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WORKING CLASS IN THE PRESENT WORLD —STATISTICS AND THEIR MEANING—

By Ryuken OOHASHI*

Preface

The Assembly of World's Labor Unions against Multinational Enterprises, sponsored by the Chilean Central Labor Union (CUT), met at Santiago de Chile from to 15 April, 1973. In spite of the fact that CUT was not affiliated with any international labor organization, its appeal to hold the meeting was met by enthusiastic support of many labor unions regardless of their organizational relationships and structures. President Salvador Allende, in his opening speech, addressed the assembly as follows:

“Leaders of various labor union movements coming from more than 70 countries and representing 400 million workers, their Excellencies the Ambassadors, dear comrades and friends, leaders of Chilean labor unions, our comrade the Minister of the State, Deputy Ministers, citizens and soldiers, my comrades, this Assembly has a special importance, not only because major labor unions of five continents are all represented here, but also because it is the most important meeting ever held since 1945, when workers of the world united to fight together against tyranny of Nazis

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and Facists" (Monthly Review of the General Federation of Japanese Labor Unions, Vol. 83, August 1973, pp. 3).

Five months after this event, Asiente was to meet his tragic end when to military coup d'état which started on September 11, 1973 assassinated the legally and constitutionally elected President of Chilean Republic, putting an end to the "research and experiment" of the peoples¹⁾. Why did this happen, while the revolutionary government continues to exist in Cuba under the leadership of Premier Castro? This is a haunting question that has given way to a number of arguments.

The problem to be discussed in this article is not unrelated to this question. However, the author should like to deal with more elementary problems, which can be summarized as the meaning of statistics as they relate structures of social classes—and particularly those of the working class.

As quoted earlier, President Asiente said the delegates to the Assembly "represented 400 million organized workers". A question immediately arises: what does the term "organized workers" mean, what groups or types of workers does it include? Would there be any statistical validity in terms of the unit, marks of classification, time and places implied? What is the position and relative weight of the organized workers in the total population of the working class, including those who are not organized? How could it be expressed by statistical means? It will be necessary to determine the relative position and weight of the working class as a whole among various social classes.

To properly elucidate these questions on a global scale is a herculean task. For instance, stages of social development are quite different from one country to another. It will not be possible to express social classes on a worldwide basis by one common set of statistics.

It is with these elementary subjects that this article is concerned. While any scientific argument is just a castle built in the air without objective definitions and proved data, the ensuing discussion will show that there is a tremendous lack of basic information to tackle with the preceding questions effectively. Clearly, it is necessary to put some orders to the chaotic mass of statistical data, and this article is but one of such attempts.

I. Class Structures of the Present World

To know class structures of a nation is a formidable task already, but to grasp them globally is simply an impossible one (if any degree of scientific exactitude is required) because the world consists of multitude of states whose stages of development of production and economy vary from one place to another. Still, the world

1) All successful revolutions in the past were armed ones. "Vie et Mort du Chile Populaire-Journal sociologique-juillet-Septembre 1973", by Alain Touraine, is thought to give some insight into the incident on the basis of analysis of social classes in that country.

of today is an objective reality made up by groups of people. Then, would it really be impossible to try to represent, with some abstractions, the class structures on a worldwide scale?

The Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations (1971) estimates the total population of the world in that year to be 3.7 billion, most of which belong to one of 145 independent countries. (As of September, 1973, just prior to the 28th General Assembly of the United Nations, there were 130 member countries and 15 outsider countries.) According to the Classification of Countries for Industrial and National Income Statistics in the U. N. Standard Country Code (St. Papers, Series M., No. 49, 1970), these countries are classified into the following groups:

- (1) Developed Market Economies (i.e., developed/capitalies):
30 countries, with population of 730 million,
- (2) Developing Market Economies (i.e., developing countries):
103 countries, with population of 1,730 million,
- (3) Centrally Planned Economies (i.e., socialist countries):
12 countries with population of 1,180 million.

It may be possible to question as to the adequacy of the terminology and the classifications used from an academic point of view, but the data involved are quite convenient for our research since they can be collated with the United Nations World Economy Yearbook and combination of those, in the author's opinion, presents a valid means of classification of the economic structures of the world. For the sake of convenience, let us therefore base our discussions on this classification²⁾.

Geographically speaking, the 3.7 billion population is distributed as follows: Africa, 350 million (9.5 %), North America 230 million (6.2 %), Latin America, 290 million (7.8 %), East Asia, 950 million (25.7 %), South Asia, 1,160 million (31.4 %), Europe, 460 million (12.4 %), Oceania, 20 million (0.5 %), and Soviet Union, 240 million (6.5 %). The ratio so-called "the economically active population" (EAP) to the total population is 41.3 % for the world, 38.5 % for Africa, 39.4 % for North America, 31.1 % for Latin America, 46.0 % for East Asia, 38.1 % for South Asia, 43.0 % for Europe, 41.3 % for Oceania, and 50.8 % for Soviet Union, respectively (ILO., Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1971). (As for details by each country, refer to Table 1, Total and economically active population by sex and age group, in the ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics.)

The ILO Yearbook, in its table 2, classifies the population engaged in economic activities into A and B. A represents the distribution by status and by industry (branch of economic activity) since 1937 and B represents the distribution by status and by professional groups since 1963 covering those countries for which there are

2) U. N. treats White Russia and Ukraina as independent states, but they are considered in this article as a part of the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia (population: 20 million) is treated as Developed Market Economy state, while Cuba (Population: 8.6 million) is included in Developing Market Economy.

Table 1. Rearrangement System of the Distribution by employment status and occupational group into Social Class Structures

Occupational group	Distribution by employment status	Employers and workers on own account	Salaried employees and wage earners	Family workers	Others and status unknown
		a	b	c	d
0. Professional, technical and related workers		6	9	6	22
1. Administrative, executive and managerial workers		3	2		
2. Clerical workers		6	10		
3. Sales workers			12		
4. Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers		5	15	5	
5. Miners, quarrymen and related workers		6	16	6	
6. Workers in transport and communication occupation			17		
7-8. Craftsmen, prod.-process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified			18		
9. Service, sport and recreation workers			13		
X. Workers not classifiable by occupation		21			
A. Members of the armed forces		20			
U. Persons seeking work for the first time and unemployed		23			

Note: Figures in each column indicate the column numbers in Table 2, Approximation of Social Classes, to which it relates.

available statistics. At this time, Table 2 B is the only clue at our disposal to draw an approximation of global class structures.

If we take the ILO data contained in Table 2 B of the yearbook, and rearrange them in accordance with Table 1 of this article titled 'Rearrangement System of the Distribution into composition of social classes', the results—with comprise all available data on nonsocialist countries—could be expressed as Table 2 of this article. There are, of course, a number of valid arguments, both theoretical and technical, concerning the rearrangement system³. It is, however, not the purpose of this article to go into such arguments in detail.

Nevertheless, a few comments would be in order at this point with regard to the rearrangement system. First of all, the so-called economically active population in the ILO yearbooks is the total of both employed and unemployed population at that time, and it does not offer any information as to whether the constituents include those who possess property (which, of course, is the basic criterion of class distinction), and for this reason, it cannot show distribution of population in terms of property ownership, such as owner of capital, landlord, rentiers etc. Also, the term does not include students, female occupied solely in domestic duties, retired persons (living on pension or otherwise), nor persons wholly dependent upon others. Furthermore, it must be noted that each country has different ways to classify those who are in military service, people admitted in welfare institutions, inhabitants in reserved area, those who are to join work force and looking for job, seasonal labour and part-time workers. Those marginal populations are sometimes included and sometimes not in the statistics, and for this reason, they and in and out of the definitions in the present article⁴.

The second point to be mentioned is the treatment of "status" (Positions in work). Not only classification is different in each country, but in most countries, those who hold managerial or supervisory positions are classified as salaried employees, while in some others they constitute ordinary employees (Ibid. ILO Statistic Yearbook, 1972, page 1). These limitations affecting accuracy of the statistics also characterize our analysis. The results are no more than approximations.

Thirdly, both the time when the statistics were obtained and countries who submitted them are from consistent. In order to give the minimum consistency to those data, it becomes necessary, for instance, to 'match' the number of countries as of the early seventies and the same as of early 60s. Also, figures must be taken as far as possible among those obtained within a period of time not too distant from one to the other. By the same token, in order to assure reasonable consistency

3) Yoichi Ito, "Employment Statistics in ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics", Economic Review of Hokkai Gakuen University, Sept. 1972, and others.

4) For further details, refer to footnotes of the ILO statistics and U. N. Handbook of Demographic Methods, Vol. II, Economic Characteristics of the Population—St. Stat. Series F. 5, 1958.

Table 2. Approximation of Class Structures in the Developing and

Social classes	Countries and regional groups	Column No.	Column No. of Table 1.	Developing		
				Total	Total	Asia
I Capitalist class		1		11,962	1,462	842
Administrative, executive and managerial workers = Salaried employees and wage earners		2	b 1	7,979	790	478
Administrative, executive and managerial workers = Employers and workers on own account		3	a 1	3,983	672	364
II Self-employed class		4		150,986	88,521	70,207
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers = Employers and workers on own account, Family workers		5	a 4, c 4	110,987	72,267	59,621
Non-agr. self-employed class		6	a 0, 2, 3, 5~9 c 0~3, 5~9	39,999	16,254	10,586
III Working class		7		222,872	45,381	23,851
So-called white-collar workers		8		52,630	7,064	3,528
Professional, technical and related workers		9	b 0	21,434	3,127	1,716
Clerical workers		10	b 2	31,196	3,937	1,812
Non-productive workers		11		41,882	8,559	4,331
Sales workers		12	b 3	14,468	1,600	774
Service, sport and recreation workers		13	b 9	27,414	6,959	3,557
Productive workers		14		128,360	29,758	15,992
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers		15	b 4	24,263	14,790	8,003
Miners, quarrymen and related workers		16	b 5	2,811	540	269
Workers in transport and communication occupations		17	b 6	12,715	2,098	1,150
Craftsmen, prod.-process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified		18	b 7~8	88,571	12,330	6,570
IV Uncertain group		19		22,365	7,288	4,371
Members of the armed forces		20	A	3,716	185	148
Workers not classifiable by occupation		21	X	8,646	3,028	1,226
Workers not classifiable by status		22	d 0~9	5,230	1,274	787
Persons seeking work for the first time and unemployed		23	U	4,773	2,801	2,210
Economically active population Total		24		408,185	142,652	99,271
Total population		25		1,043,612	415,807	274,498

Note: The countries included in this Table are the following 54 among 123 states, excluding the socialist countries:

Developing Countries:

Asia: 16 out of 34: Korea, a part of China (Taiwan), Philippines, Khmer, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Nepal, Sri-Lanka, Pakistan; Iran, Turkey, Syria, Kuwait, Bahrain, Cyprus.

Africa: 7 out of 41: Egypt, Algeria, Morocco; Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Mauritius.

Latin America: 13 out of 24: Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama,

Developed (Capitalist) Countries at the beginning of 60's

countries		Developed countries								
Africa	Latin America	Total	Leading six countries							Other developed countries
			Total	United States	Japan	United Kingdom	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	France	Italie	
128	492	10,500	8,728	5,366	966	756	836	610	194	1,772
90	222	7,189	6,049	3,388	891	756	510	502	2	1,140
38	270	3,311	2,679	1,978	75	(figures not available)	326	108	192	632
8,727	9,587	62,465	44,571	6,536	20,036	1,755	4,903	5,343	5,998	17,894
6,636	6,010	38,720	26,307	2,815	13,384	331	3,138	3,060	3,579	12,413
2,091	3,577	23,745	18,264	3,721	6,652	1,424	1,765	2,283	2,419	5,581
6,851	14,679	177,491	139,550	49,554	22,682	21,330	19,969	12,822	13,193	37,941
888	2,648	45,566	36,997	15,083	6,207	5,430	4,976	3,042	2,259	8,569
437	974	18,307	14,640	6,540	1,824	2,151	1,785	1,480	860	3,667
451	1,674	27,259	22,357	8,543	4,383	3,279	3,191	1,562	1,399	4,902
1,206	3,022	33,323	26,496	10,833	4,065	4,503	3,204	2,038	1,853	6,827
175	651	12,868	10,377	4,240	1,940	1,846	1,285	644	422	2,491
1,031	2,371	20,455	16,119	6,593	2,125	2,657	1,919	1,394	1,431	4,336
4,757	9,009	98,602	76,057	23,638	12,410	11,397	11,789	7,742	9,081	22,545
2,725	4,062	9,473	6,008	1,287	784	513	489	881	2,054	3,465
109	162	2,271	1,701	281	345	358	382	217	118	570
323	625	10,617	8,075	2,889	1,402	1,409	1,194	564	617	2,542
1,600	4,160	76,241	60,273	19,181	9,879	9,117	9,724	6,080	6,292	15,968
1,240	1,677	15,077	13,347	8,421	344	1,627	1,113	1,054	788	1,730
	37	3,531	2,915	1,733		251		840	91	616
468	1,334	5,618	5,072	3,453	6	170	1,113	214	116	546
324	163	3,956	3,677	3,081	1	595				279
448	143	1,972	1,683	154	337	611			581	289
16,946	26,435	265,533	206,196	69,877	44,028	25,468	26,821	19,829	20,173	59,337
59,895	81,414	627,805	479,849	179,323	93,419	53,788	56,175	46,520	50,624	147,956

Dominica, Jamaica, Colombia, Venezuela, Equador, Peru, Chile, Argentina.

Developed Countries:

18 out of 24: Israel; Canada; Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Ireland, Iceland, Sweden, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Malta, Yugoslavia; Australia, New Zealand.

Developing countries exclude West Samoa, Fiji, Naur and Tonga where statistics are incomplete. Semi-colons designate the medium geographical divisions.

Table 3. Approximation of Class Structures in Developing Countries and

Social classes	Countries and regional groups	Column No.	Total	Developing	
				Total	Asia
I Capitalist class		1	2.9	1.0	0.9
Administrative, executive and managerial workers=Salaried employees and wage earners		2	1.9	0.5	0.5
Administrative, executive and managerial workers=Employers and workers on own account		3	1.0	0.5	0.4
II Self-employed class		4	37.0	62.1	70.7
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers=Employers and workers on own account, Family workers		5	27.2	50.7	60.0
Non-agr. self-employed class		6	9.8	11.4	10.7
III Working class		7	54.6	31.8	24.0
So-called white-collar workers		8	12.9	4.9	3.5
Professional, technical and related workers		9	5.3	2.2	1.7
Clerical workers		10	7.6	2.7	1.8
Non-productive workers		11	10.3	6.0	4.4
Sales workers		12	3.6	1.1	0.8
Service, sport and recreation workers		13	6.7	4.9	3.6
Productive workers		14	31.4	20.9	16.1
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers		15	5.9	10.4	8.1
Miners, quarrymen and related workers		16	0.7	0.4	0.3
Workers in transport and communication occupations		17	3.1	1.5	1.1
Craftsmen, prod.-process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified		18	21.7	8.6	6.6
IV Uncertain group		19	5.5	5.1	4.4
Members of the armed forces		20	0.9	0.1	0.2
Workers not classifiable by occupation		21	2.1	2.1	1.2
Workers not classifiable by status		22	1.3	0.9	0.8
Persons seeking work for the first time and unemployed		23	1.2	2.0	2.2
Economically active population total		24	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percentage of EAP to the total population		25	39.1	34.3	36.2

Note: Percentage of the population constituting the classes or sections to the total EAP (economically active population) (Ref. Table 1 & 2.)

Developed (Capitalist) Countries at the Beginning of 60's (percent)

countries		Developed countries								
Africa	Latin America	Total	Leading six countries							Other developed countries
			Total	United States	Japan	United Kingdom	Germany (Fed. Rep.)	France	Italie	
0.8	1.9	4.0	4.2	7.7	2.2	3.0	3.1	3.1	1.0	3.0
0.6	0.9	2.7	2.9	4.9	2.0	3.0	1.9	2.5	(0.01)	1.9
0.2	1.0	1.3	1.3	2.8	0.2	(figures not available)	1.2	0.6	1.0	1.1
51.5	36.3	23.5	21.6	9.4	45.5	6.9	18.3	26.9	29.7	30.2
39.2	22.8	14.6	12.8	4.1	30.4	1.3	11.7	15.4	17.7	20.9
12.3	13.5	8.9	8.8	5.3	15.1	5.6	6.6	11.5	12.0	9.3
40.4	55.5	66.8	67.7	70.9	51.5	83.7	74.5	64.7	65.4	63.9
5.2	10.0	17.2	17.9	21.6	14.1	21.3	18.6	15.3	11.2	14.4
2.6	3.7	6.9	7.1	9.4	4.1	8.4	6.7	7.4	4.3	6.2
2.6	6.3	10.3	10.8	12.2	10.0	12.9	11.9	7.9	6.9	8.2
7.1	11.4	12.5	12.8	15.5	9.2	17.7	11.9	10.3	9.2	11.5
1.0	2.4	4.8	5.0	6.1	4.4	7.3	4.8	3.3	2.1	4.2
6.1	9.0	7.7	7.8	9.4	4.8	10.4	7.1	7.0	7.1	7.3
28.1	34.1	37.1	36.9	33.8	28.2	44.7	44.0	39.1	45.0	38.0
16.1	15.4	3.6	2.9	1.8	1.8	2.0	1.8	4.4	10.2	5.8
0.6	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.4	0.8	1.4	1.4	1.0	0.6	1.0
1.9	2.4	4.0	3.9	4.1	3.2	5.5	4.5	2.9	3.0	4.3
9.5	15.7	28.7	29.3	27.5	22.4	35.8	36.3	30.7	31.2	26.9
7.3	6.3	5.7	6.5	12.0	0.8	6.4	4.1	5.3	3.9	2.9
—	0.1	1.3	1.4	2.5	—	1.0	4.1	4.2	0.4	1.0
2.8	5.1	2.1	2.5	4.9	(0.01)	0.7	4.1	1.1	0.6	0.9
1.9	0.6	1.5	1.8	4.4	(0.002)	2.3	—	—	—	0.5
2.6	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.2	0.8	2.4	—	—	2.9	0.5
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
28.3	32.5	42.3	43.0	39.0	47.1	47.3	47.7	42.6	39.8	40.1

among the reporting countries, it has been necessary to estimate a number of figures for a number of countries as of the early 70s. A particular difficulty arose as to the fact that most of the African countries south of the Sahara desert did not have any statistics at all even in the beginning of the last decade, despite they were treated as totally independent states. The method we used for these countries was very rough mathematical deductions on the basis of averages in intermediary geographical areas. Therefore, the author fully recognize the need to use better data, if possible at all.

Under these circumstances, there remain a number of theoretical and technical problems yet to be resolved in evaluation of the figures, their rearrangement and the results. However, at this time, we have to leave these issues to the future research including every country. In this article, all uncertain items are included in the "IV Uncertain group", so that the profiles of those countries where reliable statistics can be highlighted by the rearrangement. The results, as such, are compiled in Table 2.

Let us now look into the total population (25th column in Table 2) to make assessment of statistical coverage (the figures should be collated with the total population of Table 7, for independent countries (A) as of early 60's). Since the total population in the beginning of the last decade is estimated at 3 billion, population shown in Table 2 covers slightly more than 50 %, if we exclude the total population of then existing socialist countries, 970 million.

As for the developing countries in Asia, we know that the table covers 30 % of the total populating of 880 million as of 1960, again excluding the socialist countries—China, Mongol, North Korea, North Vietnam (660 million) and the developed countries, Japan and Israel (less than 100 million). However, because the countries totalized in Table 2 (16, see the notes to Table 2) are those in which capitalism has reached relatively advanced stage, percentage of their total population of the working class to the total population engaged in economic activities (24.0 %, ref. Table 3, column 7) is considered as an overestimate as the average proportion of the working class for all the independent countries in Asia. Moreover, neither India or Indonesia, two major countries in terms of population, are included, and if they were included, it would alter the picture in a marked way⁵⁾.

With regard to Africa, the table includes only seven of 41 countries (excluding South African Republic, which is a developed country), representing a quarter of the total population of the Continent. Particularly, it does not include major countries in terms of population (south of the Sahara desert)—such as Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zaire and others, whereas those seven states included are where capitalism has

5) In this connection, P. Аваков and Г. Мирский show in "Class Structures of Developing Countries" (World Economy and International Relations, No. 4, 1964) a list of Southeast Asia including India. The figures are based on the ILO Yearbook, Table 2A, and the percentage obtained by using the same method comes up to 17.3 %.

developed relatively well. Therefore, the percentage obtained, 40.4 % (Table 3, column 7) for the workers is considered to be well above the real average of the total independent countries in Africa⁶⁾.

As for Latin America, the table includes 13 out of 24 independent countries, and those included represent 39 % of the total population in this area. The ratio of working class, 55.5 % (Table 3, column 7) might give somewhat exaggerated idea as to the importance of workers. Nevertheless, if the term "working class" is interpreted in a larger sense as discussed in the following paragraph, the percentage would not be too far away from the reality. The statistics, however, does not include Brazil nor Mexico, two major powers. As with the case of Asia and Africa, inclusion of those two will alter the average considerably.

Table 2 covers 24 out of 30 developed countries or 96 % of the total population. The ratio of working class is 66.8 % (Table 3, column 7) which is considered to be fairly accurate.

It is obvious that there is a theoretical difference the class structures in socialist countries and those in other countries, since one of the basic criteria will be whether means of production is privately owned or not. Still, it is possible to make use of the U.N. system (i.e., classification of population by the types of economic activities—ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1972) for Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria during 1960's (for Hungary, up to 1970's)⁷⁾.

However, analysis of the group of socialist countries would be meaningless unless USSR and China are included. As for USSR, we have to look into the statistics as of 1959 (Table 4). The author has not yet been able to see the "Report of 1970 Census" (Vol. 5). According to the National Economy Statistics, 1970, pp. 507 published by the USSR Central Bureau of Statistics, composition of the economically active population was as follows: agriculture (including privately owned farm) 27 %, industry and construction 37 %, transportation and communication 8 %, commerce, restaurants and distribution of materials 7 %, education, culture, scientific, health care 15 %, administration and finance 2 %, and others, 4 %. Comparison of those figures with Table 3 could perhaps be done, but there is not enough data to warrant such a comparison. For the sake of reference, Table 5 will give some idea of the changes that have been taking place in the past few decades.

China presents a great deal of difficulty since no comprehensive data are available since the publication of "The Great Decade" (1960, National Statistics Bureau of China, translated and published in Japan by International Trade Promotion As-

6) Ibid. P. Аваков and Г. Мирский. They deal with the northern African countries only. As of 1960, working class in these countries (employees and laborers) comes to 47.3 % according to the same method of computation.

7) It is characteristics of these three countries that "employees" (salaried employees and earners) shows a very quick increase after their transformation into socialist states while the number of employers (and workers on own account) and Family workers decreased suddenly.

Table 4. Economically Active Population in USSR-1959

Industry (Branch of economic activity)		Salaried employees and wage earners	Workers and kolkhozes	Farmers and handicraftsmen (not organised in co-operatives)	Others	Total	%
Productive sectors	Agriculture	6,611	31,723	92	...	38,426	35.2
	Industry, construction, transport and communication	35,978	439	158	...	36,575	33.6
	Trade, public dining material-technical supply	5,159	11,201	1	...	5,171	4.7
	Other productive branches	678	7	5	...	691	0.6
Non-productive sectors	Education, cultural institutions, scientific and research institutes public health	9,708	85	0.2	...	9,793	9.0
	Administration, communal housing services, banking and insurance	4,639	12	9	...	4,660	4.3
	Armed forces	2,855	767	0.2	...	3,623	3.3
	Others and activities not adequately described	188	0.2	0.1	9,869	10,059	10.1
Total		65,817	33,047	266	9,869	108,995	100.0
%		60.4	30.3	0.2	9.1	100.0	

Source: ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1972, pp. 147, Table 2-A (In 1959, the total population of USSR was 212 million. For details, refer to a research made by Yoshiki Nomura, to be published in "Management Studies", March 1974 issue.)

Table 5. Changes in Class Structures of USSR

	1939	1959	1970
Workers, clerical workers (among) labourer	50.2 (32.5)	68.3 (48.2)	80.0 (55.0)
Members of kolkhozes co-operative union	47.2	31.4	20.0
Farmers on individual agricultural plots	2.6	0.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: USSR Central Bureau of Statistics, "National Economic Statistics, 1972" pp. 22

Table 6. Economically Active Population in Peoples' Republic of China, 1965

	Actual	%
	(million)	
Agricultural actives population	231.2	63.0
Non-agricultural actives population	135.8	37.0
Total	367.0	100.0
Total population (1965)	707.1	
	51.9%	

Source: Japan ECAFE Society Monthly Report, Jan. 1972

sociation), although it has been said that in 1964 and 1970 (September), national census was taken by the government. The report "Chinese Economy Viewed by USA" (U.S. Congress Joint Committee for Economy), Japanese translation by JETRO in October, 1972) makes no reference to the population engaged in economic activities. There is a research published by Japan ECAFE Society (Table 6) which consists of estimates without any indication of the sources.

The preceding facts and comments have to be referred to in connection with Table 2, representing approximations of class structures in non-socialist countries as of the beginning of 1960's. This table was utilized to prepare estimation of class structures for all independent countries (excluding the socialist countries) as of early sixties and seventies. Those are shown as Table 7 and 8. The method used for estimation (on the percentage of the medium geographical divisions), reference as to percentages and major characteristics of changes that took places during the periods in question, are not given here for the sake of conciseness. Table 9 shows the percentages of population engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fishing industry against the total economically active population as of the early sixties.

II. Working Class in the Contemporary World

We do not have yet any standard that is internationally accepted to define the

Table 7. Estimated Social Class Structures of All Independent

Social classes	Countries and regional groups		Total
I Capitalist class	1		15,002
Administrative, executive and managerial workers=Salaried employees and wage earners	2		9,403
Administrative, executive and managerial workers=Employers and workers on own account	3		5,599
II Self-employed class	4		405,584
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers=Employers and workers on own account, Family workers	5		318,550
Non-agr. self-employed class	6		87,034
III Labourer class	7		327,623
So-called salaried man	8		69,979
Professional, technical and related workers	9		29,192
Clerical workers	10		40,787
Non-productive workers	11		60,575
Sales workers	12		18,355
Service, sport and recreation workers	13		42,220
Productive workers	14		197,069
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers	15		57,862
Miners, quarrymen and related workers	16		4,617
Workers in transport and communication occupations	17		17,914
Craftsmen, prod.-process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified	18		116,676
IV Uncertain group	19		41,155
Members of the armed forces	20		4,121
Workers not classifiable by occupation	21		13,412
Workers not classifiable by employment status	22		9,193
Persons seeking work for the first time and unemployed	23		14,429
Economically active population Total	24		789,364
Total population	25		1,987,184

Note: The table was compiled based on table 2 and 3, with estimation made on the basis of figures contained in ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, Table 2-A, "Distribution by status and by industry" as well as those in U.N. Demographic Yearbook.

Countries (except socialist countries) as of Early Sixties

Developing countries					Developed countries					
Total	Asia	Africa	Latin America	Others	Total	Leading six countries				Other developed countries
						Total	United States	Japan	Other four countries	
4,193	2,439	534	1,219	1	10,809	8,728	5,366	966	2,396	2,081
2,018	1,069	404	542	(0.4)	7,385	6,049	3,388	891	1,770	1,336
2,175	1,370	127	677	1	3,424	2,679	1,978	75	626	745
340,011	250,956	62,380	26,578	97	65,573	44,571	6,536	20,036	17,999	21,002
277,679	212,585	47,530	17,485	79	40,871	26,307	2,815	13,384	10,108	14,564
62,332	38,371	14,850	9,093	18	24,702	18,264	3,721	6,652	7,891	6,438
143,557	82,505	23,379	37,632	41	184,066	139,550	49,554	22,682	67,314	44,516
22,931	13,009	3,435	6,480	7	47,048	36,997	15,083	6,207	15,707	10,051
10,247	6,001	1,808	2,435	3	18,945	14,640	6,540	1,824	6,276	4,305
12,684	7,008	1,627	4,045	4	28,103	22,357	8,543	4,383	9,431	5,746
26,069	14,943	3,378	7,741	7	34,506	26,496	10,833	4,065	11,598	8,010
5,055	2,780	671	1,603	1	13,300	10,377	4,240	1,940	4,197	2,923
21,014	12,163	2,707	6,138	6	21,206	16,119	6,593	2,125	7,401	5,087
94,557	54,553	16,566	23,411	27	102,512	76,057	23,638	12,410	40,009	26,455
47,792	28,793	7,838	11,148	13	10,070	6,008	1,287	784	3,937	4,062
2,243	802	1,036	404	1	2,374	1,701	281	345	1,075	673
6,855	3,940	1,363	1,550	2	11,059	8,075	2,889	1,402	3,784	2,984
37,667	21,018	6,329	10,309	11	79,009	60,273	19,181	9,879	31,213	18,736
25,780	14,998	6,582	4,193	7	15,375	13,347	8,421	344	4,582	2,028
487	407		80	(0.2)	3,634	2,915	1,733		1,182	719
7,701	3,177	1,318	3,204	2	5,711	5,072	3,453	6	1,613	639
5,186	2,786	2,037	362	1	4,007	3,677	3,081	1	595	330
12,406	8,628	3,227	547	4	2,023	1,683	154	337	1,192	340
513,541	350,898	92,875	69,627	146	275,823	206,196	69,877	44,028	92,291	69,627
1,333,454	884,573	238,650	209,683	548	653,730	479,849	179,323	93,419	207,107	173,881

Table 8. Estimated Social Class Structures of All Independent

Social classes	Countries and regional groups		Total
I Capitalist class	1		21,402
Administrative, executive and managerial workers=Salaried employees and wage earners	2		15,837
Administrative, executive and managerial workers=Employers and workers on own account	3		5,565
II Self-employed class	4		445,588
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers=Employers and workers on own account, Family workers	5		332,619
Non-agr. self-employed class	6		112,969
III Labourer class	7		398,953
So-called salaried man	8		89,530
Professional, technical and related workers	9		38,336
Clerical workers	10		51,194
Non-productive workers	11		70,614
Sales workers	12		21,976
Service, sport and recreation workers	13		48,638
Productive workers	14		238,809
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers and related workers	15		77,541
Miners, quarrymen and related workers	16		3,964
Workers in transport and communication occupations	17		30,462
Craftsmen, prod.-process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified	18		126,842
IV Uncertain group	19		43,322
Members of the armed forces	20		5,171
Workers not classifiable by occupation	21		12,788
Workers not classifiable by employment status	22		8,488
Persons seeking work for the first time and unemployed	23		16,875
Economically active population Total	24		909,265
Total population	25		2,409,717

Note: The table was compiled on the basis of 54 countries shown in Table 2 and 3. Estimates were made by the same method as that of Table 7 for all independent countries excluding socialist countries. Since the statistics for early 1970's are quite limited yet, this table undoubtedly needs correction as more data become available.

Countries (except socialist countries) as of Early Seventies

Developing countries					Developed countries					
Total	Asia	Africa	Latin America	Others	Total	Leading six countries				Other developed countries
						Total	United States	Japan	Other four countries	
4,733	2,455	737	1,540	1	16,669	14,089	8,257	2,052	3,780	2,580
2,824	1,583	549	691	1	13,013	11,279	6,045	2,004	3,230	1,734
1,909	872	188	849	(0.4)	3,656	2,810	2,212	48	550	846
380,723	270,510	76,383	33,708	122	64,865	43,118	5,816	18,382	18,920	21,747
296,123	216,328	57,703	21,997	95	36,496	21,833	2,217	9,570	10,046	14,663
84,600	54,182	18,680	11,711	27	28,369	21,285	3,599	8,812	8,874	7,084
186,578	111,030	28,739	46,749	60	212,375	161,340	64,553	31,657	65,130	51,035
28,924	15,970	4,592	8,353	9	60,606	48,002	23,653	9,864	14,485	12,604
13,230	7,711	2,402	3,113	4	25,106	19,501	10,245	2,887	6,369	5,605
15,694	8,259	2,190	5,240	5	35,500	28,501	13,408	6,977	8,116	6,999
30,513	17,102	3,907	9,494	10	40,101	30,757	13,403	6,178	11,176	9,344
6,278	3,483	759	2,034	2	15,698	12,283	4,369	3,361	4,553	3,415
24,235	13,619	3,148	7,460	8	24,403	18,474	9,034	2,817	6,623	5,929
127,141	77,958	20,240	28,902	41	111,668	82,581	27,497	15,615	39,469	29,087
68,640	45,923	9,390	13,305	22	8,901	4,773	909	439	3,425	4,128
2,086	499	1,185	401	1	1,878	1,185	13,541	131	1,054	693
7,670	3,912	1,747	2,009	2	22,792	19,655		2,201	3,913	3,137
48,745	27,624	7,918	13,187	16	78,097	56,968	13,047	12,844	31,077	21,129
27,898	13,232	9,587	5,070	9	15,424	12,987	7,277	736	4,974	2,437
177	38		139		4,994	4,335	3,188		1,147	659
9,844	3,341	2,755	3,745	3	2,944	2,384		18	2,366	560
3,920	814	2,586	519	1	4,568	4,183	3,583	1	599	385
13,957	9,039	4,246	667	5	2,918	2,085	506	717	862	833
599,932	397,227	115,446	87,067	192	309,333	231,534	85,903	52,827	92,804	77,799
1,684,604	1,112,490	297,979	273,416	719	725,113	529,679	205,399	103,556	220,724	195,434

Table 9. Percentage of Workers in Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing Industry

			Total population	Economically active population		Salaried employees and wage earners	
			A	B	B/A %	C	C/B %
Non-socialist countries total			1,701,547	675,098	39.7	295,180	43.7
Developing countries	Total		1,064,540	406,471	38.2	100,224	24.7
	Asia		809,339	322,456	39.8	57,477	17.8
	Africa		67,202	22,834	34.0	8,129	35.6
	Latin America		187,999	61,181	32.5	34,618	56.6
Developed countries	Total		637,007	268,627	42.2	194,956	72.6
	Leading six countries	Total	479,785	205,467	42.8	152,241	74.1
		United States	179,323	69,877	39.0	57,796	82.7
		Japan	93,419	44,028	47.1	23,575	53.5
		United Kingdom	53,788	24,857	46.2	22,407	90.1
		Germany (Fed. Rep.)	56,175	26,821	47.7	20,926	78.0
		France	46,456	19,712	42.4	14,137	71.7
	Italy	50,624	20,172	39.8	13,400	66.4	
	Other developed countries		157,222	63,160	40.2	42,715	67.6
Socialist countries			79,155	40,000	50.5	21,178	52.9
Total			1,993,378	790,088	39.6	323,712	41.0
Developing countries	Total		1,340,321	515,716	38.5	124,872	24.2
	Asia		883,037	350,722	39.7	63,194	18.0
	Africa		246,983	95,147	38.5	22,211	23.3
	Latin America		209,770	69,708	33.2	39,411	56.5
	Others		531	139	26.2	56	40.3
Developed countries	Total		653,057	274,372	42.0	198,840	72.5
	Leading six countries	Total	479,785	205,467	42.8	152,241	74.1
		United States	179,323	69,877	39.0	57,796	82.7
		Japan	93,419	44,028	47.1	23,575	53.5
		Other four countries	207,043	91,562	44.2	70,870	77.4
	Other developed countries		173,272	68,905	39.8	46,599	67.6

Note: Based on the ILO Yearbooks of Labour Statistics, 1964 to 1972, Table 2-A, "Distribution by status and by Industry (economic sectors)"

Countries included in the ILO Statistics are as follows:

Developing countries:

Asia: 19 out of 34: Korea, a part of China (Taiwan), Philippines, Khmer, Thai, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Nepal, India, Sri-Lanka, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Kuwait, Bahrain, Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen, Jordan

Africa: 12 out of 41: Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Mauritius, Botswana, Gabon

to Total Population Engaged in Economic Activities, Early Sixties

Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing									
Total		Employers and others		Employees		Family workers		Others	
D	D/B %	E	E/B %	F	F/B %	G	G/B %	H	H/B %
323,869	48.0	88,063	13.0	39,545	5.9	64,020	9.5	132,241	19.6
272,724	67.1	67,364	16.6	29,133	7.1	44,221	10.9	132,006	32.5
230,457	71.5	47,743	14.8	15,685	4.9	35,211	10.9	131,818	40.9
14,615	64.0	7,084	31.0	3,079	13.5	4,385	19.2	67	0.3
27,652	45.2	12,537	20.5	10,369	16.9	4,625	7.6	121	0.2
51,145	19.0	20,699	7.7	10,412	3.9	19,799	7.3	235	0.1
32,723	15.9	12,848	6.2	6,146	3.0	13,542	6.6	187	0.1
4,519	6.5	2,585	3.7	1,478	2.1	287	0.4	169	0.3
14,237	32.3	5,185	11.8	795	1.8	8,257	18.7	(0.1)	(0.00)
780	3.1	285	1.1	433	1.7	44	0.2	1.8	0.1
3,587	13.4	1,142	4.3	454	1.7	1,991	7.4		
3,907	19.8	1,693	8.6	875	4.4	1,339	6.8		
5,693	28.2	1,958	9.7	2,111	10.5	1,624	8.0		
18,422	29.2	7,851	12.4	4,266	6.8	6,257	9.9	48	0.1
19,296	45.2	9,767	24.4	2,020	5.1	4,453	11.1	3,056	7.6
403,117	51.0	130,086	16.5	48,562	6.1	82,357	10.4	142,112	18.0
350,276	67.9	108,668	21.1	37,753	7.3	61,984	12.0	141,871	27.5
249,967	71.3	52,330	14.9	17,237	4.9	39,310	11.2	141,090	40.3
68,152	71.6	41,788	43.9	8,092	8.5	17,640	18.5	632	0.7
32,073	46.0	14,495	20.8	12,405	17.8	5,024	7.2	149	0.2
84	60.4	55	39.5	19	13.7	10	7.2	(0.2)	(0.1)
52,841	19.3	21,418	7.8	10,809	4.0	20,373	7.4	241	0.1
32,723	15.9	12,848	6.2	6,146	3.0	13,542	6.6	187	0.1
4,519	6.5	2,585	3.7	1,478	2.1	287	0.4	169	0.3
14,237	32.3	5,185	11.8	795	1.8	8,257	18.7	(0.1)	(0.00)
13,967	15.3	5,078	5.6	3,873	4.2	4,998	5.5	18	(0.2)
20,118	29.2	8,570	12.4	4,663	6.8	6,831	9.9	54	0.1

Latin America : 17 out of 24 : Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Columbia, Venezuela, Guaiana, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay

Developed countries :

20 out of 24 : Israel, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Luxemburg, Holland, Norway, Ireland, Iceland, Sweden, Austria, Finland, Portugal, Spain, Malta, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand.

Socialist countries :

5 out of 12 : Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland

term "working class". It is evident, however, that no society can exist without production and those engaged in that activity. Those who do not possess means of production have to find employment with those who are in possession of such means. For those employees, work—both for their own subsistence and for the society as a whole—means acquisition of surplus labor (i.e. profit) by those who own means of production. So long as they work for their employers, they cannot escape from this situation. Relationship between those types of people who are concerned with production, therefore, provides the first clue to look into the meaning of the term, working class.

If we define the basic relationships between those people by utilizing the criterion of ownership or absence of ownership of means of production in addition to that of employing others or being employed, it is possible to distinguish four basic

Table 10. Transition of Distribution Ratio by Status

Distribution by status			Empl- yers and others	Empl- yees	Family workers	Others	Total	Ratio of EAP to total population
Developing countries	Developing countries (total)	1950's	39.4	41.1	16.4	3.1	100.0	35.0
		1960's	38.5	39.9	18.1	3.5	100.0	33.0
		1970's	39.5	39.0	18.9	2.6	100.0	32.4
	Asia	1950's	36.7	41.0	15.6	6.7	100.0	32.4
		1960's	39.4	30.7	24.6	5.3	100.0	34.6
		1970's	37.3	38.3	21.4	3.0	100.0	33.9
	Africa	1950's	41.6	39.3	18.8	0.3	100.0	36.0
		1960's	37.7	43.9	12.2	6.2	100.0	28.2
		1970's	27.3	56.2	13.1	3.4	100.0	25.9
	Latin America	1950's	38.0	38.4	18.1	5.5	100.0	37.9
		1960's	33.3	56.8	8.4	1.5	100.0	32.4
		1970's	24.9	69.6	4.1	1.4	100.0	29.4
Developed capitalist countries	Developed countries (total)	1950's	18.7	67.3	12.0	2.0	100.0	42.8
		1960's	15.9	72.7	9.2	2.2	100.0	42.2
		1970's	13.7	76.4	7.0	2.9	100.0	43.7
	Leading six countries	1950's	17.6	68.6	12.0	1.8	100.0	43.2
		1960's	14.7	74.1	8.7	2.5	100.0	43.0
		1970's	12.3	77.4	6.8	3.5	100.0	44.9
	Japan	1950's	23.5	44.9	29.7	1.9	100.0	44.8
		1960's	21.9	53.5	23.8	0.8	100.0	47.1
		1970's	19.0	63.6	16.0	1.4	100.0	51.0

Source: ILO Year Book of Labour Statistics (from 1950's to 1972) have been utilized to obtain the geographical distribution. The column 'developing countries' does not include 'miscellaneous'-mainly Oceania.

categories: (1) those who own such means and employ others, (2) those who do not own such means and are employed, (3) those owning means of production but not employing others, and (4) those who have no means of production but still employ others. (1) could be called the capitalist class, (2) as the working class, and (3) as the self-employed or self-sustaining class, respectively. Those in (4) could be either a part of the working class in they do not possess any means of production, or contrarily, as a part of the capitalist class because they employ other workers who generate surplus profit. They could also belong to so-called "managerial workers" or "professional Manager class". This presents a problem, but the distinction as referred to was used to prepare Table 2 to 10.

While this classification applies in the domain of production, we can also call, in the narrow sense, those who fall within the scope of hierarchy from apprentice workers to technician (productive workers) as the working class to be organized⁸⁾.

Apart from the preceding classification, it is also possible to consider means of distribution of goods and services as commercial business means and to classify those who work in these sectors but do not own such means as non-productive workers. This constitutes definition of workers in a broader sense that includes clerical workers, commercial employees, those who provide services and are concerned in some way with the total process of reproduction⁹⁾.

Furthermore, depending on the way the term "means of service" and the word "service work" are interpreted, scope of the working class could be expanded to include those who work for the upper structures such as lower public servant and those who are engaged in professional or vocational work (scientists, medical experts, social welfare workers, teachers, jurists, artists, religious workers, etc.). Analysis of these types of workers is essential to understand the state monopolistic capitalism. In this research, the term "working class" is used in the largest sense.

The question to be asked here is to see how the relative weight and composition of working class changed during the prewar and postwar periods—particularly the latter¹⁰⁾.

With regard to the prewar period, the author cannot make any specific reference, because the statistics applicable to this period (the first ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics was issued in 1937 covering 1935 and 1936) have not yet been assessed completely, although it can be said that the crucial point of the problem was the "unemployment statistics" in the advanced countries. It can further be

8) CGT of France once adopted this point of view. Ref. Labor Movements in France, French Embassy, 1973 (pp. 5).

9) Stanisław Kozyr-Kowalski, Marx's theory of classes and social strata and "Kapital".— Fragment of the work: "Marx's theory of classes and the world of to-day" the Polish sociological bulletin, No. 1, 1970.

10) A number of studies have been made in this regard. First and most important of those is a series of articles appeared in the "Problems concerning Peace and Socialism" (May, 1960 to September, 1961).

stated in a general way that before the war, weight of the working class in the total population engaged in economic activities was not as important as it is today, nor its structures complicated as those of the present period of time. Hence we must be content in making simple reference to the ratio to be obtained from Table 7 and Table 8 (although it is impossible here to give the ratios, they could easily be computed from tables 7 and 8) which are applicable to the recent past.

First of all, it is necessary to pay a special attention to the characteristics of early 1960's and 1970's. If we view those periods in terms of the foreign aids made by the United States, early part of 1960's is characterized by the fact that the U.S. aids shifted from economic assistance to military aids, and geographically, they moved from the Western Europe to Asia. Likewise, the diminishing economic aids, which concentrated once to the developed countries, were turned to the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Although the United States already started to lose its absolute hegemony, she held still an unquestionable strength to control the world affair at large. However, by the early 1970's loss of the U.S. hegemony was already an established fact. The defeat U.S. suffered in Vietnam in July, 1969 gave way to the so-called Nixon Doctrine of 1970, resulting in succession in such events as the U.S.-China dialogue in January, 1970, admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations in October, 1971, the Vietnam Peace Talks in January, 1972, and the Sino-American as well as Russo-American Joint Communiqués in February and May, 1972, respectively. This was the period in which U.S. was compelled to modify the imperialistic structures of its own domination of the world. Economically, it led to the collapse of IMF due to the abolition of dollar/gold parity in August, 1971.

Secondly, we must take into consideration the changes which took place since 1950's in the relative weights of 'owners' (employers and self-employed), employees (salaried employees and wage earners) and family workers in the total population engaged in economic activities. Table 10 illustrates the changes which represents analysis of the statistics contained in ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics. It will be noted that so far as the total population of developing countries is concerned, the table does not indicate any noticeable changes, but in Africa and Latin America, there has been a marked decline in the numbers of 'owners' and family workers, and equally remarkable and consistent increase in employees. Such a trend is even more clear in the developed countries, although—interestingly enough—the ratio of employees in Japan stays on the same level as those for the Latin American countries. However, as mentioned already, the U.N. demographic method, which is based on the concept of population engaged in economic activities, fails to show distinction concerning ownership and scale of means of production, and hence any clear mode of existence of the social classes. Due to this limitation, the U.N. statistics do not give us any deeper insight regarding analysis of the ruling class—multinational corporations, large-scale land-owners, owners of large capital, as well as of the

oppressed classes—medium and small size capitalists, farmers and workers (upper, middle, and lower class)¹¹⁾. For these reasons, the data applicable to positions in employment tend to show only one side of the reality, i.e., the modernized sectors, in such areas for example as Latin America.

Finally, from the preceding comments, it will be possible to arrive at the following conclusions: the share of workers to the total population engaged in economic activities in developing countries increased from 28 % in early 1960's to 31 % in early 1970's. Most part of the increase is accountable for productive workers in manufacturing industry (from 18.4 % to 21.2 %). Contrarily, in the case of the developed capitalist countries, working population increased from 66.7 % to 68.8 % during the same period, but this was mainly due to increase of "white collars". Ratio of productive workers decreased from 37.2 % to 36.1 %. Decrease of factory workers (from 28.6 % to 25.3 %) is significant. The author intends to give analysis and comments on this point at a latter date.

III. Organized Workers in Contemporary World

The fact that number of workers has reached such a predominant level is already meaningful from political economic standpoint. But it is much more significant that the workers have been organized and come to have an undeniable political power. Workers are united and cooperate as groups in their area of production. Furthermore, they cooperate even with managerial personnel and employers as well—if we disregard the side of exploiting relationship. In that sense, workers are said to be organized on individual enterprise level. Organization in the sense of labour movement is, however, naturally different. It is essentially a device for class struggle. The struggle to be fought by the organized workers should not be against the nature or materials but directed to those group of people who belong to different class of different interests. So, setting aside the production aspect, we must clarify who are the opponent.

Basically, there are two types of organization for class struggle, namely, political parties¹²⁾ and labor unions. Organized workers usually belong to labor unions, but some of the unions may not be devices for struggle, in that they are more closely identified with enterprises. If the latter is actually become stabilizers of capitalistic

11) At the present stage, analysis of social classes will never be complete unless constituents as individuals are also treated on the basis of enterprises in which individuals are employed, as well as the analysis of these enterprises themselves.

12) According to "Contemporary Labor Movements in the World", 1971, of USSR Academy of Science, number of members of the Communist Parties throughout the world is estimated at approx. 50 million, and those who belong to Social Democratic Parties approx. 15.4 million, respectively (pp. 435). According to the "Peking Weekly", Sept. 11, 1973 issue, Chinese Communist Party was reported to have 28 million members on the occasion of the 10th National Congress.

Table 11. Estimation of Organized

Age and countries			The state of workers		Total population		Economically active population		Number of workers	
					A	B	B/A %	C	C/B %	
Early 1960's	World				2,958,277	1,269,442	42.9	469,400	37.0	
	Developing countries	Total			1,333,454	513,541	38.5	143,600	28.0	
		Asia			884,573	350,898	39.7	82,500	23.5	
		Africa			238,650	92,875	38.9	23,400	25.2	
		Latin America			209,683	69,622	33.2	37,660	54.1	
		Others			548	146	26.6	40	27.4	
		Total			653,730	275,823	42.2	184,066	66.7	
	Developed countries	Leading six countries	Total			479,849	206,196	43.0	139,550	67.7
			United States			179,323	69,877	39.0	49,554	70.9
			Japan			93,419	44,028	47.1	22,682	51.5
			Other four countries			207,107	92,291	44.6	67,314	72.9
		Other developed countries			173,881	69,627	40.0	44,516	63.9	
	Socialist countries				971,093	480,078	49.4	141,734	29.5	
Early 1970's	World				3,548,670	1,563,050	44.0	568,188	36.4	
	Developing countries	Total			1,684,604	599,932	35.6	186,600	31.1	
		Asia			1,112,490	397,227	35.7	111,000	27.9	
		Africa			297,979	115,446	38.7	28,800	24.9	
		Latin America			273,416	87,067	31.8	46,740	53.7	
		Others			719	192	26.7	60	31.3	
		Total			725,113	309,333	42.7	212,375	68.7	
	Developed countries	Leading six countries	Total			529,679	231,534	43.7	161,340	69.7
			United States			205,399	85,903	41.8	64,553	75.1
			Japan			103,556	52,827	51.0	31,657	59.9
			Other four countries			220,724	92,804	42.0	65,130	70.2
		Other developed countries			195,434	77,799	39.8	51,035	65.6	
	Socialist countries				1,138,953	653,785	49.5	169,213	30.0	

Source: Basic Source: ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1960~1972. Other sources include: "list of Major Labour Unions", 1972 and 1973, published by the "Rosei Jiho" Journal; various data published by the Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Economic Affairs Bureau); Central Confederation of Trade Unions (International Department), "Labour Movements in the World", by USSR Academy of Science (1972 and 1973); Jukov, Deryusin et al. "The Third World", 1973; M. Tsuda, "International Comparison of Industrial Relations", 1969; ILO Society of Japan, "World Labour" etc.

Labour in the World

unit 1,000 persons

Number of organized workers		Affiliation status to the International Organizations							
		Number of membership				Ratio (%)			
		Total	WCL (IFCTU)	ICFTU	WFTU	Total	WCL (IFCTU)	ICFTU	WFTU
D	D/C %								
211,845	45.1	176,388	3,300	54,938	118,150	100.0(100.0)	100.0(1.9)	100.0(31.1)	100.0(67.0)
31,100	21.7	21,004	1,255	12,739	7,010	11.9	38.0	23.2	5.9
15,600	18.9	10,406	300	5,101	5,005	5.9	9.1	9.3	4.2
5,500	23.5	2,204	240	1,964	—	1.3	7.3	3.6	—
10,000	26.6	8,377	715	5,657	2,005	4.7	21.6	10.3	1.7
(4)	(10.0)	17	—	17	—	(0.01)	—	(0.03)	—
74,719	40.6	49,486	2,045	42,199	5,242	28.1	62.0	76.8	4.5
53,062	38.0	20,612	1,000	14,392	5,220	11.7	30.3	26.2	4.5
17,505	35.3	12,960	—	12,960	—	7.4	—	23.6	—
7,662	33.8	1,432	—	1,432	—	0.8	—	2.6	—
27,895	41.4	6,220	1,000	—	5,220	3.5	30.3	—	4.5
21,657	48.6	28,874	1,045	27,807	22	16.4	31.7	50.6	(0.02)
106,026	74.8	105,898	—	—	105,898	60.0	—	—	89.6
241,972	42.5	186,484	13,250	48,589	124,645	100.0(100.0)	100.0(7.1)	100.0(26.1)	100.0(66.8)
39,400	21.1	28,840	9,000	15,029	4,811	15.5	67.9	30.9	3.9
19,700	17.7	13,203	2,400	6,294	4,509	7.1	18.1	13.0	3.6
6,700	23.3	2,600	1,500	923	177	1.4	11.3	1.9	0.2
13,000	27.8	12,980	5,100	7,792	88	7.0	38.5	16.0	0.1
(6)	(10.0)	57	—	20	37	(0.03)	—	(0.04)	(0.03)
87,043	40.8	42,115	4,250	33,560	4,305	22.6	32.1	69.1	3.4
61,694	38.1	26,089	—	21,787	4,302	14.0	—	44.8	3.4
20,210	31.3	250	—	250	—	0.1	—	0.5	—
11,605	36.7	1,414	—	1,414	—	0.8	—	2.9	—
29,879	45.3	24,425	} 4,250	20,123	4,302	13.1	} 32.1	41.4	3.4
25,349	49.7	16,026		11,773	3	8.6		24.3	(0.002)
115,529	68.3	115,529	—	—	115,529	61.9	—	—	92.7

Note: Total population, population engaged in economic activities, and number of workers are based on Table 7 and 8. Number of organized workers was estimated based on the sources and references cited above. Classification of countries was made for 145 states considered by the United Nations as independent countries as of 1972 and in accordance with the U.N. Standard Country Code, 1970. Affiliation status to the international organizations is classified on regional basis rather than on the basis of trade unions.

Table 12. Ratification Status

Age and countries			Ratification status		Countries total	Ratification total			Average per one country			Freedom of association and protection of the right to organise.
						Conventions by ratification total	Fundamental seventeen conventions number	Other conventions number	Conventions by ratification total	Fundamental seventeen conventions number	Other conventions number	
1960	World		79	1,936	372	1,564	25	5	20	37		
	Developing countries	Total	46	771	171	600	17	4	13	15		
		Asia	17	187	48	139	11	3	8	3		
		Africa	9	107	33	74	12	4	8	3		
		Latin America	20	477	90	387	24	5	19	9		
		Others	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Developed countries	Total	26	921	161	760	35	6	29	16		
		Leading six countries	Total	6	257	43	214	43	7	36	4	
			United States	1	7	0	7	7	0	7	0	
			Japan	1	24	4	20	24	4	20	0	
Other four countries			4	226	39	187	57	10	47	4		
Other developed countries		20	664	118	546	33	6	27	12			
Socialist countries		7	244	40	204	35	6	29	6			
1970	World		121	3,516	910	2,606	29	7	22	75		
	Developing countries	Total	86	2,066	612	1,454	24	7	17	48		
		Asia	25	411	133	278	16	5	11	6		
		Africa	37	880	286	594	24	8	16	24		
		Latin America	24	775	193	582	32	8	24	18		
		Others	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Developed countries	Total	27	1,145	238	907	42	9	33	19		
		Leading six countries	Total	6	286	52	234	48	9	39	5	
			United States	1	7	0	7	7	0	7	0	
			Japan	1	26	6	20	26	6	20	1	
			Other four countries	4	253	46	207	63	11	52	4	
	Other developed countries		21	859	186	673	41	9	32	14		
	Socialist countries		8	305	60	245	38	7	31	8		

Source: For 1960; Kaide and Toda, "ILO", October, 1960 issue. For 1970; Journal of "World Labour", January, 1971 issue

of ILO Agreement

Fundamental seventeen conventions by ratification																
Fundamental human right					Social policy		Employment policy			Wage			Social security		Minimum age	Maternity protection
Right to organise and collective bargaining.	Forced labour.	Abolition of forced labour.	Discrimination (Employment and occupation).	Equal remuneration.	Social policy (Basic aims and Standards).	Labour inspection.	Employment service.	Employment policy	Minimum wage-fixing machinery	Minimum wage-fixing machinery (Agriculture)	Protection of wages	Social security (Minimum standards)	Equality of treatment (Social security)	Minimum age (Industry) (Revised)	Maternity protection (Revised)	
98	29	105	111	100	117	81	88	122	26	99	95	102	118	59	103	
40	54	31	6	30	—	39	30	—	40	14	25	10	—	11	5	
18	26	17	3	15	—	18	10	—	21	8	13	0	—	5	2	
4	8	6	1	5	—	5	4	—	4	2	4	0	—	2	0	
5	6	2	2	0	—	5	1	—	5	1	2	0	—	1	0	
9	12	9	0	10	—	8	5	—	12	5	7	0	—	2	2	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
16	21	13	3	8	—	20	18	—	16	6	9	10	—	4	1	
5	5	2	0	3	—	5	5	—	4	3	3	3	—	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	—	0	0	—	0	0	0	0	—	0	0	
1	1	0	0	0	—	1	1	—	0	0	0	0	—	0	0	
4	4	2	0	3	—	4	4	—	4	3	3	3	—	1	0	
11	16	11	3	5	—	15	13	—	12	3	6	7	—	3	1	
6	7	1	0	7	—	1	2	—	3	0	3	0	—	2	2	
86	103	88	70	67	20	71	50	32	76	34	61	20	22	24	11	
59	72	64	50	43	18	48	28	18	56	23	46	5	14	16	4	
13	18	15	14	8	4	14	8	4	7	3	9	0	5	5	0	
28	34	27	23	20	9	19	11	8	31	11	25	3	6	7	0	
18	20	22	13	5	5	15	9	6	18	9	12	2	3	4	4	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
19	24	23	14	16	2	22	20	11	17	9	11	15	8	4	4	
5	5	4	2	4	1	5	5	1	4	3	3	3	1	1	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4	4	4	2	3	1	4	4	1	4	3	3	3	1	1	0	
14	19	19	12	12	1	17	15	10	13	6	8	12	7	3	4	
8	7	1	6	8	0	1	2	3	3	2	4	0	0	4	3	

Note: ILO agreement consisted of 114 articles in 1960, and 130 in 1970, respectively.

system is not an issue. The real question should be if they are really organized from the standpoint of class struggle.

The author has prepared Table 11 based on the preceding considerations. Generally speaking, availability of statistical data is extremely limited so far as labor unions are concerned, partly because it is often difficult to define its membership (those who pay membership fee, those who make up registered numbers, official reports, etc.). In Table 11, the author used the official statistics for whose countries there are such data available, and for those other countries, union members were counted by mathematical approximation method as was the case of social class structures shown in the preceding tables, on the basis of medium geographical areas and average ratio of labor organization. As it is, the table leaves many things to be desired and considerable improvement is necessary, preferably by researches to be made by specialized institutions.

Even in case of Japan, it is very hard to know accurately number of labour union members and estimated ratio of organized workers. For instance, ratio shown in "Report on Labor Unions" published by the Ministry of Labor for organized workers makes use as the denominator the total number of population employed. To be more exact, it should exclude those such as "directors of companies and other entity" which the report treats as "permanent employees".

In table 11, the term "WCL" (see figures for 1960's, affiliation with international organizations) means the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU) which has been renamed as World Confederation of Labor (WCL) on the occasion of its Luxembourg meeting in October, 1968. This organization does not have any affiliate in Japan, except for a representative office of WCL-BATU in Tokyo. In early 1970's, WCL has approx. 9 million workers in developing countries as shown in Table 11, and this represents 67.9% of the total member of WCL, which shows that it gives priority to the developing countries.

The table also shows that as of early 1970's, International Confederation of Free Trade Union (ICFTU) has 69.1% of its members in the developing capitalistic countries, while the World Federation of Labor Unions has its base virtually in the socialist states (92.7% of the members are in these countries). All of these international organizations of labor union have made known of their concern and countermeasures proposed for the advent of multinational enterprises. There are significant difference in the strategies proposed by each organization, depending as to if they are based in the developed countries (i.e., home countries of the multinational enterprises) or in the developing countries (i.e., host countries). In other words, reaction to actual or potential control of industry by foreign-based capital is different depending on what classes or parts of a class takes the initiative of supporting the principle of self determination of people. It is not the purpose of the present article to study this question. However, as a complement to it, Table 12 is added showing

ratification status of ILO agreement. A comparison of Japan and USA with other countries on this table will give some insight into the fundamental characterers of of those two governments.

Conclusion

Hitherto, various powers opposing domination of imperiarism in the world were thought to be consisting of (1) peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, (2) people of socialist countries, and (3) workers in the capitalist countries. Their struggle against imperialism and monopoly capital is continuing on various levels such as governments, political parties, labor unions and other organizations. The strength and scale of struggle are different on each level. Although the monopolistic capital, i.e., multinational enterprises, still has a major power and influence both in individual countries and on an international scale, it does not have enough means to control struggles coming from the opposing powers effectively. In the opinion of the author, the most qualified body to fight with the monopolistic capital and to control the latter's harmful activities would be the labour unions and their international cooperation, because workers are the only real productive power organized within individual enterprises and beyond their boundary, and also because it is possible to expect the labour unions to become real means of class struggle.

Japan, like United States or European countries, belongs to the category of exporter of capital rather than to the hosts of capital. Therefore, labor unions in Japan face problems not known in the host countries and their labor unions. It is, however, through the firm solidarity between the workers on the both sides that harmful activities of multinational enterprises could effectively be controled. There exists a remarkable analogy between the global situation and situation within each countries in terms of the relationship between workers employed by the monopolistic capital and those employed by the subsidiaries, or subcontractors. The analogy also applies to the relationship between the organized workers and those who are not. The aggressive pursuit of profit by the multinational enterprises is deteriorating humanity as a whole and human environment as well. Working class of the world faces all over again the challenge to cope with them and the need to establish solidarity among the workers.