization of library collections is not restricted to scholarly, technical and reference material. The growth of e-book sales have led to concerns about the survival of bookstores and libraries themselves. Just like music and video clips, books are being be sold virtually on the Internet. People download them online, either for payment or as pirated copies. They may no longer come to libraries in large numbers to borrow books. Increasingly the question is voiced: will libraries still be needed now that "everything is available on the Internet". This has alarmed librarians and given rise to much

discussion in professional blogs and magazines (e.g. Darnton 2016; Herring 2001; Lankes 2014). News media regularly cover stories of conventional school or college libraries being phased out or replaced by virtual libraries (e.g. Abel 2009), the physical books and journals being replaced by networked electronic resources. To embattled administrators in poor countries and communities this may look like a good idea. And indeed, some of these digitisation projects are effectively making available to the developing countries material that was swept up into the 'imperial' collections of the colonial powers. However, digitization of collections from developing countries also involves some political and ideological complications (Lor and Britz 2012). Even in wealthy countries and communities, not everyone has Internet access; by no means all materials on the Internet can be accessed free of charge, and libraries do much more than dispensing access to information. Sole reliance on the Internet holds the risk of increasing dependence on multinational media corporations, eroding cultural diversity, impoverishing communities intellectually and spiritually, isolating marginalized groups, and widening the gap between rich and poor.

Commodification[26]

It is generally accepted that information (or rather knowledge) is the dominant strategic resource of the information economy, comparable to land in the agricultural era and to capital in the industrial era. Already in 1976 Daniel Bell (1976) announced the coming of Post-Industrial Society, and in 1983, Stonier (1983, 8) famously argued that "information has upstaged, land, labour and capital as the most important input into modern production systems". This means that knowledge has commercial value and gives rise to competition (Britz, Lor, and Bothma 2006). It has become a commodity. This is reflected in changes taking place in publishing. Modern ICTs enable publishers to exploit a "long tail" (C. Anderson 2002) of content that they produced over a long period of time. Very small sales volumes can still be profitable if the content is stored and distributed digitally. This applies not only to born-digital content, but also to analogue content that is subsequently digitized. Thus the Internet makes it possible to continue exploiting the content profitably for much longer. One effect of this is the unbundling of journals. In many cases the saleable unit is no longer the journal title, but the individual article. Another effect is a greater emphasis, often under the guise of combating piracy, on locking up information content – more kinds of information content, for longer periods than ever before – and dismantling the statutory limitations and exceptions that make fair use possible free of charge for scholars, students and libraries (Gross 2006).

There is also a counter-trend, a remarkable altruism (Ros-Galvez and Rosa-Garcia 2015) and a culture of sharing, which is exemplified by the open source model of software development, the Wikipedia (e.g. B. K. Johnson 2008), and last but not least, the open access movement, which has attracted much attention and wide support from many quarters, including governments, grant-making bodies, and professional organizations (Lor 2007a).

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[26] Both 'commodification' and 'commoditization' are found in current dictionaries. The latter appear to be gaining, but I prefer 'commodification' because the suffix, derived from Latin *facere*, to make, imparts the meaning 'to make a commodity of something'.

At the international level the commodification of information has had a profound effect on Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) regimes as well as on the ability of developing nations to gain access to and benefit from information. Since the mid-1990s the economic, political and ethical aspects of the international flow of information, particularly between developed countries and developing countries, have emerged as an important theme in LIS. The gap between rich and poor countries is often referred to as the "digital divide". However, the divide is not merely digital, as it has significant political, legal and economic dimensions (UNESCO 2005, 29–31). The rich nations, more particularly the USA and the European Union (EU), have taken the lead in setting international standards to ensure that the interests of IPR owners are better protected. There is a strong drive to ensure that their interests are also protected in the developing countries (Rikowski 2005). A "carrot and stick" approach is being used to force developing countries to tighten restrictions on the use of intellectual property. The "stick" is the threat of economic sanctions, and the "carrot" is admission to free trade agreements (FTAs). In the latter case the snag is that developing countries may be required to adhere to more stringent requirements than those that apply in the internal market of the dominant partner (Nicholson 2006). The result is that these developing nations fail to incorporate in their legislation all the available limitations and exceptions that are needed to open up access to knowledge for their populations (Consumers International 2006). Free trade is not necessarily fair trade.

Globalization actors are by no means limited to the private sector. The period following WW2 has also been characterized by the rise of international IGOs, such as UNESCO, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), and the World Trade Organization (WTO), to mention three that are of particular relevance to LIS. This phenomenon has been accompanied by a very significant growth in global (or transnational) civil society, consisting of both domestic and international NGOs and other non-governmental groups, which have gained increasing influence in world summits and other international deliberative meetings.

Since the mid-1990s the economic, political and ethical aspects of the international flow of information,, particularly between developed countries and developing countries, have emerged as an important theme. The gap between rich and poor countries is often referred to as the "digital divide". However, the divide is not merely digital, as it has significant political, legal and economic dimensions (UNESCO 2005, 29–31).

Librarians have become increasingly aware of the impact on their institutions and users of decisions on intellectual property and related matters that are taken at international forums such as the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), the WTO and WIPO, and in multilateral or bilateral trade agreements between countries (Britz, Lor, and Bothma 2006; Lor 2008). Since the development of a global intellectual property regime through the regulatory actions of WIPO and the WTO has a major impact on the ability of librarians and information workers to serve their users, it is not surprising that international LIS organizations such as IFLA and EBLIDA (European Bureau of Library, Information and Documentation Associations) are actively involved as part of global civil society in advocacy at WIPO and elsewhere (Prentice 1997; Häggström 2004; Lor 2007b). IFLA's advocacy in the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)[27] that were formulated to succeed to the

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[27] IFLA, "Toolkit: libraries and the UN post-2015 development agenda", http://www.ifla.org/publications/toolkit--libraries-and-the-un-post-2015-development-agenda, accessed 2016-06-22.

millennium development goals (MDGs) is further evidence of such engagement in global processes, where global civil society engages with the formal structures of the nation-state system.

Globalization and resource discovery

With the coming of the Internet, major global players such Google, Amazon and Wikipedia have come to occupy dominant positions in the dissemination of information, displacing or overshadowing local and national systems. This is illustrated by what has happened to the centuries-old preoccupation of librarianship with universal bibliographic control and (more recently) with universal access to publications. As mentioned earlier, IFLA, with support from UNESCO, devoted much energy to these projects, which emphasized national building blocks such as national bibliographies, union catalogues, inter-library lending schemes and repositories. Today, however, OCLC's WorldCat constitutes a *de facto* global bibliography and union catalogue. In 2016 OCL reported holding over 375 million bibliographic entries and over 2,385 million holdings[28] representing over 72,000 libraries in 170 countries. Every four seconds a request is filled through its resource sharing facility.[29]

Not surprisingly, elements of national information infrastructures are being absorbed into this global player. In the Netherlands, OCLC gradually acquired ownership of Pica, a Dutch bibliographic utility which also provided services in other West European countries. Pica was fully absorbed into OCLC in 2007.[30]

The case of South Africa, where OCLC has also taken over local functions, serves as a good example of the world-wide shift from national to global systems of bibliographic control and access. When it was founded in 1983, South Africa's national bibliographic utility, SABINET, took over the existing national union catalogues (*S A joint catalogue of monographs* and *Periodicals in Southern African libraries*) that had been maintained by the State Library, and incorporated them in the SACat bibliographic database. In 1995 SABINET became a partner of OCLC. Today, along with a number of other databases, the *South African national bibliography* is part of SABINET's SACat Plus[31] and is also available in WorldCat. It is no longer published in print. In 2000 the South African libraries that were members of SABINET started cataloguing on OCLC's WorldCat.[32] In effect South Africa's national union catalogue and national bibliography still exist, but virtually, as subsets of a global database system. From a management perspective this makes good economic sense, but although OCLC has created a global governance structure which includes regional councils (Jordan 2012), I have some disquiet about the USA's global bibliographic hegemony.

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[28] OCLC, "WorldCat statistics", https://www.oclc.org/en-europe/publications/nextspace/articles/issue24/worldcatstatistics.html, accessed 2016-06-22.

[29] OCLC, "WorldCat facts and statistics", http://oclc.org/worldcat/catalog.en.html, accessed 2014-07-13.

[30] Wikipedia, "OCLC PICA", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/OCLC_PICA, accessed 2016-06-29.

[31] SABINET, "SACat Plus", http://cdn.sabinet.co.za/documents/sacatplus.pdf, accessed 2016-06-22.

[32] OCLC, "OCLC's WorldCat Local to transform resource discovery and delivery in South African libraries", http://www.oclc.org/news/releases/2011/201162.en.html, accessed 2016-06-22.

The global dominance of US-based systems has also had an effect on international bibliographic standardization. IFLA's UNIMARC format, however well-adapted it may be to international use, has not taken off universally. In South Africa and other countries national MARC variants were scrapped in favour of USMARC (now MARC21). Similarly the Dewey decimal classification and Library of Congress classification systems are the dominant classification systems worldwide, in spite of being arguably less elegant and flexible than UDC. In part changed approaches to resource discovery in networked digital environments have contributed to this, but there has been a shift to industry standards, which are not necessarily superior, but are chosen because of their large (global) user bases. Other examples of this trend are seen in Western Europe and the former Soviet sphere of control in Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia, dealt with in Chapter 8.

The absorption of national systems of bibliographic control into the global system constituted by OCLC can be seen as fulfilling a centuries-old ideal of universal bibliographic control – at least at the level of books and similar media. At the level of journal articles and other smaller bibliographical units, and down to content level, global behemoths of the Internet such as Google and Amazon provide instant global access on a scale Otlet and his generation could hardly have dreamt of – not only to bibliographic descriptions but increasingly to the full text of the materials themselves. The websites of individual publishers also contribute to global access, although paywalls requiring amounts of $30 to $50 per article or chapter put these materials tantalizingly beyond the reach of less affluent scholars and students, especially in developing and emerging countries. This raises questions of a political-economic nature.

Other impacts of globalization on LIS

In addition to IPR issues, issues of freedom of access to information and freedom of expression (Byrne 2007), and vexed questions of tolerance in multi-cultural environments have come to prominence at the international level as a consequence of increasing globalization (Sturges 2006).

Much more evidence of the impact of globalization on LIS can be cited. The globalization of higher education has had various impacts on academic libraries. Increasingly, the literature reflects the challenges faced by these libraries in serving campuses located in more than one country or collaborating with partners in other countries (Hammond 2009; Sharif and Demers 2013). The education of librarians is also affected. While 'internationalization' of LIS education is nothing new, we are seeing more far-reaching trans-border programmes, especially in Europe, which go well beyond the traditional 'semester abroad' or the earning of a few credits at a foreign university (Abdullahi, Kajberg, and Virkus 2007; I. M. Johnson 2013; Tammaro 2014).

The global movement of educated individuals is very evident in our profession, where it is no longer unusual for scholars to have worked in a number of regions and to hold concurrent positions in library schools in more than one country. The 'brain drain' from developing to developed countries is also turning out to be a more complex phenomenon than was initially thought, as the individuals concerned not only contribute to scholarship in the First World institutions they have joined but also contribute to development in their countries of origin as mentors, consultants and visiting professors (Economist 2011; UNCTAD 2012).

Most of the other globalization phenomena also affect libraries whether directly or indirectly. Three examples: Global economic trends cause currency fluctuations and affect the affordability in the developing world of scholarly literature produced in developing countries. The threat of global terrorism may lead to the adoption of legislation which restricts privacy and freedom of expression. Large-scale migration of refugees from poor countries creates new challenges in public and school libraries in destination countries.

1.10   Conclusion

The six "horizons" discussed in this chapter represent an attempt to develop a periodization of the activities to which we refer as "international". Although there is a general chronological progression and certain horizons can be seen as dominant during given periods, they overlap and recur. This is particularly evident during the period since around 1850, where national, imperial and international horizons co-occur, creating considerable ambiguity. A rough visualization, which admittedly oversimplifies, is offered in FIGURE 1.2.
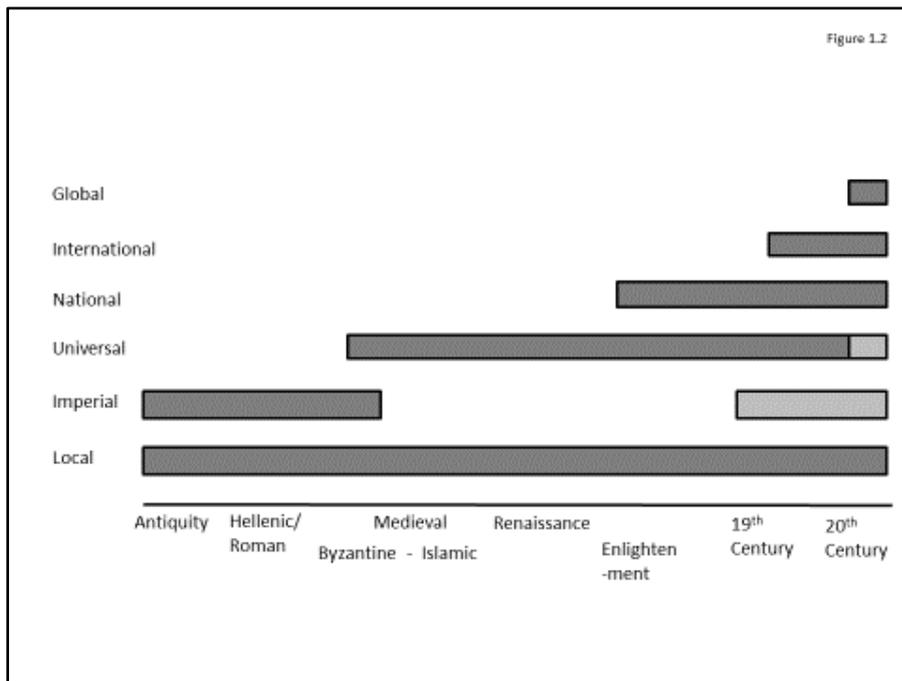

FIGURE 1.2: Simplified schematic time-line of the six horizons

Any analysis of the concept 'international' inevitably strikes, just below the surface, the concept 'national'. The very word 'international' embodies a contradiction between national interests and those common to, shared with, or above the interests of individual nation states.

The international horizon has dominated our profession for the best part of the twentieth century. Closer scrutiny shows that the period starting around 1850 was characterized by an ambivalence about internationalism – an ambivalence also reflected in the emerging international librarianship and documentation. Here terms such as 'world', 'universal' and 'international' were being used cheek by jowl and quasi interchangeably, for example in the names of the institutions and tools being created by Otlet: Coblans (1974, 30) quotes Donker Duyvis as referring to the Mundaneum as a "*centre à la fois international, mondial et universel*".[33] More specifically, the words 'international' and 'internationalism' embody a certain dualism: on the one hand, a realist *polity internationalism*, which accepts the status quo and tries to make the states system work; on the other an idealistic, humanistic *community internationalism*, which places a higher value on the bonds between human beings, bonds that transcend national borders. This internationalism can be seen as deriving from an older tradition of universalism.

Throughout history, libraries have been creations of their times, shaped by the cultural, social and political conditions which also determined what I have called their horizons – their spatial and cultural reach and intellectual scope. Globalization is giving our profession a new horizon, and with its own, fascinating contradictions and stresses. The question that arises is whether a corresponding development is taking place in the scholarly study of global library and information work. This is dealt with in Chapter 2.

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[33] "A centre at the same time international, world[-wide] and universal"

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