

## The Book.

1. The book, like money, arises with commodity relations. When commodity relations retreat - as in the post Roman period in Europe - so does the production and circulation of books. When they expand, so do books, their writing, reproduction, circulation, and consumption. The first question is: what is the relation of books to commodity production. The second: will books disappear with the surpassing of commodity relations. Can we speak of a socialist book?

2. To begin with, books were among the earliest commodities. While the ancient Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians and Hittites wrote on clay tablets, and mortuary papyrus rolls survive from Egypt at around 2,500 BC, the major development in the use of papyrus books probably occurred around the 6th century BC in Greece. Certainly by the 5th century BC there was an active market for books, as there was in Rome. The early collections were private. Aristotle was a famous one, but there were many similar examples among these first representatives of the universal head. In Rome there were many villa libraries. From the 1st and 2nd centuries there were complaints of private libraries whose main purpose was display. At this time of August 26 libraries were set up, all in temples, and by the 2nd century AD most cities of the empire possessed municipal libraries. Yet while the purchase was made from state funds as well as private ones, the books for the most part were still produced for sale. From the time of Cicero there is evidence of large scriptoria turning out copies for sale. Martial complained about professional copyists who became careless in their speed. The trade decrees of Diocletian set a price for the copying of books.

3. From this period too ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ comes evidence of exploitive relations in production. The copyists were slaves, and as many as 30 copyists would work simultaneously with a reader dictating (a good example of simple co-operation). After the post-Roman contraction of commodity relations in Western Europe, the medieval expansion in trade, likewise brought with it an expansion in the trade in books, and their production by copyists: some artisans; some students working for themselves; but also scribes hired for wages. It appears that it was the suppliers of the raw materials - the stationers - who dominated production, and under their drive for faster turnover time, the old monastic individual, slow production, was surpassed by new methods, new abbreviations, specialist copyists and so on. By the 14th century not only was the book trade rapidly expanding, but it is probable that ~~we~~ there was the development of manufacture in the process of capitalist production.

4. And was not the invention of printing the first example of machinofacture. The art of the scribe had to be arrested and split up. Movement was translated into a series of static frames. "Typography bears much resemblance to the cinema, just as the reading of print puts the

reader in the role of the movie projector. The reader moves the series of imprinted letters before him at a speed consistent with ~~the~~ apprehending the motions of the authors mind. The reader of print, that is, stands in an utterly different relation to the writer from the reader of manuscript. Print gradually makes reading aloud pointless. and accelerated the act of reading till the reader could feel in the hands of his author... Just as print was the first mass produced thing, so it was the first uniform and repeatable commodity. The assembly line of movable types made possible a product that was uniform and as repeatable as a scientific experiment." This passage is from Marshall McLuhan (GG p.125). He is concerned with the effects of machinofacture on consumption: the great expansion of reading (~~which~~ <sup>which</sup> estimated 40% literacy in England in ~~the~~ 1528 ~~is~~), the changed ways of experiencing the world through the eye(print) rather than the ear. For the moment I want only to note the significance both for production and trade. In the 15th century 40,000 incubabala (or printed books) were produced; in the 16th century, 520,000 issues and editions. While the early printers designed, set type, and even pulled the bars of their own presses (working along with hired labour), the 16th century printers already exemplified a tendency to concentration and centralisation of capital. Koberger of Nurnberg had 24 presses and employed more than 100 workers. Plantin had 25 presses and 150 workers. We can also see the beginning of the distinction between publishers with their expanding editorial staffs (including Erasmus) and the printers.

5. Thus the book was not only contemporaneous with the development of commodity relations, it was a leading commodity in its own right, and its production was ~~the~~ one of the first spheres of ~~manufacture~~ industry to enter into the era of machinofacture.

6. One of the major reasons for this lies in the development of the division between head and hand, heralded by the entry of commodity production into the Western world. Though the early exempla of the universal head conducted their discourse orally (Socrates like Christ never wrote a book), the role of the book as a material medium for representing the universal scope of abstract thought rapidly led to a supplementation and then surpassing of the oral by the visual, of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> speech by ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> writing. The book gave thought ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> spatial mobility, and ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> permanence which its character required. Previous cultural discourse by ruling classes had achieved permanence in other ways - rhyme, song and ritual - but all these were necessarily confined in space, and unsuited to the development of abstract thought.

7. The book in short became one of the material instruments by which the head ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> consolidated itself against the hand. Books stood against labour, and were glorified as such by the exploiting classes in the slave empires. In the Middle Ages the form of this intellectual domination was religious, and couched in a foreign tongue. Upto 1400 the great majority of books were religious. During the 15th century, the proportion of

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religious books fell to 45% (30% literature, 10% law, 10% science and miscellaneous 5%). By the 15th century the religious proportion had fallen further to 40%. Yet even in 1500 77% of all books produced until then (30,000-35,000 separate publications) were in Latin.

8. The reasons given to explain the book form are similar to those used to ~~analyse~~ analyse the use value of money. The book is a medium of intellectual circulation. It is a store of value. Why? Because it is portable, and, with the introduction of ~~papyrus~~ papyrus and then paper, it lasts. But as with money, and indeed all commodities, we must ask about the nature of the use value of the book, and how that affects the social relations of production, distribution and consumption.

9. First production. We must distinguish the writing of the book, and its setting, ~~and~~ printing/binding. Under capitalism writing is still predominantly individualised, an artisan craft. More, it appears that the notion of the author's property rights developed with print. Prior to print, books were copied, and often changed in copying. A book in this sense became a collective production, like a legend, embellished, clarified, changed. Production for profit was the motive of the stationers, or owners of scriptoria, rather than authors. Authorship, and all that goes with it, had not developed as a concept:

"The indifference of medieval scholars to the precise identity of the authors whose books they studied is undeniable. The writers themselves, on the other hand, did not always trouble to 'quote' what they took from other books or to indicate where they took it from; they were diffident about signing even what was clearly their own in an unambiguous and unmistakable manner." (E.P. Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in print*, p.116. quoted GG 131).

Books were moreover made up of collections of tracts, collections made up by the copyist, or producer of the book, without an editor, catalogued under an arbitrary name. All this changed with the development of print, particularly after 1500, when an author could sell his work, when the editorial publisher became distinct from the technical printer, when a single manuscript could be copied unambiguously in multiple copies. From this time manuscripts became prepared. Unfinished drafts, notes and memos became private. The finished draft was made public. Only in a few fields - particularly science - did authorship ~~itself~~ itself become surpassed so that we look on the compiler with the same indifference as the medieval reader (consider the authorship of multiplication tables.)

Today in some fields collective authorship, and even anonymity, is becoming more common. Newspapers are one example. The paper is composed by many authors, some named, others proletarian suppliers of information, editors, sub-editors and so on. The leaders of newspapers preserve, as until recently did the Times, the tradition of anonymity. In books, certain volumes with a large market are now composed by great teams, the encyclopedias, ~~the~~ reference books, and the volumes pioneered by Mitchell Beazley.

A recent development is in the field of so called 'managed books'. These are textbooks put together by the publisher with an editorial board of academics, and each contributor being paid a lump sum rather than a royalty. Control remains decisively with the publisher, and as a result the time taken to ~~re~~'create' the book from inception to bound books has been lowered from 5 years to 16-18 months. The first managed text on Psychology was begun in 1969, sold 186,000 copies in the first year although priced above competitors. (A&M 255)

These examples represent a new stage in the socialisation of ~~writing~~ book writing. Most writing still remains individualised craft production, but in certain fields we have seen the growth of the putting out system (textbooks), simple/~~co~~-operation (volumes of collected papers, symposia), and now manufacture. In manufacture the product is designed to cover a wide market. Its writing therefore demands a division of labour of the initial writers. Secondary writers known as 'professional writers' are employed to either ~~re~~ write or re-write the book. The latter are commonly required to work to ~~complexity~~ writing formulae - or readability indices - based on word length sentence structure and sentence length. Where the writer has failed to meet the required readability scores, an editor, working to the formula, can do so. The American publishers increasingly acknowledge that a book must not score higher than 11th to 13th grade standards if it is to sell <sup>well</sup> on the Junior College market.

Here then after 500 years of commodity writing capital is at last devising ways of reaching directly into writing. The payment of fixed fees and ~~rather than~~ wages rather than royalties exemplifies the trend. While many textbooks are still one stage away from this direct control - working on the putting out system - it seems now only a question of time before they are brought more directly under the sway of capital. And the significance of the trend is underscored if we remember the importance of the the types of book we are discussing in relation to total books. In the US 10% of all books sold are encyclopedias and reference books (high socialisation of writing), and ~~30%~~ 16% textbooks for elementary and secondary schools, and 14% other educational textbooks. Thus 40% of books in the US are either already in or liable to be incorporated into the era of manufacture of writing, ~~just as~~ <sup>many</sup> as newspapers and periodicals already are.

As with newspapers too, the trend in production, carries with it implications for the product, the range of the market, and the concentration and centralisation of capital. Capital's collective books require large outlays of money. Some of the managed textbooks published by CRM and Dushkin ~~have~~ have paid out \$100,000 in 'manuscript fees' prior to publication. Mitchell Beazley's pre-publication costs per book have reached more than £2m, with as many as 60 people working on a ~~single~~ single title.

The Encyclopedia Britannica's latest re-working must have been much, much more.

Such large investments imply large markets, and increasingly international ones. ~~Such large investments imply large markets, and increasingly international ones.~~ In the UK, exports as a % of sales have risen from 25% after the 2nd war to 40% now. Penguins have 52% of their sales overseas and BPC's publishing side (a leader in the field of 'manufactured' writing) earns 75% of its profits from overseas production and exports. Although there are other reasons for this trend, the move towards standard commodities is a leading one. Thus the ratio of exports to home sales is higher for school texts than for other types of book from the UK in 1974 (with the exception of hardback bibles, of which 60% were exported). (A&M 62). And with international mass markets, comes the demand for concentration on products with most universal application, and for standardisation within those fields. The Readers Digest and the AA books cover flowers, the countryside, the history of the world, the geography of continents. Book Club associates (united W.H. Smith and the American Firm Doubleday) got 60,000 members in 2 years for their cookery book club.

Mitchell Beazley

are producing: a universal guide to childbirth. The Encyclopedia Britannica by definition covers everything.

These developments must be seen against two contradictions inherent in craft writing. The first is the barrier craft authorship presents to capital. The output of most craft authors is uncertain, and even more so its marketability. 20% of books earn 80% of revenue, and most of these are textbooks. The enormous number of books produced - 568,000 new titles in 1975 - are in part a reflection of the fact that capitalist publishers are forced to experiment with new titles because of the unpredictability of their product. Bourgeois commentators identify the problem as unpredictability of markets. It is rather a question of the lack of control capital has on production, and their failure therefore to adequately unite production and consumption - even on capital's traditional terms.

The tendency for capitalism to overproduce titles - seizing on every possible writer in the hope of a winner - is no more clearer than over the last 20 years with the great expansion of potential authors (the so-called knowledge revolution). Table 1 gives the UNESCO figures for increases in number of annual titles by area. Overall the number of titles per annum has more than doubled in 20 years. But whereas the highly centralised publishing system of the USSR has only increased by 44%, North America (predominantly the USA) has risen by 557%. In part this reflects the increase in the size of the US market itself, but it also shows the way in which capitalist publishing, tied to the craft author, has to shower the market with products to find the

saleable ones, amid industry cries of 'overproduction'.

Table 1.

New book titles produced annually

	1955	1975	% increase.
	000's		
World total	269	568	111
North America	14	92	557
Latin America	11	29	164
Europe	131	264	102
USSR	55	79	44
Oceania	55	79	44
Asia	54	88	63
Africa	3	11	267
Developed countries	211	388	298
Underdeveloped countries	58	180	210

Source: UNESCO Yearbook 1976

(note: the low Oceania figure may be related to the ~~underdevelopment~~ underdevelopment of Australian publishing - relying as they have ~~until recently on~~ until recently on British imports.)

Those craft authors whose books are successful (in market terms) cannot - unfortunately for capital - be proletarianised. Though Booker Brothers - the sugar conglomerate - now 'own' many leading authors' proprietary rights & in return for regular income, most writers retain their economic independence. Publishers will try and monopolise writers. The system of advances, of rights over future books, and so on; but the independent authors can through agents appropriate considerable portions of profit from successful volumes, while sharing few of the losses from the unsuccessful. And of course, with the uncertainty of the product, the author as brand name becomes fetishised. The most successful are those formula writers, whose each book is in the same genre as the last. Table 2 contains the most translated authors in the world. It is striking how contemporary capitalist cultures main contribution is in the field of thrillers (in all senses of the word) and detective stories:

Table 2.

Most translated authors as of 1973.

	No of translat- ions	No of translating countries
Lenin	348	19
A. Christie	159	20
Jules Verne	156	24
Marx	132	25
Simenon	131	21
Lafuente	126	1
Tolstoy	123	27
Blyton	106	12
Gorki	105	25
Breznev	100	10
Dostoyevski	95	23
Shakespeare	93	25
A. Maclean	91	15
Grimm	90	12
J.H. Chase	86	13
J. London	86	19
M. Twain	83	25
H.C. Anderson	82	20

Source: UNESCO Yearbook. 1976

Given the cult of the 'author', a cult deriving from the separation of writing, publishing, and reading, we find publishing capital in the bizarre position of assigning authorship of its collectively 'managed' textbooks to people who have written virtually none of the book.

It is ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ ~~capital's~~ ~~failure~~ ~~to~~ ~~control~~ ~~writing~~ that we must look for the explanation ~~of~~ the relatively unconcentrated structure of the publishing industry. Although a few major firms produce the bulk of titles, control crucial parts of the system of distribution, and in particular dominate export markets, there is always the possibility of small publishers producing books which will sell the numbers required by the economics of production. Thus in the US, ~~while~~ ~~200~~ ~~firms~~ ~~account~~ ~~for~~ ~~85%~~ ~~of~~ ~~book~~ ~~publishing~~, a further ~~xxx~~ ~~800~~ are significant publishing houses, while during the 60's as many as 2,000 small presses sprang up in this gap where valorisation was so imperfectly in command.

The second contradiction of the craft author stems from the individualisation of writing itself. The archetype of the writer under capitalism is the solitary author, the novelist, the poet. But this ~~archetypal~~ image, and in some cases the reality, are the product of the way in which a writer relates to readers under capitalism, i.e. when the book becomes a commodity. The fact that writing ~~is a commodity~~ ~~has a value~~ means that it is subject to the iron grid of property. But all that is written has of course a history: a history of discussion, perception, reading, drafting, verbal formulation and so on. None of these earlier stages of a text's history can be adequately made into a commodity by capital. Lectures can be charged for, certainly. Some people are paid to be 'around' a university, or aristocratic household, even a firm. The advent of television has meant that this verbal moment can be captured, relayed, objectified on video ~~and edited~~, and sold. But until <sup>the late</sup> video, writing was the first moment that thought & discourse were objectified in a material form, which could be privatised. It was the first moment that could be ~~drawn~~ drawn into the web of commodity relations. As such it was the writer who, in capitalist society, was privileged, although writing is in principle no more 'private' than is talking. One may write for oneself, just as one may speak to oneself, but writing like speech is social, in its origins, in its ~~very~~ nature as in its practise. To charge someone for speaking to them, particularly when the occasion is arranged via an intermediary, would on the face of it appear absurd, but that in effect is what happens when books are a commodity.

The point is not that writing is not individual. It is as individual as speech. But the product of the single hand, as of the single mouth, is the product of a history of social relations of which the writer ~~and the speaker~~ are but the momentary expressions. Once this moment is privatised it stands at odds with the social character of discourse. The contradiction is present daily in universities. In these institutions written work is the main instrument for the commensuration of labour. There are objective reasons for this. In ~~large~~ large institutions, those responsible for the mobility of labour (appointments boards,) cannot know all the applicants in the daily detail which would be necessary to make a judgement. Written work is portable, quick to scan or even read, verifiable to those who question, and so on. Thus written work becomes an objective ~~index~~ index for the value of an intellectual labourer. The fact that the intellectual labourer has to sell ~~his/her~~ his/her labour capacity as a commodity means that the individualised commodity nature ~~of one form of~~ of his/her 'production' is re-inforced: the book/article. There is a profound fetishism of the written word, exemplified in the instruction to one ~~very~~ able teacher at the <sup>London</sup> Business School. that were he to write a book (any book) which ~~is~~ was reviewed in a respectable journal he would automatically be granted a professorship.



The introduction of commodity relations into the heart of an intellectual community is in direct contradiction to the necessary conditions for intellectual production (viewing these now from capital's point of view). Individuals ~~are~~ are encouraged to privatise their ideas & their notes until they are published. Furthermore, the nature of ~~the~~ ~~system~~ ~~of~~ ~~privatised~~ ~~thought~~ - ~~is~~ ~~such~~ ~~as~~ ~~to~~ ~~encourage~~ ~~commensurated~~ ~~through~~ ~~print~~ - is such as to encourage (in the so called social sciences at least) modular production (a basic model with variations to appearances). Almost all serious work in the social sciences has been produced outside systems dominated by privatised intellectual relations, either <sup>in</sup> old aristocratic institutions of learning such as Oxbridge, Paris, or the older <sup>German and</sup> Italian Universities, ~~or~~ (Durkheim, Pareto, Weber, Marc Bloch) or by people ~~who~~ who did not sell their intellectual labour capacity as a commodity (Marx, Freud, Jung, Lenin, Mao, Wittgenstein).

The point is that the very character of intellectual commensuration - ~~the~~ ~~print~~ - affects the content; most ~~clearly~~ clearly in PHD theses where <sup>privatisable</sup> unambiguous/empirical work is privileged in relation to ~~the~~ much more ambiguous and social theoretical enquiry. Empiricism is a result not merely of social relations under capitalism more generally, but of the structure of intellectual relations themselves.

In place ~~then~~ of the individual author selling a craft product in the manner of ~~simple~~ simple commodity production, we have ~~proletarian~~ proletarian intellectual labour selling a ~~craft~~ craft product ~~through~~ through which his/her labour will be commensurated, and via which improvements in his/her position within the intellectual proletariat will be determined. That the majority of writing takes place within this form of social relations rather than as simple commodity production is suggested by the distribution of subjects among books produced. In the UK,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of titles produced in 1975 were in the fields of social science, pure and applied science, arts, geography and history, and a further quarter in the field of literature, ~~and~~ and literary criticism. Many of the authors of these books are necessarily connected to institutions of learning, as paid labour, and subject to the forms of commensuration mentioned above. It is no surprise to find ~~the~~ David Holloway, the literary editor of the Daily Telegraph, estimating that of 13,000 professional writers in Britain, only 55 earned a living from writing as an exclusive occupation. In the US, Russak writes, "the vast majority of the producers and buyers of monographs, books and journals at the postgraduate level are located in institutions of higher education and are supported by an annual salary." ~~(A. 110)~~ (A. 110)

~~Intellectual~~ Intellectual labour tends to universality. Its output affects capital in general, and as such individual capitals have hired labour for applications of general principles to their specific circumstances rather than

for developed the general principles themselves. The head divided from the hand under capitalism, has then been further separated from capital itself in the latter's institutional form of many capitals. This separation is embodied in higher educational institutions. These have become all the more important in an era of systemofacture, when not only large systems of individual capitals have to be managed as a whole, but national systems of many capitals demand direct organisation as well. Yet the very universality of the head is ~~always~~ problematic for capital in all its forms. How should intellectual labour as a whole be commensurated with other social labour. To this we now add other considerations: how can the separation of the head from private capital be recomposed so that the head ~~is~~ is in a position to relate to capital's problems; how can capital's problems posed for the head collectively, and demanding collective work, be reconciled with a system of internal commensuration within the collective head which emphasises individual work and the privatisation of the process of intellectual production; and finally, as the institutions of the ~~same~~ collective head grow, and as they develop ~~new~~ relations of intellectual production which mimic the relations of capitalist production, (hierarchym, divisions of head and hand even within intellectual labour, specialisation, exploitation) how can the subordinates in the hierarchy of the intellectual proletariat be prevented from identifying not with the interests and problems of capital, but the interests and problems of the collective labourer.

Capitalist publishing ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~value~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~book~~ ~~is~~ ~~locked~~ ~~into~~ ~~this~~ ~~contradictory~~ ~~character~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~production~~ ~~of~~ ~~its~~ ~~primary~~ ~~inputs~~ ~~-~~ ~~written~~ ~~texts~~. In the craft character of writing, and the proletarian character of the writer, should be sought the contradiction between use value and exchange value in the process of the production and circulating of knowledge in capitalist society, ~~which~~ materialised in the book.

### Consumption.

Originally there was a unity of consumption and production of books. The pupil set down the notes of the teacher for later reference. These notes could be copied by others wishing to read them. This was true not only of ancient Greece, but of other societies where writing was not compulsory (T.H.Green, Acton, in ~~the~~ late 19th century England. In the middle ages scholars again would copy texts for themselves, much as we now make a photocopy. Indeed photocopying, so disliked by publishers, is the re-assertion of the unity of production and consumption: self-printing.

The intervention of the publisher/printer as a capitalist producer, and the transformation of the author into a simple commodity producer, separated the consumer from the work. In doing so it raised the problem of ~~the~~ distribution and marketing, and ~~of~~ that of commissioning and contracting authors that we have already discussed.

The point I want to raise at this stage is the form of

consumption. In the early middle ages consumption was collective. Both monks and university students would listen to a book being read aloud. The book was here merely a more permanent form of the lecture, a lecture not dependent on the lecturer. Read collectively, it could then be discussed collectively, disputed. It tended also to be owned collectively, either by the monastic or the University library. With capitalism ~~the forms of consumption were transformed.~~ ~~the forms of consumption were transformed.~~ While university and monastic libraries continued to exist (the latter until the dissolution of the monasteries in England), printed book production encouraged private individual ownership of books, individual reading of books, and a lower degree of collective discussion of books.

The continued expansion of educational institutions has meant that individualism in consumption has not been carried as far as in other consumer durables. Collective learning in schools and universities has tended towards a collective ownership and discussion of books. But for the early period of capitalism it still remains true that the majority of books continued to be individually owned, individually read, and only informally discussed. In many ways this is unsatisfactory. Most privately owned books are drastically underutilised. Some are never read at all. Individual reading is of course faster than collective reading, yet ~~there is a question of the effectiveness of reading.~~ ~~there is a question of the effectiveness of reading.~~ Reading can be active or passive. Most first readings are passive. Re-readings are more active, with notes taken. But the experience of reading groups suggests that the fact of future discussion makes reading and re-reading more active from the beginning. And certainly collective discussion is preferable to informal reflection or no discussion at all.

There are two key developments in the capitalist consumption of books. The first is the development of public libraries. In the UK they date from the middle of the 19th century, in the US from the last quarter of the century. By the 1960's in the UK there were over 24,000 public libraries and branches, in the US 7,000 public libraries, 3,000 university libraries, and 14,000 other specialised libraries. By 1974 the US figure was 8,337 public libraries with 388 million books, compared to the UK system with 77 million books. In addition to public libraries, there were also school libraries. In the US they amounted to 74,625 in 1974 with more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  million volumes, while higher education libraries ~~accounted for 3,421~~ <sup>held</sup> holding over 400,000 books. In all US libraries held ~~1.3 billion~~ <sup>1.3 billion</sup> books. They accounted for 11% of all book sales, but rather more of the total book stocks (assuming they keep books on average longer than other consumers).

The second development is that of collective learning, both in schools and colleges. This ~~is significant~~ is significant in three ways. First, schools buy books collectively

both for the libraries and for use in particular classes. They also determine markets, since a set text may then be bought and owned individually by the pupil, or student. Second, in more junior levels of the educational system, there ~~is~~ are some survivals of collective reading. And third, of crucial importance, there is collective discussion of texts.

Public libraries collectivise ownership. ~~and books~~ The educational system goes further and socialises consumption as well. By the 1970's as many as half the books <sup>in the US</sup> were bought for socialised consumption of this kind (43% were acquired for formal education, 13% were bought by scholars and professionals, and 10% consisted of encyclopedias and reference works. <sup>AM 206</sup>). This marks a profound change in the political economy of the book during the twentieth century.

First there is a concentration of control on the purchase of books. This may be direct via libraries or school book purchasing budgets, or indirect through lecturer recommendation. We have already noted that libraries account for 11% of book purchases in the US, but in some fields ~~the proportion is higher~~ the proportion is higher. Thus more than 50% of scholarly books go to libraries, and 80% of children's books. In India, 90% of all books produced go to institutions.

In as much as control of purchasing is in the hands of ~~those who control~~ ~~socialised reading~~ of those who control socialised reading (the teachers), they can ensure that books purchased are books used, or, put another way, that books they do not wish to encourage in use are not purchased. But significant proportions of library purchases are not directly linked in to usage. Since libraries are not directly subject to the law of value, considerable discretion enters into library purchasing policy, and in higher education libraries there is even a stand against purchasing according to book use. Thus books set for course work are stored in limited numbers by the library, put on short loan, or rationed in some other way. This restricts socialised learning. (Compare the book box system of the WEA classes). Instead libraries tend to expand their range of titles at the expense of multiple copies. Presumably there must be a debate on this in the library profession: stocking by demand on the one hand, and by coverage on the other. The character of privatised intellectual work in capitalism supports the latter, and given the extraordinary increase in supply over the last 20 years, produces a bizarre disjunction between purchase and reading. For instance, a recent survey in the US found that ~~on average~~ on average a journal article stocked in a library was read by only two people. Only periodic discontinuities of public expenditure cuts limit the subordination of library purchase to the ever-expanding supply of print determined by the social relations of intellectual labour under capitalism.

The control of the socialised discussion of books, or 'social literacy', is in the hands of the controllers of educational institutions. ~~xxxx~~ This is a separate issue which we ~~xxxx~~ register. At this point we should only note that the control of these institutions - what is taught, or rather collectively discussed - has been the focus of class struggle, from the fight over the control of school boards ~~xxxx~~ at the turn of the century to the issues of curriculum at all levels of education over the last decade. One ~~xxxx~~ sphere of socialised discussion of particular interest is that of working class education in Britain during the current century, in which the Fabian WEA reduced ~~xxxx~~ the Plebs League and ~~xxxx~~ the TUC incorporated the National Council of Labour Colleges, two organisations which had encouraged collective working class discussion in the Marxist tradition.

The term 'social literacy' was used by Phil Corrigan and Val Gillespie in their discussion of a previous period of similar ~~xxxx~~ suppression of institutions of working class autonomy: that surrounding the development of public libraries in the mid 19th century. They take issue with the terms of the debate on the ~~xxxx~~ growth of public libraries between the Fabians (that they were a 'good thing') on the one hand and the radicals (won by working class struggle) on the other. C&G ~~xxxx~~ argue that they ~~xxxx~~ were initiated by progressive elements in the ruling class to control social literacy, ~~xxxx~~ and were particularly directed at the autonomous working class clubs, the mechanics institutes, ~~xxxx~~ and reading groups or facilities housed in pubs. "You think that the institution of good libraries would withdraw the population, and especially the most dangerous part of the population from bad reading to which they apply themselves? - I think it would have that tendency, and not only withdraw them from worse reading, but from worse pursuits," ran one among many similar sections of the evidence before the 1849 Select Committee on Libraries. And when the Public Library Act was safely passed, its mentor William Ewart reflected with satisfaction that ~~xxxx~~ "many Public Libraries have been formed and .. have turned the people from alehouses to socialism."

Areas of ~~xxxx~~ autonomy in social ~~xx~~ literacy ~~xxxx~~ have been maintained among small socialist groups and parties, but the major movements have been incorporated under state management and controlled accordingly.

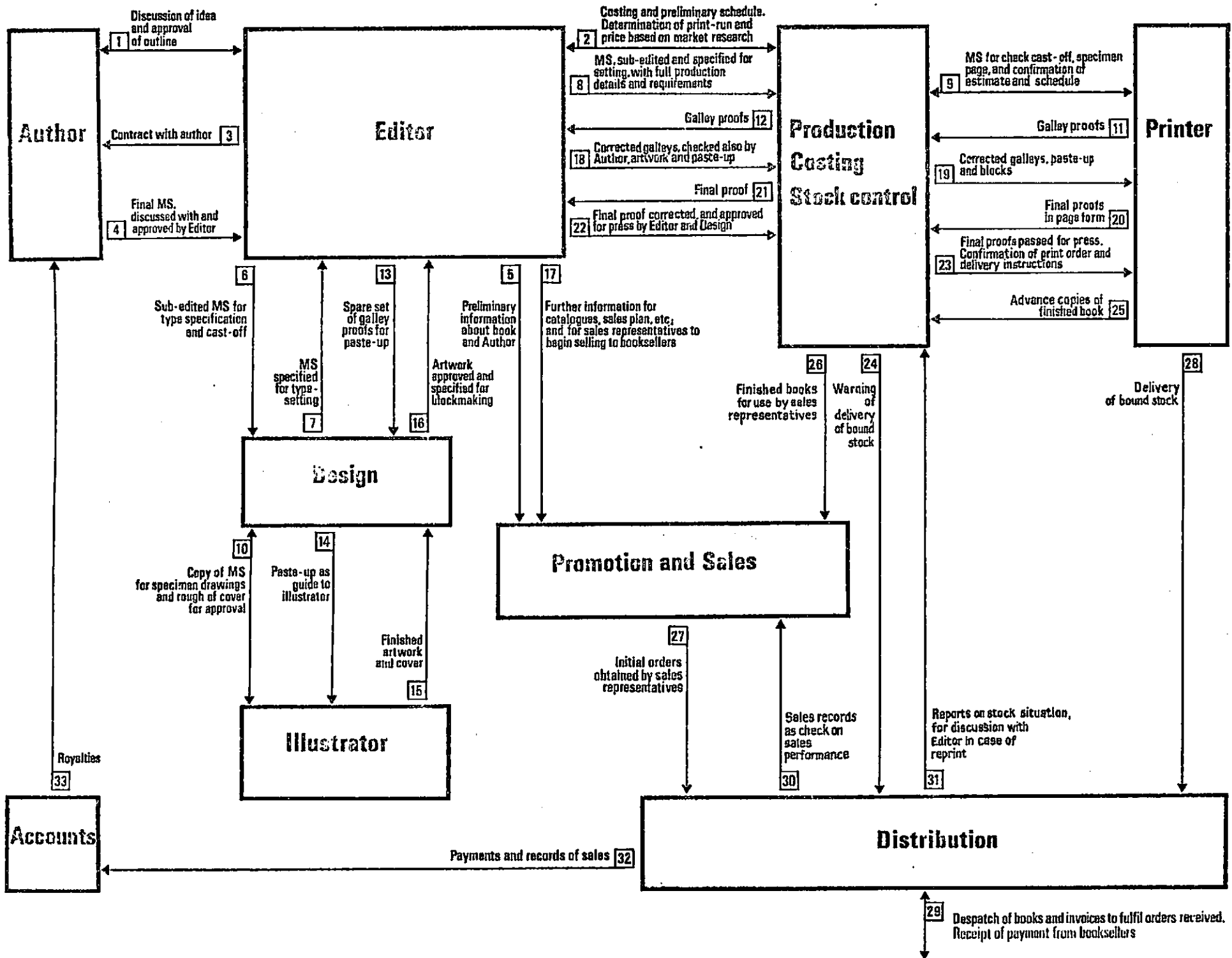
I have been concerned with two questions in the development of book 'consumption' under capitalism: first changes in form of ownership, reading and discussion of books, and second the question of control of content. A final point needs to be made, which is the relationship of books to the working class. Originally, books were restricted to ~~xxxx~~ capital's collective head by price and literacy. But with the industrial revolution and the concentration of labour in towns, labour, particularly skilled labour, devised collective means for reading

and discussing them. The separation of collective ownership and collective reading that took place with the advent of public libraries, and the concentration of collective reading in the state controlled educational system, has led along with the audio-visual revolution, to a curious disjunction. Working class children learn to read and discuss at school. They also use children's facilities at public libraries. But at the end of formal education there is a sharp drop in working class ~~reading, individual or collective.~~ ~~book reading, individual or collective.~~ In one survey of ~~public library use in Melbourne~~ in 1968-9 it was found that 11-12% of the population were registered borrowers in working class districts as against 39-43% in middle class suburbs. In the US it was reported in the 60's that only 20% of the people questioned were reading ~~a book at the time.~~ In the UK the figure is higher at 50%, ~~but public library borrowings show a similar class pattern to the Australian results.~~

As books once replaced ballads, so television has replaced books as the dominant medium of working class culture. The state places as tight a control on ~~public television~~ the character of television programmes as it once did on books (and on ballads - see the Greek junta's attempted control of Theodorakis in a culture which was still significantly aural). The development of cheap publishing has led to the growth of a ~~more extensive range of books than were~~ <sup>more extensive range of books than were</sup> freely circulated when print was the dominant medium of communication: but readership is <sup>largely</sup> confined to the nouvelle couche. With the development of video, the state will be as concerned to control autonomous programmes and their discussion as they once were with books. In the face of this, we may ~~attempt~~ attempt to build up institutions which can ~~resist~~ resist the control of public systems of video distribution and discussion; we can concentrate books on those areas where there exists socialised ~~discussion;~~ discussion; or we can reclaim the book ~~and~~ and collective reading for the old as well as the new ~~working class.~~ working class.

### Production.

Between the individual author and the individual reader lies the shadow: book production and distribution. The diagram overleaf shows the main processes involved. What we have is hatch production, with perhaps 20 subprocesses some of them highly mechanised (printing ~~and~~ binding), setting other still subject to ~~craft~~ craft production (most editing, designing, ) or individual simple labour, (proof correcting, sub-editing). The publishers function is co-ordinating the package, and this involves ensuring that the craft processes are completed in time for the book mass production (printing and binding, some typesetting). The tendency is to lengthen the ~~production~~ production period to avoid the risk of non delivery to the book mass producers. ~~production~~



Some of these craft processes are being attacked by capital. We have seen how this has been happening in writing, with reductions in turnover time of up to two thirds. Other processes which are being transformed include design (standardised designs for successive volumes), typesetting (not only through the development of electronic setting, but attempts to standardise type between typewriters and typesetters so that a MSS does not have to be manually typed ~~by~~ twice or more) compositioning (now done automatically by ~~Wheatons~~ for example), automatic correcting quite apart from the developments in the printing industry. The craft skills of designer, typesetter, and printer, and the work of corrector, copy editor, and sub-editor (whose work is being drawn back into the original writing process through the use of professional writers) are being limited, and/or being embodied in machinery. For the time being, because many of these tasks are individual, their performance may be undertaken either by wage labour (for larger publishing houses) or on the putting out system, (designing, copy-editing, sub-editing, artwork, proof correcting, and of course writing). Typesetting and printing are quite distinct, but in both cases the technological developments have allowed small units to remain competitive for short runs.

If we compare another branch of printing, newspapers, we will see the directions in which capital is tending in book production. Here, with long ~~x~~ runs & daily or weekly production, the flow process of assembly (assembly of words, joining the words to paper, ~~assembling~~ the pages) is strictly timed. Machinofacture rules, with tasks requiring individual labour strictly subordinated to the time economy of the flow process as a whole. There is a lower proportion of putting out work. Writers are proletarians, supported by stringers. The content and form of writing is strictly controlled, internalised by the proletarian writers, as well as monitored and corrected by the editors. Design is standardised and mechanically aided. ~~xxx/ printing xxxxxxxxxx by the~~ ~~zzzzzz~~ ~~has~~ been transformed by the electronic revolution, with accompanying deskilling, restructuring and laying off of labour. Distribution ~~is~~ the individual eyes of all is still less efficient than the automatic entry of TV into every sitting room, but has nevertheless developed a remarkable system of decentralised points of sale, supported by personal delivery by child labour, which has been the envy of the book trade.

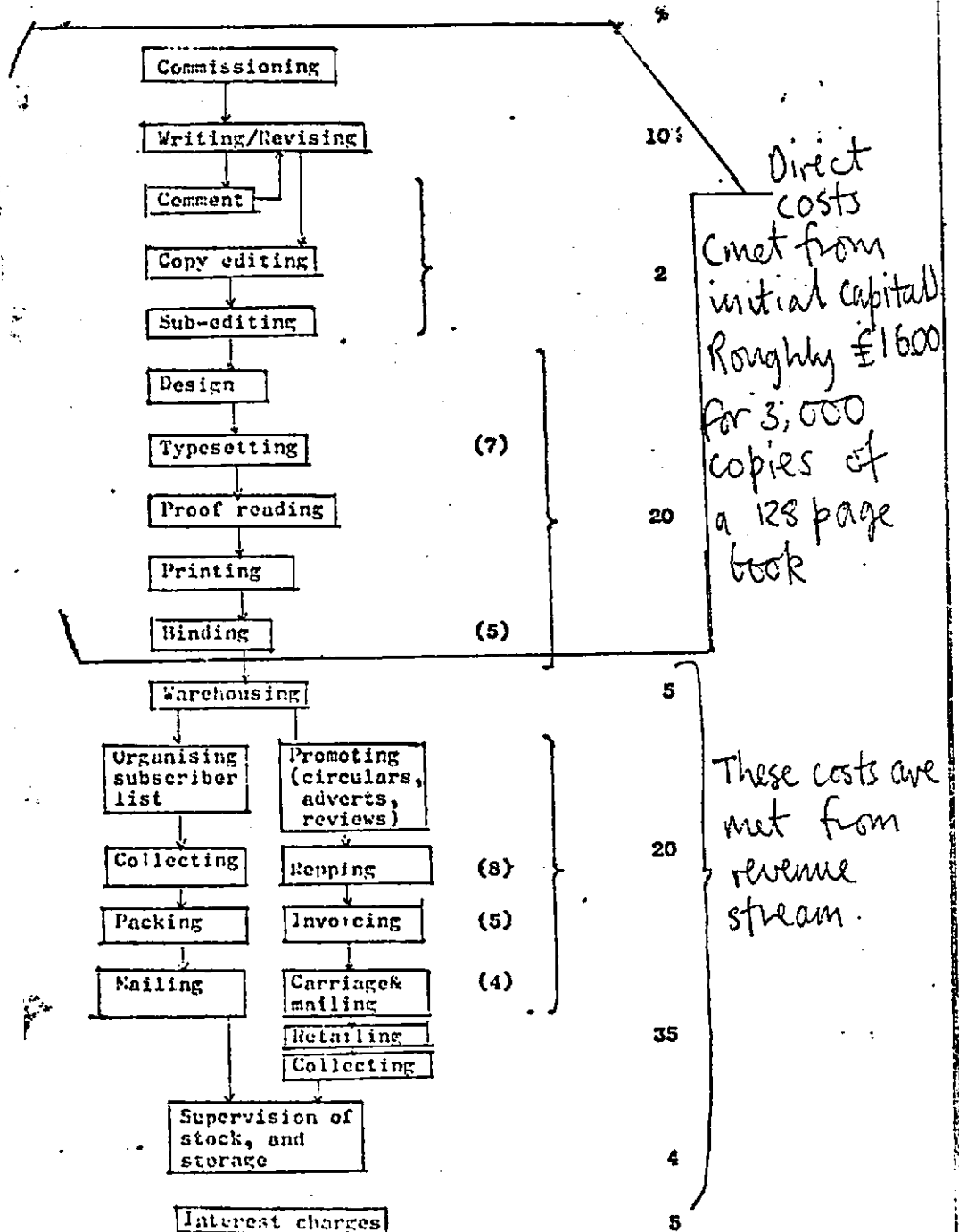
The key ~~x~~ point here is that newspapers have surpassed the key limiting factor in book production: the bespoke nature of the output to an uncertain market. Modern newspapers have a standardised content, with a predictable readership. Their method of ~~xx~~ recombinining production and consumption is through standardisation ~~xxxxxxx~~ at all stages of production and distribution. They come out regularly, and can therefore synchronise all parts of the labour process as on an assembly line. With some exceptions books have not achieved this form of unity.



They remain ~~xxxxxxxx~~ locked into the era of nodal assembly.

The most serious consequence ~~xxxx~~ of lack of standardisation ~~xxxx~~ lies, however, not in production but in distribution. ~~xxxx~~ Direct production costs account for only 20% of the final cost of the book, and often less. Distribution accounts for at least a half of the final book price, excluding warehousing (see the diagram below).

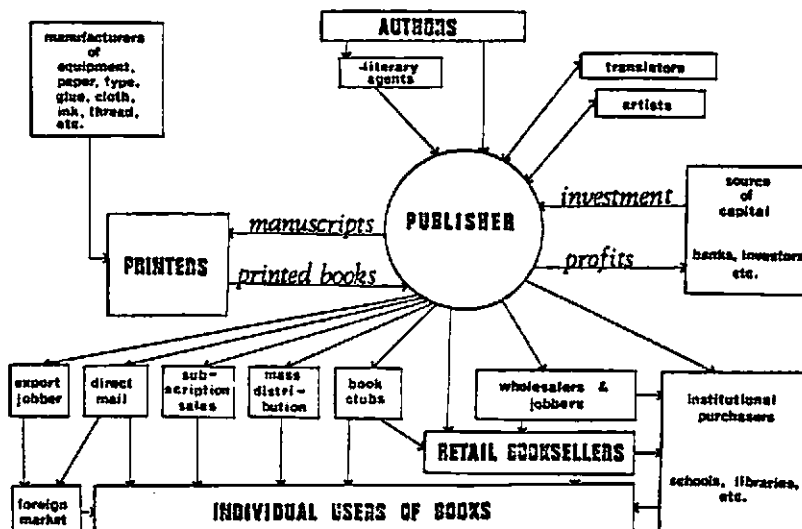
Outline labour process of book production and rough proportional costs.



Originally it was production costs which ~~published books~~ accounted for the major part of a book's cost. But the development of the forces of production in paper making, (mid 19th century) typesetting, and printing, and the failure ~~of~~ to make equivalent breakthroughs in book distribution has meant that distribution costs have grown higher and higher. Thus it is reported that warehousing which should cost 5-6%, has risen to 15-15% at the Book Centre in England, which is the leading distribution centre in Europe. (AM 108). Advertising by major publishers may account for 10% of the cost of a book (AM 23), and retail margins have recently risen by as much as 5% to the region of 40% for some books. (Book Hunger 1973 p.80).

The problem which capital cannot solve with its bespoke ~~commodity~~ commodity is the anonymous market. Anonymity sticks in capital's throat like a stone. It is the barrier which explains the structure of capitalist book distribution and the tendencies within it. The structure is represented in the diagram below:

## THE BOOK INDUSTRY



Source: Datus C. Smith, Jr., *A Guide to Book Publishing* (New York: Bowker, 1966).

Traditionally the key point of this system is the ~~key~~ retail bookseller. This is the distribution node to which the anonymous purchaser may come to inspect the range of bespoke commodities, scan their coverage and quality, and then buy. Yet from capital's point of view it remains a most inefficient system:

a) it ~~can~~ ~~be~~ ~~limited~~ remains limited in size (since it has to be near enough potential consumers for them to be encouraged to enter regularly and buy).

b) it can only stock a small proportion of books (even a good bookshop cannot hope to stock more than 5,000 - 10,000 books out of a total number of books in print in the US of

nearly 200,000 - AM 209).

c) it finds it as difficult as the publisher to judge demand precisely, and is therefore caught between lack of demanded volumes, and a surplus of ~~undemanded~~ undemanded stock.

d) it is subject to substantial losses through pilfering.

e) it has to pay high urban rents.

In the face of these drawbacks a recent UNESCO volume ~~thought~~ thought that "the survival of the bookseller is something of a mystery" (p.67) and a former publisher spoke for capital about this mystery when he attacked the ~~publishing~~ publishing industries' ~~irrational~~ "irrational and counterproductive commitment" to the stockholding bookseller. Yet ~~irrationality~~ irrationality is not that of the bookseller, but of a system that divorces production from consumption via the commodity, and the mystery is ~~soon~~ <sup>understand</sup> ~~soon~~ unravelling if we ~~understand~~ understand capital's failure to standardise its texts and/or concentrate its markets.

The above diagram show some of the experiments that have attempted to surpass the bookseller. ~~Both~~ Both subscription sales and book clubs have attempted to identify buyers directly before publication, and then relate to them indirectly by mail. The first Book Clubs were started in Germany after the first world war, and in 1964 a survey found that 35% of the books bought in Germany were ordered through book clubs (Book Hunger 114). In the US the first major clubs selling new books via a book club were the Book of the Month Club (1926) and the Literary Guild (1927). By the mid 60's there were more than 100 clubs serving the US market, the larger ones being able to sell editions of several hundreds of thousands. (EB Book). In the UK the first book club was the Book Society which sold at full price but 'chose' the books its members 'should' read via a panel of famous authors. A number of others clubs started in the 30's - the Readers Union enrolled 17,000 members in its first year, and Gollancz's Left Book Club had 60,000 members at its peak. (M&N 316-7). The reprint book clubs had ~~not~~ continued after the war (the Reprint Society (World Books) had a quarter of million members in the late 40's) but declined by the 70's, and it was rather simultaneous book clubs (entering from the US in 1968) which showed growth. There are some 27 or so Book Clubs now in the UK, with Book Club Associates having more than 100,000 members ten years ago (M&N 538).

Subscription sales ~~like~~ ~~like~~ simultaneous book clubs suffer from the problem of the prospective customer not being able to inspect the item. Direct mailing, which need not suffer likewise, ~~has~~ ~~has~~ has the drawback of delay in comparison with the bookshop, though modern computer mailing could in principle reduce this to 5 days from the six weeks or so which used to be the average for mail orders from Backwells.



We can now summarise the main general features of the book under capitalism:

a) both the form and the substance of the book are determined by the division of head and hand.

b) the separation of production and consumption of books has not been mediated, as with newspapers and other commodities, by mass standardised commodities (~~xxx~~ though see the development of the mass market paperback).

c) the tendency has rather been to the oversupply of new titles, which is linked into the relations of production within capital's collective head - the ~~xxxxxxx~~ higher education system.

d) the labour process within the sector has retained an individual and ~~xxxxxxx~~ craft character, in writing, designing, setting, editing, and selling. It is therefore characterised by many small units of production and circulation,

e) in the last ~~25~~<sup>15</sup> years manufacture and manufacture have made incursions into the sector in: writing, setting and printing, selling, notably as the result of the development of the institutional market (education and libraries) and the mass market.

f) there have been eras of shifting control, from the ~~xxxxxxx~~ supplier of the input (~~xxxxxxx~~ papyrus), to the scribe/printer, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ to the bookseller (Constable, Longman), and to the publisher. ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~

g) while the stages of production remain at very different levels of development with a substantial area of individual craft production, the co-ordinator will remain dominant. This co-ordinator may remain small in terms of capital because of the possibility of subcontracting.

h) recently we have seen the ~~xxxxxxx~~ spread of manufacture from newspaper production to books, and the entry of publishing conglomerates, based on institutional, and mass market production. The large newspaper groups like ITC ~~xxxxxxx~~ with experience of ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ labour and the labour processes ~~xxxxxxx~~ the institution and control of manufacture, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ have exemplified the trend, and the result has been a concentration and centralisation of capital. The top 10 houses now account for the large majority of books published in major capitalist countries.

i) smaller publishers remain however serving specialised markets, on a material base of access to craft writers, and cheap production facilities for small runs.

j) the social literacy of ~~xxxxxxx~~ pre-capitalist intellectual relations, was replaced by individual literacy and book ownership. More recently there has been a trend towards a collectivisation of book ownership, and a socialisation of book discussion both under the control of capital (development of library & ~~xxxxxxx~~ school college).

k) capitalist relations of production ~~are~~ were until recently limited in book production: independent authors, designers, typesetters; ~~publishing kulaks~~ publishing kulaks in printing, ~~and~~ co-ordination, and circulation kulaks in the bookshop. The most striking reflections of capitalist class relations are to be found in the conditions of intellectual production (writing) and consumption (reading and discussion) which reflect both the aforementioned division of head and hand as an instrument of ~~class~~ class control under capitalism, and the concern for the control of ~~the~~ ~~specific~~ the specific use values in this sphere, notably in periods where print was the dominant medium. In this sense the book was like the gun. ~~Literacy~~ Literacy was like arming the people, but the control of social literacy and the ~~restriction~~ restriction of ~~active~~ active literacy in contemporary capitalism has meant that the pen and the eye are used individually rather than for the collective consolidation of labour. Conscription - abandoned now for the armed forces - is preserved ~~in~~ in literacy only for children and the aristocracy of the head. Capital must control the words - like the bullets - of those it summons to ~~its~~ labour for its defense by constantly renewed strategies of intellectual decomposition. The history of the word is the history of class struggle. The forms taken by the word - in our case the written form of the book - themselves shift the terrain of struggle, affect the content and the struggle over ~~its~~ its control. While there is class struggle over the word in pre-commodity society, in commodity society, and more particularly in capitalist society, the ~~struggle~~ <sup>over content</sup> struggle is bound up with the particular characteristics of the book and the class relations of its production, ~~its~~ distribution and exchange and consumption. It is ~~in~~ in these terms that we must understand our own practise.

### The Book after the revolution.

Just as commodity relations continue after ~~the~~ socialist revolutions so does the ~~book~~ ~~as~~ book as a commodity. But we can immediately isolate some differences that mark capitalist and post-revolutionary societies:

a) there is a change in content. After the revolution in China the stocks of many books inherited from ~~the~~ Chiang Kai Shek's regime were destroyed. Publishing houses were encouraged to publish certain types of books, not only those ~~of~~ of a directly Marxist-Leninist kind, but also those concerned with particular subjects. In 1955 the Ministry of Culture announced price reductions ~~of~~ on books on politics, current affairs, and popular science; in 1958 further reductions on works of Marxism-Leninism, and literature, with modern literature being reduced more than classical literature. In general there is a more direct control of content by the central ~~state~~ post-revolutionary states than under capitalism.

b) there is an increase in the number of books circulated to accompany the post-revolutionary literacy drives. Thus in China the number of copies ~~xxxx~~ printed rose ten fold between 1936 and 1956. (p.18)

c) there is a tendency for longer runs than in capitalism, certainly of political works. By 1957 ~~ixxbvbx~~ it was reported that 7 million copies of the "Thirty Years of the Chinese Communist Party" had been published in China since 1951. The USSR report that the average edition of a single book is 17,600 (1969. AM 174), <sup>note</sup> ~~xxxx~~ Soviet book statistics tend to include pamphlets of 5 pages or more, as against UNESCO's standard of 50 pages or more, ) which is higher than the ~~xxxxxbvbx~~ average edition in the US. (c. 14,000 ?).

d) multiplication of titles. Mao warned against reading too many books, and favoured rather few books which could be widely read and thus taken as a common text for universal political discussion. The ~~xxxx~~ Red Book was the epitome of this principle. We do not know ~~xxxxxxx~~ the role of the book in the intellectual relations of the USSR, but we should <sup>note</sup> ~~xxxx~~ the figures of Table 1, which showed that the USSR had among the lowest rates of increase of new titles in the post war period. In China there have been marked fluctuations, from 12,153 titles in 1950, to 30,196 ~~in 1952~~ 1956, even more in 1959, and finally decisively down by 1964 (p.18).

e) authorship. I have seen little evidence on this. In China it appears that authors are attached to publishing houses, and are paid a royalty (though this was cut in 1958) ~~xx~~ after complaints against excessive returns for successful authors). One notable point is that new writers ~~xxxxxx~~ are encouraged. In 1958 it was laid down that 10% of new titles should be the writings of new authors.

f) ~~xxxxxxx~~ nationalisation. In China in 1950 there was one state-owned house, 6 joint ventures, and 244 private houses. By 1954 the number of private houses was down to 97, and by October 1957 they were completely subsumed; In the USSR all publishing is state-owned, as it is in Yugoslavia.

g) industrial structure. In China in 1964 there were 47 national houses (against 68 in 1954) and 35 local houses (as against 30 in 1954). ~~xxxx~~ The output was dominated by the large houses, however. Between 1954 and 1957 7 large houses accounted for 50% of production. In 1958 the National Conference for Promotion of the Great Leap Forward in Publishing Work ~~xxxxxxx~~ called for an ~~xxxxxxx~~ expansion of local publishing, and as a result there was a decrease in the control of the top 7, and an expansion of local houses. From 1958 to 1964 8 of the 20 largest houses were local. It appears that publishing, printing and distribution are organised by separate units (from 1950). In the USSR there was a decisive move in 1963 to ~~xxxxxxx~~ co-ordinate these different facets of publishing and to increase

the central control of publishing as a whole:

"Since 1963 publishing in the USSR has been guided by the State Publishing Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, which co-ordinates and directs the work of all publishing houses, printing presses, and booksellers, and which is guided by republic level publishing committees in the union republics and also by regional and district publishing offices in the regions and districts."

Of the 200-250 publishing houses in the USSR about 75% ~~xxxxxxx~~ are said to be directly subordinate to publishing committees, and 15% are controlled both by the publishing committees and ~~xxx~~ various writers organisations (e.g. the Academy of Sciences, and the Union of Writers). The remaining houses are branches of the party, the trade unions and various professional unions. Those controlled by the Central and Republic Committees are responsible for c.90% of all books printed. (Boher.p.175)

Yugoslavian publishing is less centralised. The number of houses has decreased to 50, and they compete strongly with each other (in contrast to China where the houses were encouraged to specialise).

h) labour process, and its control. Yugoslavian houses are managed by workers committees consisting of representatives of all workers in the ~~xx~~ 'enterprise'. According to a US observer, "most successful houses have strong general managers who lead the enterprise and direct the actions of the workers committee to a large extent." Profits are re-invested or redistributed in profit sharing schemes or used for various employee benefit programmes. (181 AM).

One other note: in Ethiopia direct workers control was instituted in at least two of the nationalised ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ printers in 1976.

i) book prices. In general they tend to be low, averaging ~~30~~ 40-50% of those in the US. To what extent this is due to savings in distribution costs must depend on more detailed reports, but cf below.

j) distribution. In the USSR there is a single book and pamphlet sales and distribution system Soyuzkniga, which deals ~~xxx~~ directly with 300 regional and local distribution units, which in turn service 15,000 shops selling books plus 50,000 kiosks. This system accounts for 80% of book distribution (175-6). Bookshops are reportedly kept behind the counter in most bookshops, and are thus not open to inspection (or pilfering). Presumably a significant part of the distribution is conducted directly with the institutional buyers, schools ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ colleges and libraries. In 1975 there were 2,363 new school textbooks, which sold 509 million copies, or 18% of the output of all books and pamphlets. ~~xxxx~~ 77% of all titles produced in that year were either ~~xxxxxx~~ pure and applied sciences or social sciences and were clearly closely bound up with education.

In Yugoslavia, 90% of book sales are through bookshops.



In China distribution is centralised in a single organisation (80% of distribution in 1952) which distributed to bookshops and schools. The publishing houses may sell directly if they wish, and they determine the print run. There is some mail order circulation. The Shanghai Postal Bookstore was sending out 2,000 books a day in 1959 (and had sent out a total of 2 million books between 1955 and 1959). There were five other mail order units of this kind, and the main distributor, Hsin Hua Chu Tien extended this by attaching mail order depts. to its bookstores in 28 cities.

k) libraries. It appears that there is considerably greater access to collectively owned books in post revolutionary countries. The figures for libraries are given in the table below.

Table 3.

Country		'000 of libraries & '000 of volumes.						Total
		Public libs.	Other & Special Libraries	Univ. & SME	School	Factory TU	Clubs & Popular Control	
US (74)	L	8,337	359	3421	74,625			
	V	388	46	407	507			
UK (mid 60's)	L	24,800						
	V	77						
FR (74)	L	2,500	1303	4185				
	V	43	56	86				
GDR (74)	L	9,775		30				
	V	34		20				
USSR (74)	L	130,653	1		173,000	59,000*		
	V	1508	26		456	1558		
China (58)	L	29,816			25,419	6,504		

Source: EB  
UNESCO

The mere number of libraries does not indicate their relative size, and unfortunately the statistics do not allow strict comparison. But even from the figures which exist there are a number of conclusions that can be drawn:

- a) there are more public libraries in Russia, with almost certainly more volumes and pamphlets than in the US.
- b) libraries in factories and run by Trade Unions are a feature of all post-revolutionary ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ and Soviet type societies of which we have evidence.
- c) China is distinguished by the number of libraries run by clubs and other forms of 'popular control'.

The above comprise a first set of notes about the book in post revolutionary and Soviet type countries. What needs to be done is to consider in much more detail:

- i) the relation between head and hand in these countries.
- ii) the relations of production within the ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ sector of the collective head.
- iii) the part played by the written word in collective ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ discussion.
- iv) forms of writing, and the notion of authorship.
- v) the extent of social literacy, and its character.
- vi) the extent to which the written word is controlled by the central organs of the party or state bureaucracy, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ as against the extent of decentralised control of content, the process of production, and forms of social literacy.

#### Prefigurative forms.

Finally, some notes on the areas we should consider in building pre-figurative forms:

- a) ways in which we can re-unite production and consumption of print, not merely formally through book clubs, but substantially through the control of publishing by the readers and writers. Discussion groups, place of general organisation in deciding priorities, publication of aids for reading, the book as only form of ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ print - part of a package, correspondence by the book, (book as a letter).
- b) the surpassing of the 'author' - towards collective production in a period when the relations of production in educational institutions is pushing 'authorship' into ever greater prominence.
- c) means of developing social literacy: inside existing collective institutions (the struggle for autonomy within them, or ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ democratic control of them) or building new institutes, societies, centres.
- xxd) ways of surpassing the division of head and hand ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ as against changing relations within the collective head marked as it is by exaltation.

## APPENDIX A

PROVISIONAL REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE CONTROL OF BOOK  
AND PERIODICAL PUBLISHING, PRINTING, AND  
DISTRIBUTION TRADES

Passed at the 110th Government Administration Council meeting on Dec. 21, 1952, and promulgated on Aug. 18, 1952.

- Article 1** These regulations are enacted in pursuance of Articles 5, 41, and 49 of the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.
- Article 2** The book and periodical publishing, printing, and distribution trades referred to in these Regulations include enterprises which, with fixed premises and installations, undertake the publication, printing, or distribution of books or periodicals.
- Article 3** All enterprises that publish, print, or distribute books or periodicals, whether public undertakings, public-private joint undertakings, or private undertakings, whether specialized or subsidiary undertakings, shall be without exception subject to the control of these Regulations, unless otherwise stipulated by Government decree.
- Article 4** All public and public-private enterprises that publish, print, or distribute books or periodicals shall apply to the local organs in charge of publication administration for permission to do business. They shall submit credentials issued by their direct superiors (Government organs, public bodies, or enterprises) and a letter of application stating their scope of business, conditions of installations (and if necessary, their business projects and other relevant papers).
- Article 5** All private enterprises that publish, print, or distribute books or periodicals shall submit application for operation stating clearly their object of inauguration, their method of raising capital, their scope of business, conditions of installations (if necessary, also their business projects and

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other relevant papers), and their names, and brief histories of the responsible persons. They shall file their application, which must be endorsed by two shops as guarantors, with the local organs in charge of publications administration for approval to do business.

**Article 6** All public, public-private, or private enterprises that publish, print, or distribute books or periodicals, after obtaining permission to do business and possessing business permits, shall apply to the local industrial and commercial federation for registration by submitting the business permit.

**Article 7** In case of alteration of organization, change of name, change of trade amalgamation, suspension or cessation of business, change of responsible persons in the enterprise, or change of personnel responsible for the execution of business, all enterprises that publish, print, or distribute books or periodicals shall apply to the (local) organs in charge of publication administration for approval. With regard to the sanction of suspension or cessation of business, the (local) organs in charge of publications administration shall consult the industrial and commercial federation.

**Article 8** Those enterprises that publish books or periodicals shall observe the following stipulations:

1. They shall have a definite direction of specialization.
2. They shall set up an editorial board or appoint specially assigned editors.
3. They shall periodically compile projects on selection of subjects, editing projects, and publication projects, which shall be submitted to the local publication administration.
4. They shall give the number of the business permit on the copyright page in all publications.
5. They shall not print or distribute books or periodicals that violate the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference or the decrees of the Government.

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6. They shall not publish words or charts that disclose state secrets.
  7. They shall not infringe upon the rights of other people's writings and publications.
  8. The right of publishing decrees and documents of the People's Government at various levels shall belong to the People's Press at various levels or to publishers authorized by the People's Press. No other publishing enterprises shall be permitted to compile and print or reprint such decrees or documents.
  9. Sample copies of all kinds of books and periodicals shall be sent upon publication to the publication administration at various levels and to state libraries. Relevant measures concerning this shall be enacted separately.
  10. Publishers of periodicals shall apply separately to the (local) organs in charge of publications administration for registration. Relevant measures concerning this shall be enacted separately.
- Article 9** Those enterprises that print books or periodicals shall observe the following stipulations:
1. They shall not undertake the printing of books or periodicals the publication of which is prohibited by express Government decrees.
  2. They shall not undertake the printing of books or periodicals which violate the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee or the decrees of the Government.
  3. Before delivery they shall send to the local organs in charge of publication administration one copy each of the books or periodicals printed.
- Article 10** Those enterprises that distribute books or periodicals shall observe the following stipulations:
1. They shall not sell books or periodicals the distribution of which is prohibited by express Government decree.

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2. They shall not sell foreign books or periodicals which are illegally imported.
3. In providing a circulating supply [This probably refers to commercial lending libraries. Tr.] of books or periodicals they shall require an authorization from the local organs in charge of publications administration.

**Article 11** Any violation of the stipulations given in Articles 8-10 shall be punished by warning or withdrawal of business permit, to be imposed by the (local) organs in charge of publications administration. In case of withdrawal of business permit, the local industrial and commercial federation shall be notified of the cancellation of registration.

**Article 12** Under any of the following circumstances, enterprises that publish, print, or distribute books or periodicals shall have their business permits withdrawn by the (local) organs in charge of publications administration, whereupon the local industrial and commercial federation shall be notified to cancel their registration.

1. When it is discovered, after approval to do business has been granted, that there is serious false declaration of facts in their application, or that their scope of business has seriously exceeded the authorized limits.
2. When the name of another person is usurped in respect of writing, publishing, printing, or distribution.
3. When publication has been suspended without reasons for over six months.

**Article 13** Detailed measures governing the application of the present regulations will be separately enacted by the Publications Administration of the Central People's Government.

**Article 14** These regulations will be promulgated and put into effect by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government.

(Source: Peking NCNA Aug. 18, 1952, translated in SCMP 409.)

UK 1960-70

CLASSIFICATION	1960			
	Total	Reprints and new editions	Trans.	Lat. editions
Aeronautics	148	43	1	—
Annals and Serials	33	33	—	—
Anthropology and Ethnology	50	4	5	—
Archaeology	23	16	7	—
Art and Architecture	614	37	25	7
Astronomy and Meteorology	140	34	7	—
Banking and Finance	205	79	—	—
Bibliography and Literary History	452	33	13	—
Biography and Memoirs	565	35	20	5
Botany, Horticulture and Agriculture	252	50	13	1
Calendars, Booklets and Albums	93	—	—	—
Chemistry and Physics	274	38	27	—
Children's Books	2995	394	65	—
Classics and Translations	79	40	37	—
Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias	24	11	2	—
Directories and Guide Books	512	315	5	—
Domestic Economy	123	33	5	—
Educational	2075	390	17	1
Engineering, Electricity and Mechanics	601	127	16	—
Essays and Sales-Lectures	129	20	6	3
Facsimiles	233	18	5	2
Fiction	4209	1220	350	1
Geology, Mineralogy and Mining	174	50	8	—
History	412	29	17	2
Illustrated Gift Books	25	2	2	—
Law and Parliamentary	534	154	4	—
Maps and Atlases	169	44	—	—
Mathematics	222	49	15	1
Medical and Surgical	1116	293	25	—
Music	157	27	20	—
Natural History, Biology and Zoology	372	21	20	—
Nautical	155	20	1	—
Naval and Military	331	23	11	1
Occultism	70	7	1	—
Oriental	24	4	3	—
Philately	59	22	1	—
Philosophy and Science	253	61	22	1
Poetry and Drama	721	26	29	19
Politics, Political Economy and Questions of the Day	925	109	16	—
Psychology	121	30	11	—
Religion and Theology	1047	220	134	2
Sociology	431	77	12	—
Sports, Games and Pastimes	327	102	4	—
Technical Handbooks	922	272	9	—
Topography, Local History and Folklore	395	32	19	—
Trade, Commerce and Industry	326	142	1	—
Travel and Adventure	170	31	16	—
Veterinary Science, Farming and Stockbreeding	925	20	1	—
Wireless and Television	147	51	3	—
Totals	23723	5926	1148	51

CLASSIFICATION	1965				1970			
	Total	Reprints and new editions	Trans.	Lat. editions	Total	Reprints and new editions	Trans.	Lat. editions
Aeronautics	149	31	1	—	153	34	2	—
Agriculture & Forestry	312	42	2	—	225	22	2	—
Architecture	209	25	2	—	340	78	17	2
Art	649	100	60	6	627	217	49	9
Astronomy	22	11	5	1	21	22	22	—
Bibliography and Library Economy	232	31	1	3	241	24	1	1
Biography	707	123	44	2	640	225	21	11
Chemistry and Physics	223	329	45	—	323	125	23	—
Children's Books	2223	343	102	—	2226	575	77	—
Commerce	207	23	2	—	750	190	5	1
Customs, Costume, Folklore	21	7	4	1	115	46	7	1
Domestic Science	224	41	9	—	354	122	3	1
Education	206	63	9	—	273	206	8	—
Engineering	723	166	42	—	1215	222	20	—
Entertainment	161	25	10	1	235	22	21	1
Fiction	3977	1223	307	—	4440	2129	213	11
General	41	3	2	—	102	45	2	—
Geography and Archaeology	229	26	2	—	371	122	15	3
Geology and Meteorology	162	30	6	—	127	34	9	—
History	1072	223	65	1	1526	265	56	2
Humour	104	23	1	—	148	61	—	—
Industry	251	290	22	—	421	125	9	—
Language	222	45	3	—	327	124	7	—
Law and Public Administration	226	129	3	1	252	22	10	1
Literature	745	221	62	1	2320	375	107	7
Mathematics	222	27	47	—	230	99	13	—
Medical Science	1227	222	31	—	1222	213	12	—
Military Science	21	12	7	1	141	29	5	3
Music	122	22	11	1	272	96	9	3
Natural Sciences	220	222	22	—	222	222	22	—
Occultism	70	14	2	—	122	22	1	—
Philosophy	222	22	12	—	222	222	22	—
Photography	22	12	4	—	21	17	2	—
Plays	222	22	19	—	227	122	45	1
Poetry	221	24	20	12	240	122	20	100
Political Science and Economy	1222	221	40	—	2222	212	20	1
Psychology	222	22	6	—	222	102	0	—
Religion and Theology	1227	222	22	—	1222	222	22	—
School Textbooks	1222	222	21	—	1222	222	22	—
Science, General	112	11	2	—	112	22	0	—
Sociology	222	22	2	—	222	222	22	1
Sports and Outdoor Games	222	22	2	—	222	222	22	—
Stockbreeding	170	29	3	—	127	21	4	—
Trade	212	47	—	—	222	222	22	—
Travel and Guidebooks	222	22	27	—	222	222	22	—
Wireless and Television	222	22	2	—	222	22	22	—
Totals	26322	5312	1227	22	3222	2222	222	170

Chinese Book Publication Divided by Subject Class, 1954-1958

Subject Class	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao	64	61	59	53	159
Religion and philosophy	44	161	176	232	218
Social and political science	385	589	616	731	1,034
History	204	337	421	346	366
Economics and economic policy	868	1,249	1,846	1,031	2,118
National defense, military affairs	15	37	44	63	86
The state and judiciary power, jurisprudence	54	84	125	110	78
Culture and education	517	644	1,222	984	1,478
Language	148	164	191	262	429
Literature	1,392	2,007	3,117	2,851	5,302
Geography	100	173	230	229	181
Arts	359	601	703	643	1,212
Natural sciences	453	547	620	822	1,150
Medicine	300	389	552	634	930
Engineering and technology	1,156	1,671	2,380	2,736	6,152
Agriculture and animal husbandry	410	452	1,277	994	2,375
Reference works	47	72	58	85	65
Total	6,516	9,238	13,637	12,806	23,333

Source: Ch'üan kuo ts'ung shu mu, 1955-1959.

Books in minority and foreign languages, juvenile literature, textbooks, and books for the blind have been excluded.

**General Book Sales, 1963 and 1972. Dollar Receipts of Publishers and Estimates of Numbers of Copies**

	Receipts of Publishers			Numbers of Copies Sold (est.)		
	(Millions)			(Millions)		
	1963	1972	Change (%)	1963	1972	Change (%)
Adult trade						
hardbound	109	243	+124	45	75	+66
paperbound	17	55	+223	25	50	+100
Juvenile						
under \$1 retail	31	24	-23	142	96	-32
\$1 and over retail	73	128	+75	50	71	+44
Religious	81	126	+55	61	53	-14
Professional	166	350	+111	24	38	+60
Book clubs	143	304	+113	75	119	+57
University presses	18	41	+128	7	11	+51
Other	102	147	+44	60	73	+22
Subtotal	740	1,418	+92	489	586	+20
Mass market paperbacks	87	253	+190	262	456	+72
Total	827	1,671	+102	751	1,042	+38

Sources: The basic sources for the dollar figures are the annual statistical releases of the Association of American Publishers (AAP) and predecessor organizations.

The sources for the estimates of numbers of copies sold are:

For 1963, the Census of Manufacturers data are number of copies adjusted for some categories by average per copy return to publishers derived from the annual statistical releases of the AAP and American Book Publishers Council (ABPC).

For 1964-1971, the estimated dollar sales in annual ABPC and AAP statistical releases divided by average return to publishers per copy.

For 1972, in general the AAP estimates of dollar sales have been divided by the average per copy return to publishers for each of the categories in which the average per copy return is available on a sample basis. For some types of books, such as professional books, other books, and book-club books, average per copy return on a sample basis for 1972 was not available and other rough estimating methods were used.

**Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory Listing of Titles**

12th edition, 1967-68	20,000 titles, approx.
13th edition, 1969-70	35,000 titles, approx.
14th edition, 1971-72	50,000 titles, approx.
15th edition, 1973-74	55,000 titles, approx.
16th edition, 1975-76	60,000 titles, approx.

Notes: The first edition of *Ulrich's*, published in 1932, contained about 700 titles and was highly selective. A true count began only with the 12th edition.

The National Lending Library in England listed 26,000 journals in 1962. By 1968, current journal titles had risen to 36,000.

*Books in Print*, published by R.R. Bowker Company, New York, and listing books only (no pamphlets), all in the English language, shows the following approximate growth:

Year	No. of Titles
1954	220,000
1963	346,500
1974	435,000

Estimated Book Publishing Industry Sales by U.S. Census of Manufacturers Categories (Millions of Dollars)

Categories	(Census Years)							Percent Change From 1971
	1963	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	
Adult trade (total)	\$ 126	\$ 188	\$ 217	\$ 240	\$ 261	\$ 281	\$ 298	6
hardbound	109	156	179	199	214	233	243	5
paperbound	17	32	38	41	47	48	55	14
Juvenile (total)	104	165	152	140	148	150	152	1
under \$1 retail	31	35	36	36	38	29	24	-17
\$1 and over retail	73	130	116	104	110	121	128	6
Religious (total)	81	108	110	108	113	117	126	8
Bibles, testaments, hymnals & prayer books	35	51	55	47	56	56	63	13
other religious	46	57	55	61	57	61	63	3
Professional (total)	166	237	258	286	297	328	350	7
law	58	74	81	91	90	90	94	4
medicine	24	38	43	50	57	59	65	10
business	15	20	22	23	25	35	41	17
technical, scientific and vocational	69	105	112	122	125	144	150	4
Book clubs	143	180	204	220	248	294	304	3
Mass market paperbacks	87	130	150	173	199	229	253	10
University press	18	31	34	37	39	39	41	5
Elementary & secondary textbooks	305	421	444	455	479	499	498	0
College textbooks	160	287	324	347	363	379	375	-1
Standardized tests	13	22	21	21	23	25	27	8
Subscription reference	381	501	556	603	613	607	606	0
Other	102	110	125	131	139	135	147	9
Total	\$1,686	\$2,380	\$2,595	\$2,761	\$2,922	\$3,083	\$3,177	3

Source: Extracted from the Association of American Publishers' "1972 Industry Statistics," Table 2.