A Survey of Czech and U.S. Parliamentary Libraries

“The key to an effective legislature is the knowledge and information that permit it both to play an active role in the policymaking process and to make reasoned choices for society on specific policy issues” (Robinson 815).

The Spectrum of Parliamentary Libraries and their Services

The quality and quantity of Parliamentary Library holdings and services available around the world varies greatly. Many factors may contribute to this: funding, political leanings, corruption, general education levels amongst citizens, tradition, and instability of political regimes within the nation. Low numbers of holdings often correspond to equally low research services. Therefore, unfortunately, poor resources in one area are not compensated for by rich resources in another (Miller, Pelizzo, and Stapenhurst v).

According to paperwork filed with the German Bundestag’s World Directory of Parliamentary Libraries, the spectrum runs from the United State’s Library of Congress at 110 million books, 75,000 periodical subscriptions (The Library of Congress’ website claims they add 11,000 items a day), and 767 staff members (this may be only in one division of the library dedicated specifically to serving Congressional needs), to Burundi, whose parliamentary library has only 50 books, 12 periodical subscriptions, and 2 staff members. The Czech Republic lies between the two, with 200,000 items,

In addition to the inconsistencies in collection and services within libraries, there are also differences in the mandates and hierarchical structures of the libraries. Moreover, some Parliaments have both libraries and institutes that serve different purposes in relation to the Parliament--the Library serving the collection, classification, and access needs and the Institute providing research and more-in-depth analysis and reports to the Parliament--while others may not have a research arm available. Regardless of size or structure, as Miller, Pelizzo, and Stapenhurst state, the goal of any Parliamentary library or institute is to find collect, synthesize, and collate unbiased information into a usable format and into understandable language and terms that legislatures might easily grasp (4).

It is then incumbent on the librarian to make and keep access to this information easy, unhindered by special interest groups, and delivered in a nonpartisan manner. This includes both a “push” and a “pull” mode of dissemination. Ideally, librarians or institute researchers will proactively offer services such as Search Alerts, standing orders on relevant resources, and clipping services in an information “push” effort. Requested research and requests from legislatures for specific resource acquisitions would be examples of an information “pull” effort- the transaction was initiated by the user, rather than the institution. Additionally, according to Miller, Pelizo, and Stapenhurst, it is imperative that Parliamentary librarians also train their legislatures and the legislature’s staff members not only in using the facilities, but also in effectively using the information they find or are given. Not surprisingly, those legislatures served
by underfunded libraries may have the greatest need for the training but be lacking in
the means to effectively train. Without both the free accessibility to the information and
the knowledge of how to use the information in performing their legislative duties,
democracy may flounder in developing countries (7).

**Purpose of Parliamentary and Congressional Libraries and Research Services**

According to Stephen Frantzich, Congress and Parliamentary officials have a
threefold mission in the fulfillment of their duties. They must first, represent and
communicate with their constituents; second, participate in enacting legislation; third,
oversee the process of government and the executive branch (256). In order to perform
these duties effectively, accurate, timely, and properly accessible information is needed.
This includes four types of information:

- Congress as a whole and individual congressmen need information to
  coordinate and plan their work schedule and that of their staffs. As a
decision making body, Congress needs to track legislative activity and
record aggregate and individual voting behavior. Individual congressmen
need to track constituent demands, improve their efficiency in dealing with
them, and develop means for following up constituent interests in both the
legislative and non-legislative realms. Congressmen in their legislative role
need improved information for monitoring problems, developing solutions,
predicting consequences, and facilitating influence strategies. In its role of
overseeing the bureaucracy, Congress needs to monitor the success of
ongoing programs and to identify areas of weakness…Ideally, [they] ought
to have information that is complete, accurate, timely, relevant and at times confidential. (256-257)

There are, of course, different levels at which varying parliaments function. Miller, Pelizzo, and Stapenhurst synthesize Nelson Polsby’s definition of legislative bodies as a spectrum—from the rubber stamp legislature, to the emerging legislature, to the informed legislature, and finally to the transformative legislature (3). At the informed and transformative levels, legislative members will need access to more and more accurate information with an added need for deep unbiased analysis and services provided by skilled library personnel. This paper will assume that both the United States Congress and the Czech Parliament view their roles as being that of transformative legislatures. By Miller, Pelizzo, and Stapenhurst’s definition, this means they have larger resource needs but provide the same types of service that an informed legislative library would provide: reference, reports, tracking legislative action, etc.

The United States Library of Congress and the Czech Parliamentary Library were founded within 50 years of one another. Although some of their internal structures and directives differ, their goals are essentially the same: provide authoritative, reputable, sources of information to their respective legislatures as an integral component of the democratic process. In order to understand and grasp the enormity of this endeavor, the history, collection, access, users, and research aspects of these libraries will studied.

The United States Library of Congress: A History

As our country was in its earliest phases and seeking to establish itself as a legitimate sovereign nation upon the world stage, projecting an image of intelligence and orderliness was imperative. While the world saw the colonies as populated with
“frontiersmen”, the Founding Fathers saw themselves as intelligent, thoughtful statesmen. In order to accomplish the political goal of a democratic republic ruled by the people, for the people, representatives would have to make use of all philosophy, legislative history, and world economic information available. In 1800, $5,000 was appropriated to purchase books to be used by Congress to allow for informed decision-making. This original purchase brought 740 books and 3 maps into the Capitol (Cole “Library of Congress, 1800-1992”).

Though it started out as a legislative library, a law signed by President Jefferson extended privileges to both the executive and judiciary branches. Jefferson’s influence on the library would continue to shape its collections and its character. When the British burned the Capitol in the War of 1812 and, consequently, the new Library’s 3,000 books, Jefferson offered to sell his personal book collection to the government to reestablish a new Library of Congress. Jefferson was a very well read man on a wide variety of topics. His personal collection represented those interests well. As the basis for the new library, the 6,437 volumes helped to shift the focus and collection development of the Library from the narrower aim of serving Congress in all things legal and political, to a broader, more holistic educational focus for the fledgling democracy. It was Jefferson’s personal philosophy that democracy was dependent on knowledge—broad knowledge—which became the collection development policy from thenceforth (Cole “The Collections”).

Under the direction of Ainsworth Rand Spofford, who served as Librarian from 1865-1897, the Library’s collection and services expanded greatly. It was his belief (and a paraphrasing of Thomas Jefferson before him), that “there is almost no work,
within the vast range of literature and science, which may not at some time prove useful to the legislature of a great nation… a Republic which rests upon the popular intelligence” (“The Government Library at Washington”).

The later history of the Library was not without tribulation--additional fires, space shortages, dwindling personnel and acquisitions during the Civil War-- all had an impact. Despite this, the Library expanded its collections and its services to make it a truly magnificent institution in the lives of Americans and others around the world. In 1870, The Copyright Act established an enforceable legal deposit for two copies of “every book, pamphlet, map, print, photograph, and piece of music registered for copyright in the United States” (The Library of Congress 2). The collection currently stands at 155 million printed items in 470 languages, including a vellum Gutenberg Bible and the Magna Carta. In addition, there are “3.4 million recordings, 13.6 million photographs, 5.4 million maps, 6.5 million pieces of sheet music, and 68 million manuscripts” (“Fascinating Facts”). The topics most robustly represented in the collection are: “American history, politics, and literature; music; geography; law and particularly foreign law; economics; genealogy and U.S. local history; U.S. public documents; publications of learned societies from around the world; the history of science; libraries and librarianship; and bibliography in all subjects” (Cole “Collections”).

Because the scope of the Library stretches far beyond its initial mandate to act as a legislative library, 3,312 permanent staff members work in the six major divisions of the Library (“General information”). Those divisions are: The Office of the Librarian, The National Library, The Law Library, Library Services, The Congressional Research Service, The Copyright Office, Office of Support Operations, and The Office of Strategic
Initiatives. Within each of these divisions are services which include the provision of materials to the blind and physically handicapped, the free downloading of MARC records to libraries across the world, copyright licensing, programs and resources for k-12 teachers, oral history archives, and public lending in its reading rooms, just to name a few (“Library’s Organizational Chart”).

The vision for a comprehensive legislative library, a national library that serves the American public, and a world-renowned library that collects and preserves the intelligence and art of the ages, have been made manifest in our Library of Congress. Though budgets and politics may intervene on occasion, and a new digital world creates new challenges and opportunities, the Library is a monument to knowledge and perseverance.

**Users**

Although the original intent and appropriation of funds was to create a legislative library for use by Congress, several moves throughout history broadened the scope and access of the Library until it has become our de facto National Library. In 1878, Librarian Spofford wrote,

> It would be neither safe nor expedient to make of this national collection a circulating library; but it might prove of incalculable benefit to the public intelligence, and even tend to the improvement of the government service, were these rich stores of information thrown freely open during the evening hours for the use and reference of all. (“The Government Library at Washington”)
Neither expedient, safe, nor easy, but *good*, this vision has made our Library of Congress what it is today. From Congress to the President and Vice President, then to the Judicial branch, and finally, to the public at large, today, anyone over the age of 16 may request and use library materials. Although nothing circulates outside of the library, readers may use one of several reading rooms available. Annually, more than 1.7 million people come to the Library of Congress. This includes readers as well as tourists and schoolchildren (“FAQ”).

To request a book to read in the library, users can use the Computer Catalog Center to view a simplified version of the catalog. For those not in the library but interested in its holdings, the Library of Congress website is a treasure trove. A simple keyword search and more advanced search features are options. Under advanced search, Boolean operators combined with field titles such as Content Note, Series, LC Call Number, ISSN, and Credits/Performers, and Title, are all available (“Library of Congress Online Catalog”).

**Library of Congress Congressional Research Service**

In 1914, legislation established the research department of the Library of Congress under the name Legislative Reference Service (Cole). In 1970, that name was changed and this department is currently known as the Congressional Research Services (CRS), a department especially created to provide research and in-depth analysis to Congressional members in the performance of their legislative duties. At present, there are 600 employees at CRS, 400 of which are working as researchers or analysts (“Organizational Structure”). They come from many fields and by education may be information specialists, lawyers, economists, or political scientists. By
reputation, these analysts and subject specialists for the CRS are expert researchers and are at the top of their game. Their mandate is to facilitate the democratic legislative process by providing readable, non-partisan, well-informed reports, models, testimony, proposals, data, resources, and explanations of policies and proposals before the legislature and in the world arena (Congressional Research Service). In addition, they propose answers to the “what-if?” questions with which legislatures must contend (Michalowski, Jacek, and Ewa Nawrocka 25). This service is provided only to members of Congress, their staff, and members of congressional committees (Congressional Research Service). The Director of the CRS is appointed by the Librarian of Congress but the Service does have some autonomy in its structure. For instance, due to the, albeit unofficial, status of the Library as a national library for the country, its collection is vast and varied. Because of this, some sections of the five research divisions of the CRS have their own smaller, in-house departmental libraries they draw from for efficiency and availability reasons (Relyea 424). These smaller subset libraries are more easily accessible and, consequently, researchers can more quickly research and report on information needed by congress members. However, these libraries certainly may not have all that could ever be needed and so the larger Library of Congress collection is still drawn upon. In addition, information researchers also turn to online sources for more information.

With over 700,000 requests for information each year, the staff at CRS is busy answering phone calls, writing emails, and publishing printed reports that result in over 1million products for Congress each year (“General Information”; Congressional Research Service). Unfortunately, for the public seeking information for themselves on
policies, or for those who want transparency in government, those researched answers
provided to Congress are not catalogued, nor are they guaranteed to be made publicly
available. In fact, those employed by CRS are legally bound not to release reports
directly to the public. While individual members of the public are at liberty to request
specific reports from their congressional representatives, there is no requirement that
representatives provide the report requested. However, some reports are available
through a variety of other sources, some of which have been leaked or made public by
congressional representatives, some of which Congress has approved for public
distribution (Relyea 426-427). Of those that were approved for release, some are
available for subscription-based purchase through Proquest's Congressional database.
Those leaked to the public unofficially are available from Wikileaks, which acquired
6,780 reports in 2009, and at sites such as FAS <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/> and
OpenCRS <https://opencrs.com/> (“Change you can download: a billion in secret
Congressional reports”). Because these reports are not cataloged, there is no way for
the public to know for sure what proportion of the total these accessible reports
represent. Proponents of open government, including John McCain and Patrick Leahy
have lobbied for CRS reports to be made public. Leahy has stated, "The Library of
Congress is a national treasure. The public deserves ready access to the reports it
prepares for Congress, and easy online retrieval is the obvious answer. We need to
keep moving toward that goal" (Williamson). Unfortunately, legislation that would make
all reports openly available has been voted down or has stalled several times. In 2000,
when the internet was still relatively “new” to a large percentage of the public, David
Corn of Wired Magazine called the lack of access to government documents “the
biggest Congressional scandal of the digital age” (Corn). Thirteen years later, in an era of burgeoning open access and the Freedom of Information Act, it is perhaps only a matter of time before support and demand for access to these documents sways legislation.

**Access to Parliamentary Papers**

While the reports created by CRS from which they learn and vote are not fully accessible to the public, the results of Congress’ votes, legislation, is. Congress.gov is the United States’ current online iteration for accessing legislative documents from the 2001 Congress to the present. This is a beta site at the moment-- a more robust platform than the previous Thomas.gov site--which better serves the user needs of the American public (“About Congress.gov”). All of the information on Thomas.gov will eventually be migrated over to the Congress.gov site and users will be able to search thoroughly using a very simple search box. A dropdown menu allows users to choose from “Legislation,” “Member Profiles,” or “Congressional Record”. On the results page, users may use facets such as “Political Party,” Legislation Type,” and “Legislation Source,” on the left to refine their results. In addition, there are some highlighted collections such as “Introduced Bills” and “Most Viewed Bills” ("Congress.gov"). At present, this is a much simpler search feature than that on Thomas.gov.

Another interesting feature of this new website is a section titled “The Legislative Process.” It is intended as an educational platform to teach the public about the process that bills must go through to become law. In keeping with the Library of Congress’ goal to be a knowledge resource to the public as well as the Congress, these short videos take the user through committees, calendaring, the issues of solving
differences, and more (“The Legislative Process”). This entire Congress.gov site, as well as Thomas.gov, are produced and hosted by the Library of Congress.

The Czech Parliamentary Library: A History

The Czech people are a highly literate people. When the first president of the newly formed Czechoslovakia, T.G. Masaryk, stated, “a nation was only as strong as its knowledge,” that culture was already established (Vlcek 8). Medieval books and manuscripts collected and treasured in monasteries and private collections across the country testify to this. The Czech Republic Parliamentary Library, which celebrated its 150th anniversary in 2008, is no exception (the official title of the library has changed several times throughout its short history due to political upheavals. It will, however, be referred to by its current name throughout this paper). While the Library is relatively young in a country that boasts so many historic treasures, its holdings consist of legal documents from the 15th century to contemporary parliamentaria (Sosna 7). The collection started out as the library of the Land Commission and Czech Land Diet (9) in the 1850’s and it is hypothesized that it grew out of donations and items purchased as they were needed, to settle legal or legislative issues. The disciplines represented in the collection include national economy, financial science, trade, crafts and industry, mining, spiritual affairs, maps, cultural events, military, dictionaries, church handbooks, and many more (10). By the end of WWI, the collection had grown to 13,000 volumes, from approximately 2,060 volumes in 1875. In 2011, 180,000 volumes were recorded. In addition to that, the Library is a repository for United Nations publications (“Parliamentary Library of the Czech Republic”).
In the earlier days, a form of ILL was also used to meet demand for books not held in the library. The Librarian could borrow volumes from libraries around Czechoslovakia based on an author/book catalog available to Parliamentary Librarians (Sosna 12). Additionally, exchange occurred with libraries outside the country by agreement in the Brussels Convention of 1886, also known as the Convention for the International Exchange of Official Documents, Scientific and Literary Publications. Italy, Poland, Uruguay, and Switzerland, as well as others, entered into this agreement. Most of this borrowing consisted of non-circulating use of materials—materials could only rarely be taken home by legislators. Instead, they were used and read in the library, itself. Currently, many items do circulate and loan periods vary from two weeks to 400 days ("Library Regulations").
Unlike the Library of Congress, the Parliamentary Library is not the national library of the Czech Republic, and was not intended to be, at its inception. This distinction allows the Library to collect in a more precise manner those documents that will most strictly serve the legislative process. In 1935, legal deposit was mandated for periodicals chosen by the librarian (Sosna 12). The specific choice of which periodicals to collect is typically determined by tradition and demand (Sosna “Czech Parliamentary Library”). Moreover, currently, lists of book titles to be published in the Czech Republic are given to the Parliamentary Library and the Librarian has the option of requesting a
free copy of any book that may be needed or wanted for the collection (Sosna “Czech Parliamentary Library”).

The history of the library has not always been thriving and robust. Under Communism, attitudes and policies toward the free exchange of information and an informed legislature were more of the “rubber stamp” variety. Acquisitions stalled and services decreased. Luckily, the Library was spared the gutting of 140,000 “prohibited” volumes through negotiations that made it, instead, a depository for all literature that was considered offensive by the Communist Party. In total, only 536 books were lost, those being on the Bolshevik Revolution and other problems of the then current USSR (Sosna19). After the fall of Communism, the library, which became increasingly closed off from the public, was in relatively good shape in terms of its historical collection and its facilities. It was, however, completely lacking in basic newer technologies (fax machine, copy machine, PC) needed to serve an authentic democratic Parliament. With the help of several other Parliaments, including the Library of Congress and the German Bundestag, the Czech Parliamentary Library was aided in its goals of being brought up to date both technologically and informationally. In addition, the latest and best professional practices were reviewed and implemented (Kohl 180). Progress has been quick technologically, and professional practices reflected in Sosna’s writings indicate a wonderful recovery from the contracted practices under non democratic regimes.

**Users of the Collection**

Given its status as a Parliamentary Library, the users of the collection for its first 143 years were exclusively governmental authorities; in 2001, The Library Act changed
that. This Act directed that the library be open to the public, as well. Lending privileges vary according to patron type (those within the legislative body of government are labeled ‘internal’ and they may check materials out of the library; those outside are labeled ‘external’ and may only view materials in the library) and type of material; maximum amounts out by any one patron type are 25 items. Older books and documents, newspapers, videos, and reference items do not circulate ("Library Regulations").

The Library has a three-fold mission in service to all of these users.

- Loan services of library materials, including acquiring ILL requests
- Copy services of library materials
- Reference Services including training on ILS and databases, resources available in other libraries, creating libguides for research, and bibliographic services ("Library Regulations").

Czech Library Collection and Access to Services

The catalog of the Czech Parliamentary Library is available in several formats. Most accessible is the online catalog, which represents the monograph holdings of the library from 1969 to the present day. Periodical holdings have digital records from 1990, onwards. Search features include copyright information, publisher data, ISSN, ISBN, Author name, Edition, Year of Publication, and more. Further, results can be limited by language, document type, publication year, and country of issue. For older items, a card catalog exists that is in the process of retro-conversion. In the meantime, library workers digitally scanned cards from the catalog and these are available for browsing by alphabet ("Catalogs"). The link to the catalog is available on the Czech

**Online Access to Parliamentary Papers**

In 1995, The Digital Library “Czech Parliament” was established to provide online access to all proceedings, including “all parliamentary prints (i.e. bills, including explanatory reports and resolutions), shorthand reports (i.e. verbatim records of any parliamentary business and voting) and other *parliamentaria* stemming from 1861 to the present” (Malackova and Sosna 251). In 2002, Slovakia joined the effort as a way to collaborate and make efficient use of documents shared by both countries relating to their history together. Three eras of Czech and Slovak parliamentary history are covered:

- The dealings of the Czech and Slovak deputies between 1848 and 1914.
- The activities between 1918 and 1992, when the Republic of Czechoslovakia consisted of two joint legislative republics.
- The dealings of the individual legislative bodies in their respective Czech and Slovak Republics from 1993 to date (254-255).

At the time of Slovakia’s joining, the digital library was known as The Joint Czech and Slovak Digital Parliamentary. Although the Library’s original authorization was as an internal source of information for the members of the Parliament, digitizing and giving the public access to the products of parliament has proven useful in many ways. Namely, it has given a positive image to the library and its functions by making its
purpose known to a wider audience. Previously, the public had been unaware of many of the Parliamentary Library’s activities. By making documents public and easily accessible, the library advocated for its own existence and benefit to society. Another advantage of the digital repository is the safety it provides in terms of preservation. When the floods of 2002 hit, the Parliamentary Library’s holdings were safely stored in digital format and nothing was lost, which was, unfortunately, not the case for so many other libraries in Prague. Finally, online portals greatly enhanced speed of access for Parliamentary members and their staff. No longer were legislatures limited in their readings to the hours the library was open (252).

Classification schemes in this digital library include dividing materials up by parliamentary terms, rather than standard yearly terms, so that patrons can look up items by the parliament standing in that era (255). Full text digital formats include both HTML and PDF documents, using digitizing software that recognizes archaic Schwabach characters (these are relics of the AustroHungarian Empire of the 19th century), for retrospective digitization. The archive is searchable by a number of means, including legislature, chamber, date, and keyword text search; dropdown menus provide some assistance in these areas. Since 2003, current Parliamentary papers are born digital and are uploaded to the library automatically (255). Mediated help is available via email, telephone, or in-person through the Department of Communication with the Public and both mediated and unmediated usage is noteworthy. In 2007, 1,194,558 requests were recorded in the previous twelve months, which amounts to an average of 3,273 daily visits (256). Compared to the 30 physical visits to the library each day, it is obvious that The Joint Czech and Slovak Digital Parliamentary has had a huge
impact on public and internal accessibility to parliamentary papers, which must positively influence both research and democracy in the Czech Republic (256).

**Czech Parliamentary Institute**

The purpose of the Czech Institute is to act as the research arm for both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the Parliament. It is an internal organization of the Parliament and, like the Library, is a department under the Office of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament. As such, it has official ties and responsibilities to the Czech government and, therefore, is not able to act entirely autonomously. This arrangement makes for a precarious balancing act for the Institute. In order to establish and maintain credibility, it is imperative the Institute researchers exercise discipline and objectivity in the information they provide. They must not let themselves be swayed by a charismatic Speaker or be inadvertently wooed by lobbyists hoping to influence their reports. At the same time, being an internal body within the Parliament is a boon to researchers because it allows them to keep close tabs on the immediate and long-term needs of the legislatures. In addition, they know intimately what the scheduling and timing of Parliamentary actions require of them in terms of delivering content on time and in a useful manner (Miller, Pelizzo, and Staplehurst 8).

One interesting topic of research that creates a lot of work for members of the Institute is the review of legislation and compliance with the European Union, which is the purview of special committees in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. “According to the results of our survey, the research services in the Czech Republic…focus on analyzing EU legislation. There are special units created for managing requests concerning all aspects of incorporation of the associated countries
into European structures…” (Michalowski and Nawrocka 25). In fact, such is the need for this information, that a separate department within the Institute was created to meet the demand, The European Union Department. The department is responsible for analyzing information pertinent to the Committee’s mandates, analyzing how current legislation in EU documents is compatible or incompatible with legislation proposed in the Czech Republic, and keeping informed of other legislation that may not be proposed by the government, for meeting the standards of the EU (Král and Bartovic 13-14).

Conclusion

“Libraries are inherently islands of freedom and antidotes to fanaticism” (Neubert and Rago). For those who believe in a robust democracy; in the power of the people to place mindful votes for representatives; in the representatives’ duty to make informed decisions based on historical evidence, scientific fact, human philosophy, and sound judgement; and for the eradicating of “fanaticism” and tyrannical rule; libraries and concerted research are the answer. Parliamentary Libraries exist in many forms and have vastly varied histories, budgets, collections, access, and preservation. What they all have in common is a hope and a goal that they will be used by their legislatures to more knowledgeably and faithfully serve constituents and democracy. “Knowledge is power, the power to maintain free government and preserve constitutional liberty” (Cole “The Library of Congress”). Both the Czech Republic and the United States of America can be proud of their Libraries. They are testaments to their peoples’ belief in the power of knowledge and dream for democracy. Whether politicians use that power for good or not will always be another question.
Visitors logbook of the Czech Parliamentary Library. This author’s name is visible in the left-hand column, 6th down. Used with permission by Jessica Lundin, photographer.
Works Cited


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<http://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/bibliothek/world_directory/alpha_liste/B/Burundi.html>

